



Agenda item 23: Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: 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

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

Chapters XII - XXIV**

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* Part I contains chapters I to IV of the Special Committee's report:

- I. Establishment, organization and activities of the Special Committee
- II. Meetings held away from Headquarters
- III. Southern Rhodesia
- IV. South West Africa

Part II contains chapters V to XI:

- V. Territories under Portuguese administration
- VI. Aden
- VII. Fiji
- VIII. Equatorial Guinea
- IX. Ifni and Spanish Sahara
- X. Gibraltar
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** The present version of chapters XII to XXIV is a consolidation of the text of the following documents as they appeared in mimeographed form: A/6700/Add.11, dated 27 November 1967; A/6700/Add.12, dated 15 November 1967; A/6700/Add.8, dated 11 October 1967; A/6700/Add.13, dated 24 November 1967; A/6700/Add.14 (part I), dated 29 November 1967; A/6700/Add.14 (part II), dated 1 December 1967; and A/6700/Add.15, dated 29 November 1967. For a check list of relevant documents, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, agenda item 23.*

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CHAPTER XII*

FRENCH SOMALILAND

A. Action previously taken by the Special Committee and the General Assembly

1. In 1966, the Special Committee considered French Somaliland at meetings held in June and October. The Special Committee did not at that time adopt any recommendations concerning the Territory, but decided to transmit to the General Assembly the information contained in the relevant working paper prepared by the Secretariat, together with the statements made on the item by representatives and petitioners (A/6300/Rev.1,¹ chap. XII, para. 219).

2. The General Assembly, at its twenty-first session, considered the chapter of the report of the Special Committee relating to French Somaliland² and subsequently adopted resolution 2228 (XXI) of 20 December 1966, the operative part of which reads as follows:

[For the text of the resolution, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Supplement No. 16.]

3. On 23 February 1967, the Secretary-General submitted a report (see annex to this chapter below) as called for by paragraph 5 of resolution 2228 (XXI).

B. Information on the Territory³*Status of the Territory*

4. French Somaliland is described as an Overseas Territory of the French Republic.

Present political structure

5. The main organs of government and administration are the Governor, the Government Council and the Territorial Assembly. The Governor is the head of the Territory (*chef du territoire*) and the representative of the French Republic. He is appointed by the French Government and is directly responsible for the administration of "State Services" (*services d'Etat*).

* Previously issued under the symbol A/6700/Add.II.

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23.

² *Ibid.*, chap. XII.

³ More detailed background information on the Territory is contained in the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session (*ibid.*, chap. XII, paras. 1-66). The information presented in this section, which has been derived from published sources, deals mainly with political developments during the period 31 August 1966 to 31 July 1967.

6. The Government Council, under the presidency of the Governor, is composed of eight members, elected by the Territorial Assembly from within or outside its membership. Each of them has the title of Minister and the senior Minister has the title of Vice-President of the Government Council. The Government Council is responsible for the administration of territorial interests. It may not be dissolved except by decree of the French Government after consultation with the Territorial Assembly.

7. The Territorial Assembly consists of thirty-two members elected from seven multi-member electoral constituencies. The vote is based on universal adult suffrage. The Assembly is empowered to take decisions on territorial matters in the form of regulations.

8. French Somaliland is represented in the French Parliament by a deputy and a senator. It also has a representative in the French Economic and Social Council.

Political developments and the announcement of a referendum on the status of the Territory

9. Following the demonstrations held during the visit of President de Gaulle to Djibouti on 25 and 26 August 1966,⁴ three ministers of Somali origin announced their resignations, and Mr. Ali Aref, Vice-President of the Government Council since 1960 and leader of the Rassemblement démocratique Afar (RDA) left for Paris and agreed to confide his post in an acting capacity to Mr. Hassan Gouled. A new Governor of French Somaliland, Mr. Louis Saget, was appointed some days later.

10. On 21 September, following a meeting of the French Council of Ministers, it was announced that in view of the internal and external situation of French Somaliland and having regard to the provisions which could be made by law with regard to its status and destiny in relation to the general interest of the Republic, the Government had decided that the population of the Territory would be directly consulted on that subject by means of a referendum before 1 July 1967. The draft law concerning that consultation would be laid before the Parliament.

11. The Governor of the Territory, on his return from consultations in Paris, on 9 October, stated that in the forthcoming referendum the population would be offered a choice between complete independence and

⁴ Description of the events which occurred in the Territory in August and September 1966 can be found in *ibid.*, chap. XII, paras. 47-60.

approval of the principles which would be included in the new statute of the Territory. The new statute would be drawn up after the referendum by the representative authorities of the Territory. The main principles, however, would be determined before the referendum.

12. Mr. Ali Aref, Vice-President of the Government Council, submitted his resignation to the Governor in October, and on 5 November, the Territorial Assembly elected a caretaker Government Council⁵ headed by Mr. Mohamed Khamil, a leader of the Union démocratique Afar (UDA), one of the parties which was formerly in the opposition. The new Council, in which the various political opinions and ethnic groups in the Territory were represented, was composed as follows:

Vice-President and Minister of Public Works and the Port	Mr. Mohamed Khamil
Minister of Finance	Mr. Raymond Pecoul
Minister of Internal Affairs	Mr. Idriss Farah
Minister in charge of the Civil Service	Mr. Ibrahim Ahmed Bouraleh
Minister of Public Health and Social Affairs	Mr. Bourhan Abdallah
Minister of Education ...	Mr. Hassan Gouled
Minister of Labour	Mr. Abdi Ahmed Warsama
Minister of Economic Affairs and the Development Plan	Mr. Ahmed Hassan Ahmed

Organization of the referendum

13. On 2 December 1966, the French National Assembly discussed and adopted the draft law organizing the referendum to be held on French Somaliland. The Senate discussed and adopted it on 14 December, and the law was promulgated on 22 December 1966.

14. The law provided that before 1 July 1967 the population of French Somaliland would be invited to state in a referendum whether it wished to remain part of the French Republic with a revised statute of government and administration or to be separated from it. The population would be informed in advance of the main features of the new statute.

15. If the population opted for the new statute, the latter would be submitted to the French Parliament, in accordance with the provision of article 74 of the Constitution, within four months from the date of the referendum.

16. The Parliament would be called upon to express its views on the choice made by the population. From the date of the referendum, and until the Parliament had reached a decision, the Government would, when necessary, be empowered to take by government order, in accordance with article 38 of the Constitution, any legal measure which might be required by the situation in French Somaliland. The bill for the ratification of the orders would, in this case, be submitted to Parliament before 1 December 1967.

17. All persons registered on the electoral rolls of French Somaliland who were able to provide evidence that they had been resident in the Territory for at least three years would be qualified to participate in the referendum.⁶

⁵ Following the referendum, a new Government Council was elected on 6 April 1967 (see paras. 40-42 below).

⁶ During the discussion of the draft law in the Senate, the *Secrétaire d'Etat*, Mr. Habib-Deloncle, declared that the revision of the electoral rolls of Somaliland, which began on 1 December 1966, would be completed by 28 February 1967.

18. In the case of a dispute regarding the residence requirement, the claim would be adjudicated by a commission composed of three judiciary magistrates appointed by decree of the French Government on the recommendation of the Minister of Justice.

19. A commission, to be known as the Returns and Adjudication Commission (*Commission de recensement et de jugement*) would adjudicate any claims arising from the poll and would draw up the final results of the referendum. The Commission would be composed of a *conseiller d'Etat*, a *conseiller à la Cour de cassation* and a *conseiller maître à la Cour des comptes*, appointed by decree of the French Government and adopted in the Council of Ministers.

20. The procedure for the application of the law of 22 December 1966 was established by decree of 26 January 1967 which contains, *inter alia*, the provisions indicated below:

(a) The voters would be required to answer "yes" or "no" to the following question:

Do you wish the Territory to remain part of the French Republic with the new statute of government and administration which has already been outlined?

(b) The choice of the electorate would be determined by the majority of votes cast.

(c) Each voter would be provided with two ballot papers, one white paper bearing the answer "yes" and one blue paper bearing the answer "no".

(d) A list of voters admitted to participate in the referendum would be prepared in each administrative district. The list would include all persons registered on the electoral rolls of the Territory who were able to provide evidence that they had resided in the Territory for at least three years, the date for calculating the period of residence being the date on which the electoral roll was closed.

(e) Any person registered on the electoral rolls of the Territory might contest the inclusion of a voter on the list of voters entitled to participate in the referendum or his own omission from the said list. Compliance with the three-year residence requirement would be provided by the production of an identity paper used for administrative purposes.

(f) Each political party would be entitled to designate a delegate to be present at each polling centre to supervise the voting, the sorting of the ballot papers and the counting of votes.

(g) The supervisor of each polling centre would be appointed in the manner established by the laws and decrees in force in the Territory. The functions of scrutineer would be undertaken by a representative of each political party, selected on the eve of the poll by the delegates referred to above (f) from among voters registered in the administrative districts.

(h) Each person entitled to participate in the referendum would be given a special card, known as "referendum participant's card", indicating the polling centre which the holder was required to attend on the day of the referendum.

(i) All political parties which were duly registered would be entitled to participate in the campaign prior to the referendum. This campaign would open on the second Sunday preceding polling day and would close on the Friday preceding polling day.

(j) During the campaign prior to the referendum, the representative of the Republic of France in the

Territory would take the necessary measures to ensure that the following documents giving information on the purpose and scope of the referendum were posted on boards reserved for such use and were supplied to each voter:

- (i) The text of the law organizing the referendum.
- (ii) The text of the decree establishing the procedure for the referendum.
- (iii) The document outlining the institutions which the Territory would have in the event of an affirmative answer.

(k) A special commission, called the Commission de contrôle, composed of a president and five members appointed by decree of the French Government from the ranks of high officials and magistrates, would ensure that voters in the referendum can express their views freely and frankly. The Commission might be represented in each administrative district by one or more delegates.

Date of the referendum

21. On 18 January 1967, the French Council of Ministers fixed 19 March 1967 as the date on which the referendum would be held in French Somaliland.

Revised statute for French Somaliland

22. Following the meeting of the Council of Ministers held on 18 January 1967, the Minister of State for Overseas Departments and Territories announced that a text containing the main elements of a revised statute for French Somaliland had been approved.

23. The main elements of the revised statute, as contained in the statement of the Minister of State for Overseas Departments and Territories in the French National Assembly during the discussion of the law organizing the referendum include the following:

(a) French Somaliland would have the status of an Overseas Territory within the French Republic endowed with a large measure of autonomy. Its population would be represented in the French Parliament and in the French Economic and Social Council. The organs of government and administration would be a Government Council (Conseil de gouvernement) and a Chamber of Deputies (Chambre des députés).

(b) The Government Council, in which the various communities of the Territory would have equitable representation, would be elected by the Chamber of Deputies and would comprise a president, two vice-presidents and seven other ministers. The Council would be responsible for the administration of territorial services and would prepare draft laws to be submitted to the Chamber of Deputies. The Council would assume the existing functions of the Governor in his capacity of head of the Territory (*chef du territoire*).

(c) Members of the Chamber of Deputies would be elected by universal suffrage according to rules approved by the Chamber itself, bearing in mind the equitable representation of the various communities. Both organs, the Chamber of Deputies and the Government Council, would have the initiative in proposing legislation concerning territorial matters with the exception of financial matters in which only the Council would have the initiative.

(d) The Government Council would be responsible before the Chamber of Deputies. A motion of censure of the Council could be proposed by the Chamber of Deputies. Conversely, on the advice of the Government

Council, the High Commissioner (see (e) below) would be empowered to propose to the Government of France the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies.

(e) The Government of France would be represented in the Territory by a High Commissioner, who would assume responsibility for external affairs, defence, currency, enforcement of laws and international accords and the safeguarding of individual rights and liberties.

24. A delegation which included Mr. Mohamed Khamil, Vice-President, Mr. Hassan Gouled, Minister of Education, and nine other members, elected by the Territorial Assembly, was reported to have gone to Paris for consultations on the new statute early in January 1967.

25. According to later reports, on 20 January, four members of the Government Council had sent their resignations to the Governor of French Somaliland. They were: Mr. Hassan Gouled, Minister of Education; Mr. Abdi Warsama, Minister of Labour; Mr. Idriss Farah, Minister of Internal Affairs; and Mr. Ibrahim Ahmed Bouraleh, Minister in charge of the Civil Service.

Political parties

26. Information on political organizations in the Territory is found in the paragraphs below.

27. *Union démocratique Afar (UDA)*. Mr. Mohamed Khamil, Vice-President of the Government Council, and Mr. Mohamed Ahmed Issa are prominent members of this party. In October 1966, the party was reported to have declared itself in favour of independence, and to have formed, with the Parti du mouvement populaire, a co-ordinating committee under Mr. Mohammed Ahmed Issa.

28. In January 1967, after the consultations on the new statute mentioned in paragraph 24 above, Mr. Mohamed Khamil was reported to have made public a declaration announcing that he would campaign for a "yes" vote in the referendum. Having consulted the Committee of the UDA, it was reported, he considered that the draft statute, of which the main lines were examined in Paris with representatives of the French Government, constituted at present a satisfactory stage on the path towards independence. In his opinion, it represented an intermediate solution between maintaining the statute of 1957 which was outdated and a premature, immediate independence.

29. *Rassemblement démocratique Afar (RDA)*. This party is led by Mr. Ali Aref, former Vice-President of the Government Council. Another prominent member of the party, Mr. Hamadou Barkat Gourat, is at present the Senator for French Somaliland. The party favoured a "yes" vote in the referendum.

30. *Parti du mouvement populaire (PMP)*. Mr. Ahmad Idriss Moussa, its leader, was until April 1967 French Somaliland's deputy in the French National Assembly. The Secretary-General of the party is Mr. Hassan Gouled, former Senator and Minister of Education. The party was reported to favour a "no" vote in the referendum.

31. *Union démocratique Issa (UDI)*. The leader of this party was Mr. Hassan Gouled. In February 1967, Mr. Umar Farah denied a report broadcast by Radio Djibouti, according to which the UDI had merged with the PMP, and announced that the party would shortly be issuing a manifesto declaring its stand on the coming referendum.

32. Representatives of the political movements outside the Territory, Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis (FLCS), centred in Mogadiscio, and Mouvement de libération de Djibouti (MLD), centred at Dire-Dawa, were heard by the Special Committee in 1966.

The referendum

33. The official returns of the referendum in French Somaliland, which was held on 19 March 1967, were reported to be as follows:

Registered voters	39,312
Votes cast	37,221
In favour of continued association with France ...	22,555
Against	14,666

34. The eligible electorate totalled 39,000. French citizens over twenty-one years of age who could justify three years' residence in French Somaliland were eligible to vote. About 14,700 Somalis were registered, compared with 22,000 Afars. In addition, there were about 1,400 Arab and 900 French expatriate registered voters.

35. The total population of the Territory was reported to be 125,000 of which some 58,000 were Somalis while the Afars numbered approximately 48,000. The population also included Europeans and Arabs. Out of the total of 125,000, some 87,000 were considered to have French citizenship.

Disturbances after the referendum

36. On 20 March 1967, violent rioting broke out in Djibouti following the announcement of the referendum results. At least eleven persons were killed that day, as French troops were called in to crush rioting in the Somali quarter. The Governor declared a state of emergency, all meetings and gatherings of more than five persons were forbidden and a curfew was imposed from 6.30 p.m. to 6.30 a.m. On 26 March, it was reported that there had been more than twenty deaths since the riots broke out.

37. About 1,000 French paratroopers were flown in from France. More than 2,000 Somalis from Djibouti were reported to have been rounded up by French troops and taken to a deportation camp in the desert. On 22 March, the camp was reported to contain more than 4,000 people who were being screened to decide which of them would be expelled to the neighbouring Republic of Somalia, about twelve miles away.

Territory's political life after the referendum

38. On the morning of the referendum, the leader of the Parti du mouvement populaire (PMP), Mr. Ahmad Idriss Moussa, declared that his party would not take part in the Territory's formal political life. This stand was confirmed by Mr. Hassan Gouled, the Secretary-General of the PMP and a former government Minister, who declared that the party would not take part in any new government and would not participate in any discussion of the new statute. It was claimed by the party that the referendum had been rigged.

39. On 26 March, the Governor met with five Somali leaders, including Mr. Hassan Gouled, and asked them to reconsider their position on participation in the political life of the Territory. The Somali leaders were reported to have declared that they would consider joining the Government if France met several

conditions that amounted merely to rescinding the security measures imposed after the rioting broke out. The Governor said later that he had planned to cut back the security measures if calm continued. The Somali members of the Assembly subsequently agreed to the reconvening of the Assembly.

Meeting of the Territorial Assembly and election of the new Government Council

40. The Territorial Assembly of French Somaliland was convened in extraordinary session on 5 April 1967 and, on 6 April, it elected a new Government Council headed by Mr. Ali Aref, leader of the Rassemblement démocratique Afar as Vice-President.⁷ Mr. Ali Aref was also Vice-President of the Government Council from 1960 to 1966, when he resigned following the incidents accompanying the visit of President de Gaulle and was replaced by Mr. Mohamed Khamil, leader of the Union démocratique Afar.

41. None of the ministers in the new Council was Somali. The four Somali Ministers of the previous Government Council had resigned in January 1967. Somali deputies attended the extraordinary session of the Territorial Assembly with the exception of Mr. Ahmad Idriss Moussa, leader of the PMP, but refrained from designating candidates for election to the Government Council.

42. Later, on 7 July, a new Council was elected, also headed by Mr. Ali Aref. This Council included two Issa ministers but remained under control of the Afars.

Election of a deputy to the French National Assembly

43. The election of a deputy from French Somaliland to the French National Assembly took place on 23 April 1967. The successful candidate was Mr. Abdoukadar Moussa Ali, an Afar who polled 20,167 votes compared with 11,052 votes for his chief rival Mr. Idriss Farah Abaneh, a Somali. These figures were released on the morning of 24 April. The previous deputy to the French National Assembly (see paragraph 30 above) had been Mr. Ahmad Idriss Moussa, a Somali who had decided not to run for re-election as a gesture of protest against the results of the referendum of 19 March which he contended had been rigged. Only inhabitants with valid French citizenship papers were allowed to vote.

Action of the French National Assembly on the results of the March referendum

44. On 13 June 1967, the French National Assembly passed a bill relating to the organization of the Territory. The bill gave effect to the results of the referendum held in the Territory on 19 March, according to which the Territory was to remain within the French Republic under a revised statute.

45. The provisions of the bill which were largely in conformity with the details announced prior to the referendum (see paragraphs 22-25 above) had been approved by the Territorial Assembly with certain amendments, some of which were accepted and some rejected by the French National Assembly.

46. Among these proposals, the National Assembly approved an amendment concerning the retention of authority of the French State over the aerodrome, the port of Djibouti and immigration. On the other hand,

⁷ The President was Mr. Louis Saget, Governor of the Territory.

while accepting the principle of equitable representation in the Territorial Chamber of Deputies, the Assembly turned down a suggestion that representation of groups in the Chamber should be on a *pro rata* basis.

47. A proposal by the Territorial Assembly to change the name of the Territory to that of Territoire français des Afars (French Territory of the Afars) was replaced by an amendment changing the name of the Territory to Territoire français des Afars et des Issas (French Territory of the Afars and the Issas).

48. Following the adoption of the renewed statute by the French National Assembly on 13 June, the French Council of Ministers appointed Mr. Louis Saget as High Commissioner of the Territory. Mr. Saget had been Governor of the Territory since September 1966.

Lifting of the curfew

49. The curfew imposed as a result of the disorders which occurred after the referendum of 19 March was lifted on 22 June. It was reported that the announcement on the same day of the adoption by the French Parliament of the new law on the organization of the Territory had been received with no apparent reaction.

C. Consideration by the Special Committee

Introduction

50. The Special Committee considered French Somaliland on four separate occasions during 1967. It considered the Territory at its 499th, 500th, 502nd and 503rd meetings held at Headquarters between 9 and 15 March, shortly before the holding of the referendum.

51. During its consideration of this item, the Special Committee had before it, in addition to the petitions listed below, the report submitted by the Secretary-General in compliance with paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) (see Annex to this chapter below) and a letter on the question of French Somaliland from the Permanent Representative of Somalia to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee (A/AC.109/233).

52. In a letter dated 27 February 1967 (A/AC.109/225), the Permanent Representative of Somalia to the United Nations requested that his delegation be allowed to participate in the Special Committee's consideration of French Somaliland. The Committee decided without objection to accede to that request.

Written petitions

53. The Special Committee circulated the following petitions concerning French Somaliland:

<i>Petitioner</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
Mr. Abdillahi Ardeye, Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis (FLCS)	A/AC.109/PET.579
Messrs. Ibrahim Egeh, exiled Secretary of Trade Union, Omer Abubakar Farah, Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis, and Mohamed Ali Subakleh, exiled Treasurer, Parti du mouvement populaire	A/AC.109/PET.615
Messrs. Abdulrahman Ahmed Gabot, ex-parliamentarian and Vice-President of the Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis, and Mohamoud Obsiye, ex-Parliamentarian and Secretary-General of FLCS	A/AC.109/PET.616

<i>Petitioner</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
Mr. Ali Ahmed Udun, ex-Parliamentarian and member of the Union démocratique Afar	A/AC.109/PET.617
Mr. Abdillahi Youssouf, Secretary-General, Co-ordination Bureau of the Parti du mouvement populaire and Union démocratique Afar	A/AC.109/PET.618
Mr. Abdillahi Wabery, Vice-President, Parti du mouvement populaire	A/AC.109/PET.619
Mr. Abdillahi Osman and four others, Deportée Centre Committee, Zeilah	A/AC.109/PET.620

General statements

54. The representative of Somalia said that an explosive situation which was a potential threat to the peace of Africa had developed in French Somaliland, particularly since August 1966. In his report (annex, para. 4), the Secretary-General had informed the Committee that he had been unable to obtain a reply from the French Government regarding arrangements for a United Nations presence before and during the holding of the referendum, in accordance with operative paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI). The matter was urgent, as the referendum was to be held on 19 March 1967.

55. In October 1966, the Committee had heard petitioners from French Somaliland who had painted a sad picture of the irregularities in the 1958 referendum and of the situation of the inhabitants since that time. They had shown that the 1967 referendum would not be a true expression of the popular will unless the French colonial authorities drastically changed their policies, which included political arrests, the suppression of political activities within the Territory and arbitrary expulsions. Since November 1966, the number of refugees from the Territory in Somalia had risen to 8,000. The vast majority were *bona fide* citizens of the Territory who had been expelled because the local authorities believed that they would vote "no" in the referendum. Most of them were destitute and the Somali Government had been obliged to call on international humanitarian organizations, including the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, for assistance. As the Somali delegation had repeatedly emphasized, the population of French Somaliland was relatively small, and measures which deprived even a few thousands of their right to vote in the referendum could, therefore, have a decisive impact on its outcome.

56. General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence and requested the administering Power, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to make arrangements for the United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the holding of the referendum. The nature of that presence was not prescribed, so that the wishes and sensibilities of the administering Power were taken into full consideration. It was most regrettable that the French Government had not seen fit to accede to the General Assembly's request.

57. The French Government was also disregarding other provisions of that resolution which were intended to ensure a fair referendum. The referendum was governed by Act No. 66-949 of 22 December 1966, adopted by the French Parliament and by a French Presidential

Decree, No. 67-73 of 26 January 1967. The voters were to vote "yes" or "no" to the following question: "Do you wish the Territory to remain part of the French Republic with the revised statute of government and administration, the essential elements of which have been brought to your knowledge?" There was no reference to independence, and the revised statute of government and administration had still been unavailable on 3 March 1967, when the Secretariat's working paper on French Somaliland (see paras. 1-49 above) had been circulated.

58. In order to vote, an elector had to fulfil three requirements. First, his name must appear on the electoral rolls. Secondly, he must prove at least three years' residence in the Territory by producing official documents, such as identification papers, an iniquitous and unreasonable requirement for a population which was largely nomadic and unfamiliar with written documents. Thirdly, his name must be on the special voters' list for the referendum, and additional stipulation which would undoubtedly cost many indigenous inhabitants their vote. Only persons already on the general electoral rolls could be put on the special list. Thus, anyone excluded from the general roll was automatically excluded from the special list. He was also denied the right to protest against his exclusion, as protests could be made only by persons on the general electoral rolls and there was no provision for complaints on behalf of third persons. Furthermore, the complaint had to be made within five days after the completion of the lists and in a strict legal form. Lastly, all complaints were considered by the Returns and Adjudication Commission, which was composed of three persons, all French nationals. He did not wish to suggest that they were biased, but he could not help regretting that the indigenous population was not represented on any of the bodies running the referendum.

59. The people's participation in the actual balloting was restricted also. Each authorized political party was, in principle, entitled to participate in the supervision of the voting and counting of the votes but it must be registered before the promulgation of the Decree of 26 January 1967 and have made its request not more than three days afterwards. In addition, the supervisor must himself be on the special voters' list for the area concerned. Thus, in areas where the pro-independence parties were weak and had no delegates registered, they would be unable to participate in the supervision of the balloting. The French colonial authorities were making participation even more difficult in other ways also. For instance, there were thirty-five new polling stations, all of which were located in remote and sparsely populated areas where the pro-independence parties could be expected to be weak. As had already been pointed out in the Committee, a colonial Power might well elude its responsibilities under General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) by manipulating elections; the inhabitants of French Somaliland would view the referendum with greater confidence if the procedures for conducting it were such as to remove all doubts of its fairness.

60. Campaigning in the referendum was restricted in two ways. Firstly, only political parties fulfilling the requirements of the Decree of 26 January 1967 were entitled to campaign, which meant that campaigning by individuals or informal groups could be prohibited and punished. Secondly, even the authorized political parties

could campaign only during a period of twelve days ending two days before the balloting. That was a severe handicap to the political parties, as campaigning in a country like French Somaliland was arduous and time-consuming. In addition, political leaders who favoured independence had either been imprisoned on trumped-up charges or denied their democratic right to form political associations and hold public meetings. There was discrimination also in the registration of the voters, indigenous citizens being given less time to register than foreign residents who had no stake in the political future of the Territory. Furthermore, it was unjust that younger voters, who had not been old enough to be put on the electoral rolls when they had last been up-dated, should be excluded from participation in the referendum. Four Somali Ministers had resigned in protest against the French colonial administration's attitude towards different political groups and its preparations for the referendum.

61. There were, therefore, legitimate grounds for doubting the intentions of the French Government regarding the Territory's future. For that reason, the General Assembly had decided that a United Nations presence before and during the referendum was desirable. The fact that the French Government had not responded to the General Assembly's request did not relieve the United Nations of its responsibilities in the matter.

62. The Organization of African Unity had considered the latest developments in French Somaliland on 4 March 1967 and had appealed to France to do its utmost to ensure that the coming referendum was conducted in a just and democratic manner and to the people of the Territory to continue their united efforts to achieve self-determination and independence.

63. The Committee must express itself clearly and without delay on the situation in French Somaliland. It might wish, among other things, to set up a sub-committee to go immediately to the Territory and obtain impartial information about the situation there before, during and immediately after the referendum. If the sub-committee could not go to the Territory, he was authorized by his Government to invite it to obtain pertinent information in Somalia, in a place or places to be determined by the Committee or the sub-committee, as appropriate. He did not, however, wish to impose any solution on the Committee, which would doubtless know how to acquit itself of its urgent responsibilities under General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI).

64. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said it was regrettable that the Secretary-General had not yet received any response from the Government of France concerning the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI). The question of French Somaliland had been before the United Nations for a long time and yet the administering Power had ignored a request from the United Nations made in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which was fully applicable to that Territory. It was true that, although the French Government had refused to participate in any discussion of the rights of the people of French Somaliland to self-determination and independence, it had decided to hold a referendum in the Territory. Unfortunately, however, the referendum had certain features which could only

be described as intimidating. As *The Economist* had pointed out, the French had been brutally frank about their judgement of the prospects of the Territory if it chose independence. It was well known that the people of French Somaliland had been told that if they chose independence, the administering Power would sever relations, discontinue aid and provide no assistance whatsoever. His delegation had always maintained that economic and territorial considerations should not be used to impede independence. Furthermore, the question which was to be put to the people was not at all clear. They were to be asked whether or not they wished the Territory to remain part of the French Republic with the new statute of government and administration which had already been outlined. There was no real choice and no guarantee that, if they did not vote "yes", they would obtain independence.

65. In addition, it had been reported that several thousand citizens of the Territory had been refused registration for the referendum because they had not participated in the French presidential elections and that thousands more who had recently reached voting age had also been refused registration. That was another form of intimidation. It was therefore the duty of the Committee to make provision for a United Nations presence in French Somaliland to see that the people of the Territory were given a free choice without any form of intimidation. The Committee should ask the Secretary-General to consider the possibility of sending a mission to French Somaliland for that purpose as soon as possible. He expressed the hope that, despite all intimidation, the people of French Somaliland would exercise its right to self-determination and independence.

66. The representative of Mali said that no response had yet been received by the Secretary-General from the Government of France to the request made in operative paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI). That recommendation was morally binding upon the administering Power and it should take steps to comply with it.

67. His delegation had always held that the people of the Territory concerned must always be consulted in any act of decolonization. In French Somaliland, however, the process of consultation had already begun. The people were to be asked a clear and specific question, namely whether they wished the Territory to remain part of the French Republic with the new statute of government and administration which had already been outlined to them. The decision now lay with the people themselves; if they voted in favour, it would mean that they agreed to remain part of the French Republic, and if they voted against, it would mean that they wanted total independence. He himself was entirely confident in the people of French Somaliland who alone were in a position to know their best interests, and his country would respect their decision. Moreover, it was confident that, as General de Gaulle had stated, France would have no objections if the people chose independence.

68. The Committee should therefore give new instructions to the Secretary-General regarding his report. There were two alternatives: either the Secretary-General could be requested through the Chairman of the Committee to urge the Government of France to furnish information as a matter of urgency regarding the steps taken or envisaged by it in implementation of

General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI), or the Committee could implement the resolution adopted by the Organization of African Unity on 4 March 1967 appealing to the administering Power to allow the referendum to take place in freedom and justice.

69. From its own experience, Mali knew that when the French Government organized a referendum a clear question was put to the people; it had itself proceeded to independence by means of a referendum and the French Government had respected its decision. It believed that in French Somaliland, too, France would respect the decision of the people.

70. The representative of Somalia said that the first procedure outlined by the representative of Mali, while certainly desirable, was not sufficient. An invitation to the French Government at the present stage to furnish information on the preparations for the referendum would be a mere formality. Ever since the so-called referendum in 1958, France had taken the position that the people of French Somaliland had exercised their right to self-determination and that the Territory was no longer a Non-Self-Governing Territory. It had accordingly refused to submit information as required under Article 73 *e* of the Charter. The French Government had refused to participate in the debate on the question of French Somaliland during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly and it was clear from the Secretary-General's report (see annex below) that it did not intend to implement any of the relevant resolutions. Had France lived up to its responsibilities, the Committee would now be in a position to deal expeditiously with the question. However, unless it had all the facts before it, it could hardly make valid and reasonable recommendations.

71. The Committee should also bear in mind the time factor. Admittedly, the decision made in the referendum would be the people's decision. However, the Committee should ensure that the people were allowed to express themselves freely. One way of enabling the Committee to gain more information would perhaps be to ask the visiting mission which was soon to go to Aden to examine the situation prevailing in French Somaliland. At a recent meeting of the Committee (A/AC.109/SR.487), the representatives of Yugoslavia, Iran and Mali had expressed themselves in favour of the dispatch of visiting missions to examine the situation in small Territories. They had advocated a United Nations presence as a general method of helping the cause of colonial peoples, although, admittedly, their comments had related to the organization of the Committee's work and not to the situation of the kind now existing in French Somaliland. The Committee could not adopt a leisurely approach; a referendum was imminent and General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) not only requested United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the referendum, but gave the Special Committee particular duties and responsibilities, as was obvious from the fact that the Secretary-General had been asked to report to the Committee about the arrangements. In other words, the Committee should not confine itself to discussing the theoretical advantages of a United Nations presence and a visiting mission but should consider what it should do about the refusal of the administering Power to make such arrangements.

72. It was regrettable that the Committee had not dealt with the situation in French Somaliland with

the urgency it deserved. At the last session, every possible manoeuvre had been used to delay a debate on the question and the Committee had merely submitted all the evidence it had gathered to the Fourth Committee and had not formulated any recommendations. The situation at present was similar; the Working Group had considered the matter and had not thought fit to give the question of French Somaliland adequate priority. In view of the fact that ten days before the referendum was to take place France had still not made the arrangements requested by General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI), the Committee should take action and not merely issue a last-minute appeal for information. Such ineffective measures would damage the trust placed in the Committee by the peoples concerned and harm the reputation of the Committee within the United Nations. He had, in that connexion, been encouraged by the remarks made by the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. He could not, however, agree with the remarks made by the representative of Mali concerning France. France was a colonial Power and would remain a colonial Power as long as it had colonial Territories in its possession. The Committee itself had recognized that French Somaliland was a Non-Self-Governing Territory, and, as such, it was entitled to the consideration of all members of the Committee.

73. While it would have been preferable for a United Nations presence to have been established in French Somaliland during the referendum—and the Committee might perhaps wish to make a last-minute appeal to that effect—he felt that the Committee should take all the necessary steps to dispatch a sub-committee to the border region of French Somaliland to investigate the situation for itself.

74. The representative of Mali said that his delegation was convinced that the process of decolonization had already begun in French Somaliland. Mali had always fought to ensure that people were consulted regarding their right to self-determination and their future, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). As a result of certain political events which had taken place in 1966, the Government of France had now put a clear and specific question to the people of French Somaliland. Therefore, it was for the people of that Territory to decide whether they wished to remain French or to become independent, and Mali would respect their decision. With regard to the conduct of the referendum, he reiterated that Mali had proceeded to independence in the same fashion and had complete confidence in the French Government.

75. The representative of Ethiopia said that Ethiopia continued to believe that French Somaliland had the right to be freed from colonial rule. It stood by the people of the Territory in the defence of their interests. It wished to maintain and strengthen mutual relations, interdependence and co-operation based upon mutual respect and benefit. It looked forward to the day when all the peoples of Africa would be able to put aside the petty differences and prejudices which were the unfortunate heritage of their colonial past and strive together in harmony for their mutual benefit.

76. The report of the Secretary-General (see annex) stemmed from operative paragraphs 4 and 5 of General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI). When the resolution had been discussed in the Fourth Committee, a number of delegations, including his own, had felt

that, since France had already taken steps to hold a referendum in French Somaliland, it would be untimely to ask the General Assembly to recommend a United Nations presence at that particular stage. He himself had stated that, while it did support the general principle of a United Nations presence, his delegation did not think that a United Nations presence was necessary in each and every case of decolonization. In view of the fact that the referendum had been set for a specific date, and that preparations for it were well under way, it had been thought that insistence on a United Nations presence in French Somaliland might in fact hamper the movement towards freedom. Two other considerations had also been taken into account.

77. First, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, in its resolution of 9 November 1966, had merely noted the decision of the French Government to hold a referendum and expressed the desire that the voting should be on an entirely free, democratic and impartial basis. At a recent meeting, the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity had appealed to the administering Power to do its utmost to ensure that the referendum was conducted in a just and democratic manner in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity. It had also appealed to the people of the Territory to continue their united effort in achieving their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. Both those bodies had recognized that the referendum should be given a trial and that the referendum was a decisive step forward in the process of decolonization.

78. The second consideration had been the knowledge that many countries in both Africa and Asia had achieved their freedom without a United Nations presence. It had been thought that, if the United Nations had insisted on such a presence, arguments about decolonization would still be going on in countries which were now independent, to the obvious advantage of the colonial Powers. Admittedly, freedom from colonial rule had not been achieved easily or without great sacrifice; the will and the determination of the peoples themselves had been the principal factors in the victory for freedom. Furthermore, such colonial Powers as Portugal and South Africa, which were blind to the dictates of justice and reason, had to be distinguished from those which recognized the need for a change from a relationship based on servitude to one based upon mutually beneficial relations between free and sovereign peoples. France itself, though regrettably and, in his view, unjustifiably absent from the Committee's deliberations, had given a commendable example of peaceful decolonization, which he hoped it would live up to in French Somaliland. He was, however, particularly unhappy about its lack of response to the Secretary-General's communication, and appealed to the Government of France to resume its place in the Committee and establish communication with the Secretary-General.

79. One of the major difficulties the Committee faced was the lack of full and accurate information on the prevailing situation, in particular with reference to political parties. It was difficult, and even dangerous, to rely on information derived from a single source. The Committee had to hear the views of all sides if its conclusions were to be valuable and just. That

was precisely why he would urge the administering Power to supply the supplementary information which would enable the Committee to draw fair and valid conclusions.

80. While he had reservations about the advisability of insisting on a United Nations presence in French Somaliland, he did feel that respect for General Assembly resolutions was of paramount importance. He therefore urged the Government of France to assist the Secretary-General in a spirit of positive co-operation and of dedication to the principles of the Charter.

81. The representative of Syria thanked the representative of Somalia for his very useful statement at the previous meeting which had helped to keep the Committee informed about French Somaliland. He did, however, feel some anxiety about the situation. The referendum called for by the French Government was to present the people with a choice between attaining total independence and remaining part of the French Republic with a new statute of government and administration. While his delegation welcomed the decision of the administering Power to hold the referendum, thus recognizing the right to self-determination and independence of yet another dependent Territory, it was important, as the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity had confirmed in its recent appeal to the administering Power, that the right to self-determination and independence should be expressed freely and democratically, without intimidation or pressure. For that reason the General Assembly, in resolution 2228 (XXI), had urged the administering Power to create a proper political climate for the referendum. His delegation had voted in favour of operative paragraph 4 of that resolution recommending a United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the holding of the referendum in French Somaliland because it was convinced that that was the only way the people of the Territory would be able freely to determine their political status in accordance with operative paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

82. The representative of Sierra Leone recalled that General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) had urged the administering Power to create a proper political climate in French Somaliland for a referendum to be conducted on an entirely free and democratic basis. His delegation was disappointed at France's failure to co-operate, as reported by the Secretary-General (see annex). By its silence, France gave the impression of treating the United Nations with contempt. His delegation had always regretted France's refusal to supply information on the Territory under Article 73 *e* of the Charter and hoped that it would adopt a more enlightened approach in future.

83. The French Government's decision to hold a referendum, taken after demonstrations in French Somaliland during President de Gaulle's visit in August 1966, had been a tacit admission that the Territory had not been decolonized and that at least a sizable part of the population demanded some change. Such a move on France's part had been most welcome. But there were complaints about the choice to be offered to the inhabitants in the referendum, scheduled for 19 March 1967. When an administering Power was considering a form of association rather than independence, it was imperative that the people should choose freely and on the basis of absolute equality. But

the people of French Somaliland had been informed that if they chose independence rather than association, France would pull out completely and sever all connexions, including financial assistance. That constituted a threat and a curtailment of the people's freedom of choice. Moreover, the people of the Territory should have greater latitude to opt for other kinds of self-determination. There had been complaints, too, about the way in which the electoral rolls had been compiled, the exclusion of certain voters, and the deportation of people who claimed to be inhabitants of the Territory.

84. In the circumstances, it might have been better for the administering Power to allow a United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the holding of a referendum. An administering Power should create a climate of confidence; instead, by its non-co-operation with the United Nations, France had given rise to controversy and fear for the free expression of the people's will. It was perhaps not too late for the Special Committee and France to agree to a United Nations presence in the Territory. But if France should refuse to accept a United Nations offer to supervise the referendum, his delegation would urge that the Committee should consider the Somali Government's invitation to send a mission to the area. Such a step would have a salutary psychological effect on the peoples of French Somaliland, reassuring them of the Organization's active participation in their struggle for independence.

85. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that his delegation had voted for General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of French Somaliland to self-determination and independence. The resolution had also invited the administering Power to ensure that the right of self-determination was freely exercised and to create a proper political climate for a referendum to be conducted on a free and democratic basis. But the information received by the Committee indicated that the political rights and freedoms of the population, as well as the activities of political parties in favour of independence, were being curtailed. He expressed the hope that the administering Power would take the resolution of the General Assembly and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples into account and afford the people of French Somaliland a genuine opportunity to express their sovereign will concerning their future. The USSR delegation had indicated its position in the past and remained in favour of a United Nations presence in the Territory during the referendum.

86. The representative of Somalia said he was glad that the Ethiopian representative agreed that, if the Committee was to make a proper judgement on the situation in French Somaliland, it must have all the facts. It would be dangerous for the Committee to act on any representation by one State or party; that was why his delegation had invited the Committee to send a mission to the area. He did not agree with the representative who had said that, because his country had undergone the same process of decolonization which French Somaliland was experiencing, there should be no need for a United Nations presence. Particular situations required particular treatment.

87. During the debate on French Somaliland at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the representative of Ceylon had eloquently argued the case for a United Nations presence during the proposed

referendum. He had expressed doubt as to whether the question to be put to the people—whether they wished the Territory to remain within the framework of the French Republic under a remodelled Statute—would give them a genuine opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. Many former French Territories that had opted for limited self-government within the French community in 1958 were now fully independent States, and it was hard to see why French Somaliland should be discriminated against. The French Minister for Overseas Territories had stated that if the people chose independence they would have to accept the “risks” of such a course: the likelihood of civil war and foreign invasion (A/C.4/SR.1666, pp. 13 and 14). It was clear that the administering Power was pressuring the people on a matter of vital importance to their future. The withdrawal of all aid from the Territory merely because it opted for independence was scarcely a sign of goodwill on the part of the administering Power. It accorded ill with what General de Gaulle had said about the great assistance given by the Somalis of French Somaliland to the cause of peace and freedom during the Second World War.

88. The people of French Somaliland had paid dearly for their attempt to bring their situation before the United Nations. Many had been killed, wounded or rendered destitute in their demonstrations for freedom. Time was running out, and the Committee must take immediate action. He hoped that, concurrently with further representations to France, the Committee would establish a sub-committee to go to the area. If the people of French Somaliland should vote “no” in the referendum and France decided to withdraw in the same manner as it had withdrawn from Guinea, the people of a Non-Self-Governing Territory would be thrown onto the international market. The United Nations had a responsibility to exercise foresight, so that it would, if necessary, be in a position to give the Territory all the assistance it required until it was able to stand firmly in its own feet.

89. The representative of Somalia, pointing out that only a few days remained before 19 March, the date fixed for the referendum in French Somaliland, noted that the international Press, and even the French Press, had published reports, confirming the information which he had submitted to the Committee on the abnormal political situation in the Territory and demonstrating the urgent need for action to remedy that situation.

90. For example, a Reuters dispatch dated 10 March said that Foreign Legion troops had cordoned off the native part of Djibouti and had checked the identity cards of the people there. Similarly, *Le Monde* of 11 March had carried an *Agence France Presse* report which said that the armed forces and local police had instituted new identity controls, that streets had been blocked off and that inhabitants not carrying identity cards had been arrested and taken away in trucks, the soldiers being booed by bystanders. In its issue of 11 and 12 March, the newspaper *Le Figaro* had provided further details about the cordoning-off by troops of various sections of the town and had reported that in one incident six persons had been wounded by tear-gas grenades thrown by the troops into a group of students.

91. Djibouti lay on a peninsula connected with the mainland by a neck about seven kilometres wide. Barbed wire had been strung along the entire seven-kilometre

line some time previously in order to prevent an influx of people from the interior into the town. Since the incidents of August 1966, according to *Le Figaro*, it had taken on the aspect of a military fortification and suspects, in other words, persons unable to prove that they were residents of the town, were being deported to the area outside that line.

92. In those conditions, it seemed doubtful whether the Territory would be able to exercise its right to self-determination freely and peacefully, particularly in view of the strict conditions that the inhabitants had to fulfil in order to participate in the referendum: they had to be enrolled on the electoral list, furnish proof of three-year residence and be enrolled on the special voters' list for the referendum. As those lists had long been closed, persons not possessing identity papers could not influence the outcome of the referendum, and it was, therefore, difficult to see why they were being harassed. It was also difficult to understand why *Le Monde* of 11 March should describe as anti-French the appearance of the slogan: “Let us struggle for freedom and independence”.

93. Recent petitions from French Somaliland personalities who had been expelled or deported stressed the gravity of the situation in the Territory.

94. For example, a cable signed by the Secretary of a French Somaliland Trade Union, a member of the Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis, and the Treasurer of the Parti du mouvement populaire, all three of them exiles, protested that 8,000 persons possessing all required documents had been refused registration on the electoral lists (A/AC.109/PET.615). The exiled Vice-President of the Parti du mouvement populaire referred to the illegal issuance of citizenship documents or voting cards to non-indigenous persons, including their families, and newly arrived French soldiers, and denounced the establishment of bogus political parties (A/AC.109/PET.619). Five members of the Deportée Centre Committee at Zeilah asserted that the illegal deportation of citizens was continuing to take place and that mass arrests were deliberately designed to reduce the number of indigenous voters; they also referred to the unfair distribution of polling stations, citing as an illustration the fact that Djibouti had only twelve balloting stations, while in the smaller town of Tadjora, where a “yes” vote was expected, the number had risen from eight to twenty (A/AC.109/PET.620). That complaint was also made by the Vice-President and the Secretary-General of the Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis, both former Parliamentarians of the Territory (A/AC.109/PET.616). According to another petition from a former Parliamentarian and member of the Union démocratique Afar the authorities had ruled that political parties would be forbidden to send representatives to polling stations as observers (A/AC.109/PET.617).

95. He recalled that the Parti du mouvement populaire and the Union démocratique Afar had united their efforts with a view to gaining independence. As he had said on 9 March 1967, the French Government Decree of 26 January 1967 specifically provided for the presence of authorized observers from the political parties as supervisors of the balloting; that system, although circumscribed by severe restrictions, was the only one under which indigenous persons could participate in the organization of the referendum.

96. Lastly, he quoted from the petition from Mr. Abdillahi Youssof, Secretary-General of the Co-ordination Bureau of the same two parties. In his communication, the petitioner said that the Co-ordination Bureau had been destroyed by the local authorities, who had imprisoned 55 of its members, including its chairman, and had deported its Secretary-General, although he had been born and educated at Djibouti and had never been imprisoned; it was known that a provision not included in the Decree of 26 January 1967 excluded from voting all persons who had ever served a prison sentence of thirty days or more, irrespective of the date or cause of that imprisonment.

97. It was no wonder that the petitioners should appeal to the Committee to emphasize the need for a United Nations presence. Those French Somaliland Parliamentarians and public figures had been expelled in violation of articles 11 and 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX); he drew the Committee's attention to the preamble and operative paragraph 5 of the resolution. He recognized that the Committee was not obliged to accept without question the statements of the petitioners or even those in the Paris Press and he recalled that he had merely urged that the Committee should obtain as much information as possible and, to that end, send a sub-committee to French Somaliland or the adjacent border regions of Somalia.

98. In resolution 2228 (XXI), the General Assembly had solemnly urged that the referendum should be conducted on a democratic basis and had decided to retain the question of French Somaliland on its agenda; therefore, the Committee's responsibilities towards the Territory would not come to an end on 19 March.

99. In that connexion, he believed there was a possibility that disturbances and complications might arise following the referendum, and that possibility should be borne in mind by the Committee. The next few months would, in any case, be crucial for the future of the Territory and its people. In the event of a "yes" majority, it was clear from the revised statute which had been prepared by the French Government that the Territory would still be Non-Self-Governing within the meaning of resolution 1514 (XV). The revised statute differed very little from the present statute for the Territory which had been established by the Basic Law of 23 June 1956. In any case, only the outline of the revised statute was known and it would probably lead to protracted discussions in the event of a "yes" majority.

100. He pointed out that if the vote went in favour of independence, under the French Law of 22 December 1966, which spoke of "consultation" rather than "referendum", the results of the vote would be submitted to the French Parliament for further decision, and the French Government was, in the meantime, authorized to declare a state of emergency in the Territory and to issue any ordinances to repeal, suspend or change any existing statute, with the sole reservation that such ordinances must be ratified by the French Parliament. As a result, the French Government would have complete freedom of action in the Territory between 19 March and 1 December and would even be able to continue to legislate by ordinance after that date, with the authorization of the French Parliament. Alternatively, the Government could de-

cide to withdraw suddenly from the Territory immediately after the referendum, if the result was in favour of independence. If that happened, his delegation hoped that the Committee would see that power was transferred in an orderly manner and would take all the necessary measures to ensure a proper transition.

101. His delegation did not claim to prejudge the outcome of the referendum of 19 March or to predict the events which would follow it. It only hoped that the referendum would be conducted fairly and justly but it considered it its duty to draw the Committee's attention to the present situation and to the unfortunate complications or crisis which might subsequently arise. The Committee should not close its eyes to the realities of the situation but should be prepared to discharge its functions in as constructive a manner as possible.

102. The representative of Bulgaria restated the position of principle of his country, which had always supported the full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the granting of independence to all colonial Territories, large or small. Thus, at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, his delegation had voted in favour of resolution 2228 (XXI), in which the General Assembly had reaffirmed the right of the people of French Somaliland to self-determination and independence and urged the administering Power to create favourable conditions for the organization of a free and democratic referendum.

103. In that connexion, he endorsed the position of the Organization of African Unity which, in a resolution adopted at Addis Ababa on 4 March, had requested the administering Power to do everything possible to ensure that the referendum could be held in complete freedom and justice. In his delegation's opinion, it was certainly both necessary and appropriate that the Special Committee, which was quite properly considering the question of French Somaliland on the recommendation of the Working Group, should in its turn address a similar appeal to the administering Power to meet the needs of the present situation. Some previous speakers had mentioned restrictions imposed on the inhabitants of the Territory in the exercise of their rights and freedoms and on the activities of political parties which were in favour of independence. At the same time, there was every indication that the movement for independence was gaining strength. His delegation therefore hoped that the administering Power would create favourable conditions in order to enable the people of French Somaliland to exercise their right to freedom and independence in conformity with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

D. Action taken by the Special Committee

104. At its 502nd meeting on 14 March 1967, the Special Committee had before it a draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.383), sponsored by Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, Syria and the United Republic of Tanzania.

105. At the same meeting, the Chairman drew the Committee's attention to a revised text of the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.383/Rev.1), sponsored by Afghanistan, Iraq, Sierra Leone, Syria and the United Republic of Tanzania. Later, in the course of the same meeting, the Chairman announced that after informal consultations, the sponsors had agreed upon a further

revision in the hope that it might help to ensure unanimous adoption of the text. The revised text was subsequently circulated as document A/AC.109/L.383/Rev.2.

106. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, introducing the draft resolution as first revised (A/AC.109/L.383/Rev.1), said that he greatly deplored the negative attitude of the French Government which had refused to co-operate in any way and to allow a United Nations presence to prepare and organize the forthcoming referendum in French Somaliland. Such an attitude on the part of the administering Power was contrary to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) and to the letter and spirit of resolution 1514 (XV), which explicitly recognized "the important role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence".

107. The refusal of the French authorities to allow a United Nations presence before and during the referendum was all the more serious since United Nations help and supervision were necessary in the circumstances, in view of the situation prevailing in the Territory; indeed, there seemed to be every indication that the administering Power was not observing faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

108. In that connexion, his delegation could only condemn the measures of intimidation to which the administering Power had resorted, since the latter did not hesitate to use threats and to speak of the "harsh consequences" that might befall the people if they decided to sever the ties which bound them to the colonial Power.

109. The petitions which had been addressed to the Committee, and which were reproduced in documents A/AC.109/PET.615-620, denounced the gross irregularities which, according to the petitioners, characterized the organization of the referendum, and threw light on the many difficulties which the population had to overcome in order to exercise its legitimate rights.

110. The sponsors of the revised draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.383/Rev.1) had taken full account of the realities of the situation. In the present circumstances, on the eve of the referendum, the Special Committee should encourage the people of the Territory by appealing to them to continue their efforts to achieve their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. It was also urgently necessary that the administering Power should comply with all the provisions of resolution 2228 (XXI), especially by ensuring that the forthcoming referendum was conducted in a just and democratic manner. Lastly, the sponsors of the draft resolution were convinced that the question of French Somaliland should be maintained on the agenda of the Committee until the conclusion of the referendum, since the Committee might be called upon to review the situation in the Territory.

111. The representative of Iraq said it was of the utmost importance that the Special Committee should adopt the draft resolution before it without delay and, if possible, unanimously. The situation prevailing in French Somaliland—which the representative of Somalia had described to the Committee—called for urgent decisions. Only a few days before the referendum, the administering Power had still not imple-

mented General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI), which requested it to make arrangements to ensure a United Nations presence before and during the referendum. The administering Power had also failed to reply to the communication addressed to it by the Secretary-General concerning the implementation of that resolution and had refused to take part in the Committee's discussions on a question concerning a Territory under its administration. Moreover, as the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania had pointed out, the administering Power was using intimidation and threats. The wording of the question put to the population was ambiguous and the inhabitants of the Territory had been told if they chose independence they would not receive any technical, economic or other assistance. The Committee should take the opportunity to point out that the Organization had a duty, under the Charter, to see that the people were given all the help they needed if they chose independence.

112. He drew the Committee's attention to operative paragraph 5 of the revised draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.383/Rev.1), to which his delegation attached particular importance. He thought that the Special Committee should remain alert in the existing circumstances and maintain the question of French Somaliland on its agenda so that it could consider the situation at any time if the referendum was held in conditions and in a manner which did not comply with the decisions of the General Assembly.

113. The representative of Uruguay, speaking after the introduction of a further revised text of the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.383/Rev.2) said that General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) contained no innovations that could justify objections on the part of the administering Power. Its operative paragraphs were fully in keeping with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and it had been adopted by an overwhelming majority. The administering Power itself had not participated in the vote. Uruguay, in line with its consistent policy in favour of the liberation of colonial peoples, had voted in favour of the resolution, including operative paragraph 4, in which the administering Power was requested to make arrangements, in consultation with the Secretary-General, for a United Nations presence before and during the holding of the proposed referendum in French Somaliland.

114. Uruguay had always held that such procedures should be supervised by the United Nations. In the booklet *Las Naciones Unidas y la Descolonización*, former Ambassador Velazquez had stressed that, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the act of self-determination should take place in complete freedom and with all guarantees that the popular will was being authentically expressed; he had further suggested that the resolution opened the door to United Nations supervision over the procedures of popular consultation. The general principle that United Nations organs should supervise the procedures leading up to referendums and the actual holding of such referendums had been accepted by the Special Committee and by the General Assembly. The fact that there had been no United Nations supervision of the procedures leading to the recent constitutional changes in the territories of the Eastern Caribbean had led to protracted debate in the Committee, although the United Kingdom representative had co-operated fully with the

Committee and given full answers to all questions put to him.

115. In the case of French Somaliland, the attitude of the administering Power had been different. In his report to the Committee in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI), the Secretary-General reproduced the text of a letter which he had addressed to the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations on 10 January 1967 (see annex to this chapter below). The Secretary-General reported that he had not as yet received any response from the French Government. The General Assembly resolution and the present Committee had thus been totally ignored by the French Government.

116. Meanwhile, the French Government was proceeding with arrangements for a referendum in which, according to the Secretariat working paper (see para. 20 above), the voters would be required to answer "yes" or "no" to the following question:

"Do you wish the Territory to remain part of the French Republic with the new statute of government and administration which has already been outlined?"

It was not known what system would be imposed in the event of a negative result, although logically, and in accordance with the precedents in similar cases, that should mean independence for the Territory. In fact, the text of the new statute had not been published, although according to the decree governing the procedure of the referendum, the voters were to be provided with the text of the document outlining the institutions which the Territory would have in the event of an affirmative result. The same decree mentioned the appointment of a special commission by the French Government to supervise the holding of the referendum and other detailed arrangements, but it gave no recognition to the international organs which were responsible for assisting in the process of decolonization.

117. Without passing judgment on the merits of the arrangements made by the administering Power, he could not ignore the important revelations made by the representative of Somalia in his well-documented statement at the Committee's 492nd meeting. In the circumstances, the Committee was fully justified in deploring the situation. The French Government's attitude was disappointing to those who had always admired France. While he was inclined to share the view of those who expressed their faith in France's intentions with regard to French Somaliland, he could not forget Diderot's warning that it was as dangerous to believe everything as to believe nothing. Faith was a beautiful thing, but that did not make it incompatible with reason and healthy criticism. All might still end happily, as other speakers had prophesied and he joined in the hopes expressed by the representatives of Mali and Ethiopia. Nevertheless, resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2228 (XXI) and other relevant United Nations resolutions had not yet been implemented in respect of French Somaliland, and the administering Power's attitude constituted a regrettable failure to comply with obligations which were binding on all Members of the United Nations, whatever doctrinal positions they might adopt regarding the functions inherent in sovereignty and the competence of international organs in such a matter as the liberation of peoples from colonialism. While he fervently hoped

that France would yet adjust its conduct to the norms laid down by the United Nations, his delegation was bound to support the draft resolution as further revised (A/AC.109/L.383/Rev.2).

118. The representative of Tunisia recalled that in its resolution 2228 (XXI) on the question of French Somaliland, the General Assembly had requested the administering Power, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to make appropriate arrangements for a United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the holding of the referendum on the constitutional and political future of the Territory and had requested the Secretary-General to report to the Special Committee on the implementation of the resolution. According to the Secretary-General's report (see annex), however, France had not replied to the General Assembly's request. The French Government's attitude, which seemed almost contemptuous of the United Nations, was a matter of regret to his delegation, particularly because it believed that France could play an important part in strengthening the Organization and bringing about a new world order based on justice and mutual respect. He had no doubt that France was engaged in an irreversible movement towards complete decolonization, but it would have been far better if France had endeavoured to carry out that movement in association and co-operation with the United Nations, which represented the international community.

119. France's attitude, like that of the United Kingdom in the case of the Caribbean islands, might be invoked as a precedent by some colonial Powers whose intentions were less admirable. The United Nations had been entrusted by the overwhelming majority of its Members with a mission which it could better accomplish with the assistance and co-operation of all Powers. Such co-operation, if offered by France, in connexion with the Territory under consideration, would have raised the prestige of the United Nations without casting the slightest doubt on the good faith of the French Government. His delegation's concern about the situation was reflected in the wording of the newly revised draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.383/Rev.2).

120. The representative of Chile associated his delegation with those which had expressed uneasiness concerning the situation in French Somaliland. He did not doubt that the French Government intended to give the people of French Somaliland a full opportunity to exercise their legitimate rights in a fair and democratic referendum. Nevertheless, it was most regrettable that France's failure to reply to the Secretary-General's request had made it impossible for United Nations observers to be present during the referendum. Chile was convinced that the United Nations could play a useful role in such matters; it had, therefore, supported General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) and would support the draft resolution in its newly revised form (A/AC.109/L.383/Rev.2). Operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution was, in his delegation's view, simply a call for national unity and not a directive from the Special Committee to the people of the Territory on the way in which they should exercise their right of self-determination; any such directive would be completely improper and unacceptable, since the people alone had the right to decide their own future. With that understanding, his delegation supported the revised draft resolution and hoped that it would be adopted unanimously.

121. The representative of Poland said that his delegation believed that the future of Non-Self-Governing Territories should be decided solely by the peoples of those Territories in a democratic atmosphere, free from any pressure or intimidation and with full knowledge of the various possibilities open to them. The Special Committee, as the United Nations body entrusted with the task of decolonization, should play a prominent role in the emancipation of dependent peoples. Experience gained in connexion with the question of French Somaliland could be very useful to the Committee in the future in dealing with the particular problems of so-called small Territories. Moreover, his delegation believed that a United Nations presence before and during the referendum in French Somaliland would serve as an additional guarantee that the referendum was conducted in a just and democratic manner.

122. He hoped that the administering Power would do its utmost to ensure that the referendum was conducted in the manner provided for in operative paragraph 3 of revised draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.383/Rev.2), for an atmosphere of complete freedom without pressure or constraint was essential to a valid expression of a people's free will. With that understanding, his delegation would support the revised draft resolution.

123. The representative of Afghanistan said that a United Nations presence in French Somaliland before and during the proposed referendum, as recommended in operative paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI), was one of the most important steps by which the fairness of the consultation of the people regarding their future political status could be guaranteed. It would dispel any apprehensions as to the objectivity of the referendum and would make it difficult to cast doubt on the validity of its results. His delegation acknowledged the initiative of France in holding the referendum but deplored the French Government's failure to hold it in conformity with the provisions of resolution 2228 (XXI).

124. The revised draft resolution, of which Afghanistan was a co-sponsor, reflected his delegation's views on the question before the Committee. Afghanistan unreservedly supported the right of peoples to self-determination and independence and associated itself with the just demands of subjugated peoples.

125. The representative of the Ivory Coast recalled that his delegation had stated both in the Fourth Committee and in the General Assembly that a United Nations resolution on the question of French Somaliland would be untimely. The people of French Somaliland, like all the peoples of the former French territories, had had occasion to exercise their fundamental right of self-determination. They had been offered a choice in September 1958 and had chosen to retain the status of an overseas territory. The administering Power had now decided to hold a referendum to enable the people of the Territory to make a further decision about their future. That decision did honour to the French Government, which was certainly in a better position than the Committee to appreciate the aspirations of the peoples concerned, whatever one might think about its attitude towards the United Nations.

126. His delegation had therefore abstained from the vote on General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) and it was surprised that the revised draft resolution

before the Committee invoked the resolution. He remained convinced that it would be untimely for the Committee to adopt a resolution a few days before the referendum. Furthermore, certain provisions of the draft resolution might give the impression that the Committee was taking sides. The paramount consideration should be the desires of the people concerned regarding their future; yet the draft resolution appealed to the people of the Territory to continue their united efforts to achieve their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Admittedly, some of the people did desire independence; but others wished to maintain the *status quo*. It was for the people themselves to decide if and when they were to attain independence; the Committee should not seek to force their hand by means of a draft resolution. His delegation, therefore, would vote against the draft resolution.

127. At its 503rd meeting, on 15 March 1967, the Special Committee adopted the revised draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.383/Rev.2) by a roll-call vote of 16 to 1, with 7 abstentions as follows:

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

Against: Ivory Coast.

Abstaining: Australia, Finland, Italy, Madagascar, Mali, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

128. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/234) on French Somaliland adopted by the Special Committee at its 503rd meeting on 15 March 1967 reads as follows:

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

"Having considered the report of the Secretary-General concerning the question of French Somaliland (A/AC.109/223),⁸

"Recalling General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and 2228 (XXI) of 20 December 1966,

"Taking note of the appeal of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity in March 1967 relating to this question,

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

"2. Expresses its regret that the administering Power has not as yet complied with all the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI);

"3. Urges the administering Power to ensure that the forthcoming referendum is conducted in a just and democratic manner in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI);

"4. Appeals to the people of the Territory to continue their united efforts to achieve their inalienable right to self-determination and independence;

⁸ See annex to the present report.

"5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to immediately transmit the present resolution to the administering Power;

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

E. Further consideration by the Special Committee

Introduction

129. The Special Committee further considered the question of French Somaliland at the meetings listed below:

- (i) At the 508th meeting, held at Headquarters on 6 April 1967;
- (ii) At the 537th and 538th meetings, held at Dar es Salaam on 16 and 19 June 1967; and
- (iii) At the 557th and 559th meetings, held at Headquarters on 12 and 13 September 1967.

Hearings by the Special Committee in April 1967

Hearing of petitioners

130. At its 508th meeting on 6 April 1967, the Special Committee heard Mr. Abdillahi Wabery, Vice-President of the Parti du mouvement populaire (PMP) and Secretary-General of the Central Committee for Deportees from French Somaliland, Mr. Abdulrahman Ahmed Hassan Gabot, Vice-President of the Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis (FLCS) and former member of the Territorial Assembly of French Somaliland, and Mr. Abdillahi Youssef, Member of the Central Committee of the PMP and former Secretary of the Co-ordinating Bureau of PMP and the Union démocratique Afar (UDA).

131. Mr. Gabot, speaking as a Vice-President of the FLCS and former member of the Territorial Assembly of French Somaliland, recalled the conditions under which France had decided to hold the referendum of 19 March 1967 in French Somaliland. In October 1966, the French colonialists had set in motion a plan to falsify the results of the referendum by means of assassination, internment in concentration camps and expulsion. Other measures, too, had been devised in order to rig the voting: parties favouring independence had been prevented from sending delegates into the interior, thousands of electors thought to be favourable to independence had been illegally struck from the rolls, four fifths of the population had been refused registration on the electoral rolls, women had been denied the right to vote, a United Nations supervisory commission had been refused entry, Europeans who failed to satisfy the residence requirements had taken part in the vote, a curfew had been imposed during the electoral campaign and meetings of more than five persons had been barred.

132. On 10 March, the French police, acting on orders from Governor Saget, had raided the premises of the UDA, which was calling for a negative vote in the referendum, and seized the party's files. The following day, the Governor had refused to amend a decree providing that political parties not registered in a region could not designate poll-watchers in that region.

133. Despite the wall of silence which surrounded the Territory, international opinion had been outraged by the rigging of the referendum and the attack on a defenceless crowd in which thirty-nine people had

been killed and several dozen wounded. The proclamation of a state of emergency and accompanying measures left the people of French Somaliland with only the alternatives of yielding to violence or fighting.

134. He then analysed the causes of the Territory's deep-seated troubles. The desire for independence, which was voiced by the PMP, clashed with the interests of the colonial Power, whose proposals for self-governing status were merely coverings since the High Commissioner would continue to have the last word on foreign relations, the police, the maintenance of law and order, finances, the armed forces and censorship. France's objective was not to lead the Territory towards self-government or independence but to maintain itself there—for obvious economic reasons. In its efforts to deepen its economic penetration of Africa, starting from "friendly" Algeria, France was facing competition from the Anglo-Saxon countries in the extension of the Magreb that was Libya; it therefore wished to stay in Djibouti in order to keep its oil supply route open and was unwilling to grant independence to French Somaliland, even though the latter was a burden to the French taxpayer.

135. France's decision to hold a referendum in French Somaliland, even though article 86 of its Constitution provided that its colonies could attain independence by a simple vote of their legislative assemblies, was essentially prompted by two circumstances. Firstly, the Co-ordinating Committee of the UDA and the PMP represented more than two thirds of the elected members of the Territorial Assembly and therefore could have obtained a vote in favour of independence; secondly, the referendum had made it possible for France to be sure of the result. In the case of French Somaliland, the referendum had been a trick to deceive international opinion and enable President de Gaulle to continue to pose as a champion of independence.

136. In view of the conditions under which the 19 March referendum had been held and the inflexible designs of the French Government, the petitioners urged that a United Nations investigating committee should be sent to French Somaliland to study the conduct of the referendum and report on the situation in the Territory; they also called upon France to set a date for the independence of the Territory pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

137. He also wished to point out that by expelling more than 8,000 inhabitants from the Territory (Mr. Wabery, Mr. Youssef and he himself had been expelled and, despite all their efforts, had been unable to return to the Territory to participate in the referendum), France had created in that part of Africa a new refugee problem which the United Nations could not ignore.

138. Mr. Abdillahi Wabery on behalf of the PMP and Central Committee for Deportees from French Somaliland said that the petitioners were being denied their civil and political rights and the right to live and work in their homeland. Their only crime had been to oppose colonial rule and to achieve independence for their country.

139. The French policy of mass deportations was not of recent origin; it dated from the referendum held in 1958, when the people had asked for independence. The Committee had been informed of that fact by petitioners during its visits to Africa in 1965 and 1966.

140. It was after President de Gaulle's visit that the situation had taken a very grave turn and repression had become rampant. Between August and December 1966, 5,870 persons had been deported under deplorable circumstances, without regard to their physical condition or family situation, and expelled from the Territory. After being halted for a time, the deportation had been resumed in February 1967 and had continued right up to the referendum. A total of 8,819 persons had been deported.

141. In order to deceive public opinion, the French colonial administration had given the impression that the deportees were not nationals of the Territory. That was wholly untrue. However, the authorities had taken advantage of the fact that the persons concerned had never had, or no longer had, identity documents in order to exert pressure on the people and discriminate against those who opposed a continued colonial presence. A United Nations investigating committee was thus highly desirable.

142. French Somaliland had been the victim of grave injustices. In addition to the approximately 9,000 deported, 5,000 persons had been interned outside Djibouti. Such a situation must not be permitted to continue, and he urged the Committee to come to the aid of the inhabitants of the Territory.

143. Mr. Youssouf, speaking as a member of the Central Committee of PMP and former Secretary of the Co-ordinating Bureau of PMP and the UDA, denounced the ingratitude shown by France, which was presently oppressing those who had once fought to save it. With the aid of Ali Aref, one of its henchmen, France was trying to make people believe that without its presence as an arbitrator the Afars and the Somalis, the two ethnic groups of the Territory, would have slaughtered each other and that the Afars favoured the French presence.

144. That was all untrue. At the time of General de Gaulle's visit on 25 August 1966, the entire population of Djibouti, responding to the appeal of the Territory's two main parties (PMP and UDA), had expressed their firm determination to achieve sovereignty. After General de Gaulle's decision that the inhabitants of French Somaliland would freely determine their future by means of a referendum, UDA had declared itself in favour of independence, since France had done nothing for the political, economic and social advancement of the Territory and there was every reason to believe that it would do nothing in the future. Inasmuch as the French presence could have only adverse effects, the Territory could not grow and flourish without national sovereignty. For that reason, the party of the UDA, believing that freedom was not a subject for bargaining, had demanded a vote in favour of independence. To the supporters of a continued French presence, who spoke of the Territory's economic weakness and the spectre of insecurity, he would point out that the nomads who formed the majority of the population lived as they had in pre-colonial days and that the Territory had substantial economic resources and possibilities, particularly the port of Djibouti. Surely, it should be added, neither the Somali Republic nor Ethiopia would want to violate the integrity of the Territory.

145. As to national unity, it must not be forgotten that Afars and Somalis had lived side by side for thousands of years and were quite capable of getting

along with one another and merging into a single nation. Although the colonialists spoke of antagonism between the two groups, no such antagonism existed, and France had no need to set itself up as a policeman. The PMP denounced the schemes of the colonialists, who, in order to entrench themselves more firmly, were making every effort to create a climate of misunderstanding between the peoples. In spite of those manoeuvres, the population had recognized the need to unite and that was how the Co-ordinating Bureau of the PMP and the UDA had come into being.

146. When France had seen that its policy of continued enslavement was doomed to defeat, it had attempted to deceive international opinion with lies and had decided to strike a crippling blow at the Co-ordinating Bureau: five active members of the Bureau, including its Chairman and Mr. Youssouf himself, its General Secretary, had been expelled from their country for having tried to defend it.

147. In conclusion, he warned the Committee against the manoeuvres of certain opportunists who would stop at nothing to gain their ends. It would be unjust for the free world, particularly Africa, which had suffered the same fate as French Somaliland, to approve the position of France, which wanted to reduce the people of an entire Territory to slavery.

148. In reply to questions from members of the Special Committee Mr. Youssouf said that the main cause of the riots which had followed the announcement of the results of the referendum of 19 March had been the illegal manner in which the referendum had been organized. The population had shown its dissatisfaction and the French gendarmes and the legionnaires had intervened in order to prevent the peoples of Djibouti, 70 per cent of whom had voted "no", from making known their feelings to the world.

149. Another cause had been the provocative attitude of the French Government, which had brutally repressed by every possible means any activity in favour of independence.

150. As to the role of the Foreign Legion, the petitioner said that the Legion's intervention at Djibouti had taken two forms: first, as part of the French armed forces, it had participated in the repression; and, second, French legionnaires in mufti had taken part in the vote, as had the entire army.

151. Asked what France had done to train the people of French Somaliland, he said that after 105 years of French presence, the Territory had only two university graduates and no engineers or physicians. A lycée had been established at Djibouti in 1962, replacing a less extensive course of secondary studies (*cours complémentaire*), but there was discrimination in the award of diplomas and only two graduates had obtained the *baccalauréat* during the previous year.

152. Replying to a question concerning France's interest in the Territory, Mr. Gabot (FLCS) said that, in President de Gaulle's view, the Territory was an important strategic point for the control of the Red Sea. France wished to retain the Territory as part of its policy of "*grandeur*". Moreover, the port of Djibouti was an important outlet for Ethiopia and that was a further political reason for the maintenance of the *status quo* by France.

153. In reply to a further question, Mr. Wabery (PMP) said that restrictions had been imposed on the

categories of persons eligible to participate in the referendum. In particular, 70 to 75 per cent of the nationalists had not been allowed to register; women had also been excluded.

Statement by the representative of Somalia

154. In a letter dated 6 April 1967 (A/AC.109/225/Add.1) addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee, the Permanent Representative of Somalia to the United Nations requested that he be allowed to make a statement on the question of French Somaliland following the hearing of the petitioners. The Special Committee decided without objection to accede to that request.

155. In his statement, the representative of Somalia said that Somalia, which had many ties with French Somaliland, could not remain indifferent to the present events at Djibouti.

156. As it had heard the statements of the petitioners, the Committee should concern itself with the application of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) to the Territory.

157. Members were aware that, by resolution 2228 (XXI), the General Assembly had called upon the administering Power "to ensure that the right of self-determination shall be freely expressed and exercised by the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory on the basis of universal adult suffrage and with full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" and "to create a proper political climate for a referendum to be conducted on an entirely free and democratic basis".

158. On 14 March, a few days before the referendum, the Committee had expressed its concern at the situation in French Somaliland and had urged the French Government to ensure that the referendum was "conducted in a just and democratic manner". Completely disregarding those resolutions, the administering Power had refused to have a United Nations presence in the Territory before or during the referendum and had tried, by applying various unjust and anti-democratic methods, to falsify the results. Out of a population of 125,000 inhabitants, less than 40,000 had been registered on the electoral rolls and approximately 36,000 had actually taken part in the vote. It could not, therefore, be said that the referendum had been carried out "on the basis of universal adult suffrage", as called for by the General Assembly. Furthermore, prior to the referendum, political parties opposed to French rule had been proscribed and their leaders imprisoned, and thousands of inhabitants convicted or suspected of favouring independence had been deported. Tens of thousands of others had been denied the right to vote by various devices on the part of the administration, ranging from the imposition of unduly strict residence requirements to the use of brute force. The authorities had made systematic efforts, by means of promises or threats, to incite the inhabitants of the northern regions, who were less sophisticated politically, against those of their compatriots who were calling for independence and to make them vote in favour of maintaining the French presence. Thus Mr. Gouled, a former Chief Minister and former Minister of Education of the Territory, had said: "This referendum was characterized by trickery and force". Despite all those endeavours, the so-called referendum had not produced a peaceful and definitive solution to the problem of French Somaliland; it was actually just one more episode in that

Territory's struggle for self-determination and independence. In that connexion, two points should be noted. Firstly, no significant change had been made in the statute of French Somaliland, as was clear from the working paper prepared by the Secretariat. Understandably, the proposals summarized in that document had been considered unacceptable by the representatives of French Somaliland when they had been submitted to them in Paris a few weeks prior to the referendum. In fact, those proposals had never been officially made public and the people had been asked to decide, so to speak, on a revised statute which did not exist. The representative of the Ivory Coast had expressed surprise about what was happening in Djibouti in the sphere of education; but what was happening in the political sphere was just as surprising.

159. Secondly, the events which had occurred since 19 March were ample proof that the non-self-governing status of the Territory still persisted. Where else but in a colony could the administering Power have resorted to brutal police methods and direct military intervention? In Djibouti, there were 10,000 soldiers for less than 100,000 inhabitants and army helicopters had dropped countless grenades on the population. Several thousand inhabitants had been transported into the desert and left there without any protection against the sun and without adequate sanitary and medical facilities. Where else but in a colony could the army break into people's houses, arrest and deport them and inflict on them indignities of every kind?

160. The situation was not only regrettable but anachronistic, incompatible with decolonization and contrary to the letter and spirit of resolution 1514 (XV), which the Committee was pledged to implement. The French law of 22 December 1966, which had laid down the rules for the referendum, had provided that security measures and the declaration of a state of emergency would not be subject to restrictions established by law but only to approval by the French Parliament. The local authorities had therefore decided to continue their policy of wholesale arrests and deportations against persons who favoured independence or were dissatisfied with the manner in which the referendum was conducted.

161. Since the referendum, some 5,000 people had been taken to "transit camps" in the open desert, whence they were to be deported to Somalia, in violation of international law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Even if the nationality of some of those people was in doubt, their forced deportation to a neighbouring sovereign State, apart from being inhuman, was an unfriendly act towards that State.

162. The Government of the Somali Republic, justifiably concerned over the fate of the deportees, felt that it was their right to return at once to their homeland, where they should be protected from any persecution. In the meantime, their presence was creating a very difficult economic and political problem for the Somali Government. The French authorities policy of mass deportations and arrests might jeopardize the peace in the area and it would neither solve the problem of French Somaliland nor stabilize the régime of the administering Power. Somalia had at first admitted the deportees to its territory essentially for humanitarian reasons, while endeavouring without success to induce the French authorities to stop the expulsions and arrange for the return of the deportees before the referendum. In those circumstances, Somalia had concluded that

admitting new deportees to its territory might create an explosive situation and compromise its relations with France. Since 19 March, therefore, it had refused entry to thousands of other inhabitants of French Somaliland. By acting thus, in accordance with international law, it had endeavoured not to complicate the problem of the deportees' return, in order to prevent a tragedy similar to that of the Palestine refugees from being repeated in a part of Africa whose peoples had maintained the most friendly relations with one another throughout the ages.

163. Unfortunately, the French local authorities were using the internees living under frightful conditions in the transit camps as hostages to exert pressure on the major political party of the Territory and induce it to extricate the Government and the administration from the present dangerous impasse.

164. The representative of Ethiopia had said that the petitioners represented only a section of the population. That was true, but the fact was that they were a pro-independence section. If the representative of Ethiopia or any other member of the Committee was not satisfied with the statements it had heard, the Committee need only go to the scene and make its own inquiry, for it should not rely on a working paper which did not give a real picture of the situation. The Prime Minister of Somalia had certainly shown foresight when he had proposed at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly that there should be a United Nations presence in the Territory before and during the referendum. His proposal had indeed been accepted by the Assembly in its resolution 2228 (XXI) of 20 December 1966, but it had been categorically rejected by the administering Power despite the Secretary-General's efforts.

165. The Somali Government considered it essential that the Committee should obtain impartial evidence on the situation in French Somaliland and on the refugee problem in Somalia; in that way it would be in the best position to determine the policy to follow, for the present situation called for close attention and vigorous action. One of the members of the Committee had stated that his country endorsed the results of the referendum, whereby the people had allegedly decided against independence. There was not one people in Africa that was not up in arms against colonialism and all the evidence showed that the inhabitants of French Somaliland aspired to independence. The truth was that the outcome of the consultation had been predetermined and that the referendum had been merely a cruel masquerade. The Committee should also express its concern over recent developments in the Territory and it should call upon the administering Power to discontinue its present policies and: (a) to terminate police repression and abolish emergency regulations and martial law; (b) to release all those detained in the "transit" camps and all other political prisoners; and (c) to arrange with the Government of the Somali Republic, perhaps through the good offices of the Committee, for the return of the deportees of the Territory.

166. In his Government's view, it would be extremely useful to appoint a sub-committee to conduct an inquiry in the Territory. His delegation realized that the Committee intended to travel to Africa at the end of May, but it wondered whether the urgency of the situation would not justify earlier action. However, if the Committee did not find it advisable to send a sub-committee to French Somaliland, the Somali Gov-

ernment believed that it should take up the question as a matter of priority during its stay in Africa. The Somali Government would then give the Committee its full co-operation.

Hearings by the Special Committee at Dar es Salaam⁹

167. Although the Special Committee did not formally discuss the question of French Somaliland during its meetings in Africa, it nonetheless conducted hearings on this subject at its 537th and 538th meetings held in Dar es Salaam on 16 and 19 June 1967.

168. In a letter dated 19 May 1967 (A/AC.109/241), the Permanent Representative of Somalia to the United Nations requested that representatives of his Government be permitted to participate in the Special Committee's consideration of French Somaliland during its meetings in Dar es Salaam. At its 537th meeting on 16 June 1967, the Special Committee decided, without objection, to accede to that request.

Hearing of petitioners

169. At its 537th meeting on 16 June 1967, the Special Committee heard Mr. Abdillahi Waberi, Mr. Abdillahi Youssouf and Mr. Osmen Abubaker, Vice-President, Secretary for External Relations and Under-Secretary, respectively, of the Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis (FLCS).

170. Mr. Youssouf (FLCS) said that in the memorandum submitted to the Special Committee at Mogadiscio on 1 June 1966 and in New York on 1 October 1966 and 6 April 1967, FLCS had tried briefly to describe the political and economic situation in the Territory. The situation was deteriorating daily. So-called French Somaliland was inhabited by two main ethnic groups: the Afars and the Somalis, who were members of the Hamitic race, speaking the Cushitic language. They had the same physical characteristics, the same culture, the same traditions, the same way of life and the same religion. They spread far beyond the artificial frontiers of the Territory. The pasture-land of the Somalis extended close to the country's main economic assets: the port of Djibouti and the first eighty-nine kilometres of the Franco-Ethiopian railway. The Afars were mainly nomads. There were only a few at Djibouti. The two ethnic groups were roughly equal in size—a fact which could have facilitated the introduction of a harmonious policy, especially as relations between the Afars and Somalis had been most cordial up to 1958. The alleged antagonism between Afars and Somalis was an invention of France. Indeed, the term "Afar" had been used only for the past ten years or so, and only at Djibouti.

171. In 1957, however, Western-type politics had been introduced into the Territory; that had led to the creation of a party for each population group. Yet in the 1957 territorial elections, the Rassemblement démocratique Somali (RDS), led by Mr. Mohamoud Harbi, had won thirty seats. All classes of society had been represented in that party.

172. Under the *Loi-cadre* of 23 June 1956, which still governed the Overseas Territories, the Territorial Assembly could deal only with questions of internal administration. The Government Council conducted the day-to-day business, as it still did. It was not competent

⁹ Additional comments on the question of French Somaliland are contained in the statements made at the opening of the Special Committee's meetings at Kinshasa, Kitwe and Dar es Salaam (see chapter II of this report).

to deal with important matters such as defence, foreign affairs, justice, finance, territorial security, the Treasury, labour inspection and social welfare, meteorology services, civil aviation, maritime inspection, the police and the militia. The entire administrative machinery had therefore been and still was under "remote control" from Paris through the Governor, representing the colonial authority, who was assisted by European administrators acting as technical advisers.

173. Before the referendum of 28 September 1958, which was to be a landmark, the head of the Government, Mr. Mohamoud Harbi, had campaigned for "no". However, the French authorities had brought extensive resources into play and his efforts had failed, despite his large following among the indigenous population. The French Government had tried unsuccessfully to get rid of him. The Territorial Assembly had then been dissolved and Mr. Mohamoud Harbi had gone into exile.

174. At the next elections, Mr. Hassan Gouled, the new Deputy to Paris, who was of Somali origin, had been elected Vice-President of the Government Council. On 11 December 1958, the new Assembly had declared itself in favour of maintaining the *status quo*. Convinced that the "yes" vote did not constitute an obstacle to independence, Mr. Hassan Gouled had asked Paris to grant the Territory greater autonomy to manage its internal affairs. His efforts had been fruitless.

175. Most fortunately, the wave of nationalism which had swept over the African continent and in particular the creation of the Somali Republic had awakened the national consciousness. At the legislative elections of 18 November 1962, the Parti du mouvement populaire (PMP) had managed to have one of its candidates, Mr. Moussa Ahmed Idris, elected Deputy for Djibouti.

176. The French authorities had become alarmed at the upsurge of nationalism and decided to resort to new methods. They had put an Afar (Dankali), Mr. Ali Aref, into power. France had decided that in future it would exploit antagonisms between clans. In addition, in order to avoid further surprises when the new Territorial Assembly was elected, the French Government on 30 June 1963 had enacted a new electoral law under which the representation of the Somalis was reduced considerably in favour of the Afars (Danakils) and a number of candidates supporting Mr. Ali Aref were elected from among the Afars. However, an internal crisis had arisen in the Afar party and increasing opposition to Mr. Ali Aref had emerged. Many Ministers had broken with him. Yet Mr. Ali Aref had clung to his post, despite the coolness of the Afars towards the French Government.

177. When the French radio and television had announced on 21 July 1966 that the French Chief of State was to visit Djibouti, the PMP and the Union démocratique Afar (UDA), led respectively by Mr. Moussa Ahmed Idris and Mr. Ahmed Mohamed Issa, called "Cheko", had set up a Co-ordination Committee and decided to join forces to denounce the status imposed by force eight years previously and to obtain independence. During the visit of General de Gaulle to Djibouti on 25 August 1966, tragic incidents had occurred, in which 100 persons had been killed and 200 wounded. General de Gaulle had said that he was "surprised, to say the least", since the Governor's reports had described the Territory as "a haven of

peace" and had assured him of the people's undying loyalty to France. The Decolonizer of Africa had had no alternative but to promise a referendum in French Somaliland. However, the referendum had been only a sham designed to deceive international opinion.

178. In violation of the French Constitution, Somali women did not have the right to vote, while European women did. Over 12,000 persons holding French identity cards had asked to be included on the electoral rolls. Permission had been refused by the Constitutional Committee, composed of six Frenchmen. General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) of 20 December 1966 had not been implemented.

179. Professor Berque, a Deputy in the French Legislative Assembly, had asked for observers with "freedom of action" to be sent to the Territory. The request had been denied. The total population of 105,000 included 58,000 Somalis and 45,000 Afars. Only 14,000 (4 per cent) of the Somalis had been able to vote, compared with 22,000 (47 per cent) of the Afars.

180. In the districts of Dikhil, Tadjourah and Obock, which were Afar strongholds, there had been twice as many voters as in the town of Djibouti. It was strange that in that part of the Territory, where the population was illiterate, there had hardly been any invalid ballots, while there had been many in the districts of Djibouti and Ali Sabiet, which were Somali strongholds and where the population was literate. That clearly showed that the ballot had been rigged. Assuming that two thirds of the population had been able to vote, as they had done in the districts of Dikhil, Tadjourah and Obock, there should have been 32,000 Somali voters in the town of Djibouti alone. If that had been the case, the result of the referendum would have been quite different. In the interior, the polling centres had been spaced out over large distances, so as to discourage nomads.

181. In order to persuade the Afar chiefs—since ultimately it was they who voted for their subjects—to vote "yes", the French had spoken of annexationist's designs on the part of the Somali Republic and Ethiopia and had tried to sow discord between the Somalis and the Afars. The French Government had arranged for the ballot papers to be different colours: white for "yes" and blue—blue was the colour of the Somali flag—for "no". The French had told the Afar chiefs that if they voted for blue they would be voting for the Somali Republic, which would absorb French Somaliland, and that argument had influenced the illiterate chiefs. In addition, for the nomads of the interior, who still led the same life as they had done before the arrival of the French, the so-called referendum had been meaningless.

182. He then read out an extract from the Moroccan newspaper *L'Opinion*, issue No. 648 of March 1966, which described many irregularities that had marred the conduct of the referendum. For France, the referendum had simply been a way of gaining time. Unfortunately, on 20 March, during a peaceful demonstration in which the people had expressed their dissatisfaction with the conditions in which the ballot had been held, the army had opened fire on the crowd, killing thirty-five and wounding twenty-five.

183. On 21 March, on the false pretext of searching for weapons, the army had raided the native quarters. No weapons had been found but 5,000 persons—men,

women, children, old people and invalids—had been taken to a concentration camp in the desert, called a "Transit Camp", where they had been left in the scorching sun, without shelter or water. That step had been taken under the law of 22 December 1966, which had provided for the proclamation of a state of emergency after the so-called referendum. The French authorities had arrested those persons as hostages, so that they could exert pressure on PMP.

184. The persons detained in the concentration camps had been subjected to inhuman treatment. Their only food had been a handful of rice cooked in water. Sometimes they had gone several days without food. The sanitary conditions had been equally deplorable. Most of those in custody had been suffering from tuberculosis and various skin diseases. For some, the ordeal had lasted until 26 April, when they had been deported to the Somali Republic or Ethiopia.

185. The referendum had done little to change the political climate in the Territory. Mr. Ali Aref had been protected by the French Government and remained in power, thanks to the decree of 22 July 1957 under which the Territorial Assembly, having appointed the Ministers, sometimes by a relative majority, could not subsequently dismiss them, even if they were the subject of a motion of censure. However, that puppet had not been able to dispel the political uneasiness reigning in the Territory. The French Government had had to recall him to France and had set up a caretaker Government, composed of equal numbers of Somalis and Afars, under the leadership of Mohamed Hagi Khamil, who was himself of Afar origin. It was then that the Governor had obtained discretionary powers, proclaimed the state of emergency and martial law in the Territory and imposed a curfew. Meetings of more than five persons had been prohibited. After the demonstration of 14 September 1966, the native quarters had been sealed off with barbed wire and steel plates. Houses had been looted, women and girls raped. Opponents of the régime had been expelled or put in concentration camps.

186. On the pretext of maintaining order, Paris had sent to French Somaliland three aircraft carriers filled with paratroopers and 600 riot police specializing in psychological warfare. Over 10,000 soldiers had been billeted at Djibouti, a town of 62,000 inhabitants. About 700 persons, including the President of UDA, Mr. Ahmed Mohamed Issa, called "Cheko", several influential members of the Co-ordination Committee and religious leaders, had been arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned. From August 1966 to March 1967, 8,819 persons had been deported to the Somali Republic.

187. Meanwhile, the caretaker Government, under Mr. Mohamed Hagi Khamil, which was to deal with day-to-day business until the next elections—in other words, during the two months following the referendum—had been dissolved. There had no longer been any question of giving the Territory a new statute granting it greater autonomy.

188. Faced with the refusal of PMP to take part in the Government, the French Government had again turned to Mr. Ali Aref. His first action had been to announce in the Press and on the radio that all those who had voted "no" in the referendum would be expelled from the Territory and that no Somalis would be given posts in the administration. The port of Djibouti had been paralysed by a strike. Large com-

panies had complained to Paris and the threat had disappeared as if by magic.

189. Then, at the instigation of Governor Saget, a motion had been introduced requesting that the name of the Territory be changed to "French Territory of the Afars and Issas". France had thus hoped to foster fratricidal strife which would justify its presence.

190. However, the Territorial Assembly was not competent to change the name of the Territory. Under the *Loi-cadre*, its functions were limited to internal matters. The vote on the change in the Territory's name had been obtained by intimidation.

191. Some time before the extraordinary meeting of the Assembly, one of the country's great figures—Mr. Abdurahman Adolé, former trade-union leader, member of the Committee of Wise Men—had been taken from his home to an unknown destination. He had been tortured and shot twice in the head. At his wife's request, an autopsy had been performed at Pelletier hospital. The French doctor had certified that he had been subjected to the most barbarous torture; his teeth had been pulled out with pincers and an eye had been put out; he had been covered with soapy water and given electric shocks. All his property had been confiscated. All the members of the Council of Government had been threatened with the same fate as Abdurahman Adolé.

192. That was the situation currently prevailing in the Territory. Yet the treaties concluded between the Afars and Issas and France clearly showed that French Somaliland was a protectorate and that consequently it had never renounced independence.

193. He urged the Special Committee to exert pressure on the administering Power to implement General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) and fix the earliest possible date for the accession of French Somaliland to independence, after a referendum on the basis of universal suffrage, under the supervision of international organizations. He asked the Committee to obtain the release of the detained political, trade-union and religious leaders and permission for the exiled political leaders and refugees to return to their country. He asked for the dispatch of a commission of inquiry to the concentration camps and assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the various specialized agencies. Lastly, he asked the Committee to intervene so that the peoples of French Somaliland could recover their freedom and their dignity.

194. The patience of the peoples of French Somaliland was exhausted and, if the United Nations could not help them, they were determined to fight for their sacred and inalienable rights.

195. Mr. Wabery (FLCS) said that the French National Assembly had recently confirmed the changing of the name of French Somaliland to Côte française des Afars et des Issas. To change the traditional and historical name of a Territory without the approval of its inhabitants was an illegal act that could not be justified by international law and practice. The Territory had had its former title for well over a hundred years, and the colonialists could not change it unilaterally overnight in defiance of the majority of the people. That tragic event should be denounced by world opinion and international organizations. FLCS urged the Special Committee to condemn very strongly that stratagem designed to prolong French domination and repression.

196. In reply to questions of Committee members, Mr. Wabery said that just before the referendum there had been a violent demonstration, during which forty persons had been killed. As a result, thousands had been put in concentration camps and tens of thousands had been deported. There had been many cases of killing, beating and rape in the concentration camps. During the state of emergency, some 6,000 military gendarmes and paratroopers were living in Djibouti and no one was allowed to pass through the town or to travel from Djibouti to other regions without a pass.

197. Replying to other questions, Mr. Youssef said that in August 1966, when General de Gaulle had visited French Somaliland, PMP and UDA had decided to establish a Co-ordination Committee with the idea of merging the two parties. In September, the President of UDA, Mr. Khamil, who had assumed leadership of the Government, had been Honorary Chairman of the Co-ordination Committee. At that time, the parties had been able to engage freely in their political activities. They could no longer do so at present and the Co-ordination Committee had been decapitated by the French colonialists. He himself had been Secretary of the Co-ordination Committee and had been deported in February 1967. The French Government had feared the influence which the Committee might exert on the population. By the time of the referendum, the Co-ordination Committee and the two political parties had ceased to exist.

198. The petitioner said that France had used two tactics to persuade people to vote "yes": psychological warfare and violence. In order to influence the masses, the French had spread the rumour that, if the Territory became independent, the Somali Republic and Ethiopia would occupy it by force. However, that propaganda to justify the result of the referendum—which was a foregone conclusion—had had no effect on the population, except the French themselves. The population had not voted to maintain the French presence in the Territory. At Djibouti, where the population was literate, 72 per cent of the votes had favoured independence. As for the Bedouins, they would certainly not be influenced by the French.

199. With regard to the policy of FLCS, the petitioner said that, if the Special Committee did not find a way of persuading France to grant independence to French Somaliland, the Somali nationalists would resort to armed warfare.

200. Asked whether the voting had been by secret ballot, and whether FLCS officials had been allowed to witness the voting, the petitioner said that in theory the ballot had been secret. It had indeed been secret at Djibouti, where the political parties had been represented at the polling centres. Journalists in that town could have unmasked the dishonesty of the French authorities. In the rest of the country, however, there had been no ballot. The political parties had been denied the right to send representatives to the polling centres. The electorate had not voted; the ballot boxes had been filled by the *cercle* commanders and by administration officials. He did not claim that the entire population had favoured "no". Colonial history had shown that there were always people who were swayed by colonialist propaganda. In French Somaliland, however, there were not many.

201. Out of a total population of 105,000, only 36,000—about 30 per cent—had participated in the

referendum. Women and those who could influence the result of the referendum had been denied the right to vote.

202. There had been a great deal of intimidation before and after the referendum of 19 March. The French Government had conducted a powerful campaign for "yes". France had been both judge and party. Despite the intimidation, 70 per cent of the population of Djibouti had voted for independence. In the interior, there had been no vote; the ballot boxes had been filled by French officials.

203. He added that the political parties had asked to be allowed to send observers to the polling stations but, except in the case of Djibouti, the French authorities had refused. The authorities had, moreover, prevented 75 per cent of the inhabitants from registering and participating in the so-called referendum.

Statement by the representative of Somalia

204. The representative of Somalia said that it was very surprising to the Somali Government and to all who strove objectively to bring about the end of colonialism in Africa, that France was maintaining in the Territory of so-called French Somaliland all the worst features of colonial rule, which was all the more regrettable because France in the recent past had been praised for its role in the liberation of colonial peoples. The Somali Government earnestly hoped that, with regard to French Somaliland, wiser counsel would soon prevail and that France would practise the principles it had made famous—liberty, equality and fraternity.

205. In the meantime, an unsatisfactory colonial situation existed in so-called French Somaliland, which was necessarily the concern of the Special Committee. It had heard testimony in New York concerning the oppressive and undemocratic political conditions existing in the Territory before, during and after the referendum of 19 March 1967. In Africa, it had obtained further evidence from the petitioners to the effect that the political atmosphere remained unsatisfactory and that independence was still not in sight.

206. Ever since the visit of General de Gaulle in August 1966, when a series of popular demonstrations had occurred in favour of independence, the Government of the Somali Republic had striven for one thing only: to ensure that the people of French Somaliland, with whom it had the closest ties of history, geography and kinship, exercised their right to self-determination and independence. It had been a great disappointment not only that that sacred right, at present enjoyed by so many former colonial peoples, was still withheld from the people of French Somaliland but also that, through selfish interest or apathy, the glaring injustices of French rule in the Territory were being accepted with complacency by some States Members of the United Nations.

207. That attitude became even more incomprehensible when compared with other situations studied by the Special Committee, where there had been hardly any question of the intentions of the colonial Power or the wishes of the people involved, but where the Committee had indulged in lengthy debate and taken great pains to ascertain whether self-determination had actually been achieved. Yet, in the case of French Somaliland, where political and military intimidation was the order of the day, where democratic political procedure was flagrantly violated, and where more than

thirty inhabitants of the Territory had been brutally shot down by the armed forces of the administering Power because they had protested against the suppression of their democratic rights, it was with considerable difficulty that the Committee could be persuaded to debate the matter at all and there had been marked reluctance even on the part of some African States to censure France strongly and deservedly.

208. In spite of the clearest evidence, supported by reputable witnesses from the Territory and by reports in the international Press, that the referendum of 19 March was not a true expression of the wishes of the majority of the population, it had been suggested that the United Nations could accept the result of the referendum and consider the question of French Somaliland settled. But the United Nations could not ignore the question of French Somaliland even if some of its Members wished it to do so, without also ignoring its declared purposes to assist colonial peoples in their fight for independence.

209. In December 1965, the General Assembly had rejected the French delegation's contention that French Somaliland was fully self-governing and had therefore ceased to be a Territory in respect of which France had the responsibility to transmit information under Article 73 of the Charter. By including French Somaliland in its schedule of Non-Self-Governing Territories to which resolution 1514 (XV) was applicable, the General Assembly had affirmed its belief that the people of the Territory had not yet exercised their right to self-determination in accordance with their freely expressed wishes. Since the referendum of 19 March, the situation in the Territory had not changed. The evidence showed that the referendum was not a free expression of the wishes of the majority of the people and the promised new statute had not yet been produced to give some basis to the claim that the constitutional status of the Territory had been altered. In any case, a careful examination of the text containing the main elements of the proposed new statute would show that the basis of the proposed government would be essentially the same as before. The powers of the High Commissioner which covered censorship, foreign relations, the police, law and order, national status, finance and the armed forces were so wide that they were practically the same as those of the former Governor. The question of French Somaliland was therefore still within the Special Committee's purview and merited its deepest concern.

210. He recalled the salient events in the Territory leading up to the present situation so that a proper assessment of the situation could be made and appropriate action taken.

211. A good starting point for reviewing the situation in so-called French Somaliland was General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) of 21 December 1966, in which the General Assembly indicated that France's promise to hold a referendum in the Territory was not of itself a sufficient guarantee that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples would be properly implemented in so-called French Somaliland. Having regard to the irregularities of the situation in the Territory, the General Assembly had called on France to ensure that the right of self-determination would be freely exercised by the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory on the basis of universal adult suffrage and with full respect for funda-

mental human rights and freedoms, had urged it to create a proper political climate for the referendum to be conducted on an entirely free and democratic basis, and had requested it to arrange for a United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the holding of the referendum. Not one of those provisions had been carried out by the French authorities.

212. The General Assembly, through the Secretary-General, had tried to persuade the French Government to comply with its request for a United Nations presence in the Territory but had received a negative response. The practice of having an impartial United Nations presence to supervise the process of self-determination in a colonial Territory was one which had generally been welcomed and adopted by the Special Committee on such occasions. For example, a United Nations presence in the Cook Islands had greatly contributed to the satisfactory referendum held. Even more important, the General Assembly had clearly endorsed and supported the general rule that United Nations bodies should control and supervise the processes preceding referendums and also the holding of such referendums to ensure strict respect for the principle of self-determination set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

213. The Somali Government firmly supported the principle and believed that, in the case of so-called French Somaliland, and indeed in all such cases, a United Nations presence would be in the interest of the Territory, of the United Nations itself and of the administering Power. Had there been such a supervisory body before and during the referendum in so-called French Somaliland, it would certainly have pointed out and done its utmost to eliminate the irregularities which had actually marred the referendum and its outcome would not have been open to so much criticism. It could only be assumed that the unwillingness of the French Government to co-operate indicated its awareness of the injustices that were being committed and its determination to persist along those lines.

214. Another important aspect of the matter was the creation of a proper political climate for the referendum to be held on a free and democratic basis. The political climate existing in the months before the referendum and on the day on which it had been held could only be described as undemocratic.

215. The policy of imprisoning or deporting political leaders who favoured independence had begun with the founding of the popular independence movement in 1957. It had been continued in the pre-referendum period and extended to unprecedented lengths. Political leaders had been deported and, between August 1966 and March 1967, over 8,000 citizens, whose only crime had been that they were likely to vote for independence, had been taken to the border in trucks and forced to cross over into Somalia, often at bayonet point.

216. The Special Committee had seen and heard evidence to disprove the allegation that those people were not *bona fide* citizens of so-called French Somaliland. It had been shown that many of the deportees actually had their identity cards; many had not been allowed to go home to obtain them; and many more had never held such cards because they had not been obliged to do so in the past.

217. The attempt by the French authorities to create divisions between the two ethnic groups in the Territory and to prevent them from forming a united political

front had been one of the most distasteful features of the pre-referendum period. Leading members of the Bureau for co-ordinating the political activities of the parties representing the two ethnic groups had been imprisoned and every opportunity taken to engender mistrust and suspicion. Lest it should be thought that that allegation was a fanciful one held only by the Somali Government, he quoted an extract from the United Arab Republic newspaper *Al-Goumhouria* of 21 March:

"France has flouted French Somaliland's wish for independence not only by jailing opposition party leaders but by resorting to the most vile methods used by colonialists, provoking conflicts between ethnic groups."

218. The French newspaper *France Nouvelle* of 21 March had commented in the same vein:

"General de Gaulle has dramatized to the utmost ethnic rivalries, inviting one group to Paris and sending others to jail, hoping to 'divide and rule'. . . . A few days before the referendum the situation is extremely tense. This is not due to international agitation. It is the result of the intimidation and repression perpetrated by the Gaullist authorities."

219. The intimidation referred to was another feature of the period before and during the referendum. Measures of military terror, which could only be compared to the police state methods of outmoded dictators, had been systematically applied to the inhabitants of Djibouti. That charge was substantiated by the Press of France itself. *L'Humanité* of 20 March thus described the day of the referendum:

"French Somaliland is completely cut off from the outside world; its frontiers and its harbours are closed; Djibouti is isolated from the rest of the country with barbed wire and minefields to prevent entry except at checkpoints guarded by soldiers. Inside the town the African districts have been completely encircled by the army. And it is inside this area that the great majority of Somalis who will vote 'No' can be found. *This mass military presence undoubtedly constitutes pressure.*"

A sober comment on the results of that policy was given in the Tanzanian newspaper *The Nationalist* of 27 March:

"The so-called referendum was conducted with the country and the capital in particular in a virtual state of siege by French paratroopers. . . . France as a colonial Power has in the past earned the reputation of sublime indifference to nationalist campaigns for independence. But she has invariably lost, from Indochina to Algeria. This is a lesson which she should now recall."

Another method used by the French Government to create an atmosphere favourable to its own wishes was economic intimidation. The threat that France would immediately withdraw every kind of aid to the Territory if it voted for independence was a gesture that was not conducive to the free and democratic expression of the wishes of the people. Referring to that threat by the French Government, the French publication *Le Nouvel Observateur* of 22 March 1967 commented: "In this referendum 'under arms', blackmail has been added to intimidation."

220. To the complete lack of a free political atmosphere for the holding of the referendum should be added the denial to so many of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory of their right of self-determina-

tion on the basis of universal adult suffrage and with full respect for human rights. Thousands of citizens had been deported and so denied their right of self-determination, and the brutal conditions of their deportation constituted a denial of their fundamental human rights and freedoms.

221. *The Scotsman*, a newspaper known for its impartial reporting, had made the unequivocal comment: "The French made sure of the result by either removing the Somalis altogether—6,000 were sent back to Somalia—or declaring them 'foreigners' and depriving them of the franchise."

222. The deliberate rigging of the electoral procedures to produce a result favourable to France was a further cause of frustration and just anger on the part of the indigenous population. The period allowed for political campaigning was severely limited and accompanied by a curfew; the chief political parties which had their headquarters in Djibouti, the main centre for the independence movement, had not been allowed to campaign in the interior where the more unsophisticated tribesmen were considered to be pro-French; the political parties had not been allowed to have observers at the polling booths in the areas where they had not been registered; above all, unrealistic residential and other qualifications had ensured that thousands of eligible Somali voters would be denied their right to vote. That serious charge was clearly proved by the following extracts from the international Press. Roy Blackman of *The Daily Express* of 20 March had written:

"Today's referendum . . . was an elaborately contrived affair with a built-in bias. Not to put too fine a point on it, the pro-French communities were given bigger voting power. My own calculations show that likely pro-French voters received twice as many votes per hundred of the population as the anti-French Somali population. Indeed, thousands of Somalis have been refused a vote under the three-year residential qualification."

The unreality of expecting three-year residential qualifications from a population whose traditional way of life was nomadic had been pointed out to the Special Committee by several of the petitioners.

223. *The Times* of London, always considered a highly reputable source of information and comment, had noted in its issue of 30 March:

"The voting pattern in the electoral districts showed that in many areas where only Afars live, 100 per cent of the registered vote was cast for France. Such a result can only have been organised. No supervisory commission from the United Nations or elsewhere would have accepted the result without reserve."

224. The *Daily Mail* of 20 March included the following short but telling summary of the electoral arrangements:

"The electoral list of 39,000 out of 125,000 people includes only 14,000 of the 58,000 independent-minded Somalis, while 22,000 of the 45,000 pro-French Afar tribesmen are registered."

Out of a population of 125,000, only 39,000 male voters including over 2,000 non-indigenous people with no permanent stake in the country had thus constituted the universal adult suffrage of the indigenous inhabitants required by General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI).

225. The whole conduct of the referendum was summed up in the *Washington Post* of 23 March:

"In less time than a week France has demonstrated its determination to hang on to its last colony in Africa and has proved it can savagely crush any challenge to its authority. The very harshness of the crackdown—the machines-guns, the tear gas, the massive presence of troops, the knocks on the doors, the temporary concentration camps, the deportations, the shots in the dark during rigid curfews—has ensured that French Somaliland will remain a hot spot and an occupied territory. This solution bears little resemblance to the one prescribed by General de Gaulle last August when he promised the territory's rioting inhabitants self-determination and a free and fair choice for independence. Nor has its application in the last few days been pleasant to witness. . . . When voting requirements were finally established and the list of eligible voters compiled it became clear that the French could not lose. Although Somalis comprise at least 50 per cent of the population, the rival Afar tribe was given a 60 per cent majority on the voting rolls. Not surprisingly the final returns from the referendum showed 60 per cent majority for continued French rule."

226. He had quoted at length from the reports and comments in the international Press because Somalia had been accused of championing the cause of its brothers in so-called French Somaliland out of self-interest. It was therefore particularly important that the accusations levelled against France for its conduct of the referendum should be made by other voices than that of Somalia. No one who had heard those voices could possibly maintain that self-determination had been exercised by the people of the Territory.

227. The holding of the referendum had not even brought to an end the sufferings of the indigenous people of so-called French Somaliland, let alone their mental frustration at the flagrant denial of their political rights. The brutalities inflicted on those who had shown their just dissatisfaction with the conduct of the referendum by making a public demonstration were well documented by reports and photographs in the international Press. While there had been no fatal casualties among the French forces ordered to quell the demonstration, more than thirty Somalis had been callously shot by the mercenaries of the Foreign Legion and hundreds more wounded when helicopters had dropped percussion grenades to disperse the crowds. *Time* magazine, reporting on those incidents, said:

"Bystanders as well as rioters were shot down, no questions asked."

The New York Times of 21 March commented:

"The French Somaliland referendum was confused, messy, and in the end bloody with familiar displays of brutality by the Foreign Legion."

228. Four thousand people had then been indiscriminately rounded up and taken to a detention camp in the desert. From there a further 2,500 Somalis had been taken by night to a desolate area on the border and forced to cross, at bayonet point, into Somalia in spite of the Somali Government's protests at the violation of its sovereignty, and in defiance of international law and human rights. The French authorities had claimed that law and order had been restored to the Territory—the Special Committee could judge for itself on what basis.

229. The last charge against the French Government was perhaps the gravest of all. It was attempting to do something which would have been considered reprehensible even in the heyday of colonialism. He had already mentioned its attempts to eliminate by deportation and to subjugate by political and other forms of oppression the major ethnic group of the Territory, because that group was particularly vociferous in its demand for independence. The attempt by the French authorities to create distrust and suspicion between the Somalis and Afars had been one of the most distasteful features of the pre-referendum period. That policy constituted an attempt to "de-Somalize" the Territory. The choice as leaders of the new Government of certain Afar politicians who held the most extreme and unrepresentative views on Somali-Afar relations, and the dissemination, through the information media, of the most inflammatory anti-Somali opinions by such politicians were further indications of the stepping-up of that policy.

230. Afars and Somalis had lived side by side in peace for hundreds of years with no more friction than that occurred normally between related families. They belonged to the same ethnic family; their languages were similar; they intermarried, had the same customs and way of life and shared a common religion. All Afars and Somalis of goodwill and good sense were aware of the attempt to divide them and knew where their common interests lay.

231. The original proposal that the name of the Territory should be changed to the "French Territory of the Afars" could not be justified on geographical, historical or technical grounds. When the French had first come to the area, they had given it the name which best expressed its ethnic composition and the purpose of the move to change the name of the Territory was to obscure its essentially Somali character.

232. The implication of that change, which went far beyond questions of nomenclature and ethnic majority, was brought out in a far-sighted editorial of the Tanzanian newspaper *The Nationalist*:

"What is unfortunate, however, is the possibility that this move will shift attention away from the crux of the political evolution of the territory. So much acrimony may enter on a change of name that the struggle for the political emancipation of the territory may be obscured."

233. The name of a Territory should only be changed at the express wish of the majority of the people after they had achieved real and complete independence.

234. The French Parliament had later approved the change of the name to "French Territory of the Afars and Issas". The first move had come from the Territorial Assembly of French Somaliland which had recommended a change of the name to "French Territory of the Afars". The modification of the title by the French National Assembly to "French Territory of the Afars and Issas" was a vivid example of the inconsistency of French policy and the intention to perpetuate a divide-and-rule policy in the Territory regardless of the wishes of the people.

235. His delegation protested very strongly against a change motivated purely by France's desire to prolong its colonialist administration in the Territory and urged the Special Committee to condemn the French Government for adopting a measure contrary to the wishes of the people.

236. Observers of the scene in so-called French Somaliland had often asked why France had been willing to use all means, fair or foul, to retain the colonial status of that particular Territory, whereas it had allowed other Territories with far greater economic resources to obtain their freedom. The answer was not easy, but it was interesting to note that French Radio Television's information supplement No. 1337 of 1965 stated clearly that the decision of France to remain in the Territory could be attributed "... to the context of the over-all interests of the Western Powers in the Indian Ocean. . . . It follows, more precisely, from the fact that Djibouti constitutes a strategical and logistical staging-post for linking up with the Pacific Ocean settlement where there are plans to situate the experimental installation for the French nuclear bomb and where it is planned to remove the seat of government in the event of the occupation or destruction of metropolitan France". If that was the reason, it was a classic example of a type of colonialism which had been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations.

237. In view of the above comments by impartial observers, it was obvious that French Somaliland was still a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the purview of the Special Committee and merited its deepest concern. He suggested, first, that the Committee should retain the question of French Somaliland on its agenda. Second, the Committee should reject the referendum conducted by the French authorities, which had been a mockery and a farce. Third, the Committee should call upon the administering Power to discontinue its present policies and take appropriate measures to normalize all aspects of life in the Territory. It should call on France to ensure the termination of all special police, emergency and military measures and martial law; to release all detainees in the so-called transit camps and all other political prisoners; to arrange with the Government of Somalia—perhaps through the Committee's good offices—for the orderly return of the deportees from Somalia to the Territory. Fourth, the Committee, acting in the defence of human rights, should strongly censure the administering Power for the brutality and loss of life inflicted on the indigenous people by its military forces. The Committee could not ignore the fact that over thirty people had been callously shot down and hundreds more seriously wounded by those troops.

238. Finally, it was the earnest hope of the Somali Government that the Special Committee would agree to appoint a fact-finding sub-committee which could either visit the Territory, if it were permitted to do so, or visit neighbouring Territories to enable it to make its own impartial assessment, based on facts obtained by its own members concerning the situation in the Territory and the refugee problem in Somalia. That action had been strongly recommended by the Permanent Representative of Somalia to the United Nations in the weeks before the referendum, when such a visit would have been of even greater value. However, it still appeared essential that a fact-finding sub-committee should be appointed so that the General Assembly could obtain impartial information when the question of the Territory came before it again.

239. In conclusion, he thanked the Special Committee for the priority which it was according to the question of so-called French Somaliland and assured it of the Somali Government's fullest co-operation in its constructive efforts.

Consideration by the Special Committee at Headquarters

240. As stated in paragraph 129 above, the Special Committee further considered the question of French Somaliland at its 557th and 559th meetings held at Headquarters on 12 and 13 September 1967.

241. In a letter dated 11 September 1967 (A/AC.109/272), the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Permanent Mission of Somalia to the United Nations requested that his delegation be permitted to participate in the Special Committee's consideration of French Somaliland. At its 557th meeting on 12 September, the Special Committee decided, without objection, to accede to that request.

Written petitions

242. The Special Committee circulated the following written petitions concerning French Somaliland:

<i>Petitioner</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
Mr. Abdillahi Ardeye, Secretary-General, and Mr. Omar Ahmed, Member of the Central Council, Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis	A/AC.109/PET.579/Add.1
Mr. Abdillahi Ardeye, Secretary-General, Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis	A/AC.109/PET.579/Add.2
Mr. Osman Aden Youssouf, Secretary for International Relations and Controller General, Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis	A/AC.109/PET.579/Add.3
Mr. Osman Aden Youssouf, Secretary for International Relations and Controller General, Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis	A/AC.109/PET.579/Add.4
Messrs. Ali Ahmed Ofidom, President, and Hagi Samod Farah, Secretary-General, Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis	A/AC.109/PET.579/Add.5
Mr. Abdillahi Wabery, Vice-President of the Parti du mouvement populaire (PMP) and Secretary-General of the Central Committee for Deportees from French Somaliland, Mr. Abdulrahman Ahmed Hassan Gabot, Vice-President of the United National Front of French Somaliland and former member of the Territorial Assembly of French Somaliland, and Mr. Abdillahi Youssouf, member of the Central Committee of the PMP and former Secretary of the Coordinating Bureau of the PMP and Union démocratique Afar	A/AC.109/PET.616/Add.1-3
Mr. Ali Ahmed Udun, President, Liberation Front for French Somali Coast, on behalf of the Parti du mouvement populaire and Union Démocratique Afar	A/AC.109/PET.617/Add.1
Mr. Mohammed Aborashid on behalf of the Somali Students' Association in America	A/AC.109/PET.626

<i>Petitioner</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
Mr. Ali Jame, President of the Somali Community in Aden	A/AC.109/PET.627
Messrs. Abdillahi Wabery, Abdillahi Yousouf and Osmen Abubaker	A/AC.109/PET.691

Statement by the representative of Somalia

243. The representative of Somalia said that much had happened since the Special Committee had last discussed the item at Headquarters. First, on 3 July 1967, the French Government had issued a new Statute for the Territory. Second, the Committee, while in Africa, had received additional petitions and heard more petitioners; his delegation hoped that appropriate conclusions would be drawn from the statements made. Third, those petitions and the new Statute were but two aspects of the deplorable situation in the Territory, which showed increasing dangers of deterioration. Many citizens were still in gaol, and the thousands who had been expelled to Somalia had not yet been permitted to return to their homeland and were consequently in great distress. His Government had always done whatever it could to improve their situation, but the fact remained that they were innocent victims of unfair police measures and possessed an inalienable right to return to their homeland. Furthermore, since the referendum of 19 March 1967, French authorities in the Territory had been pursuing a deliberate policy of discrimination and persecution against the Somali majority of the inhabitants. By systematically encouraging a small group of extremists and placing them in important positions, they had silenced all the nationalist and moderate elements of the population.

244. The spectre of colonialism, once thought to be gone for ever, had been raised again by the course of events. In August 1966, spontaneous demonstrations demanding self-determination and independence had been harshly suppressed and had been followed by punitive measures. A referendum on the future of the Territory had been arranged; mounting evidence that the referendum would not be fair had prompted the General Assembly, in its resolution 2228 (XXI), to request the administering Power to conduct it "on an entirely free and democratic basis" and to arrange for "a United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the holding of the referendum". The administering Power had, of course, completely disregarded that appeal, and thousands of eligible voters had been disfranchised. The outcome of the referendum could certainly not be considered genuine. When protests had been voiced, however, the oppression had been intensified. All the efforts and proposals of the Somali Government to solve the problem of the expellees had been of no avail. The Somalis in the Territory had been deprived of any means of political action through the dissolution of the party which many of them supported.

245. It was in that context that his delegation believed the new Statute for the Territory should be viewed. That Statute was incompatible with the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the noble traditions of France. It gave the colonial Power unlimited authority in all matters of importance and was a scarcely disguised effort to turn back the clock. It precluded any possibility of the Territory's evolution towards self-determination.

246. The preamble stated that the Statute established a large degree of administrative autonomy, but

a cursory examination of it revealed how small that autonomy was. The spirit of the Statute was illustrated by the warning contained in article 3, which said that the President and the Ministers were liable to prosecution for crimes and misdemeanours committed in the exercise of their functions. The fact that the enactment of criminal laws and the administration of justice were entirely in the hands of the French Government showed what powers the latter possessed. In recent months, it should be noted, numerous leading personalities in the Territory had been imprisoned or expelled. The Statute also provided for a local Chamber of Deputies whose members did not enjoy parliamentary immunity. The Chamber could be dissolved at any time if the local government council so desired and the French Government agreed (article 37). It had virtually no right of initiative and could propose nothing which would create or increase a public expenditure (article 33).

247. Vast powers were reserved to the administering Power, which was represented by a High Commissioner in the Territory. The list of matters exclusively in its hands included foreign relations, external communications, the Treasury, credit, external trade, radio and television broadcasting, justice, nationality, civil status, control of immigration and the policing of foreigners. In general, the administering Power also had the exclusive prerogative to handle all matters pertaining to defence. The new Statute (article 38) defined defence as covering not only the external safety of the Territory but also general security and the maintenance of law and order. The scope of that definition was obvious.

248. The High Commissioner's powers were similarly wide and vague. Although he no longer presided over the local government council, his deputy could attend any meeting of the Council with the right to speak, thus taking away its privacy. Perhaps even more important, the High Commissioner possessed prerogatives which made him a veritable nineteenth-century viceroy in the Territory. He promulgated all laws and decrees and ensured their execution. He ensured respect for public freedoms. He supervised the legality of all the acts of the authorities of the Territory. He could, without having to give any reason, demand a second reading of any act of the local Chamber of Deputies and the reconsideration of any act of the local Government Council. Such a demand could not be refused. The High Commissioner could suspend the implementation of any act for ninety days. Neither the people nor the elected authorities of the Territory had any influence on the selection of the High Commissioner or his deputy. Both were appointed by the French Cabinet by decree.

249. In the light of those provisions, it was clear that the local authorities had no powers in the affairs of their Territory. Indeed, a deputy in the French National Assembly had pointed out that fact.

250. The arrangement governing the port of Djibouti, the largest economic asset of the Territory, was worth mentioning. After the referendum, the French Government had entertained the idea of taking the port altogether out of the Territory by making it a separate public institution, with a legal personality and financial autonomy of its own. The separate port authority was to be supervised directly by the French Minister for Overseas Territories and administered by a board of directors composed in equal numbers of representatives of France, of the Territory and of the users. That proposal had been withdrawn because it

went too far. Under the new Statute, however, the port would continue to be administered as a quasi-extra-territorial entity by a separate public authority under what was known as "*régie directe*". That decision was based on the Franco-Ethiopian Treaty regarding the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway. The financial provisions of the treaty, which were very unfavourable to the Territory, remained in effect.

251. The new Statute had been sharply criticized even in the French National Assembly. An Opposition spokesman, referring to the numerous prerogatives reserved to the French Government and the High Commissioner in the Territory, had asked what the Minister for Overseas Territories was leaving to the inhabitants. He had denied that the referendum of 19 March 1967 had yielded a true majority in favour of continued Territorial status, pointing out that, of the 87,000 "French citizens" in the Territory, only 39,024 had been permitted to vote. Those had included 22,000 of the 48,000 Afars and 14,000 of the 58,000 Somalis.

252. He then quoted the French Opposition Deputy's description of Djibouti during the referendum as a city under martial law and pointed out the concern of many prominent individuals in France at the policy of mass imprisonment and deportation.

253. His final important point had to do with the contrast between the promises made before the referendum and what had been done after it. That was basic to a proper evaluation of developments in the Territory. The very question on the ballot paper had been whether or not the voter preferred the Territory to remain within the framework of the French Republic under a remodelled Statute. His delegation reserved the right to submit a detailed comparative study of the promises made before the referendum and the instrument that had emerged on 3 July 1967. For the moment, it was sufficient to mention that, contrary to the promises made, the new Statute did not give the Territory's Chamber of Deputies the power to establish its own electoral rules, and that, in spite of the prior commitments, the Chamber was now under the threat of dissolution by the Territory's Government Council or the French Government. Furthermore, the High Commissioner had far-reaching powers. Under the new Statute, those contradictions had not been lost on the Territory's Assembly when the draft Statute was sent to it for discussion—but not for approval. It must be stressed that a majority of the Territory's population had been wholly unrepresented in the Assembly, since the Somali members had refused to take part in it. A new Assembly should have been elected in order to discuss the new Statute. Instead, the French Government had submitted the draft Statute to a local rump Assembly and accepted some innocuous changes demanded by it but had rejected the more important ones, such as the one relating to administration of the port.

254. Similarly, the voters had been warned before the referendum that a change was planned in the name of the Territory.

255. French Somaliland was a small and poor country, lacking in natural resources. All the energies of its people should be harnessed to improve their living standards, as it was all the more deplorable to stir up tribal antagonism as a support for a dying colonialism. It was untrue that the Afars constituted a majority of the population, that the desire for independence existed only among the Somalis in the Territory and

that that desire was due to agitation carried on by Somalia. If the referendum showed a slight majority in favour of continued territorial status, that was due, among other things, to the fact that tens of thousands of potential "no" voters had been denied the right to vote. The Afars and the Somalis were very closely related in language, religion, customs and culture. They had never been at war with each other, and they had been co-operating politically. After the demonstrations of August 1966, the principal Afar party, the Union démocratique Afar, had formed a coalition Government with the other majority party, the Parti du mouvement populaire, which had many Somali adherents. It was also interesting to note that the head of the coalition Government, Mr. Mohammed Kamil, had favoured independence. When he had changed his mind, the party had deposed him. A joint committee of the two parties had worked for independence until the colonial authorities arrested its members. Even the leader of the Afar party had been imprisoned during the referendum and thus prevented from campaigning. After the referendum, the Parti du mouvement populaire had been suppressed and outlawed. At present, there was no free political life in the Territory.

256. In conclusion, he pointed out that the draft Statute had proposed the name "French Territory of the Afars and the Somalis" for the Territory but an amendment had been introduced in the French National Assembly naming it "French Territory of the Afars and the Issas". The change of name had been decided upon in the National Assembly without any serious debate and without the knowledge of the people of the Territory, who had learnt about it as an accomplished fact. His delegation did not believe that an artificial name could change the character of a country, obstruct the course of history or deprive a people of their right to self-determination.

257. The situation in French Somaliland should be of the utmost concern to the Committee. The flagrant acts of discrimination and persecution against anyone suspected of desiring independence were based on an unfair referendum which, despite all the circumstances surrounding it, had nevertheless shown that forty per cent of those permitted to vote were unequivocally in favour of independence; under the circumstances, that was a very high percentage. Since the referendum, the local Government had been completely unrepresentative of the sentiments of the people; the new colonial Statute did not grant true local autonomy and, in addition, the very name of the Territory was to be obliterated.

258. The representative of Ethiopia said that her delegation would state its position in regard to the question of French Somaliland at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

F. Further action taken by the Special Committee

259. At its 559th meeting, held on 12 September 1967, the Special Committee decided to transmit to the General Assembly the information contained in the relevant working papers prepared by the Secretariat (see paras. 1-49 above), together with the statements made on the item by representatives and petitioners. It also decided that, subject to any decision that the General Assembly might take at its twenty-second session, the Committee would consider French Somaliland during its meetings in 1968.

ANNEX*

Question of French Somaliland

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

1. Resolution 228 (XXI) of 20 December 1966 on the question of French Somaliland adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session read as follows:

"Question of French Somaliland"

[For the text of this resolution, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Supplement No. 16.]

2. By letter dated 10 January 1967, the Secretary-General transmitted the text of resolution 2228 (XXI) to the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations. This letter is reproduced below:

"I have the honour to transmit herewith, for the attention of your Government, the text of resolution 2228 (XXI) concerning French Somaliland, adopted by the General Assembly at its 1500th plenary meeting, on 20 December 1966.

* Previously reproduced under the symbol A/AC.109/223.

"In forwarding this resolution, I would draw your attention, in particular, to operative paragraph 4, which 'requests the administering Power, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to make appropriate arrangements for a United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the holding of the referendum'.

"As the Secretary-General is requested in operative paragraph 5 of same resolution to report on this matter 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, I would appreciate receiving from Your Excellency information regarding the steps taken or envisaged by the Government of France in this regard.

"Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration."

3. Taking into consideration the decision of the French Government fixing 19 March 1967 as the date for holding the proposed referendum in French Somaliland, the Secretary-General, subsequent to this letter of 10 January 1967, also discussed the matter with the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations.

4. The Secretary-General has not as yet received any response from the Government of France.

CHAPTER XIII*

OMAN

A. Action previously taken by the Special Committee and the General Assembly

1. The question of Oman was included in the agenda of the General Assembly at its fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth sessions and was referred to the Special Political Committee for consideration. At the fifteenth session, the Special Political Committee considered the question but decided, owing to lack of time, to postpone further consideration of the question until the sixteenth session. At the sixteenth and seventeenth sessions, the Special Political Committee approved draft resolutions¹ whereby the General Assembly, recalling its resolution 1514 (XV), would recognize the right of the people of Oman to self-determination and independence, call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Oman, and invite the parties concerned to settle peacefully their differences with a view to restoring normal conditions in Oman. The General Assembly, however, did not adopt these draft resolutions at its plenary meetings because they failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority.

2. At the 1191st plenary meeting of the General Assembly at its seventeenth session, the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, on behalf of the Sultan of Muscat and Oman, extended an invitation to a representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to visit the Sultanate on a personal basis to obtain first-hand information on the situation there. Subsequently, the Secretary-General appointed Mr. Herbert de Ribbing, Swedish Ambassador to Spain, as his Special Representative to undertake that task. Mr. de Ribbing visited Oman in June 1963 and submitted a report which was made available to the General Assembly at its eighteenth session.²

3. At the eighteenth session, the question of Oman was again included in the agenda of the General Assembly and referred to the Fourth Committee for consideration. A draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee was adopted by the General Assembly on 11 December 1963, as resolution 1948 (XVIII). By this resolution, the Assembly took note of the report of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and decided to establish an *Ad Hoc* Committee to examine the question of Oman and to report to it at its nineteenth session. The *Ad Hoc* Committee submitted its report to the General Assembly on 8 January 1965.³

4. The question of Oman was one of the many items included in the provisional agenda of the General Assembly, which it was unable to consider at its nineteenth session. At the twentieth session, the item was referred to the Fourth Committee for consideration. A draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee was adopted by the General Assembly at its 1399th plenary meeting on 17 December 1965 as resolution 2073 (XX). By this resolution, the General Assembly took note of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Oman,³ and recognized the inalienable right of the people of the Territory as a whole to self-determination and independence. It considered that the colonial presence of the United Kingdom in its various forms prevented the people of the Territory from exercising their rights to self-determination and independence. The General Assembly also called upon the Government of the United Kingdom to implement a number of measures in the Territory and invited the Special Committee to examine the situation in the Territory.

5. The Special Committee considered the question of Oman at its meetings in 1966 and heard a number of petitioners from Oman. On 17 November 1966, the Special Committee decided that it would report to the General Assembly that due to lack of time it had

* Previously issued under the symbol A/6700/Add.12.

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 23, document A/5010, para.10; and *ibid.*, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 79, document A/5325, para.8.

² *Ibid.*, Eighteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 78, document A/5562.

³ *Ibid.*, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 16, document A/5846.

not been able to complete its consideration of the item. It also decided that, subject to any further directives the General Assembly might wish to give during its twenty-first session, it would consider the question at its meetings in 1967 with a view to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2073 (XX).

6. At its twenty-first session, the General Assembly considered the report of the Special Committee covering its work in 1966 (A/6300/Rev. 1, chap. XIII), and adopted resolution 2238 (XXI) of 20 December 1966 which reads as follows:

[For the text of the resolution, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, supplement No. 16.]

B. Information on the Territory⁵

Introduction

7. Detailed information on the Territory is contained in the chapter on Oman in the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XIII). This paper contains a summary of that information, together with supplementary information concerning recent developments.

1. SULTANATE OF MUSCAT AND OMAN

General

8. The Sultanate of Muscat and Oman lies at the extreme south-east of the Arabian Peninsula, east of the Rub-al-Khali desert. It has a total area of approximately 82,000 square miles (212,000 square kilometres). The total population of Muscat and Oman is estimated at over 750,000.

9. Muscat and Oman has, in the past, been under two different political institutions. From the eighth century onwards, it was an independent State ruled by an Imam who exercised both spiritual and temporal authority. About 1775, with the death of Imam Ahmed bin Said, the first Sultanate was established in Muscat on the coast. Early in the nineteenth century, the predominant institution was the Sultanate, but the Imamate was revived in the interior of the country once in 1868 and again in 1913. According to the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Oman, the interior of Oman was an autonomous political entity under two successive Imams, Salim bin Rashid al-Kharusi and Mohamed bin Abdullah al-Khalili, from 1913 until 1955 when it was occupied by the Sultan's forces with British assistance. Although the boundaries of the Imamate were not clearly defined, it included the Jabal al Akhdar, the Dhahirah, the Sharqiyah and the Ja'lan. The Imamate seemed to have had the normal attributes of a State, with a Head of State, a Higher Council, an Assembly and its own system of administration.

10. The *Ad Hoc* Committee stated that the Imam was considered by his followers as the Head of State and was elected by "the leaders, elders and notables of the people from various levels and tribes" in consultation with religious figures. The Imam's authority was exercised in all fields—religious, political and judicial—in accordance with Islamic law. He was bound to consult the Higher Council in all major problems. The Assembly was composed of the members of the Higher

Council, *walis* and tribal leaders and met whenever the Imam decided to convene it.

11. The present Imam, Ghalib bin Ali, was elected in 1954. He lives in exile in Saudi Arabia. He has a Higher Council which includes several Sheikhs from the leading tribes in the area, and a Revolutionary Council whose aims are "to direct the struggle of the people to regain their independence, and to educate and train them, both inside and outside the country" (A/5846, para. 549). The Revolutionary Council has a Military Committee, a Financial Committee, a Cultural Committee and a Secretariat. It has appointed representatives to the Arab League and to several Arab States.

12. The present Sultan has maintained that all the people of Oman are his subjects and that there have never been two States. His family has been in power in Muscat and Oman for over 220 years.

Relationship with the United Kingdom

13. British association with Muscat dates back to 1798, when a treaty was signed between Muscat and the East India Company. The written instruments on which the present relationship between the Sultanate and the United Kingdom is based, namely, the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation and Exchange of Letters of 1951 and the Exchange of Letters of 1958, were reproduced in full in the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session (A/6300/Rev. 1, chap. XIII, annex I).

14. There is a British Consul-General in Muscat who is responsible to the British Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, whose headquarters is in Bahrain. The latter is responsible to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in London. In addition to other duties, the Political Resident has an over-all responsibility for the postal services and telegraphic communications in the Sultanate and in other States in the area. He also controls exchange transactions effected through the banks.

15. The administration of air fields which have been established in Oman under the 1934 Civil Air Agreement⁶ falls within the jurisdiction of the Political Resident. By this Agreement, the United Kingdom received permission to establish air fields in the Sultanate. The United Kingdom acts as the agent of the Sultan in all aviation matters. While the air field at Masirah Island is used for staging purposes, Salalah Airfield is considered as an international airport for civil airlines and is managed by the United Kingdom on behalf of the Sultan according to international rules and regulations. Use of the air fields by the Royal Air Force is governed by a separate agreement between the Sultan and the United Kingdom.

16. By an order in council which came into operation on 1 January 1967,⁷ the United Kingdom Government ceased to exercise extraterritorial jurisdiction in the Territory of the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. The order provided for the transfer of pending cases before the consular courts to the courts of the Sultan. The revocation of previous orders, rules and regulations relating to British jurisdiction and British courts does not have any retroactive effect over past cases settled by the courts.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23.

⁵ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports.

⁶ The Agreement was reconfirmed in the Exchange of Letters of 1958.

⁷ Statutory Instruments, The Muscat (Revoking) Order 1966, No. 1598.

The Sultan

17. The Sultan is a traditional ruler who exercises supreme authority over his subjects. His authority is based on customs and understandings which have their origin in the tribal system prevailing in most of the country. There is no constitution or elected representative institution. The present Sultan, Said bin Taimur, has ruled Muscat and Oman since the abdication of his father in 1932.

18. The capital of the Sultanate is Muscat, although the Sultan's normal residence is at Salalah in Dhofar. The administration of the provinces and main centres of population is in the hands of *walis* (governors) who are responsible to the Sultan through the Minister of the Interior.

Security

19. There have been unofficial reports of attacks on United Kingdom military units in Oman, mine explosions, and raids against military convoys and installations. Omani organizations abroad, particularly the Dhofar Liberation Front and the Omani Revolutionary Council, have issued communiqués on the operations carried out by "commandos of the Omani Liberation Army" in areas such as Salalah, Taqah, Bahlah, Uqbat Hamrus, Muscat, Al-Fuhud, Ubaylah, As-Suwayq, Nazwa and Rastaq. According to some reports, demonstrations have been held against oil companies in Oman. On 27 December 1966, the Omani Revolutionary Council announced that it would not recognize agreements concluded by the Shell Oil Company with any party other than the Government led by the Imam of Oman.

20. In April 1966, an attempt was made on the life of the Sultan of Muscat and Oman at a military parade in Salalah. The Sultan escaped unhurt but five other persons were reported killed, including the commanding officer of the Sultan's forces in Dhofar, and several were wounded.

Economic conditions

21. In general, the economy of the Sultanate is mainly pastoral and agricultural. The chief products are dates, fish and cereals (the latter being grown for local consumption), as well as limes and other fruit. Breeding of livestock, particularly camels, is widely practised.

22. The chief exports of Muscat and Oman are dates, dried limes, dried fish, tobacco leaf, hides, goat hair and vegetables. Imports include rice, wheat, flour, sugar, cement, vehicles and accessories, cotton piece goods and other consumer goods. A part of these imports is financed by the oil companies for their exploration and other operations.

23. In 1964, the value of total imports to the Sultanate was £2.4 million, excluding £500,000 of imports for government use. Exports were valued at £480,000. In 1965, trade with the United Kingdom was as follows:

	Thousand pounds sterling
Exports to the United Kingdom	9
Imports from the United Kingdom	2,207
Re-exports from the United Kingdom	26

24. The revenue of the Sultanate is derived mainly from customs receipts and annual payments by the oil companies. In 1965, total revenue was estimated at 11 million rupees.

Oil

25. The first oil concession was obtained by a foreign company in 1937, when a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Company, Petroleum Development (Oman) Ltd., was granted a seventy-five-year concession extending over the whole area except Dhofar. In 1953, a concession covering Dhofar was granted to Dhofar Cities Service Petroleum Corporation for a period of twenty-five years from the date of commercial production. In 1960, Petroleum Development (Oman) Ltd. was acquired by Royal Dutch Shell and Partex. In March 1966, an off-shore concession was granted to Wintershall A.G., a concern in the Federal Republic of Germany.

26. In 1964, Petroleum Development (Oman) Ltd. announced that drilling had proved the existence of sufficient reserves to go into commercial production. Export of crude oil was expected to start in the second half of 1967 at a rate of about 6 or 7 million tons a year. A pipeline was to be built through Wadi Sumail to an oil loading terminal at Saih-al-Malih, a few miles to the west of Muscat town.

Development

27. Subsidies are paid by the United Kingdom Government towards development. Under the agreement concluded between the Sultan and the United Kingdom in 1958, the latter agreed to assist in carrying out "a civil development programme which will include the improvement of roads, medical and educational facilities and an agricultural research programme" (see A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XIII, annex I).

28. In September 1966, a United Kingdom firm of architects and planners, John R. Harris, was commissioned by the Sultan to prepare a development plan for the region of Muscat and Matrah. The plan would include main transport services, a fresh water distribution system, electrical supply and drainage. The Sultan was reported to have asked the firm to begin construction work towards the end of 1967, the plan to be progressively carried out as exports of oil grew after the autumn of 1967.

2. TRUCIAL SHEIKHDOMS

General

29. The Trucial Sheikhdoms lie north of the Rub-al-Khali, between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman; the area, also known as Trucial Oman or the Trucial Coast, extends for nearly 400 miles from the south-eastern end of the peninsula of Qatar along the southern coast of the Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Oman. The boundaries of the Trucial Coast have not been clearly demarcated and in several places have been the subject of disputes with neighbouring countries. The total area is estimated roughly at 32,000 square miles (83,000 square kilometres).

30. No census has ever been taken of the population: the estimated total is 110,000, of whom about one tenth are nomads.

31. The Sheikhdoms consist of seven separate political entities each headed by a Sheikh or Ruler. They are (from west to east): Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Ajman, Sharjah, Umm al Qaiwain, Ras al Khaimah and Fujairah.

Relationship with the United Kingdom

32. Contacts between the East India Company and the rulers of the Sheikhdoms date back to the seventeenth century, but it was not until 1806 that the first agreement was signed with the Sheikh of the Qasimi (Jasimi) tribe. In 1820, following hostilities between a British naval expedition and local Sheikhs at Ras al Khaimah and other points of the Oman coast, a general "Treaty of Peace" was concluded between the Sheikhs and the British Government. In 1835, a "Maritime Truce" was signed by the Sheikhs providing for a temporary cessation of hostilities between them. The Truce was renewed several times in subsequent years until in 1853 a "Treaty of Peace in Perpetuity" was concluded, whereby the United Kingdom acquired the right to watch over the maintenance of the peace and to take steps to enforce the treaty at all times.

33. In 1892, the Sheikhs signed identical "Exclusive Agreements" with the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, whereby they undertook not to "cede, sell, mortgage or otherwise give for occupation" any part of their territory except to the British Government. The United Kingdom was also to become responsible for the conduct of their foreign relations. These agreements constitute the basis of the present relationship between the United Kingdom and the Trucial Sheikhdoms. In 1911 and 1922, further agreements were concluded whereby the granting of pearling and oil concessions respectively became subject to the approval of the United Kingdom Government. The full texts of these documents were reproduced in the Special Committee's previous report to the General Assembly (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XIII, annex II). The Rulers have also undertaken to recognize the right of the United Kingdom to fix their State boundaries and to settle disputes between them.

34. There is a British Political Agent in Dubai and another in Abu Dhabi; both are responsible to the Political Resident in Bahrein. In addition to the conduct of the Trucial Sheikhdoms' foreign relations, the functions of the Political Resident include over-all supervision in certain administrative fields, together with that of international aspects or matters chiefly affecting foreigners and the implementation of international conventions such as the Sanitary Convention and the Dangerous Drugs Convention. These fields are mainly postal services, telegraphic communications, exchange transactions, control of immigration, imports of arms and narcotics and civil aviation.

35. Advice is given to the Rulers in the administration and development of their Sheikhdoms by the Political Agents. Relations between the oil companies and the Rulers are usually conducted through or with the knowledge of the United Kingdom authorities. Company officials are required to keep the British Political Agents or officers informed of important developments in their dealings with the Rulers.

36. The United Kingdom enjoys extraterritorial jurisdiction in the Trucial Sheikhdoms. The scope and machinery used in the exercise of this jurisdiction has been described in the Special Committee's previous report to the General Assembly (*ibid.*, chap. XIII, paras. 49-52).

Rulers

37. The Sheikh (or Ruler) is essentially a tribal leader and a descendant of a ruling family which has had the ascendancy among the tribes for several generations. On the death of a Sheikh, succession is decided

according to custom by a meeting of the senior members of the ruling family. In recent times, the tendency has been to allow succession to pass from father to son. The Political Resident usually extends the recognition of the United Kingdom Government to the new Ruler at a formal ceremony.

38. The Rulers exercise authority over their subjects in conformity with local customs and traditions. Their rule is entirely personal and there are no constitutions or elected representatives of the people.

39. On 6 August 1966, Sheikh Shakbut of Abu Dhabi was deposed by leading members of his family and replaced as Ruler by his brother—Sheikh Zaid bin Sultan. The new Ruler was immediately recognized by the United Kingdom Government. A statement by the British Political Resident in Bahrein reported that the family decision had been taken "in the public interest because of Sheikh Shakbut's manifest inability, despite all their advice, to govern Abu Dhabi State properly or use the country's increasing wealth in the interests of the people".

Armed forces

40. In 1952, the United Kingdom established a joint Arab Force in the Sheikhdoms—the Trucial Oman Levies—now called the Trucial Oman Scouts. In 1953, the Scouts were expanded from 100 to 500 men, and in 1958 to 1,000 men; there are about thirty-nine British officers and ninety non-commissioned officers in the Scouts. The headquarters of the Trucial Oman Scouts is at Sharjah, although squadrons are stationed in various points inland and along the coast. The Scouts are under the control and direction of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf and their costs are borne by the United Kingdom Government. Their duties include the maintenance of peace and good order in the Trucial States, the providing of escorts for British Political Representatives and the execution of warrants, orders and judgements issued by the British courts. A special wing of the Scouts has been formed to carry out police duties.

41. At the end of June 1966, a new agreement was signed between the United Kingdom and the Ruler of Sharjah, Sheikh Khaled bin Muhammad, to provide additional land for new facilities and accommodation for British forces in Sharjah. An initial payment of £100,000 was to be made to the Sheikh, and subsequently an annual payment of a similar amount beginning January 1967.

*Economic conditions**General*

42. Economic activity has been confined, in the past, to ocean trade, off-shore fishing, pearl diving and the growing of date palms in the few existing oases. Since 1930, the pearl industry has lost its importance because of foreign competition; at the same time, however, the search for and exploitation of oil resources have gradually become the leading concern and most important economic activity in the Trucial Sheikhdoms.

43. In addition to oil, the chief exports of the Trucial Coast are dates, vegetables, hides and fish products (including pearls). The port of Dubai is a commercial centre serving both the Trucial Sheikhdoms and the northern part of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. It has a relatively large *entrepôt* trade, particularly with Iran and other neighbouring areas. In 1965, United Kingdom trade with the Sheikhdoms, with the exception of Abu Dhabi, was as follows:

	Thousand pounds sterling
Exports to the United Kingdom	2,535
Imports from the United Kingdom	2,708
Re-exports from the United Kingdom	69

Exports to the United Kingdom from Abu Dhabi totalled £19.6 million against £17.3 million in 1964; imports from the United Kingdom were worth approximately £15 million against £2.3 million in 1964; re-exports from the United Kingdom amounted to £7,000 as against £14,000 in 1964.

44. The revenue of the Sheikdoms is derived principally from customs duties and income from the oil companies. No accurate figures on revenue are available. Oil income in Abu Dhabi and Dubai has been increasing rapidly.

Currency

45. Following the devaluation of the Indian rupee, in June 1966, six Trucial States adopted a new currency, the Saudi rial, while the seventh, Abu Dhabi, adopted the Bahrein dinar. The "Gulf" rupee had formerly been tied to the Indian rupee at the old exchange rate of Rs. 13.33 to the pound sterling.

Oil

46. In 1965, on-shore and off-shore output of crude oil in Abu Dhabi reached 13.5 million tons, an increase of 50 per cent over 1964. In 1966, production was expected to exceed 17.5 million tons; Abu Dhabi Marine Areas Ltd.—owned jointly by British Petroleum and Compagnie française des pétroles—increased the output of its Umm Shaif field (which is about twenty miles from Das Island off the coast of Abu Dhabi) to 5 million tons in 1966. A submarine pipeline carries the crude petroleum from the oil field to Das Island where an export terminal has been constructed. The land concession in Abu Dhabi is held by the Abu Dhabi Petroleum Co., a wholly owned subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Co. This company was reported to be planning to export 10 million tons in 1966. According to press information, total annual output in Abu Dhabi should reach 60 million tons in a few years.

47. Abu Dhabi received £10,750,000 in royalties in 1965 and about £25 million in 1966. It has been estimated that Abu Dhabi's oil revenue would reach £45 million by 1970. Royalties are now computed on the basis of equal division of profits. In January 1967, Abu Dhabi granted a new oil concession to a consortium of three companies, Phillips Petroleum of America, the American Independent Oil Co. and the Italian Agip Group.

48. In June 1966, it was reported that Dubai Petroleum had struck oil in commercial quantities off shore in Dubai Sheikdom. The company holds 35 per cent of the concession. In the remaining Sheikdoms, the exploration concessions are held by several other companies, mainly from the United States.

Development

49. According to press reports, the new Ruler of Abu Dhabi has initiated the preparation of development plans which would include the building of a road network, schools and hospitals, sewerage schemes, *cor-*

niches, housing and barracks and power stations. Contracts have already been given to United Kingdom firms for building three hospitals and dispensaries, and eight schools. A United Kingdom consortium of town planners, civil and structural engineers, architects and surveyors named Arabicon has reportedly started work on projects for 100 miles of road between Abu Dhabi town and Buraimi, 60 miles of urban roads, a new sea-wall and land reclamation scheme, sewerage works, a water pipeline system and a new covered market. Private contracts for other projects have been granted and plans have been worked out for a new airport and harbour. Another consortium reported to be advising the Ruler on development is Consult, a group of Canadian companies. Recently a Development Council has been formed. It includes the Sheikh, five other members of his family, including the Minister for Public Works, Education and Health and a Financial Director who is a United Kingdom citizen. The Financial Director has been appointed in order to organize a modern budget for the State.

C. Consideration by the Special Committee

50. The Special Committee considered the question of Oman at its 564th meeting on 27 September 1967.

51. The representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland recalled that his delegation considered the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman to be an independent State. Since Article 2 (7) of the Charter prohibited the United Nations from intervening in the domestic affairs of any State, the United Kingdom could not take part in the discussion of that question.

52. The representative of the United States of America said that its Government had maintained official relations with the Sultanate, whose sovereignty and independence it fully recognized, for 133 years. Consequently, its delegation could not take part in the discussion of the item, whose inclusion in the agenda was open to serious objections of both a legal and a substantive nature.

53. The representative of Australia stated that the Sultanate was not a colonial Territory and did not fall within the Committee's competence.

54. The Chairman pointed out that the General Assembly, in its resolutions 2073 (XX) and 2238 (XXI), had characterized the Oman régime as a colonial one and had referred the question to the Special Committee.

55. On the proposal of the Chairman, the Special Committee decided, without objection, to report to the Assembly that, in view of the limited time available to it, it had not been able to complete its consideration of the question of Oman and that, subject to any further directives the General Assembly might wish to give during its twenty-second session, it would consider the question at its meetings in 1968 with a view to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2238 (XXI).

56. The representative of Syria said he would like it to be made quite clear that lack of time, and not any lack of interest, was the sole reason for the Committee's not having completed its consideration of that question, which in fact it regarded as a matter of great importance.

CHAPTER XIV*

MAURITIUS, SEYCHELLES AND ST. HELENA

A. Action previously taken by the Special Committee and the General Assembly

1. In 1964, the Special Committee adopted conclusions and recommendations concerning Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena (A/5800/Rev.1,¹ chap. XIV, paras. 154-159). The three Territories were considered at two meetings in 1966 by the Special Committee, which also had before it the report of Sub-Committee I concerning these Territories (A/6300/Rev.1,² chap. XIV, annex). At the second of two meetings, the Special Committee adopted the report without objection and endorsed the conclusions and recommendations contained therein.

2. In these conclusions and recommendations, the Sub-Committee stated that the administering Power had failed to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and expressed regret at the slow pace of political development in the three Territories. In particular, it noted that the complicated electoral arrangements devised for Mauritius had apparently been the subject of great controversy between the various groups and political parties, and that the people of Seychelles were still deprived of the right of universal adult suffrage. The Sub-Committee therefore recommended that the Special Committee should reaffirm the inalienable right of the peoples of the three Territories to self-determination and independence; that they should be allowed to exercise their right of self-determination without delay; that any constitutional changes should be left to these peoples themselves; and that free elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage should be conducted in these Territories as soon as possible with a view to the formation of responsible governments to which all power could be transferred.

3. Taking into account the creation of the British Indian Ocean Territory, composed of islands detached from Mauritius and Seychelles, and the reported activation of a plan to establish military bases in the three Territories, the Sub-Committee recommended that the administering Power should be called upon, in fulfilment of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly to respect the territorial integrity of Mauritius and Seychelles and to refrain from using all three Territories for military purposes. The Sub-Committee further recommended that the Special Committee should urge the Assembly to state categorically that any bilateral agreements concluded between the administering Power and other Powers affecting the sovereignty and fundamental rights of these Territories should not be recognized as valid.

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

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

B. Information on the Territories³

1. MAURITIUS

General

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

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

8. The estimated population of Mauritius at the end of 1965, excluding the dependencies, was 751,421 (compared with 733,605 at the end of 1964), divided into a general population comprising Europeans, mainly

* Previously issued under the symbol A/6700/Add.8.

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I).

² Ibid., Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23.

³ Section B of this working paper is based on: (a) information collected by the Secretariat from published sources; and (b) information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations by the United Kingdom for the year ending 31 December 1965.

French, Africans and persons of mixed origin, 220,093; Indo-Mauritians, made up of immigrants from the Indian sub-continent and their descendants, 506,552 (of whom 383,542 were Hindus and 123,010 Muslims); and Chinese, consisting of immigrants from China and their descendants, 24,776. According to the latest estimates (January 1967), the population is expected to rise to about 800,000 by the end of 1967.

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

Constitution and Government

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

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

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

Recent constitutional developments

13. As previously reported by the Special Committee (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XIV), a Constitutional Conference attended by representatives of all the parties in the Mauritius Legislature was held in London from 7 to 24 September 1965. The main point at issue was whether the Territory should aim at independence or association with the United Kingdom. The MLP and the IFB advocated independence, and the MCA was also prepared to support independence, subject to certain electoral safeguards for the Muslim community. On the other hand, the PMSD favoured a continuing link with the United Kingdom. At the end of the conference, the Secretary of State for the Colonies announced the decision that Mauritius should go forward to full independence, subject to an affirmative resolution passed by a simple majority of the new Assembly after elections and a period of six months' full internal self-government.

He also hoped that the necessary processes could be completed before the end of 1966.

14. In January 1966, an electoral commission, with Sir Harold Banwell as chairman, visited Mauritius to formulate the electoral system and the method of allocating seats in the Legislature. The report⁴ was published on 13 June 1966 and accepted by the parties participating in the present Government and the Opposition PMSD after certain amendments to the recommendations of the report had been made, following the visit of Mr. John Stonehouse, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Mauritius between 16 June and 4 July 1966.

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

16. In addition, eight specially elected members will be returned from among unsuccessful candidates who have made the best showing in the elections. The first four of these seats will be reserved, irrespective of party, for the "best losers" of the communities that are under-represented in the Legislative Assembly after the constituency elections. The remaining four seats will be allocated on the basis of party and community. Parties or party alliances will be permitted to qualify for the "best loser" seats if registered with the Electoral Commissioner before nomination day.

17. The Constitution of Mauritius set out in the Mauritius Constitution Order, 1966, on 21 December 1966, incorporated the proposals agreed upon at the 1965 constitutional conference and the subsequent agreement on electoral arrangements. The Order in Council provides that the new Constitution will come into effect on a date to be appointed by the Governor. It also provides for the appointment of an Ombudsman, at a later date.

Election arrangements

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

19. Discussions took place in London in December 1966 between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Premier of Mauritius about the date for the forthcoming general elections in the Territory. In a statement published on 21 December 1966, the Commonwealth Office said that the United Kingdom Gov-

⁴ *Mauritius: Report of the Banwell Commission on the Electoral System*, Colonial No. 362 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1966).

ernment's view presented during the discussions was that it was most desirable that elections should be held at the earliest practicable time, bearing in mind that at the 1965 Constitutional Conference, the then Secretary of State had hoped that Mauritius could become independent before the end of 1966. Neither the United Kingdom Government nor the Government of Mauritius could avoid the subsequent delays, but the completion of the register of electors in the relatively near future would enable elections to be held in 1967.

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

Recent political developments

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

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

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

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

External relations

25. During a visit to the United States of America early in December 1966, the Premier of Mauritius said that his Government was seeking to improve relations between the two countries, to raise the price of the two principal products of Mauritius, sugar and tea, and to secure aid for creating secondary industries, to increase the production of foodstuffs, notably rice and flour, to establish a new aerial link with Africa, Europe and the United States, to reduce population pressure and unemployment, and to set up a university. After discussions with the representatives of the United States Government and various private organizations, he expressed the hope that they would help Mauritius in finding solutions to many of its problems.

British Indian Ocean Territory

26. Reference is made in the last report of the Special Committee (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XIV) to the

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

Economic conditions

27. Mauritius is primarily an agricultural country. In 1960, it suffered a severe economic setback brought about by two disastrous cyclones. Subsequently, the economy made a good recovery, reaching a peak in 1963, which saw a bumper sugar crop combined with higher sugar prices. If these two years are not taken into account, the gross national product showed a steady growth, from Rs.681 million⁵ in 1959 to Rs.799 million in 1965. During this period, the population increased from 637,000 to 751,000. There was a slight downward trend in *per capita* income and a rise in the level of unemployment.

28. In 1965, sugar was still the mainstay of the economy, although tea had become the second most important export product. The distribution of the total area of land under cultivation, in acres, is as follows: sugar, 214,400; tea, 6,600; tobacco, 1,000; aloe fibre, 900; foodcrops, vegetables and fruits, 10,000.

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

30. Sugar is disposed of primarily in accordance with the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement, which has been renewed until 1974. Under the Agreement, Mauritius exports a quota (380,000 tons per annum) to the United Kingdom at a negotiated price (£47.10s. a ton in 1966-1968). In addition, Mauritius may export to Commonwealth preferential markets (in fact the United Kingdom and Canada) a further agreed quota each year. The remainder of the sugar production is sold to non-Commonwealth countries at the world free market price, which in 1966 was substantially below the negotiated price. Exports of sugar to the United Kingdom, the Territory's principal customer, in the first ten months of 1967 totalled 307,786 tons (Rs.208.6 million), an increase of 59,350 tons (Rs.42.5 million) over the 1965 period. However, it was estimated that the gross income of the sugar industry might be moderately lower in 1966 than in 1965, when 569,400 tons of sugar (Rs.290.3 million) were exported.

31. Manufacturing is the second largest sector of the economy. The United Kingdom Central Office of Information reported in October 1966 that, since 1963, nearly fifty new secondary industries had been introduced on a small scale in the Territory. As previously noted (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XIV), the number

⁵ One Mauritius rupee is equivalent to 1s. 6d. sterling.

of such industries established in the years 1963, 1964 and 1965 was eight, eleven and twenty-five respectively.

32. Between the first and second quarter of 1966, imports increased from Rs.80.4 million to Rs.82.9 million, while exports decreased from Rs.56.7 million to Rs.6.3 million. No significant changes occurred in the structure of imports, but exports of sugar in the first quarter were Rs.47.3 million and in the second quarter Rs.0.5 million. The third quarter figure was Rs.134.6 million, making a total for the first nine months of Rs.182.4 million. As in the past, trade was conducted mainly with the United Kingdom, which received 73 per cent of the Territory's exports and provided 23 per cent of its imports in the first half of 1966.

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

34. Capital expenditure under the 1966-1970 Development Programme will be Rs.340 million and the fund will be allocated as follows: agriculture and industry, Rs.130 million; infra-structure, Rs.99 million; social services, Rs.82 million; administration, Rs.28 million; Rodrigues, Rs.1 million.

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

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

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

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

39. On 20 December 1966, Mr. John Stonehouse, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated, in reply to a question in the United Kingdom House of Commons, that during the period 1961-1966, the United Kingdom had provided Mauritius with financial aid totalling £8.1 million, in addition to the compensation of £3 million paid for the in-

clusion of certain of its islands in the British Indian Ocean Territory and to a £2 million loan raised by the Government of Mauritius on the London market. For the period 1965-1968, total Colonial Development and Welfare grants and loan assistance given or envisaged amounted to £4.4 million. Aid to Mauritius after 31 March 1968 would depend on the total resources the United Kingdom could make available for overseas aid at the time and the Territory's needs in relation to those of other recipients of British aid.

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

Social conditions

Labour

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

42. On 28 April 1966, the Government published the first of its bi-annual surveys of employment and earnings in large establishments.⁶ The main purpose of these surveys was not to find out figures of total employment but to provide a continuous series of comparable data which would show changes in employment from year to year, from one part of the year to another and between the various sectors of the economy. The survey covered 822 establishments which in April 1966 employed 119,270 workers (including 34,210 on monthly rates of pay and 85,060 on daily rates of pay). Agriculture accounted for 55,200 (including 51,870 employed by the sugar industry), services 45,850, manufacturing 6,850, transport, storage and communications 4,100, commerce 2,960, construction 2,730, electricity 1,310, mining and quarrying 160, and others, 110. The average monthly rates of pay ranged from Rs. 273 for agricultural workers to Rs. 500 for electricians. The average daily rates of pay ranged from Rs. 3.2 for miners to Rs. 8.8 for those engaged in miscellaneous activities.

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

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

⁶ Colony of Mauritius: *A Survey of Employment and Earnings in Large Establishments* (No. 1), 28 April 1966.

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

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

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

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

Public health

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

50. Recently, some important changes have occurred in these systems. Government expenditure on medical and health services in the financial year 1964-1965 was Rs. 19.7 million (an increase of Rs. 0.5 million over the previous year) or about 9.6 per cent of the Territory's total expenditure. In 1965, there were 137

government and 74 private physicians (compared with 118 and 65 respectively in 1964). There was, thus, one physician for every 3,400 persons. A total of twenty-four hospitals was maintained by the sugar estates, representing a reduction of one from 1964. The number of beds available for in-patients in the Territory decreased by fifteen to 3,339 and the number of general beds by forty-five to 2,706, which represented a proportion of one general bed per 361 persons.

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

Educational conditions

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

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

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

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

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

^d Government schools.

53. In 1965, the Government opened seven new primary schools, extended one secondary school and established the John Kennedy College. This college provides full-time training in technical and commercial subjects and also a variety of part-time and evening courses. Full-time, post-secondary education is provided by the Teachers' Training College and the College of Agriculture. The latter is managed by the Department of Agriculture and most of its students obtaining their diplomas enter the sugar industry. During 1967, there were over 1,200 students following full-time courses in institutions of higher education overseas.

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

55. Government expenditure on education in the financial year 1964-1965 totalled Rs. 28.9 million (an

increase of Rs. 0.6 million over the previous year), of which Rs. 26 million was recurrent and Rs. 2.9 million capital expenditure. Education accounted for 12.7 per cent of the Territory's total recurrent expenditure.

2. SEYCHELLES

General

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

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

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

Constitution and Government

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

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

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

Recent political and constitutional developments

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

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

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

65. As previously noted by the Special Committee (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XIV), Sir Colville Deverell was sent to the Seychelles in February 1966 by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for the Colonies to serve as constitutional adviser in the examination of the various paths of constitutional evolution open to the Territory, taking into account the wishes of the people and the realities of the local situation. The report prepared by Sir Colville,⁷ together with a covering dispatch from the Secretary of State to the Governor of Seychelles,⁸ was published on 14 October 1966. Following is a summary of Sir Colville's main observations and recommendations.

Problems of the Seychelles

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

Ultimate status

67. Sir Colville considered that, in the particular circumstances of the Seychelles, only three alternatives for the ultimate status of the Territory were possible after a viable form of internal self-government had

⁷ Report on Constitutional Developments in Seychelles, C.O./664/66.

⁸ United Kingdom Commonwealth Office: Dispatch No. 305 of 13 October 1966 to the Governor of Seychelles.

been established (a) nominal independence guaranteed by treaty relations with some suitable power; (b) some form of free association with the United Kingdom; and (c) some form of close association or integration with the United Kingdom. However, he did not attempt to assess the merits of the various solutions which appeared to him open to the Seychelles.

Steps towards internal self-government

Extension of the franchise

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

Form of representative government

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

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

71. After the new Executive Council had been constituted with a membership identical with that of the Legislative Council, he recommended that the Governor should entrust three of the unofficial members, who might be chairmen of appropriate council sub-committees, with responsibility for the administration of groups of departments designated by him, and that the Governor should retain responsibility for the remaining subjects which would include external affairs, law and order, the public service and, at least initially, finance.

72. Sir Colville also recommended the creation of new constituencies and unofficial policy advisory committees with unofficial chairmen. Finally, he envisaged that, in subsequent stages leading to full internal self-government, some or all of the *ex officio* members of

the single council would be replaced by unofficial members and the Governor by a Seychellois Head of State.

73. In a dispatch of 13 October 1966, addressed to the Governor of the Seychelles, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for the Colonies said that, broadly speaking, he accepted the recommendations contained in Sir Colville's report, but that he had made a number of modifications to and elaborations of these recommendations.

74. The Secretary of State for the Colonies agreed with the analysis of the economic and political scene which Sir Colville had given in his report. In particular, great importance was attached to his conclusion that there could be relatively little dispute and consequently no real basis for political division and rivalry about the steps needed to tackle the economic and social problems confronting the Territory. It was hoped that the wisdom of this approach would be widely recognized in the Seychelles.

75. He also agreed that for the present it was more important to concentrate on the progressive establishment of constitutional machinery which would eventually permit fully informed and representative discussion of all matters of serious concern to the Seychelles, including the question of ultimate status.

76. The Secretary of State for the Colonies supported certain specific constitutional measures which Sir Colville had recommended. These included an immediate move towards the adoption of universal adult suffrage, the continuation of the single council system, an unofficial majority in the legislature and the entrusting of responsibilities for the conduct of government business to unofficial members.

77. While recognizing that there was no need for a substantial increase in the number of elected members of the Legislative Council, he suggested that no restriction should be imposed on the selection of candidates for election to the Council. He also suggested a slightly different form of government representation in the Council which should consist of three *ex officio* and four nominated members.

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

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

the widest possible publicity given to their contents.

80. Mr. Stonehouse arrived in Seychelles on 20 October 1966 for an eight-day visit. Before his departure from the Territory, he stated that he had found on all sides general acceptance of the new constitutional proposals for the Seychelles. These proposals would be implemented within 1968. There were certain details still to be settled, such as the delimitation of the new constituency boundaries, but this was the pattern for the future constitution for Seychelles. The formal agreement of the Government of Seychelles to the new proposals was communicated to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Governor in his dispatch No. 232 of 1966 and in the meantime the new Constitution is being drafted.

Economic conditions

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

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

83. In 1965, copra continued to dominate the export sector of the economy, but its exports totalled Rs.6.1 million^a as compared to Rs.6.6 million in 1964. The average price of copra, the most important factor governing the economic life of the Territory, rose by Rs.159 to Rs.1,093 per ton during this period. In view of this high price, no subsidies were paid from the Copra Price Stabilization Fund, which has in recent years ensured a minimum return of Rs.800 per ton to planters.

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

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

86. Faced with a rising population and a declining level of employment, the Government has endeavoured to modify the Territory's agricultural pattern so as to provide more opportunity for intensive production on small holdings in suitable areas. To this end, a land settlement scheme has been undertaken since 1961. The settlers, numbering 185 in 1965 as against 150 in 1964, lease from the Government a small plot of land of between 3.5 and 10 acres. They grow export crops such as coconut and cinnamon, cash crops such as sugar-cane, tobacco and patchouli and food crops

such as sweet potatoes, yams and vegetables. They also keep one or two head of cattle.

87. Furthermore, the Government has promoted the development of the tea industry. The Seychelles Tea Company, organized in 1962 by a group of people from Kenya, has already started production. The company has leased 300 acres of Crown land to plant and it is also engaged in planting a further 150 acres of Crown land, with tea, on an agency basis, which it is hoped to lease to small holders eventually. By the end of 1965, a total of 225 acres of tea had been planted.

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

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

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

91. Until 1958 Seychelles was able to balance its budget, though it received little external aid. Since then the combination of static agricultural production coupled with the marked acceleration of the population growth has changed the situation. For the period 1960-1965, the Territory received a grant-in-aid averaging about 13 per cent of its total expenditure. In 1965, recurrent revenue amounted to Rs.8.9 million and expenditure to Rs.9.9 million, thus giving rise to a deficit of Rs.1 million, which was met by a grant-in-aid.

92. During 1965, Colonial Development and Welfare grants for development totalled Rs.5.2 million in addition to loan expenditure of Rs.1.6 million. A development plan for 1966-1969 envisages an annual expenditure of nearly Rs.10 million (excluding international and technical assistance of various kinds), of which over 85 per cent will be financed by Colonial Development and Welfare funds. The main objects of the plan are to promote fishery development on a large scale, to expand land settlement and to accelerate the

^a The Seychelles rupee is valued at 1s. 6d. sterling.

development of the tea industry. Proposals have also been made for the encouragement of tourism and the expansion and improvement of the road system, power plants and social services. A detailed survey of a suitable site for the airfield to be built by the United Kingdom in Mahé is expected to be completed early in 1967.

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

Social conditions

Labour

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

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

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

97. In May 1966, the Government provisionally increased the wages of male labourers from Rs.72 to Rs.80 per month and those of female labourers from Rs.45 to Rs.50 per month for a 45-hour week. Subsequently, four other employers followed suit. A strike involving some 3,250 workers employed mainly by the Government occurred on 13 June 1966 at Victoria, the capital of Seychelles, following the rejection by their union representatives of the provisional pay increase of 11 per cent as inadequate to make up for

the recent rise of 100 per cent in the cost of living. These workers returned to work on 20 June 1966, after two British naval parties had landed in the Territory to help preserve public security there and after an agreement in principle between the Government and the principal unions involved that the final pay award would be retroactive to 1 May 1966. The final pay award, which was announced in December 1966, has raised the basic monthly wage for unskilled male labourers to Rs.92 and for female labourers to Rs.58.

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

Public health

99. Government expenditure on medical services in 1965 was Rs.1,274,760 (compared with Rs.1,235,640 in 1964), or 12.8 per cent of the Territory's total recurrent expenditure.

100. According to the information transmitted by the United Kingdom, the main islands are reasonably well provided with hospitals and clinics, but there are no medical facilities for some 1,500 persons on the outlying islands. In 1964 and 1965, there were four hospitals with a total of 218 beds, the main one being located in Victoria with 155 beds. The ratios of medical officers and hospital beds to the population were 1 to 3,006 and 1 to 213 persons respectively.

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

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

Educational conditions

103. A new school system was established in 1965 to provide education for all children up to the age of 15 years. Hitherto, secondary schooling was available to a limited number of pupils at the end of their six years of free primary education. Under the new system, which gives all primary school leavers the opportunity of attending school for at least two more years, secondary schooling is divided into junior secondary and secondary grammar schools. The former provide three years of post-primary education for pupils not entering secondary grammar schools. The latter provide a five-year education up to and including the General Certificate of Education (advanced level) standard. Some of those completing their first two

years in the junior secondary schools are able to follow special courses in teaching, nursing, domestic science, secretarial work, agriculture and certain trades. Post-secondary education continues to include teacher, technical and vocational training.

104. During 1965, educational facilities were expanded by the addition of forty-two primary and six junior secondary classrooms. There were 352 classes (364 in 1964) in all schools with 8,809 pupils (8,516 in 1964) and 390 teachers (the same as in 1964). The 8,809 pupils were distributed as follows: primary, 7,341; junior secondary, 889; secondary grammar, 359; special courses, 134, and post-secondary, 86. In addition, thirty-nine Seychellois (twenty-four in 1964) were undergoing courses of higher study overseas, most of which were financed by the United Kingdom.

105. Of the 390 teachers, 190 were certificated or trained and the rest untrained. There is a serious shortage of trained teachers in the primary schools; the junior secondary schools are beginning to recruit new staff from the teacher-training college, which trained seven teachers in 1964 and eighteen in 1965, but it will be some years before an adequate body of trained teaching staff can be formed.

106. In 1965, the sum of Rs.1,595,969 (compared with Rs.1,396,341 in 1964), or 17.7 per cent of the Territory's total recurrent expenditure, was spent on education. Funds allocated under Colonial Development and Welfare schemes for education amounted to Rs.573,008 (compared with Rs.584,466 in 1964).

3. ST. HELENA

General

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

Constitution and Government

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

Governor

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

Executive Council

110. The Executive Council has been reconstituted. It now consists of two *ex officio* members (the Government Secretary of St. Helena and the Treasurer) and several unofficial members (the chairman of the council committees of the Legislative Council). The number of unofficial members depends on the number of the council committees, which is determined by the

Governor. Under the chairmanship of the Governor, the functions of the Executive Council are to advise the Governor in the exercise of his powers. Under the Constitution of 1956, the Executive Council consisted of three civil servants (Government Secretary, Treasurer and Education Officer) and three non-official members, who were local residents.

Legislative Council

111. Under the new Constitution, the existing Advisory Council has been renamed the Legislative Council. It consists now of the Governor, two *ex officio* members (the Government Secretary and the Treasurer), two official and four unofficial members appointed by the Governor and eight elected members. By the end of 1968, the Legislative Council will be reconstituted and will consist of the Governor, two *ex officio* members and twelve elected members. The Governor will preside at meetings of the Legislative Council. There will be at least one session of the Council every year. The Governor will dissolve the Council at the expiration of four years. However, the Governor may at any time prorogue or dissolve the Council. There will be a general election within three months after every dissolution of the Council.

Political parties

112. There are no political parties in the Territory.

Economic conditions

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

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

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

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

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

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

Social conditions

Labour

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

Public health

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

Educational conditions

121. Education is free and compulsory for all children between the ages of five and fifteen years. The average number of children attending school rose from 1,184 in 1964 to 1,208 in 1965. During this period, the Territory had eight primary schools, two of which provided all-age education, three secondary schools and one selective secondary school. In 1965, there were sixty full-time (fifty-eight in 1964) and six part-time (three in 1964) teachers. Selected young teachers are sent to the United Kingdom to follow a three-year course leading to a certificate in education conferred by the Ministry of Education. More experienced teachers are also sent there for further training. In 1965, a senior teacher departed for a year's course. The expenditure on educational services during the year was estimated at £24,561 (an increase of £1,666 over the previous year), or 10.6 per cent of the Territory's total expenditure.

C. Consideration by the Special Committee¹⁰

Introduction

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

Written petitions and hearings

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

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

125. The United Kingdom Government had not made the slightest effort to accede to the people's demands. In March 1966, he had stressed to the Special Committee the prevalence of bribery and corruption by the imperialists during the pre-election period. Under Mauritian law, a candidate was allowed to spend up to about Rs.5,000 on his electoral campaign but in most cases vast sums were lavished on canvassing votes, and he had pointed out that the Government should take steps to ensure that the law was respected. The general election was to be held in September 1967 and nothing had yet been done by the Government to enforce such a law. History was obviously repeating itself and the poor people who were asking for nothing more than their rudimentary rights were being exploited.

126. He had asked at the same time that supervisors from African and Asian countries should be sent to conduct the general election but, in September 1966, before the United Nations had had time to appoint

¹⁰ This section includes those portions of the statements made on Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena in the Special Committee which relate to the question in general; those portions which refer specifically to the draft resolution are included in section D. It should be noted that additional comments on the question of Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena were contained in the statements made at the opening of the Special Committee's meetings at Kinshasa, Kitwe and Dar es Salaam. These statements are included in chapter II (Part I) of this report.

them, the United Kingdom had dispatched observers from Commonwealth countries to supervise the registration of voters and the general election. It was evident that they would only be able to observe and could not investigate the true situation.

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

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

129. He had intended to ask the United Kingdom representative certain questions, but unfortunately he was not there to reply. It would have been interesting to know why the United Kingdom had decided to buy, without the consent of the Mauritian people, what it considered to be its own territory; why the reactionary Government had connived with the United Kingdom to deprive Mauritius of one of its dependencies; why the United Kingdom had always rejected, without explanation, all petitions for the holding of a referendum on the military bases. It was obvious that the United Kingdom wanted to grant the island independence, while maintaining a nuclear base on Mauritian soil. The Mauritians had always been a peace-loving people, had never been involved in any world war and did not want their innocent country blasted by a nuclear bomb. In the event of a third world war, Mauritius wished to remain neutral. No country could be truly independent if it remained linked with the great Powers, and the independence obtained years before by their African, Arab and Hindu brothers would also turn out to be illusory. He hoped the world would not witness such injustice without reacting against it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

139. Asked to supply more details concerning the size, number and type of bases and the use made of them, the petitioner regretted that he was unable to state the exact size of the bases. The base at Vacoas was used to house the direct telecommunications system which had been transferred from Trincomalee. The United States Government was providing funds to enlarge Plaisance airport so that jet aircraft could land there. The United Kingdom had always realized the strategic importance of Mauritius; it had taken the bases from France and had granted independence to the country only on condition that it could continue to use the key bases in the Indian Ocean. During the past year, the United States Air Force had been using Plaisance airport continuously. It had also been reported in the newspapers and confirmed by the United Kingdom itself that the United Kingdom and United States navies would continue to use the naval bases in Mauritius.

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

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

General statements

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

143. The Sub-Committee had been guided by paragraph 16 of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966, which requested the Special Committee "to pay particular attention to the small Territories and to recommend to the General Assembly the most appropriate methods and also the steps to be taken to enable the populations of those Territories to exercise fully the right to self-determination and independence". The Sub-Committee had also taken into account paragraph 15 of the resolution which invited the Special Committee "whenever it considers it appropriate

to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence to each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people and the provisions of the Declaration". Further, the Sub-Committee was aware that, as recognized by the Special Committee in paragraph 322 of chapter I of its 1966 report (A/6300/Rev.1), "their small size and population as well as their limited resources presented peculiar problems". However, the Sub-Committee was firmly of the opinion that the provisions of the Declaration were applicable to those Territories, and had examined the situation there within that context.

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

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

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

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

148. The independence of Mauritius was essential not only for the emotional satisfaction of its people but also to enable them to devote their energies to raising their level of living. Without political independence, real economic progress was impossible. Colonial Powers were not interested in doing anything for the people of their colonies that would not at the same time be in their own strategic or other interests. Mauritius pro-

vided an excellent example of that policy. It had an economy almost wholly dependent on the production and export of sugar. The United Nations had been urging the administering Power since 1964 to take effective measures to diversify the economy, but the United Kingdom Government's only response had been to take some half-hearted and haphazard steps without really trying to work out a well-co-ordinated programme. Its failure to develop other sectors of the economy had resulted in shortage of capital, a downward trend in *per capita* income and increased unemployment. The little progress that had been achieved had been due mainly to the efforts of the Government of Mauritius headed by Premier Ramgoolam, who was reported to have said that Mauritius was a viable country which had never needed a grant-in-aid to balance its budget. His delegation had no doubt that, once the country achieved its independence, progress in the diversification of its economy would be accelerated.

149. The administering Power in Mauritius, as in other colonies, such as Fiji, had been taking advantage of the differences in the Territory in order to maintain its own dominant position and protect foreign vested economic interests. Fortunately, the different communities had successfully resisted the administering Power's attempt to divide them. They had realized that their common interest lay in ridding themselves first of the colonial administration. His delegation wished Mr. Ramgoolam and his associates all the success they deserved in leading their country to independence as a unified nation.

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

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

"We have also subscribed to resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and 2066 (XX) of 16 December 1965 adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, dealing with this subject. Resolution 2066 (XX) notes with deep concern that 'any step taken by the administering Power to detach certain islands from the Territory of Mauritius for the purpose of establishing a military base would be in contravention' of resolution 1514 (XV). It further invited 'the administering Power to take no action which would dismember the Territory of Mauritius and violate its territorial integrity'.

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

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

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

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

154. Furthermore, the United Kingdom was openly violating the principles of the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) by dismembering Mauritius and the Seychelles for military purposes, with the help of the United States. The Polish delegation fully shared the concern expressed by the Special Committee at the establishment in 1965 of a new colony—the British Indian Ocean Territory—and at reports that it would be used as a military base. In its resolutions 2189 (XXI) and 2232 (XXI), the General Assembly reiterated its earlier declaration that any attempt to disrupt the national unity and the territorial integrity of colonial Territories and to establish military bases and installations in those Territories was incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations and with Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Despite the warning of the non-aligned countries, at their Conference at Cairo in 1964, that such military bases would create tension and would be used to bring pressure against independent States in their vicinity and against national liberation movements, the United Kingdom had refused to give any assurance that the islands detached from Mauritius and Seychelles would not be used under any circumstances for military purposes. The Polish delegation firmly endorsed paragraphs 126 and 127 of the report of the Sub-Committee (see annex below) and strongly believed that the attitude

of the United Kingdom was incompatible with its obligations as the administering Power.

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

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

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

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

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

and recommendations contained in the report of Sub-Committee I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

166. He did not, however, share the view expressed in paragraph 127 of the report (see annex below) concerning military bases and installations. There was insufficient proof of the existence of such bases to warrant the claim that they created international tension and aroused concern in neighbouring countries. Nor could it support paragraph 137 of the report, in which the Sub-Committee prejudged the question of

future military activities and claimed that they would constitute an act of hostility towards the peoples of Africa and Asia and a threat to international peace and security.

167. The representative of the United States of America said that he wished to comment on the sweeping and unsubstantiated statements made by a petitioner and some representatives with respect to his country. He wished to state categorically that his country had no plans to construct military bases in the British Indian Ocean Territory. In that connexion, he pointed out that a United Kingdom spokesman had recently given a similar assurance. Although there was an agreement between his country and the United Kingdom to permit the utilization of the British Indian Ocean Territory for refuelling or communications facilities, no decision had been taken to establish any such facilities.

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

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

D. Action taken by the Special Committee

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

177. His delegation would therefore have liked to be among the sponsors of the draft resolution, which, as a whole, reflected the aspirations of the international community as expressed in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the basic resolution on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Regrettably, however, it had been unable to join the sponsors because its request for a compromise on operative paragraph 7 relating to military installations had been rejected. The statement appearing in that paragraph was not necessarily in accordance with the facts. Moreover, even if bases existed in certain dependent countries, it was for those countries, when they obtained independence, to negotiate the removal of the bases with the former administering Power, as had happened in all the African countries which had

become independent. The question was within the exclusive competence of the countries concerned. The Ivory Coast, which had subscribed to the doctrine of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, could not go back on the principles which it had endorsed and to which it intended to remain loyal.

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

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

180. The representative of Venezuela noted with regret that the draft resolution did not take into account the recommendation of Sub-Committee I that the General Assembly should set a time-limit for the granting of independence to Mauritius and accelerate the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in respect of Seychelles and St. Helena. There was no reference either to the recommendation concerning the sending of a visiting mission to the Territories to ascertain the extent of the progress made in the direction of self-determination and independence. Although his delegation would have preferred a text which took greater account of realities, it would nevertheless vote for the draft resolution.

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

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

not consistent with the actual situation. It also had reservations concerning the Sub-Committee's report.

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

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

Against: Australia, United States of America.

Abstaining: Finland, Italy, Madagascar.

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

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

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

187. The Chairman added that he was deeply disappointed that the representative of Australia should have used such an analogy, after all the work that Sub-Committee I had put into its report. It was regrettable that the administering Power had seen fit to be absent

from the Special Committee's deliberations, but that did not justify the use of such intemperate language.

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

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

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

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

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

193. The representative of Australia, exercising his right of reply to the representatives of India and Mali, explained that his reference to gambling had been a strictly personal reaction. He had not meant to suggest that the Sub-Committee or the Special Committee approached its work in the spirit of a gambler. The representative of Mali had also referred to the

indigenous inhabitants of Australia. That was a matter within the domestic jurisdiction of the Australian Government. Although Australia could not claim that it had no reason for self-reproach, the indigenous inhabitants were not being assassinated as the representative of Mali had stated. He added that the question of Viet-Nam was not within the Special Committee's terms of reference.

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

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

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

"Having heard the statement of the petitioner,

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

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

"Having examined the report of Sub-Committee I concerning these Territories,¹¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"7. Declares that the establishment of military installations and any other military activities in the Territories is a violation of General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI), which constitutes a source of

¹¹ See annex below.

tension in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, and calls upon the administering Power to desist from establishing such military installations;

"8. *Requests* the administering Power to report on the implementation of the present resolution to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

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

ANNEX

[A/AC.109/L.398]

Report of Sub-Committee I

Rapporteur: Mr. Rafic Jouéjati (Syria)

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INTRODUCTION

1. The Sub-Committee considered Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena at its 35th to 39th meetings held on 5, 13, 18, 20 April and 10 May 1967.

2. The Sub-Committee had before it the working papers prepared by the Secretariat (see paras. 1-121 of chap. XIV).

3. In accordance with the procedure agreed upon by the Special Committee, the Chairman invited the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to participate in the consideration of the three Territories. Accordingly, the representative of the United Kingdom participated in the 35th to 39th meetings of the Sub-Committee.

CONSIDERATION BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE

A. Statements by members

4. The representative of the United Kingdom gave an account of developments which had occurred since the twenty-first session of the General Assembly in the three Territories under consideration.

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

6. Thereafter, in September 1966, the preparation of new electoral registers had been initiated in the presence of a team of Commonwealth observers drawn from India, Malta, Jamaica

and Canada. The registers had been published in January 1967 and included one-third more voters than previous lists. The matter now rested with the Government of Mauritius and general elections would be held on the basis of universal adult suffrage at a date still to be set. The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies had said in the House of Commons in December 1966 that it was desirable that elections should be held at the earliest practicable time. Since the 1965 Constitutional Conference had agreed on a six-month interval between full internal self-government and independence, it would be possible, if a majority elected at the future general elections favoured such a step, for Mauritius to achieve independence six months after the elections. There were differing views among the political parties about the ultimate status of Mauritius, but it was for the people to express its views by democratic means. As stated in the Sub-Committee's report for 1966 (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XIV, annex, para. 21), a team of observers from Commonwealth countries would observe the elections.

7. With regard to the Seychelles, he recalled that following an initiative by the Legislative Council about the Territory's future relationship with the United Kingdom, a constitutional adviser had recommended the establishment of a single Council of twelve to fifteen members with both executive and legislative functions, elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage, as a major step towards full internal self-government. The next elections were to be held in October 1967, and the legal instruments, including the new Constitution, required to implement the various proposals were being prepared.

8. The labour disputes which had occurred in 1966 had been resolved by a general wage increase of 20 per cent. A Government Labour Officer and a Trade Union Officer had also been appointed with the aim of improving labour relations.

9. Substantial progress had been made in St. Helena. On 1 January 1967, the former Advisory Council had been replaced by a Legislative Council, and a system of committees giving the members of the Legislative Council departmental responsibilities had been established; the Executive Council had also been reformed to include the chairmen of those committees in place of the former official members. Elections to the new Legislative Council would take place, as before, on the basis of universal adult suffrage, not later than 1 January 1968. The Council would consist of twelve elected members out of a total of fourteen, instead of eight out of a total of sixteen as at present.

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

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

12. The working paper showed that the colonial Power was reluctant to implement the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. A colonial Governor had been sent to the Territory to advise on the future colonial status of the Seychelles and had recommended three possible courses: (a) that the Territory should achieve only nominal independence guaranteed by treaty relations with a suitable Power; (b) some form of free association with the United Kingdom; and (c) some form of close association or integration with the United Kingdom (chap. XIV, para. 67). In the first case, it was clear that the colonial Power was not prepared to withdraw from the

Seychelles and to concede unfettered independence. The second course would constitute a direct violation of the inalienable right of the people to achieve the independence it demanded. Finally, integration would be a violation of the territorial integrity of the Seychelles, as stated in General Assembly resolution 2069 (XX) of 16 December 1965.

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

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

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

16. It must be recognized that with regard to Mauritius, the Seychelles and St. Helena, the administering Power had maintained a negative attitude and had refused to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly calling upon it to speed decolonization in accordance with Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Furthermore, the United Kingdom Government was continuing its economic exploitation of the Territories, and more and more foreign monopolies were establishing themselves there, to the detriment of the people's legitimate interests. Lastly, the United Kingdom was openly violating the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly by dismembering Mauritius and the Seychelles and building military installations there with the help of the United States.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

25. The Tanzanian representative had said that the three courses envisaged in paragraph 28 of the constitutional adviser's report (nominal independence, "free association" and close association or integration) would be imposed on the population of the Seychelles and excluded any real independence. Page 3 of the document on the Seychelles, however, contained a statement by the Secretary of State for the Colonies noting that the adviser had wished to consider not final solutions but the progressive establishment of constitutional machinery aimed precisely at permitting the people to decide their ultimate status. The adviser himself stated in paragraph 27 that he had concerned himself with immediate measures. As to the elections in Mauritius, he referred the Syrian representative to paragraphs 20 and 21 of the Secretariat working paper, which indicated *inter alia* that, in the view of the United Kingdom Government, it was most desirable that the elections should be held at the earliest practicable time and that neither the United Kingdom Government nor the Government of Mauritius had been responsible for the fact that it had been impossible to keep to the time-table

originally planned. The completion of the register of electors should in principle make it possible to hold elections in 1967.

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

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

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

29. The representative of Syria asked whether the Legislative Assembly to be chosen in the elections which, according to the representative of the administering Power, were to be held in 1967, would really be in a position to decide the future of Mauritius by adopting a constitution and leading the Territory to independence if that was the wish of the population, or whether, on the contrary, it would be a passive body, content to pass minor legislation under the control of the Governor.

30. The representative of the United Kingdom, replying to the Syrian representative, said that the Legislature could lead Mauritius to independence, if the majority of its members so desired, after six months of self-government. The forthcoming elections would therefore be more than a mere formality.

31. The "free association" formula which the Tanzanian representative had criticized could not, in any case, be imposed. It was for the people of the Seychelles, acting through their representatives, to choose their ultimate status. However, it should not be forgotten that the people were divided, some wanting independence, some association, and others integration, and that the Territory's two political parties, the Seychelles Democratic Party and the Seychelles People's United Party, had different programmes in that regard.

32. The representative of Syria said that the current debate was enabling the Sub-Committee to form a clearer idea of the situation. He asked the United Kingdom representative whether, if most of the representatives opted for independence, Mauritius would become independent in 1968. The forthcoming elections were of the greatest importance, and it seemed advisable that United Nations observers should be present.

33. The representation of the United Kingdom confirmed that, under the present arrangements, not more than six months would elapse between the general election and the attainment of independence, if that was what the newly elected legislature wanted. On this basis independence could take place by 1968, subject to the views expressed by a majority of the Legislature after the general election. The Government of Mauritius had agreed to the presence of Commonwealth observers to verify the electoral registers and supervise the voting procedures. If a formal request were made that the Sub-Committee should also send observers, he would have to consult his Government before replying.

34. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania observed that the United Kingdom representative had still not stated definitely whether his Government's policy was one which would permit the Seychelles and Mauritius to achieve full independence. Study of the documents as well as information available to him indicated that the people wanted full independence at an early date. He also wished to know when the machinery referred to in the documents, the operation of which had already been explained, would be set up. His Government did not wish to be confronted with a fait accompli or to see the administering Power impose a point of view which was at variance with the people's desires. He also noted that

the United Kingdom representative had carefully avoided mentioning the dismemberment of Territories, which was a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). A specific reply on that point would enable the Sub-Committee to make definite recommendations to the Special Committee and the General Assembly.

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

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

37. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that his delegation would take note of the United Kingdom representative's explanations. The paramount question of sovereign rights had not, however, been clarified. The documents referred to gave no definite indication as to whether the United Kingdom planned to grant complete independence to the Territories in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). On the contrary, it appeared that the proposals in chapter IV, paragraph 28 (a), (b) and (c), of the United Kingdom Government's report would be implemented and that a solution involving independence would be discarded, as it had been in the case of the Caribbean Territories.

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

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

40. As to the economic situation in the Territories, it was still as serious as before, if not worse. They remained a source of primary commodities and cheap labour for the metropolitan country, which prevented them from developing economic relations with other countries. According to the Secretariat working paper, as much as 73 per cent of Mauritius exports went to the United Kingdom, including most of the sugar produced, and, as the Premier of the Territory had said, progress in the diversification of the Territory's economy had been slow. A similar situation prevailed in the Seychelles and St. Helena. All three Territories depended on a single crop, and that made economic progress very difficult. They also depended increasingly on external aid. After the prolonged domination of foreign capital, the people of Mauritius were still without the means of production required to satisfy more than 10 per cent of their needs.

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

42. The explanation for London's constitutional manoeuvres and the delay in granting independence appeared to be that the administering Power intended to turn the Territories into military bases. In spite of the United Kingdom representative's assurances during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly that the British Indian Ocean Territory would not be used for military purposes, there was continuing evidence that the United Kingdom and the United States did not wish to abstain from using the new colony as an important link in their "East of Suez" policy aimed at preserving the position of the British and other foreign monopolies which exploited the natural wealth of the Middle East, southern Africa and other regions. The military installations which the United Kingdom was planning to construct in the British Indian Ocean Territory would be a direct threat to the countries of Asia and Africa, as the Conference of Non-Aligned States at Cairo had pointed out. *The Economist* of 14 January 1967 had reported that the immediate aim was to station a mobile striking

force in the new Territory. The United States still maintained military personnel to operate rocket-tracking stations on Mahé, in the Seychelles, and on Ascension Island, which had gained lamentable notoriety as a base for United States and Belgian intervention in the Congo in 1964. There was also evidence that the United States intended to establish a communications relay station on the island of Diego Garcia.

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

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

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

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

47. Another problem which was of extreme concern to his delegation was the violation of the territorial integrity of the Territories. The establishment of the British Indian Ocean Territory was contrary to the basic principles set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and was an indication of neo-colonialist plans mentioned in the Cairo Declaration of non-aligned countries. On 10 November 1965, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for the Colonies had confirmed in the House of Commons that the new Territory was to be used by the United Kingdom and the United States for the erection of defence facilities. The statement on 16 November 1966

by the Secretary of State for Defence that no plan had been made for the creation of military bases in the Territory had done little to remove the apprehensions regarding the future plans of the two Governments concerned. The fact that the reports concerning military bases had not been categorically denied, especially when it was known that certain military installations were already being constructed, was an indication to his delegation of the existence of plans which might have dangerous consequences for the whole area. According to *The Baltimore Sun* of 7 April 1967, a spokesman for the Indian Government had stated that that Government was strongly opposed to the establishment of military bases in the Indian Ocean and would raise the matter at the United Nations. The same paper stated that the United Kingdom, in co-operation with the United States, was planning to build an air strip in the Territory in order to assist in the movement of troops and aircraft from Europe to Asia.

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

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

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

51. The United Kingdom apparently wished it to be believed that the measures proposed would significantly improve the constitutional situation. He could not agree with such a contention. It seemed that, under the new system, the ratio of elected to appointed members of the Executive and Legislative Councils would be eight to seven. That means little, however, in view of the influence exercised by the Governor in the councils. The administering Power was clearly delaying the transfer of power to the democratically elected representatives of the people.

52. The following conclusions could be drawn with regard to the three Territories: (a) the administering Power had failed to implement the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and other relevant resolutions; (b) it was endeavouring to delay the transfer of power to elected representatives of the people; (c) it had created a new colony out of islands detached from Mauritius and Seychelles, thus directly violating the principle of territorial integrity; (d) it was putting into effect its plans for the establishment of military

bases on the so-called British Indian Ocean Territory; (e) the economic and social situation in the Territories continued to deteriorate and concessions were being granted to foreign monopolies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

60. The representative of Tunisia pointed out that, although General Assembly resolution 2066 (XX) concerning

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

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

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

operate on a monopolistic basis or in a manner contrary to the interests of the people of Mauritius.

63. The representative of Syria had referred to allegations of discrimination in the sugar industry and had asked about steps being taken to protect the workers. Conditions of employment in the sugar industry were regulated by wage councils appointed by the Mauritius Ministry of Labour and there was no discrimination among workers in any form of employment. As to the matter of hydro-electric installations, there were at present eight hydro-electric power stations operated by the Central Electricity Board of Mauritius and a ninth was to be completed by 1969. With regard to the Seychelles Taxpayers and Producers Association, he said that that organization, as indicated in paragraph 62 of the Secretariat working paper (chap. XIV), had for some time ceased to exist.

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

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

66. Some representatives, including the representative of the Soviet Union, had implied that there was a conspiracy to delay independence and impede political development in the Territories in order to turn them into military bases. The clear assurances given by the United Kingdom Government concerning independence for Mauritius and the information provided on constitutional progress in the Seychelles spoke for themselves. The steady progress towards full self-government and decolonization was irrefutable evidence against such allegations.

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

threatening the independence of African and Asian countries which some delegations had sought to raise.

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

69. The representative of Syria had also asked about the need to take special account of the interests of the communities in the electoral arrangements in Mauritius. He pointed out that the Territory's population was of several different ethnic origins and that, among the political groupings and parties, there were bodies which claimed to represent the Hindu and Moslem communities. Under the previous system, it had been possible for as many as fifteen out of sixty-five members of the Legislature to be nominated by the Governor in order to protect under-represented sections of the community. Since it had been impossible at the Constitutional Conference in 1965 to reach agreement on an alternative procedure, the Banwell Commission had been appointed to make recommendations which would ensure that the main sections of the population should have an opportunity to secure fair representation of their interests. It was not the United Kingdom Government which had demanded that such special arrangements should be made, but the local political parties and especially the minority communities. Under the new electoral arrangements, there would be eight "best loser" seats out of a total of seventy. Four of those would be reserved for under-represented communities irrespective of party considerations, and the other four were intended to restore the balance of party representation in so far as it had been disturbed by the previous award of four seats on a purely communal basis. The arrangement was essentially a compromise. The United Kingdom Government had throughout not wished to impose any solution and the arrangements now in operation had been generally accepted by all sides. His Government had, however, while paying every regard to local wishes, sought to discourage political parties in the Territory from appealing exclusively to particular communities. Sixty out of the seventy members in the new Legislature would be elected in three-member constituencies in which each voter was obliged to cast his full three votes and the result of such an arrangement should be to minimize communal influences. There had, of course, been universal adult suffrage in Mauritius since 1958.

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

71. The United Kingdom representative had said that military bases were not now being built on the Indian Ocean islands, but the Tanzanian delegation would like to hear it stated that the United Kingdom Government did not intend to place any military installations, equipment or personnel on the islands, since any such installations and personnel could only be intended for aggressive purposes. The establishment by

the United Kingdom of military installations in the Indian Ocean must be seen as part of the military strategy of imperialism. The installations were undoubtedly intended for use against people engaged in the legitimate struggle for liberation. The United Kingdom had refused to use force where it was justified, to oust Ian Smith's régime in Southern Rhodesia, but was using all the military means at its disposal against the struggling peoples of Aden and other areas. He would like to be told whether or not the United Kingdom had any military personnel or installations, including military transportation facilities, on the islands.

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

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

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

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

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

77. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that he would like to comment on a number of matters touched on by the United Kingdom representative. That representative had asserted that the administering Power was making efforts to diversify the economy of the Territories under discussion. It was clear, however, that any such efforts had been inadequate. There was

chronic unemployment on the islands, and skilled workers were obliged to emigrate to find work. In a survey carried out by Barclays Bank, it had been stated that the United Kingdom had not been vigorous enough in its efforts to help the people of the Territories to help themselves. Basic goods required to meet the essential needs of the people had to be imported.

78. The United Kingdom representative's claim that his Government's military activities in the area were not impeding the progress of the Territories to independence could not be substantiated. Preparation for self-determination must include efforts to build up the economy, and the Secretariat paper showed that military activities were impeding economic development. In paragraph 113, for example, it was stated that, from 1965, the major single source of income in St. Helena had been employment in "communication stations" on Ascension Island which is a military base. Five flax mills which had been in operation in 1965 had been closed down, clearly because the labour force had been lured to the bases by advantages offered to them and diverted from normal activities essential for economic independence.

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

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

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

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

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

84. He regretted that the United Kingdom representative had not deemed it necessary to discuss the points raised in

his statement regarding the preoccupation of the political parties in Seychelles with the question of the ultimate status of the Territory. In his delegation's view, that preoccupation meant that the people of Seychelles were not interested in a prolonged process of constitutional evolution. Furthermore, his delegation considered that the changes in the ratio of elected to appointed members of the Executive and Legislative Councils did not represent a significant improvement in the constitutional situation.

85. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said that the United Kingdom representative's second statement had served to confirm what he himself had said earlier. The United Kingdom representative had informed members that his Government has been providing information on the new colony only since 1964. However, the Sub-Committee had been in existence for some time before that year. What the Tanzanian delegation wished to call into question, however, was not the transmission of information but the type of information transmitted. If the Territory in question had been a United Kingdom colony, why would that country pay £3 million to Mauritius as compensation for the inclusion of certain of its islands in the British Indian Ocean Territory? Colonialism under any guise was a crime against humanity and military aggression was even worse.

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

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

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

89. With regard to the question of population, he had pointed out that there was no indigenous population in the British Indian Ocean Territory and that most of the people living there were migrant workers. The Soviet Union representative had again claimed that military activities in the area impeded constitutional development. He himself did not think that that view would be shared by the inhabitants of Malta or Singapore. In any event, his Government was not conducting any military activities in any of the Terri-

tories under consideration. The United Kingdom Government had provided a grant of £3 million to Mauritius and, in the case of the Seychelles, had undertaken to build an international airfield, which would contribute greatly to the economic development of the Territory. The Soviet Union representative had referred to figures in the Secretariat working paper and had claimed that the solution of unemployment in St. Helena was dependent on military activities. The United Kingdom delegation wished to point out that a total of 342 St. Helenians—as against 323 in 1964—had worked on Ascension Island in 1965 and that of that total, 150 had been employed by British Government Cable and Wireless, Limited, and 68 by the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works for the construction of a British Broadcasting Corporation relay station.

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

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

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

93. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said it was obvious that the representative of the United Kingdom and he were not speaking the same language. The representative of the United Kingdom had said that his Government had made a grant to Mauritius. Yet, according to paragraph 39 of the Secretariat working paper (chap. XIV), on 20 December 1966, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies had said that the United Kingdom had provided Mauritius with financial aid totalling £8.1 million, in addition to the compensation of £3 million paid for the inclusion of certain groups of its islands in the British Indian Ocean Territory. That showed clearly that the United Kingdom had had to pay for those islands.

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

95. The representative of Mali noted that, in his initial statement at the 35th meeting, the United Kingdom representative had said that, in Mauritius, constitutional discussions between the United Kingdom and the representatives of the various political parties had already set the stage for independence—thus implying that there was no need for the Sub-Committee to consider whether General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was being implemented. That was an over-simplification of the situation. Indeed, if one examined the political and economic situation in Mauritius, as in the other two Territories under discussion, one found that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was not being implemented and that basic United Nations principles were being disregarded.

According to those principles, peoples had a right to self-determination and independence, decisions on constitutional changes must be left in the hands of the peoples themselves, territorial integrity must be respected and—a principle which was vital to genuine independence—the right of peoples to sovereignty over their natural resources must be guaranteed. All those principles were being flouted. In addition, military bases were being established in the Territories, despite the General Assembly decision that the establishment of such bases in colonial territories was incompatible with the United Nations Charter and Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

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

97. With regard to the arrangements for the elections he noted that, according to paragraph 18 of the Secretariat working paper (chap. XIV), the total electorate was about 315,000 or 48 per cent of the population. Since the rate of population growth was high and the population was predominantly young, the minimum voting age of twenty-one had the effect of excluding a large part of the population, and giving the electorate an unrepresentative character. That illustrated the danger of allowing the United Kingdom to organize the elections to a body which was to vote on the question of independence.

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

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

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

101. At the 35th meeting, however, in reply to a question from the representative of Syria, the United Kingdom representative had said that independence would probably be obtained in 1968. For certain reasons, the elections due to be

held in February 1967 had been postponed. She regretted to have to say that her delegation was not satisfied with the reasons given for the delay. The Ethiopian delegation urged the United Kingdom Government to hold the promised elections at an early date. The people of Mauritius had expressed their wish for independence in 1965 at the London Constitutional Conference, but they were still waiting for the day of independence to arrive. Her delegation appealed to the administering Power to implement fully the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People.

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

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

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

105. The representative of Syria, referring to the answers given to his questions by the representative of the United Kingdom, thought he was justified in asking what was the potential economic wealth of the Territories and to what extent that potential had been realized for the benefit of the population. There were indications that Mauritius had considerable potential in hydro-electric power, yet, according to the representative of the administering Power, there were only eight hydro-electric stations now in operation and a ninth under construction. He would be interested to know what the production was in kilowatts, to what use it was put and whether it was helping to raise the economic standard of the population.

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

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

108. He welcomed the assurance given that there was no discrimination in the sugar or other industries, but asked what were the salary scales for Europeans and indigenous

employees and whether the latter had access to managerial positions.

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

110. The representative of the United Kingdom, replying to the comments made by the representative of Mali concerning the delay in granting independence to Mauritius following the Constitutional Conference in 1965 and the requirement that a new Legislature should approve a request for independence, referred him to the report of that Conference, which had made it very clear that there had by no means been agreement as to whether the issue of independence had been fully considered at previous general elections and that it had been decided by the parties represented at the Conference that steps should be taken to review the electoral arrangements before new elections were held. Two points of view had been expressed: one had been that there was no need to consult the people regarding the future status of Mauritius since their desire for independence had been demonstrated by their support in three general elections for the parties favouring independence, but that it would be appropriate to hold general elections before independence so that the newly elected Government could lead the country into independence; the opposing argument advanced had been that the question of independence had not been a prominent issue in previous general elections and it was therefore doubtful whether the voters really desired it.

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

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

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

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

115. The representative of Mali said that he had been surprised by the United Kingdom representative's answer to his question concerning the delay in granting independence. In paragraph 19 of the Secretariat working paper (chap. XIV), it was stated that neither the United Kingdom Government

nor the Government of Mauritius could avoid the subsequent delays. Internal political difficulties alone could not be the cause for the delay; one cause appeared to be the requirement that a newly elected Legislature should first approve a resolution asking for independence. He believed that after the Constitutional Conference in 1965 the path to independence had been wide open. There was some doubt in his mind as to the United Kingdom's willingness to move towards the emancipation of the Territory.

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

117. He was deeply concerned over the strict dependence of Mauritius on coffee and sugar. A country which was about to become independent should not depend on those two products alone. Mauritius, for instance, was entirely dependent on Madagascar for rice. If something could be done to make the Territory less dependent on the fluctuating prices for coffee and sugar, the United Kingdom should inform the Sub-Committee. It should also diversify agricultural production so that the Territory, which had a rich soil, could satisfy more of its own needs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

B. Conclusions

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

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

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

127. The Sub-Committee notes with concern that, notwithstanding the denials by the administering Power, there is still evidence to indicate that the United Kingdom intends to use portions of these territories for military purposes in collaboration with the Government of the United States of America. The Sub-Committee is of the firm opinion that such military installations create international tension and arouse the concern of the peoples of Africa and Asia, especially those in the vicinity of the installations.

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

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

C. Recommendations

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

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

on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

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

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

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

135. The Sub-Committee recommends that a United Nations visiting mission should be sent to the Territories to ascertain the extent of the progress achieved towards the goal of self-determination and independence.

136. The administering Power should once again be called upon to respect the territorial integrity of Mauritius and Seychelles and to return to these Territories the islands detached from them.

137. The Special Committee should urge the administering Power to refrain from any military activity in the Terri-

tories, especially in the islands detached from Mauritius and Seychelles and in Ascension Island. Such activity would constitute an act of hostility against the peoples of Africa and Asia and a threat to international peace and security.

138. The administering Power should once again be called upon to safeguard the right of the peoples of the Territories to dispose of the natural resources of their countries and to undertake effective measures for creation of a diversified economy.

139. The administering Power should be asked to inform the Special Committee before the opening of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly concerning the implementation of the recommendations of the General Assembly and the Special Committee.

D. *Adoption of the report*

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

CHAPTER XV*

GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS, PITCAIRN AND THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

A. *Action previously taken by the Special Committee and by the General Assembly*

1. In 1964, the Special Committee adopted conclusions and recommendations concerning Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands (A/5800/Rev.1,¹ chap. XX, paras. 80-96). After considering the Territories in September 1966, the Special Committee concluded that progress towards the implementation of the provisions contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 had not been significant, and that General Assembly resolution 2069 (XX) of 16 December 1965 had not been adequately implemented. It reiterated the recommendations it had made in 1964 and expressed the opinion that a visit by Sub-Committee II of the Special Committee was necessary and would be most useful in assessing the political climate, economic requirements and aspirations of the people, and that steps might be taken to arrange such a visit in consultation with the administering Power (A/6300/Rev.1,² chap. XV, paras. 33 to 35).

2. At its twentieth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2069 (XX) concerning twenty-six Territories, including Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands. At its twenty-first session, it adopted resolution 2232 (XXI) of 20 December 1966, concerning twenty-five Territories, including Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands. The resolution called upon the administering Powers to implement without delay the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. It reiterated the Assembly's declaration that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial in-

tegrity of colonial Territories and the establishment of military bases and installations in these Territories was incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It urged the administering Powers to allow visiting missions to visit the Territories and to extend to them full co-operation and assistance. It decided that the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of the Territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status. Finally, it requested the Special Committee to pay special attention to the Territories and to report on the implementation of the present resolution to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.

B. *Information on the Territories*³

1. GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS

General

3. The Gilbert and Ellice Islands are situated in the south-west Pacific around the point at which the Equator crosses the International Date Line. It includes isolated Ocean Island and four groups of islands: the Gilbert, Ellice, Phoenix and Northern Line Islands. With the exception of Ocean Island, which has been raised by volcanic action to about 280 feet (85 metres) above sea level, all are low-lying coral atolls. They have a total land area of about 369 square miles (956 square kilometres), and are spread over more than 2 million square miles (5,180,000 square kilometres) of ocean. Canton and Enderbury Islands in the Phoenix Group are at present under the joint control of the United Kingdom and the United States. Both islands were

* Parts A and B of this chapter were previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.363.

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (Part I).*

² *Ibid.*, *Twenty-first Session, Annexes*, addendum to agenda item 23.

³ Information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73e of the Charter on 18 April and 1 and 26 August 1966, for the year ending 31 December 1965.

uninhabited until the development of trans-Pacific aviation made them desirable as aviation stations. Canton Island became a fueling station for air services between Honolulu and Auckland and Sydney. It is now used as an emergency airfield and by military aircraft. Some aeronautical, meteorological and communication services continue to be maintained there.

4. On 30 April 1963, the census taken showed a total population of 49,879. By the end of 1964, it was estimated that the population had risen to over 50,000. About 85 per cent of the inhabitants of the Territory are Gilbertese and the remaining 15 per cent are Ellice Islanders. The great majority of the population live in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, which make up about one half of the total area of the Territory. Christmas Island, on the other hand, has an area of more than 140 square miles (426 square kilometres), but much of it is desert and it has only a few hundred inhabitants.

Status

5. The Gilbert and Ellice Islands came under the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific in 1877 and were declared a British Protectorate in 1892. By an Order in Council of 10 November 1915, they were annexed and became the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony. Subsequently its boundaries were extended to include the Phoenix and Northern Line Islands.

Constitution

6. The Territory is administered under the provisions of the Pacific Order in Council, 1893, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Order in Council, 1915, and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Order in Council, 1963.

High Commissioner and Resident Commissioner

7. The responsibility for the administration of the Territory rests with the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, who resides at Honiara in the Solomon Islands. This responsibility is deputized to a Resident Commissioner, the chief administrative officer of the Territory, who resides in Tarawa (the capital) where the principal departments of the Administration are located. The High Commissioner and the Resident Commissioner are both empowered to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Territory with due regard to local custom. In cases where a proposed law might affect the lives of the local population, the island councils are consulted.

Executive Council

8. The Gilbert and Ellice Islands Order in Council, 1963, provided for the establishment of an Executive Council, presided over by a Resident Commissioner, with an Assistant Resident Commissioner as an *ex officio* member, and not more than three official and four unofficial members.

Advisory Council

9. The Advisory Council was established in 1963. It comprises the Resident Commissioner as president and first official and eleven unofficial members appointed by him. The Resident Commissioner is required to inform and consult the Council about matters the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific may determine.

Electoral system

10. The elected members of the island councils (see paras. 13-14 below) are elected by universal adult suffrage of all islanders over the age of thirty.

Judiciary

11. Under the provisions of the Western Pacific (Courts) Order in Council, 1961, a High Court of the Western Pacific was established in 1962, consisting of a Chief Justice and a number of puisne judges. The High Court possesses and exercises jurisdiction similar to that of the High Court of Justice in England. It has jurisdiction to hear appeals from the judgements of any other court in the Territory, and there is a right of appeal in respect to a judgement by the High Court itself to the Fiji Court of Appeal, and thereafter to the Privy Council in London.

12. In addition to the High Court, there is a system of local or Native courts which have wide jurisdiction over all indigenous inhabitants. These courts are presided over by the island magistrate, who can be assisted by four or more assessors. There are also island land courts which deal with local property, estate and land disputes. These are composed of the island magistrate and a panel of selected islanders.

Local government

13. There are twenty-six Native (or island) governments in the Gilbert, Ellice and Phoenix groups. These governments consist of island councils, a Native court with criminal and civil jurisdiction and a lands court. The head of each Native government is the island magistrate, an islander selected and appointed by the district commissioner who combines executive and judicial authority. He is the central Government's representative on the island, responsible for local administration, the chairman of the island council and the magistrate of the Native Court.

14. Island councils consist of selected members, nominated members and *ex officio* members. There is a majority of elected members in all the island councils. In addition to appointing certain members of the island governments, the island councils have power to make local regulations covering a wide range of subjects, and provide services for the general health, security and well-being of each island. The councils have full financial responsibility and make their own estimates of revenue and expenditure; in most cases they pay for the various island services out of local revenue but, in cases where they are not financially self-supporting, they receive a subvention from central government funds.

Political parties

15. In October 1965, the first political party in the Territory, the Gilbertese National Party (GNP) was formed. Its aim, *inter alia*, is reported to be "to speed up the present rate of constitutional development, aiming at a more representative and democratic form of government". Membership is reported to be ordinarily limited to Gilbertese. However, exceptions to this rule may be made in favour of part or non-Gilbertese who have spent much of their lives in the Gilbert Islands. A second political party, the Christian Democratic Party (CDP), was formed at Tarawa in November 1965. No account is taken of religion or race for membership in the party. Its aims are reported to be

to ensure more involvement in territorial affairs; to further the welfare of and promote harmony between the people of the Territory; to improve copra production; to improve education and to examine land tenure in order to ensure individual rights and increase production.

Constitutional developments

16. During its meetings in 1966, the Special Committee was informed that proposals for constitutional advancement had been published by the Government of the Territory and were under discussion by the Advisory Council. These proposals were the following:

(a) To replace the Executive Council by a governing council which would exercise executive and legislative powers, and would consist of five official members and five elected members chosen by a House of Representatives;

(b) To replace the Advisory Council by a house of representatives consisting of seven officially appointed members and twenty-three members elected by adult suffrage from all parts of the Territory.

The Resident Commissioner would preside over both these bodies and would be required to consult the governing council on virtually all policy and legislative matters. The House of Representatives in turn would advise the governing council on major policies and on proposed legislation.

Economic conditions

17. Ocean Island has rich deposits of phosphatic rock, which are worked conjointly with the deposits on the Trust Territory of Nauru, about 160 miles westward, by the British Phosphate Commissioners. The economy of the islands is based on the extraction of phosphate on Ocean Island and the production of copra on the other islands. The phosphate deposits are expected to become exhausted within fourteen years. The islands are subject to severe droughts. On most of them the soil is only a few inches deep and consists largely of coral sand. These conditions make cultivation difficult. Copra is the only commercial crop, produced on the Gilbert, Ellice and Phoenix Islands by indigenous cultivators, and on the Line Islands by large commercial plantations.

18. During 1965, there was a return to normal growing conditions following the severe drought of 1963, and the production of copra showed a marked increase. Total production of copra was 9,733 tons, valued at £A801,330,⁴ compared with 5,442 tons, valued at £A387,666 in 1964. Phosphate exported from Ocean Island totalled 360,800 tons, valued at £A883,960, compared with 325,350 tons, valued at £A805,474 in 1964.

19. Exports and imports in 1965 were valued at £A1,685,290 and £A1,825,524 respectively, compared with £A1,201,296 and £A1,623,863 the previous year. Most imports came from the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand and they received most of the Territory's exports.

20. During 1965, ordinary revenue amounted to £A994,479. The chief sources of revenue were a tax on phosphate, which the British Phosphate Commis-

sioners paid on all phosphate exported from Ocean Island, and custom duties. Expenditure, excluding grants, totalled £A917,817. An additional amount of £A108,707 was expended on Colonial Development and Welfare schemes.

21. During 1965, an Economic Development Committee was established as a result of a recommendation of the Executive Council. The Committee includes two members appointed from among the nominated members of the Advisory Council. The Committee held its first meeting during the month of November. Its terms of reference are as follows:

(a) To promote and co-ordinate all economic development projects in the Territory and to advise on all proposals for colony resettlement;

(b) To co-ordinate the policies of the Agricultural Department, Copra Board, Co-operative Societies, Loan Board and Wholesale Society in relation to the economic development of the Territory;

(c) To evaluate and advise on ways and means for actively encouraging the development of local industries and commercial enterprises;

(d) To consider inter-Territory and overseas communications and transport needs in relation to the future development of the Territory.

Social conditions

Labour

22. All matters concerned with the recruitment, contracting and care of workers are undertaken by administrative or other officers appointed by the Resident Commissioner. In 1965, local governments employed approximately seventy part-time senior and 280 subordinate officials, either Gilbertese or Ellice Islanders. The central Government employed permanently approximately 700 persons (excluding about 350 unestablished labourers) of whom fifty-four were Europeans. In addition to the Government, the chief employers are the British Phosphate Commissioners and the copra plantations. During 1966, the British Phosphate Commissioners employed 587 Gilbertese and Ellice Islanders at Ocean Island and 822 at Nauru. Conditions of employment for Gilbertese and Ellice Islanders in the Trust Territory of Nauru are the same as for those islanders employed in Ocean Island. In the Line Islands, the copra plantations employed approximately 249 Gilbertese and Ellice Islanders.

Public health

23. The Territory has 2 general hospitals, 1 cottage hospital and 27 dispensaries. The Central Colony Hospital is located at administrative headquarters. The other general hospital is maintained on Ocean Island by the British Phosphate Commissioners. The two general hospitals have 279 beds. The government medical staff includes 3 registered physicians and 22 assistant medical officers. There are also 2 physicians employed by the British Phosphate Commissioners on Ocean Island. They are paid retainer fees to act as government medical officers. Medical attention for indigenous persons and government officers (with the exception of confinements) is free.

24. In 1965, estimated expenditures on public health totalled £A84,748 and amounted to about 11 per cent of all expenditure.

⁴ Australian currency is used. In February 1966, the Australian Government changed to a decimal monetary system. A new \$A1.00 is equivalent to 10 shillings in the old Australian currency, or \$US1.12.

Educational conditions

25. In 1965, there were 12,489 primary school pupils, mainly in mission schools. Four secondary schools had 353 pupils, and 3 teacher-training colleges had 89 trainees. Seventeen students were studying under scholarships at secondary schools and universities in Australia and New Zealand. Thirty-five others were abroad taking professional or technical training courses. Expenditure on education totalled £A67,278, or 7.3 per cent of all expenditures.

2. PITCAIRN

General

26. The Territory consists of four islands. Only Pitcairn, a volcanic island situated in the South Pacific about midway between Australia and South America, is inhabited. It has a land area of about two square miles (5.18 square kilometres). The inhabitants of Pitcairn, numbering eighty-eight at the end of 1965, are descendants of British sailors and Tahitians who settled there in 1793 after the mutiny of H.M.S. *Bounty*.

Status

27. The Territory of Pitcairn is a British colony which came under the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific in 1898. By the Pitcairn Order-in-Council, 1952, it was transferred to the administration of the Governor of Fiji when this office was separated from that of the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific.

*Constitution**Governor*

28. The Governor of Fiji is *ex officio* Governor of Pitcairn and legislates for the Territory.

Island Council

29. The Local Government Ordinance of 1964 constituted a council of ten members to replace the existing three-member Island Council. The Island Council is composed of the Island Magistrate (elected for three years), three members elected annually, the Island Secretary *ex officio*, one member appointed by the Governor, two members chosen by the elected members and two non-voting advisory members, one chosen by the Governor and one by the rest of the Council.

Judiciary

30. The Island Court sits twice a month to hear breaches of the Island Rules. Cases of a serious nature come within the jurisdiction of the High Court of the Western Pacific.

Economic and social conditions

31. Pitcairn Island is isolated and its population is practically all of common stock and related through inter-marriage. The small community is able to meet its basic needs from the soil, the sea and private trading and it is self-sufficient. Pitcairn's revenue and expenditure for the year 1965-1966 were £39,437 and £19,472 respectively. Revenue for the year 1966-1967 was estimated at £46,782 and expenditure at £33,434. Its main source of revenue is from the sale of postage stamps to collectors. Some fruits and handicrafts are sold to passing ships.

32. The population is self-employed. There is no permanent labour force although the local administration sometimes hires workers for limited communal services.

33. There is a government clinic, run in co-operation with the Seventh Day Adventist Church. The Government meets the cost of medical supplies and drugs. Professional advice and assistance may be obtained from surgeons on passing ships and, if medical treatment is required in New Zealand, compassionate grants or loans may be obtained from public funds.

Educational conditions

34. Education is controlled and financed entirely by the Government. It is free and compulsory for all children between six and sixteen years of age. Instruction is in English and the New Zealand standard curriculum is used as the basis of instruction. Post-primary education on the island is conducted at the school by correspondence courses arranged through the New Zealand Department of Education.

35. In 1965, the school roll comprised 27 children. Expenditure on education was £3,825, representing 19.6 per cent of the total expenditure.

3. SOLOMON ISLANDS

General

36. The British Solomon Islands consists of a double chain of islands in the South West Pacific stretching approximately 900 miles (1,400 kilometres) in a southeasterly direction and have a total land area of 11,500 square miles (29,785 square kilometres). The six major islands are Choiseul, New Georgia, Santa Isabel, Guadalcanal, Malaita and San Cristobal. They are characterized by precipitous, thickly forested mountain ranges, intersected by deep, narrow valleys. It is the largest United Kingdom Territory in the Pacific. The total population at the beginning of 1965 was estimated at 136,750, of whom about 128,200 are Melanesians, 5,100 Polynesians and the remainder of mixed races. The only township is Honiara, the administrative capital, with approximately 6,684 inhabitants. Most of the people live in small scattered villages throughout the islands. Those who live on the larger islands are often cut off from their neighbours on the same island by high mountain ranges and dense jungle.

Status

37. The Territory of the Solomon Islands is a British Protectorate which was established in 1893 over the Southern Solomons and by 1900 over the remainder of the group which now make up the Territory.

Constitution

38. The present Constitution is contained in the British Solomon Islands (Constitution) Order in Council, 1960, under which the Territory is administered by a High Commissioner, who is advised by an Executive Council and who legislates with the advice and consent of a Legislative Council. Before 1960, the High Commissioner was assisted by an advisory council only.

High Commissioner

39. The Solomon Islands Protectorate is one of the Territories administered by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, whose headquarters are at Honiara.

Executive Council

40. The Council consists of the holders of the three principal offices, namely, the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General, and the Financial Secretary of the Western Pacific High Commission, and also such other official and unofficial members as the High Commissioner may appoint. There are at present five official members and five unofficial members in the Executive Council.

Legislative Council

41. The Council consists of the High Commissioner as president, three *ex officio* members (the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary of the Western Pacific High Commissioner), eight official members and ten unofficial members. Eight of the unofficial members are elected. The other thirteen members are either *ex officio* or appointed by the High Commissioner.

Local councils

42. There are local government councils in all areas except for some very small outlying islands. A new local government ordinance which was enacted in 1963, provides that membership of councils is elected entirely by universal adult suffrage, instead of being nominated as formerly. By the end of 1965, seventeen councils had been established under the new ordinance, and all but one of them had held elections. A council can make and pass resolutions concerning the government of the district over which it has authority. The councils prepare and debate their own annual estimates of revenue and expenditure; their range of subjects includes administrative services, communications, dispensaries, schools, water supply and economic development.

43. The Honiara Town Council, which has an entirely nominated membership with an unofficial majority, operates under the chairmanship of the District Commissioner, Central Solomons. This Council has specific responsibilities and duties and has the power to pass by-laws. The Council also has powers to raise revenue, but its main source of income is an annual subvention from the central Government.

Judiciary

44. The Judiciary consists of the High Court of the Western Pacific and Native courts. The High Court possesses and exercises jurisdiction similar to that of the High Court of Justice in England. It has jurisdiction to hear appeals from judgements of any other courts in the Territory, and there is right of appeal in respect of a judgement by the High Court itself to the Fiji Court of Appeal, and thereafter to the Privy Council in London. Native courts are usually constituted according to local custom. They have limited civil and criminal jurisdiction and their decisions are subject to review by magistrates.

Electoral system

45. Elections of eight of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council are by electoral colleges composed of elected members of the local authorities (who are themselves elected by universal adult suffrage) in seven of the constituencies, and by direct election on the basis of universal adult suffrage in the Honiara constituency. Elections for the present Legislative Council were held on 7 April 1965.

Political parties

46. In June 1965, the eight elected members of the British Solomon Islands Legislative Council announced that they had formed a political party to be known as the Democratic Party of the British Solomon Islands. The main aims of the party are reported to be self-determination for the Territory within the Commonwealth; free education for all; improved industrial relations and improved machinery for the settlement of disputes; unification of all peoples of the Solomons and greater participation by women in territorial affairs.

Recent developments

47. In the course of its meetings in 1966, the Special Committee was informed that the Legislative Council was to be dissolved in April 1967 and that proposals concerning constitutional advance in the Solomon Islands had been published and were to be submitted to the Legislative Council of the Territory in December 1966. It was proposed to increase the number of elected members from eight to fourteen and, in so far as it was administratively possible, to have all fourteen members elected by direct elections in their constituencies. However, the Special Committee was further informed that in certain remote constituencies, scattered over a large area of sea, it would be impracticable to arrange direct elections for the time being. It was also proposed to define the High Commissioner's legislative and other powers and to establish a Public Service Commission. No further information is available concerning these proposals.

Economic conditions

48. The economy of the Territory is at present based mainly on subsistence agriculture and on the production of copra for export. However, cocoa is being developed as a second cash crop, and in 1964 field trials in rice, soya beans and oil palms were also made, which it was hoped would lead to the mechanized cultivation of rice and soya beans on a large scale by 1966. Large-scale lumbering operations have also begun and timber exports are expected to reach 10 million cubic feet in the next few years, or more than ten times the amount exported in 1964. There is no large-scale mining, but small amounts of gold are extracted. A few limited industries are directed to meet some local needs.

49. Cash crops are confined almost entirely to the coastal areas, river valleys and foothills of the larger islands. Food crops are grown generally on the basis of shifting cultivation, and principally in forested areas. There is practically no permanent arable or mixed farming, largely because of the dense afforestation of areas not planted with coconuts and cocoa.

50. The value of all domestic exports in 1965 totalled £A2.37 million, compared with £A1.99 million in 1964. Copra accounted for 88 per cent and timber for 8 per cent of all exports. Imports were valued at £A3.30 million, compared with £A2.73 million in 1964. The United Kingdom, Japan and Australia received 98 per cent of all exports; 69 per cent of all imports came from Australia and the United Kingdom.

51. Revenue is derived mainly from import and export duties, income tax and a company tax. In 1965, the estimated revenue, including grants-in-aid and transfers from special funds, totalled £A3.09 million,

compared with £A2.74 million in 1964. Estimated total expenditures amounted to £A3.07 million, compared with £A2.61 million in 1964. The budget is balanced by a grant-in-aid from the United Kingdom.

52. A third development plan for the Territory covered the period from 1 January 1963 to 31 March 1966. Development funds for this plan were estimated to total £A3,015,800.

53. A further development plan for the period from 1 January 1965 to 31 March 1968 was drawn up and presented to the Legislative Council in 1965 which accepted it as a general framework for planning purposes subject to approval of individual projects. Colonial Development and Welfare funds available for the plan amounted to approximately £A4.28 million, and development funds from all sources were estimated to total £A6.2 million. The objective of the plan is reported to be the development of natural and human resources in order to strengthen the Territory's economy and to raise the standard of living of all sections of the community and to raise the general standard of education.

54. The agreement signed in 1965 by the administering Power and the United Nations Special Fund for a mineral survey of the Territory was described in the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session.

Social conditions

Labour

55. The total labour force of the Territory in 1965 was estimated at 10,000. A large proportion of the labour force is unskilled and there is an acute shortage of skilled workers. Most of the workers are engaged in agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce, or are employed by the Government. There are two registered trade unions. During the latter part of 1965 a general decline of interest among workers in trade union matters was reported and the two trade unions temporarily suspended activities.

Public health

56. Malaria and tuberculosis are the two major health problems in the Territory. At present, the concentration of resources and attention on the eradication of malaria precludes any major attack on tuberculosis. The success of the Malarial Eradication Pilot Project, with the guidance and active assistance of the World Health Organization (WHO), has been the outstanding achievement in public health in the past two years. The Government, in conjunction with WHO, planned to proceed in 1965 to a pre-eradication programme, and a major allocation of funds was approved for the purpose.

57. The Territory has six government hospitals with a total of 370 beds and one leprosarium. Hospitals and other medical facilities maintained by missions have 543 beds. In 1963-64, the medical staff, public and private, included eight registered medical officers and sixteen registered assistant medical officers. In 1965, expenditure on public health was estimated to total £A230,377 compared with £A202,462 the previous year, and amounted to 8.28 per cent of all government expenditure.

Educational conditions

58. Education is largely in the hands of missions. The Government maintains 6 primary schools, besides 1 secondary and 1 teacher-training school. It assists the churches and local councils in providing primary education. In 1965 there were 404 registered primary schools and an additional ninety-two schools exempt from registration for a period of 2 years. The total enrolment of these schools was 19,600. The 5 secondary schools had 325 students and 2 teacher-training schools had 56 students.

59. Both the Government and churches provide scholarships for secondary and higher education overseas; scholarships from other countries are sometimes available. At the end of 1965, 27 students were awarded government scholarships for secondary education overseas and 95 students were awarded church scholarships.

60. In 1965, recurrent and capital expenditure on education totalled £A302,931, compared with £A224,209 in 1964, and was estimated to be 5.45 per cent of all government expenditure.

C. Consideration by the Special Committee

61. At its 562nd meeting on 22 September 1967, the Special Committee considered the report of Sub-Committee II on the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands which appears as an annex to this chapter.

62. The representative of the United Kingdom said he wished to record the fact that, in his delegation's view, the Sub-Committee's conclusions and recommendations on the Territories administered by the United Kingdom did not adequately reflect the substantial progress that had been made over the past twelve months in those Territories and were regrettably begrudging and negative in tone. Accordingly, his delegation would reserve its position on the Sub-Committee's conclusions and recommendations on those Territories.

63. The representatives of Australia and the United States also expressed reservations with regard to the Sub-Committee's conclusions and recommendations on these Territories.

64. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that his delegation reserved its position regarding the conclusions in paragraph 43. In particular he considered that, instead of stating that the recommendations of the Special Committee and the General Assembly had "not been adequately implemented", the paragraph should state that they had "not been implemented".

D. Action taken by the Special Committee on the report of Sub-Committee II

65. At its 562nd meeting on 22 September 1967, the Special Committee adopted the conclusions and recommendations of Sub-Committee II concerning the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands, it being understood that the reservations expressed by some members would be reflected in the record. These conclusions and recommendations are as follows:

Conclusions

66. (a) The Special Committee notes: that although the administering Power has proposed to replace the Advisory Council by a House of Representatives in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, this Council would still be an advisory body only; and that in the case of the Solomon Islands, under the features of the new Constitution, which came into force on 1 April 1967, the enlarged Legislative Council could continue to have a minority of elected members and the Executive Council would continue to remain nominated to a large extent.

(b) The Special Committee concludes that, although some progress has been made towards the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), it has not been very significant and should be speeded up; that the recommendations of the Special Committee in 1964 and of General Assembly resolution 2069 (XX) have not been adequately implemented; and that the economic base of the Territories needs to be strengthened.

(c) The Special Committee is aware of the peculiar problems of these small and isolated islands.

Recommendations

67. The Special Committee reiterates to the administering Power the recommendations it made concerning these Territories in 1964.

ANNEX*

Report of Sub-Committee II

Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands

Consideration by the Sub-Committee

1. The Sub-Committee considered the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands at its 57th to 60th and 62nd and 63rd meetings held between 14 March and 12 May 1967.

2. The Sub-Committee had before it the working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see paras. 1-60 of the present chapter).

3. In accordance with the procedure agreed upon by the Special Committee, the Chairman invited the representative of the United Kingdom to participate in the consideration of the three Territories.

4. In his statement to the Sub-Committee the representative of the United Kingdom said that in 1966 his delegation had provided the Sub-Committee with very detailed information on the situation in the Territories under discussion. Further information had been furnished at the 1669th meeting of the Fourth Committee in December 1966. Since the recent publication of the working paper, prepared with the help of that information, there had been no important event to report. His delegation would, however, be happy to comment if necessary on the Sub-Committee's discussions at a later stage.

5. The representative of India pointed out that in 1966 the United Kingdom delegation had informed the Special Committee that proposals for constitutional advancement in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands had been made by the Government of the Territory and considered by the Advisory Council, that the number of elected members in the Legislative Council of the Solomon Islands was to be increased from eight to fourteen and that it had been proposed to establish a Public Service Commission in the latter Territory. She asked the United Kingdom representative what had happened thereafter.

6. The representative of the United Kingdom said that at the 1669th meeting of the Fourth Committee, his delegation had indicated that the proposals for constitutional advancement in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands had been considered and approved by the Advisory Council and submitted for consideration by the United Kingdom Government. Similarly, the proposals for the Solomon Islands had been discussed and formally approved by the Legislative Council and were being considered by the United Kingdom Government.

7. The representative of Chile said that, while in some respects it was understandable that for the administering Power there was nothing new of importance to report on the Territories that had been dealt with in the working paper, the pace of constitutional advancement did seem to be lamentably slow and should be speeded up.

8. With regard to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the working paper indicated that proposals for constitutional advancement had been under discussion by the Advisory Council. He would like to have more information from the administering Power regarding the current status of those proposals. The working paper also indicated that the Legislative Council in the Solomon Islands was to be dissolved in April 1967 and that it was proposed to increase the number of elected members. On those points, too, he would welcome further information from the administering Power.

9. The representative of Poland said that the question of small Territories required special attention from the Special Committee and consequently from the Sub-Committee. In view of the particular circumstances of the islands, resulting from their remoteness, their small size and population, the nature of their economy and the lack of communications with the outside world, the Special Committee had a duty to seek, by all means at its disposal, a solution which would enable the peoples to determine their political future in complete freedom and with full knowledge of the various possibilities open to them. Poland, for its part, would not reject *a priori* any solution which might be adopted by the peoples. It could not, however, agree that the Special Committee should play the kind of role some administering Powers would like it to. The Sub-Committee could not confine itself to taking note of a series of *faits accomplis*, but had to make a constructive contribution and support the efforts of peoples seeking political emancipation. As to the administering Powers, one was entitled to expect them to recognize United Nations responsibility in the matter and extend full co-operation to the Special Committee.

10. The Polish delegation would like to know what measures had been taken by the United Kingdom Government to implement General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI), and particularly operative paragraph 4, concerning the national unity and territorial integrity of colonial Territories and the question of military bases. The working paper on the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands stated that Canton and Enderbury Islands, in the Phoenix Group, were at present under the joint control of the United Kingdom and the United States of America and that Canton was being used as an emergency airfield and by military aircraft. His delegation attached great importance to that question since, in spite of the strict injunction contained in paragraph 4 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, certain Powers seemed to have little regard for the idea of self-determination when their strategic interests were involved.

11. In that connexion, he wished to reaffirm the principles set out by his delegation in the General Assembly on 1 December 1965 (1386th plenary meeting), with regard to the question of small Territories, to the effect that military bases, merely by their presence and the possibilities which they offered for repressive action, were a serious obstacle to the achievement of independence, that the existence of such bases distorted the economic structure of the Territories in which they were situated, that the economic conditions which they created served as a pretext for the colonial Power to maintain its presence, that the bases unnecessarily placed the dependent peoples in the front line of any conflict that might occur and that they enabled certain Powers to pursue their strategic purposes in spite of the growing resistance of peoples to the arms race.

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.395/Add.1.

12. Thus the existence of such bases was a violation of the Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It was easy to see the vicious circle in which a dependent Territory found itself when its economy was geared to the needs of a base and the way in which such a Territory could be prevailed upon by the administering Power to "choose" association with it.

13. It was regrettable that the United Kingdom delegation, instead of providing information on the situation in the Territories in question, had merely referred to the statement made by the United Kingdom representative in the Fourth Committee on 13 December 1966. But, in any event, it would be noted that the text of that statement hardly bore out the optimistic assertion of the United Kingdom representative that the pace of development of the Territories under discussion was rapid and sure. On the contrary, the real situation in the Territories gave reason for serious concern.

14. The pace of political and constitutional advance in the Solomon Islands was slow indeed. It might be true that the number of elected members in the new Legislative Council was to be increased from eight to fourteen and that they were to be elected by universal suffrage, but those changes would have little effect on the legislative situation in the Territory. As stated in an earlier report, laws in the Solomon Islands were made by the High Commissioner acting with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, except for a few matters which were reserved for the High Commissioner. In those circumstances, it could hardly be said that the people of the Solomon Islands could now exercise a real influence on legislation in the Territory. His delegation would therefore be glad if the representative of the administering Power would provide the Sub-Committee with more details on the respective spheres of competence of the Legislative Council and the High Commissioner in that regard.

15. Economic and social development in the Territory could not be described as satisfactory. The public health picture was a sombre one. He need only point out that today, as in 1964, it was reported that "malaria and tuberculosis are the two major health problems in the Territory". In 1962, in the Solomon Islands, there had been 6 hospitals and 1 leprosarium with a total number of 463 beds and other hospital and medical establishments with 513 beds, giving a total of 976 beds. According to the working paper, the total number of beds today was only 913, representing a decrease of 6.5 per cent, while the population had increased by 11 per cent. According to an article which had appeared the previous year in *The New York Times*, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate had then been one of the most backward Territories in the world. One might wonder whether the situation had changed greatly since then.

16. If one considered constitutional developments in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, it seemed that the people of the islands would have to wait many years before they could freely decide their future political status. The new arrangements admittedly gave the Territory a House of Representatives consisting of seven official members and twenty-three members elected by universal adult suffrage. However, the House would have no legislative powers, but would simply advise the Governing Council and the Resident Commissioner. The Resident Commissioner would be required to consult the Governing Council only on legislative matters.

17. His delegation hoped that the administering Power would reconsider those proposals and replace them by arrangements more in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Time was running short and the Territory's phosphate deposits would be completely exhausted within fifteen to twenty-five years.

18. In conclusion, he said that the administering Powers should speed up the economic, social and political progress of the people of the Territories under consideration, who had been neglected for so long. The Sub-Committee, for its part, should not relax its efforts to help the peoples achieve an independent life, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2232 (XXI).

19. The representative of India pointed out that since the adoption of the 1962 Constitution, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands had had an Advisory Council consisting of eleven unofficial

members and five official members appointed by the Resident Commissioner. Her delegation was waiting with great interest to see what action would be taken on the proposals to make the Advisory Council and the Executive Council more representative, which were now under consideration by the United Kingdom Government. It should be noted, however, that, even if the proposals were adopted, the new House of Representatives would remain a strictly advisory body, with the Resident Commissioner retaining absolute power in the legislative and executive fields.

20. The economic position of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands remained disturbing based as it was on the exploitation of a single item, phosphate. Her delegation would like the United Kingdom representative to provide the Sub-Committee with detailed information on the activities of the Economic Development Committee, established in 1965 to promote the development of local industries.

21. The same observations applied to the situation in the Solomon Islands. It was hardly possible to comment at length on the constitutional proposals which were still under consideration, although it should be noted that even if they were implemented, the Legislative Council would still have a minority of elected members, while the Executive Council would remain a wholly nominated body.

22. The representative of the United States of America said that exports were an important source of revenue for the Solomon Islands and Gilbert and Ellice Islands. Although the Solomon Islands still needed grants-in-aid from the United Kingdom, the intention in that Territory was also to diversify an economy traditionally based on agriculture and copra; a new export product, lumber, had just been added to the latter. On the other hand, poor conditions for cultivation were an obstacle to the diversification and development of the economy of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. Moreover, the likelihood that the phosphate deposits, which accounted for half the islands' exports, would be exhausted made it necessary to study carefully the economic problems which might arise. In regard to both the Solomon Islands and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, it was generally to be hoped that the long-term economic development plans which had been undertaken would gradually raise the standard of living of the populations concerned and make the islands less dependent on grants-in-aid from the administering Powers. The previous year, the United Kingdom delegation had indicated that new measures were being considered to give the indigenous population a greater role in the political life of the Territories. In addition, the Secretariat's working paper on the Solomon Islands referred to the dissolution, planned for April 1967, of the present Legislative Council and to proposals concerning constitutional advance. Those proposals provided for the introduction of universal adult suffrage and, in the longer term, for a majority of elected members in the Legislative Council. His delegation would like to know the current position in regard to those proposals. The same political development was taking place in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. The previous year, the United Kingdom representative had referred to proposals, now under consideration, to replace the existing Executive Council by a Governing Council, composed of an equal number of appointed and elected members, which would have both executive and legislative powers, and also to replace the present Advisory Council by a House of Representatives consisting of twenty-three members elected by universal adult suffrage and seven nominated members. His delegation would welcome any new information on the proposals now being studied by the United Kingdom Government.

23. The representative of Iraq said that more information should be obtained from the administering Power on the constitutional reforms planned in the Solomon Islands and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands.

24. The representative of the United Kingdom said that he would endeavour to comment on all the questions put by representatives.

25. He said that he was surprised by the statements that had been made concerning military bases. Whether or not the runways installed on Canton and Enderbury Islands were sometimes used by military aircraft, those islands had previously been uninhabited and quite unconnected with the Gilbert and

Ellice Islands, and their use for aviation purposes could have no possible effect on the development of the Territories under consideration and had nothing to do with the matters with which the Sub-Committee was concerned.

26. With regard to the Territories' economies, only the Solomon Islands received direct assistance from the United Kingdom in balancing its budget. A distinction must be made between budgetary aid of an administrative nature, which was a sign of an inadequate economy, and development aid intended to finance the expansion of agriculture, exports and social services. Steps were being taken to broaden and diversify the Territory's economy to make it less heavily dependent on budgetary aid. The Gilbert and Ellice Islands did not need help in balancing their budget but received assistance for economic development. Because the islands' phosphate deposits, their chief resource at present, were being exhausted, the diversification of their economy was being encouraged. Copra production had increased, but was largely dependent on factors which could not be controlled, particularly rainfall.

27. There seemed to be some misunderstanding about the constitutional provisions proposed for the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and the Solomon Islands. It was true that the Gilbert and Ellice Islands still had only an Advisory Council, but the Administration had proposed its replacement by a house of representatives, and that proposal was at present being studied in London. The Solomon Islands already possessed a genuine Legislative Council, and there were proposals under consideration for a substantial increase in the number of its elected representatives. The fact that the High Commissioner and the Resident Commissioner were both empowered to make laws in those Territories did not alter the fact that proposed legislation was or would be considered and approved by the Councils. That system was similar to legislative procedures in the United Kingdom.

28. In accordance with the well-tried processes of constitutional advance in British Territories, the powers of the Resident Commissioner and High Commissioners were being gradually transferred to and shared with bodies with an increasingly elected large component and the Territories were making rapid strides towards self-government in accordance with the wishes of the leaders and the people. He regretted that some members of the Sub-Committee had not taken note of all the encouraging signs of progress in the Committee's report and the working documents. The rate of progress might seem too slow to some, but the only sound criterion for the pace of change and progress was the wishes of the populations themselves. The proposed new reforms would come into force in 1967, as had been decided in 1966. The exact dates would be fixed by decisions to be taken shortly in London.

29. At the next meeting, the representative of the United Kingdom outlined for the Sub-Committee the essential features of the new Constitution which had come into force on 1 April 1967 in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate after having been publicly discussed and unanimously adopted by the Legislative Council in December 1966. The membership of the Legislative Council had been enlarged, the number of non-official members having been increased from ten to a minimum of fourteen and a maximum of sixteen, and the number of official members from eleven to a minimum of four and a maximum of sixteen. Fourteen of the non-official members would in principle be elected by direct election, except perhaps in one or two constituencies, because of administrative and transport difficulties, they would be elected indirectly through electoral colleges elected by the local councils. In the rest of the Territory, a common electoral roll would be established. An Executive Council consisting of eight members (up to five non-official and not more than four official) would be created to advise the High Commissioner. The Constitution provided for adjustments to be made in the membership of the two Councils in order to make non-official majorities possible, and for the establishment of a system of collective responsibility in the Executive Council. On the basis of the new Constitution, general elections would be organized, probably in May and June 1967.

30. In reply to a question raised by the representative of India about the activities of the Economic Development Committee in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, he explained that the Committee was a statutory body with a widely based membership, including persons outside the official sphere, which was consulted on major development matters. At its most recent meeting it had discussed, for example, certain important questions concerned with the development of tourism in the Territory.

31. The representative of Afghanistan said that he had expected the representative of the administering Power to inform the Sub-Committee of new developments in the Territories under consideration; however, he had merely referred the Sub-Committee to his statement in the Fourth Committee during the previous session. The Afghan delegation therefore concluded that the situation in the Territories had not changed; their economic and social development was slow and could not be considered satisfactory. In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, any progress achieved by the establishment of a more representative body to replace the Executive Council would lose its value if the Resident Commissioner retained an unlimited right of veto or if important decisions were removed from the competence of the House of Representatives. The economic situation of the Territory remained disturbing, and the administering Power should study ways of diversifying its economy.

32. With regard to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the representative of Sierra Leone said that the constitutional proposals—still under consideration—mentioned by the representative of the United Kingdom did indeed mark some progress, but much more could perhaps be offered. In economic affairs, attention should be paid to the possibilities of diversifying agriculture in order to alleviate the scarcity of existing resources, and the publication of the report of the Economic Development Committee would be awaited with interest. In addition, the growing development of the capital budget was an encouraging sign of the economic progress of the Territory and of its chances of attaining independence.

33. Pitcairn was such a small Territory with such a limited population that it was difficult to imagine that it could be independent, despite its favourable budgetary situation; but he hoped the administering Power would give the inhabitants an opportunity to make a final decision on their own future.

34. In the Solomon Islands, the constitutional measures which had been taken would be welcomed if they genuinely led to progress. He hoped that the number of elected members in the Legislative Council would be increased, and that such members alone would soon represent the people of the Territory.

35. The representative of Australia said that the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands had certain common features. All the islands were small and were spread over more than two million square miles of ocean. They were poor and their economic prospects were not encouraging. None of them was self-sufficient and most of them depended on assistance from the administering Power. The Gilbert and Ellice Islands had phosphate deposits, but those would be exhausted in twenty or thirty years. The Solomon Islands had only timber and subsistence crops.

36. The problem of distance and the lack of resources of the Islands complicated their administration and hindered their economic development. The administering Powers would have to give a great deal more before granting the Territories self-government. The Sub-Committee should fully realize the difficulties facing the administering Powers, and should recognize them in its reports.

37. In a further statement the representative of the United Kingdom informed the Sub-Committee that the United Kingdom Government had recently approved the amendments to the Constitution of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands prepared by the Resident Commissioner in co-operation with the Advisory Council. Whereas the legislative power had hitherto been entirely in the hands of the Resident Commissioner, who had chosen the members of both the Executive Council and the Advisory Council, the people could now participate more directly in the management of their own affairs. The Territory

would have two bodies: the Governing Council and the House of Representatives. The Governing Council would consist of not more than ten members, five of whom were official members, including the Resident Commissioner, and the rest elected; it would exercise full legislative power and would advise the Resident Commissioner on all executive matters.

38. The House of Representatives, composed of not more than thirty members, twenty-three of whom would be elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage, would be mainly an advisory body and the Governing Council would seek its advice on all legislative questions. In addition, it would appoint from among its members the five non-official members of the Governing Council.

39. The new Constitution was particularly interesting because it exemplified a new form of constitutional development in some of the smaller Territories administered by the United Kingdom, where, as an experiment, executive and legislative powers were being conferred upon a single body, although some features of the old system, where those powers had been separated, were still being retained. Although the House of Representatives had no legislative authority, it could nevertheless play a vital role in the constitutional development of the Territory. Moreover the United Kingdom Government had stated its willingness once there had been sufficient experience of working the new Constitution to convene a conference to consider what further constitutional advance might be desirable if and when the House of Representatives formally so requested.

40. He stated concerning the Legislative Council of the Solomon Islands that, apart from the High Commissioner, there would be three *ex officio* official members and other official members up to a maximum of twelve, two nominated non-official members, and fourteen elected non-official members. There was no discretion over the fourteen elected members, as in the case of twelve of the official seats. Therefore, if all the official seats were not filled, the elected members might well be in the majority. The Executive Council would be composed of three officials and up to five members of the Legislative Council, only one of whom might be an official; it was therefore likely that at least four members would

be non-officials. In addition, as his delegation had previously stated, the Constitution provided for adjustments so that both councils might have a majority of non-official members.

Adoption of the report

41. At its 63rd meeting on 12 May 1967, the Sub-Committee adopted the present report subject to reservations made by the representatives of Australia and the United States who were not convinced that a visiting mission would be useful, and who believed that General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) should be mentioned together with resolution 1514 (XV).

Conclusions of the Sub-Committee

42. The Sub-Committee notes that, although the administering Power has proposed to replace the Advisory Council by a House of Representatives in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, this Council would still be an advisory body only; and that in the case of the Solomon Islands, under the features of the new Constitution, which entered into force on 1 April 1967, the enlarged Legislative Council could continue to have a minority of elected members and the Executive Council would continue to remain nominated to a large extent.

43. The Sub-Committee concludes that, although some progress has been made towards the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), it has not been very significant and should be speeded up; that the recommendations of the Special Committee in 1964 and of General Assembly resolution 2069 (XX) have not been adequately implemented; and that the economic base of the Territories needs to be strengthened.

44. The Sub-Committee is aware of the peculiar problems of these small and isolated islands.

Recommendations of the Sub-Committee

45. The Sub-Committee recommends to the Special Committee that it again reiterate to the administering Power the recommendations it made concerning these Territories in 1964.

CHAPTER XVI*

NIUE AND THE TOKELAU ISLANDS

A. Action previously taken by the Special Committee and by the General Assembly

1. In 1964 the Special Committee adopted conclusions and recommendations concerning Niue and the Tokelau Islands (A/5800/Rev.1,¹ chap. XV, paras. 111-115). After considering the Territories in 1966, it reiterated the recommendations it had adopted in 1964 and recommended, *inter alia*, that their people should be enabled to express their wishes in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, through well-established democratic processes under United Nations supervision, and that further and immediate economic measures should be taken to develop and strengthen the economic structure of the Territories in co-operation with the United Nations and the specialized agencies. It also recommended that a visit to the Territories by Sub-Committee II of the Special Committee was necessary, and would be useful in gathering information, and in familiarizing the people with the assistance that could be rendered by the United Nations in regard

to the free expression of their wishes pursuant to the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV). The Committee finally recommended that steps be taken to arrange a visit in consultation with the administering Power (A/6300/Rev.1,² chap. XVI, paras. 21-22).

2. At its twentieth session the General Assembly adopted resolution 2069 (XX) of 16 December 1965 concerning twenty-six Territories, including Niue and the Tokelau Islands. At its twenty-first session, it adopted resolution 2232 (XXI) of 20 December 1966, concerning twenty-five Territories, including Niue and the Tokelau Islands. The resolution called upon the administering Powers to implement without delay the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. It reiterated the Assembly's declaration that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of colonial Territories and the establishment of military bases and installations in these Territories was incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It urged the administering Powers to allow visiting missions to visit the Territories and to extend

* Parts A and B of this chapter were previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.357.

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (Part I).

² Ibid., Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23.

to them full co-operation and assistance. It decided that the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of the Territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status. Finally, it requested the Special Committee to pay special attention to the Territories and to report on the implementation of the present resolution to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.

B. Information on the Territories³

1. NIUE

General

3. As at 31 March 1966, the population of Niue was estimated at 5,157. Each year, from 200 to 300 Niueans leave Niue. In 1965, the deficit between those leaving and returning was 103.

Status

4. Niue is included within the boundaries of New Zealand and is governed under authority of the Cook Island Act, 1915, and subsequent amendments. The inhabitants are British subjects and New Zealand citizens.

Executive and legislative government

5. Executive functions of government are carried out by a Resident Commissioner who is responsible to the New Zealand Minister of Island Territories. The Executive Committee, elected by the Niue Island Assembly, consists of four (formerly three) members with the Resident Commissioner as Chairman. It may report and make recommendations on any matter referred to it by the Commissioner or the Assembly.

6. Legislation is enacted by the New Zealand Parliament or by ordinances of the Niue Island Assembly which consists of fourteen Niueans and the Resident Commissioner, who is President. Ordinances require the assent of the Resident Commissioner or the Governor-General of New Zealand. The Niue Island Assembly has budgetary control of expenditure of all government moneys, including New Zealand grants and loans and moneys and funds raised locally.

7. As noted in a previous report (see A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XVI, annex), the Niue Island Assembly in January 1966 supported the recommendations in a report on the constitutional development of Niue made by a team of constitutional experts in 1965. They had recommended, *inter alia*, to the Niue Island Assembly that earlier proposals for a fixed time-table of constitutional development leading to full cabinet government cease to be the basis of the constitutional discussions; and that the discussions be confined to the immediate step to be taken to give the Assembly a further measure of control over and responsibility for their own local affairs. The step recommended was the introduction of a "member" system under which individually elected members of the Executive Committee would be given responsibility for a particular department or departments of the Administration and the election of one of the members as Leader of Government Business. The Leader would be responsible for the central secretariat and would speak

for it in the Assembly. He would also speak for the Executive Committee as a whole.

8. In the recent elections the report was one of the issues before the electorate. The elections resulted in four changes in the membership of the Niue Assembly, which decided to proceed with the adoption of the member system. In September 1966, the member system was inaugurated. Under this system the four members of the Executive Committee have been placed in charge of some government departments.

Village councils

9. Village government has been largely in the hands of the local Assembly member, the pastor and the constable in each village. The Assembly has agreed in principle to the formation of village councils to be responsible for village affairs. A senior officer of the Niue Government undertook a study tour of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea in August 1965 under the sponsorship of the South Pacific Commission to study local government administration in that Territory. Legislation for the establishment of village councils was being drafted in 1966.

Electoral system

10. The members of the Niue Island Assembly are elected by universal adult suffrage. The last election was held in April 1966.

Economic conditions

11. Niue's economy is based on subsistence fishing and agriculture, as well as the production of a few cash crops, chiefly copra and bananas and handicraft articles for export. The rocky nature of much of the island makes it unsuitable for agriculture or animal husbandry. Exports in 1965 amounted to £65,193, compared with £77,935 in 1964. Imports amounted to £250,993, compared with £228,210 the previous year. Approximately 73 per cent of all imports came from New Zealand which received 85 per cent of the island's exports. In 1965/66, expenditures were £617,542, compared with £523,981 the previous year. Niue's revenue from exports and taxes is insufficient to balance its budget, and New Zealand makes annual grants for general and capital purposes and for meeting budgetary deficits. In 1964/65, the subsidy amounted to £347,500, compared with £301,300 the previous year.

Social conditions

Labour

12. The basic wage rates in March 1965 were 1s.11d. per hour for unskilled labour, 2s.1d. for stevedores and a varying scale for skilled labour. No labour unions have been registered but a committee exists to determine special allowances for stevedoring, and workers have a voice on this committee.

Public health

13. Medical services are provided by the Government Health Department under the control of a chief medical officer. There are no private medical or dental practitioners. In March 1965, the staff of thirty-nine persons consisted of Niueans with the exception of the chief medical officer and four nurses recruited from New Zealand. Expenditures on health services for the year ending March 1965 were £53,111. All medical and dental treatment is free of charge.

³ Information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the New Zealand Government under Article 73 e of the Charter on 17 October 1966, for the year ending 31 March 1966.

Educational conditions

14. Education is free and compulsory between the ages of 6 and 14 years and most children remain at school until they reach 16. Post-primary education is available to all, and most students who leave primary school attend high school. On 31 March 1966, 32 students were attending New Zealand secondary schools under the New Zealand Government Training Scheme and 6 were taking a three-year course at the agricultural college in Western Samoa. Educational expenditures for the year ending 31 March 1966 totalled £123,544, compared with £100,000 the previous year.

2. THE TOKELAU ISLANDS

General

15. The population of the three Tokelau Islands totalled 1,861 on 25 September 1965.

Constitutional and political development

16. The High Commissioner for New Zealand in Western Samoa is the Administrator of the Tokelau Islands. The Administrative Officer who is also based in Western Samoa makes regular visits to the Tokelau Islands. In the three atolls of the Territory local public services are carried out by appointed Tokelau officials.

17. In 1964, the Tokelau Islanders at a general meeting decided not to join the independent State of Western Samoa or the Cook Islands, but to remain linked with New Zealand. In January 1966, the New Zealand Minister for Island Territories visited the Tokelauans and obtained confirmation concerning this and their desire to retain the right to migrate to New Zealand.

18. In 1966, the New Zealand Cabinet agreed that a move towards fuller self-government should be undertaken by giving councils of elders and heads of families formal consultative status in the determining of priorities of government work, in the preparation of the annual budget, and that a pilot scheme to speed up the existing assisted migration projects should be set in motion. It also decided on improvements in the system of education and on an expanded public works programme. Subsequently a joint *fono* of Tokelauan representatives reconfirmed the islanders' wish to remain linked with New Zealand and expressed support for the pilot migration scheme and measures.

Economic conditions

19. The economy of the Tokelau Islands is based on subsistence crops, fishing and the production of copra for export. Revenue is derived chiefly from export and import duties, trading profits and the sale of postage stamps. The annual deficit between local revenue and expenditure is met by subsidies from the New Zealand Government. Expenditures in 1965 totalled £37,913. Information is not available on local revenue.

Social conditions

20. The Government of Western Samoa assists with the medical services of the Territory and regular visits are made by its medical staff. Two Samoan medical officers are stationed on Tokelau. In 1966, two Tokelauans were in training at the Suva Medical School in Fiji.

Educational conditions

21. School attendance in the Territory is reported to be very close to 100 per cent. The Tokelau Administration awards scholarships to enable children and public servants to receive secondary education in Western Samoa. The New Zealand Government assists students and public servants under the New Zealand Government Training Scheme. On 31 March 1966, there were 23 long-term students and trainees from the Territory in New Zealand. Thirty-one additional Tokelauans were being trained in Western Samoa and Fiji.

C. Consideration by the Special Committee

22. At its 562nd, 563rd and 564th meetings on 22 and 27 September 1967, the Special Committee considered the report of Sub-Committee II on Niue and the Tokelau Islands which appears as an annex to this chapter.

23. In a letter dated 22 September 1967, the representative of New Zealand asked to participate in the Committee's debate on these Territories (A/AC.109/275). At its 563rd meeting, the Special Committee decided to accede to this request.

24. The representatives of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Australia expressed reservations on the conclusions and recommendations of Sub-Committee II with regard to the Territories under consideration.

25. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics suggested that the words "and the hesitancy of the people of Niue to quicken their rate of progress" in paragraph 36 of the Sub-Committee's report (see annex) should be deleted, as those words might be interpreted to mean that it was the fault of the people of the Territory that they had not been granted self-determination. He could not agree with such a concept.

26. The representative of the United Kingdom said that he would be opposed to that amendment since it disregarded the facts which had been presented to the Sub-Committee. As the members of the Sub-Committee had recognized, it was the Niueans themselves who had asked that the move towards cabinet government be slowed down.

27. The representative of Australia said that he too would oppose the amendment, since the statement in question was a statement of fact. The representative of New Zealand had explained the situation to the Sub-Committee and his explanation had been accepted by the members. He thought that other members of the Sub-Committee would agree that the words in question in paragraph 36 should be retained.

28. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania supported the Soviet Union amendment. The inclusion of the words in question in the Committee's conclusions would be dangerous. The majority of the members of the Special Committee had always felt that the Committee should be allowed to visit colonial Territories in order to appraise the situation there, but in most cases the administering Power had refused to allow such visits. His delegation found it hard to accept the statement of a colonial Power without being able to verify its accuracy, and the Committee had frequently in the past refused to rely on the statement of colonial Powers in such circumstances.

29. The representative of Sierra Leone said that the members of the Sub-Committee had felt that progress towards self-determination had been slow in Niue, and they had been informed that the people of Niue did not favour immediate independence. He thought that paragraph 36 accurately reflected the conclusions of the majority of the members of the Sub-Committee.

30. The representative of Mali supported the Soviet Union amendment. His delegation could not accept the suggestion that the people were hesitant about progress to independence. The problem was that the Special Committee had not been able to verify the situation on the spot. In such circumstances, the Special Committee should not agree to wording which appeared to excuse the policies of the administering Power.

31. The representative of Tunisia said that he had doubts regarding the proposed amendment since the purpose of the paragraph was not to excuse the administering Power but to criticize it for failing to ensure the adequate education of the indigenous inhabitants.

32. The representative of Australia thought that the best course would be to vote on the Soviet Union amendment immediately. The phrase had been included by the Sub-Committee after the administering Power had explained the situation at length, and it reflected the consensus of the Sub-Committee.

33. The representative of the United States of America opposed the Soviet amendment. The Sub-Committee had produced its formulation on the basis of the evidence available to it, and to delete it now for some tactical reason would be to call in question the objectivity of the whole report.

34. The Chairman said that he did not think the Soviet Union amendment called in question the Sub-Committee's objectivity; he recalled that in the past the Special Committee had frequently amended proposals submitted to it by its Sub-Committees.

35. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania proposed that paragraph 36 should be replaced by the following text:

"The Sub-Committee is of the opinion that the slow progress in Niue and the Tokelau Islands towards self-determination and independence is due, in part, to inadequate training and education of the indigenous inhabitants."

36. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics withdrew the amendment he had proposed and expressed his delegation's support for the Tanzanian amendment.

37. The representative of New Zealand said that, in his delegation's view, several judgements made in paragraph 36 were inaccurate and misleading. The Niueans were not "hesitant"—they had firm views on the rate at which they wished to assume further powers and they pursued their objectives with some vigour. In any event, the rate of progress in both Territories was, in fact, comparatively swift. Over the last five years Niue had assumed legislative powers encompassing full control of its own budget—including the New Zealand subsidy—and in the last year it had assumed executive control of half the government departments. New Zealand was willing to transfer control of the remaining departments whenever the islanders so desired.

38. Moreover, the pragmatic attitude of the Niueans to their constitutional advance did not spring, as the

text before the Committee implied, from a lack of education or political sophistication; the discussions on the subject in the Legislative Assembly in January 1966, briefly summarized in the working paper (see para. 7 above), were evidence of that body's considerable political maturity. The Assembly had at that time expressed its opinion that the pace of development towards self-government was neither too fast nor too slow and had sought assurances from the administering Power that no further changes would be undertaken without full consultation with the Assembly and the people. The Secretary for Island Territories had given the Assembly those assurances and the New Zealand Government, in its annual report to Parliament on Niue, had reaffirmed its position that the pace of development was ultimately a matter for the people to decide. The Minister of Island Territories had told the Assembly that while, ideally, the people of Niue should take control of their own affairs as soon as possible, the New Zealand Government's attitude to their progress must naturally be tempered by its respect for the Niueans own wishes.

39. His delegation believed that the attitude of the New Zealand Government and of the people of Niue was completely consistent with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) which, in calling for the transfer of powers to the people of Non-Self-Governing Territories, qualified this by adding "in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire".

40. The representative of Mali said that the New Zealand Government had accepted the Legislative Assembly's judgement on the inadequacy of the indigenous inhabitants' education and training but that the Assembly's judgement was not necessarily correct. Moreover, the firm support of the people of Niue for the current pace of constitutional advance could not be taken for granted if the entire people had not been consulted on the subject. His delegation accordingly supported the amendment proposed by the representative of Tanzania.

41. The representative of Venezuela said that the Tanzanian amendment would have the effect of deleting a phrase which implied a criticism of the attitude of the people of Niue and that his delegation therefore supported it.

42. The representative of New Zealand pointed out, in reply to the representative of Mali, that the people of Niue had made no final decision on the form of full self-government they would eventually choose, but that there had been several occasions when the question had been fully discussed. The New Zealand Government had had the Declaration translated into the local language and distributed throughout the island and a New Zealand Minister had outlined his Government's obligation under the Declaration to the Legislative Assembly as early as 1962. On that occasion, the choices available—full independence, partnership in a federation or association with neighbouring States, integration with a neighbouring State or any other State—had been explained to the Assembly. In 1964, two experts on constitutional matters had visited Niue and discussed the island's future with representatives of the people—with participation by members of the public—and had drawn up a programme for a form of cabinet government by 1966. The Assembly of Niue, however, had rejected the programme and expressed a preference for a less precipitate time-table in which full self-government was to be preceded by a mem-

bership system (see para. 7 above); that decision had been confirmed by the people at elections held as recently as April 1966.

43. The proposed amendment to paragraph 36 implied that the education and training of the people of Niue were inadequate. It should be noted that free compulsory education was provided for all children between the ages of 6 and 14 and that high school had the standing of a New Zealand secondary school. In March 1967, there had been 53 Niuean students undertaking higher studies in New Zealand and 13 more had undertaken short-term training courses over the previous year. Educational opportunities were therefore very adequate for a population of 5,000.

44. The representative of Chile and the Ivory Coast supported the Tanzanian amendment.

45. The representative of India said that it appeared from the information available to the Special Committee that it was the Legislative Assembly and not the people of Niue which had expressed its views on the rate of progress towards self-determination and independence. He therefore suggested that paragraph 36 should be amended to read "... and the reported hesitancy of the Legislative Assembly of Niue to quicken the rate of progress ...".

46. The representative of Tunisia noted that the Tanzanian amendment might conflict with the statement in paragraph 35 that political changes had occurred in Niue. In addition, it was not clear whether the words "slow progress" referred to political or other progress.

47. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that he saw no contradiction between his amendment and paragraph 35; the Sub-Committee would merely be noting that although political changes had occurred in Niue, progress had been slow.

48. He hoped that the representative of India would not insist on his suggestion, since any hesitancy to quicken the rate of progress was usually attributable to the administering Power, even if it tried to lay the blame at the door of the people or of legislative bodies.

49. The representative of Sierra Leone drew attention to paragraph 7 of the Sub-Committee's report. The statement referred to in that paragraph, like the statements of the New Zealand representative, clearly indicated that the Legislative Assembly of Niue was not eager to accelerate the island's progress towards self-determination and independence. That fact should be reflected in the report, and he therefore supported the suggestion put forward by the Indian representative.

50. The representative of New Zealand said that it would be quite wrong to suggest that the Legislative Assembly was showing any hesitancy. Its views had been expressed in May 1966, just a couple of weeks after an election in which the successful candidates had advocated a policy of gradual advance and the maintenance of links with New Zealand. Thus, the people as a whole, and their elected representatives in the Legislative Assembly, were firm in their conviction that they should pursue their political advance at a pace they determined themselves.

51. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that the Legislative Assembly was not an organ of the people but a colonial institution and, as such, an instrument of the administering Power. The hesitancy to quicken the rate of progress should therefore be attributed to the administering Power itself rather than to any particular element in the colonial system.

52. The representative of India recalled that the paragraph in question had been drafted in order to show that any such hesitancy resulted partly from the administering Power's failure to prepare the people adequately for self-determination and independence.

53. The representative of New Zealand, replying to the representative of Tanzania, said that there could be no question of fixing "blame" in the situation. If an administering Power placed no obstacle in the way of progress towards self-determination and the people freely decided on what seemed to be regarded as a comparatively slow pace of advance, no blame attached to any institution or any person. This was perfectly consistent with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The suggestion that the Legislative Assembly of Niue was a colonial institution and was therefore not representative of the people would not be well received in Niue itself.

54. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that all institutions in colonial Territories were colonial institutions and only became organs of the people when the people had exercised their right to self-determination and independence.

55. The representative of Tunisia said that paragraphs 5, 6 and 7 of the Sub-Committee's report showed clearly that there had been some progress in Niue. The Tanzanian amendment might seem inconsistent with those paragraphs.

56. The representative of the United Kingdom said that, in addition to the general reservation put forward earlier, his delegation wished to express a reservation regarding the reference to inadequate training and education of the indigenous inhabitants. Had there been a separate vote on the paragraph, the United Kingdom would have abstained.

57. The representative of the United States of America expressed his delegation's reservations about the Tanzanian amendment. The United States would also have abstained if a separate vote had been taken on the paragraph.

58. The Special Committee approved the amendment of the United Republic of Tanzania to paragraph 36.

59. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that it would be wrong to state in paragraph 38 of the Sub-Committee's report that the assurance given by the administering Power regarding economic aid to the Territories was welcome, since such aid was an obligation incumbent upon the administering Power under the Charter. He therefore suggested that the Special Committee should merely note the assurance given by the administering Power and invite it to make efforts to lessen the economic dependence of the Territories.

60. In paragraph 39, the words "with satisfaction" should be deleted, since the willingness of the administering Power to receive a visiting mission to the Territories had been made conditional upon the agreement of other administering Powers to receive similar missions to Territories in the area.

61. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania suggested the replacement, in paragraph 38, of the words "thus widening the choice of self-determination by the people" by the words "on the administering Power". Since the right of self-determination could never be lessened by economic dependence, it followed that it could not be "widened".

62. Although his delegation had welcomed the co-operation shown by the New Zealand Government in indicating a willingness to receive a visiting mission to the Territories, he supported the suggestion to delete the words "with satisfaction" from paragraph 39, in view of the condition which had been placed upon that willingness.

63. The representative of Mali supported the reservations on paragraphs 38 and 39 expressed by the representatives of the USSR and Tanzania. In particular, the second half of paragraph 38 should be redrafted along the lines suggested by the representative of the USSR, since the expression of a hope was out of place in a section of the report entitled "Conclusions and recommendations". Moreover, it was not certain that the efforts referred to would in fact lead to a lessening of the Territories' economic dependence.

64. The representative of Venezuela said that he did not share the views of preceding speakers on paragraphs 38 and 39. It was well known that the application of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) to small Territories involved certain difficulties, and the wording of paragraph 38 therefore seemed satisfactory. Similarly, the willingness of New Zealand to receive a visiting mission to the Territories was in marked contrast to the attitude taken by administering Powers in many other cases and should therefore be noted with satisfaction.

65. The representative of Madagascar supported the suggestion that the assurance referred to in paragraph 38 should be "noted". While the attitude of the New Zealand Government regarding a visiting mission to the Territories was a matter for some satisfaction, the fact remained that no mission would go to the Territories if other administering Powers refused to agree to a wider tour of the area.

66. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that since other administering Powers had consistently refused to allow visiting missions to other Territories in the area, it was unrealistic to expect that steps could be taken to arrange a visiting mission to Niue and the Tokelau Islands. He therefore suggested that the last sentence of paragraph 43 should be replaced by the words "The Special Committee should call upon the administering Power to change its attitude as regards the limitations placed on its willingness to receive a visiting mission to go to the Territories".

67. The representative of Bulgaria agreed with the members of the Committee who had expressed reservations concerning the drafting of paragraphs 38 and 39. With regard to paragraph 39, he wished to point out to the representative of Venezuela that the conditions set by the administering Power made it practically impossible to send a United Nations mission to the Territories, in view of the attitude of other administering Powers in the area. He therefore supported the Tanzanian proposal to redraft paragraph 39 so as to reflect the position of the administering Power more accurately.

68. The representative of Venezuela explained that in supporting the original wording of paragraph 39 he had felt that the members of Sub-Committee II must have had sound reasons for expressing satisfaction with the attitude of the administering Power towards visiting missions.

69. The representative of Madagascar suggested that paragraph 39 should be amended to begin with the words "The Special Committee notes the assurance given by the administering Power".

70. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics proposed that paragraph 38 should be amended to read: "The Special Committee notes the assurance given by the administering Power of the continuance of economic aid to the Territories and invites the administering Power to undertake efforts with the United Nations specialized agencies to improve the economic structure of the Territories in order to lessen their economic dependence on the administering Power."

71. The representative of New Zealand said that he was puzzled by the attitude of members of the Special Committee towards the assurances of continuing assistance given by New Zealand. The representative of the Soviet Union, for example, had said that the Committee could hardly welcome New Zealand's assurance about continuing economic aid. However, if such an assurance had not been given, New Zealand would undoubtedly have been accused of bringing pressure to bear in order to influence a people's choice concerning their future. New Zealand certainly contemplated providing continuing aid to the Territories now under discussion since there were, for example, both ethnic and historical ties between the Polynesians of Niue and the Tokelau Islands and those in New Zealand itself. But to suggest that New Zealand had such a duty on economic grounds was absurd since its economic support of the Territories had been costing it dear for fifty years.

72. The attitude of the New Zealand Government towards visiting missions was stated correctly in paragraph 39. New Zealand had not sought the Sub-Committee's expression of satisfaction but acknowledged it. It felt that the dispatch of a visiting mission to two of the smallest Territories in the South Pacific might be misinterpreted in the area and suggest to the inhabitants that the United Nations was especially disturbed by the situation in these Territories.

73. The representative of Chile proposed, as a compromise, that paragraph 39 should remain as it stood, with the addition of the words "and urges it to eliminate the difficulties that place limitations on the visit and prevent a wider tour of the area". He pointed out that New Zealand was the administering Power that had afforded the greatest facilities to United Nations visiting missions in that part of the world.

74. The representative of Venezuela supported that proposal.

75. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania reminded the Committee of his suggestion that the words "thus widening the choice of self-determination by the people" in paragraph 38 should be replaced by "on the administering Power".

76. The representative of Venezuela thought that an allusion to economic dependence "on the administering Power" would give the impression of contradicting the first part of paragraph 38, which read "economic aid to the Territories, whatever their future". The Territories might not necessarily be dependent on the administering Power in the future.

77. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania asked whether, if the Soviet amendment was adopted, the USSR delegation would wish paragraph 42 to be retained or deleted.

78. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics observed that it was not true to say, as was done in paragraph 38, that the people had a wider choice of self-determination; in fact, that choice was more limited. His amendment to paragraph 38 com-

bined the features of those proposed by Tanzania and Madagascar, which his delegation had supported. He had no objection to its being incorporated in the recommendations. He had no strong feelings with regard to paragraph 42, which in some degree reflected the views expressed in the Special Committee concerning the need for economic reforms in the Territories and the assistance which the specialized agencies of the United Nations should provide in co-operation with the administering Power.

79. The representative of Tunisia said he saw no inconsistency between the Malagasy and Tanzanian amendments and the Soviet amendment. He considered that paragraph 42 should be incorporated in the recommendations, as it was natural that the recommendations should repeat the views expressed in the conclusions.

80. The Special Committee approved the Soviet amendment to paragraph 38. It also decided that, as a consequence, it would not be necessary to put to the vote the amendments to that paragraph proposed by Madagascar and Tanzania.

81. The representative of Madagascar said that he had not formally submitted an amendment, but if the Committee so desired it could adopt the wording suggested by his delegation for paragraph 39.

82. The representative of Venezuela recalled that he had supported the Chilean amendment, which, in his opinion, summed up the arguments advanced in the Committee concerning the difficulties encountered in connexion with sending a visiting mission.

83. The Chairman said that some delegations which he had consulted had expressed the view that the Chilean amendment would change the meaning of paragraph 39, as it was the declared intention of the administering Power to agree to the visiting mission only if it were to form part of a wider tour of the area. Perhaps paragraph 39 could end at the words "a visiting mission".

84. The representative of Chile said that he found the Chairman's suggestion satisfactory and was prepared to accept it.

85. The representative of Venezuela said that he had no objection to the Chairman's suggestion but would have preferred the Chilean amendment, which specified the nature of the limitations placed on the visiting mission.

86. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that, if the representative of Chile agreed to the compromise suggested by the Chairman, he would not press his own amendment.

87. The Special Committee then approved the Chilean representative's proposal, with the amendment which the Chairman had suggested.

88. The representative of New Zealand said that the fact that in a year in which there had been significant constitutional advances made in the Territories a report had been produced which referred to "slow progress" was both illogical and discouraging to the people of the Territories and the administering Power, which was doing all it could to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). During a few hours of discussion the Committee had made several substantive changes to the report of Sub-Committee II, which was itself a grudging document. But there had been few references in this discussion to the freely expressed views of the people, to the constitutional position

reached, to the particular geographic circumstances of Niue and the Tokelau Islands or to their extremely limited economic prospects.

89. Furthermore, the amendment to paragraph 36 which suggested that "slow progress" had been made in Niue conflicted directly with the recognition in the preceding paragraph that changes had occurred which were acknowledged to represent an advance worthy of note.

90. His delegation was led to wonder, when sub-committee reports were substantially rewritten in plenary in this way, whether there was much point in making a full report to a sub-committee and participating in its work. His doubts were intensified by the lack of inclination of Sub-Committee members to defend a report which they had formally debated and adopted.

91. The situation in the islands did not call for adverse comment: the administering Government was ready to "transfer all powers", as required by resolution 1514 (XV), if this were the wish of the people; the people themselves, with full financial powers and feeling their way into the exercise of executive powers, had plainly stated, through freely conducted electoral processes, that they wished to maintain the current rate of constitutional progress. They were moving toward exercising their undenied right to self-determination in the comparatively near future.

92. But they faced a considerable dilemma. These were not extensive colonial Territories on the classical pattern where independence was the obvious choice for the future. These were very small and poor pieces of land: Niue was a mere 100 square miles in area, had only small pockets of fertile soil and was situated hundreds of miles from its nearest neighbour; the Tokelaus were strips of coral totalling only four square miles in area and had no economic future. The fact that they were tiny, isolated and permanently dependent on outside assistance did not lessen the rights of the 7,000 people involved to self-determination but the people themselves felt—and with undeniable realism—that their physical and economic circumstances restricted their choice somewhat and rendered their decision on the future more complex and difficult.

93. The New Zealand representative suggested that for people facing such a dilemma and seeking advice and guidance in the Special Committee's reports it was not enough simply to reaffirm rights which were undenied and to make vague and often inaccurate judgements and recommendations about accelerating political and economic progress.

94. The Chairman pointed out that, once the report of a sub-committee had been submitted to the Special Committee, it became the latter's property and members could express their views on it and submit amendments. He was surprised that the representative of New Zealand had seen fit to say that the report of Sub-Committee II on Niue and the Tokelau Islands was being adopted after only a few hours debate. In fact, it was the third time that it had been included on the agenda of the Special Committee, which could decide to introduce any amendments or suggestions it deemed appropriate.

D. Action taken by the Special Committee on the report of Sub-Committee II

95. At its 564th meeting on 27 September 1967, the Special Committee adopted the conclusions and recommendations of Sub-Committee II concerning Niue and

the Tokelau Islands, as amended, it being understood that the reservations expressed by some members would be reflected in the record. These conclusions and recommendations are as follows:

Conclusions

(a) The Special Committee notes the political changes that have occurred in Niue but observes that a corresponding advancement has not been made in the Tokelau Islands.

(b) The Special Committee is of the opinion that the slow progress in Niue and the Tokelau Islands towards self-determination and independence is due, in part, to inadequate training and education of the indigenous people.

(c) The Special Committee is of the opinion that the problems of size, isolation and limited resources, though important in themselves, should not in any way delay the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in these Territories.

Recommendations

(d) The Special Committee reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the Territories of Niue and the Tokelau Islands to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It is of the view that the question of size, isolation and limited resources should not in any way delay the application of that resolution to these Territories.

(e) The administering Power should further increase the training of the indigenous people so that they could occupy all key positions in the life of the Territories and build the confidence so necessary for their future development.

(f) The Special Committee notes the assurance given by the administering Power of the continuance of economic aid to the Territories and invites the administering Power to undertake efforts with the United Nations specialized agencies to improve the economic structure in order to lessen their economic dependence on the administering Power.

(g) Further and immediate measures should be taken by the administering Power to develop the economic structure of these Territories; the United Nations and the specialized agencies should be asked to continue their co-operation.

(h) A visit to the Territories by the Sub-Committee is necessary and could be useful in gathering all information and also in familiarizing the people with the assistance which can be rendered by the United Nations in regard to the free expression of their wishes pursuant to the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In this connexion, the Special Committee notes with satisfaction the continued willingness of the administering Power to receive a visiting mission.

ANNEX*

Report of Sub-Committee II Niue and the Tokelau Islands

Consideration by the Sub-Committee

1. The Sub-Committee considered Niue and the Tokelau Islands at its 61st, 63rd, 65th, 66th and 69th meetings held from 14 April to 7 September 1967.

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2. The Sub-Committee had before it the working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see paras. 1-21 of the present chapter).

3. In accordance with the procedure agreed upon by the Special Committee, the Chairman invited the representative of New Zealand to participate in the consideration of the two Territories.

4. The representative of New Zealand said that the inhabitants of Niue, who were related to the New Zealand Maori, had shown themselves to be highly pragmatic in deciding where their interests lay. The islanders made a living from planting the thin soils. Their most important customer and supplier was New Zealand, which subsidized more than half of the Niue budget. Control of the island's income (both the New Zealand subsidy and internal revenue) had been in the hands of the Niue Legislature itself for the past five years.

5. In 1962 a start had been made towards self-determination in the Territory when it had been suggested to the Niueans that several choices for the future lay before them; independence (alone or as part of a federation), integration with an independent State or self-government in free association with some other State. The Legislative Assembly, which was made up of representatives elected on a "one man, one vote" basis, with the Resident Commissioner as President, had made no final decision but had proposed that the Territory should advance towards a greater degree of self-government while retaining its links with New Zealand. The New Zealand Government had then drawn up a time-table providing for the establishment of cabinet government by about 1967. The members of the Assembly had, however, preferred postponing that step until after the establishment of a system under which the administration of one or more government departments would be entrusted to members of the Executive Committee (member system), and that decision had, in effect, been confirmed by the people at the elections held in April 1966.

6. In September 1966 an embryo Cabinet consisting of members of the Executive Committee responsible to the Legislature for their administration had assumed responsibility for the Departments of Public Works and Electricity, Post Office, Radio and Telephones, and Police and Prisons. The next step would be the assumption by the Leader of Government Business of responsibility for the Administrative Department. The pace at which the remaining portfolios would be allocated would be decided entirely by the Executive Committee itself, and New Zealand would endorse any such decision.

7. On 29 January 1967 a member of the Assembly, speaking on behalf of his colleagues, had stated in the presence of the Secretary of the New Zealand Department of Island Territories that the tempo of development towards self-government was neither too fast nor too slow and was completely in line with the Assembly's decision. He had asked that there should be no sudden assumption of new responsibilities, since members of the Executive Committee required time to gain knowledge of their executive roles. Furthermore, the Assembly believed that no new measure should be considered without full consultation with the Assembly, in order that development might keep pace with the wishes of the people. The Secretary of Island Territories had assured the Assembly that no further moves would be made before it had been fully consulted.

8. Thus, the Niueans were drawing up their own laws, controlling both their own revenue and the subsidy from New Zealand, and gradually assuming the executive powers formerly vested solely in the Resident Commissioner. For its part, New Zealand would not place any barriers in the way of their development.

9. Another event of constitutional significance was the adoption of an ordinance by the Assembly providing for the establishment of village councils, with a view to strengthening community pride and fostering community development activities at the local level.

10. In the economic sphere, the Assembly had set up a Development Board responsible for carrying out agricultural

and industrial projects and for making funds available for them. Seven of the nine members of the Board, including its Chairman, were Niueans. The Board had many serious problems on its hands. The after-effects of two hurricanes, fluctuating prices, insect pests, manpower shortages and infrequent shipping services, had all contributed to a decline in the exports of primary products. To seek solutions for these problems, a five-year plan had been drawn up which the Development Board had accepted in principle. A first move had been made towards developing the kind of combined coconut and cattle industry which seemed best suited to South Pacific Island conditions. There were also plans to develop honey production, and fruit and market-garden crops.

11. The Niueans had been encouraged by New Zealand to make use of the assistance which the United Nations and the specialized agencies could provide. It was hoped that, in addition to the aid already furnished, the international organizations would be able to supply a development economist and a harbour expert, and a fellowship that would enable a Niuean to study community development abroad, and that they would also participate in carrying out a water supply scheme.

12. With help from New Zealand and the United Nations and the display of initiative in Niue itself, the long-term prospects for raising production and living standards were not without promise, although it would probably be a long time before the Territory would be in any sense self-sustaining.

13. The economic prospects of the Tokelau Islands, isolated and infertile atolls having a total area of four square miles, were virtually nil. Under such circumstances, it was small wonder that many Tokelauans wished to migrate to New Zealand, the land of opportunity for many Pacific Islanders. When, several years previously, New Zealand had expressed itself as unwilling to see the colonial relationship with the islands perpetuated, the population had rejected the idea of an association with neighbouring island groups and had reaffirmed its desire for a continuing link with New Zealand. It would be for the inhabitants themselves eventually to choose among the different possibilities open to them. In the meantime, the *fonos*, the local island councils which were made up of heads of families, were being accorded formal consultative status in governmental work and the preparation of the budget. The draft estimates for the current financial year amounted to approximately \$215,000 compared with \$112,000 in 1966/67. Much of the funds would be directed towards modernizing the educational system, repairing damage caused by hurricanes and improving communications. Other projects under study were a rat-control programme and a programme for controlling an insect coconut-predator, to be undertaken in co-operation with a project in Western Samoa in which both the South Pacific Commission and the United Nations Special Fund were involved.

14. In 1966, New Zealand had indicated that at the request of the Tokelauan *fonos*, it had agreed to finance a pilot scheme for migration: under the two-year scheme, some ninety Tokelauans had already moved to New Zealand and many others wished to follow.

15. No final decision on the future had been taken in the Territories. It was for the inhabitants themselves to decide on their future. The Niueans and Tokelauans, who seemed sensitive to "the special circumstances of geographic isolation and economic conditions" mentioned in General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI) and who had ethnic, historical and economic ties with New Zealand, appeared to want to retain a direct link of some sort and wished to safeguard their right of unrestricted entry to New Zealand's broader life. They were free to decide where their future lay, whenever they so wished through the "well-established democratic processes" available to them. The islands had no commercial or strategic significance for New Zealand and the islanders had been made aware some years earlier of the rights mentioned in the Declaration on colonialism, which had been distributed in the Niuean and Tokelauan languages.

16. The representative of Chile said that he was glad to note that the administering Power had in general respected the General Assembly's recommendations in resolution 2232 (XXI) concerning a number of small islands, including Niue

and Tokelau, and that it intended to co-operate with the United Nations in regard to visiting missions, the dispatch of which had been recommended in operative paragraph 5 of that resolution.

17. The working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see paras. 1-21 above) and the statements of the representative of the administering Power had enabled members of the Sub-Committee to form a precise idea of the situation in those Territories, whose development was impeded by their geographical isolation and lack of natural resources. Niue had made considerable political progress and the Niue Island Assembly, which consisted of fourteen Niueans and the Resident Commissioner, had fairly extensive powers. It could promulgate laws by ordinance, without having to refer them to the Governor General of New Zealand and exercised budgetary control over all government expenditure, including New Zealand grants and loans and all funds raised locally. As far as constitutional matters were concerned, the recommendations of a team of constitutional experts had been approved by the Niuean electorate in April 1966. The proposed "member" system had been adopted and under it each of the four elected members of the Executive Committee had been given responsibility for certain ministerial departments.

18. In paragraph 9 of the working paper, it was stated that legislation for the establishment of village councils was being drafted. His delegation would like fuller details. It was gratified to note that the administering Power had prepared a five-year plan for Niue's economic development and it considered that the United Nations and the specialized agencies could make a valuable contribution by providing technical assistance. The administering Power had already done much for education, although it might perhaps institute a system of scholarships to enable more Niueans to study at New Zealand universities, the agricultural college in Western Samoa and Viti University.

19. The situation in the Tokelau Islands was even more difficult, which explained why the inhabitants had decided to maintain their links with New Zealand. The working paper showed that the administering Power intended to grant them greater autonomy by giving councils of elders and heads of families formal consultative status in the determination of priorities in certain activities in the public sector and the preparation of the annual budget. His delegation hoped that the closest co-operation would be maintained between the administering Power and the inhabitants of the islands to ensure that they enjoyed the greatest possible degree of internal autonomy.

20. The representative of India noted the attempts being made by the administering Power to promote the development of the islands towards self-government and economic growth but thought that the pace of progress seemed rather slow.

21. The Niue Legislative Assembly considered that the time-limit set by the New Zealand Government for the establishment of a cabinet government in the Territory was too short and favoured a slower pace of development. However, the representative of the administering Power had himself told the Sub-Committee the previous year that the Assembly's cautious attitude was due to two factors: the people of Niue doubted their capacity to manage their own affairs and feared that political advance might prompt New Zealand to reduce or withdraw its subsidy. The attitude of the Legislative Assembly seemed to be the result of inadequate training and information and the Indian delegation would therefore urge the administering Power to make intensive efforts to provide training for the people of Niue, particularly in education.

22. On the subject of the economic fears of the Niueans, she noted that the administering Power had assured them that whatever form their future took, financial aid from New Zealand would not be affected. Nevertheless, Niue would also have to become more self-supporting. It was a matter of concern that in 1965 the value of exports had fallen by £12,742 while the value of imports had risen by £22,783, although it was true that the establishment of the Development Board and of a five-year plan would help to remedy the situation.

It was also to be hoped that further measures to develop the economy of Niue would be undertaken in co-operation with the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

23. As for the Tokelau Islands, the fact that they had a population of only 1,861 should not prevent them from freely and democratically determining their future status.

24. The pace of political development was, of course, a matter for decision by the people themselves, as the representative of New Zealand had stated. However, it was also the responsibility of the administering Power to encourage and assist them in the development process in accordance with the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

25. The representative of Poland said that although it was the fourth time that the Sub-Committee had on its agenda Niue and the Tokelau Islands, unfortunately the conclusions and recommendations that it would adopt in 1967 were not likely to differ much from those of previous years.

26. He did not overlook the geographical isolation of the islands or their lack of natural resources, and he took note of the attempts made by the administering Power to promote their economic growth and their development towards self-government. He found, however, on reading the working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see paras. 1-21 above), that the process of political emancipation of Territories which had remained under New Zealand administration for approximately half a century was very slow and that the administering Power had not yet even fixed a date on which the people would be able to exercise fully their right to self-determination. He hoped that the establishment of a Development Board would lead to the development of the economy of Niue, and that the United Nations and the specialized agencies would give due consideration to the needs of the inhabitants of small Territories such as Niue and the Tokelau Islands. Since the Government of New Zealand had already expressed its readiness to terminate its colonial relationship with those Territories, it should now redouble its efforts to promote their political and social development and to assist the people to achieve self-government.

27. The representative of New Zealand, in reply, stated that he knew of no criteria by which the political progress of the islands could be called slow. In the opinion of his delegation, it had been far from slow in Niue, for example, where in the course of the last five years the population had assumed full control of the budget including the subvention from New Zealand, and was gradually taking over executive control of Government Departments. He observed that the inhabitants of Niue were far from lacking in political awareness or sophistication, as was shown by their pragmatic attitude towards their political future. Regarding the fixing of a date for self-determination—incidentally, no obligation of that kind was laid down in the Charter or General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)—he stated that the inhabitants of Niue and the Tokelau Islands could exercise their right to self-determination when they wished and that the New Zealand Government did not intend at this stage to assume the function of setting a date for them.

28. On the subject of the economy, he recognized that the decrease in Niue's receipts from exports was discouraging, but noted that the newly established Development Board was studying ways of improving the situation. In that connexion he pointed out that over the past five years Niue had become to a degree less dependent on New Zealand, New Zealand's contribution to its budget having fallen—over a period when total expenditure was rising—from 64 per cent in 1962-1963 to 53 per cent in 1966-1967.

29. Turning to the conclusions and recommendations in the draft report of the Sub-Committee, he wished to contest both the assumption underlying the statement in paragraph 35 that political advancement corresponding to that made in Niue had not been achieved in the Tokelau Islands and the judgement in paragraph 36 that progress made in the Tokelau Islands had been slow. While it was true, for example, that the Tokelau Islands had not, like Niue, moved towards the establishment

of a cabinet system of government, the latter was not necessarily the most appropriate system for the atoll environment and tiny population of the Tokelau Islands. It had to be borne in mind that the 1,800 Tokelauans lived on three coral atolls with a total area of not more than four square miles, that the highest point above sea level was fifteen feet and that there was virtually no soil on the atolls. Despite the various attempts that had been made, it was difficult to grow anything but coconut and a few breadfruit trees there, the only other resource being fish. In this environment the existing political arrangements worked well. The Territory was run by the *fonos*, or councils made up of the heads of families. The people participated directly in this communal form of government. An elected indigenous official maintained liaison between the *fonos* and the New Zealand administration, which was not situated permanently in the Tokelau Islands but in nearby Western Samoa. In one of the few areas in which the Tokelauans did not run their affairs without direction or guidance from outside—the drawing up of the annual budget consisting largely of the New Zealand subvention—the *fonos* had recently been accorded formal consultative status. In short, although there was a minimum of formal institutions in the Tokelau Islands, a democratic form of self-government acceptable to the people existed. In these tiny communities a parliamentary mace and dispatch boxes would be as irrelevant as were a tractor and plough.

30. With regard to paragraph 36, it would remove the element of prejudice in this formulation were the word "self-determination" substituted for "independence", which was one of several hypothetical end-results of self-determination. Furthermore, it was a miscalculation to imply that the people's wish to make haste slowly derived, as implied in this paragraph, from political unsophistication and ineptitude—given the circumstances of the islanders, the opposite conclusion could equally well be drawn. Paragraph 41 also seemed to imply that the indigenous people's level of training was inadequate. It should be noted, in that connexion, that Niue had free, compulsory education for children between the ages of 6 and 14 and that the educational status of the Niue High School was equivalent to that of a similar secondary school in New Zealand. There were also a number of students attending higher education and in-service training courses in New Zealand and elsewhere in the South Pacific.

31. He noted that the phrase "though important in themselves", which had appeared the previous year after the words "the peculiar problems of size, isolation and limited resources" in the corresponding paragraph of the Special Committee's report (see A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XVI, para. 21 (d)), did not appear in the draft conclusions now under discussion. He did not feel that this qualification was less relevant and would like to know the reasons for the omission.

32. With regard to the Sub-Committee's recommendations, he noted that paragraph 40 reaffirmed a right which the administering Power had never denied and thus seemed to attribute to New Zealand an attitude which it did not hold. The same paragraph could also be read as implying that New Zealand was attempting to delay the application of resolution 1514 (XV), which would be quite untrue: New Zealand had always supported and attempted to apply faithfully the provisions of that resolution. As far as paragraph 41 was concerned, the administering Power was continuing to develop the educational system and the Niueans were gradually taking over the key positions.

33. Finally, with regard to paragraph 42, his delegation had already had occasion to describe in detail the measures which had been taken to develop the economic structure of Niue. As to the Tokelau Islands, the hard fact was that they had no economic future and were permanently dependent on outside financial assistance. The view of the Tokelauans themselves seemed to be that their future lay in emigration to the wider life offering in New Zealand.

34. He hoped that his comments on the draft report would be taken into account and recorded when the final text was drafted.

*Conclusions and recommendations of the Sub-Committee**Conclusions*

35. The Sub-Committee notes the political changes that have occurred in Niue but observes that a corresponding advancement has not been made in the Tokelau Islands.

36. The Sub-Committee is of the opinion that the slow progress in the Tokelau Islands and the hesitancy of the people of Niue to quicken their rate of progress towards self-determination and independence is due, in part, to inadequate training and education of the indigenous inhabitants.

37. The Sub-Committee is of the opinion that the problems of size, isolation and limited resources, though important in themselves, should not in any way delay the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in these Territories.

38. The assurance given by the administering Power of the continuance of economic aid to the Territories, whatever their future, is welcome; the Sub-Committee hopes that the efforts made to improve the economic structure by the administering Power and the United Nations specialized agencies will lessen this economic dependence, thus widening the choice of self-determination by the people.

39. The Sub-Committee notes with satisfaction the continued willingness of the administering Power to receive a visiting mission to the Territories were such a visit to form part of a wider tour of the area.

Recommendations

40. The Sub-Committee reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the Territories of Niue and the Tokelau Islands to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It is of the view that the questions of size, isolation and limited resources should not in any way delay the application of that resolution to these Territories.

41. The administering Power should further increase the training of the indigenous people so that they could occupy all key positions in the life of the Territories and build the confidence so necessary for their future development.

42. Further and immediate measures should be taken by the administering Power to develop the economic structure of these Territories; the United Nations and the specialized agencies should be asked to continue their co-operation.

43. A visit to the Territories by the Sub-Committee is necessary and would be useful in gathering all information and also in familiarizing the people with the assistance which can be rendered by the United Nations in regard to the free expression of their wishes pursuant to the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In this respect, steps may be taken to arrange a visit in consultation with the administering Power.

CHAPTER XVII*

NEW HEBRIDES

A. Action previously taken by the Special Committee and by the General Assembly

1. In 1964 the Special Committee adopted conclusions and recommendations concerning the New Hebrides (A/5800/Rev.1,¹ chap. XX, paras. 89-96). After considering the New Hebrides in August and September 1966, the Special Committee recommended, *inter alia*, that the administering Powers should take urgent measures for the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and that the people of the Territory should be provided with an early opportunity to express their wishes in accordance with that resolution through well-established democratic processes based on the principle of universal adult suffrage. It also recommended that the administering Powers should expedite the finalization of reforms in the administration of the Territory. It felt that the social and economic advancement of the Territory should be accelerated. It also felt that a visiting mission was necessary and would be useful in assessing the political climate and aspirations of the people and that steps might be taken to arrange such a visit in consultation with the administering Powers (A/6300/Rev.1,² chap. XVII, paras. 23-24).

2. At its twentieth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2069 (XX) of 16 December 1965 concerning twenty-six Territories, including the New Hebrides. At its twenty-first session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2232 (XXI) of 20 December 1966, concerning twenty-five Territories, including the New Hebrides. The resolution called upon the ad-

ministering Powers to implement without delay the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. It reiterated the Assembly's declaration that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of colonial Territories and the establishment of military bases and installations in these Territories was incompatible with the purpose and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It urged the administering Powers to allow visiting missions to visit the Territories and to extend to them full co-operation and assistance. It decided that the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of the Territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status. Finally, it requested the Special Committee to continue to pay special attention to the Territories and to report on the implementation of the present resolution to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.

B. Information on the Territory³*General*

3. The New Hebrides form an irregular chain of islands some 440 miles (704 kilometres) long in the south-western Pacific Ocean. They have a total land area of 5,700 square miles (14,763 square kilometres). In 1962, the population of the Territory was estimated to total 61,500 persons of whom 55,000 were Melanesians. The remaining 6,500 were British or French subjects and *ressortissants* (nationals of other countries who elect to come under the jurisdiction of either the United

* Parts A and B of this chapter were previously reproduced under the symbol A/AC.109/L.359.

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (Part I).*

² *Ibid.*, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23.

³ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73e of the Charter on 22 July 1966 for the year ending 31 December 1965. The most recent information on the New Hebrides transmitted by France was received on 19 May 1966 for the year 1964.

Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland or France).

Status

4. The New Hebrides form a condominium which was established on 20 October 1906, jointly administered by France and the United Kingdom. By the Anglo-French Convention of 16 November 1887, these Powers appointed a Joint Naval Commission charged with the protection of the lives and properties of their subjects. In 1902, Deputy Resident Commissioners were appointed. By the Convention of 20 October 1906, the two Governments established the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides. This Convention was superseded by the Anglo-French Protocol of 1914.

5. Subjects and citizens of the Signatory Powers enjoy equal rights. Each Power "retains sovereignty over its nationals and over corporations legally constituted according to its laws", and neither Power may exercise a separate authority over the Condominium. Nationals of third Powers residing in the group opt for either the British or French legal system and to come, for all practical purposes, under the administrative protection and authority of the Power for whose legal system they opt. The 1914 Protocol does not define the national status of the indigenous inhabitants of the Condominium. It states that they cannot be dependants of either Power nor can they "acquire in the group the status of subject or citizen" of either Power.

Constitution

6. The Constitution of the Condominium is laid down in the Anglo-French Protocol of 6 August 1914, which was ratified in 1922 and proclaimed in the New Hebrides on 5 July 1923, and which has, with some modification, regulated the administration of the Condominium since that time.

Joint Administration

7. The Government of the Condominium is known as the Joint Administration, of which the joint and equal heads are formally the British and French High Commissioners, acting through their local representatives, the British and French Resident Commissioners, to whom they delegate their powers and to whom they give directions (the British High Commissioner resides at Honiara in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and as High Commissioner for the Western Pacific his jurisdiction extends to other United Kingdom Territories in the area; the French High Commissioner resides at Nouméa in New Caledonia and is also the Governor of New Caledonia). The Joint Administration consists of the British National Administration, the French National Administration and certain joint or "Condominium" services. In addition to participating in the Joint Administration, each national administration under its Resident Commissioner deals independently with national affairs in so far as these are not of joint concern.

8. The national administration civil services consist of administrative, clerical, accounting and technical officers, including medical and education officers, since health and education, although subsidized from the joint (Condominium) budget, are primarily national subjects. Each civil service has its own set of estimates, the revenue of which is to a greater or lesser extent derived from the metropolitan Government.

9. The Joint Services, created under article 4 of the Protocol, include normal government departments such

as the Treasury (including customs and inland revenue), public works and transport, posts and telephones, radio, lands, survey, agriculture, meteorology and mines. They are financed from local taxation, the joint budget being prepared by the Resident Commissioners and assented to by the High Commissioners and the metropolitan Governments.

Advisory Council

10. The Territory has no legislative council. Since 1951 it has had an Advisory Council presided over by the Resident Commissioners. It consists of 6 official members and 20 unofficial members. Since 1964, 8 of the latter have been elected: 4 are New Hebridean, 2 are British and 2 are French. The other unofficial members are nominated: 6 are New Hebridean, 3 are British and 3 are French. The Standing Committee of the Council consists of 2 British, 2 French and 4 New Hebridean members.

Local government

11. There are 18 local councils throughout the islands which deal with most matters of local importance such as village amenities. Vila, the administrative capital, has a Town Planning Commission.

Electoral system

12. The Territory does not have universal adult suffrage. In rural communities the indigenous inhabitants elect the members of local councils. Electoral colleges composed of representatives of the various local councils in each district elect 4 of the Melanesian members of the Advisory Council of the Territory, and 4 of the European members are elected through the Chamber of Commerce. The other members are nominated by the Resident Commissioners jointly.

Judiciary

13. The New Hebrides has 3 types of courts: Condominium courts, British national courts and French national courts. The Condominium courts comprise the Joint Court, the courts of first instance and the Native courts. The Joint Court is the chief court. It hears appeals from the courts of first instance and from the Native courts which are established in each district of the New Hebrides. It is responsible for land registration, for law cases involving both French and British, Europeans and indigenous persons, and for cases between indigenous persons.

14. One of the two agents (administrative officers) of the district concerned sits in the Native courts with 2 local assessors. The agents are obliged to consult the local assessors. The Native courts have jurisdiction throughout their district over offences against New Hebridean regulations and customs. British or French national courts administer their own national laws where British or French subjects are concerned, except in cases reserved for the Joint Court.

Recent constitutional developments

15. At its meetings in 1966, the Special Committee was informed that ministerial talks had taken place in London in July 1966, at which time the British Colonial Secretary and the Minister of State for French Overseas Departments and Overseas Territories had met and exchanged views on administrative matters concerning the Condominium.

Economic conditions

16. Most of the New Hebrides is mountainous and heavily forested and large areas of the interior are uninhabited. Its economy is based mainly on subsistence gardening and the production of copra. Other cash crops include cocoa and coffee. The economy has recently become more diversified with the production of manganese ore for export (since 1962) and the growth of the frozen fish industry (since 1957). The only other industries are a few small factories and indigenous arts and crafts.

17. Copra, manganese and fish made up approximately 95 per cent of all exports in 1965, the value of which totalled £3,276,239.⁴ Import figures for 1965 are not available. Most exports went to France and Japan.

18. The budget of the Joint Administration finances the services that are operated jointly and contributes to the cost of medical and educational services operated separately by the British and French national administrations which have separate budgets.

19. Taxation is levied by the Joint Administration to provide revenue from which the Joint Public Services of the New Hebrides are financed and subventions for some national services are paid. Approximately 62 per cent of the total local revenue consisted of import and export duties; there is no income tax for indigenous persons. The main heads of expenditure are public works, medical and education services and the post office.

20. Revenue and expenditure of the Joint Government in 1965 totalled £984,309 and £940,193 respectively. Estimated revenue and expenditure of the British National Administration in 1965/66 totalled £A133,096 each. Most of this was contributed by the United Kingdom Government. No information is available on the revenue and expenditure by the French National Administration in 1965. In 1964, revenue and expenditure of the French National Administration amounted to 110,452,000 frs CFP⁵ and 103,146,000 frs CFP respectively. It is estimated that approximately 68 per cent of the revenue of the French National Administration was contributed by the French Government.

21. The Protocol provides that the currency and banknotes of either Power shall be legal tender, and in 1935, Australian currency was recognized valid for payments in sterling. The currencies in use are the Australian dollar and the New Hebrides franc. The latter is convertible into Australian currency. Its issue is regulated by the French authorities, who also fix the rate of exchange with the metropolitan franc.

*Social conditions**Labour*

22. Most of the indigenous population is mainly engaged in producing subsistence and cash crops. Most employed labour works on copra plantations, on trading ships, in stores or government service. There is generally a shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour. No information is available on the total number of persons working for wages. Wages vary according to the type of labour and whether or not rations are included. The work week averages forty-four hours. There are no trade unions, although provisions exist for them.

⁴ One pound sterling equals 250 francs of the New Hebrides or £A1.25.

⁵ One franc CFP is a New Hebrides franc.

Public health

23. In addition to the medical facilities provided separately by the British and French national administrations, British and French medical officers run a condominium medical service providing preventive measures against malaria and epidemics, quarantine control, medical inspection of plantations and other labour, and free medical attention to the indigenous population.

24. In 1965/66, expenditure on public health by the Joint Administration totalled £174,324, approximately 8.3 per cent of its total expenditure. Excluding grants, expenditure for the same period by the British National Administration was estimated to be £A135,808, approximately 16 per cent of its total expenditure. A grant of £73,100 from British Colonial Development and Welfare funds was approved in August 1965 for the reconstruction of the hospital at Tanua. No information is available on expenditure by the French National Administration on public health for 1965. In 1964, such expenditure by the French National Administration was 21,874,000 New Hebrides francs.

Educational conditions

25. The great majority of all pupils attend mission schools. In addition to these, the French National Administration operates seventeen primary schools. In 1964, the British National Administration established a teacher-training college and in 1965 a grant of £104,000 was appropriated from British Colonial Development and Welfare funds for a new secondary school at Vila. The Condominium Government itself has no education service but gives an annual subsidy to the national administrations, which in turn give assistance to the mission schools. In 1965, this subsidy amounted to £48,000.

26. It is estimated that 65 to 70 per cent of the children of school-age receive primary education. Secondary education in the Territory is in its developmental stage and children are sent to secondary schools in neighbouring territories. In 1965, a grant of £126,000 was approved by the British National Administration for the construction of a post-primary school to accommodate 150 students. No information is available on expenditure by the French National Administration on education during 1965. Such expenditure was 63,895,000 frs CFP in 1964.

C. Consideration by the Special Committee

27. At its 562nd meeting, on 22 September 1967, the Special Committee considered the report of Sub-Committee II on the New Hebrides which appears as an annex to this chapter.

28. The Special Committee had before it the following written petitions concerning the New Hebrides:

<i>Petitioner</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
Chief Buluk and	
Mr. Jimmy Tubo Stephens	A/AC.109/PET.630
Chief Paul Buluk	A/AC.109/PET.630/Add.1

29. The representative of the United Kingdom said he wished to record the fact that, in his delegation's view, the Sub-Committee's conclusions and recommendations on the Territories administered by the United Kingdom did not adequately reflect the substantial progress that had been made over the past twelve months in those Territories and were regrettably

begrudging and negative in tone. Accordingly, he would reserve his delegation's position on the Sub-Committee's conclusions and recommendations on the New Hebrides.

30. The representatives of Australia and the United States also expressed reservations with regard to the Sub-Committee's conclusions and recommendations on the New Hebrides.

D. Action taken by the Special Committee on the report of Sub-Committee II

31. At its 562nd meeting on 22 September 1967, the Special Committee adopted the conclusions and recommendations of Sub-Committee II concerning the New Hebrides, it being understood that the reservations expressed by some members would be reflected in the record. These conclusions and recommendations are as follows:

Conclusions

(a) The Special Committee notes that there have been no constitutional changes or proposals concerning any changes by the administering Powers in the New Hebrides since it was considered by the Special Committee in 1966.

(b) The Special Committee, aware of the peculiar problems of the Territory by virtue of its being a Condominium, recalls its conclusions in 1966 that very little progress had been made towards the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); and that the political institutions and executive machinery were not representative of the people of the Territory.

Recommendations

(c) The Special Committee reiterates to the administering Powers the recommendations it made concerning this Territory in 1966 and strongly urges them to implement these recommendations, which are as follows:

(i) The Special Committee reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

(ii) The people of the Territory should be provided an early opportunity to express their wishes with regard to the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) through well-established democratic processes based on the principle of universal adult suffrage.

(iii) Urgent measures should be taken for the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).

(iv) The economic and social advancement of the Territory should be accelerated.

(v) The administering Powers should expedite the finalization of reforms in the administration of the Condominium.

(vi) A visit by the Sub-Committee is necessary and would be useful in assessing the political climate and aspirations of the people. Steps may be taken to arrange such a visit in consultation with the administering Powers.

ANNEX*

Report of Sub-Committee II New Hebrides

Consideration by the Sub-Committee

1. The Sub-Committee considered the New Hebrides at its 57th to 60th and 62nd meetings held between 14 March and 21 April 1967.

2. The Sub-Committee had before it the working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see paras. 1-26 of the present report).

3. In accordance with the procedure agreed upon by the Special Committee, the Chairman invited the representative of the United Kingdom to participate in the consideration of the Territory.

4. The representative of the United Kingdom said that in 1966 his delegation had provided the Sub-Committee with very detailed information on the situation in the Territory. Further information had been furnished at the 1669th meeting of the Fourth Committee in December 1966.

5. The representative of Chile said that the lack of information concerning the New Hebrides was a matter for concern, particularly as one of the administering Powers, namely France, had failed to supply the Sub-Committee with up-to-date information. It was to be hoped that that administering Power would adopt a more positive attitude in the future.

6. The representative of Poland said that in the New Hebrides no sign of political progress could be observed. Those islands, where there were no trade unions or political parties and where universal adult suffrage did not exist, were a typical example of a colony. It was unfortunate that the United Kingdom representative had not been able to furnish the Sub-Committee with information on the results of the consultations that had taken place between the French Government and his own on the New Hebrides. As to the information contained in the working paper, it was very disheartening.

7. The representative of India said that it was most regrettable that no constitutional progress had been made in the New Hebrides. The functions of the Advisory Council had not changed since 1951 and most of its members were still nominated. In 1965, however, the Council had asked the two administering Powers for a clear policy statement on the future of the Territory. They had apparently not yet replied. At the 1669th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the United Kingdom representative had said that the two administering Powers had examined, at the ministerial level, certain aspects of the administration of the Territory which impeded its progress. Her own delegation would like to have details of the action taken by the administering Powers to implement the Sub-Committee's recommendations concerning the reform of the Territory's administration.

8. In view of the relatively slow pace of political and economic progress in the New Hebrides, her delegation urged the administering Powers to implement General Assembly resolutions 2232 (XXI) of 20 December 1966 and 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 in the Territory.

9. The representative of the United States wished first to point out, in connexion with the New Hebrides, that exports, which in 1965 reached £3.3 million, were a particularly important factor in the economy of the islands. Whereas, until the end of the Second World War, copra was virtually the only product exported by the Territory, there had since been a tendency towards diversification of the economy. It would be interesting to know to what extent that diversification had enabled the two administering Powers to reduce their grants-in-aid. With regard to education, the data in the Secretariat's working paper suggested that secondary education was still in the developing stage, only primary education being available to most of the children in the Territory. The Secretariat's report showed, however, that in 1965 a grant of £104,000 had been made for the construction of a new secondary school

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.395/Add.2.

at Vila and that, in the same year, a grant of £126,000 had been made for the construction of a post-primary school. Considering that the Territory had only 61,000 inhabitants, those figures, which concerned only one of the two administering Powers, appeared to augur well for the future. In that connexion, it would be interesting to know whether any part of the United Kingdom grants was used for the vocational training which had become necessary as a result of the diversification of agriculture and the economy in general.

10. The representative of Iraq said that more information should be obtained on the talks held in London in 1966 between the United Kingdom and France on the New Hebrides. In that connexion, the unhelpful attitude of France—which since 1964 had not provided any information on the archipelago—could only be regretted.

11. The representative of the United Kingdom said that the situation in the New Hebrides was rendered complex by the Territory's dual administration. Services administered jointly by the two administering Powers were financed from local taxation, derived mainly from import and export duties. National services which were separately administered, including public health and education, were subsidized by the metropolitan Powers, but the subsidies represented development and not budgetary aid, so that economic development would not necessarily tend to a decrease in this form of assistance.

12. He had no recent information on vocational education, but could state, on the basis of the latest annual report on the Territory, that the Administration had received expert advice on the subject and that certain types of practical and technical education had already been introduced in the schools.

13. Progress in the New Hebrides was the subject of ministerial talks, of which, he wished to explain, there were several series proceeding at different times and levels and which were gradually bearing fruit. Two specific results had already been obtained: the two administrations had decided to change the labour laws of the New Hebrides and to adopt a more effective system of registering births and deaths in the Territory. The question of land tenure was also being studied and the adoption of a land tenure code was contemplated.

14. The representative of Afghanistan said that the lack of constitutional progress in the Territory was most regrettable, and urged the administering Powers to implement without delay the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2232 (XXI).

15. The representative of Sierra Leone said that it was regrettable that France had supplied no information on the New Hebrides since 1964; it was difficult for the Sub-Committee to study the present situation in the Territory on the basis of information which was three years old. The United Kingdom's co-operation, on the other hand, was satisfactory. The situation of the Condominium was a little confusing because of the tripartite system of administration in which joint services existed side by side with separate services (education,

public health, social affairs and justice). The administering Powers should simplify the system so that all the islanders could work together for their own development and self-determination. Ten of the twenty members of the Advisory Council represented only 9 per cent of the population, and the representation of the remaining 91 per cent should be increased. In their development towards self-government and independence, the islanders should not be made to suffer from any differences of opinion between the two administering Powers; the discussions taking place between the latter on the future of the Territory were proceeding slowly, and the people were not being consulted sufficiently for them to be considered as participating as fully as they should in determining that future.

Conclusions of the Sub-Committee

16. The Sub-Committee notes that there have been no constitutional changes or proposals concerning any changes by the administering Powers in the New Hebrides since it was considered by the Sub-Committee in 1966.

17. The Sub-Committee, aware of the peculiar problems of the Territory by virtue of its being a Condominium, recalls its conclusions in 1966 that very little progress had been made towards the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); and that the political institutions and executive machinery were not representative of the people of the Territory.

Recommendations of the Sub-Committee

18. The Sub-Committee recommends to the Special Committee that it reiterate to the administering Powers the recommendations it made concerning this Territory in 1966 and strongly urge them to implement these recommendations, which are as follows:

(a) The Sub-Committee reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

(b) The people of the Territory should be provided an early opportunity to express their wishes with regard to the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) through well-established democratic processes based on the principle of universal adult suffrage;

(c) Urgent measures should be taken for the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV);

(d) The economic and social advancement of the Territory should be accelerated;

(e) The administering Powers should expedite the finalization of reforms in the administration of the Condominium;

(f) A visit by the Sub-Committee is necessary and would be useful in assessing the political climate and aspirations of the people. Steps may be taken to arrange such a visit in consultation with the administering Powers.

CHAPTER XVIII*

GUAM AND AMERICAN SAMOA

A. Action previously taken by the Special Committee and by the General Assembly

1. In 1964, the Special Committee adopted conclusions and recommendations concerning Guam and American Samoa (A/5800/Rev.1,¹ Chap. XVI, paras. 64-71, and Chap. XVII, paras. 95-102). After considering the Territories in 1966, it recommended, *inter*

* Parts A and B of this chapter were previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.364 and Add.1.

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (Part I).

alia, that the further political development of the Territories should be accelerated by expanding the functions and powers of their legislatures and by vesting executive authority in the hands of the indigenous population. It urged that their economic growth be expedited further by fully developing their agricultural and industrial potential and, particularly in the case of Guam, by implementing as speedily as possible plans for the diversification of its economy. It requested that the educational and training facilities for the peoples of the Territories be increased. Finally it considered that a visit to the Territories by the Special

Committee was necessary and would be useful; it would familiarize the Committee with the needs and aspirations of the peoples, and would also increase the awareness of the peoples of their rights which have been guaranteed to them by the United Nations (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XVIII, para. 66).

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

B. Information on the Territories

1. GUAM³

General

3. Guam, the southernmost of the Mariana Islands, lies in the western Pacific about 1,500 miles (2,400 kilometres) south-east of Manila, in the Philippines. It is a volcanic island thirty miles (forty-eight kilometres) long and ranges from four miles at its narrowest point to eight and a half miles at its broadest, with a land area of 209 square miles (541 square kilometres). The capital of Guam is Agana. The population, excluding military personnel, was 45,192 in April 1964, compared with an estimated 41,247 in 1961. The population in 1964 comprised:

Guamanians	38,369
"Statesiders" (persons from the United States)	1,573
Filipinos	2,839
Hawaiians	612
Others	1,799
TOTAL	45,192

Status

4. Guam was ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Paris in 1898, following the Spanish-American War. It is an organized but unincorporated Territory of the United States. Guamanians are citizens of the United States, but those who reside in Guam do not have the right to vote in United States elec-

tions and have no representation in the United States Congress.

Constitution

5. The Territory is administered under the Organic Act of Guam, 1950, as amended. Guam's relationship with the United States Government comes under the general supervision of the Department of the Interior.

Governor

6. The Governor is the chief executive and administrator of the affairs of the Government of Guam. He is appointed by the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the United States Senate, to hold office for four years and until his successor is appointed and qualified. He is assisted by the Secretary of Guam who is also appointed by the President for a four-year term. The Secretary's position is similar to the position of the Secretary of State or Lieutenant Governor of a state of the United States. In the absence of the Governor from the island, the Secretary is empowered to assume the duties of the Governor. Under the Governor are ten departments, the directors of which are appointed by him with the advice and consent of the Guam Legislature.

Legislature

7. The unicameral Legislature of Guam, which is composed of twenty-one elected members, is empowered to pass laws on local matters, including taxation and appropriations for the fiscal operation of the Government. All laws enacted by the Legislature are reported to the Congress of the United States. If any such law is not annulled by the Congress within one year of the date of its receipt by that body, it is deemed to have been approved. Every bill passed by the Legislature becomes law unless the Governor returns it with his objections to the Legislature. If, after reconsideration, two thirds of the Legislature agree to pass the bill and the Governor still refuses to approve it, the latter must transmit the bill to the President of the United States. If the President fails to approve the bill, it does not become law.

Electoral system

8. There is universal suffrage for all citizens of Guam eighteen years of age or older. General elections are held every two years.

Political parties

9. Guam has two political parties: the Democratic Party, affiliated with the Democratic Party of the United States, and the Territorial Party, which is independent.

Recent developments

10. In 1966, the United States House of Representatives approved a bill providing for the election of the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor of Guam on 8 November 1966. Beginning with the year 1968 they would be elected every four years. In October the United States Senate returned the bill to the House for action with amendments which, *inter alia*, would provide for the election of the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor for four-year terms with the first election to be held on 3 November 1970. No action was taken concerning the proposal, which is

² *Ibid.*, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23.

³ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United States under Article 73 e of the Charter on 8 June 1966 for the year ended 30 June 1965.

to be resubmitted by the Executive Branch of the Government to Congress at its forthcoming session in 1967.

11. The most recent elections for members of the Guam Legislature were held in November 1966.

Economic conditions

12. Guam is relatively poor in natural resources. It is an important military base of the United States in the Pacific and its economy is supported primarily by the wages of Guamanians employed by the military. Agriculture is the other principal element in the economy, but its development is handicapped by the ready employment offered by the military installations and the civil government at relatively good wages.

13. The principal imports into Guam, chiefly from the United States, include food, vehicles, petroleum products, construction supplies and alcoholic beverages. The principal export is scrap metal. Imports were valued at \$41,414,026 and exports and re-exports were valued at \$9,323,056. Guam serves as a transshipping centre between the United States, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and other countries.

14. The total reserve for the fiscal year of 1965 totalled \$25,792,223, compared with \$22,821,794 in 1964. Expenditures totalled \$26,914,784, compared with \$22,215,542 the previous year.

15. Following typhoons in 1962 and 1963, Guam was declared a disaster area and approximately \$16 million was allocated by the Office of Emergency Planning for disaster projects. By 30 June 1965, 77 projects had been completed and 20 were still in progress.

16. Under the Rehabilitation Act, the United States Congress made \$19 million available early in the fiscal year 1965, and an additional \$9,657,000 was approved to become available 1 July 1965. Construction on schools, utilities and other projects began with the release of funds. All major projects, with one exception, were to be completed in 1965 and 1966.

Social conditions

Labour

17. Guam continues to experience a shortage of competent labour, and off-island labour is recruited to meet the need for skilled workers. No information is available concerning the number of persons employed at military installations. The number of employees in the executive branch of the Government in 1965 totalled 4,582, compared with 3,888 in 1964. The number entering the service in 1965 totalled 1,207, compared with 417 in 1964.

Public health and hospital services

18. In 1964, the Department of Health and Welfare was created as a separate department from hospital services. It is now primarily concerned with preventive measures, the maintenance of safe and sanitary public and private health facilities, and the provision of social services and financial assistance. Under the new agreement a Board of Trustees was made the governing and policy-making body for the Guam Memorial Hospital. In 1965 the hospital was granted a full three-year accreditation ranking it with accredited hospitals in the United States. Renovation of the hospital was completed in 1965 at a total cost

of \$1,430,000 and it is now operating with a complement of 260 beds.

Educational conditions

19. The total budget of the Department of Education for the fiscal year 1965 was \$4,764,791. School attendance is compulsory between the ages of six and sixteen, inclusive. Public and private elementary and secondary schools had a total enrolment of about 23,000 in 1965. Expenditure on the College of Guam, which is not included in the Department of Education, totalled \$616,538 in 1965. During the year the college was awarded a three-year accreditation by the United States Western Association of Schools and Colleges. During the school year a total of 2,037 part-time and full-time students were enrolled at the college.

2. AMERICAN SAMOA⁴

General

20. American Samoa consists of the seven eastern islands of the Samoan Archipelago and is located about 1,600 miles north-east of New Zealand and seventy-seven miles east of Western Samoa. It has a total land area of 76.2 square miles. The headquarters of the Administration are located at Pago Pago on Tutuila, the main island of the Territory.

21. The inhabitants of the Territory are Polynesians. They have increased from 5,697 in 1900 to 20,051 according to the 1960 census. In July 1965, the population was estimated at 26,000.

Status

22. American Samoa is a Territory of the United States administered by the Department of the Interior by Executive Order signed by the President of the United States, effective 1 July 1951. The people of the Territory are nationals of the United States.

Constitution

23. The present Constitution of American Samoa was approved and promulgated on 27 April 1960, and came into effect on 17 October 1960.

Governor

24. The executive branch consists of the Governor, the Secretary and departmental and office heads. The Governor, who is the Chief Executive, is appointed by the Secretary of the Interior and exercises his authority under the latter's direction. The Secretary of American Samoa, also appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, assists the Governor in administering the Territory, serves as Lieutenant Governor, and represents the Governor during the latter's absence from the Territory. Heads of departments and officers of the executive branch are appointed by the Governor and are responsible to him.

Legislature

25. The Legislature of American Samoa consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Each of the fourteen political counties of the Territory elects, by Samoan custom, a *matai* (chief or talking chief) to the Senate to serve for four years. One additional

⁴ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United States under Article 73e of the Charter on 29 March 1967 for the year ending 30 June 1965.

senator, who serves for two years, is elected in rotation from four counties in the Western District.

26. The Constitution provides that the membership of the House of Representatives shall be elected by secret ballot on the basis of population, that the total number of representatives shall not exceed 24 and that each county shall have at least one representative regardless of population. At present the House of Representatives has 17 members elected by popular vote at the polls. There is one delegate from Swains Island which the adult permanent residents elect at an open meeting. He has all the privileges of a member of the House except the right to vote. Members hold office for two years. During the Eighth Legislature, all the members of both the Senate and the House of Representatives, with one exception, were *matais*. Swains Island failed to elect a delegate to the Eighth Legislature.

27. The Legislature has the authority to pass legislation with respect to subjects of local application except that: (a) no such legislation may be inconsistent with the Constitution of the Territory or the laws of the United States applicable in American Samoa, or be in conflict with treaties or international agreements of the United States; (b) the annual budget shall be as presented to the Congress of the United States subject to such allocations among departments and activities as may be made by the Governor as a result of increases or decreases in the amount of grant funds approved by the Congress, and the Governor shall inform the Legislature of the Territory of his actions in this regard at its next regular session; (c) legislation involving the expenditure of funds other than as budgeted must include revenue measures to provide the needed funds.

28. All laws are enacted by bills which may originate in either House, and may be amended or altered or rejected by the other. The Governor may submit proposed legislation to the Legislature for consideration by it.

29. Every bill that has passed both Houses is presented to the Governor for his approval. On the Governor's signature, it becomes a law. If the Governor does not approve the bill, he returns it with his objections to the House in which it originated. If he fails to return the bill within twenty days, it becomes a law, whether signed by him or not, unless the Legislature by adjournment prevents such a return. If, however, the Governor signs the bill within forty-five days after adjournment of the Legislature, it becomes a law in the same manner as if it had been signed by him before adjournment.

30. A bill that has been vetoed by the Governor may be passed over his veto, provided that the action is taken by a different session of the Legislature from that in which the bill originated, and that it is passed by a two-thirds majority of the entire membership of each House within fourteen months of the date of the Governor's veto. Under the Constitution, a bill so passed must again be presented to the Governor for his approval. If he does not approve it within twenty days, he sends it, together with his comments, to the Secretary of the Interior. If the latter approves it within ninety days after receipt by him, it becomes a law; otherwise it shall not.

31. In the event of the Governor having submitted to the Legislature proposed legislation which he has

designated as urgent, and the Legislature having failed to pass it in its original form or in an amended form acceptable to the Governor at the session in which it was submitted, the Governor may himself, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, promulgate such proposed legislation as a law.

Electoral system

32. All residents of five years' standing over the age of 20 years who have resided for one year within the county in which they intend to vote, are eligible to vote in elections in American Samoa. All persons who are qualified to vote and who are at least 25 years old and are either United States nationals or citizens, are eligible to run for and to hold office in the House of Representatives. General elections are held every two years.

Public Service

33. At 30 June 1965, the Public Service consisted of 182 "stateside" employees (overseas officers) and 2,696 local officers.

Judiciary

34. Judicial power is vested in the High Court and five district courts. The High Court consists of an Appellate, a Probate and a Trial Division. It has 6 judges: the Chief Justice, the Associate Justice and 4 Samoan Associate Judges. The court system is under the general administration of the Chief Justice of American Samoa, who is appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. The fundamental human rights of the inhabitants of the Territory are protected both by the Constitution of the United States and by the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Territory, the latter being patterned substantially after the Bill of Rights in the United States Constitution.

35. All personnel of the judicial branch are American Samoans with the exception of the Chief Justice, the Associate Justice, and the Clerk of the High Court, the latter three being stateside United States citizens in the Federal Civil Service.

Local government

36. The Secretary for Samoan Affairs, the head of the Department of Local Government, is a Samoan appointed by the Governor. He is responsible for the proper administration of district, county and village affairs as provided by law, and for the supervision of all ceremonial functions.

37. Each of the District Governors serving at present as administrative head of the three political districts within the Territory is a Samoan. He is nominated by the district council chiefs and appointed by the Governor for a four-year term.

38. Each of the fourteen counties has a county chief nominated by the chiefs in his county council and appointed by the Governor for a four-year term. Within each county the village councils, consisting of the village chiefs, nominate one of their members as mayor who is appointed by the Governor for a one-year term. All local officials are responsible to their respective district, county and village councils.

39. A local Government Council composed of the three District Governors and the fourteen county chiefs is reported to be gradually assuming the role of a policy-making body within the local government or-

ganization. It appoints its own officers who form an Executive Committee. The Council maintains constant liaison with the Governor and the Secretary and acts as the co-ordinating body for all matters pertaining to local government.

Constitutional developments

40. The present Constitution, which came into effect on 17 October 1960, provided for its automatic revision or amendment at the end of five years. The representative of the United States informed the General Assembly at its twenty-first session that a Samoan Constitutional Review Committee had completed its work and that many of its proposals had been directed towards expanding the powers of the Samoan Legislature. The Committee had proposed, *inter alia*, that the Legislature should be given the right to review that portion of the proposed budget to be financed from Washington, before recommendations were sent to the Federal Government. It had also proposed that, where no financing from the United States Government was involved, except for funds normally available to all States and Territories under United States legislation, the Governor would present the Samoan budget to the Legislature, which would have full authority to make the appropriations. The Committee had also made proposals to change the qualifications of members of the Legislature in order to render it more fully representative, and to expand the maximum length of its sessions. Other recommendations concerned further limitations on the prerogatives of the Governor with regard to legislative proposals. Those and other proposals had been considered at a Constitutional Convention convened in the Territory in October 1966. In conclusion, the representative of the United States stated that the Samoan electorate had already approved the recommendations of the Constitutional Review Committee, and that the proposed new Constitution would be transmitted to the Federal Government in Washington for review in the near future.

Economic conditions

41. The administering Power reports that in 1965 it continued to seek economic advancement for the people of the Territory in two principal areas: by assisting the American Samoan Development Corporation and by the encouragement, through the Bank of American Samoa, of new business and agriculture ventures. Territorial self-sufficiency has been a goal of the development programme. In attaining this goal, the report continues, the maximum effort has been made to assure that the economy does not become dominated by "absentee landlords". Samoan ownership is preferred in all enterprises. Where this is impossible, Samoan partnership is sought. And where outside capital is required for a development (for instance, in the multi-million dollar tuna canneries), Samoan interest is protected by agreements covering wages and hours calling for maximum promotional opportunities for local residents.

42. The Territory has limited arable land. The Administration is making extensive use of the new medium of educational television to improve agricultural methods, and its effectiveness has been proved through increased inquiries about and purchases of fertilizer by farmers. Fertilizer use in 1965 totalled 17,300 pounds, compared with 3,500 pounds in the previous

year. Forestry resources of the Territory have not been utilized efficiently. More than one half of the Territory is covered with indigenous forest species.

43. Fish of a wide variety are abundant in the surrounding waters. Major commercial exploitation of the sea's resources is undertaken by tuna fishing vessels from the Republic of China, Korea and Japan, who are under contract to canneries operated by Star-Kist Samoa, Incorporated, and the Van Camp Company. These canneries, under agreement with the territorial Government, make fish available on the local market at cost. The administering Power reports that its efforts to interest local participation in commercial tuna fishing have not met with satisfactory response despite the possibility of excellent economic potential.

44. In 1965, export tonnage was the highest ever recorded from the Territory and canned tuna retained its dominance in both tonnage and value of exports. Tuna exports were valued at \$9,038,937. The value exceeded 90 per cent of total exports.

45. The economy was further strengthened in December 1965 when the Hotel Pago Pago Intercontinental was opened. The hotel is owned by the American Samoan Development Corporation whose shareholders are, by law, Samoan. It is expected that the new hotel, along with the new jet air terminal, will cause an increase in the number of tourists visiting the Territory.

46. As stated earlier, arable land is limited in total area and it is also highly fragmented in ownership. Types of land ownership include freehold, communal, family, individual and government. Only a very small amount of land is under freehold and government land holdings are also modest, though one large parcel does exist, the land occupied by Pago Pago International Airport on Tafuna.

47. Most land in the Territory is held communally or by families. Under the Samoa for the Samoans concept, the Government protects Samoan land ownership. Land may be rented by Samoans or to Samoans without difficulty. Land dealings involving non-Samoans are, however, subject to government approval. The Government's responsibility under the law is to prevent improvident alienation of communal lands and this policy is vigorously enforced.

48. Land tenure is generally vested in a village or family chief or *matai*. This method of land control and stringent government protection of Samoan land rights have prevented creation of large private plantations.

49. The Government of American Samoa is financed from grants-in-aid from the United States Congress, supplemented by local revenues. Direct appropriations are provided for the Governor's office, the Legislature and the Chief Justice of the High Court. In the fiscal year 1965, congressional appropriations and grants totalled \$5,314,001, compared with \$12,002,000 for the fiscal year 1964. Local revenues for the fiscal year 1965 were \$3,153,375, an increase of \$674,045 over the fiscal year 1964.

Social conditions

Labour

50. Federal and territorial statutes govern minimum wages for everyone employed in the Territory except domestic workers and agricultural workers, most of whom work on family or village lands. A Federal Minimum Wage Board sits in the Territory at two-year

intervals. It fixes wages for persons employed in the canneries, stevedoring and maritime occupations, airlines and travel agencies and in petroleum distribution. In 1965, these workers received \$1.00 per hour. The territorial minimum was \$0.49 per hour for all other occupations.

51. The basic employment policy of the Government is that Samoans have the first right to any and all jobs. Persons are recruited from overseas only to fill positions for which no qualified local applicant can be found. They are hired on short-term contracts and are responsible for training their Samoan counterparts.

52. There are a considerable number of migrant labourers and craftsmen from neighbouring Western Samoa, the Kingdom of Tonga, the Cook Islands and Niue. The Administration has tightened the immigration legislation and its enforcement, and an active deportation programme has been undertaken to repatriate aliens whose skills are not essential to the Territory's economy.

53. The Social Security Act has been extended to American Samoa. At the end of 1964, some 264 beneficiaries were receiving approximately \$6,000 monthly. At the end of 1965, a large number of workers had amassed enough quarters of employment to qualify for disability benefits. Although there is no territorial law requiring workmen's compensation, disability compensation is available to government employees, and other major employers carry insurance disability claims.

Public health

54. During 1965, the medical services were provided by seven stateside physicians and thirteen Samoan practitioners. Dental care was provided by one stateside dentist and four Samoan dental practitioners. In nursing service and nursing education, five registered nurses supervised nursing care and gave instruction in the School of Practical Nursing. Training facilities consist of a School of Practical Nursing at the main hospital and on-the-job training programmes in x-ray, laboratory, pharmacy, sanitation and dental hygiene. A number of young Samoans are in colleges and universities in the United States pursuing studies in medicine, nursing and the related fields. Free medical and dental care is provided to American Samoans. There is a small charge for hospital care. The Territory has one general hospital with 154 beds, a leprosarium with 20 beds, and 4 dispensaries (outpatient with beds for minor cases) with 24 beds. In 1965, an architectural firm in the United States was placed under contract to design the proposed new American Samoa Tropical Medicine Centre to be built at Faja'alu.

55. The administering Power reports that the mass campaign against filariasis has been successful. In 1962, 28 per cent of the population was infected with filariae, while in 1965 the incidence had dropped to 3 per cent, and it is expected that the disease will be eradicated completely. In 1965, the Administration intended to undertake a mass campaign against intestinal parasites which infect an estimated 80 per cent of the population.

56. The birth-rate of 49 per 1,000 persons is among the highest in the world. A family planning programme was instituted early in 1966 and women seeking assistance are given counselling by the Department of Medical Services.

57. Total expenditures for medical services in 1965 were \$988,190.50 compared with \$1,000,726 in 1964.

Educational conditions

58. Education is compulsory between the ages of 7 and 18 years, or until graduation from the ninth grade. In 1964-1965, there were 41 public and 4 private elementary schools; 5 public junior high schools; 1 public and 1 private high school; and 1 public teacher-training school. A total of 6,653 and 1,395 students were enrolled in public and private schools, respectively. The private schools are conducted by religious organizations and function with the approval of the Department of Education. They must meet the requirements for secular education set by the Department.

59. Under the Government's scholarship programme, young Samoans are sent to the United States and elsewhere for advanced training with the hope that they will replace mainland personnel on their return.

60. In 1965, land was acquired for all but three of the 26 new consolidated elementary schools and construction was substantially completed on 15 sites. New high schools for 600 students at Leone and for 300 in Manu'a were opened in the school years 1965-66 and 1966-67.

61. Educational television was introduced in October 1964, when a three-channel television station came into operation. The Michael J. Kirwan Educational Television Centre at Utulei is the centre for administration and production of broadcast lessons and printed material. Curricular specialists of the Department of Education and a special consultant, retained by the Government, have devised a programme in which children at the first level learn reading and writing in Samoan and then gradually begin their studies of oral English. Increasing percentages of instruction are in English until the last years of high school when there is no Samoan instruction.

62. In its report on the Territory, the administering Power reiterates its policy to conserve, in every way possible, the lands and traditions of the Samoan people. It believes that the introduction of educational television has provided new tools for the implementation of this policy. The report states that Samoan reading and writing and culture are now taught to children for the first time and that the entire Department of Education is being "Samoanized" as rapidly as possible. It is expected that adult literary programmes and other programmes concerning modern agricultural methods, public health, local self-government and world events will be introduced on the television networks.

C. Consideration by the Special Committee

63. At its 562nd and 563rd meetings on 22 September 1967, the Special Committee considered the report of Sub-Committee II on Guam and American Samoa which appears as an annex to this chapter.

64. The representatives of Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States expressed reservations with regard to the Sub-Committee's conclusions and recommendations on these Territories.

65. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that it was evident from the documentation available to the Special Committee that the administering Power had done virtually nothing to promote the independence of the Territories; moreover, there seemed to be a categorical refusal on its part to comply with United Nations resolutions concerning the Territory of Guam. Not only had the United States not implemented General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI), it was violating it, other United Nations reso-

lutions and the United Nations Charter on the question of decolonization. It was transforming Guam and American Samoa into economic and military appendage of the United States, and in doing so was promoting not the interests of the people of the Territories but its own military and economic interests. In addition, it was repressing the aspirations of the peoples of the Territories and hampering the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

66. No progress had occurred in the political field, since the colonial Power was continuing to maintain its control of the population and prevent the establishment of real self-government. While legislative bodies did exist, they had no genuine power. Therefore, in not leading the people of the Territories to self-determination and independence, the administering Power was explicitly violating the Charter. Moreover, it refused to take any decision regarding the future of the Territories and to set a date for independence; it had plans to absorb the Territories and to convert them into a new state of the United States. In the economic sphere, all the policies of the administering Power were designed to transform the Territories into an appendage of the United States and into markets for United States goods. For agriculture in Eastern Samoa, according to one observer, the same methods that had been used when the Territories had been discovered in 1722 were being used. Its economy was dominated by foreign monopolies. The Jones and Guerrero company played an important part in the economic life of Guam and its profits for the year 1966 had exceeded \$3 million. According to reports in *The New York Times* that company, as well as other United States companies, had been granted special tax privileges and immunities. Furthermore, the administering Power, in ignoring the relevant provisions of the Charter, had done little to improve working conditions in the Territories. There had been 2,000 unemployed Guamanians in 1967; a large number of workers had been forced to emigrate to the United States from Eastern Samoa, including many of the most highly skilled workers in the Territory.

67. The Committee should also not ignore the political role of the island of Guam as a military base of the United States. Its economy was to a great extent dependent on the base: reports in *The New York Times* had stated that 30 per cent of the labour force of Guam worked at the United States military base. Another observer had stated that many young people were drawn away from agriculture to work at the base. At present, the military establishment on the island apparently equalled the indigenous adult population in number.

68. More important still, according to the United States Press, heavy bombers were stationed on Guam, and were being used to bomb both North and South Viet-Nam. *The New York Times* of 2 December 1966 had stated that the Third United States Strategic Air Division was based on the island and also that bombers left Guam almost daily to bomb Viet-Nam and to carry out strategic tasks in the Far East. The importance of Guam to the United States was shown by the fact that it was a central base for the United States Pacific Command, which operated from the Arctic to the Antarctic with some 600,000 men and immense quantities of equipment. Another example of the misuse by the administering Power of the Territory of Guam was evident from a report in *The New York Times* that

four young Guamanians had been killed while serving with United States forces in South Viet-Nam.

69. The representative of the United States, interrupting on a point of order, said he felt that the Soviet Union representative was straying far from the matter at hand. United States military activities in the Pacific and South-East Asia had nothing to do with the Sub-Committee's report on Guam and American Samoa.

70. The Chairman said that, in his view, the Soviet Union representative had been endeavouring to show how a colonial Territory was being used for military purposes and was therefore quite in order.

71. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, continuing his statement, said that in using the Territories of Guam and Eastern Samoa for its military and strategic purposes, the United States showed that it had no thought of granting them independence. It was concerned not with the interests of the people of the Territories but with setting up a beach-head to stifle national liberation movements in the Territories and was assigning a role to the islands which fell in with its own view of United States responsibilities in the Pacific. In doing so it was violating not only General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), but resolution 2105 (XX) which had asked the colonial Powers to dismantle their military bases and to refrain from establishing new ones.

72. In the light of those considerations, his delegation was of the view that the Committee should make additional and more forceful recommendations to the General Assembly concerning the Territories. It should affirm the right of the peoples of the Territories to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and request the administering Power to create fully competent legislative bodies in the Territories reflecting the interests of the peoples, to return all the land used for military purposes and to eliminate its military bases. The Committee should also condemn the use of Guam as a military base, its use for aggression against Viet-Nam and all plans for merging the Territories with the metropolitan country, and it should call on the administering Power to uphold the right of the people to utilize their own natural resources, abolishing all laws granting privileges to foreign companies.

73. As they stood, the Sub-Committee's conclusions and recommendations were unsatisfactory. His delegation was particularly surprised that the recommendation in paragraph 40 (c) of the report of the Sub-Committee indicated that the assistance of the United Nations and its specialized agencies could be utilized most effectively to help expedite the economic growth of the Territories. Such a recommendation would make a mockery of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), particularly when the United States was trying its best to stifle national liberation movements in the Territories. His delegation therefore would not be able to support that recommendation; it would abstain from voting on the other recommendations on Guam and American Samoa, since it felt they did not take account of the existing situation.

74. The representative of the United States said that he categorically rejected the additional recommendations proposed by the Soviet Union representative, as they bore no relationship to the existing situation in the Territories. The Soviet Union representative had made much of information gathered from the Press and other sources, but he had not shown that the infor-

mation reflected authoritatively the situation in the area, much less the plans and policies of the United States Government. He would flatly deny the charge that the United States military base in Guam was being used for purposes inconsistent with the United Nations Charter. The base had been used for decades in the defence of freedom in the area. He could not accept the assertion that the United States had done nothing to promote self-determination for the people of Guam. In the past year, Guam had held elections with full adult suffrage in which several political parties had been represented covering a wide range of views and the Guamanian people had elected a legislative body which reflected their own desires concerning their future. He did not consider that Soviet experience and policies with regard to the self-determination of countries and nations placed the Soviet delegation in any position to furnish advice to the United States Government on this subject. Nor could he agree with the claim that the United States was attempting to maintain economic supremacy in Guam through its military base. He had described in detail in the Sub-Committee the efforts being made to diversify the economy of the Territory including the establishment of an Economic Development Authority and steps to improve agriculture. An equally false assertion of the Soviet delegate was that the industrial development of Guam was being held back to preserve Guam as a market for United States goods; on the contrary, a number of small industries had recently been created on Guam which were exporting goods to the United States and Guam benefitted from advantageous import tariffs. Moreover, a substantial sum had been appropriated for designs to develop Guam's commercial port facilities.

75. American Samoa had also recently elected a legislative body through full adult suffrage. In 1964, Samoa had had an opportunity to make suggestions concerning constitutional change; among the proposals now being implemented was one providing for a larger measure of authority for the Samoan legislature. It was not true to say, as the Soviet delegate had, that Samoa was being monopolized by foreign interests; measures had been taken by the United States Government to ensure that the development of Samoa benefitted the people of the Territory directly. The American Samoan Development Corporation, for example, had only Samoan shareholders; Samoan ownership in all enterprises was preferred, and if not possible, Samoan partnership was sought. Where outside capital was involved, Samoan interests were fully protected by special agreements.

76. The representative of Bulgaria said that, despite the statement of the United States representative, the members of the Special Committee were well aware that what the Soviet Union representative had said was true. The Soviet Union representative had referred to articles in *The New York Times*, which must be assumed to reflect the actual situation in the United States Territories concerned. The United States was adopting partial measures which gave the appearance of progress while in fact it retained effective control over the Territories. Guam had been transformed into a military base for aggression in South-East Asia and especially Viet-Nam. It was the Committee's responsibility to recommend measures to promote the decolonization process, and that was particularly the case with small Territories, which were often used by administering Powers for military purposes. He supported the Soviet

Union proposals to strengthen the conclusions and recommendations of the Committee and to bring them into line with the true situation in the Territories concerned.

77. The representative of the United States said that it should be clear from what he had stated earlier regarding recent elections and constitutional changes in Guam and American Samoa that the United States was not seeking to retain control over the affairs of the Territories. In addition, he had referred in the discussions of Sub-Committee II to a proposal pending in the United States Congress for the introduction of a system under which the people of Guam would elect their own chief executive. That proposal had the support of the Federal Government, further evidence that it is not trying to retain control of the political life of the Territories.

78. The representative of Poland said that his delegation had drawn attention in Sub-Committee II to the fact that the administering Power was using Guam for purposes incompatible with the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). If the conclusions and recommendations of the Sub-Committee were endorsed as they stood, his delegation would have to reserve its position on the matter.

79. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that his delegation was prepared to approve the report and endorse the conclusions and recommendations of the Sub-Committee, but with strong reservations on paragraph 39 (c). The administering Power for the Territory of Guam was deeply involved in military activities in the area, which were not conducive to the welfare of the people and which, in fact, jeopardized their interests. The second sentence of the sub-paragraph, by stating merely that the dependence of Guam on the military activities of the administering Power should be reduced, appeared to condone those activities and was therefore unacceptable to his delegation.

80. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that his delegation reserved its position on the concluding section of the document. If, however, a separate vote were taken on paragraph 40, his delegation would vote in favour of it.

D. Action taken by the Special Committee on the Report of Sub-Committee II

81. At its 563rd meeting on 22 September 1967, the Special Committee adopted the conclusions and recommendations of Sub-Committee II concerning Guam and American Samoa, it being understood that the reservations expressed by some members would be reflected in the record. These conclusion and recommendations are as follows:

Conclusions

(a) The Special Committee recognizes that some of the positive steps it noted in its last report have been consolidated: however, it is of the opinion that progress towards full self-government and self-determination and independence continues to be slow.

(b) Although some changes have taken place, the administering Power still retains considerable powers of control in executive and legislative spheres, thus restricting the exercise of self-government by the people of the Territories. The political institutions and executive machinery are not fully representative of the people.

(c) The Special Committee notes the announcement by the administering Power of the establishment of development bodies in the Territories. It still feels that the development envisaged by these bodies should further be intensified by the administering Power to interest the local people, and that the primary dependence of the economy of Guam on the military activities of the administering Power should be reduced by greatly diversifying the economy of that Territory.

(d) The Special Committee notes that the bill providing for direct election of the Governor of Guam has not yet been adopted by the Congress of the United States. It also notes that the proposals for a new draft constitution for American Samoa took effect on 1 July 1967. Notwithstanding these developments, the Special Committee notes that there is still no time-table of effective measures for a speedy implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).

Recommendations

(e) The Special Committee reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of American Samoa and Guam to self-government and independence in conformity with the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

(f) The administering Power should accelerate the further political development of the Territories by expanding the functions and powers of legislature and by vesting greater executive authority in the hands of the indigenous population.

(g) The Special Committee urges the administering Power to expedite further the economic growth of the Territories by fully developing their agricultural and industrial and other potential and, particularly in the case of Guam, to implement as speedily as possible its plans for the diversification of the economy. In this regard, the assistance of the United Nations and its specialized agencies could be utilized most effectively.

(h) The administering Power is requested to intensify the educational and training facilities for the people of the Territories so as to enable them to occupy more responsible positions.

(i) A visit to the Territories by the Special Committee is necessary and would be most useful, for, in addition to familiarizing the Member States with the needs and aspirations of the people, it would also increase the people's awareness of their rights which have been guaranteed to them by the United Nations.

ANNEX*

Report of Sub-Committee II Guam and American Samoa

Consideration by the Sub-Committee

1. The Sub-Committee considered Guam and American Samoa at its 60th, 61st, 62nd and 64th meetings held on 5, 14, 21 April and 7 August 1967.

2. The Sub-Committee had before it the working papers prepared by the Secretariat (see paras. 1-62 of the present chapter).

3. The representative of the United States said that members would recall that the Samoan Constitution of 1960 had provided for its automatic review after a period of five years. In 1964, pursuant to a joint resolution of the Samoan Legislature, the Governor had appointed a Committee to carry out the task of review. The amendments proposed by that Committee appeared, *inter alia*, in the working paper prepared by the

Secretariat (see para. 40 of the present chapter); the proposals included the right of the Samoan Legislature to review the portion of the budget to be financed by the United States Government and to appropriate local revenue, and further limitations on the prerogatives of the Governor, who would no longer have the power to promulgate legislation which he had designated "urgent" but which the Samoan Legislature had not approved during the legislative session in which the Governor had introduced the proposed legislation. The Committee's recommendations had been approved by the Samoan electorate in November 1966 and were now being considered by the Secretary of the Interior.

4. With regard to social and economic matters, the Territory had almost completely repaired the damage caused by the January 1966 hurricane. The basic structure of more than 600 new, permanent homes had been completed, and part of the housing fund appropriated in 1966 was being used as a revolving loan fund for home loans. A new hospital would be opened by the end of 1967, several months ahead of schedule.

5. Samoa had pioneered in the use of educational television to provide quality education for all. Since October 1965, courses had been regularly televised on six channels and could be received in the neighbouring islands.

6. The fishing industry, one of the major employers, had increased its production sixfold since 1962. Tourism, an important source of revenue, promised to continue to develop, thanks to the construction of hotels and the expansion of airline services.

7. As far as Guam was concerned, he said that the United States Congress was currently holding hearings on a bill relating to a future office of elective Governor of the Territory. Under the terms of the bill, the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor would be elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage, i.e., by the persons qualified to vote for members of the Legislature. The Governor would be responsible for the administration of the laws of Guam and of United States laws applicable to the Territory. A comptroller appointed by the Secretary of the Interior would seek to improve the efficiency of programmes prepared by the Guamanian Government and to ensure the proper use of federal funds. The bill also reaffirmed the bill of rights contained in the territorial legislation and the Organic Act.

8. Out of a civilian population of 50,000, 20,000 persons had been eligible to vote in the general elections held in November 1966, and 17,124 (i.e., 91 per cent) had actually cast ballots. The Democratic Party had won all 21 seats in the unicameral Legislature, but the Territorial Party remained active, and a branch of the Republican Party had recently been organized. The population was informed about and encouraged to participate in the political life of the island by two independent daily newspapers and a radio-television station.

9. With a view to diversifying the Guamanian economy, an economic development plan had been drawn up in 1966. To promote agricultural production, the Economic Development Authority, which his delegation had described at some length last year, had recently concluded a contract under which an agricultural co-operative regularly sold its produce to the Government. Efforts were also being made to set up new meat and poultry processing plants.

10. During the financial year 1966, the Guamanian Commercial Port had handled nearly 193,000 revenue tons of goods, an increase of 38 per cent over 1963. A new port was under construction and nearly \$US5 million had been appropriated for that purpose.

11. Ten new schools had been built; school enrolment had increased by 1,000 students per year for the past 4 years and would probably grow by 1,500 students per year over the next 4 years. Guam had a vocational rehabilitation school and a school for mentally retarded persons. The College of Guam offered higher education courses in 8 major academic disciplines. There were at present 1,200 full-time students enrolled, and their number was expected to grow to 4,400 within the next 5 years.

12. The representative of Poland said that Guam was becoming a tragic symbol of the misuse of a Non-Self-Gov-

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.395/Add.3.

erning Territory. The almost daily references to it in press dispatches were not due to any progress in the economic and political spheres but to its use as a military base by the administering Power, a use which under the terms of General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI) was incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter and with resolution 1514 (XV). According to *The New York Times* of 20 and 21 March 1967, the Territory, in which 6 Polaris-missile submarines and 50 B-52 bombers of the United States armed forces were based, looked to Washington for economic help, but it had not been until the President of the United States had visited the island that disaster relief amounting to \$US750,000 had been granted to it. Yet Article 73 of the United Nations Charter laid down that the interests of the inhabitants of a Non-Self-Governing Territory were paramount, and it listed among the tasks of administering Powers that of furthering international peace and security. In Guam, however, the economy was subordinated to the Territory's military usefulness.

13. There had been hardly any advance in the political sphere. In 1964 it had been promised that the Governor would cease to be appointed and would be elected instead. That had not yet happened. The Polish delegation expressed the hope that that step would be taken without delay, and it would like to know when and how the people of Guam would be enabled to pronounce on their future and thus exercise their right to self-determination.

14. The representative of Sierra Leone said that his delegation had noted the facts given by the United States representative to show the economic progress of the Territories under consideration. It observed, however, that agricultural activity had declined in Guam. Recalling that in resolution 2189 (XXI) the General Assembly had invited the Special Committee to recommend a deadline for the independence of Territories, to pay particular attention to the small Territories and to see to their exercise of the right to self-determination and independence, he observed that if the economic progress of the Territories was as speedy as the administering Power said, there was good reason for asking the United States whether it had considered setting a date for independence.

15. Furthermore, some proof ought to be furnished to the Sub-Committee that the people of Guam and Samoa knew the various possibilities among which they would have to choose in exercising their right to self-determination, for according to the administering Power it would seem that full independence could not easily be achieved.

16. Referring to the Polish representative's comments on the use of Guam for military purposes, the Sierra Leonean delegation took the view that the continued presence of the bases merely provided reasons for delaying the Territory's independence. Although the people of Guam should be able to subsist economically without having to rely on the bases, not enough concern had been shown for them. At all events the administering Power should be asked to consider the possibility of removing the military base from Guam.

17. As to Samoa, the proposals accepted by the people of the islands in 1966 and still pending before the United States Congress seemed a step in the right direction. However, from the statements made by the United States representative, it would seem that progress was still slow. He asked whether there was any possibility of speeding it up. Whatever interpretation might be placed on the fact that there had not been any petitioners from Samoa before the Special Committee, if it appeared that the Samoans were satisfied with the progress of their Territory, then they should be immediately given an opportunity to opt for independence.

18. The representative of Chile said that the information on Guam given in the Secretariat working paper and in the United States representative's statements revealed positive elements for the Territory's development. It was most regrettable, however, that Guam's economy was largely supported by the salaries and wages paid by the military authorities of the base and that the attraction of work in the public sector was impeding agricultural development. The formation of the agricultural co-operative about which the United States delegation had spoken was nevertheless an encouraging sign. Guam's economy should

come to depend less and less on the military base so that the people might soon be able to exercise their right to self-determination without facing any obstacle to normal political development. His delegation welcomed the fact that the present Governor of Guam would be the last to be appointed by the President of the United States.

19. He asked the United States representative why he had cited the figure of 50,000 for the population of Guam whereas the Secretariat document said that the population, excluding military personnel, was 45,192.

20. Regarding Samoa, it was regrettable that the Chief Executive of the Territory was still entirely subordinate to the United States Secretary of the Interior. The legislature, on the other hand, was operating smoothly enough to enable a large amount of legislation to be adopted without constantly incurring the Governor's veto. In that connexion, he asked how many indigenous persons were members of the House of Representatives and the Senate and whether they had a say in the appointment of the islands' administrative personnel; that information would help in assessing any correlation that might exist between the two major branches in administrative matters. It would also be helpful to know approximately how many high posts were held by indigenous persons in the administration, which, according to the Secretariat document, had a total of 2,696 local officers. In so far as local government was concerned, the participation of indigenous persons was satisfactory.

21. To judge from the information given to the Sub-Committee, genuine economic progress was being made. It was essential that economic development should benefit the Samoans. To be able to assess the distribution of wealth in the Territory, it would be necessary to know the approximate number of Samoans within the total population. Referring to the marked expansion of the tourist industry, he asked whether the shareholders—who had to be Samoans—in the American Samoan Development Corporation, which owned the Hotel Pago Pago Intercontinental, were indigenous persons or United States citizens who had settled in the Territory. In many small Territories in the Pacific and the Caribbean, large hotel firms were relegating the indigenous inhabitants to auxiliary or inferior positions, and in many cases were being used for the amusement of tourists.

22. That situation, however conducive to the development of the Territories, was undermining the social, intellectual and political progress of the people.

23. Although educational progress in Samoa was considerable at the primary and secondary levels, it was less so at the higher level. His delegation, in view of the risk that students who went to a university in the United States might never return home, hoped that the administering Power would consider establishing a regional university, without however giving up the present scholarship programme. Graduates of such an institution could obtain more advanced training in the United States or elsewhere and thus acquire the skills they would need to replace the officials of the administering Power. In addition, Samoan traditions could thus be more fully respected without checking the economic and social development of the Territory or the progress of its people.

24. Turning to the question of visiting missions, he expressed his support for sending of missions to Guam and American Samoa so that the progress being made might be assessed at first-hand and some idea might be obtained on how the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly were being applied.

25. The representative of India recalled that in 1966 the Special Committee had recommended the administering Power to speed political advancement in the Territories by expanding the functions and powers of the legislatures and vesting executive power in the indigenous population. That recommendation apparently had not been followed, and the Territories were still far from self-government. The proposals of the Constitutional Review Committee had been accepted by the Samoans, and it was hoped that they would be approved without delay by the United States Government. It would be helpful to the Sub-Committee to have more information on the proposals, particularly those concerned with increasing the powers of the

Samoan Legislature. Furthermore, under those proposals, the Governor still had too much power over legislative bills. As he still represented the administering Power, and not the people, arrangements should be made for his election by the people, as was proposed in the case of Guam.

26. The Special Committee had also recommended in 1966 that the administering Power should provide the people of the Territory with increased facilities for education and training. While the declared policy of the administering Power was to give Samoans priority in employment, the fact remained that it had taken no steps to establish in Samoa itself institutions at which Samoans could obtain the training required for employment as skilled workers.

27. Her delegation regretted that, despite the promise given by the United States representative in 1964, the bill providing for an elected Governor in Guam had not yet been passed. The question was particularly important to the Guamanians because the Governor held a veto power over bills passed by the Territorial Legislature. The powers of that Legislature were further limited by the fact that even a law approved by the Governor could be annulled by the United States Congress within one year.

28. Although the administering Power had endeavoured to develop the economy of American Samoa, it was a matter of concern that it had not fully succeeded in interesting the local population in commercial tuna fishing. In the working paper it was stated that United States appropriations and grants in the financial year 1965 had amounted to only \$5.3 million as against \$12 million in 1964. She wondered what the reason was for that reduction, which, in her view, could not be explained by an increase in income in 1965, and what its consequences were for the people.

29. The Sub-Committee had already observed that the economy of Guam depended primarily on the wages of the Guamanians employed at the United States military base in the Territory and had recommended that the Administering Power should implement as speedily as possible its plans for diversifying the economy. It appeared necessary to repeat that recommendation and request the administering Power to intensify its efforts in that direction.

30. In conclusion, her delegation urged the administering Power to take appropriate measures to implement General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI) and the relevant resolutions of the Special Committee.

31. The representative of the United States said that he would obtain information from his Government concerning certain points that had been raised and would transmit it to the Sub-Committee. He categorically rejected the allegations concerning the purposes for which the military base at Guam was being used. That base had existed for several decades and had a long and distinguished record in the defence of freedom. It was used in compliance with the principals embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. The base did not in any way hinder the political, economic and social development of the Territory. As everyone knew, the indigenous population enjoyed universal suffrage. Out of 50,000 Guamanians, 22,000 had the right to vote, 18,000 were registered, and 17,000 had voted at the last elections. The people had been informed of all the choices open to them concerning their political future. A bill which would allow the Guamanians to elect their own governor had been introduced in Congress. The United States Congress had been holding hearings on that bill. With regard to financial assistance to the economy of Guam, the latest available information indicated that the total amount of grants authorized under the Rehabilitation Act by the Congress of the United States was \$45 million, of which \$30 million had already been appropriated for school construction, the establishment of public utilities and similar purposes. Those figures demonstrated the magnitude of United States economic assistance to Guam. In addition, the diversification of the Guamanian economy would be speeded by the recently established Economic Development Authority.

32. The representative of Poland pointed out that the figure he had quoted from *The New York Times* referred to only one grant and not to the total amount of grants to Guam. Furthermore, he believed that regardless of the purposes of

the Guam military base, its very existence was contrary to the spirit of the Charter. Lastly, in his view, the election of the Governor represented only a minor advance, since all the laws passed by the Guamanian Legislature on local questions could be annulled by the Congress of the United States, as indicated in paragraph 7 of the working paper.

33. The representative of the United States, replying to various questions on American Samoa asked at previous meetings, said that in the 1960 census, the total population had been 20,051, of whom 17,732 had been born in American Samoa. The other inhabitants came primarily from Western Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands and Niue, and had been attracted to American Samoa because of its buoyant economy and its high wages. It was governmental policy to give Samoans primary rights to all jobs; outside recruitment was undertaken only when the workers needed could not be found locally. On 30 June 1965, the Samoan Government had 2,890 employees, of whom 182 were foreign contract employees in positions for which no qualified local staff could be found. Eighty Samoans worked part-time as district governors, judges, country chiefs, district clerks and mayors.

34. The Senate of American Samoa had 15 members: one member from each of the counties, plus one member representing the four counties in the western district in rotation. By Samoan custom, the 14 senators from the counties must be *matais*, i.e., hereditary chieftains. The 17 members of the House of Representatives were elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage. During the eighth regular session, all senators and representatives had been native Samoans. Representatives must have lived in Samoa for at least five years.

35. The Governor of Samoa appointed most government officials. Before appointing a district governor, county chief or city administrator, he had to request recommendations from the appropriate district councils and officials, in other words, he must obtain the approval of the Samoans themselves.

36. In the economic sphere, the American Samoan Development Corporation had been organized both to speed up the development of Samoa and to make it possible for the people to invest. While the Government had helped the Corporation financially, all shareholders must be Samoans. Samoan ownership in all enterprises was preferred and if that was not possible then Samoan partnership was sought. Where outside capital was involved, Samoan interests were fully protected by agreements covering wages and hours and guaranteeing maximum promotional opportunities for local residents.

37. Therefore, any fear that Samoans held only menial jobs while outsiders held all the lucrative positions was absolutely groundless. For example, the new hotel, previously referred to during the discussion, was owned by Samoans.

38. With reference to the statement of the representative of India, who had expressed concern at the fluctuations in appropriations for the Territory, he pointed out that American Samoa had a population of only 26,000 and that its regular budget was therefore relatively small. The figures given in the working paper covered both the regular administrative budget and the capital development budget. A capital improvement of relatively moderate size might therefore create a false impression. In that connexion, he noted that it had been during the 1964 fiscal year that educational television had been established in the Territory, and land for school sites had been purchased. Those programmes alone had cost over \$3.5 million. In addition, a new international terminal building had been dedicated at Pago Pago before the end of that fiscal year.

Conclusions of the Sub-Committee

39. (a) The Sub-Committee recognizes that some of the positive steps it noted in its last report have been consolidated; however, it is of the opinion that progress towards full self-government and self-determination and independence continues to be slow.

(b) Although some changes have taken place, the administering Power still retains considerable powers of control in executive and legislative spheres, thus restricting the exercise of self-government by the people of the Territories. The poli-

tical institutions and executive machinery are not fully representative of the people.

(c) The Sub-Committee notes the announcement by the administering Power of the establishment of development bodies in the Territories. It still feels that the development envisaged by these bodies should further be intensified by the administering Power to interest the local people, and that the primary dependence of the economy of Guam on the military activities of the administering Power should be reduced by greatly diversifying the economy of that Territory.

(d) The Sub-Committee notes that the bill providing for direct election of the Governor of Guam has not yet been adopted by the Congress of the United States. It also notes that the proposals for a new draft constitution for American Samoa took effect on 1 July 1967. Notwithstanding these developments, the Sub-Committee notes that there is still no timetable of effective measures for a speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

Recommendations of the Sub-Committee

40. (a) The Sub-Committee reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of American Samoa and Guam to self-govern-

ment and independence in conformity with the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

(b) The administering Power should accelerate the further political development of the Territories by expanding the functions and powers of legislature and by vesting greater executive authority in the hands of the indigenous population.

(c) The Sub-Committee urges the administering Power to expedite further the economic growth of the Territories by fully developing their agricultural and industrial and other potential and, particularly in the case of Guam, to implement as speedily as possible its plans for the diversification of the economy. In this regard, the assistance of the United Nations and its specialized agencies could be utilized most effectively.

(d) The administering Power is requested to intensify the educational and training facilities for the people of the Territories so as to enable them to occupy more responsible positions.

(e) A visit to the Territories by the Special Committee is necessary and would be most useful, for, in addition to familiarizing the Member States with the needs and aspirations of the people, it would also increase the peoples' awareness of their rights which have been guaranteed to them by the United Nations.

CHAPTER XIX*

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

A. Action taken by the Special Committee in 1966

1. After considering the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in September 1966, the Special Committee reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. It recommended that the administering Authority should accelerate the further political development of the Territory by expanding the functions and powers of legislature and by vesting executive authority in the hands of the indigenous population. It urged the administering Authority to expedite further the economic growth of the Territory by fully developing its agricultural and industrial potential; in this regard it considered that the assistance of the United Nations and its specialized agencies could be utilized most effectively. It requested the administering Authority to increase the educational and training facilities for the people of the Territory. Finally, it considered that a visit to the Territory by the Special Committee was necessary and would be most useful, for, in addition to familiarizing the Member States with the needs and aspirations of the people, it would also increase the people's awareness of their rights which had been guaranteed to them by the United Nations.

B. Information on the Territory¹

Introduction

2. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands consists of about 2,100 islands situated in the Western

Pacific Ocean north of the Equator. These have a total land area of 687 square miles (1,779 square kilometres) and are scattered over some 3 million square miles of ocean (7,770,000 square kilometres) from east to west and 1,300 miles (2,080 kilometres) from north to south. They are classified broadly as "high" volcanic islands or "low" coral islands, and range in size from high islands to very small coral islets. Many of the small sand and coral islets are too small and lacking in resources to support human life. Ninety-six island groups are inhabited. In 1966, the population totalled 92,373 compared with 90,596 in 1965. With the exception of over 1,100 Polynesians, the indigenous people are broadly classed as Micronesians.

Constitutional development

3. The Congress of Micronesia, a bicameral legislature, held its first session in July 1965 during which it adopted a joint resolution designating its two chambers as the Senate and the House of Representatives. The former consists of 12 senators, 2 elected at large from each of the 6 districts of the Territory. The latter consists of 21 representatives who are elected from single-member election districts of approximately equal population. Members are chosen in biennial elections by secret ballot of residents of the Territory who are citizens of the Territory and eighteen years of age or over. The second general election to the Congress of Micronesia, on the basis of universal adult suffrage, was held in November 1966.

4. The legislative powers of the Congress of Micronesia provide, *inter alia*, that no legislation may be inconsistent with the following: (a) treaties or international agreements of the United States; (b) laws of the United States of America applicable to the Trust Ter-

* Parts A and B of this chapter were previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.416.

¹ The information presented here has been derived from published reports and from the information before the Trusteeship Council at its thirty-fourth session, in particular the report of the Administering Authority for the period 1 July 1965 to 30 June 1966 transmitted under Article 88 of the Charter. United States of America, *19th Annual Report to the United*

Nations on the Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, July 1, 1965 to June 30, 1966, Department of State Publication 8205 (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967). Transmitted to the members of the Trusteeship Council by a note of the Secretary-General (T/1661).

ritory; (c) executive orders of the President of the United States and orders of the Secretary of the Interior; or (d) sections 1 through 12 (Bill of Rights) of the Code of the Trust Territory, which constitute the basic laws and regulations governing all residents of the Territory. The Congress has powers to levy taxes and to participate in the preparation of the annual budget of the Trust Territory. Bills passed by the Congress may be vetoed by the High Commissioner; however, legislation twice vetoed by the High Commissioner must be referred to the Secretary of the Interior for further action.

5. Money bills enacted by the Congress of Micronesia shall not provide for the appropriation of funds in excess of such amounts as are available from revenues raised pursuant to the tax laws and other revenue laws of the Trust Territory. The Congress has no power to appropriate funds in excess of internal revenue, but it has the authority to review the preliminary budget plan of the High Commissioner before his final submission of the budget to the Secretary of the Interior for federal funds. With respect to such portions of the preliminary budget plan, the High Commissioner shall adopt such recommendations of the Congress as he may deem appropriate, but he shall transmit to the Secretary of the Interior all recommendations he has not adopted.

6. At its thirty-fourth session, the Trusteeship Council was informed that as a transitional measure one or two representatives of the Congress of Micronesia would be asked to participate in budget presentations to the United States Congress. It noted, however, that over 95 per cent of the Trust Territory's central budget was provided by grants appropriated by the Congress of the United States. The Congress of Micronesia could not therefore exercise effective control over the larger part of government activities and this had created a certain feeling of frustration among Micronesian political leaders and legislators. The Trusteeship Council reiterated its expression of hope that steps would soon be taken to enlarge the financial responsibility of the Congress of Micronesia by progressively extending its powers to include appropriations of United States subsidies.

Public service

7. On 30 June 1966, Micronesian employees in senior, professional and executive positions numbered 151, an increase of 23 over the previous year. During the same period, Micronesians in professional, administrative and protective posts increased from 1,980 to 2,191. Non-indigenous employees over the same period increased from 318 to 327.

8. In its report for the year 1965, the Administering Authority stated that three senior administrative positions were filled by Micronesians, and one Micronesian Assistant District Administrator had been awarded a Parvin Graduate Scholarship in Public Administration for advanced academic graduate and internship training at Princeton University. In September 1965, a Micronesian was appointed District Administrator of the Marshall Islands District, the first Micronesian to receive such an appointment.

9. In March 1966, pursuant to the joint resolution of the Congress of Micronesia, requesting the High Commissioner to develop proposals for civil service regulations for Micronesian employees of the Trust Territory Government, a task force was established to develop proposals for a Civil Service Act. At present, Micro-

nesians are employed in accordance with the policy and procedure established by the High Commissioner.

10. At its thirty-fourth session, the Trusteeship Council was informed of the following steps taken to bring Micronesian employees into the planning and decision-making process as well as to acquaint them with major problems and issues confronting the Administration: (a) a programme to rotate Micronesian district administrators to broaden their political and administrative experiences; (b) a plan to assign one Micronesian assistant district administrator as the administrative assistant to the High Commissioner; and (c) a policy to have representative Micronesian staff members participate in cabinet meetings.

Economic conditions

11. The economy of the Territory is based primarily on subsistence agriculture and fishing. Cash income is provided mainly through the production of copra, harvesting of trochus shell, government employment, employment by private businesses and the sale of handicrafts, fish and vegetable produce. In 1965-1966 the value of copra exports amounted to \$2,512,383, as compared with \$2,525,117 the previous year.

12. At its thirty-fourth session, the Trusteeship Council was informed that critical evaluation of the entire agricultural programme had been undertaken by the Administration with the purpose of determining ways and means for increasing production of both domestic and export crops and the subsequent increase in return to the producers, that consideration was being given to redirecting the emphasis of agricultural stations away from experimentation and in the direction of demonstration farming, and that the first Territory-wide contract had been awarded to a Micronesian firm (the United Micronesian Development Association) to purchase and market copra in the Territory.

13. The Territory possesses very limited mineral resources. Although there was some small-scale mining done before 1955, there has not been any since then. A small quantity of timber is processed on the high islands for local needs, but it is doubtful whether the forests of the Territory will ever be capable of providing a sufficient yield for export. No large-scale industries exist. Small processing and service industries are now being developed and are reported to be increasing in number.

14. At its thirty-fourth session, the Trusteeship Council was informed that the economic consulting firm which, in 1965, had undertaken a two-year economic development programme for the Trust Territory submitted its plan at the beginning of 1967. The plan, which follows a preliminary report submitted in 1966 identifying the areas the firm considered most promising, is based on the two-year study of various factors, conditions and policies affecting economic development prospects. The Administering Authority stated that with the exception of the proposals for land ownership by non-citizens and the large-scale importation of foreign labour, it accepted the validity of the other major recommendations of the report. Recommendations of that report were being evaluated to identify opportunities for action and to set priorities. However, the questions of power, water and sanitation had been given top priority, and surveys to provide reliable data and to identify the scope and cost of services had been conducted in various districts.

15. The principal private companies active in the Trust Territory are 34 import and export companies. All are owned by Micronesians except 2, which are owned by foreign residents. Until 1962, there was no permanent foreign investment in the Territory owing to the Administering Authority's policy of encouraging Micronesian investment and enterprise. That policy was changed in 1962 with the signing of an Executive Order directing that regulations be revised to facilitate outside private investment in order to stimulate new economic activity. The major non-indigenous private investment in the Territory is the development of commercial fishing in the Palau District by a United States sea food company. Other non-indigenous private investments in the Territory include two economic development projects in the Mariana Islands District, a hotel corporation and two insurance companies.

16. The Territory possesses substantial fishery resources, although these have not been exploited commercially to an appreciable extent. The first major development of fisheries resources came in Palau District in 1964 with the construction of plant facilities required to start fishing operations by a United States sea food company. Plans are under way to expand commercial fisheries operations as two other sea food companies have received permission to conduct six-month engineering and feasibility surveys in connexion with building a freezing plant and cold-storage warehouse and other necessary shore facilities on proposed sites in Truk. In anticipation of opening fisheries operations in this district, a number of trainees from Truk and Ponape are working on tuna vessels in Palau. The Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Fish and Wildlife Service, United States Department of the Interior, set up a fishery sampling station in Palau with the initial work being directed towards collection of statistics and biological samples in the tuna fisheries.

17. The Trust Territory depends largely on United States grants to balance its budget. In 1962, legislation was enacted by the United States Congress to raise the statutory limitation on appropriations for the Trust Territory from \$7.5 million to \$17.5 million. For the fiscal years 1963 through 1966 a total of \$64,844,000 was appropriated by the United States Congress for administration of the Trust Territory, and since 1964 its deficits have amounted to over \$20 million annually. During the year ending 30 June 1966, total expenditures increased by \$247,902 to \$23,755,638, of which only \$1,090,104 was financed from local revenue. In 1966 the United States Congress did not authorize the Administration's proposal for an appropriation of \$172 million for a five-year capital development plan, in addition to the expanded operating budget of \$152 million for the five-year period. The eighty-ninth Congress of the United States took the view that the proposal was too ambitious and that a scaled-down two-year programme would be more realistic. A new bill raising the ceiling to \$25 million for 1967 and to \$35 million for 1968 and 1969 was passed by Congress and signed by the President on 10 May 1967.

Report of the Trusteeship Council in 1967

18. The Trusteeship Council at its thirty-fourth session in June 1967 completed its examination of the annual report of the Administering Authority for the period 1 July 1965 to 30 June 1966.²

² See foot-note 1.

19. In a letter dated 30 June 1967 (A/AC.109/255), the President of the Trusteeship Council informed the Chairman of the Special Committee that the Council had adopted a report on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for submission to the Security Council.³ The report contains, in addition to the Trusteeship Council's conclusions and recommendations and the observations of its individual members, detailed information on political, economic, social and educational conditions.

C. Consideration by the Special Committee

20. At its 562nd and 564th meetings, on 22 and 27 September 1967, the Special Committee considered the report of Sub-Committee II on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands which appears as an annex to this chapter.

21. The representative of the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia expressed reservations on the conclusions and recommendations of the Sub-Committee on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

22. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics recalled that his delegation had stated its position with regard to the Trust Territory during the thirty-fourth session of the Trusteeship Council. It had criticized the activities of the Administering Authority in detail and had indicated ways in which General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) should be implemented. It had also criticized the Administering Authority's conduct in relation to various situations prevailing in the Territory.

23. The use of the word "considerable" in paragraph 12 of the Sub-Committee's report was ill-advised in that it could be taken to imply that certain powers had been transferred to the Micronesian Legislature. His delegation had shown during the Trusteeship Council debate that all power remained in the hands of the Administering Authority. The report would portray the situation with greater accuracy if the words "considerable powers" were replaced by "all powers".

24. The Trusteeship Council debate had further shown that not a single indigenous inhabitant of the Territory was allowed by the Administering Authority to occupy a higher administrative post and the statement in paragraph 13 of the report that progress in allowing indigenous people to take such posts was still very slow was therefore quite inaccurate. There had been no progress whatsoever in that direction and that should be stated in the report. Furthermore, the Administering Authority should be called upon to take immediate steps to transfer all power to the people of the Territory.

25. It was evident that the economic dependence of the Territory on the Administering Authority was complete and paragraph 14 should state that while the Sub-Committee was aware of the plans to strengthen the islands' economy, those plans were not sufficient to lessen the economic dependence of the Territory on the Administering Authority. His delegation would therefore reserve its position on that paragraph.

26. Among its conclusions, the Special Committee should note with regret that General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2189 (XXI) had not been implemented and that nothing had been done to dismantle military bases in the Territory. In addition, the Com-

³ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Special Supplement No. 1.

mittee should call on the Administering Authority to take immediate steps to implement those resolutions.

27. The representative of the United States said that the proposals of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were based on allegations identical with those made by the Soviet delegation in the Trusteeship Council. Those allegations had been answered by his delegation, by representatives of the Micronesian Legislature and by members of the Trusteeship Council who had had the opportunity, which the Soviet representative had not had, to visit the Territory. He objected to the Soviet amendment to paragraph 12, which would detract from the accuracy and value of the report.

28. The Special Committee then adopted the Soviet amendment to paragraph 12 by 8 votes to 6, with 9 abstentions.

29. The representative of Australia, speaking in explanation of vote, said that he had voted against the Soviet amendment because it was a manifest contradiction of the facts. He himself had been a member of a visiting mission to the Territory and had had extensive interviews with members of representative bodies at various levels. In some cases the latter had very considerable powers and the Special Committee had placed itself in a curious position by stating that the Administering Authority continued to retain all powers.

30. The representative of the United States said that the Soviet amendment to paragraph 12 bore no relation to the facts, since the Territory's Legislature did have certain powers. The Soviet amendment to paragraph 13 was likewise misleading and his delegation objected to the USSR representative's attempts to change a report which was the result of much careful deliberation.

31. At the 564th meeting, the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics proposed the following amendments:

(a) *Replace the text of paragraph 13 by the following:*

"13. The Sub-Committee notes that from the time when the last report was submitted to it no progress has been achieved in the Territory in allowing the indigenous people to take higher administrative roles."

(b) *After paragraph 14, add a new paragraph 15, as follows:*

"15. The Sub-Committee notes that the Administering Authority has not given effect to the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2189 (XXI) which request the colonial Powers to dismantle their military bases and installations in colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new bases in those Territories."

(c) *After paragraph 19, add the following new paragraph:*

"The Sub-Committee calls on the Administering Authority to take immediate steps for implementing the provisions of resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2189 (XXI) which request the colonial Powers to dismantle their bases and installations in colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones there."

32. At the same meeting, the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that, although

his amendments faithfully reflected the situation in the Trust Territory, it would be sufficient, if they were included in the records.

D. Action taken by the Special Committee on the report of Sub-Committee II

33. At its 564th meeting, the Special Committee adopted the conclusions and recommendations of Sub-Committee II concerning the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, as amended, it being understood that the reservations expressed by some members would be reflected in the record. These conclusions and recommendations are as follows:

Conclusions

(a) The Special Committee notes that, since its last report, minor advances have been made in the Territory, especially in health and education. It, however, believes these could be accelerated.

(b) Even though there is a Legislature, the Administering Authority continues to retain all powers in the executive and legislative spheres, thus restricting progress towards self-determination and independence in the Territory.

(c) The Special Committee notes that progress in allowing the indigenous people of the Territory to take higher administrative roles is still very slow and believes that the direction of education can be better directed towards this end.

(d) While the Special Committee is aware of the plans to strengthen the islands' economy, it believes that more ought to be done to lessen the economic dependence of the Territory on the Administering Authority.

Recommendations

(e) The Special Committee reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

(f) The Special Committee recommends to the Administering Authority that the Congress of Micronesia should be provided with greater powers for the speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

(g) Steps should be taken by the Administering Authority to ensure that the people of the Territory assume the highest positions in the executive and administrative sectors of Government.

(h) The Administering Authority is requested to re-examine its educational and economic programme for the Territory to ensure that the plans are best suited to the needs of the Territory for a rapid rate of progress towards the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

(i) The Special Committee reaffirms that a visit to the Territory by the Special Committee is necessary and would be most useful, for, in addition to familiarizing the Member States with the needs and aspirations of the people, it would also increase the people's awareness of their rights which have been guaranteed to them by the United Nations.

ANNEX*

Report of Sub-Committee II
The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

Consideration by the Sub-Committee

1. The Sub-Committee considered the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands at its 65th, 67th and 69th meetings held from 10 August to 7 September 1967.

2. The Sub-Committee had before it the working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see paras. 1-19 of the present chapter).

3. The representative of the United States observed that the Territory had been the subject of detailed discussion in the Trusteeship Council quite recently and that the Council had taken note of the report^a of the United Nations Visiting Mission. In these circumstances he did not think that it would be useful to make a further statement.

4. The representative of Sierra Leone observed that it was probably accurate to say that there had been accelerated progress in the Territory in the previous five years. Nevertheless, the two essential considerations were, first, whether that progress had been sufficiently rapid and, secondly, whether the direction it was taking was in the best interests of the people of the Territory.

5. The 1967 United Nations Visiting Mission to the Territory had concluded that there had been material progress in education. At the same time, it had recommended that urgent attention should be given to vocational and technical education and had suggested that, to that end, the Administration might consider some reorganization of its present priorities. It had further recommended that more attention should be given in the primary and secondary curricula to subjects of more relevance to Micronesian conditions. It was clear that if the population was to be prepared for independence, education, particularly higher education, must be geared to contribute as much as possible to that end.

6. The 1964 Visiting Mission to the Territory had been surprised to find that of the fourteen most senior advisers to the High Commissioner, not one was a Micronesian. The situation had not greatly changed since then, and there were still no Micronesians at the most senior levels. More attention therefore had to be given to providing the indigenous inhabitants with the training necessary for them to lead the Territory to independence. Administering Authorities were inclined to assert that the people of the Territories for which they were responsible were poorly qualified to organize, for example, a modern civil service and would be unable to cope with modern conditions. If, however, indigenous populations were not given appropriate training, the administering Authorities had to be reminded of their responsibilities in that connexion.

7. There had been some political and constitutional progress in the Territory, but his delegation would urge the Administering Authority to increase its pace. He wondered whether the Administering Authority was providing the inhabitants of the Territory with sufficient information on the various types of administrative structure which would be available to them when they attained independence. In almost every colonial situation, a form of government closely adapted to that of the parent country was prescribed for use after independence. While it would be difficult for the Administering Authority to inform the population of alternative administrative structures, it was most important that the people should be free to work out a system best suited to their own interests and circumstances.

8. The representative of the United States stated that his delegation's failure to comment on each paragraph during consideration of the conclusions and recommendations in the draft report should not be interpreted as an indication that the

United States subscribed without reservation to its substance and language. The United States would not comment specifically on those paragraphs because it had discussed those points at great length in the Trusteeship Council and had provided factual material on the Territory itself as well as on the policies of its Government with regard to the Territory. That material was contained in the documents of the Trusteeship Council.

9. His delegation had to enter a general reservation regarding that section of the draft report. Under Article 82 of the Charter there might be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which might include part or all of the Trust Territory to which the agreement applied, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands had been, in fact, so designated. Article 83 of the Charter provided that all functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas should be exercised by the Security Council which might avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the Trusteeship System. The Security Council had, in fact, for a number of years delegated authority to the Trusteeship Council to scrutinize closely developments in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. In 1967, the situation in the Territory had received particularly careful scrutiny. A Visiting Mission, which had gone to the Territory early that year, had submitted a detailed and objective report to the Trusteeship Council. In addition, the Council had heard representatives of the Congress of Micronesia as well as the High Commissioner for the Trust Territory, members of his staff and officials of the United States Department of the Interior. After a study of that testimony and the reports submitted to it, the Council had prepared a number of conclusions and recommendations. His Government had already informed the Trusteeship Council that it would give those recommendations very careful consideration.

10. Subject to reservations expressed by the representatives of Australia and the United States of America, particularly on the sending of a visiting mission, the following conclusions and recommendations were adopted.

Conclusions and recommendations of the Sub-Committee

Conclusions

11. The Sub-Committee notes that, since its last report, minor advances have been made in the Territory, especially in health and education. It, however, believes these could be accelerated.

12. Even though there is a Legislature, the Administering Authority continues to retain considerable powers in the executive and legislative spheres thus restricting progress towards self-determination and independence in the Territory.

13. The Sub-Committee notes that progress in allowing the indigenous people of the Territory to take higher administrative roles is still very slow and believes that the direction of education can be better suited towards this end.

14. While the Sub-Committee is aware of the plans to strengthen the islands' economy, it believes that more ought to be done to lessen the economic dependence of the Territory on the Administering Authority.

Recommendations

15. The Sub-Committee reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

16. The Sub-Committee recommends to the Administering Authority that the Congress of Micronesia should be provided with greater powers for the speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

17. Steps should be taken by the Administering Authority to ensure that the people of the Territory assume the highest positions in the executive and administrative sectors of Government.

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.395/Add.5.

^a Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 2.

18. The Administering Authority is requested to re-examine its educational and economic programme for the Territory to ensure that the plans are best suited to the needs of the Territory for a rapid rate of progress towards the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

19. The Sub-Committee reaffirms that a visit to the Territory by the Special Committee is necessary and would be most useful, for, in addition to familiarizing the Member States with the needs and aspirations of the people, it would also increase the people's awareness of their rights which have been guaranteed to them by the United Nations.

CHAPTER XX*

COCOS (KEELING) ISLANDS, TRUST TERRITORY OF NAURU, PAPUA AND THE TRUST TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA

A. Action previously taken by the Special Committee and by the General Assembly

1. In 1964, the Special Committee adopted conclusions and recommendations concerning the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, the Trust Territory of Nauru, Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea (A/5800/Rev.1,¹ chap. XIX, paras. 131-155). After considering the Territories in 1966, it recommended that the peoples of these Territories should be enabled to express their wishes in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 through well-established democratic processes under United Nations supervision. It also recommended that a visiting mission would be useful in assessing the political climate and aspirations of the peoples concerned, and that steps might be taken to arrange such a visit in consultation with the Administering Authority (A/6300/Rev.1,² chap. XIX, para. 73).

2. Concerning Nauru, it also recommended that the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the resettlement of Nauruans, being two distinct questions, should be settled independently, precedence being given to the first, as desired by the Nauruans themselves. It recommended that the Nauruans should be given full control over their natural economic resources, and hoped that the forthcoming discussions between the people of Nauru and the Administering Authority would resolve all outstanding questions in that regard. Moreover, it recommended that the Administering Authority should take concrete measures in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) to fulfil the desire of the people of Nauru to become independent by January 1968.

3. With regard to Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, the Special Committee recommended that steps should be taken in the constitutional field to abolish the special and reserved seats in the House of Assembly and to speedily implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It also recommended that the local government councils be further strengthened in order to give the population the possibility of exercising self-government in municipal affairs, and felt that the efforts in the economic and educational fields should continue at an accelerated pace.

4. At its twentieth and twenty-first sessions respectively, the General Assembly adopted resolutions 2069

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

5. At its twentieth and twenty-first sessions respectively, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2111 (XX) of 21 December 1965 and 2226 (XXI) of 20 December 1966 concerning the Trust Territory of Nauru. Resolution 2226 (XXI) reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Nauru to self-government and independence and recommended that the Administering Authority fix the earliest possible date, but not later than 31 January 1968, for the independence of the Nauruan people in accordance with their freely expressed wishes. Furthermore, it recommended that the Administering Authority transfer control over the operation of the phosphate industry to the Nauruan people and take immediate steps, irrespective of the cost involved, towards restoring the island of Nauru for habitation by the Nauruan people as a sovereign nation.

6. Concerning Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, the General Assembly adopted resolutions 2112 (XX) of 21 December 1965 and 2227 (XXI) of 20 December 1966 at its twentieth and twenty-first sessions. Resolutions 2227 (XXI) called upon the administering Power to implement fully General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), to inform the Trusteeship Council at its thirty-fourth session and the Special Committee of the action taken in this regard and to implement the following measures: removal of all discriminatory electoral qualifications; abolition of all discriminatory practices in the economic, social, health and educational fields; holding of elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage with a view to transferring power to the people of the Territories; and fixing of

* Parts A and B of this chapter were previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.384 and Add.1 and 2.

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (Part I).*

² *Ibid., Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23.*

an early date for independence. It further called upon the administering Power to refrain from utilizing the Territories for military activities incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations.

B. Information on the Territories

1. COCOS (KEELING) ISLANDS³

General

7. The Territory of Cocos (Keeling) Islands consists of twenty-seven small coral islands in two separate atolls with a total land area of about five-and-a-half square miles (14.3 square kilometres). It is situated in the Indian Ocean, approximately 1,720 miles north-west of Perth and 2,290 miles west of Darwin, Australia. Direction Island, West Island and Home Island are the only inhabited islands. The administrative headquarters of the Territory are located on West Island.

8. The islands were uninhabited until 1826, when the first settlement was established by Alexander Hare, an Englishman. The largest population group is formed by the descendants of the original Malayan settlers brought to the Territory in 1827 by John Clunies-Ross, a Scottish seaman. These people, known as Cocos Islanders, live on Home Island. Europeans form the other population group in the Territory, comprising the Clunies-Ross family, employees of government departments, the Shell Company of Australia, Qantas Empire Airways Limited and the Overseas Telecommunications Commission (Australia) and their families.

9. The population of the Territory at 30 June 1965 was estimated to be 675 made up as follows:

Place	Race	Number
West Island	European	167
Direction Island	European	38
Home Island	{ Cocos Islanders (Malays)	468
	{ Europeans	2
TOTAL		675

The comparative population figure for 1961 was 606, comprising 423 Cocos Islanders and 183 Europeans.

Status

10. In 1857 the islands were formally declared part of the British Dominions. On 23 November 1955, the islands ceased to form part of the Colony of Singapore and were accepted as a Territory under the authority of the Commonwealth of Australia, to be known as the Territory of Cocos (Keeling) Islands. The Territory is administered by the Government of Australia in accordance with the terms of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands Act, 1955-1963. Persons born in the Territory on or after 23 November 1955 are Australian citizens and British subjects. However, for those who, immediately before 23 November 1955, were British subjects ordinarily resident on the islands but not Australian citizens, provisions were made for them to become Australian citizens if they so wished. Thirty-nine Cocos Islanders have been granted Australian citizenship under these provisions.

³ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by Australia under Article 73e of the Charter on 28 February 1967 for the year ended 30 June 1965.

Constitution

11. The basis of the Territory's legislative, administrative and judicial systems is the Cocos (Keeling) Islands Act, 1955-1963, which is administered by the Minister of State for Territories. Under the Act, the laws which were in force in the islands immediately before the date of transfer have been continued in force, but may be amended or repealed by an ordinance or by a law made under an ordinance of the Territory.

12. Commonwealth acts do not apply to the Territory unless expressed to extend thereto. The Cocos (Keeling) Islands Act empowers the Governor-General to make ordinances for the peace, order and good government of the Territory. These ordinances are required to be tabled in the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia and are subject to disallowance in part or whole by the Parliament.

13. An Official Representative who is appointed by the Minister of State for Territories exercises such powers and performs such functions in relation to the Territory as are delegated to him by the Minister under the Cocos (Keeling) Islands Act, 1955-1963, or otherwise conferred on him under the Act or by or under any other law of the Territory. At present, he is responsible for general administration, including health and education.

14. In addition to the Department of Territories, a number of other Commonwealth departments are represented in the Territory, either directly or through the agency of other departments. These include, *inter alia*, the Prime Minister's Department, the Department of the Interior and the Department of Works.

Electoral system

15. There are no elected offices in the Territory.

Judiciary

16. The courts exercising jurisdiction in the Territory are the Supreme Court, the District Court, the Magistrate's Court and the Coroner's Court. The Supreme Court consists of a judge who visits the Territory and presides over sittings as and when required. It is a superior court of record and appeals against its judgement may be taken to the High Court of Australia.

Political parties

17. No information is available concerning political parties.

Economic conditions

18. The islands consist of coral and limitations of the soil and fresh water supplies impede the development of agriculture. Small quantities of vegetables are grown on Home Island. However, all supplies of fresh fruit and vegetables for the other two inhabited islands must be imported mainly from Australia and Singapore. Large numbers of fish are caught in the lagoon for local consumption.

19. The economy of the Territory is based on the aviation and other facilities maintained by the Australian Government and commercial organizations, and on the production and export of copra, which forms the staple local industry. Exports of copra during 1964-1965 were 654 tons, compared with 495 in 1961-1962. The Clunies-Ross Estate is currently

interested in the oil-producing possibilities of the dill and anise plants.

20. Expenditure on administration and on capital works and services is financed from funds appropriated by the Commonwealth Government and controlled by the various Commonwealth departments represented in the Territory. Some revenue is derived from messing charges and from other sources such as hospital and medical fees which, in 1964-1965, amounted to £A4,358, compared with £A3,624 in 1963-1964. Expenditures for 1964-1965 totalled £A47,041, compared with £A41,787 for 1963-1964.

Land

21. Under the indenture granted in 1886, all land in the Territory above the high water mark is held in perpetuity by the Clunies-Ross family. The grant was made subject to conditions allowing Her Majesty to resume any of the land for public purposes without compensation other than for the value of cultivated crops or buildings or other work on the land resumed; to provide for the establishment of a telegraph station; and to prevent alienation of land to other persons without assent of the Crown.

Transport and communications

22. An international airport with full radio facilities is established on West Island under the control of the Commonwealth Department of Civil Aviation. There is no wharf in the Territory where ships can berth. Most of the roads are essential for airport purposes and receive priority in maintenance over the few other roads which are primarily community roads. There is a telegraph station, operated and staffed by the Overseas Telecommunications Commission (Australia) on Direction Island.

Social conditions

Labour

23. The copra industry operated by the Clunies-Ross Estate provides the main source of employment for Cocos Islanders. The Estate provides housing, rations, medical services, clothing subsidies and pension benefits for its workers, in addition to a cash wage. Social services comprise pensions in excess of 50 per cent of wages for workers who have reached 65 years of age, and free health services and education.

Public health

24. A medical officer and two nursing sisters, provided by the Department of Territories, are responsible for public health matters in general. A four-bed hospital is equipped to handle most surgical and medical emergencies. Dental treatment is provided by a visiting dentist of the Australian Department of Health. There was one such visit during the year under review.

Educational conditions

25. There is a primary school on West Island which follows the Eastern Australian syllabus. The Western Australian Department of Education provides teachers and undertakes an annual inspection. The costs of education are met by the Department of Territories.

26. Pupils wishing to proceed to secondary studies may undertake correspondence courses under the supervision of the headmaster of the West Island School, or they may attend schools in Australia. The parents of pupils sent to Australia for secondary studies are assisted by an education allowance of £145 a year for each pupil. The allowance is paid by the Department of Territories, which also provides one return air fare each year to the capital city of the Australian state in which the child is placed at school. The cost of correspondence tuition (other than the cost of textbooks) for secondary studies undertaken by children of residents of the Territory is paid by the Department of Territories.

27. At the close of the year under review, 35 primary pupils and 4 pupils following correspondence secondary courses were in attendance at the West Island School. In addition, one pupil was attending secondary school in Australia.

28. Elementary education provided by the Clunies-Ross Estate for the children of its employees comprises two to three years' schooling in the vernacular (Malay). Trade training, suited to the local conditions is provided in such pursuits as boat-building, carpentry and mechanics.

2. TRUST TERRITORY OF NAURU⁴

General

29. The Trust Territory of Nauru is a small island situated in the Central Pacific, in latitude 0° 32' south, and longitude 166° 55' east. It is roughly oval shaped, approximately 8¼ square miles in area and is about 12 miles in circumference. Completely surrounding the island is a coral reef which is exposed at low tide. It comprises an area of 5,263 acres, of which roughly two-thirds, i.e., 3,658 acres, are classified as phosphate bearing; a further area of 585 acres, classified as rocky land, is estimated to contain approximately one million tons of phosphate. Since the discovery of the deposits 1,453 acres have been mined and 37,403,991 tons of phosphate raised.

30. The total population of Nauru at 30 June 1966 was 6,048, comprising 2,921 Nauruans, 1,532 other Pacific Islanders, 1,167 Chinese and 428 Europeans. The total immigrant population at 30 June 1966 was 3,127 compared with 2,827 at 30 June 1965.

Political and constitutional proposals

31. At the conclusion of the discussions held in Canberra in June 1967 on the future of the phosphate industry, the question of the political advancement of the Territory was considered. During the discussions, the Nauruan representatives presented a statement describing their proposals for political and constitutional changes in Nauru.

32. The Nauruan statement sought agreement that Nauru should become an independent State on 31 January 1968, set out certain matters on which decisions

⁴ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information concerning Nauru before the Trusteeship Council at its thirty-fourth session, in particular the report of the Administering Authority for the period 1 July 1965 to 30 June 1966 transmitted under Article 88 of the Charter (Commonwealth of Australia, Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations, *Administration of the Territory of Nauru, 1 July 1965-30 June 1966*, Canberra, Commonwealth Government Printer. Communicated by the Secretary-General to the members of the Trusteeship Council (T/1659).

would have to be made, and expressed "a tentative opinion as to the form these decisions might take." The statement proposed, *inter alia*, that Nauru should become a republic, to be known as the Republic of Nauru, and that its form of government should be based on the British parliamentary system, but modified in certain ways to suit local circumstances. A constitution would provide for fundamental rights, a president, an executive, a legislature, a judiciary and a public service. The president, who would be elected by the Legislative Assembly, would perform the formal duties of a Head of State and also be the head of the executive government. The constitution would also provide for the vesting of executive power in the president and a cabinet of ministers. The role envisaged for the president in the executive government would be a dual one. He would perform certain formal acts, such as assenting to orders and regulations made by the cabinet or a minister in accordance with the powers delegated to them by law. He would also be the chief minister, selecting other ministers and presiding over meetings of the cabinet. The other ministers would be selected from members of the Legislative Assembly. The Nauruan statement mentioned that the dual position proposed for the president in the executive government presented some difficulties, but added that in view of the small size of Nauru it did not seem desirable to create two separate offices of president and premier respectively. The statement also considered in some detail the proposed legislative assembly, the judiciary and the public service. The Nauruan statement in regard to the judiciary expressed the hope that appeals from the Supreme Court of Nauru should lie to the High Court of Australia.

33. The statement emphasized that the proposals outlined did not represent the final conclusions of the Nauruan delegations or of the Nauruan people, but were submitted to demonstrate that the Nauruans had already given considerable thought to the way in which Nauru might be governed as an independent State, and to show that a solution of the constitutional problems of Nauruan independence was, in broad outline, at least, within sight.

34. The representatives of the Administering Authority, during the conference in Canberra, pointed out that a number of the proposals would require further clarification and examination. They submitted for the consideration of the Nauruan delegation some comments on proposals for constitutional changes for Nauru.

35. Among other things, the Administering Authority had agreed that it was appropriate that basic changes should be made in arrangements for the Government of Nauru, and expressed a sympathetic attitude in connexion with the Nauruans' wish to realize their political ambition by 31 January 1968. They also pointed out that, particularly in relation to external affairs and defence, there were special factors to be considered: that other smaller countries of the world had sought their political future in an association of legal form with a larger country of greater resources under which the larger country was responsible for such matters as external affairs and defence.

36. The representatives of the Administering Authority accordingly suggested that the Nauruans might consider an association with Australia under which an act passed by the Australian Parliament would provide for Australia to be responsible for the external affairs and defence of Nauru, but otherwise would leave the constitutional arrangements to be determined by the Nauruan people, as a suitable arrangement in the

particular circumstances of both Nauru and Australia. Such an association would give Nauru full autonomy in internal affairs of government, and there would be no question of the Australian Government being involved in those matters, except to render assistance specifically requested by the Government of Nauru. They stated that an association of this kind would provide, *inter alia*, the ready means whereby the Nauruan Government could receive many benefits, including those of international agreements designed to facilitate communications, provide common standards of safety, regulate services, etc., on an international basis, and that it would enable the Australian Government, if this were the wish of the Nauruans, to make arrangements for United Nations technical assistance services; Nauruan citizens travelling abroad would also be afforded assistance by Australian missions overseas which would automatically be able to render many other forms of assistance to the Nauruan Government and people. In regard to defence, an association of the kind suggested would place an obligation on Australia to defend Nauru. Under such an association, the suggestion of the Nauruan delegation that the final appeal from the proposed Nauru Supreme Court be to the High Court of Australia could more readily be that and there would be no difficulty in the way of admitting the Nauruan people to Australia for all purposes, including their permanent residence there if so required.

37. Following further discussion between the Nauruan representatives and the representatives of the Administering Authority, possible alternative arrangements for constitutional advancement were presented by the Administering Authority for discussion. These proposals considered the possibility that Nauru be accorded full independence and make a treaty of friendship with Australia under which responsibilities for the foreign affairs and defence of Nauru would devolve upon Australia. Such arrangements might meet some of the special problems which arose from a desire for independence by a people whose numbers, by comparison with the population of any other country, were extremely small. The devolution on Australia of responsibility for a defence and foreign affairs would not impose any limitation upon the powers and scope of the Government of Nauru in respect of Nauruan affairs in any other field whatever, and would have no effect on the powers of the Nauruan Government to make arrangements, for example, in regard to external trade and the disposal of phosphate.

38. In the single day available for discussions on political advancement, a firm decision could not be reached and it was agreed that discussions on political advancement be resumed at the earliest practicable date, and as early as possible after the conclusion of the thirty-fourth session of the Trusteeship Council.

39. At the thirty-fourth session of the Trusteeship Council, the Head Chief of Nauru stated in regard to the proposal of the Administering Authority, that there should be a treaty in which legal control over the matters of external affairs and defence should continue to be exercised by the Australian Government, that the Nauruans would prefer that their achievement of independence should not be conditional upon agreement in advance with Australia on these two questions. Mutually acceptable arrangements in regard to these two aspects could be worked out between the Nauruans and Australia after Nauru had gained full sovereign independence. He stressed that the Nauruan delegation understood that Australia did not object strongly to this

view, but would prefer rather that the question be decided by plebiscite of the Nauruan people on Nauru.

40. The Nauruan delegation to the Canberra Conference did not think that a plebiscite was necessary. This was not based on any fear that a plebiscite would reveal a Nauruan decision contrary to what the Nauru Local Government Council was presently pursuing. He also emphasized that the time factor was involved because by the time the delegation of the Nauru Local Government Council arrived in Australia to resume the adjourned talks on independence and to finalize necessary aspects of the agreement on the future of the phosphate industry, and by the time councillors would return to Nauru, there would be very limited time left between then and the target date of 31 January 1968. Moreover, in this already limited time, a general election was forthcoming on Nauru in December 1967 for the Nauru Local Government Council.

Nauru Phosphate Agreement

41. In April 1967 discussions between representatives of the Nauru Local Government Council and officials representing Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland concerning arrangements for the future operation of the phosphate industry on Nauru were concluded. These are to be drawn up in a definitive agreement later in 1967 and appropriate action is to be taken in due course to effect the necessary legislative changes.

42. The agreed arrangements provide that:

(a) The Nauru Local Government Council (or its successor in any changed constitutional situation) will on consummation of the arrangements become the owner of the phosphate enterprise at Nauru and will take over its entire control and management.

(b) The partner Governments, through the British Phosphate Commissioners, will purchase the entire output of phosphate from Nauru at a stated rate of production and at a price that is determined under machinery laid down in the Agreement. The Nauru Local Government Council will receive the total sale proceeds and will meet the costs of operation of the industry at Nauru together with the costs of administration at the island.

(c) A Nauru Phosphate Corporation is to be established by the Nauru Local Government Council. This Corporation will, until 30 June 1970, have certain specific consultative and policy control functions in relation to the phosphate industry and after 30 June 1970 it will undertake the complete control and management of the phosphate operations at Nauru. The British Phosphate Commissioners will manage and supervise the operations until 30 June 1970.

Rehabilitation of the mined phosphate lands on Nauru

43. In 1965 the Nauruans reaffirmed their desire to remain on Nauru and not seek another home, and requested the Administering Authority to assume responsibility for the restoration of the mined areas at no cost to the Nauruans. The Australian Government was not able to commit the other partner Governments to rehabilitation proposals, but it was agreed to establish a technical Committee of Experts, mutually acceptable to the Nauru Local Government Council and the Administering Authority, to investigate the possibility of the rehabilitation of the mined areas. In June 1966, the Committee submitted its report to the Nauru Legislative Council and the Administering Authority.

44. In its report the Committee of Experts concluded:

(a) That while it would be technically feasible (within the narrow definition of that expression) to refill the mined phosphate areas of Nauru with suitable soil and/or other materials from external sources, the very many practical considerations involved ruled out such an undertaking as impracticable;

(b) That it would, nevertheless, be practicable to undertake certain treatment of the mined areas, or parts of them, which would effectively induce a more attractive environment and would provide lands which would be suitable for habitation or other public purposes, including limited cultivation;

(c) That any proposals for the Nauruans to continue to live on Nauru after the exhaustion of the phosphate deposits must include provision for an adequate water supply and facilities for outside communication and trade;

(d) That the most effective use of large sections of the mined areas would be to use them for the construction, as a single project, of a water storage system and an airstrip;

(e) That while it would be impracticable to completely restore the mined areas to provide an agricultural economy for the Nauruans, it would be valuable to revegetate some of them and to treat other limited areas for the growing of trees, vegetables, etc.;

(f) That a system of land-use planning for the island is most desirable and would probably lead subsequently to the development of additional usable land which would become available as a result of the rehabilitation proposals.

45. In the various sections of its report, the Committee of Experts discussed in detail the considerations, financial and practical, which gave rise to its conclusions, and gave its assessment of the effectiveness of the various suggestions that had been made, together with estimates of the costs involved.

46. The Trusteeship Council was informed at its thirty-fourth session that the Nauru Local Government Council, though agreeing with some of the findings of the Committee of Experts, could not, in general, accept its conclusions. The views of the Nauru Local Government Council are set out in the report of the Trusteeship Council (see A/6704,⁵ para. 385).

Legislative and executive organs

47. The Legislative Council of Nauru has nine elected members and five official members appointed by the Governor-General. It may make ordinances for the peace, order and good government of the Territory, except ordinances dealing with defence, external affairs, the phosphate industry, phosphate royalties and the ownership and control of phosphate-bearing land. Ordinances on these matters may be made by the Governor-General of Australia. Ordinances passed by the Legislative Council are presented to the Administrator for his assent, which may be granted, withheld or reserved for the Governor-General's consideration.

48. The Executive Council consists of the Administrator, two elected members and two official members of the Legislative Council appointed by the Governor-General. The Executive Council advises the Administrator on any matter referred to it by the latter.

⁵ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 4.

Economic conditions

49. Phosphate is the sole export of the Territory. The British Phosphate Commissioners are responsible for the direction and management of the phosphate industry, including the extraction and export of phosphate.

50. The tonnage of phosphate delivered for the year ended 30 June 1966 amounted to 1,528,295 tons compared with 1,688,998 tons for the year ended 30 June 1965; the value for the year ended 30 June 1966 amounted to \$A8,634,867 compared with \$A9,542,838 for the year ended 30 June 1965. Of the 1,532,650 tons exported from Nauru, 818,800 tons were shipped to Australia, 516,650 to New Zealand and 197,200 to the United Kingdom.

51. The total imports, chiefly from Australia, amounted to \$A6,366,248 in 1965-1966 compared with \$A4,595,798 in 1964-1965.

52. Public revenue for the year 1965-1966 totalled \$A1,940,704 of which the British Phosphate Commissioners provided \$A1,724,272. The total expenditure was \$A1,778,214.

53. On 1 January 1965 the phosphate royalties were increased from \$A1.35 (13s.6d.) to \$A1.75 (17s.6d.). During recent talks in Canberra it was agreed to increase further the royalties by \$A2.75 per ton.

Report of the Trusteeship Council in 1967

54. The Trusteeship Council, at its thirty-fourth session in June 1967, completed its examination of the annual report of the Administering Authority on Nauru for the period 1 July 1965 to 30 June 1966.⁶

55. In a letter dated 30 June 1967 (A/AC.109/255), the President of the Trusteeship Council informed the Chairman of the Special Committee that the Council had adopted a report on the Trust Territory of Nauru for submission to the General Assembly. The report contains, in addition to the Trusteeship Council's conclusions and recommendations and the observations of the individual members, detailed information on political, economic, social and educational conditions.⁷

3. Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea⁸*General*

56. Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea consist of that portion of the main island of New Guinea east of the 141 meridian of longitude and a large number of adjacent islands. The two Territories have a total area of approximately 178,260 square miles (286,882 square kilometres). On 30 June 1966 they had an enumerated indigenous population of 2,170,201 and a further estimated population of approximately 25,000.

Political and constitutional developments

57. Papua and the Trust Territory are administered jointly by an Administrator appointed by the Governor-

General of Australia. He is assisted by an Administrator's Council which consists of the Administrator, 3 official members and 7 elected members of the House of Assembly who are appointed by the Minister of State for External Affairs on the nomination of the Administrator.

58. The legislature for the combined Territories, the House of Assembly, consists of 54 members elected on a common roll by adult suffrage, and 10 nominated official members. Forty-four of the elective seats are open to candidates of all races, and 10 are special seats reserved for non-indigenous candidates. The Administrator must ensure that general elections are held at intervals not exceeding four years.

59. The House of Assembly is empowered to make ordinances for the peace, order and good government of the Territory, but an ordinance does not have any force or effect until it has been assented to by the Administrator or, in certain cases, the Governor-General.

60. Every ordinance passed by the House of Assembly is presented to the Administrator for his assent. He may give his assent to an ordinance, withhold assent, or reserve the ordinance for the Governor-General's pleasure. Certain classes of ordinances set out in section 55 of the Papua and New Guinea Act must be reserved by the Administrator for the Governor-General's pleasure. The Administrator may return ordinances to the House of Assembly with recommended amendments, which the House then considers, and the ordinance, with or without the amendment, is again presented to the Administrator for assent.

61. The Governor-General must declare within six months after he assents to an ordinance reserved for his pleasure or that he withholds assent. He also may return an ordinance to the Administrator with recommended amendments, which is then considered by House, and with or without the recommended amendments is again reserved for the Governor-General's pleasure.

62. The Governor-General may, within six months of the Administrator's dissent, disallow an ordinance or part of an ordinance or may recommend amendments.

63. Ordinances passed by the House do not have any force or effect until they are assented to by the Administrator, or in certain cases the Governor-General. Each ordinance to which assent has been given or withheld is laid before each House of the Australian Parliament and where assent is withheld or where an ordinance is disallowed, the Minister for Territories must, in addition, cause a statement of the reasons for withholding assent or disallowance as the case may be, to be laid before each House.

64. A vote, resolution or proposed law for the appropriation of revenue or moneys may not be passed by the House of Assembly unless the purpose of the appropriation has in the same session been recommended by message by the Administrator.

65. At its thirty-fourth session the Trusteeship Council was informed that the second interim report of the Select Committee on Constitutional Development, which was set up by the House of Assembly in 1965, had been adopted by the House in 1966. Subsequently, amendments to the Papua and New Guinea Act to give effect to the recommendations in the report were made by the Commonwealth Parliament. All the recommendations were accepted. Under the new constitutional arrangements the number of open electorates has been increased from 44 to 69; the 10 special electorates

⁶ See foot-note 4.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 4, Part II, chap. II.*

⁸ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information on Papua transmitted to the Secretary-General by Australia under Article 73 e of the Charter on 19 July 1967 for the year ending 30 June 1966, and the information concerning the Trust Territory of New Guinea before the Trusteeship Council at its thirty-fourth session, in particular the report of the Administering Authority for the period 1 July 1965 to 30 June 1966 transmitted under Article 88 of the Charter (T/1960 and Add.1).

which were reserved for non-indigenous candidates have been replaced by 15 regional electorates which have an educational qualification consisting of the Territory's intermediate certificate or its equivalent. The 10 official members of the House of Assembly have been retained in accordance with the wishes of the people. The new electorates will come into practical operation with the March 1968 elections after which there will be 94 members in the House of Assembly.

66. The Select Committee on Constitutional Development was to present its final report to the House of Assembly in June 1967. This part of its report relates to the executive arm of the Government of the Territory and to what changes, if any, should be made to enable greater local participation in the Government.

67. The election of members of the House of Assembly is by secret ballot and by universal adult suffrage of all persons over 18 years of age from a common roll. General elections must be held at intervals not exceeding four years. The next election will be held in 1968.

68. In its report⁹ on the Trust Territory of New Guinea to the Trusteeship Council for the year ending 30 June 1966, the administering Power stated that resolutions of the General Assembly regarding New Guinea, including resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2112 (XX), had been noted by the Administering Authority and that the measures which had been taken in order to implement these resolutions were described in its report.

69. The administering Power went on to reiterate a statement made in the Australian Parliament on 31 March 1966 by the Minister for Territories when informing the House of Representatives that he had invited the Select Committee on Constitutional Development appointed by the House of Assembly for Papua and New Guinea to come to Canberra for discussions with members of the Government. The Minister said that: "The Government has no desire to press constitutional changes upon the people of the Territory which they do not want or for which they think are not ready; nor will the Government refuse to make changes if there is strong and widespread support for change in the Territory. This is the Government's attitude to the possibility of changes affecting the House of Assembly which the Select Committee referred to in its report, and it applies also to possible changes in the form of executive Government, i.e., in the arrangements for the Administration of the Territory to operate after the next elections for the House of Assembly."

70. In 1965 legislation came into operation which enabled non-indigenous persons to participate in local government through the establishment of councils with multiracial electorates and, by 30 June 1966, a total of 54 councils had been formed. The total number of local government councils at this time had increased to 125, compared with 109 the previous year, and covered an approximate population of 1,488,299 persons.

⁹ See foot-note 8 above.

Economic conditions

71. Primary production is the basis of the economy of both Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea. Agriculture is the chief activity. In 1965-1966, agricultural products made up approximately 87 per cent of the total value of exports of Papua and 85 per cent of the Trust Territory's exports.

72. The principal agricultural exports of New Guinea are copra, cacao and coffee. Although the principal exports of Papua are copra and rubber, more cacao and coffee are also being exported. New Guinea has extensive forest resources and an important timber industry is being developed. Gold mining, although now declining, is still an important activity there. The mineral resources of Papua have not been fully explored; the administering Power stated that it was not possible to estimate the time required to complete the project.

73. A cattle industry is being developed. New Guinea, where increasing numbers of the indigenous people are raising livestock, had 34,913 head of cattle. Papua, which had almost 9,800 head, is still almost entirely dependent on imports for meat and animal products. The administering Power's policy is to improve the quality of stock, build up numbers and extend cattle ownership to the indigenous inhabitants.

74. Manufacturing industries are of minor though growing significance. Special taxation concessions exist to encourage the establishment of new secondary and service industries, and complete exemption from Territory income tax may be granted to companies engaging in approved new pioneer industries for their first five to six years of operation.

75. Although subsistence agriculture is still the predominant activity of the indigenous population, increasing numbers of Papuans and New Guineans are growing export crops or cash crops for local sale. During 1965-1966, indigenous growers produced approximately half the copra and three quarters of the coffee grown in Papua, while their plantings of cacao trees totalled 988,700. In New Guinea, indigenous growers produced over one quarter of the copra, one quarter of the cacao beans and slightly under two thirds of the coffee. They also produced about 18,000 tons of fruit and vegetables for town markets.

76. During 1965-1966, the total value of exports of the Territories was \$A49,828,585,¹⁰ compared with \$A49,140,462 the previous year. Imports had a total value of \$A110,431,203, compared with \$A86,846,022 the previous year.

77. The following table shows the public finances of the Territories:

¹⁰ The Administering Authority changed to a decimal monetary system on 14 February 1966. A new \$A1.00 is equivalent to ten shillings in the old currency (Australian pound) or \$US1.12.

	1964-1965			1965-1966		
	Papua	New Guinea	Total	Papua	New Guinea	Total
	(In million Australian dollars)					
Internal revenue	13.02	14.90	27.92	16.86	18.45	35.31
Australian grant	22.12	33.86	55.98	23.82	38.17	61.99
Total revenue	35.14	48.76	83.90	40.68	56.62	97.30
Total expenditure	37.38	52.68	90.06	43.27	60.30	103.57

78. The revenues of Papua and New Guinea are supplemented by a direct, interest-free and non-repayable grant from the administering Power. The grant for 1965-1966 was \$A61,999,743. Revenues raised in the Territories are derived chiefly from import tariffs and direct taxation. Expenditure on economic activity rose from approximately 25 per cent in 1963-1964 to approximately 33 per cent in the 1965-1966 budget. In addition to the direct grant, the administering Power, through government departments and instrumentalities not directly responsible to the territorial Administration, spent in 1965-1966 \$A33.7 million on essential works and services in Papua and New Guinea.

79. During 1965-1966, 180 companies having a total nominal capital of \$A13,073,000 were incorporated as local companies, bringing the total number of local companies to 997 operating with an aggregate nominal capital of \$A254,817,772. Thirty-two foreign companies registered, bringing the total number of foreign companies operating in the Territories to 204. No information is available on dividends and taxes paid in 1965-1966 by the companies active in the Territories.

80. The Administering Power informed the Trusteeship Council at its thirty-fourth session that another mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) visited the Territory in March 1967 to examine current developments there and to discuss with the administering Power a number of proposed development projects, some of which might qualify for loans from the Bank or its affiliate, the International Development Association.

Social conditions in Papua

Labour

81. The administering Power states that although there have been steady increases in the numbers of indigenous people engaged in wage employment in recent years, the proportion of wage earners to the estimated adult male population is still relatively small (approximately over one fifth). While large numbers of the Territory's labour force are still engaged in unskilled work on plantations or in towns, there is emerging a body of more highly skilled and experienced workers who are capable to a much greater extent than previously of negotiating their own wages and conditions of employment. Unemployment is not a major problem in the Territory. Such unemployment as occurs is mainly of a temporary nature as a result of voluntary changes of employment or reluctance to accept work in rural areas.

82. On 31 March 1966 there were 32,517 indigenous people in paid employment (including 1,016 members of the police force but excluding members of the defence forces), compared with 20,234 on 31 March 1965. Private industry employed 22,172 of whom 9,386 were general plantation workers.

83. On 30 June 1966, the Department of Labour had a field strength in Papua of three employment officers and five labour inspectors. Labour inspectors' regional workshops were held at Goroka and Rabaul and were attended by officers from Papua. A Research and Planning Branch was formed in the Department of Labour in February 1966. It is responsible for advising on all labour aspects of economic development and planning. The Branch carried out an income and expenditure survey covering a random sample

of indigenous officers of the Territory Public Service on the normal commencing salary range over a two-month period in 1966.

Public health

84. Expenditure on health services totalled \$A3,385,561 in 1965-1966, compared with \$A2,996,710 in 1964-1965; expenditure on works and services of a capital nature and on the improvement and maintenance of hospital buildings and facilities amounted to \$A1,514,635 compared with \$A1,419,400 in 1964-1965. Local government councils reported an expenditure on health services of \$A55,027 from 1 January 1965 to 30 June 1966, compared with \$A4,418 for the period 1964-1965.

85. Church missions are assisted in providing health services by the Administration through a system of grants-in-aid and by the supply of drugs, dressings and equipment. Grants-in-aid for mission hospital buildings totalled \$A11,334 in 1965-1966, compared with \$A31,220 the previous year. The ascertainable expenditure by missions from their own funds on medical services was \$A159,488 in 1965-1966 compared with \$A90,012 the previous year.

86. As of June 1966, there were 34 administration hospitals, including 2 hospitals of bush materials in the Southern Highlands, and 332 administration aid posts in the Territory. Maternal and child health services were carried out by 11 administration field clinic centres, including one rural health centre with 153 clinics serving 321 villages. Missions operated 142 clinics serving 1,088 villages; 60 of their stations submit regular reports to the Administration.

87. Malaria and tuberculosis continue to be major health problems in the Territory. As a result of the anti-malaria campaign carried out by the Administration, at the end of June 1966, all islands of the Milne Bay District as well as the coastal mainland strip opposite Goodenough and Normandy Islands were under protection.

Educational conditions in Papua

88. On 30 June 1966 there were 171 administration schools and 686 mission schools, compared with 171 and 668 the previous year. The number of pupils enrolled in these schools increased from 71,506 to 76,576. The following table gives the number of pupils in the various schools in 1966.

<i>School</i>	<i>Indigenous pupils</i>	<i>Non-indigenous pupils</i>
Primary	69,464	1,757
High	3,584	216
Technical	1,177	—
Teacher-training	378	—
TOTAL	74,603	1,973

89. In addition to pupils in Papua, in 1966, 50 indigenous and 605 non-indigenous students were receiving educational assistance at Australian secondary schools. Of the 13 Papuan students who were undertaking higher education in Australia, 12 were at university and one at a technical college.

90. Departmental expenditure on education rose from \$A3,852,000 in 1964-1965 to \$A4,551,000 in 1965-1966, representing 10.5 per cent of total government expenditure. These figures include grants-in-aid totalling

\$A415,000 to missions for educational work, compared with \$A342,000 the previous year. Over the same period, expenditure of other departments on education and training declined from \$A984,000 to \$A558,000; building construction and equipment expenditures declined from \$A648,000 to \$A630,000. Expenditure by missions from their own funds increased from \$A522,000 in 1964-1965 to \$A625,000 in 1965-1966.

*Report of the Trusteeship Council in 1967 on
New Guinea*

91. The Trusteeship Council, at its thirty-fourth session in June 1967, completed its examination of the annual report of the Administering Authority on the Trust Territory of New Guinea for the period 1 July 1965 to 30 June 1966.

92. In a letter dated 30 June 1967 (A/AC.109/255) the President of the Trusteeship Council informed the Chairman of the Special Committee that the Council had adopted a report on the Trust Territory of New Guinea for submission to the General Assembly.¹¹ The report contains, in addition to the Council's recommendations and conclusions, and the observations of its individual members, detailed information on political, economic, social and educational conditions in the Trust Territory and on institutions common to the two Territories.

C. Consideration by the Special Committee

93. At its 562nd and 564th meetings, on 22 and 27 September 1967, the Special Committee considered the report of Sub-Committee II on the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, the Trust Territory of Nauru, Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea which appears as an annex to this chapter.

94. The representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia expressed reservations on the conclusions and recommendations of the Sub-Committee's report on the Territories under consideration.

95. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that he wished to propose the following amendments to the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report. They consisted of the insertion of the following two new paragraphs after paragraphs 71 and 81 respectively:

(a) "The Sub-Committee notes that General Assembly resolution 2227 (XXI) has not been implemented by the administering Power."

(b) "The Sub-Committee calls on the administering Power to take immediate steps for implementing the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX), 2189 (XXI) and 2227 (XXI), which request the colonial Powers to dismantle their military bases and installations in colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones and also from utilizing the Territories for military activities incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations."

He stated, however, that it would be sufficient if the proposed amendments, as well as the opinions expressed by his delegation, were included in the records.

96. The representative of Bulgaria said that in future emphasis should be placed on the need to implement General Assembly resolutions concerning decolonization—2105 (XX), 2189 (XXI) and 2227 (XXI)—

particularly those provisions which called upon the administering Power to dismantle the military bases in colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones. The existence of such bases undeniably impeded the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions.

97. The representative of Australia remarked that the allegations contained in the amendments proposed by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were completely unfounded. The military activities to which amendment (b) alluded were in no way incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, since their sole purpose was to ensure the defence of the Territory, a purpose which was deemed acceptable by the United Nations. Article 4 of the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of New Guinea stated that "The Administering Authority shall be responsible for the peace, order, good government and defence of the Territory and for this purpose shall have the same powers of legislation, administration and jurisdiction in and over the Territory as if it were an integral part of Australia, and will be entitled to apply to the Territory, subject to such modifications as it deems desirable, such laws of the Commonwealth of Australia as it deems appropriate to the needs and conditions of the Territory". Furthermore, article 7 stated that "The Administering Authority may take all measures in the Territory which it considers desirable to provide for the defence of the Territory and for maintenance of international peace and security".

**D. Action taken by the Special Committee on the
report of Sub-Committee II**

98. At its 564th meeting on 27 September 1967, the Special Committee approved the report of Sub-Committee II on the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, the Trust Territory of Nauru, Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, and endorsed the conclusions and recommendations therein. These are as follows:

Conclusions

Cocos (Keeling) Islands

(a) The Special Committee considers that the progress towards the implementation of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) has been slow.

(b) The Cocos Islands have special problems of size and economic viability, but that should not preclude the administering Power from complying with the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

Trust Territory of Nauru

(c) The Special Committee observes that the people of Nauru are steadfast in their declaration of becoming independent on 31 January 1968; it, however, awaits an assurance from the administering Power that the wishes of the people of Nauru will be respected.

(d) The Special Committee records the desire of the people to remain in Nauru and for the rehabilitation of their island; but notes the statement of the administering Power on the practical impracticability of rehabilitation.

(e) Though it is aware of the progress that has been made in the negotiation of ownership and control of the operation of the phosphate industry, the Special Com-

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 4, part II, chap. I.*

mittee hopes that the people of the Territory would obtain the maximum benefit from their sole and limited asset.

Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea

(f) The Special Committee considers that the progress towards the implementation of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) continues to be slow.

(g) The Special Committee, however, takes note of the political, social and educational growth in the Territory which constitute some advance, though it considers it inadequate for a consistent and rapid implementation of the Declaration.

(h) The Special Committee observes that the economic potential of the Territory has still to be exploited. It considers that an exploitation of this potential for the benefit of the people of the Territory will relieve their dependence on the administering Power and enhance their movement towards self-determination and independence.

(i) The Special Committee notes that discrimination in education, the wage structure and other fields still exist in the Territory, though the administering Power is making efforts to eradicate the problem.

Recommendations

Cocos (Keeling) Islands

(a) The Special Committee reaffirms the inalienable rights of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

(b) The peoples of the Territory should be enabled to express their wishes in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) through well-established democratic processes under United Nations supervision.

(c) The Special Committee requests that the people of the Territory be given an opportunity to express their wishes with regard to their future status and in this regard the administering Power should avail itself of the assistance which the United Nations could extend.

Trust Territory of Nauru

(d) The Special Committee recommends that the wishes expressed by the people of Nauru of attaining independence on 31 January 1968 be implemented by the administering Power in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

(e) The Special Committee requests the administering Power to rehabilitate Nauru according to the expressed wish of the people so that they could continue to live there.

Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea

(f) The Special Committee reaffirms the inalienable rights of all the peoples in these two Territories to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

(g) The House of Assembly should be made a fully representative body with expanded functions, in order to transfer power to the people of the Territory.

(h) The Special Committee feels that efforts in the economic and educational fields should continue at a more rapid rate to enable the peoples of the Territories to direct their own affairs and take over the administration of their territory.

(i) The Local Government Councils should continue to be strengthened in order that the people could exercise self-government in municipal affairs.

(j) Existing discrimination in the Territory, whether in education, wages or other areas, should be eliminated as quickly as possible.

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

(k) The Special Committee reiterates its belief that a visiting mission to the Territories is necessary and would be most useful in assessing the political climate and aspirations of the peoples. Steps may be taken to arrange such a visit in consultation with the administering Power.

ANNEX*

Report of Sub-Committee II

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

Consideration by the Sub-Committee

1. The Sub-Committee considered Cocos (Keeling) Islands, the Trust Territory of Nauru, Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea at its 66th to 69th meetings held from 23 August to 7 September 1967.

2. The Sub-Committee had before it the working papers prepared by the Secretariat (see paras. 1-92 of the present chapter).

3. The representative of Australia reminded the Sub-Committee that the Trusteeship Council had recently held a thorough discussion of the situation in the Trust Territories of Nauru and New Guinea. All the documentation prepared for the Council was available to members of the Sub-Committee, who should take due note of its contents.

4. The Cocos (Keeling) Islands, whose total area was only five-and-a-half square miles, had at present about 470 inhabitants. A large part of the population had emigrated to Borneo and Malaysia at the end of the Second World War for economic reasons. Those who had remained continued to exercise their right of self-determination within the context of their customs, traditions and religion. The Australian Government had undertaken to interfere as little as possible in such practices. Health services were provided by the Australian Government. Apart from a civil airport, the islands' only economic activities were coconut-growing, fishing and ship-building. Because of their small size, their limited resources and the constant need to provide for the emigration and resettlement of their surplus population, the islands remained dependent on the support and assistance of a larger country.

5. The Trust Territory of Nauru was administered by Australia on behalf of the joint Administering Authority, consisting of the Governments of Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom. It was a small island, as limited in area and population as the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, but had the advantage of possessing an important economic asset, phosphate, which gave the Nauruans the highest *per capita* income in the world. Unfortunately, the deposits were gradually being exhausted. Since Nauru had hardly any arable land and the rainfall was unreliable, it would not be able to provide for its own needs once the phosphate was exhausted. At the request of the Nauruans, the Administering Authority had therefore tried to find an alternative island where the Nauruans could resettle. An exhaustive search had been carried out. Various offers, including an offer of a large island off the coast of Queensland, had been made. At the last session of the Trusteeship Council the Nauruans had said that they had decided to remain on Nauru, despite the unfavourable report of the Committee of Experts set up in 1966 to inquire into the possibility of rehabilitating the worked-out land when the phosphate was exhausted. The report had

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.395/Add.6.

conceded that although it would be technically feasible to refill the land, there were many practical considerations which made such an undertaking impracticable.

6. Since the Committee last discussed Nauru, negotiations on the future of the phosphate industry on Nauru and the Territory's political progress had continued. An agreement on the phosphate industry had been concluded in June 1967. Under the agreement, the Nauru Local Government Council, or its successor, in the event of a constitutional reform, would become the owner of the enterprise and would assume full control and management of the industry. The partner Governments, through the British Phosphate Commissioners, would buy Nauru's entire output of phosphate at a price and rate of production which would be fixed in accordance with procedures laid down in the agreement and the Nauru Local Government Council would receive all the proceeds and meet the operating costs. The Nauru Local Government Council was to set up a Nauru Phosphate Corporation, which would have certain specific consultative and policy control functions until 30 June 1970, when it would assume complete control and management of the phosphate operations at Nauru. The assets of the enterprise would be valued jointly on 1 July 1967 by representatives of the Nauruans and the British Phosphate Commissioners. The valuation would be based on the original and lower cost and was provisionally estimated at \$US22 million.

7. The agreement fixed Nauru's annual output at 2 million tons, at a price of \$12.80 per ton (f.o.b.), subject to adjustment in accordance with the price quoted for Florida phosphate, which was considered the world standard. The parties could request a review of the agreement with twelve months' notice. Since phosphate was the island's only economic resource, the partner Governments had decided to pay the net profits from the industry to the Nauruans. They would thus receive about \$US15.5 million per year as long as the deposits lasted. Under the new financial arrangement the Nauruans would receive \$21 million this coming financial year or \$40,000 for each family over its current earnings. Because of the extractive nature of the industry and because phosphate is the only economic asset, the partner Governments had agreed to give 100 per cent of the benefit of the phosphates to the Nauruans instead of only 50 per cent as was the usual practice in arrangements of this kind. If they had invested the money properly, their future would be assured for many generations to come.

8. Since the negotiations on the phosphate industry had occupied much of the time and attention of the Nauruan leaders and the Administering Authority, discussions on the political future of the Nauruans had been limited, but they would be resumed in the immediate future. The Nauruan leaders had submitted a paper which proposed that Nauru would achieve independence on 31 January 1968 and become a Republic headed by a President who would combine the functions of Head of State and Head of Government. The executive power would be exercised by the President and a Council of Ministers chosen by him. The Nauruan paper had expressed the hope that the Australian High Court would serve as the court of appeal from decisions of the Supreme Court of Nauru. The Nauruans had stressed that their proposition was not final and they had sought the reactions of the partner Governments.

9. The partner Governments were examining those proposals with great care. The Administering Authority had shown a sympathetic attitude towards the Nauruan wishes to resolve their political ambitions. However, it had suggested that there might be advantage in an association with Australia under which a law adopted by the Australian Parliament would make Australia responsible for Nauru's external affairs and defence. The Australian Government would not intervene in any way in Nauruan internal affairs unless the future Nauruan Government expressly requested it. Such an association would give the Nauruan Government many advantages in the field of international affairs. It would make Australia responsible for defending Nauru, whose approximately 600 adult males could scarcely offer a credible defence against external aggression.

10. The Administering Authority had put forward an alternative whereby Nauru would become fully independent and conclude a treaty of friendship with Australia which would make the latter responsible for Nauru's foreign affairs and defence. This proposal was also under study.

11. In conclusion, he believed, that the members of the Sub-Committee would agree that most of the major problems of Nauru had been resolved or were close to resolution and that the future of the Nauruans had been guaranteed to a large extent by the considerable financial benefits conferred upon them.

12. After referring to the tough geographical and climatic conditions prevailing in the Non-Self-Governing Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea and the meagreness of their natural resources, he pointed out that they were jointly administered by Australia with United Nations consent. They had a single Parliament, a single judicial system and a single administration.

13. Considerable progress had been made in education. The number of indigenous pupils attending primary schools had increased from 41,000 ten years earlier to 205,000 today; similarly, whereas there had been 1,500 pupils in secondary schools ten years earlier, now there were 12,000. A university, at which 168 students were registered, had been established, as had other institutions of higher learning, such as the Goroka Teacher Training College, the Administrative College, and the Vudal Agricultural College. Instruction at those schools was almost completely free of charge. Australia had obtained aid in that field from the United Nations Development Programme, which was paying some \$A1.3 million of the approximately \$A4 million set aside for these projects, the rest being paid by the Administration. The specialized agencies and UNICEF were currently considering other forms of assistance to the Territories.

14. The public health situation was fairly good. A special effort was being made to eliminate malaria and tuberculosis by preventive measures. The hospital system was well developed, and public health expenditure had doubled during the past ten years, amounting today to about \$A11 million.

15. In the economic field, the Australian Government was endeavouring to develop production and trade in the Territories and to free them from dependence on Australia. During the past five years the Territories' exports had increased in value by 50 per cent. The quality of the products had also been raised, and harbour installations and airfields had been improved. A great deal of effort was being devoted to forestry and agriculture; in particular, the growing of tea and oil palms had been introduced. It was estimated that the Kieta copper deposits in the Solomon Islands would make it possible to double the Territories' export income within seven years. The Australian Government was trying to attract foreign capital but always guaranteed the indigenous inhabitants a considerable share in such investments. The Solomon Islands copper mining plan would provide many opportunities for the local population and would lead to the establishment of a port, roads, dams, a power station and a town. Australia had been accused in some quarters of unscrupulously exploiting the Territories. The simple answer to such a charge was to point out that in 1966 Australia had given the Territories \$A70 million, representing 58 per cent of their budget. During the current year the figure would be raised to \$A78 million. Such aid was freely given without strings and the people had been told it would continue as long as they wanted it. The Australian Government did not insist that the Territory should be economically viable or administratively self-sufficient at the time of self-determination. This requirement was set at the initiative of the Committee—not the Australian Government.

16. Progress had been made in the political field. The House of Assembly, which had met for the first time in June 1964, included 54 elected members and 10 nominated official members. Thirty-eight of the elected members were indigenous. The House of Assembly had established a Select Committee on Constitutional Development to determine what form of government the people wanted for the future. The Select Committee had an indigenous majority and an indigenous Chairman. As a result of its report at the 1968 elections,

the membership of the House of Assembly would be increased to eighty-four, including ten official members. The ten seats reserved for Europeans would be eliminated and replaced by fifteen regional seats. A modest minimum level of education (intermediate certificate) would be required of candidates for those seats. They would thus be able to make a contribution to the debates of the House of Assembly, in accordance with the wishes of the Select Committee on Constitutional Development. The Chairman of the Select Committee had recently stated that most of the people wanted the members of the House of Assembly to take a larger part in the administration of the country in 1968 but did not want any radical changes. He said that the Select Committee had been concerned only with the views of the people and not with those of the Australian Government or the United Nations or any outside body.

17. A system of parliamentary Under-Secretaries had been established in 1964 to enable some of the elected members of the House of Assembly to gain political experience. The Under-Secretaries, who had previously concerned themselves primarily with local problems, now met each month with the Administrator to consider questions of general policy. Their opinions were taken into account in the formulation of policy. The Administrator was also assisted by a Council consisting of three nominated official members and seven elected members of the House of Assembly. Thus, the members of the House of Assembly were directly associated with the day-by-day work of administration.

18. The political future of the Territories depended in large measure on the development of the local government councils. There were at present 128 such councils and their decisions directly affected the people. Regional conferences of local government councils were held and their recommendations on local and national issues were passed to the Central Administration for consideration and action. They provided an excellent training ground for future politicians. The local government councils worked out independent self-help programmes and several of them had a budget of about \$A100,000.

19. While economic viability and availability of all the necessary administrative staff were not essential for the Territories to be able to decide their future, the Australian Government was convinced that they should have a firm economic base and an effective system of government. Australia was working to build the balanced institutions which would enable the Territories to set up their own democratic government. The Australian Government believed that the people of the Territories should themselves choose the time to achieve self-government or independence.

20. At its twenty-first session, the General Assembly had adopted resolution 2227 (XXI) concerning Papua and New Guinea. In that resolution, which his Government had considered a poor resolution, the General Assembly had called upon Australia to abolish all discriminatory practices in the economic, social, health and educational fields, to hold elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage with a view to transferring power to the people of the Territories and to fix an early date for independence. It had further called upon Australia to refrain from utilizing the Territories for military activities incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations. He wished to state that there were no discriminatory electoral qualifications in the Territories except the minimum requirement for election to the regional seats introduced by the Select Committee on Constitutional Development, a body which had a majority of indigenous members. There was, of course, some discrimination in the Territories, as in any multiracial society, but the Australian Government was making the strongest efforts to discourage such practices and it had outlawed discrimination by legislation years ago. The House of Assembly was also aware of the danger of discrimination not only between Europeans and Papuans and New Guineans but between New Guineans and Papuans, and even between certain tribes and had set up a sub-committee to examine the effectiveness of existing legislation. There was no justification whatever for suggesting, as the resolution did, that elections were not held

on the basis of universal adult suffrage. Everyone over the age of 21 was registered on a common roll and had the right to vote. The date for independence was a matter to be decided by the people of the Territories. The people knew they could choose independence when they wished and the Select Committee on Constitutional Development had been told by the majority of the people that they did not want independence yet. Lastly, Australia's military activities were in no way incompatible with the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement. His delegation therefore categorically rejected that resolution, which was not in keeping with the facts.

21. The representative of Poland said that, as a starting point for its discussion, the Committee should try to ascertain what steps had been taken by the administering Power to implement General Assembly resolution 2227 (XXI). That resolution reflected the feelings of the international community with regard to its responsibility for the peoples remaining under colonial domination and contained specific recommendations for the implementation in the Territories concerned of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

22. His delegation had been disappointed to note the position adopted by the Australian representative. While declaring his country's adherence to the goals of the Declaration, the latter had rejected various practical methods proposed in resolution 2227 (XXI) for the purpose of attaining those goals. Both in the Trusteeship Council and in the Sub-Committee, the Australian representative had challenged the validity of the resolution on the ground that it was not in keeping with the facts. Yet, he had failed to supply the Sub-Committee with any specific information to show that his Government had taken steps to correct the situation in the Territories in question.

23. The paramount considerations in the current debate were the right of the people of Papua and New Guinea to self-determination and independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and the fixing of an early date for independence as recommended in operative paragraph 4 of resolution 2227 (XXI). That date had, of course, to be determined by the people concerned, and the administering Power had a duty to create conditions in which they could freely express their wishes in full awareness of the various choices open to them. His delegation would therefore expect the administering Power to take the time factor into consideration and to do its utmost to assist the inhabitants in developing their political institutions and economic and social environment and in acquiring the skills and education necessary for them to manage their own affairs at the earliest possible time.

24. The pace of development in the Territories was too slow, however accelerated it had been in the past few years, even considering the complex and difficult circumstances prevailing. After half a century of Australian administration, only two indigenous students had received a university education. Moreover, the Legislature for the combined Territories of Papua and New Guinea—the House of Assembly—was apparently in an embryonic stage without substantial power. The working paper prepared by the Secretariat showed that it was the Australian Parliament and not the House of Assembly of Papua and New Guinea which, in the final analysis, approved all legislation for the Territories. The new arrangements proposed by the Select Committee on Constitutional Development would not alter that situation for they did not make any provision for broadening the powers of the House of Assembly. Paragraph 69 of the Secretariat working paper contained a statement by the Australian Minister for Territories to the effect that his Government would not refuse to make changes if there was strong and widespread support for change in the Territory. The question arose as to what the administering Power regarded as constituting "strong and widespread support" and how the population would be consulted. It was clear that the House of Assembly had no power to make an ordinance concerning such changes. Furthermore, there were no political parties which could advocate changes in political status, thereby creating the necessary "strong and widespread"

support for change. It was also relevant that the local Press had published a letter claiming that no one could express himself freely for fear that he would be reported to the Administration. In view of all those factors, the Committee might justifiably wonder how the administering Power intended to ascertain the wishes of the people. That was an important question; the administering Power had, on several occasions, argued that it was the will of the people not to attain independence at the present stage.

25. Resolution 2227 (XXI) also called upon the administering Power to abolish all discriminatory practices in the economic, social, health and educational fields. The administering Power had repeatedly denied that such discrimination existed, but it could not be denied that there was some "inequity" in the treatment of the indigenous people as compared with those described as expatriates. The Australian Administration had acquired some 3 per cent of the total available land, allegedly to protect the indigenous landowners from exploitation by entrepreneurs. The loans granted to expatriates by the Ex-Servicemen's Credit Board were considerably larger than those granted to indigenous ex-servicemen. The latter were entitled to 15- to 20-acre plots of land, while expatriate servicemen received 400- to 500-acre plots. It had emerged during the debate in the Trusteeship Council that some 70 per cent of the land acquired by the Australian Government was held by Australians, and it was obvious that if that process continued the Territory's economy, even after independence, would be in the hands of foreigners.

26. Resolution 2227 (XXI) further called upon the administering Power to refrain from utilizing the Territory for military activities incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations. His delegation would welcome any information from the administering Power showing how it was discharging its obligations in that connexion.

27. His delegation had carefully studied all the relevant documentation, together with the Australian representative's statement to the Sub-Committee on 23 August 1967. He did not deny that there had been some progress in the development of the Territory; his delegation's main contention was that the pace of that progress was too slow. The time factor was extremely important. Despite the administering Power's rejection of General Assembly resolution 2227 (XXI), his delegation held that it was justified and should be implemented.

28. There were various matters which required urgent action. The House of Assembly should be vested with greater legislative powers so as to enable it to deal with all domestic issues. Only in that way could the people acquire the knowledge and political skills they needed to prepare them for independence. In addition, all electoral qualifications should be abolished and replaced by the generally accepted practice of universal adult suffrage. The administering Power should immediately abolish preferential treatment for expatriates, especially with regard to the acquisition of land, and the unequal treatment of the indigenous population in the matter of education had to cease. The people also had to be made aware of their right to decide their future and not fear to express themselves freely. Whether such fears were justified was a secondary consideration; what was important was that the administering Power should dissipate them.

29. His delegation had been gratified to learn that the future of Nauru had been resolved, and it fully supported the Local Government Council's call for independence by the end of January 1968. The future policy and political institutions of Nauru had to be freely decided by its population. His delegation also hoped that a solution would be found to the problem of land rehabilitation, thus enabling the inhabitants to remain on the island and to preserve their national identity.

30. The representative of India said it was heartening to note that, following the long-awaited discussions with the Administering Authority, the representatives of Nauru had proposed that Nauru should become independent on 31 January 1968 and had suggested a form of constitution. However, while the Administering Authority had agreed that basic changes should be made in the Government of Nauru by that date,

it had as yet given no categorical assurance regarding independence for the Territory and had, in fact, presented two alternatives: that Nauru should either become self-governing in internal matters, with Australia remaining responsible for defence and foreign affairs, or that the Territory should become fully independent, with Australia retaining responsibility for defence and foreign affairs on the basis of a treaty of friendship. She recalled that the Head Chief of Nauru had stated in the Trusteeship Council that his people preferred not to make the island's independence conditional on the conclusion of a prior agreement with Australia. The Administering Authority had frequently stated in the past that in determining the future status of the people, it would be guided solely by the wishes of the people themselves. Since the wishes of the people had been clearly expressed by the Head Chief, it was the duty of the Administering Authority to facilitate the transfer of power to the Nauruan people on the date set by them.

31. It was encouraging that a satisfactory agreement had been reached on the question of the ownership and future operation of the phosphate industry in the Territory, but she regretted that no agreement had been reached on the vital question of rehabilitating the mined areas of the island. The Local Government Council of Nauru had expressed reservations regarding the observation of the Expert Committee that re-soiling of the mined areas, while technically feasible, would be impracticable. Her delegation supported the view of the Nauruan people that it was the responsibility of the Administering Authority, which had derived great profits from the phosphate obtained at well below the world price, to restore the island for habitation, as had been recommended in General Assembly resolution 2226 (XXI).

32. With regard to Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, she noted that all the recommendations of the Select Committee on Constitutional Development had now been accepted by the administering Power. While the proposed increase in open electorates represented a measure of progress, it should be viewed in the light of the Visiting Mission's recommendation as early as 1962 that an elected parliament of 100 members should be established. The House would have only ninety-four members even after the 1968 elections. Moreover, the newly proposed constitutional changes fell far short of the recommendations of the Sub-Committee and of those made by the General Assembly in resolution 2227 (XXI). The Sub-Committee had urged the administering Power to take measures to ensure that the House of Assembly could function as a fully representative and effective body. The retention of ten official seats was contrary to its recommendations, and the new regional seats requiring educational qualifications might well not be open to the indigenous population. Moreover, the House of Assembly still had only limited legislative powers. Its power to initiate appropriation measures was also severely restricted.

33. The administering Power had not taken any steps to fix an early date for the independence of the Territories in accordance with resolution 2227 (XXI). It maintained that this was a matter for the people of the Territory alone to decide. Her delegation believed, however, that it was the obligation of the administering Power actively to prepare the people for exercise of their right to self-determination and independence effectively and expeditiously.

34. The representative of Sierra Leone observed that the Administering Authority had so far given no clear indication of its attitude towards the decision of the people of Nauru to seek independence by 31 January 1968 and had advanced alternatives to complete independence which had not been requested by the people. In his view, an administering Power should be guided solely by the expressed wish of the people of the Territory and should not propose alternative solutions if not requested to do so. He noted, in that connexion, that the Administering Authority for Nauru had found it quite easy to support the wishes of the people of another Territory not under its administration, and he failed to see why it could not do so in the case of Nauru.

35. He was also at a loss to understand what practical considerations ruled out the possibility of refilling the worked-

out land when it seemed that it was technically feasible. He noted that the Nauruans had rejected the proposal that they resettle on another island over which they would have no sovereignty. In his view, what was now required was a clear statement from the Administering Authority that the practical considerations rendering it impracticable to refill the land could be surmounted and that the wishes of the Nauruan people for independence by the end of January 1968 could be met.

36. With regard to the Trust Territory of New Guinea, he thought that very little progress had been made. The University had been expanded, but that was to be expected, since it had only recently been established. The opinions of the parliamentary under-secretaries were now being taken into account, although as yet they had no power to make administrative decisions. The Territory of New Guinea had a great potential which apparently was not yet being properly exploited for the benefit of the country as a whole. The Administering Authority should increase the rate at which the Territory's potential was being exploited and ensure that the people as a whole benefited from it and had a say in the administration of the Territory. All too often, in colonial Territories, only the lower echelons of labour benefited directly from the exploitation of their country's potential; Nauru, for example, had twice had to renegotiate the phosphate agreements to ensure that they benefited the people of the Territory as a whole.

37. The representative of Australia said that the burden of the criticisms of the administering Power which had been made seemed to be that progress in the Territories had been disappointingly slow during the previous year. Even if the assumption that the pace of political, social and economic progress could be increased yearly by government policy was disregarded, the reports made to the Trusteeship Council and the Sub-Committee showed that there had, in fact, been considerable progress in all the Territories.

38. General Assembly resolutions 2226 (XXI) and 2227 (XXI), in his delegation's view, set limiting conditions to discussion of the Territories; they created an incomplete, and in some instances seriously distorted, picture of what was happening in the Territories and some major points in the two resolutions were at variance with the facts.

39. Reference had been made to operative paragraph 4 of resolution 2227 (XXI), which mentioned discriminatory practices in Papua and New Guinea. There was no deliberate discrimination in the Territory; the New Guinea Administration had, in fact, introduced legislation in the House of Assembly to outlaw racial discrimination, not only as between Europeans and New Guineans but also as between Papuans and New Guineans, and a special House committee had been set up to investigate the effectiveness of existing legislation. The difference between the "A" schools and the "T" schools was based on their curricula; "A" schools were designed for English-speaking pupils, irrespective of race, whereas "T" schools were for those whose second language was English and were specifically adapted to conditions in the Territory. It was therefore unjust to criticize the Administering Authority, on the one hand, for introducing an Australian curriculum into the schools and, on the other hand, for adapting a curriculum to the needs of the Territory on the ground that the students were not being given the best kind of education the Administering Authority could provide.

40. The only feature of electoral practice which might be called discriminatory was the requirement that candidates for the 15 regional seats in the House of Assembly should possess certain educational qualifications and that provision had been laid down by the Select Committee on the Constitution of the House of Assembly—the representatives of the people—and not by the Australian Government or the Administration of New Guinea. The New Guinea House of Assembly was not, as had been stated, in an embryonic stage. It was a body elected by full adult suffrage—elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage had been held in 1964 and thereafter—and none of the legislation it had submitted for the assent of the Administration and the Australian Parliament had been rejected. No legislation submitted by the

Administration which required the expenditure of money could be passed without the approval of the House of Assembly and one such piece of legislation had, in fact, been rejected. The views of the people of the Territory were constantly sought; at present, the House's Select Committee on Constitutional Development was consulting the people in all areas on their wishes for the future. It was true that political parties had only recently made their appearance in the Territory, but the Administration had never discouraged the formation of political groups; the fact that they had developed so slowly was probably due to the physical difficulties of communications and transport. The fixing of a date for the independence of the Territory was, in his Government's view, the exclusive responsibility of its people and neither the Administering Authority nor the United Nations should interfere with the exercise of self-determination.

41. Of the 3 per cent of the New Guinea land alienated by the Administration, some had been used for public works, some had been leased to Australians or to companies for development purposes, and the remainder was being used by or held in trust for the people. It was therefore unjust to say that there was inequity in land distribution. Moreover, the representative of Poland, while making no reference to the amount of money the Australian Government was spending on the Territory, had found it possible to criticize the Administering Authority for being slow in the development of the Territory and yet claimed that economic enterprises there were exploiting New Guinea's natural resources and its people for the financial benefit of Australian investors. Australian economic enterprises were doing a great deal for the development of the Territory and to claim, as the representative of Poland had done, that they were exploiting its natural resources in the interests of Australia, but not New Guinea, was illogical. It was interesting, and typical of the open society which Australia had, that the article to which the representative of Poland had referred, in which the Administration of New Guinea had been criticized, should have appeared in a periodical published by the Australian Council for New Guinea Affairs.

42. The alleged discrimination in government loans to ex-servicemen was not based on racial considerations. The loans were granted in recognition of valuable service, and the amount of a loan was decided on the purely objective criteria of ability to repay the capital and managerial capacity.

43. The standard of living of the people of Nauru was outstandingly high; one indicator of their prosperity was that, of the 1,025 motor vehicles in private ownership, 558 were owned by Nauruans. Under the recently negotiated phosphate agreement, it was expected that each Nauruan family would receive an annual income \$US34,000 higher than the current average income. Rents averaged \$1 per week, medical services and primary education were free and there was a generous system of scholarships for higher study in Australia. The allegation that the Administering Authority, by making two proposals on the Territory's future relations with Australia during the discussions with a Nauruan delegation in June 1967, was laying down conditions for the granting of independence was unjustified: it was Australia's responsibility under the Trusteeship Agreement for Nauru to safeguard the future of the Territory and to propose arrangements for its defence and foreign affairs after independence for its representatives to consider. Negotiations on the proposals were still under active discussion by both parties which, for the purpose of the negotiations, were equals.

44. As the representative of Australia had said, the recent phosphate agreement was a very generous one, concluded to the mutual satisfaction of two equals. The provision of operative paragraph 3 of resolution 2226 (XXI) on restoring the island of Nauru for habitation, irrespective of the cost involved, was not particularly helpful. If restoring the island were taken to mean filling in the areas from which phosphate rock had been mined with quantities of phosphate rock obtained elsewhere and covering them with a few inches of rather poor topsoil, it was doubtful whether that procedure, even if feasible, would do more than produce only barren areas, and there were serious doubts among experts about

the practicability of filling the mined areas with soil imported from elsewhere. The people of Nauru were well aware that the remaining two thirds of their phosphate deposits would probably be exhausted in less than thirty years; they have been advised of the possibility of building an airstrip or a water catchment system, and the generous terms of the phosphate agreement would enable them to decide freely all such matters after independence. In any event, the implications of the phrase "irrespective of cost" should be given further thought; it could hardly be interpreted to mean that restoration should proceed, even if the costs were considerably in excess of the actual value of the extracted and processed rock.

45. The Chairman said he was happy to note that the Australian representative considered the matter under discussion to be worthy of serious consideration, but he could not agree with him that one of the Sub-Committee's meetings had had to be cancelled because there had been no quorum. The last meeting of the Sub-Committee had had to be postponed because the summary record of the Australian representative's statement on the Territories in question had not been available. While, admittedly, ample information on the Territories was available in the extensive documentation which Australia had supplied to the Trusteeship Council, he himself had understood from members that the Australian statement at the 66th meeting had introduced a number of new elements.

46. The representative of Sierra Leone said that he fully endorsed the Chairman's comments regarding the organization of the Sub-Committee's work. Moreover, he would point out that the Australian representative himself had drawn attention to the amount of material available on the Territories; it was only reasonable for members of the Committee to request further time to give thought to any statements they might wish to make so that they could fulfil their responsibilities properly.

47. He was also surprised that the Australian representative had thought that the Sub-Committee expected progress to take place in all spheres each year. The Sub-Committee was really interested in observing what progress had been made over the long term in the social, administrative, economic and political spheres. He himself, while admitting that there had been progress in the educational field in New Guinea, had merely questioned whether the rate of progress in that field was rapid enough, as well as the rate at which the Territory's potential was being exploited. Furthermore, the Administering Authority could hardly take exception to his suggestion that it should ensure that the Territory as a whole benefited from the exploitation of its potential.

48. The representative of Australia had also observed that he considered the recently negotiated phosphate agreement for Nauru to be generous and that the Nauruans already enjoyed a very high standard of living. However, the point at issue was whether the people of Nauru were benefiting as much as they should under the new agreement, particularly in view of the fact that the phosphate desposits would be exhausted within twenty-nine years. He agreed with the representative of India that the Administering Authority should not seek to impose prior conditions for the independence of Nauru. The only way in which it could properly safeguard the interests of the people of the Territory would be to accept whatever decision they might make concerning the system of government they wished for themselves. The Administering Authority had indicated that it was ready to accede to the wishes of the people of New Guinea when and if they decided to seek independence; it would seem that the same was not being done in the case of Nauru. Moreover, he still found it difficult to believe that the legislature for Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea was anything more than a rubber stamp, since all ordinances required the assent of the Administrator or, in certain cases, the Governor-General, even though the Administering Authority argued that so far assent had never been withheld.

49. The representative of India regretted that the Australian representative had seen fit to criticize the way in which the Sub-Committee was conducting its work. Surely, whether or not the Sub-Committee's work was fruitful or useful depended in large measure on the willingness of the Administering Authority to implement its recommendations, and the Ad-

ministering Authority's attitude towards General Assembly resolution 2227 (XXI) was hardly evidence of its willingness to do so.

50. In criticizing the lack of progress in Papua and the Territory of New Guinea, she had not wished to imply that progress each year was slow but that progress had not been fast enough throughout the term of administration of the administering Power. She still contended, moreover, that there were discriminatory practices in the Territories; for example, the fact that there were two salary ranges in the public service for overseas and for local officers in Papua and New Guinea was clearly discriminatory. The administering Power had tried to justify the educational qualification for the fifteen regional seats on the basis that it was recommended by the Select Committee on Constitutional Development. That argument would have been valid if the Committee had been a fully representative body. But that was not the case.

51. The Australian representative had asked for clarification of the meaning of operative paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 2226 (XXI). "Restoring the island of Nauru for habitation" had already been defined by the Nauru Local Government Council as "replacing sub-soil and topsoil in the same proportions as phosphate bears to topsoil in the unmined areas".^a With regard to the words "irrespective of cost", the Local Government Council's view was that it could not conceive that the United Nations could reconcile a "minimum cost" solution with the obligation for advancement of the Territory and that the Administering Authority should not try to avoid its responsibilities by attempting to recover the cost of restoring land mined in the past out of the proceeds of mining lands in the future. The United Nations position was, therefore, that cost should not be a factor in considering the restoration of the island for habitation.

52. She noted that, once again, no categorical statement concerning the attainment of independence by Nauru on 31 January 1968 had been forthcoming from the Administering Authority. Her delegation would have been heartened if the administering Power had given such an assurance. In conclusion, she observed that the recommendations of the 1962 Visiting Mission to Papua and New Guinea, to which she had referred in her statement at the previous meeting, had stated that a 100-member legislature would be practicable and could be established within one year; the membership of the legislature of the combined Territories would be ninety-six in 1968—six years after the recommendation had been made. This was indeed a slow progress.

53. The representative of Poland said that, in his view, certain misunderstandings might have been avoided if the Administering Power had allowed visiting missions to visit the Territories in question to observe conditions on the spot and to ascertain the wishes of the people. He could not agree with the representative of Australia that the House of Representatives for Papua and New Guinea had attained adulthood; the Secretariat's working paper on the Territories (see paras. 56-92 of the present chapter) clearly stated that ordinances required the assent of the Administrator or the Governor-General. As the situation stood at present, it was the Australian Parliament which, in effect, legislated for the combined Territories and it could not be argued that the House of Assembly had freedom of action. Whether or not assent had actually been withheld for any legislation was not important; the fact remained that the power of the legislature was seriously curtailed.

54. The Australian representative had not denied the existence of some inequality in the granting of loans to expatriate and indigenous ex-servicemen but had argued that such loans were a privilege and not a right. That might well be the case, but his delegation would urge the Australian Government to end the preferential treatment of expatriates. A large loan to such a person would eventually assure him of a sufficiently high standard of education to qualify him for election to the House of Assembly. It was readily apparent that the result would be a vicious circle in which, even after independence, effective power would be in the hands of

^a See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 4*, para. 385 (f).

expatriates. The differences in salaries paid to expatriates and indigenous workers were further grounds for the claim that inequality did exist.

55. The Australian representative had said that there was racial discrimination in the Territory and had observed that such discrimination existed in other countries. That was little consolation to his delegation, and it urged the Administering Power to work for the elimination of such practices. The Australian Government needed no advice in that connexion; it was well aware how it ought to proceed.

56. Although he had made no specific reference in his statement at the previous meeting to the exploitation of the Territory by foreign economic enterprises, it would be most difficult, in view of the grants of land to Australians, to reject that contention that there was such exploitation.

57. The Australian representative had given no direct reply to the question as to how the Administering Power proposed to ascertain the wishes of the population in regard to its future. Neither had he given any direct reply to the question as to how the Australian Government intended to discharge its obligation under resolution 2227 (XXI) to refrain from utilizing the Territories for military activities incompatible with the Charter.

58. As to the question of progress in the Territories, the Committee's debate was not concerned solely with progress during the previous year but also with developments since the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV). Arguments based on the number of indigenously owned bicycles and motor vehicles were no excuse for overlooking that basic fact.

59. The representative of the United States said that his delegation would not comment on the situation in Nauru since the local population and the Administering Authority were engaged in major negotiations affecting the entire future of the Territory. The fact that those talks were being held freely and openly reflected considerable credit on both parties, and his delegation was optimistic about their outcome.

60. There had been much discussion as to whether progress in New Guinea towards self-government was satisfactory and regarding the fact that the Australian Government exercised some control over the local legislature. It was natural that a completely independent country should permit no outside control over its legislature, but until the Territory in question was self-governing it followed that there would be some measure of control. To emphasize that aspect was merely to emphasize the fact that the Territory was not yet self-governing. It was wrong to dub the New Guinea legislature a "rubber stamp" and to ignore the power which it actually possessed. The essential question was whether the Australian Government used its power to inhibit New Guinea legislation; the Australian representative had presented factual information indicating that it had not done so. Furthermore, the passages in the Secretariat working paper which the Polish representative had read out showed that the House of Assembly was broadly empowered to make ordinances for the peace, order and good government of the Territory. His delegation's conclusion was that the New Guinea legislature was functioning effectively and actively and that legislative democracy was evolving at an impressive rate. It was relevant that the House of Assembly had established two Select Committees in the field of constitutional reform, which had made recommendations that had been adopted. There was reason to believe that good progress was being made in bringing the people of the Territory to the stage where they could express their wishes openly and effectively.

61. The representative of Iraq said that his delegation whole-heartedly endorsed the Chairman's statement in reply to the Australian representative's remarks on the organization of the Committee's work. A flexible time-table was of great benefit to delegations in that it gave them time to prepare written statements. His delegation had been grateful for the opportunity to hear the Australian representative's statement.

Conclusions and recommendations of the Sub-Committee

62. Subject to reservations expressed by the representatives of Australia and the United States of America, particularly

on the sending of a visiting mission, the following conclusions and recommendations were adopted.

Conclusions

Cocos (Keeling) Islands

63. The Sub-Committee considers that the progress towards the implementation of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) has been slow.

64. The Cocos Islands have special problems of size and economic viability, but that should not preclude the Administering Power from complying with the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

Trust Territory of Nauru

65. The Sub-Committee observes that the people of Nauru are steadfast in their declaration of becoming independent on 31 January 1968; it, however, awaits an assurance from the Administering Authority that the wishes of the people of Nauru will be respected.

66. The Sub-Committee records the desire of the people to remain in Nauru and for the rehabilitation of their island; but notes the statement of the Administering Authority on the practical impracticability of rehabilitation.

67. Though it is aware of the progress that has been made in the negotiation of ownership and control of the operation of the phosphate industry, the Sub-Committee hopes that the people of the Territory would obtain the maximum benefit from their sole and limited asset.

Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea

68. The Sub-Committee considers that the progress towards the implementation of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) continued to be slow.

69. The Sub-Committee, however, takes note of the political, social and educational growth in the Territory which constitute some advance though it considers it inadequate for a consistent and rapid implementation of the Declaration.

70. The Sub-Committee observes that the economic potential of the Territory has still to be exploited. It considers that an exploitation of this potential for the benefit of the people of the Territory will relieve their dependence on the Administering Power and enhance their movement towards self-determination and independence.

71. The Sub-Committee notes that discrimination in education, the wage structure and other fields still exist in the Territory, though the Administering Power is making efforts to eradicate the problem.

Recommendations

Cocos (Keeling) Islands

72. The Sub-Committee reaffirms the inalienable rights of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

73. The peoples of the Territory should be enabled to express their wishes in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) through well-established democratic processes under United Nations supervision.

74. The Sub-Committee requests that the people of the Territory should be given an opportunity to express their wishes with regard to their future status and in this regard the Administering Power should avail itself of the assistance which the United Nations could extend.

Trust Territory of Nauru

75. The Sub-Committee recommends that the wishes expressed by the people of Nauru of attaining independence on 31 January 1968 should be implemented by the Administering Authority in accordance with the provision of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

76. The Sub-Committee requests the Administering Authority to rehabilitate Nauru according to the expressed wish of the people, so that they may continue to live there.

Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea

77. The Sub-Committee reaffirms the inalienable rights of all the peoples in these two Territories to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

78. The House of Assembly should be made a fully representative body with expanded functions in order to transfer power to the people of the Territory.

79. The Sub-Committee feels that the efforts in the economic and educational fields should continue at a more rapid rate to enable the peoples of the Territories to direct their own affairs and take over the administration of their territory.

80. The local government councils should continue to be strengthened in order that the people could exercise self-government in municipal affairs.

81. Existing discrimination in the Territory, whether in education, wages or other areas, should be eliminated as quickly as possible.

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

82. The Sub-Committee reiterates its belief that a visiting mission to the Territories is necessary and would be most useful in assessing the political climate and aspirations of the peoples. Steps may be taken to arrange such a visit in consultation with the administering Power.

CHAPTER XXI*

BRUNEI

*Information on the Territory¹**General*

1. The Territory of Brunei is situated on the northern coast of the island of Borneo. It comprises two enclaves in north-eastern Sarawak, separated from each other by the valley of the Limbang River. The capital of Brunei is Brunei Town. The area of the Territory is 2,226 square miles (5,765 square kilometres).

2. In 1966, the total population was estimated to be 100,000. At the 1960 census the population was approximately 84,000, consisting of the following:

<i>Indigenous</i>	
Malays	47,000
Other indigenous	12,000
<i>Non-indigenous</i>	
Chinese	22,000
Others (Indians, Europeans, etc.)	3,000
TOTAL	84,000

Status

3. Brunei became a British protected State following a treaty signed by the Sultan with the United Kingdom Government in 1888. Under this treaty, the Sultan agreed that the United Kingdom should be responsible for Brunei's defence and external affairs. A supplementary agreement in 1906 provided for a British Resident to represent the United Kingdom Government in Brunei. Between 1942 and 1945, Brunei was under Japanese military occupation. In 1946, civil government was re-established. Under a new agreement, signed in 1959, the post of British Resident was replaced by that of High Commissioner and the United Kingdom Government continued to be responsible for Brunei's defence and external affairs.

4. The High Commissioner represents the United Kingdom Government in the State of Brunei and exercises the United Kingdom's responsibilities for the defence and external relations of Brunei.

Constitution

5. Formerly, a State Council of twelve members, consisting of the Sultan as President, the British Resident and nominees of the Sultan advised the Sultan in the exercise of his executive and legislative functions. In September 1959, the Sultan promulgated Brunei's first written Constitution which replaced the State Council with three separate bodies: a Privy Council, an Executive Council and a Legislative Council. The main provisions of the Constitution are set out below.

Sultan

6. Supreme executive authority is vested in the Sultan. His assent is required for all bills passed by the Legislative Council. The Chief Minister (*Mentri Besar*) is appointed by the Sultan and is responsible to him for the exercise of all executive authority in the State. The Chief Minister is assisted by his deputy and three senior key officials: the States Secretary, the Attorney General and the State Financial Officer, all of whom are appointed by the Sultan.

Privy Council

7. The Privy Council, presided over by the Sultan, advises the Sultan in matters concerning the amendment of the Constitution and on any other matters at the Sultan's request. It consists of the Chief Minister and five other *ex officio* members, the High Commissioner, and any other persons the Sultan may appoint.

Executive Council

8. The Executive Council, presided over by the Sultan, consists of seven *ex officio* members, the High Commissioner, and seven unofficial members appointed by the Sultan. Six of the latter are appointed from the elected members of the Legislative Council and one from its nominated members. The Constitution provides that in the exercise of his powers and in the performance of his duties, the Sultan shall, with certain exceptions, consult with the Executive Council. He may act in opposition to the advice given him by a majority of the members of the Council, but must record fully in the minutes of the Council the reasons for his decision.

Legislative Council

9. The Legislative Council has ten elected and eleven appointed members. The Speaker of the Legislative Council is appointed by the Sultan either from among

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.365.

¹ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73 e of the Charter on 20 September 1966 for the year ending 31 December 1965.

the membership of the Council or from outside it. Subject to the assent of the Sultan, the Legislative Council may make laws for the peace, order and good government of the State. It may not proceed upon any bill, motion or petition concerning certain matters, particularly financial matters, without the prior approval of the Sultan. If the Legislative Council fails to pass a bill which has been introduced or carry a motion which has been proposed, the Sultan may declare such a bill or motion effective if he considers such action to be in the public interest. The Legislative Council has a life of three years.

Electoral system

10. The elected members of the Legislative Council are elected by, and from among, the membership of the four district councils in the Territory. The elected members of the district councils are directly elected by persons who are subjects of the Sultan, have attained the age of twenty-one and fulfill certain residential qualifications. Elections were held in March 1965 when ten members were elected to the Legislative Council and fifty-five members were elected to the four district councils. More than 80 per cent of Brunei's 19,000 voters participated in the elections.

Local government

11. Brunei Town, Belait, Tutong and Tembung each has a district council with a majority of elected members.

Political parties

12. In the 1965 elections, nine of the elected candidates were independents. The tenth represented the Brunei People's Alliance Party (BPAP). This party, which was formed in 1963, was then reported as favouring Brunei's entry into the Federation of Malaysia, and subsequently it has advocated full independence for Brunei within the Commonwealth.

13. In December 1965, the formation of a new political party, provisionally named Brunei People's Front (BPF), was announced. It was reported to have the support of a number of elected members in the Legislative Council and the district councils. Its president was quoted as having said that Brunei needed a party which would help the people raise their standard of living and work hard for independence.

Constitutional development

14. An official statement issued on 23 December 1964, at the conclusion of discussions in London between the Sultan and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, referred to the proposals for constitutional progress, which were approved by the Brunei Legislative Council on 26 August 1964, calling for the holding of elections to the Legislative Council and district councils in March 1965, to be followed by the introduction of a ministerial system of government. The Executive Council was to become a Council of Ministers and include assistant ministers appointed from among the members of the Legislative Council. The statement added that it was the intention of both the United Kingdom Government and that of the Sultan that Brunei should "proceed progressively towards full parliamentary democracy".

15. A communiqué issued in London on 28 May 1965, following talks between the Sultan and the United Kingdom Government, announced the agreement of the

Sultan to proceed with the appointment of four assistant ministers from among the elected members of the legislature and later to convene a constitutional conference in Brunei. No further information is available concerning the progress made in implementing these constitutional proposals.

Economic conditions

16. The mainstay of Brunei's economy is the oil industry. Approximately 94 per cent of the value of total exports in 1964 consisted of oil exports. Oil mining is in the hands of the Brunei Shell Petroleum Company (formerly the British Malayan Petroleum Company). In 1965, 365 wells were operating, and the annual production amounted to 28,991,000 barrels. Annual production by value was \$M193,912,000.² Mining rents, royalties and taxes imposed on the oil industry form a large part of the total revenue of the Territory, and after the Government, the oil industry is the most important employer of labour (2,550 in 1965). Other sectors of the economy include rubber, subsistence agriculture, fishing, the collection of forest products and some small-scale industries.

17. The only other export of importance, besides oil, is rubber. The chief imports are food-stuffs, manufactured goods, machinery and transportation equipment. The total value of exports for the year 1965 was \$M199,747,812 and total value of imports was \$M114,062,621. The corresponding figures for 1964 were \$M187,383,007 and \$M102,181,131.

18. Brunei's annual revenue far exceeds its expenditure and this has resulted in a large invested surplus which in 1965 totalled \$M933,588,273, compared with \$M930,417,373 in 1964. The Territory's revenue is derived mainly from taxes, royalties, rents, interests and currency. The oil agreement between the Government of Brunei and the Brunei Shell Petroleum Company, signed at the end of 1963, provides for the taxation of the oil company on the basis of equal division of profits. There is no personal income tax at present, but an income tax of 30 per cent is imposed on the profits of companies operating in the Territory. In 1965, the territorial revenue amounted to \$M118,259,107 and expenditure totalled \$M83,694,806. The corresponding figures for 1964 were \$M134,724,059 and \$M63,367,499.

Transport

19. The biggest item in Brunei's Second Development Plan, the rural road project, is reported to be well under way. It is estimated that the cost to the Government will exceed £5.5 million. The project involves the construction of about 150 miles of roads in the hinterland which is yet to be opened up.

20. Among other major development projects in Brunei to be given priority are the planning and building of a new multi-million dollar airport, extension of wharf facilities for coastal shipping in Brunei River, and the construction of a new \$32 million deep-sea port at the coastal township of Muara, seventeen miles from Brunei Town.

Social conditions

Labour

21. No significant changes in problems and general policy were reported by the administering Power con-

² One Malayan dollar equals 2.4d. sterling or \$US0.327.

cerning wages and conditions of employment, or in the administrative organization responsible for governmental activities relating to labour. The total labour force increased from 7,094 persons in 1964 to 7,664 persons in 1965, most of whom were employed by the Government and the Brunei Shell Petroleum Company.

Public health

22. The Territory has two government hospitals and the company hospital with a total of 396 beds. The medical and health facilities have a total of twenty-two registered physicians, forty-eight medical assistants and twenty-nine trained or certified nurses. Brunei has no private medical practitioners. A firm of architects had been commissioned to design and construct a new State Medical Centre incorporating all facilities required in a large modern hospital. Approximately 4.97 per cent of the total government expenditure in 1965 consisted of recurrent and capital expenditure on public health. In 1965, a Flying Doctor Service to the rural areas was instituted. The method involves the use of helicopters and a team comprising a doctor and two nurse-midwives.

23. The Malaria Eradication Project is active; the pre-eradication programme was completed in 1965 and the WHO "attack" phase was started in 1966.

24. There was a cholera epidemic from 21 September to 29 October 1965. No deaths occurred among any patients admitted into hospital. Ninety per cent of the population was inoculated.

Educational conditions

25. In 1965, there were 89 primary and kindergarten public schools with a total of 712 teachers, compared with 86 and 652 in 1964. The total number of primary school pupils rose from 15,222 in 1964 to 16,860 in 1965. The seven public secondary schools increased their enrolment from 1,658 in 1964 to 2,284 in 1965. The number of teachers in secondary schools rose from 100 to 118. The public teacher-training school increased its enrolment from 249 in 1964 to 331 in 1965.

26. The number of independent primary and kindergarten schools remained fifteen, the same as the previous year. However, the primary schools increased their enrolment from 7,060 in 1964 to 7,234 in 1965. An additional independent secondary school was established in 1965, bringing the number to nine with a total enrolment of 1,601 in 1965 compared with 1,409 in 1964. In 1965, there were 231 teachers in independent primary and kindergarten schools and 91 in secondary schools, compared with 219 and 106 in 1964 respectively.

Adult education

27. Facilities for adult education were extended in 1965. A total of 4,889 students were enrolled in classes for adults, 3,760 receiving instruction in Malay and 1,129 in English.

28. Recurrent expenditure on education in 1965 amounted to \$M10,203,287, compared with \$M7,958,110 in 1964. Capital expenditure for 1965 was \$M1,548,447, compared with \$M230,798 for 1964.

CHAPTER XXII*

HONG KONG

Information on the Territory¹

General

1. The Territory of Hong Kong consists of the island of Hong Kong, numerous other islands and an adjoining area of the mainland on the south-east coast of China (Mainland). It has a total area of 398.25 square miles (1,031 square kilometres). In 1965, the population was estimated to be 3,823,200, an increase of 103,200 over 1964. Of this increase, 18,626 represented the estimated net balance of migration.

Status

2. Under the Treaty of Nanking of 1842, the island of Hong Kong was ceded to the British Crown, and in June 1843 it was declared a British Crown Colony. Subsequently, the Convention of Peking in 1860 extended the boundaries of the Colony to include Kowloon Peninsula, and the Convention of Peking in 1898 further extended its boundaries by a ninety-nine-year lease to include areas which are known as New Territories.

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.370.

¹ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73 e of the Charter on 1 June 1966, for the year ending 31 December 1965.

Constitution

3. The formal documents which contain the principal features of the Constitution of Hong Kong are the Letters Patent which provide for the Office of the Governor, the Executive Council and the Legislative Council, and the Royal Instructions, which deal with other related matters.

Governor

4. The Governor, who is appointed by the Crown, is the Queen's representative and head of the executive in the Territory.

Executive Council

5. The Executive Council, which is presided over by the Governor, consists of five *ex officio* and seven nominated members. Its main function is to advise the Governor, who is required to report his reasons fully to the Secretary of State if he acts in opposition to such advice. The Governor-in-Council also has powers to make subsidiary legislation by way of rules, regulations and orders, and to consider appeals and petitions.

Legislative Council

6. The same five *ex officio* members of the Executive Council also serve on the Legislative Council of

which the Governor is the President. In addition, there are seven other official members and thirteen unofficial members nominated by the Governor. Laws are enacted by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, which controls finance and expenditure through its Standing Finance Committee. The Standing Finance Committee has an unofficial majority. There are no elected members on the Legislative Council.

Local government

7. The Urban Council, for the areas of Victoria and Kowloon, consists of twenty-six members: six *ex officio* members and twenty ordinary members of whom ten are appointed by the Governor and ten are elected. The former temporary *ex officio* appointment of the Commissioner for Resettlement was made permanent in January 1965. With effect from 1 April 1965, the number of unofficial members was increased from 16 to 20 by the addition of 2 elected and 2 appointed members. The Council meets monthly to transact formal matters, but most of its work is done through seventeen select committees which meet at frequent intervals. The Council's responsibilities are carried out through the Urban Services Department and the Resettlement Department.

8. The New Territories are divided into four administrative districts, each under a district officer who is concerned with every aspect of government activity in his district and acts as the principal link between the government and the local inhabitants. A district Commissioner co-ordinates the over-all administration of the New Territories.

9. For local representation, villages are grouped under twenty-seven rural committees. Each rural committee has an executive committee which is elected by all village representatives.

10. The chairmen and vice-chairmen of the twenty-seven rural committees, together with the unofficial New Territories' justices of the peace and twenty-one elected special counselors, form the Full Council of the New Territories, called *Heung Yee Kuk* or the Rural Consultative Council. It serves as a forum for the opinion of leaders of New Territories and from which the Government seeks advice on New Territories affairs. It has an Executive Committee which meets monthly and which consists of the chairmen of rural committees, the justices of the peace and fifteen ordinary members elected by the Full Council. It also elects a chairman and two vice-chairmen who maintain contact with the District Commissioner.

Electoral system

11. The electoral franchise for the election of members to the Urban Council consists of all men and women over the age of twenty-one years who are on the lists of special and common jurors.

Judiciary

12. The courts in Hong Kong consist of the Full Court, the Supreme Court, the District Court, the Magistrate's Court, the Tenancy Tribunal and the Marine Court. The Full Court, consisting of at least two judges, hears appeals from the Supreme Court (final appeals lie to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London). The Supreme Court tries criminal cases with a jury and exercises an original

jurisdiction in a large number of civil matters. It also hears appeals from the Magistrate's Court and from the Marine Court. The District Court has both criminal and civil jurisdiction and also hears appeals in certain matters from the Tenancy Tribunal. The Magistrate's Court exercises a criminal jurisdiction similar to that of magistrates in England. It has a limited jurisdiction in domestic matters.

13. The Chief Justice is head of the judiciary. In 1965, the judiciary consisted of the Chief Justice and six puisne judges, seven district judges, thirty-one magistrates and the Tenancy Tribunal.

Public Service

14. On 1 April 1965, the Public Service totalled 68,474, an increase of 4,681 over the previous year. The administering Power states that the policy of the Honk Kong Government is to fill as many posts as possible with local candidates, particularly in more senior grades which have in the past been staffed largely by overseas officers. The percentage of administrative and professional posts filled by local officers increased from 46.3 per cent in 1964 to 46.6 per cent in 1965, compared with 38.6 per cent in 1960. The percentage of overseas officers in 1965 was 2.9 per cent.

15. A Government Training Unit, established in 1961 to train local officers for more responsible jobs, has been expanded and is responsible for co-ordinating and organizing local in-service training schemes. During 1965, the unit ran a total of ninety courses attended by 1,248 trainees. In addition, 148 local officers were sent overseas for training.

Economic conditions

16. The industrial economy of the Territory is based on exports rather than on its domestic market. In general, while heavy industry, such as ship-building and ship-breaking, continues to be important, the Territory relies primarily on the products of its light industries. The textile industry dominates the economy, accounting for 52 per cent of all domestic exports and employing 43 per cent of the industrial labour force; it is also a significant factor in international trade in textiles. In all sectors, the manufacture and processing of cotton goods predominates. The manufacture of garments remains the largest sector within the industry, employing 72,000 workers. From a total of \$HK862 million² in 1961, the value of exports of clothing rose to \$HK1,760 million in 1965, produced by some 1,100 factories.

17. The manufacture of plastic articles ranks next in importance. The industry manufactured exports worth approximately \$HK700 million in 1965. Various other light industries have continued to expand. These include the manufacture of air conditioners, aluminium ware, clocks and watches, cordage, electrical appliances and equipment, enamel ware, food and beverages, foot-wear, light metal products, optical equipment, paint, vacuum flasks and furniture and furnishings. There has been a marked growth in the electronics industry. The manufacture or assembly of transistor radios began in 1959, and since then exports of transistor radios have doubled in volume each year to reach a total of 5.7 million sets worth \$HK118

² One Hong Kong dollar is the equivalent of 1s.3d. stg. or \$US0.175.

million in 1965. The industry exports to sixty-four countries but its principal markets are the United Kingdom and the United States.

18. The Territory is one of the world's leading centres for ship-breaking. Much of the scrap is used in rolling mills, which produce thousands of tons of metal products used in building construction; the demands of the construction industry have resulted in the establishment of two new factories of potential significance for the future. In addition, a considerable quantity of rods and bars is shipped abroad, principally to South-East Asian countries.

19. In connexion with primary industries, the 1961 census showed just under 90,000 people employed in farming and fishing, and another 10,000 in mining and quarrying. Somewhat more than 5 per cent of the area of Hong Kong is classified as urban. Land is scarce and almost all of the cultivated land in Hong Kong is situated in the New Territories. Approximately 79 per cent of the total area of the Territory is marginal land.

20. Rice was formerly the most important agricultural crop but there has been a steady increase in market gardening and pig and poultry production. The area of land under permanent vegetable cultivation increased from 2,250 acres in 1954 to 8,100 acres in 1965. Six to eight crops of vegetables are harvested annually from intensively cultivated land.

21. Marine fish is one of Hong Kong's main primary products and the fishing fleet—nearly 10,000 vessels—is the largest of any port in the Commonwealth. The number of fisheries at the 1964 census was 76,000. In 1965, production of fresh oyster meat totalled 284 tons, valued at approximately \$HK1,490,000. Some of these oysters were processed into dried meat or juice and exported to markets overseas.

22. Iron ore—extracted at Ma On Shan—is the principal mineral production. Iron ore, wolframite and graphite are mined underground, and kaolin, feldspar and quartz are mined by open-cast methods. All the feldspar and quartz and about 25 per cent of the kaolin are used in local industry. In 1965 iron ore production totalled 131,954.81 tons, valued at \$HK5,937,967. The total production of minerals was valued at \$HK6,733,214.

23. Imports in 1965 were valued at \$HK8,965 million, an increase of 5 per cent over the previous year. The principal imports are food-stuffs. In 1965, they were valued at \$HK2,042 million, representing 23 per cent of all imports. Other imports were raw materials and semi-manufactured goods imported for use by industry, capital goods such as machinery and transport equipment, and mineral fuels and lubricants. In 1965, the People's Republic of China was the Territory's principal supplier, providing 26 per cent by value of all imports and 55 per cent of food imports. The value of goods imported from mainland China increased by 18 per cent compared with 1964. Imports from that country included textile yarn and fabrics, clothing and base metals. Imports from Japan, the second largest supplier, increased to 17 per cent. Textile goods represented 38 per cent of imports from Japan; other goods included machinery, base metals, chemicals and many manufactured articles. Imports from the United States decreased slightly from the previous year, while those from the United Kingdom showed a large increase. The principal imports from the United States were textile fibres, tobacco, machinery, plastic materials and

fruits and vegetables. The imports from the United Kingdom consisted mainly of machinery, motor vehicles and textile products.

24. Domestic exports were valued at \$HK5,027 million in 1965, representing an increase of 14 per cent over the previous year. Fifty-two per cent of this value was accounted for by manufactured textile products and 15 per cent by plastic goods. Fifty-one per cent of all domestic exports went to the United States and the United Kingdom. The United States remained the largest market, importing 34 per cent by value, thus increasing its purchases by \$HK492 million, or 40 per cent over the previous year. The value of goods sent to the United Kingdom was \$HK861 million (17 per cent of all domestic exports), or 11 per cent over the previous year. The Federal Republic of Germany, which became the third largest market as a result of increasing exports of woollen knitwear, imported Hong Kong goods value at \$HK371 million. Other important markets were Canada, Singapore, Australia and Japan.

25. Re-exports were valued at \$HK1,503 million in 1965, an increase of 11 per cent over the previous year. The principal commodities in the re-export trade were gems and jewelry, textiles, medicinal and pharmaceutical products and fruits and vegetables. Japan was the lead to an estimated deficit of \$HK60 million. Singapore, Indonesia, the United States and China (Taiwan).

26. The tourism industry showed a slow-down during 1965, although 446,743 tourists visited the Territory, representing an increase of 12.1 per cent over the previous year. Growth of the tourism industry between 1957 and 1965 showed an increase of 9.27 per cent. In 1964, it had showed an increase of 23.3 per cent over 1963.

27. Hong Kong is financially self-supporting apart from the cost of its external defence. To this, it makes a contribution which, since 1958, has been £1.5 million a year. In 1964 it was announced that an additional £6 million would be made available over the years up to 1970 as a contribution to the costs of army and air force building programmes in Hong Kong.

28. The Territory's revenue for 1964-1965 totalled \$HK1,518 million, \$HK136 million more than the original estimate. Its expenditure totalled \$HK1,440 million, which was \$HK56 million less than originally estimated. Capital expenditure totalled nearly \$HK547 million. For 1965-1966, it is anticipated that capital expenditure arising from the programme of non-recurrent public works, which are mainly for more schools, medical facilities and road and land development, will lead to an estimated deficit of \$HK60 million.

29. Under Regulation 7 of the Emergency (Bank Control) Regulations of 1965, sterling was declared legal tender in Hong Kong, in any amount, at the rate of \$HK16 for one pound sterling. Since 1935, the value of the Hong Kong dollar has been maintained at approximately 1s.3d. sterling.

Social conditions

Labour

30. It is estimated that more than one third of the million and a half people employed in Hong Kong are engaged in the manufacturing industries. The 1965 returns to the Labour Department indicate that the number of registered and recorded factories showed an increase from 8,215 in 1964 to 9,002 in 1965. The number of persons employed in such factories totalled

370,738, an increase of 20,564 over the previous year. The returns from the Labour Department are voluntary and do not include out-workers or people employed in cottage industries and construction industries, or agriculture and fishing. The textile industry, which employed 154,605 persons, remained the largest employer of labour. The plastics industry, in which a large number of out-workers are known to be employed, continued its expansion as the second largest employer of labour.

31. Wages and salaries continued to rise. It is estimated that industrial wages rose by 50 per cent during the years 1960-1965. The Salaries Commission, appointed in early 1965, was scheduled to review values of the main group of employees in the Public Service in the light of the 1965 consumer price index. In June, the Commission recommended an award of 12½ per cent increase in substantive salary for the period 1 July 1963 to 31 August 1964, to replace the interim non-pensionable allowance and children's allowance granted in 1964. This award did not apply to minor staff whose wages and salaries had been treated separately. The recommendation was later carried out. In the same month, the armed services and the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works granted their industrial employees a wage increase aimed at bringing wage levels broadly into line with minor staff wage levels in the government service following increases granted to such staff in December 1964.

32. The Factory and Industrial Undertakings Ordinance is the basis for the control of hours and conditions of work in industry. There are no legal restrictions on hours of work for men, most of whom work 10 hours a day or less in industry. Young people between the ages of 14 and 16 years may work only eight hours a day. Restrictions on the hours of work for women, introduced in the year 1959, have resulted in a decrease compared to the number of hours of work for men employed in the same concerns.

33. At the end of 1965, there were 309 registered unions, consisting of 239 workers' unions with a total declared membership of 6,471 and sixteen mixed organizations with a total declared membership of 9,371.

Public health

34. Including maternity and nursing homes, but not institutions maintained by the Armed Forces, there were 13,176 hospital beds available in Hong Kong in 1965, compared with 11,989 in 1964. Of these beds, 11,146 were in government hospitals and institutions and in government-assisted hospitals, while the remaining 2,030 were provided by private agencies. Apart from beds assigned to the mentally ill and for the treatment of tuberculosis and infectious diseases, there were 9,450 beds available for all general purposes, including maternity cases. A total of 1,860 beds were specifically assigned for the treatment of tuberculosis in 1965.

35. Government medical officers totalled 527 in 1965. There were 56 government dental surgeons, 1,167 government nurses and 180 government midwives.

36. Births, which numbered 108,518 in 1964, declined to 102,195 in 1965; the birth-rate fell from 29.4 in 1964 to 27.0 per thousand of population. The infant mortality-rate dropped from 26.4 to 23.7 per thousand births in 1965.

37. The estimated expenditure of the Medical and Health Department for the year 1965-1966 was \$HK106,044,500. An estimated \$HK41,534,200 in medical subsidies was paid to private organizations.

The combined estimated expenditure of the Medical and Health Department represented 8.62 per cent of the Territory's total estimated expenditure of \$HK1,711,408,040.

Educational conditions

38. Education is not compulsory. Some of the places in government and government-aided primary and secondary schools are free. Grant schools are mainly secondary schools; the Government pays the difference between their approved recurrent expenditure and approved income, and may contribute part of the cost of capital expenditures. Subsidized schools are mainly primary schools which receive subsidies in order to enable them to keep their fees low. Private schools range from kindergarten schools to post-secondary schools. Some government assistance is given to selected non-profit-making secondary schools and awards are given to some students.

39. On the basis of the medium of instruction, schools are classified as Chinese, English and Anglo-Chinese institutions. Primary education is of six years' duration; in Chinese schools it begins at the age of 6 and in English schools at the age of 5. English is studied from the third year in the majority of Chinese primary schools.

40. In September 1965, there were 129 government schools, 22 grant schools, 559 subsidized schools, 1,559 private schools and 12 special schools. From October 1964 to September 1965, new schools and extensions were added as follows: 4 government, 53 government-aided and 16 private.

41. Total enrolment in primary schools was 627,621, which was 30,650 more than in 1964. Enrolment in all types of secondary schools had increased by 19,557 to 197,237. The number of pupils enrolled at all schools, colleges and education centres totalled 914,311, an increase of 60,032 over the previous year.

42. In March 1965, there were 25,643 full-time and part-time teachers employed in registered day schools, of whom 6,954 were university graduates and 11,792 trained non-graduates. Another 4,922 teachers were engaged in tutorial, evening and special afternoon classes, and 129 were in special schools. At the end of the 1964-65 school year, the ratio of pupils to teachers in all types of schools was 28.5 : 1.

43. In September 1965, there were 2,319 Hong Kong students pursuing further studies in the United Kingdom, compared with 1,863 in 1964. The number of students arriving in the United Kingdom was 889, compared with 750 in 1964. Hong Kong students in the United States, Canada and Australia were 981, 383 and 213 respectively.

44. Expenditure on education for the year ending 31 July 1965 was \$HK227,160,641, an increase of nearly \$HK37.5 million over the previous year.

45. A report of a working party appointed to advise on the recommendations of the 1963 Education Commission was tabled in the Hong Kong Legislative Council in April 1965 and formally adopted two months later. The main features of the proposals, the implementation of which began later in the year, were:

(a) To provide as rapidly as possible a subsidized primary school place for every child of the right age who seeks one.

(b) To add to the list of aided primary schools a number of non-profit-making private schools as well as private sessions of many existing subsidized schools.

(c) To double the amount of money which the Government contributes annually to the provision of free places in primary schools; to return to the age of 6 years as the minimum age of admission to government and aided primary schools, and to introduce a new sixth year of basic education.

(d) To provide government and aided secondary school places, or subsidized places in selected private schools, for 15 to 20 per cent of all primary school leavers, including a minimum of between 1,500 and 2,000 new subsidized places annually in private secondary schools.

(e) To increase the standard tuition fees in government and aided secondary schools, and simultaneously to increase the rates of remission of fees.

(f) To discontinue, eventually, Special Forms I and II for pupils completing their primary course, and to

establish one-year to two-year courses in vocational training centres.

(g) To standardize the length of full-time training for non-graduate teachers at two years, with facilities for a third year of specialized training in certain subjects, and to lengthen part-time in-service courses by one year.

(h) To introduce fees of \$HK400 per annum for the two-year course in government teacher-training colleges, with a scheme of interest-free loans to students of up to \$HK1,200 per annum in addition to maintenance grants of up to \$HK1,600 per annum.

(i) To introduce an 80 per cent capital grant for aided secondary schools approved by the Government.

(j) To extend and qualify the amount of assistance to be given to private non-profit-making schools.

CHAPTER XXIII*

UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS, BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS, ANTIGUA, DOMINICA, GRENADA, MONTserrat, ST. KITTS-NEVIS-ANGUILLA, ST. LUCIA, ST. VINCENT, BERMUDA, BAHAMAS, TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS, CAYMAN ISLANDS, FALKLAND ISLANDS (MALVINAS) AND BRITISH HONDURAS

A. Action previously taken by the Special Committee and the General Assembly

1. UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS, BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS, ANTIGUA, DOMINICA, GRENADA, MONTserrat, ST. KITTS-NEVIS-ANGUILLA, ST. LUCIA, ST. VINCENT, BERMUDA, BAHAMAS, TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS AND CAYMAN ISLANDS

1. The Special Committee first considered these Territories in 1964. The conclusions and recommendations reached by the Special Committee are contained in its report to the nineteenth session of the General Assembly (A/5800/Rev.1,¹ chapters XXIV and XXV).

2. In its conclusions and recommendations concerning the United States Virgin Islands, the Special Committee invited the administering Power to ensure that the people of the Territory be enabled, in complete freedom and without any restrictions, to express their wishes concerning the future political status of the Territory. The Committee also expressed the hope that the administering Power would provide it with all the relevant information concerning steps it had taken in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It further invited the administering Power to transmit to the General Assembly information concerning the elections, the Constitutional Convention to be convened in December 1964 and the resulting recommendations and developments, so as to enable the Assembly to take suitable decisions. To this end, the Special Committee recommended the sending of a visiting mission to the Territory in consultation with the administering Power.

3. With regard to the British Virgin Islands, the Special Committee noted that there seemed to be movements in this Territory in favour of remaining outside the proposed federation of Leeward and Wind-

ward Islands and investigating instead the possibility of an association with other neighbouring Territories. The Special Committee invited the United Kingdom to accelerate the constitutional process so that the people might decide their future in accordance with their own wishes and within the framework of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

4. In its conclusions and recommendations concerning Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the Special Committee considered that since these islands possessed sufficient features in common it should be possible to form a union among them or at least among some of them, with a view to establishing an economically and administratively viable State. It noted that some of the Territories appeared to be in general agreement on the goal of immediate independence and the formation of a federation. The Committee further noted that there were differences of opinion on the form such a federation would take which it believed were explained by the differences in the economic levels of the islands. In its view, a more thorough investigation was needed of the facts and of the opinions of the leaders, as well as of the amount of assistance required after independence. The Special Committee, therefore, requested the administering Power to fulfill its obligations in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration, to take all necessary measures for finding an adequate solution to the problem and to facilitate the fulfilment of the freely expressed wishes of the people. The Special Committee also considered that the best way to obtain direct information concerning the views and wishes of the people would be to send a visiting mission to the Territories.

5. With respect to Bermuda, the Bahamas, the Turks and Caicos Islands and the Cayman Islands, the Special Committee, *inter alia*, invited the administering Power to take measures without delay to im-

* Previously issued under the symbol A/6700/Add.14 (Parts I and II).

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (Part I).

plement the Declaration embodied in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. The Special Committee also considered the possibility of sending a visiting mission to these Territories with a view to obtaining additional information.

6. At its twentieth session, the General Assembly, having examined the chapters of the reports of the Special Committee concerning these Territories (A/5800/Rev.1, chapters XXIV and XXV; A/6000/Rev.1,² chapters XXIII and XXIV), adopted resolution 2069 (XX) on 16 December 1965. This resolution, which related to 26 Territories, including the 13 under consideration, endorsed the Special Committee's conclusions and recommendations; requested the administering Powers to allow United Nations visiting missions to visit the Territories and to extend to them full co-operation and assistance; and decided that the United Nations should render all help to the people of these Territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status.

7. In 1966, the Special Committee considered the report of its Sub-Committee III (A/6300/Rev.1,³ chapter XXII, annex) and adopted the conclusions and recommendations which are contained in the Special Committee's report to the twenty-first session of the General Assembly (*ibid.*, chapter XXII, para. 469).

8. In its conclusions and recommendations concerning the United States Virgin Islands, the Special Committee, *inter alia*, noted the information provided by the administering Power concerning the Constitutional Convention which met between December 1964 and February 1965 and which proposed a new Organic Act for the Territory providing for a greater degree of autonomy. It noted also that, so far, the administering Power had taken final action on only one of its proposals made by the Convention and that the proposal for an elected Governor had not yet been passed into law; regretted that despite some measure of advancement in the political field the administering Power had not yet implemented the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with respect to the Territory and urged it to do so without delay; reaffirmed the right of the people to exercise their right of self-determination in complete freedom; and reiterated its previous recommendation inviting the administering Power to ensure that the people of the Territory be enabled, in complete freedom and without any restrictions, to express their wishes concerning the future political status of the Territory. It also invited the administering Power to ensure that the people of the Territory were made fully aware of the various alternatives open to them, in their achievement of the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); and reiterated its belief that the United Nations should be assured that the exercise of the right to self-determination was undertaken in complete freedom and in full knowledge of the available choices. It therefore considered that a United Nations presence during the procedures for the exercise of the right of self-determination was indispensable, and regretted that the administering Power had not agreed to a visiting mission from the Special Committee to the Territory, affirming that a

visit to this Territory was both useful and necessary. Accordingly, it invited the co-operation of the administering Power to enable the United Nations to send a visiting mission to the Territory, in order to obtain first-hand information concerning the Territory and to ascertain the views of the people and the extent to which they were aware of the options open to them, with regard to their future political status.

9. With regard to the British Virgin Islands, the Special Committee noted that a constitutional conference was due to be held in October 1966 and regretted that, despite a certain measure of constitutional advancement, the administering Power had not yet implemented the Declaration with respect to the Territory.

10. The Special Committee invited the administering Power to take the necessary steps to ensure that the people of the Territory were fully aware of the various forms of political status open to them and were enabled in complete freedom to express their wishes concerning the future political status of their Territory. The Special Committee also reiterated its belief that the United Nations must be assured that the exercise of the right of self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) would be undertaken in complete freedom and in full knowledge of the available choices. It therefore considered that a United Nations presence during the procedures for the exercise of self-determination would be essential. The Special Committee further invited the co-operation of the administering Power to enable the United Nations to send a visiting mission to the Territory, in order to obtain first-hand information and to ascertain the views of the people.

11. With respect to Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Monserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the Special Committee, having heard the statement of the administering Power and the statement by the petitioner from Grenada, did not find it possible to give the question of these Territories the detailed examination it required. It therefore decided to postpone consideration of this question and, subject to any decisions which the Assembly might take at its twenty-first session, to examine the situation in these Territories in detail at an early date during its meetings in 1967.

12. Regarding Bermuda, the Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands and the Cayman Islands, the Special Committee, *inter alia*, reaffirmed that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples applied fully to these Territories and urged the administering Power to implement the Declaration in these Territories without delay. The Special Committee considered that in view of the lack of sufficient information on these Territories, and, in the case of the Territory of the Bahamas, of conflicting statements concerning conditions, the administering Power should enable the Special Committee to dispatch a visiting mission to the Territory as soon as possible. It also considered that the administering Power should take immediate measures to transfer all powers to the peoples of these Territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom. It further expressed its belief that the United Nations should take appropriate steps to ensure that the people of those Territories were enabled to express them-

² *Ibid.*, Twentieth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23.

³ *Ibid.*, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23.

selves freely on their future status and in full knowledge of the options available to them.

13. At its twenty-first session, the General Assembly, having examined the chapters of the report of the Special Committee concerning these Territories, adopted resolution 2232 (XXI) on 20 December 1966. This resolution, which related to twenty-five Territories, including the thirteen under consideration, *inter alia*, reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of these Territories to self-determination and independence; called upon the administering Powers to implement without delay the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly; and reiterated the Assembly's Declaration that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of colonial Territories and the establishment of military bases and installations in them was incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. It also urged the administering Powers to allow United Nations visiting missions to visit the Territories, and to extend to them full co-operation and assistance; decided that the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of these Territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status; and requested the Special Committee to continue to pay special attention to these Territories and to report on the implementation of the present resolution to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.

2. FALKLAND ISLANDS (MALVINAS)

14. Following the Special Committee's consideration of the Territory in 1964, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2065 (XX) on 16 December 1965, by which, after noting the existence of a dispute concerning sovereignty over the Territory, it invited the Governments of Argentina and of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to proceed without delay with the negotiations recommended by the Special Committee with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), bearing in mind the provisions and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and the interests of the population of the Territory.

15. In letters dated 9 February 1966,⁴ the Permanent Representatives of Argentina and the United Kingdom to the United Nations transmitted to the Secretary-General the pertinent part of a joint communiqué issued at Buenos Aires on 14 January 1966 by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom and the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship of Argentina. The communiqué stated that both Ministers had agreed that the recommended discussions should be pursued without delay. In letters dated 22 August 1966⁵ the two Permanent Representatives concerned transmitted to the Secretary-General the text of a further joint communiqué, issued on 20 July 1966. This communiqué stated that meetings on the problem had been held on 19 and 20 July 1966. The talks had been conducted in a cordial atmosphere and it was agreed that they should be continued.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, documents A/6261 and A/6262.

⁵ *Ibid.*, documents A/6261/Add.1 and A/6262/Add.1.

16. On 16 November 1966, the Special Committee, at its 478th meeting, recalled the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) and took note of the information provided by the two Governments concerned.

17. On 15 December 1966, the Deputy Permanent Representative of Argentina and the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations transmitted letters to the Secretary-General containing the text of a joint communiqué issued on the same date by representatives of the two Governments.⁶ The communiqué stated that, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) and with previous announcements, meetings were held from 28 November between representatives of Argentina and the United Kingdom. The two Governments reported that during these meetings certain ways of reaching agreement were considered. Both Governments would proceed with the talks in order to try to resolve the problem. In due course they would submit a more detailed report on the outcome of these talks to the Special Committee and to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.

18. On 20 December 1966, the General Assembly decided, without objection (see 1500th plenary meeting) to approve a consensus formulated by the Chairman of the Fourth Committee. The consensus reads as follows:

"With reference to General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) of 16 December 1965 concerning the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), the Fourth Committee took note of the communications dated 15 December 1966 of Argentina and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (A/C.4/682 and A/C.4/683). In this regard there was a consensus in favour of urging both parties to continue with the negotiations so as to find a peaceful solution to the problem as soon as possible, keeping the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the General Assembly duly informed about the development of the negotiations on this colonial situation, the elimination of which is of interest to the United Nations within the context of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960."

B. Information on the Territories

1. UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS⁸

General

19. The United States Virgin Islands, which lie east of Puerto Rico, comprise about 50 islands and small islets, the most important of which are St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix. The total land area of the 3 main islands is 132 square miles (341.9 square kilometres).

20. According to the latest annual report on the Territory, the Virgin Islands are in the midst of a

⁶ *Ibid.*, documents A/C.4/682 and A/C.4/683.

⁷ *Ibid.*, document A/6628, para. 13.

⁸ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United States of America under Article 73e of the Charter, on 8 June 1966, covering the year ended 30 June 1965.

population explosion. In 1965, the resident population was estimated at 50,000, including alien workers and part-time residents, compared with 32,099 at the 1960 census.

Constitution

21. A Constitutional Convention met in St. Thomas from December 1964 to February 1965, and approved various amendments to the Revised Organic Act of 1954 for submission to the United States Congress. The Convention was composed of twenty-two delegates, elected at a general election held on 4 November 1964, and the eleven existing senators of the Virgin Islands. Recommendations in the form of a proposed Second Revised Organic Act were transmitted to the President and the Congress of the United States in July 1965. The major proposals for revision, which were indicated in the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, para. 14), included proposals for reapportionment of the legislature and for an elected Governor. The action taken by the United States Congress in connexion with these proposals is outlined in the succeeding paragraphs.

22. The executive power is vested in the Governor of the Virgin Islands who is appointed by the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the United States Senate. There is also a Government-Secretary similarly appointed who serves as Acting Governor in the absence of the Governor. Heads of government departments are appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Virgin Islands Legislature. All executive power is exercised under the general supervision of the United States Secretary of the Interior.

23. The Revised Organic Act of 1954 established a unicameral legislature called the Virgin Islands Legislature. On 10 August 1966, the United States Congress approved a reapportionment bill (H.R. 13277) to become effective for the elections to be held in November of the same year, which enlarged the Legislature from 11 to 15 members.

24. The Legislature has full legislative powers under the United States Constitution on local matters, including, in particular, the power to appropriate funds and levy taxes. All legislation is subject to approval by the Governor who also has the power to veto bills. The Governor's veto may be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the Legislature. The power of the President of the United States to review legislation is limited to those situations in which a bill vetoed by the Governor and repassed by the Legislature is vetoed a second time by the Governor. The President may then take a final decision by confirming or overruling the action of the Governor.

Electoral system

25. Under the new electoral arrangements which came into force following the adoption of the new Reapportionment Act during 1966, each of the three main islands is regarded as an electoral district or constituency. St. Thomas and St. Croix return 5 members each and St. John returns 1. In addition, 4 members, called senators-at-large, are returned by the electorate of the Territory as a whole. Elections are held every two years.

26. To be eligible to be a member of the Legislature, a person must be a citizen of the United States who has attained the age of twenty-five years and has been a resident of the Territory for at least three years.

27. To be eligible to register as a voter a person must be a citizen of the United States who has attained the age of twenty-one years. The Revised Organic Act empowers the Legislature to prescribe other qualifications provided that no property, language or income qualification may be imposed and that no discrimination be made on the grounds of race, colour, sex or religious belief.

28. Under the electoral law of the Virgin Islands a primary election is required in cases where the number of candidates of the same party offering themselves for election exceeds the number of seats available.

Judiciary

29. The judicial power of the Territory is vested in the District Court of the Virgin Islands and its inferior courts. The District Court has original jurisdiction in cases arising under local law and appellate jurisdiction over inferior courts. As the District Court is a trial court of the federal system, appeal from its decisions is to the Appeals Court of the United States. The right to trial by jury is guaranteed to all who ask for it.

30. On 8 February 1965, the Governor approved an act which consolidated the former Municipal Court of St. Thomas and St. John and the Municipal Court of St. Croix into the Municipal Court of the Virgin Islands. By this Act, which came into effect on 1 March 1965, the jurisdiction of the Court in civil actions was increased from actions involving \$1,000 to those involving \$10,000.

Political parties

31. The Democratic and Republican parties of the United States have branches in the Virgin Islands. There is also a Virgin Islands Party, although it does not appear to be active at present.

32. Early in 1966 the number of voters enrolled as Democrats was estimated at 11,000, while the number enrolled as Republicans was estimated at 600.

33. The Democratic Party is divided into two factions, the Mortar and Pestle Democrats and the Donkey Democrats. At the recent elections, the Donkey Democrats formed an alliance with the Republican Party.

Recent political developments

1966 elections

34. On 1 September 1966, the Virgin Islands Legislature enacted a law making the necessary provisions for the new electoral arrangements set out in the Reapportionment Act. Included in this law is a provision requiring candidates for primary elections to subscribe to an oath of loyalty to their political party. The bill was passed by the Legislature by a vote of 6 to 5. The opposition claimed that the requirement of a party loyalty oath was designed to prevent a coalition between the Donkey Democrats and the Republicans at the forthcoming elections.

35. On 6 September 1966, the two factions of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party held conventions to nominate their candidates. The Donkey

Democrats and the Republicans endorsed a team of 15 persons as candidates which included 13 Donkey Democrats and 2 Republicans. The Mortar and Pestle Democrats nominated 15 candidates, and an independent candidate was also nominated.

36. On 11 September, when the coalition candidates filed their nominations, the Supervisor of Elections informed them that the nominations could not be accepted until the candidates had subscribed to the required loyalty oath. This, the candidates refused to do. The case was taken to the courts where it was held that the loyalty oath was not required, since this provision of the law applied only to party primary elections and, since there were only 15 candidates nominated, no primary elections could be held.

37. Elections were held on 8 November 1966. The number of registered voters was reported to be 16,887, which was 2,811 more than in 1964. As a result of the elections, the Mortar and Pestle Democrats won 9 seats, including all 5 St. Thomas seats and all 4 at-large seats, while the Donkey Democrats and Republicans won 6 seats, including all 5 St. Croix seats and the 1 St. John seat. Neither of the two Republican candidates on the coalition ticket won a seat.

38. Following the elections, petitions charging irregularities were filed by defeated candidates and a recount was held. The recount did not affect the results.

Elective Governor bill

39. As noted in the Special Committee's report for 1966 (A/6300/Rev.1, para. 16), following the recommendations of the Constitutional Convention of 1964, a bill to provide for an elective Governor was passed by the United States House of Representatives on 16 May 1966. On 10 October 1966, the United States Senate passed the House bill with a number of amendments. It was claimed, however, that there was insufficient time to hold the necessary conferences in order to reconcile the differences, and the 89th Congress adjourned without taking final action on the bill.

40. One of the members of the United States House of Representatives summed up the differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill as follows:

"... The House provided for a two-year term; the Senate changed it to four years. The House set the election date for November 8, 1966—the Senate changed the date to November 3, 1970. The House would permit the Governor and Lt. Governor to be elected to as many 2-year terms as they could be elected. The Senate restricted them to two four-year terms, but they could be elected after a four-year intervention.

"The two versions are definitely at odds on provisions on the recall of the Governor. The House provided for an impeachment trial to be held by the Virgin Islands Legislature, before a panel selected by the judges of the Third Circuit Courts. The Senate amended the bill to provide for removal by 75% of the registered voters. Removal, however, would be subject to the approval of the President. The impeachment proceedings could be initiated, either by two-thirds vote of the Legislature, or through the Legislature via petition signed by 25% of the registered voters."

41. On 17 January 1967, a bill to provide for an elective Governor of the Virgin Islands was introduced

in the United States Senate. It is reported that this new bill is substantially the same as the bill passed by the Senate in 1966.

Economic conditions

42. Tourism continues to be the most important industry in the Virgin Islands. In 1965, 647,717 tourists visited the islands compared with 448,165 the previous year. Recognition is being given to the need for a broader base of industry and agriculture to maintain a stable economy, according to the latest annual report of the administering Power. A study of alternate uses for agricultural land has been conducted by the Caribbean Research Institute and a preliminary report issued recommending suitable crops of the type needed for export to the mainland during winter months and to meet a growing local demand. In the opinion of the administering Power, future growth in agriculture will require intensive land use with economically feasible crops rather than the extensive use with sugar cane and cattle grazing that has been the practice in the past.

43. Virgin Islands manufacturers of goods that contain not more than 50 cent of foreign raw materials are allowed duty-free entry of their products into the United States under the United States Tariff Act. The textile and watch assembly industries are the chief industries to have taken advantage of this provision. Difficulties have occurred when competing companies in the United States have charged unfair competition.

44. The watch assembly industry was established in the United States Virgin Islands in 1959 and since then has shipped its entire production to the United States free of duty. The rate of shipment from the Virgin Islands rose from more than 5,000 movements in 1959 to a rate in excess of 4 million in 1965.

45. In October 1965, the Virgin Islands Government, acting to guard against abuses of the duty-free system, established quotas for the watch assembly industry. Production within the limits of the quota would be subject to a small local tax, while production in excess of quotas would be taxed at a much higher rate. Early in 1966, a St. Croix watch company challenged the right of the Governor and the Virgin Islands Legislature to set such quotas. The courts subsequently declared the establishment of a local quota invalid. In January 1967, the Virgin Islands Legislature repealed its watch tax legislation.

46. On 11 October 1966, the United States Congress adopted an Act authorizing the United States Secretaries of Commerce and of the Interior, acting jointly, to allocate quotas among watch producers in the United States Virgin Islands, Guam and American Samoa. By this legislation, the annual quota for all three Territories, which was fixed at one ninth of the total United States watch consumption for the prior year, will be divided among the three Territories, with the largest share going to the Virgin Islands where the industry was already established. Specifically, seven eighths of the total quota will go to Virgin Islands, the remaining one eighth being divided between Guam and American Samoa, two thirds going to Guam and one third to American Samoa. Hearings to determine quotas for individual firms in the Virgin Islands began in Washington in February 1967.

47. It is reported that in 1966 there were 16 watch manufacturers employing about 800 workers in the Virgin Islands, 13 of these firms being situated on St. Croix.

48. An oil agreement with the Hess Oil Virgin Islands Corporation was signed into law by the Virgin Islands Government in September 1966. Under the terms of the agreement, the petroleum company would expand its facilities on St. Croix and, subject to approval by the President of the United States, would ship 25,000 barrels of petroleum products per day to the United States duty-free. Under this agreement, royalties to the Virgin Islands would amount to approximately \$12,500 per day or over \$4.5 million annually over a sixteen-year period. In a resolution, acknowledged by the Governor, the Virgin Islands Legislature called upon the Department of the Interior to recommend the requested Hess quota to the United States President. Information on the President's decision is not yet available.

49. The Territory derives its revenue from internal taxation and funds made available by the United States in accordance with the provisions of the Revised Organic Act. Under these provisions, a sum equal to the amount of revenue raised locally is made available to the Virgin Islands by the United States from duties collected on Virgin Islands' products entering the United States. These funds, called matching funds, are made available to the Legislature to expend as it sees fit, subject to presidential approval. The remainder of the duties collected is also made available to the Virgin Islands Legislature but it may be used only for emergency purposes or for essential public projects.

50. Public revenue for the fiscal year 1964-1965 amounted to \$40,648,000, an increase of \$10,654,000 over the previous year. This amount included contributions of \$10,506,000 from the United States made up of \$8,313,000 in matching funds and \$2,193,000 in grant-in-aid and other programme funds.

51. The budget introduced by the Governor in January 1967 called for a total expenditure of \$51 million for the fiscal year 1967-1968.

52. During 1964, imports from foreign countries continued to show an increase. They amounted to \$27.2 million compared with \$22.5 million in 1963 and \$21.2 million in 1962. Trade figures with the United States for that year are unavailable. However, according to the annual report of the administering Power, new records were set in external trade in 1965. For example, the Virgin Islands Rum Council announced that rum shipments to the mainland in 1965 had exceeded 1 million gallons for the first time.

53. In 1965, *per capita* income was estimated in excess of \$2,000, the highest in the Caribbean, compared with \$1,761 in 1964 and \$1,543 in 1963.

54. A comparative price survey of basic commodities in supermarkets in the Virgin Islands was made possible in 1966 through special appropriation by the Legislature. According to the survey, price increases on the United States mainland are reflected in the United States Virgin Islands, but at a higher level because of local shortages, the low density of population, inefficient marketing methods, the absence of competition and higher transportation and handling charges. As an island economy with limited natural resources, approximately 95 per cent of all its needs

must be imported. The survey found that prices in Puerto Rico, New York and Washington, D.C., were much lower for almost all commodities. To remedy the situation, the survey recommended, *inter alia*, an extensive consumer education programme; a purchasing co-operative comprised of small grocers; free specialized services in the area of management and marketing to small grocers; small loans at low interest rates to be made available to small grocers for modernization purposes; and encouragement of other super-market chains to establish themselves in the area.

55. The Virgin Islands Corporation, wholly owned by the federal Government, was chartered during the depression of 1934 to help stabilize the economy of the community. While its charter does not expire until 1969, steps were taken in 1965 to transfer some of the Corporation's responsibilities to the territorial Government. Management of the power generating facilities on St. Croix and St. Thomas, together with the seawater desalting plant on St. Thomas, was transferred to the newly constituted Virgin Islands Water and Power Authority. The Harry S. Truman Airport (St. Thomas) and commercially developed sections of the submarine base in St. Thomas were transferred to a custodial agency of the local government. Land formerly held by the Corporation in St. Croix was allocated to the local authorities for education, housing and health facilities.

56. The Virgin Islands Corporation was one of the principal producers of sugar until low prices and high wages helped to drive away this industry. The Governor recently announced a realignment of agriculture by which no farming activity requiring government subsidies will be permitted. The Corporation's operations had been centred on St. Croix, but rising labour and production costs and continuing dry spells resulted in deficits averaging \$387,000 a year from 1957 to 1962. In 1966 a private firm purchased 2,000 acres of sugar land and the mill. The new owners agreed to phase out sugar operations over the next two years. The mill was sold and shipped to Venezuelan interests in 1966. No special problems were created by the disappearance of the sugar industry, since the islands have a chronic labour shortage.

57. In 1966, the United States Federal Aviation Agency made grants totalling \$1.6 million for the repair and resurfacing of the Harry S. Truman Airport in St. Thomas and the Alexander Hamilton Airport in St. Croix. The three grants cover approximately 75 per cent of the total cost of the projects, the balance of the cost to be assumed by the Virgin Islands Government.

Social conditions

Labour

58. The employment requirements of the Virgin Islands' expanding economy continue to exceed the local labour supply. Consequently, it is necessary to supplement the labour force with workers from neighbouring islands and other areas. In 1965, local establishments employed 13,910 of these workers, compared with 16,016 in the previous year. Non-agricultural placements numbered 1,491, a gain of eighty-nine over the previous year. A total of 1,551 agricultural openings was certified in 1965, compared with 1,467 in the previous year.

Public health

59. There are two general hospitals and one clinic in the Territory. The first phase in the planning of two

new health centres was completed in 1965. Each centre will consist of a 250-bed general hospital, a 70-bed long-term facility, a public health centre and an out-patient clinic. The administering Power reports that because of the growth in population, the full health needs of the island cannot be completely met before the new health centres are completed. When the new centres are completed they are expected to provide adequately for the health needs of the Territory for the next twenty to twenty-five years.

60. Public health programmes were expanded during 1965. A programme for the eradication of the mosquito carrying dengue and yellow fever was in operation. Indications were that the complete eradication of the mosquito from the Territory within two or three years was highly probable. Nutritional, dental and sanitation programmes were either expanded or initiated.

61. A record number of births, 1,762, was registered in 1964, the birth rate rising from 39.5 per thousand in 1963 to 42.0 per thousand in 1964. The infant mortality rate rose slightly from 31.7 per thousand live births in 1963 to 31.8 per thousand in 1964. The death rate fell from 10.0 per thousand in 1963 to 8.2 per thousand in 1964.

62. Expenditure on public health in the fiscal year 1964-1965 was \$5,384,000 or 15.39 per cent of total budgetary expenditure.

Educational conditions

63. In 1965, the number of pupils in the public schools was 9,399, compared with 8,671 in 1964. Additional school construction projects in 1965 assured the opening of 14 elementary classrooms on St. Croix, 9 of them at the new Grove Place School and 10 high school classrooms on St. Thomas. The Virgin Islands Legislature has earmarked \$4.2 million from a bond-issue programme for the construction of 129 new classrooms at primary and secondary level which were to be ready for occupancy by September 1966.

64. The College of the Virgin Islands, which provides two-year courses, held its first graduation ceremony in 1965. In its third year, beginning in the fall of 1965, the College was expected to have an enrolment of approximately 120 students. Plans were being made to establish four-year programmes in liberal arts and teacher education beginning in 1966, as the first of the College's programmes leading to a bachelors' degree.

65. Expenditure on education in the fiscal year 1964-1965 was \$5,004,000, or 14.3 per cent of total budgetary expenditure.

2. BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS⁹

General

66. The British Virgin Islands comprise some forty islands and islets, of which eleven are inhabited. The total area of the Territory is approximately 59 square miles (153 square kilometres). The largest islands are Tortola (21 square miles or 54 square kilometres), Virgin Gorda (8.25 square miles or 21 square kilometres), Anegada (15 square miles or 39 square kilometres), and Jost Van Dyke (3.25 square miles or 8 square kilometres).

⁹ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73 c of the Charter on 10 March 1967 for the year ending 31 December 1965.

67. In 1964 the estimated population was 8,619, having risen from 7,340 in 1960.

Constitution

68. The present Constitution was introduced in 1954 and amended in 1959. Following a report by a Constitutional Commissioner appointed by the United Kingdom in 1965, a Constitutional Conference was held in London in October 1966 at which agreement was reached on a new Constitution. The main provisions of the present Constitution are set out below.

69. The head of the Government of the Territory is the Administrator who is appointed by the Crown. He exercises his powers in consultation with the Executive Council over which he presides.

70. The Executive Council consists of 2 official members, 1 member appointed by the Administrator from among the nominated members of the Legislative Council, and 2 members elected by the members of the Legislative Council from among the elected members of that Council. In addition to taking decisions on all internal matters, as the main executive body, the Council undertakes the supervision of certain departments of the Administration.

71. The Legislative Council, presided over by the Administrator, consists of 6 elected members, 2 unofficial and 2 official members nominated by the Administrator. The Council has the power to legislate for all aspects of the internal affairs of the Territory, subject to the assent of the Administrator.

Electoral system

72. Elections to the Legislative Council take place every three years; the six elected members are elected on the basis of universal suffrage in single-member constituencies. The last general elections were held in November 1963, when 13 candidates stood for 6 elective seats.

Judiciary

73. The Territory participates in the court system of the Leeward and Windward Islands.

Constitutional Conference and other political developments

74. A Conference to discuss changes in the Constitution of the British Virgin Islands was held in London from 4 to 10 October 1966. Attending on behalf of the British Virgin Islands were the Administrator and 4 members of the Legislative Council, 2 of whom were elected members of the Executive Council while the other 2 represented the group in the Council known as the Opposition.

75. The discussions at the Conference were based on the recommendations of Mrs. Mary Proudfoot, who in January 1965 was appointed Constitutional Commissioner for the British Virgin Islands to make recommendations for any constitutional changes deemed necessary. Mrs. Proudfoot submitted her report in June 1965. The Conference reached unanimous agreement on a new Constitution, the main features of which are outlined below.

76. The Legislative Council will consist of a Speaker, chosen from outside the Council; 2 *ex officio* members (the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary); 1 nominated member appointed by the Administrator after consultation with the Chief Minister; and 7 elected members.

77. The Speaker will be elected by a simple majority of all members for the life of the Council and will have a casting vote only.

78. Apart from the Speaker, all members will have an original vote but only the votes of elected members will determine whether a motion of no confidence in the Government is carried or defeated.

79. There would be 7 single-member constituencies and a single Boundary Commissioner is to be appointed by the Administrator from outside the Territory to recommend constituency boundaries.

80. In general, the existing qualifications and disqualifications of electors and of members and the existing provisions relating to tenure of seats of members will be retained. However, as an alternative to the existing residence qualifications for electors, a person will be qualified to be registered as an elector if he was domiciled in the British Virgin Islands and has ceased to be resident there and taken up residence in the United States Virgin Islands within two years preceding the date of registration.

81. The Legislative Council will be required to meet at least once every three months, and its maximum life will be increased from 3 to 4 years. The Administrator will be empowered to prorogue the Council on the advice of the Chief Minister and to dissolve it after consulting him.

82. The Executive Council will consist of 2 *ex officio* members (the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary) and 3 ministers, one of whom will be Chief Minister, appointed from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. The Administrator will appoint as Chief Minister the elected member who in his opinion is best able to command the support of a majority of the elected members of the Legislative Council. The other 2 ministers will be appointed by the Administrator on the advice of the Chief Minister. The Administrator will normally preside over the meetings of the Executive Council.

83. The Administrator's special responsibilities will be defence and internal security, external affairs, terms and conditions of service of public officers, the administration of the courts and finance. The Conference noted that the closest co-operation would be needed between the minister responsible for economic planning and the Administrator, who will be responsible for finance.

84. In general, the Administrator will be bound to consult the Executive Council and act on its advice. The exceptions will be where it is provided that he act in his discretion or on the advice of, or after consultation with, some other person or authority or where, in respect of his special responsibilities, he considers that the public interest would sustain material prejudice if the Council were consulted. If, having obtained the advice of the Executive Council, he considers it in the interests of his special responsibilities not to act on that advice, he will report this to the Secretary of State.

85. The Administrator will continue to have legislative power but only in respect to legislation necessary in the interests of his special responsibilities. Before using this power he will be required to consult the Executive Council and if it does not agree, to report to the Secretary of State and, if time permits, to obtain his prior approval.

86. The Constitution will also provide for the appointment of a Public Service Commission, consisting

of 3 members appointed for periods of up to three years by the Administrator. The Administrator will consult this Commissioner on matters relating to officers in the Public Service.

87. The Conference also agreed to take advantage of the suggestion that the Supreme Court of the West Indies Associated States might also serve the Virgin Islands.

88. The Conference agreed that a Boundary Commissioner should be appointed forthwith and an interim order-in-council should be submitted to make provision for extending the maximum life of the present Legislative Council and to enable the Administrator to fix the boundaries of the new constituencies. Once the electoral preparations had been completed, the main constitution order should be submitted, the existing Legislative Council dissolved and a general election held. After the general election the new Constitution would be brought fully into effect and a new government formed under it.

89. In November 1966, a Boundary Commissioner appointed by the United Kingdom arrived in the Territory. His report, delineating new boundaries for the seven constituencies, was approved by the Legislative Council on 14 December 1966. No date has yet been fixed for the general elections.

90. In April 1966, Mr. H. L. Stoutt, one of the elected members of the Executive Council and Mr. A. Scatliffe, an opposition member of the Legislative Council, answered questions put to them by newspaper reporters concerning the possibility of unitary statehood with the United States Virgin Islands. Both were reported to have stated that more than ten years ago there had been a very strong feeling that the islands should be linked with the United States islands for economic reasons, but that now there was no such feeling. The United Kingdom Government had undertaken the financing of several projects to improve the islands and, if it continued to assist financially, there would be no need to think of linking up with the United States Virgin Islands.

Political parties

91. Until recently, there were no political parties in the Territory, each of the elected members having stood for election as an independent.

92. The recent elections for the 7 seats in the newly constituted Legislative Council of the British Virgin Islands were contested by 3 political parties—the United Party (UP), the Democratic Party (DP) and the Peoples Own Party (POP). For the convenience of the electorate each Party adopted a symbol—a Dove, a Star and a Hand V respectively.

93. The aims of the parties, with minor variations, are identical. The general welfare of the people is their main consideration, with promise of better jobs and higher wages, improvement of all the social services, agriculture, fisheries and water supplies, the provision of better roads, communications and transportation, and improved supplies of electricity. Each Party stresses the need for economic development and encouragement of foreign investment.

94. The UP pledges itself "to work for better relations with neighbouring countries, particularly the United States Virgin Islands; continued good relations with the Mother Country" (the United Kingdom) "to encourage it to give greater financial assistance for the economic development of this Territory;" and to "en-

deavour to bring about the act of Social Security for our people".

95. The DP emphasizes the need to attract development capital, since it recognizes that political advancement is insufficient without economic advancement.

Elections

96. In the elections of 14 April 1967, the UP won 4 seats, the DP 2 and the POP 1. The number of votes cast for all 7 districts was 2,562, representing a 72 per cent ballot by the 3,500 registered voters.

97. On 17 April the majority Party, the UP, elected Mr. Lavity Stoutt as its leader. Mr. Stoutt subsequently assumed office as Chief Minister. On the advice of the Chief Minister, two other members of the UP were appointed Minister of Communications, Industry and Works and Minister of Agriculture, Lands and Social Services.

98. The provisions of the Virgin Islands (Constitution) Order, 1967, came into operation on 18 April 1967. The first meeting of the newly elected Legislative Council was scheduled for 24 April 1967.

Economic conditions

99. The economy of the Territory is closely related to that of the adjacent United States Virgin Islands. It is reported that over 30 per cent of the Territory's work force is employed in St. Thomas, one of the United States Virgin Islands. The principal occupations in the Territory in order of importance are public services, the hotel industry, building trades and agriculture. The principal crops are vegetables and fruit.

100. In 1965, the value of imports amounted to \$2,969,000,¹⁰ compared with \$2,436,000 in 1964. Exports in 1965 amounted to \$79,000, having declined from \$106,000 in 1964. The principal imports are lumber, food, machinery and automobiles and come mainly from the United States, Puerto Rico and the United States Virgin Islands. The main exports are livestock, fresh fish and fruit. Exports are mainly to the United States Virgin Islands, Martinique and Guadeloupe.

101. Public revenue and expenditure in 1965 amounted to \$1,826,232 and \$1,987,105, respectively, compared with \$1,171,000 and \$1,183,000 in 1964.

102. In 1962, an economist of the University of the West Indies completed a comprehensive report on development in the Territory. This report recommended priorities for road construction and the extension of the airfield.

103. In a statement on the economy of the Territory made in October 1966, the Administrator drew attention to the growth of local revenue over the past ten years. Local revenue had increased 1,310 per cent and, in particular, had increased more rapidly than the United Kingdom grant-in-aid. The grant-in-aid had represented 73 per cent of total expenditure in 1961 but in 1966 represented only 31 per cent. The Administrator paid tribute to assistance from private British investors, Colonial Development and Welfare funds and, in particular, to the large investment by Mr. L. S. Rockefeller. He also drew attention to the potential for development of the tourist industry.

104. Recently completed development projects include a road spanning the island of Tortola from east

to west which was completed in 1965, a bridge linking Tortola with Beef Island, opened in February 1966, and the cable-telephone link with Bermuda. The Beef Island airfield, the point of entry for tourists coming to Tortola, is capable of handling light aircraft only and investigations are at present being made to determine the cost of extending and surfacing it. The United Kingdom Government has announced that when this examination is completed it will consider what financial contribution it is able to make.

105. In May 1966, Mr. L. S. Rockefeller, who proposed to invest \$1.5 million on expansion of tourist facilities on Virgin Gorda, requested the lease of government-owned lands at less than the usual economic rentals and the granting of special concessions or exemptions in respect of customs duties, income, land and house taxes and the requirements concerning the employment of stated proportions of local labour. In its reply, the British Virgin Islands Government announced that it was reviewing the whole question of incentives to investors and would consider these requests within the context of its new policy.

106. In July 1966, the Government published a White Paper setting out its proposals for improving and extending the incentives provided under existing legislation for new industries and hotels. These proposals were to be introduced in the Legislative Council in the form of three bills: the Pioneer Services and Enterprises Bill, the Hotels Aid (Amendment) Bill and the Income Tax Bill. The first of these bills was introduced in the Legislative Council in December 1966; the remaining two will be introduced at the Council's session in 1967.

Social conditions

Labour

107. As stated above, over 30 per cent of the Territory's labour force is employed on St. Thomas in the United States Virgin Islands.

Public health

108. There is a cottage hospital on Tortola with 35 beds where, in 1964, a total of 648 in-patients and 2,121 out-patients received treatment.

109. Expenditure on public health in 1965 amounted to \$99,875, compared with \$96,360 in 1964.

Educational conditions

110. Education is free and compulsory up to the age of fifteen. The Government maintains two primary schools and one secondary school. There are 12 private schools which receive grants from the Government and there are 3 unaided schools. In 1964, there were 1,239 boys and 1,271 girls enrolled. In 1965, expenditure on education amounted to \$210,829, compared with \$152,270 in 1964.

111. In December 1966, it was announced that a grant of \$220,780 had been approved from Colonial Development and Welfare funds for the construction of a new comprehensive school on Tortola.

112. An earlier decision to establish a separate Education Department headed by a Superintendent of Education came into effect on 1 January 1965, when a Superintendent was appointed from the United Kingdom.

113. During 1965 two head teachers returned from the United Kingdom and one returned from Antigua on completion of their training courses. Three other

¹⁰ Since 1958, United States currency has been legal tender in the Territory in addition to United Kingdom and West Indies currencies. These latter currencies, however, are not in fact used.

teachers began courses at the Training College in Antigua.

3. ANTIGUA, DOMINICA, GRENADA, MONTSERRAT, ST. KITTS-NEVIS-ANGUILLA, ST. LUCIA AND ST. VINCENT

THE TERRITORIES IN GENERAL

General

114. Antigua, Montserrat and St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla form part of the Leeward Islands. They lie roughly midway in the arc of the West Indian islands stretching from Jamaica to Trinidad, with the Caribbean Sea to the west and the Atlantic Ocean to the east. Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada form part of the Windward Islands. There are a number of smaller islands called the Grenadines, which lie between St. Vincent and Grenada; some of these are administered as part of St. Vincent and some as part of Grenada. Since the present systems of government in these Territories are basically similar, the principal features common to all Territories are set out in this section. Additional information is given in the separate section on each Territory which follows.

Present constitutions

Administrator

115. The Administrator in each Territory is appointed by the Queen and has the status of the Queen's representative. He is constitutionally required to act on the advice of the Executive Council, except as otherwise provided, for instance in the exercise of his powers to dispose of Crown or Government lands and property, to constitute offices and make appointments, and in the exercise of his powers of pardon.

116. The Administrator is not required to obtain the advice of the Executive Council in any case in which, in his judgement, the urgency of the matter requires him to act before the Executive Council can be consulted; however, he is required to communicate to the Council his action and reasons therefore. The Administrator may also act contrary to the advice of the Executive Council, "if in his judgement, he considers it necessary to do so in the interest of maintaining law and order in the West Indies, or in order to maintain the efficiency of the Judiciary or the Public Service". However, he must first obtain the approval of the Secretary of State, or, in cases of urgency, he must report to the Secretary of State as soon as practicable.

Executive Council

117. In each Territory, the Executive Council is responsible for the general control and direction of the Government, and is collectively responsible to the Legislature. In Antigua, St. Kitts, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the Executive Council comprises the Administrator who presides, five unofficial members (the Chief Minister and four other ministers) and one *ex officio* member, the principal law officer. In Montserrat, there are four unofficial members, two official members, the Financial Secretary and the principal law officer, as well as the Administrator. In all Territories, the Administrator appoints as Chief Minister the member of the Legislative Council who, in his judgement, is most likely to command a majority. The other unofficial members are appointed on the advice of the Chief Minister. The ministers may be assigned responsibility for any government business, including financial matters, with the exception, however,

of the maintenance of law and order, matters relating to the judiciary and the Public Service. Ministers assigned departmental responsibilities must be appointed from the elected members of the Legislative Council; the Minister without Portfolio may be appointed from either the elected or the nominated members of the Legislative Council.

Legislative Council

118. In each Territory the Legislative Council comprises a majority of elected members, one or two *ex officio* members and one or two nominated members. Montserrat excepted, the Legislative Council is presided over by a Speaker, elected from within or outside the Council's membership, who has a casting vote. In Montserrat the Administrator presides. The Legislative Councils have the power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Territory.

Electoral systems

119. Elections to the Legislative Councils are held every five years. Elections are based on universal adult suffrage in single-member constituencies.

Public service

120. In each Territory there is a Public Service Commission whose members are appointed by the Administrator after consultation with the Chief Minister. The appointment, dismissal and disciplinary control of public service employees in each Territory is vested in the Administrator in his discretion, acting after consultation with the local Public Service Commission.

Judiciary

121. A Supreme Court and a Court of Appeal for the Leeward and Windward Islands (and for the British Virgin Islands) was established by an Order in Council in 1939. New provisions were made under an Order in Council in 1959, which also established a Judicial and Legal Service Commission. The Commission is composed of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Leeward and Windward Islands; a judge or ex-judge of a supreme court of any of the United Kingdom Territories and the chairmen of two of the advisory Public Service Commissions in the Territories served. The Chief Justice is appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and judges are appointed by the Judicial and Legal Service Commission with the approval of the Secretary of State.

122. The Supreme Court sits in each of the Territories under a resident puisne judge. It has original and appellate jurisdiction and may try cases of every type. Appeals from the Supreme Court of the Leeward and Windward Islands may in certain cases lie to the British Caribbean Court of Appeals. Each of the Territories also has circuit courts, a court of summary jurisdiction and magistrate's courts.

Negotiations for federation

123. Following the dissolution of the Federation of The West Indies in 1962, the representatives of the Governments of Barbados, Antigua, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada began discussions among themselves and with the Government of the United Kingdom for the formation of a federation to be known as "The West Indies Federation". Late in 1962, Grenada opened discussions with Trinidad and Tobago on a possible association, but the remaining seven Territories decided to go ahead with plans for a federation.

124. Negotiations continued until April 1965, when the Chief Minister of Antigua announced that Antigua would not join the proposed federation. In August 1965, the Premier of Barbados announced that Barbados would seek separate independence.

Proposals for associated status

125. In December 1965, the United Kingdom issued a White Paper in which it proposed a new constitutional status for six Territories, namely Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. It was proposed that constitutional changes for the Territory of Montserrat be considered separately.

126. Under the constitutional arrangements, each Territory would become a State in association with the United Kingdom, with control of its internal affairs and with the right to amend its own constitution, including the power to end this association and to declare itself independent.

127. So long as the Territories remained States in association with the United Kingdom, that Government would accept responsibility for their external affairs and defence, and the British Parliament and the Queen-in-Council would have legislative power for the discharge of their responsibility. Apart from these powers and responsibilities, and powers concerned with the application in the Territories of the British Nationality Acts, the United Kingdom Government would have no power to legislate for the Territories without their consent and no responsibility for the conduct of their affairs.

128. The head of the executive government would be the Queen's representative appointed for a term of five years by the Queen on the advice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies who would be guided by the Chief Minister (or Premier) concerned. A British Government representative in the area would be responsible for the conduct of relations between the United Kingdom and the Territories.

129. Safeguards for the preservation of democratic forms of government and for the protection of fundamental rights would be entrenched in the constitutions of the Territories. A superior court would be established for all the Territories whose functions would include securing the observances and interpretations of the constitutions. The President of the Court would be appointed by the Lord Chancellor. Citizenship would continue to be governed by the British Nationality Acts unless a Territory established a separate citizenship.

130. The Territories would continue to be eligible to receive British aid, including budgetary assistance. These arrangements, if accepted, would provide the basis from which fresh forms of regional co-operation either among themselves or with neighbouring islands could be considered.

131. Each Territory was invited to consider these proposals and to prepare draft constitutions which could then be discussed at a constitutional conference.

132. These proposals were considered by the legislatures in each of the Territories early in 1966 and draft constitutions were prepared. A series of constitutional conferences then took place in London between 28 February 1966 and 26 May 1966, at which agreement was reached on the new status of association with the United Kingdom outlined in the White Paper and on the general outlines of new constitutions for each Territory. The Leader of the Opposition of St. Lucia signed the report but was recorded as stating that

because of the fundamental nature of the new arrangements, their introduction should be preceded by a general election. The Leader of the Opposition of Grenada also signed the report but was recorded as not agreeing to certain provisions of the new Constitution, including the transitional provisions. He also called for a general election before the new arrangements came into effect (see paras. 248 and 249 of the present report). A brief account of the constitutional conferences is contained in the previous report of the Special Committee (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, paras. 59-68).

Main features of the new arrangements

General

133. By the terms of the new constitutional arrangements agreed upon at the Conferences, each Territory will become self-governing in a new relationship of association with the United Kingdom. It was agreed that this would be a free and voluntary association, terminable by either side at any time, and that it would represent the termination of the colonial relationship between the Territories and the United Kingdom.

134. The new associated States will have full control over internal matters while the United Kingdom will retain powers relating to external affairs and defence. Each associated State will have power to amend its constitution, including the power to end the association with the United Kingdom and declare itself independent. The main features of the new arrangements are described below.

Responsibilities and powers of the United Kingdom

135. Almost identical agreements were reached at the three separate conferences on the question of the responsibilities and powers of the United Kingdom. The relevant portion of the Report of the Windward Islands Constitutional Conference¹¹ (Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent) is reproduced in full below.

"12. It was agreed that the United Kingdom will in each case be responsible for defence and external relations. In discharging this responsibility, the United Kingdom will act in close consultation with the Governments of the associated states in matters which affect the territory. It was accordingly agreed that during the continuance of the association the relations between the United Kingdom and each associated Government should be governed by the arrangements described below.

"13. The United Kingdom legislation establishing the association should provide that the Government of the United Kingdom is to be responsible for the defence and external relations of each associated state and should have executive authority for this purpose.

"14. The United Kingdom legislation should also provide that the Government of the United Kingdom could confer a general or specific authority upon the Government of any associated state, subject to any exceptions, limitations or conditions that may be appropriate, to deal on their behalf with specified matters in the field of external relations.

"15. The United Kingdom legislation should contain provisions to the effect that no Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commence-

¹¹ *Report of the Windward Islands Constitutional Conference, 1966*, London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1966 (Cmnd. 3021).

ment of the association would extend to any of these associated states as part of its law unless it is expressly declared in the Act that the associated state has requested and consented to the enactment of the Act.

"16. Similarly, the United Kingdom legislation providing for the constitution of the associated state should reserve to Her Majesty a general power to make laws by Order in Council but no such Order in Council should have effect as part of the law of the associated state unless it is expressly declared in the Order in Council that the associated state has requested and consented to the making of the Order in Council.

"17. For the purposes of the two preceding paragraphs, the request and consent of the associated state should be signified by resolutions of the Chamber or Chambers of its Legislature.

"18. The legislative provisions described in paragraphs 15-17 above should be subject to an exception under which an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom or an Order of Her Majesty in Council would have effect as part of the law of the associated state if it is expressly declared in the Act or Order in Council that in the opinion of the Parliament or Government of the United Kingdom the Act or Order in Council is required to have effect in the associated state in the interests of the responsibilities of the Government of the United Kingdom for defence and external relations. It would not be possible, by means of an Act of Parliament or Order in Council having effect by virtue of the exception, to amend, suspend or revoke the constitution of the associated state. (Nor of course would it be possible for the Parliament of the associated state to amend its own constitution by the insertion of provisions inconsistent with the United Kingdom legislation described in paragraphs 13-16 while the association exists.)

"19. The Governments of Grenada, Saint Vincent and Dominica wish to have agreements relating to external affairs and defence on the basis of the heads of agreement set out in Annex D.¹² The Government of Saint Lucia would like to have an agreement on defence on the basis of paragraphs 3-6 of Annex D.

"20. The Government of the United Kingdom, in pursuance of the provisions of the United Kingdom legislation referred to at paragraph 14 above, would at the commencement of the association entrust the Government of each associated state with authority in the field of external relations by means of a dispatch drawn up on the basis of the Draft at Annex E.¹³ The United Kingdom Government also undertook to examine ways of providing training and experience for officials of the associated states in the conduct of external relations.

"21. It was recognized on all sides that the operation of arrangements of this kind in respect of defence and external affairs depended upon a spirit of co-operation and mutual confidence. There would have to be the fullest consultation at all stages between both sides. The Government of the United Kingdom for their part acknowledge that, as the association is a voluntary one terminable by either country,

every endeavour should be made to resolve any difference of view between the Governments by means of free negotiation and to maintain the spirit of co-operation and mutual confidence that now exists and that makes a voluntary association possible. The Government of the United Kingdom regard the legislative powers of the Parliament of the United Kingdom and Her Majesty in Council over the associated states in respect of defence and external relations as an ultimate safeguard of the legitimate interests of the United Kingdom, necessary because it would not be reasonable to expect the United Kingdom to bear a responsibility without having the means of discharging it whatever course events might take, but unlikely to be involved except as a last resort in circumstances that in practice seem likely to arise."

136. The heads of agreement which are to form the basis of agreements relating to defence and external affairs as contained in the Report of the Windward Islands Constitutional Conference are reproduced below. These are the same as those for the other Territories.

"HEADS OF AGREEMENT ON DEFENCE AND EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

"General

"1. There will be a preamble referring to the provisions of the Order in Council defining the responsibilities of the United Kingdom Government for defence and external affairs and the powers of the United Kingdom Parliament and Her Majesty in Council to legislate for the Territory.

"2. This agreement will have effect as long as the association between the United Kingdom and the Territory lasts, but will be capable of modification by mutual agreement.

"Defence

"3. The Government of the Territory will take all steps (including, where necessary, steps to secure the passage of legislation) to provide such facilities as may be required in the Territory by the United Kingdom Government for the fulfillment of their responsibilities or obligations with respect to the defence of the Territory or of the United Kingdom and its associated states and territories or the safety of any other part of the Commonwealth or of any of the allies of the United Kingdom.

"4. The Government of the Territory will not, without the consent of the United Kingdom, grant access to any part of their Territory or territorial waters to, or allow the use of any of their airfields, communications or harbour facilities by the forces or agents of any other Government.

"5. An agreement dealing with the exercise of jurisdiction over United Kingdom visiting forces and other matters normally dealt with in status of forces agreements will be entered into at the same time as this agreement.

"6. Any United Kingdom forces introduced into the Territory for defence purposes under this agreement will not be used in aid of the civil power or for any purposes other than defence purposes except at the request of the Government of the Territory and with the agreement of the United Kingdom Government. Provided that the request of the Government shall not be necessary if at any time that

¹² The governments of Antigua and St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla also subscribed to these agreements relating to external affairs and defence. The heads of agreement are reproduced in paragraph 136 below.

¹³ See paragraph 137 below.

Government is unable, through circumstances beyond its control, to make a request.

"External affairs

"7. The United Kingdom Government will consult the Government of the Territory before entering into international obligations with respect to that Territory.

"8. The United Kingdom Government will from time to time by dispatch define the extent to which the Government of the Territory will have authority to act in the field of external relations.

"9. The Government of the Territory will take all steps (including, where necessary, steps to secure the passage of legislation) that, after full consultation between the United Kingdom Government and the Government of the Territory, are required by the United Kingdom Government—

"(a) To secure the fulfilment of the Commonwealth or international obligations or responsibilities of the United Kingdom Government; or

"(b) In the interests of good relations between the Territory or the United Kingdom and another country.

"10. The Government of the Territory will not introduce or support legislation which might affect the discharge of the United Kingdom Government's Commonwealth or international obligations or responsibilities or the maintenance of good relations between the Territory or the United Kingdom and another country without prior reference to and consultation with the United Kingdom Government. The Government of the Territory will not proceed with or support legislation if the United Kingdom Government inform them that its passage would be detrimental to the discharge of those obligations or responsibilities or the maintenance of such relations.

"11. (1) Where in the opinion of the United Kingdom Government the enactment of legislation for the Territory is required in the interests of the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government for the external affairs or defence of the Territory or of the United Kingdom and its other associated states and territories the United Kingdom Government shall invite the Government of the Territory either—

"(a) To signify their consent to the enactment of the legislation by the Parliament of the United Kingdom or by Her Majesty in Council; or

"(b) To take steps to secure the enactment of the legislation by the Parliament of the Territory or other appropriate authority in the Territory.

"(2) If the consent of the Government of the Territory to the enactment of legislation by the Parliament of the United Kingdom or by Her Majesty in Council is signified under paragraph (1)(a) of this clause, the United Kingdom Government may take steps to secure the enactment of the legislation accordingly.

"(3) If the Government of the Territory see difficulty in acceding to a request made to them by the United Kingdom Government under paragraph (1) of this clause, then the fullest consultation that is practicable in the circumstances of the case shall take place between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the Territory with a view to resolving the difficulty.

"(4) Where after consultation under paragraph (3) of this clause there is failure to reach agreement concerning the enactment of legislation, and the United Kingdom Government remain of the opinion that it is nevertheless necessary for legislation to be enacted in the interests of their responsibility for the external affairs and defence of the Territory or of the United Kingdom and its other associated states and territories, the United Kingdom Government shall give as much notice as possible to the Government of the Territory of their intention to take steps to secure the enactment of the legislation by the Parliament of the United Kingdom or by Her Majesty in Council [and before taking such steps shall so far as is practicable afford the Government of the Territory the opportunity of considering whether, in all the circumstances, it would wish to take steps to secure the termination of the association between the United Kingdom and the Territory].¹⁴

"12. In order to enable the United Kingdom Government to discharge their responsibilities for defence and external affairs, the Government of the Territory will keep the United Kingdom Government fully informed on matters relating to or affecting these responsibilities of the United Kingdom Government."

137. The draft dispatch setting out the means of entrusting authority in the field of external relations to the Governments of the associated States, as contained in the Report of the Windward Islands Constitutional Conference is set out below. Identical draft dispatches are contained in the other reports.

"DRAFT DESPATCH

"1. In carrying out their general responsibility for the external affairs of the Territory the British Government will seek the fullest consultation with the Government of the Territory and will at all times have special regard to the interests of the Government of the Territory and of the association between the two Governments.

"2. Subject to the understandings set out in later paragraphs of this despatch Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom hereby delegate executive authority to the Government in the Territory with respect to their external relations with other countries as follows:

"(a) Authority to apply for full or associate membership, as may be provided for in the Constitution of the organization concerned, of those United Nations specialized agencies or similar international organizations of which the United Kingdom is itself a member and for membership of which the Territory is eligible;

"(b) Authority to arrange or permit visits by representatives of or persons in the employ of any organization under sub-paragraph (a) above of which the Territory is a full or associate member;

"(c) Authority to negotiate and conclude trade agreements with other countries, whether bilateral or multilateral, relating solely to the treatment of goods. Agreements relating to establishment matters (i.e. those affecting

¹⁴ Would not be required by the Governments of Dominica and Grenada.

the rights of persons and companies of the contracting parties) will continue to be dealt with in commercial treaties negotiated by the British Government. The British Government will, however, be prepared, in appropriate circumstances, to delegate to the Government of the Territory *ad hoc* authority to conclude individual trade agreements in which establishment matters are included. Agreements affecting the Territory relating to civil aviation and shipping will continue to be dealt with in accordance with present practice whereby the British Government engage in the fullest consultation with the Government of the Territory and invite their participation in such negotiations as are necessary;

“(d) Authority to arrange or permit visits of up to thirty days for trade or commercial purposes by representatives or residents of the Territory to any other country, and by representatives or residents of any other country to the Territory (though questions relating to the establishment of permanent or temporary representation of other countries in the Territory or of the Territory in other countries will continue to be determined by the British Government after consultation with the Government of the Territory);

“(e) Authority to negotiate and sign agreements of purely local concern with any member of the British Commonwealth or any British Colony in the Caribbean area;

“(f) Authority to negotiate and sign agreements for financial and technical assistance or of a cultural or scientific nature with any member of the British Commonwealth or with the United States of America or with any international organization of which the United Kingdom is a member;

“(g) Authority to negotiate and sign agreements with other countries whether multilateral or bilateral relating to emigration from the Territory to those countries and to emigrant labour schemes.

“3. In addition the British Government will give sympathetic consideration to any request by the Government of the Territory for authority to take action on individual questions of external relations not covered by this despatch.

“4. In view of the general responsibility of the British Government for the external affairs of the Territory under the terms of the association mutually agreed between them the Government of the Territory have agreed to inform the British Government in advance of any proposal for the exercise of the authority to conduct negotiations delegated to the Government of the Territory in paragraph 2 (c), (e), (f) and (g) of this despatch and to keep the British Government informed of the progress of any such negotiations. The British Government will inform the Government of the Territory if it shall appear that there is any conflict between the actions or proposals of the Government of the Territory in this field and the international commitments, responsibilities or policies of the British Government. The Government of the Territory have agreed that after consultation they will accept the decision of Her Majesty's Government in such matters.”

Termination of association

138. The procedure for termination of the association, which both the United Kingdom and the associated States will be free to initiate at any time, will require the approval of a two-thirds majority in the lower house of Parliament and a two-thirds majority of the votes cast in a referendum. However, in the event that the association is terminated for the purpose of joining with an independent Commonwealth country in the Caribbean, either in union, federation or association, no referendum would be required. The delegates to the conferences on Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent who had expressed apprehension concerning the possibility of the arbitrary use by the United Kingdom of the power to terminate the association, received assurances that the United Kingdom would give six months' notice of intent to end the association, would seek the approval of the United Kingdom Parliament before doing so, and would also be prepared to hold a conference to discuss ending the association.

Internal constitutional arrangements

139. The main features of the new constitutions for each Territory were agreed upon at the conferences. They include provision for a parliament in each Territory: one house in Dominica, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent and an upper house and a lower house in Antigua and Grenada. Amendment of the constitutions can only take place in the Territory concerned and requires either approval by two thirds of the members of parliament or two thirds of the electorate in the case of basic clauses of the relevant constitution, such as fundamental freedoms or the structure of the parliament. Each parliament will have a life of five years. An outline of each constitution is set out below in the sections relating to particular Territories.

Judiciary

140. The Governments of the associated States are to participate in a Supreme Court of Judicature whose jurisdiction could be extended to other interested Territories in the region. The Court will have jurisdiction over the following matters, among others: fundamental rights and freedoms, membership of the parliaments, and conflicts between parts of the constitution of each State. The jurisdiction of the high court will be prescribed by the parliaments of the respective associated States. Further details concerning the Supreme Court, agreed upon by the Territories at a conference held in September 1966, are set out in paragraphs 146 to 148 below.

Citizenship

141. Citizenship of the respective associated States will, as in the past, continue to be held in common with the United Kingdom and Colonies. However, should the association be terminated, separate citizenship for each State, provision for which will be inscribed in each constitution, will become operative and will apply to persons born there, those whose father is a citizen, and women married to citizens.

Economic aid

142. At the Antigua Conference, it was agreed that after the new constitutional arrangements come into force Antigua would continue to be eligible for United Kingdom aid.

143. Early in the Conference on Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, all the delegates pressed the United Kingdom delegation for assurances that the new status would not result in a less favourable position for the islands in respect of trade, aid and immigration. The United Kingdom delegation stated that, in view of other commitments, and as aid had been recently increased to the four islands, resulting in roughly £6 per head of population annually being made available, financial assistance could not be increased, but efforts would be made to spend it more effectively. Aid undertakings already given would be carried out in full and budgetary aid would be provided if necessary. With regard to trade and immigration the United Kingdom delegation explained that the new constitutional arrangement would not alter present trading arrangements, and that the United Kingdom Government could not offer specially favourable treatment to immigrants from the associated States over other Commonwealth immigrants.

*Final meeting of the Regional Council of Ministers,
August 1966*

144. The Regional Council of Ministers, an organization established in 1962 to pave the way for an Eastern Caribbean Federation and which had not met since April 1965, held its final meeting in Barbados in August 1966. The Council decided to wind up its activities on 30 November 1966, the day Barbados became independent. The seven Territories of the Windward and Leeward Islands decided to establish a new organization, the details of which were to be discussed at a meeting in St. Lucia in September 1966.

*Establishment of new regional organization,
September 1966*

145. Two separate conferences were held in St. Lucia between 12 and 23 September 1966, one concerned with the establishment of a regional supreme court, the other with the establishment of an organization to succeed the Regional Council of Ministers. These conferences were attended by the Chief Ministers of each Territory.

146. At the first conference, agreement was reached on the establishment of a court to be known as the West Indies Associated State Supreme Court. The court will consist of a Chief Justice, a High Court and a Court of Appeal. It will have its headquarters in Grenada and is expected also to serve Montserrat and the British Virgin Islands.

147. The Chief Justice will be appointed by the Crown. He will head both the Supreme Court and the Judicial and Legal Service Commission which will have the responsibility for appointing the other judges. The Commission will be made up of the Chief Justice, a justice of appeal or a puisne judge appointed by the Chief Justice, a retired judge appointed by the Chief Justice acting on the recommendation of a majority of the premiers of the States and two chairmen of the Public Service Commissions of the Associated States.

148. The High Court will consist of six or seven judges while the Court of Appeal will consist of the Chief Justice and two judges. Candidates for these positions from the Associated States will be given preference.

149. At the second conference, held in St. Lucia in September 1966, agreement was reached on a new organization to succeed the Regional Council of Ministers.

The new organization will have its headquarters in St. Lucia. The chairman will be the Chief Minister of one of the States and the office will be held in rotation. The Conference agreed to reorganize the existing Commission in London by strengthening it on the trade side, and pressing for its status to be raised to that of a High Commission. The Conference also agreed to investigate the possibilities of establishing a commission in Canada.

150. The Conference also discussed the Report of the Tripartite Economic Survey.¹⁵ It was agreed that meetings with representatives of the Governments of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States would be held in Antigua between 2 and 5 November 1966 at which the Governments of the Windward and Leeward Islands would put forward their joint views on the regional aspects of the report (see para. 159 below).

Dates fixed for associated status

151. During the latter half of 1966 the agreements reached at the London conferences were ratified by the local legislatures. On 2 February 1967, the enabling legislation, paving the way for the necessary Orders in Council to be issued, was passed by the United Kingdom House of Commons.

152. On 16 January 1967, the dates on which the new Constitutions and associated status would come into force were announced as follows: Antigua and St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, 27 February 1967; Dominica and St. Lucia, 1 March 1967; Grenada, 3 March 1967. On 2 February 1967, it was announced that St. Vincent would be granted associated statehood by 1 June 1967. St. Vincent will achieve its new status later than the other Territories because of a dispute connected with the recent elections (see paras. 381-386 below).

Regional economic developments

East Caribbean Currency Authority

153. A new currency board, the East Caribbean Currency Authority, was established in 1965 under the provisions of the East Caribbean Currency Agreement made on 18 January 1965 by the Governments of Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. The new unit of currency is the East Caribbean dollar (\$EC); its rate of exchange is the same as that of the West Indian dollar it replaced, namely, 4s.2d. (sterling) or \$US 0.5833.

Tripartite Economic Survey

154. Late in 1965, the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States agreed to participate in a tripartite economic survey of Barbados and the Leeward and Windward Islands. A summary of the report, which suggests a strategy for development in the islands, was published in June 1966.

155. The main points of the summary are as follows. The essential factors in the island economies are the high rate of population increase, the lack of land, capital and skills; the dominance of export agriculture—sugar, bananas, nutmeg, cocoa, citrus, arrowroot and coconuts—and the poor market prospects for these products. Ideal growth industries would require little land, be able to attract capital and skills from abroad

¹⁵ *Report of the Tripartite Economic Survey of the Eastern Caribbean, January-April 1966*, London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1967.

and be major foreign exchange earners; and tourism fits all these requirements very well, provided that the import content of tourist expenditure is kept down. At present, tourism is a sizable industry in Antigua, smaller but flourishing in Grenada and St. Lucia and just beginning in the other islands. One adverse feature of tourism at present is its seasonal concentration from early January to the end of March and the idleness of hotels during the rest of the year. The islands should therefore be made year-round resorts by large-scale promotion carried out under a regional policy for tourist development. The number of hotel beds could be doubled between 1965 and 1970 and expenditure by visitors could rise from \$EC49 million to an estimated \$EC125 million.

156. Turning to agriculture, the report suggests that vigorous efforts should be directed towards improving the organization of the production and marketing of food crops and livestock, and that forestry in Dominica and fishing in all the islands have good prospects for development. The fishing industry, which could help to cut down the import bill, should be organized on a larger, regional scale.

157. Improvements in marketing techniques and storage and transport facilities are recommended, as is the development of new industry on a limited basis. Attention is called to certain weaknesses, including the lack of local capital, weak public administration and inadequate and unbalanced educational facilities.

158. The report's conclusions are not very optimistic about the prospects of spontaneous growth, with the possible exception of the tourist industry. According to the report, growth could be fostered by active development measures in the form of a well-integrated, long-term regional programme, which in the beginning would have to rely on outside sources for much of the initiative, finance and execution. The extent of this external participation could be phased out, as local resources were built up. The following development services would be needed and would be best planned and administered on a regional basis: industrial development and promotion; tourist development and promotion; market research; fisheries development; forestry and industrial minerals; agricultural development; and research and supporting technical services. A regional development agency should be established under the joint sponsorship of the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada and be divided into a technical and commercial services division and a development bank division. The bank would operate on strictly commercial lines, once interest-free or low-cost capital had been subscribed to it. The bank, as a regional agency, could deal with certain international development agencies, whose rules at present preclude consideration of individual islands because of their small size.

159. A meeting of representatives of the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Barbados and the Windward and Leeward Islands took place in Antigua in November 1966. Speaking before the meeting took place, Mr. Herbert Blaize, Grenada's Chief Minister, said that there had been no official announcement from either Britain, Canada or the United States on the report. Grenada and the other islands regarded this meeting as an opportunity to hear the attitude and reaction of those countries to the report. He also said that the meeting would be concerned with the regional aspects of the report and that individual territorial requirements would be taken up later.

Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA)

160. In December 1965, the Governments of Guyana (then British Guiana), Barbados and Antigua signed an agreement to create a free trade area to be known as the Caribbean Free Trade Area. The agreement was expected to come into operation during 1966 but was postponed twice. Talks were held between the Governments concerned in Barbados and Antigua in August, in Barbados in November and in Guyana in December 1966. It was reported on 11 December 1966 that, at the talks held in Georgetown, final agreement was reached. The Barbados legislature ratified the agreement on 9 August 1966 and the Guyana Parliament on 30 December 1966. The scheme is now expected to come into force early in 1967.

161. The agreement provides for accession by any other Caribbean country or Territory, but, so far, none has applied. Support for free trade in the area was sought by a delegation representing the Incorporated Commonwealth Chambers of Commerce and Industry of the Caribbean, which visited ten Commonwealth countries and Territories in the Caribbean in September and October 1966.

Sugar industry

162. The present world market price for sugar is about £15 per ton, which is said to be about half the cost of production. However, by virtue of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement the United Kingdom buys West Indian sugar for a price which in 1966 averaged £45/1/11 per ton. Under the United States Sugar Act the United States paid £45/1/0 per ton in 1966, while in the same year Canada paid only £20/16/0 per ton. The low price paid by Canada was the subject of discussions in Ottawa in July 1966 and at the meeting of West Indies sugar producers in Puerto Rico in August, where producers agreed that a direct approach should be made to the Canadian Government with a view to securing a better price. At the conference held in Ottawa in July 1966 between the Governments of Canada and the Commonwealth Caribbean countries, the Canadian Government agreed to waive the £2 per ton duty on sugar (the preferential rate) imported from Commonwealth countries in the West Indies provided Commonwealth and other sugar suppliers agreed and subject also to agreement by GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). It was reported in December 1966 that the move to allow West Indian sugar into Canada duty-free had been successfully opposed within GATT and by Canadian refiners.

163. Speaking at the annual general meeting of the British West Indies Sugar Association in Bridgetown, Barbados, on 14 December 1966, the Chairman, Sir Robert Kirkwood, said that producers were likely to suffer further over-all losses in the coming year. Sir Robert said that the estimated production for the coming year was 1,227,678 tons, of which 1,080,000 tons would be available for export. Shipments to the United Kingdom up to October 1966 were 627,204 tons, to Canada 222,440 tons and to the United States 115,161 long tons. The total possible outlets in these three countries in 1966 were "just over 1,175,000 long tons". Sir Robert emphasized the value of the agreements with the United Kingdom and the United States but said that the negotiations with Canada had been of "scant benefit". He pointed out that, even with the removal of

customs duties, the price would still only be in the region of £20 per ton. Sir Robert paid tribute to the West Indian Governments for proposing in September that exports should be restricted to current levels with production cut-backs if necessary. Reviewing 1966 crop conditions, Sir Robert informed the Association that in St. Kitts only 351,738 tons of cane was ground and only 37,753 tons of sugar was produced, the smallest crop since 1949. In Grenada, the 1966 crop represented an increase of 13 per cent over the previous year and the 1967 prospects were "very good".

Banana industry

164. Representatives of the Windward Islands (Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent) took part in ministerial talks in London with representatives of Jamaica and the United Kingdom. At the conclusion of the conference the following communique was issued:

"The tripartite talks on bananas between the Governments of Jamaica, the Windward Islands and the United Kingdom were adjourned. The prospects for banana production in the West Indies and the marketing outlook in the United Kingdom and elsewhere were reviewed. There was a valuable exchange of views which recognized the importance of the banana industry to the economies of Jamaica and the Windward Islands and the mutual interest in satisfying requirements of the British consumer. There was general agreement on the desirability of avoiding a repetition of the supply conditions in the United Kingdom banana market in the winter of 1964-1965. Possible means to prevent such a recurrence were discussed and it was agreed to await the result of negotiations on which the producers are now engaged, after which, if requested by any of the three parties, the talks will be resumed later this year".

165. On 12 December 1966, Jamaica, the Windward Islands and the marketing agents for these two producers signed an agreement providing for a total of 368,000 tons of fruit a year. Mr. Keith Jones, Acting Chairman of the Jamaica Banana Board, said that under the terms secured, the banana industry would do well. He reported that Jamaica would forward about 192,000 tons, and the Windward Islands 176,000 tons. Mr. Jones said that in future the green-boat price for fruit would be fixed on the basis of retail prices in the United Kingdom. He also reported that, whereas the freight rate in the past had been between £17 and £21/10/0 a ton, under a new arrangement it would be £18 a ton. This would depend, however, on the industry being able to load ships at all times to capacity. Mr. Jones said that the Jamaica deliveries would vary, but if either country (Jamaica or the Windwards) fell short of its quota, the other could make it up. Also in the contract was an agreement with the shipping agents that the Banana Board would pay for the full capacity of the ship, whether this was used or not. This meant that the Board would have to endeavour to fill ships to capacity in order to effect the cheaper rates. If Jamaica and the Windwards delivered less than the joint quota, the agents could then import from outside sources. On the other hand, any surpluses would be accepted and consigned to the European market.

ANTIGUA¹⁶

General

166. The Territory comprises the island of Antigua and its dependencies, Barbuda, which lies twenty-five miles to the north, and the uninhabited island Redonda. The total area of the Territory is 170.5 square miles (442 square kilometres): Antigua has an area of 108 square miles (279.7 square kilometres), Barbuda 62 square miles (160.5 square kilometres) and Redonda 0.5 square miles (1.3 square kilometres). The islands lie in the hurricane zone and are subject to severe droughts.

167. In 1963 the population was estimated at 57,400, almost all of whom are of African or mixed descent.

Constitution

168. The provisions of Antigua's new Constitution which are also contained in those of the other five Territories, as well as a description of the new relationship of association with the United Kingdom, are set out in paragraphs 133 to 143 above. The main provisions of the new Constitution relating to the internal system of government are set out below.

169. The Parliament of Antigua will consist of the Queen, a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Queen will be represented by a Governor. The Governor will be appointed by the Queen.

170. The Senate will consist of ten senators appointed by the Governor, seven of whom will be appointed on the advice of the Premier and three after consultation with the Premier. Whenever there is an Opposition represented in the House of Representatives, it will be given representation through one or more of these three members. The Senate will have power to delay a money bill for up to one month and any other bill passed by the House of Representatives for up to two years.

171. The House of Representatives will consist of not less than ten elected members. The Speaker will be elected by the members of the House and if not already a member of the House will become one by virtue of his office. If the Attorney-General is not an elected member of the House of Representatives he will, by virtue of his office, be an additional non-voting member of the House.

172. The Parliament of Antigua will have power to alter any of the provisions of the Constitution. A bill to alter the Constitution must be supported by two thirds of the members of the House of Representatives. In the case of a bill to alter a "basic clause" of the Constitution, three months must elapse between its introduction and the first debate on it. After the bill's passage by both Houses, or its rejection by the Senate for a second time, it must be submitted to a referendum and approved by two thirds of the electors. There will be no need for a referendum in connexion with a bill which terminates association with the United Kingdom and makes provision for Antigua to join any other Commonwealth country in the Caribbean.

¹⁶ The information on Antigua has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland under Article 73e of the Charter on 6 December 1966, for the year ending 31 December 1965.

173. The basic clauses of the Constitution will include such subjects as the status of the Territory, fundamental rights and freedoms, the structure of Parliament, including the composition of the legislature, electoral qualifications, the constituency commission, the judiciary, the Public Service and finance.

174. The Constitution will also provide for safeguarding the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual, irrespective of race, place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed, or sex, subject to respect for the rights and freedoms of others and for the public interest.

175. The executive authority of Antigua will be vested in the Queen and will be exercised on her behalf by the Governor. The Governor will exercise his functions on the advice of a Cabinet. The Governor will appoint as Premier the member of the House of Representatives who in his judgement is best able to command the confidence of a majority of the members of the House. He will appoint other ministers and parliamentary secretaries on the Premier's advice, provided that at least one minister is a member of the Senate. The general direction and control of the Government of Antigua will rest with the Cabinet.

Electoral system

176. The members of the House of Representatives will be elected in single-member constituencies. During the first five years, however, the Governor, on the advice of the Premier, may declare that two or more existing constituencies shall be two-member constituencies until additional constituencies are created through the operation of the procedures laid down in the Constitution. Under these procedures a constituency commission, to be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Premier, will review the number and boundaries of the constituencies at intervals of not less than two and not more than five years.

177. A Commonwealth citizen who has attained the age of twenty-one will be qualified for membership of the legislature if he was born and is domiciled in Antigua, or if he is domiciled in Antigua and has been resident there for at least five years.

178. A person will be qualified to be registered as an elector if he has attained the age of twenty-one years and is a Commonwealth citizen who was born in Antigua and is resident there or is a Commonwealth citizen who has resided there for a period of three years.

Public Service

179. In 1965 there were 36 expatriate officers (3 pensionable and 33 non-pensionable, including 26 teachers) and 1,653 local officers in the Public Service. During the year 12 officers were sent for training overseas.

Political parties

180. There are two political parties in Antigua, the Antigua Labour Party (ALP), the governing party, and the Antigua-Barbuda Democratic Movement (ABDM).

181. The last elections were held in the Territory on 29 November and 15 December 1965. The ALP retained all ten seats and is thus the only party represented in the present Legislative Council. Twenty-five candidates stood for election, including five inde-

pendents. During the campaigning for the election, which was reported to have been heated, the ALP called for "independence for Antigua along the lines of the Cook Islands".

Recent political developments

182. On 16 January 1967, it was announced that Antigua's new Constitution and its new status of association with the United Kingdom would come into force on 27 February 1967.

Economic conditions

183. The economy of Antigua depends on primary production and tourism. There are a few secondary industries which produce rum, clean cotton, cotton-seed oil, cotton-seed meal, corn meal, bran and arrow-root.

184. Price fluctuations and a severe drought throughout 1965 and 1966 severely affected the sugar and cotton industries. The sugar crop yielded only 14,040 tons in 1965, as against 21,000 tons in 1964, while in 1966 production declined further to 8,500 tons. Cotton production also declined from 154,000 lbs. of clean lint in 1964 to 98,459 lbs. in 1965.

185. The administering Power reports that during 1965, the Government took positive measures to sustain and revitalize the sugar and cotton industries. These measures included financial aid to the sugar company, the setting up of a commission of inquiry into the sugar industry, the construction of dams and experimentation in mechanical harvesting and cleaning of cotton.

186. The sugar factory in Antigua is owned partly by the Government, which holds 45 per cent of the shares. In July 1966, the factory ceased operations, and, in August, the Royal Bank of Canada exercised its right under a mortgage agreement and appointed a receiver. In September, the Chief Minister announced that the Government was negotiating with the Bank to take the factory out of receivership and begin preparations for the 1967 crop. The Chief Minister also said that further finance was being sought from the United Kingdom Government to replace obsolete equipment in the factory. In October, the Opposition party, the Antigua-Barbuda Democratic Movement (ABDM), called upon the Government to outline its plans to save the sugar industry. The factory was offered for sale in late October, and, in November, the directors of the factory successfully applied to the High Court for an injunction restraining the receiver from selling the factory. The Government of Antigua informed the Colonial Secretary that it intended to make an offer for the company on the ground that it considered it essential in the public interest for the sugar industry in Antigua to be continued for some time. In January 1967, the Chief Minister was reported to be having discussions in London concerning the sugar industry.

187. Water conservation and the construction of dams are being assisted by external aid. During 1966 the United Kingdom made a grant of \$EC1.5 million for this purpose and Canada agreed to make a grant of \$EC2 million. Aid in the form of a loan of \$250,000 was also promised by the United States in 1966 for the construction of a deep water harbour at St. Johns.

188. The administering Power also reported continued encouraging progress during 1965 in the development of the tourist industry and light industry.

The Government proposes to review its incentive legislation in these two fields from time to time to ensure that concessions granted are competitive with those of other Caribbean Territories. A new oil refinery was expected to be completed in November 1966, capable of handling 1,000 barrels of crude oil per day.

189. The number of tourists visiting the Territory increased from 13,000 in 1958 to 46,118 in 1964 and 60,427 in 1965. The runway at the airport was recently improved to accommodate large jet aircraft.

190. In the Report of the Tripartite Economic Survey, it is stated that because of drought there is no long-term future for the sugar industry. It was believed, however, that if heavy expenditure was devoted to promotion and particularly to the extension of the season, the tourist industry could ensure an annual growth of 7 to 8 per cent in the gross domestic product.

191. The total value of imports for 1965 amounted to \$EC28,339,541. The main items imported were foodstuffs, clothing and fuel. Exports were valued at \$EC6,340,337, of which goods to the value of \$EC2,378,008 were domestic exports (sugar, molasses and cotton lint), the remainder being re-exports.

192. Local revenue in 1965 was estimated at \$EC9,183,598, the principal sources being customs duties and income taxes. In addition, the Territory was to receive \$EC42,300 under the Overseas Service Aid Scheme, \$EC87,887 from Colonial Development and Welfare schemes and \$EC76,391 from the other sources, bringing the total estimated revenue to \$EC9,390,176, compared with \$WI 10,439,996 in 1964. Total expenditure estimated for 1965 was \$EC8,544,609, compared with \$WI 9,746,681 in 1964.

Social conditions

Labour

193. Almost half of the Territory's workers are employed in the sugar and cotton industries. Statistics on unemployment and on the effects of the drought on employment are not available.

194. During 1965, almost 200 workers went to the United States Virgin Islands and a similar number returned; the average length of absence was four months and most were employed in agriculture.

195. There are three organizations registered under the Trade Union Act: The Antigua Trades and Labour Union, the Antigua Port Seaman and General Workers' Union and the Antigua Employers' Federation.

196. The administering Power reports that the accelerated economic and social development which has taken place in the Territory resulting from the tourist industry and the diversification of the economy has caused severe pressures on the cost of living. The cost of such items as food, entertainment, fuel and lighting, housing, household items and services has risen considerably since 1960. The Government, however, controls the retail prices of certain items of food, meat and fish.

Public health

197. In 1965 there were sixteen Government registered physicians and one private physician. There was one general hospital with 180 beds.

198. In 1965, recurrent expenditure on public health amounted to \$EC1,391,291, compared with \$WI 1,334,095 in 1964. The proportion of public health expenditure to total expenditure for the Territory was 16 per cent.

Educational conditions

199. Education is compulsory between the ages of five and fourteen years. The Government runs its own schools where education is free, and, in addition, there are private schools, some of which receive Government assistance.

200. In 1965, all of the Territory's 16,872 children of school age (8,391 boys and 8,481 girls) were enrolled in schools. Of that total, 13,861 were in primary schools (12,162 in 34 Government schools and 1,699 in 9 private schools), and 3,011 were in secondary schools (1,174 in 3 Government schools and 1,837 in 6 private schools). Seventeen students were enrolled at the Teachers' Training College.

201. Estimated expenditure on education in 1965 was \$EC983,565, or 13 per cent of the Territory's total expenditure for the year.

DOMINICA¹⁷

General

202. Dominica is the largest of the Windward Islands, with an area of 289.8 square miles (750.5 square kilometres). It is located approximately 220 miles north-west of Barbados and 950 miles north of Trinidad.

203. The estimated population at the end of 1964 was 66,030, almost all of whom were of African or mixed descent.

Constitution

204. The provisions of Dominica's new Constitution which are also contained in those of the other five Territories, as well as a description of the new relationship of association with the United Kingdom, are set out in paragraphs 133 to 143 above. The main provisions of the new Constitution relating to the internal system of government are set out below.

205. The Parliament of Dominica will consist of the Queen and a House of Assembly. The Queen will be represented by a Governor. The Governor will be appointed by the Queen.

206. The House of Assembly will consist of three nominated members, eleven elected members and one *ex officio* member, the Attorney-General. The Speaker will be elected by the members of the House, and, if not already a member, will become one by virtue of his office. Of the nominated members, two will be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Premier and one by the Governor on the advice of the Leader of the Opposition. If there is no Leader of the Opposition, or if he does not wish to be consulted, the Governor, in his discretion, may consult any other person. Non-elected members of the House may vote on any question except motions of no confidence and bills to amend the Constitution.

¹⁷ The information on Dominica has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73 e of the Charter, on 9 December 1966, for the year ending 31 December 1965.

207. The provisions of Dominica's Constitution concerning alteration of the Constitution, the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms, and the exercise of executive authority are essentially the same as those proposed for Antigua (see paragraphs 172 to 175 above).

Electoral system

208. Elected members of the House of Assembly will be elected in single-member constituencies. There will be a boundaries commission, consisting of the Speaker as chairman, two members of the House appointed on the advice of the Premier and two members of the House appointed on the advice of the Leader of the Opposition.

209. A British subject who has attained the age of 21 will be qualified for election as a member of the House if he is domiciled and residing in Dominica or if he has resided in Dominica for one year and is able to speak English.

210. A person will be qualified to be registered as a voter if he is a British subject who has attained the age of 21 years and has such other qualifications regarding residence, domicile or registration as may be prescribed by the Parliament of Dominica.

Public Service

211. In 1965, there were 12 expatriate officers (2 pensionable and 10 non-pensionable) and 1,529 local officers, including 42 senior officers, in the Public Service. During the year, 68 officers were sent for training overseas.

Local government

212. Two of the main towns, Roseau and Portsmouth, have town councils. The number of village councils has increased in recent years and in 1965 there were 18 such councils. There are also 4 district council associations and a central organization, the Dominica Association of Village Councils.

Political parties

213. There are two political parties in Dominica, the Dominica Labour Party (the governing party), and the Dominica United People's Party.

214. The last elections were held on 8 January 1966, when the Labour Party was returned to power winning 10 of the 11 seats, 3 more than at the previous election. The United People's Party won 1 seat, 2 less than at the previous election. Eighty per cent of the electorate voted.

215. Both parties were represented at the Constitutional Conference in London in April and May 1966. The Leader of the Opposition signed the report but stated that he did not agree with the proposal for nominated members of the House of Assembly and that his party preferred a nominated second chamber of the legislature.

Recent political developments

216. On 16 January 1967, it was announced that Dominica's new Constitution and its new status of association with the United Kingdom would come into force on 1 March 1967.

Economic conditions

217. The economy of the Territory is based on primary production. The Report of the Tripartite Economic Survey described the economy as more diversified than that of most of the islands with a wider source of development and possibilities of expansion of the banana, citrus, food crops, livestock, forestry, timber, pumice, limestone and tourist industries.

218. In 1965, a number of enterprises were initiated, the most important being the pumice industry, which commenced productive operations towards the close of the year. In addition, the island's largest, most modern hotel was opened, and construction work was started on an oils and fats factory, which is intended to stimulate local production and increase the processing of coconuts. The poultry industry also made considerable strides, largely through the impetus of foreign private capital.

219. There was a record banana crop of 49,756 tons in 1965, but no corresponding increase in revenue, owing to the drop in banana prices. The number of tourists increased from 6,168 in 1964 to 6,897 in 1965. The Government has been considering the possibility of building a deep water harbour and has accordingly put in hand a geological survey of the harbour.

220. Trade figures for 1965 are not yet available. In the past, there has been a visible adverse trade balance, but this did not take into account expenditure in the Territory by tourists. Bananas and fruit juices have constituted the main exports.

221. Public revenue, derived principally from customs duties and income taxes, amounted to \$EC6,103,496 in 1965. This included a grant-in-aid from the United Kingdom of \$EC715,740. Total expenditures amounted to \$EC8,445,627, including \$EC2,200,622 on capital works.

Social conditions

Labour

222. There were 6 trade unions registered in the Territory in 1965: the Dominica Trade Union, the Dominica Union of Teachers, the Dominica Civil Service Association, the Dominica Amalgamated Workers' Union, the Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Trade Union, and the Dominica Association of Public Health Inspectors.

223. Agriculture is the principal occupation and provides employment for about 7,000 wage-earners, in addition to about 5,000 peasant proprietors. It is estimated that 3,000 workers are employed in road and building construction, 2,500 in manufacturing, 900 in transport and 500 in commerce.

Public health

224. There are 6 government hospitals with a total of 262 beds, and 26 dispensaries distributed throughout the island.

225. The infant mortality rate for 1965 rose from 52.9 to 55.6 per thousand live births. The death-rate declined from 9.4 to 8.6 per thousand.

226. During 1965, 138,780 pounds of powdered milk supplied by UNICEF was distributed to infants, pre-school children, pregnant and nursing mothers.

227. Recurrent expenditure on public health amounted to \$EC886,698 in 1965, compared with \$WI 740,178 in 1964. In addition, \$EC19,584 was spent on public health from Colonial Development and Welfare funds.

Educational conditions

228. Education is free between the ages of 5 and 15 years and is compulsory in certain areas. The number of compulsory areas rose from 14 in 1964 to 21 in 1965. Secondary education is not free but, in 1965, 35 free places at secondary schools were awarded by the Government. Other scholarships are awarded by private organizations.

229. In 1965 there were 50 government primary schools and 2 private schools assisted by the Government. Enrolment in primary schools rose from 16,221 in 1964 to 17,200 in 1965. Secondary school enrolment fell from 1,569 to 1,152. A school building donated by the Canadian Government was opened in 1965 and over 900 of its 1,000 places were taken up.

230. Discussions were held during 1965 leading to proposals for the establishment of a university centre which, in addition to providing higher education for adults, could provide teacher training. The administering Power reports that the implementation of this idea would mean the gradual demise of the pupil-teacher system in Dominica.

231. Expenditure on education in 1965 amounted to \$EC1,085,686, compared with \$WI 794,478 in 1964.

GRENADA¹⁸

General

232. Grenada is the most southerly of the Windward Islands in the Eastern Caribbean. The total area of the Territory is 133 square miles (344.5 square kilometres), including certain of the small islands known as the Grenadines, the largest of which is Carriacou with an area of 13 square miles (33.7 square kilometres). Approximately 10,000 acres are under forest.

233. The estimated population at 30 June 1964 was 93,911, almost all of whom were of African or mixed descent.

Constitution

234. The provisions for Grenada's new Constitution which are also contained in those of the other five Territories, as well as a description of the new relationship of association with the United Kingdom, are set out in paragraph 133 to 143 above. The main provisions of the new Constitution relating to the internal system of government are set out below.

235. The Parliament of Grenada will consist of the Queen, a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Queen will be represented by a Governor. The Governor will be appointed by the Queen.

236. The Senate will consist of nine members appointed by the Governor, five of whom will be appointed on the advice of the Premier, two on the advice of the Leader of the Opposition, and two on

the advice of the Premier after he has consulted such organizations or interests as he considers should be represented. The Senate will have power to delay a money bill for up to one month and any other bill passed by the House of Representatives for up to two years.

237. The House of Representatives will consist of ten elected members. The Speaker will be elected by the House from among its members or from outside of the House.

238. The provisions of Grenada's Constitution concerning alteration of the Constitution, the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms, and the exercise of executive authority are essentially the same as those proposed for Antigua (see paragraphs 172 to 175 above).

Electoral system

239. The members of the House of Representatives will be elected in single-member constituencies. There will be a boundaries commission, which will consist of the Speaker, as chairman, two members nominated on the advice of the Premier, and two on the advice of the Leader of the Opposition. The Commission will review the number and boundaries of constituencies at intervals of not less than two and not more than five years.

240. A person will be qualified for membership of the legislature if he is a British subject who has attained the age of twenty-one, is able to speak English and has either resided in Grenada for one year, or is domiciled and a resident in Grenada.

241. A person will be qualified to be registered as a voter if he is a British subject who has attained the age of twenty-one and satisfies such requirements as to residence or domicile in Grenada as may be prescribed by the legislature.

Public service

242. In 1965 there were 7 expatriate officers (4 pensionable and 3 on contract) and 2,245 local officers, 48 of whom held senior posts. Training schemes both within the Territory and overseas are provided for officers in the clerical and executive grades, for technical officers in the Public Works Department and for public health personnel.

Political parties

243. There are two political parties in the Territory, the Grenada National Party (the governing party), and the Grenada United Labour Party.

244. The last elections were held in September 1962, when the Grenada National Party won six seats and the Grenada United Labour Party won four.

245. Both parties were represented at the Constitutional Conference held in London in April and May 1966. The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Eric Gairy, signed the report but recorded his disagreement with certain provisions of the new Constitution, including the transitional provisions. He also called for a general election before the new arrangements came into effect.

246. The position of the Grenada United Labour Party on this and other matters was outlined by Mr. Gairy in his statement to the Special Committee at its 463rd meeting on 7 September 1966 (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, paras. 328 to 355). The Labour

¹⁸ The information on Grenada has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73 e of the Charter on 29 September 1966, for the year ending 31 December 1965.

Party is opposed to unitary statehood with Trinidad and Tobago. Its leader stated to the Special Committee that the party tries to pursue a socialist democratic ideology.

247. The Grenada National Party has stood for the achievement of unitary statehood with Trinidad and Tobago.¹⁹ In statements made during 1966, the Chief Minister and leader of the party, Mr. Herbert Blaize, said that he was pursuing the goal of unitary statehood and that the achievement of self-government under the proposed new Constitution would enable Grenada to move closer to its eventual position in a Caribbean Economic Community of which union with Trinidad and Tobago was a part.

Recent political developments

248. On 16 January 1967, it was announced that Grenada's new Constitution and its new status of association would come into force on 3 March 1967.

249. On 19 January 1967, Mr. Eric Gairy, the Leader of the Opposition, and the three other members of his party in the Legislative Council resigned their seats. Mr. Gairy was reported to have said that the resignations were in protest against the introduction of the new Constitution and the new status before general elections had been held. Mr. Gairy said that the present Government had no mandate to lead the Territory to its new status.

Economic conditions

250. The economy of the Territory is based on agriculture, the major crops being cocoa, nutmeg, mace, bananas, sugar, copra, limes and cotton. There are some secondary industries, including factories for the production of cigarettes, soap, edible oils, sugar, lime essence and soft drinks. There is also a distillery and a brewery. Tourism is becoming an important industry.

251. The administering Power reports that one of the outstanding features of 1965 was the deterioration of the cocoa market. There was a sharp decline in price, growers receiving prices almost equivalent to the cost of production. Other major crops such as bananas and nutmeg experienced better marketing conditions which offset the decline in the cocoa market. The establishment of a Cocoa Industry Board assisted growers.

252. In the Report of the Tripartite Economic Survey it is stated that the main prospects of growth in Grenada were in tourism although considerable expansion and diversification could take place in foodcrops and livestock. According to the report, the main airport needed improvements and it was recommended that an airstrip be built on Carriacou.

253. In 1965, the value of imports amounted to \$WI 19,098,800 compared with \$WI 17,672,800 in 1964, while the value of exports, including a small quantity of re-exports, amounted to \$WI 10,872,500 compared with \$WI 7,220,800 in 1964. The main imports were foodstuffs, iron and steel, timber, textiles and cement. The principal exports were cocoa, spices and bananas. Cocoa exports rose from 42,200 cwts in 1964 to 56,500 cwts although the value fell from \$WI 2,162,200 to \$WI 2,088,100. The amount of

nutmegs exported rose from 12,400 cwts in 1964 to 28,500 cwts and mace rose from 3,220 cwts in 1964 to 3,700 cwts. The combined value of nutmeg and mace exports rose from \$WI 2,724,500 in 1964 to \$WI 5,491,400 in 1965. The amount of bananas exported rose from 1,151,900 stems in 1964 to 1,622,600 stems in 1965, the value rising from \$WI 1,845,300 to \$WI 2,417,100. The number of tourists increased from 21,634 in 1964 to 29,840 in 1965.

254. Total revenue, including Colonial Development and Welfare grants of \$WI 688,000 and a United Kingdom grant-in-aid of \$WI 1,650,400, amounted to \$WI 9,686,100 in 1965 compared with \$WI 8,377,000 in 1964. Apart from the grants, the main sources of revenue in 1965 were customs and excise duties, totalling \$WI 4,238,300, taxes amounting to \$WI 1,655,500 and \$WI 1,453,900 from other sources. Total estimated expenditure in 1965 amounted to \$WI 9,998,000, compared with \$WI 8,362,000 in 1964.

Social conditions

Labour

255. Agriculture provides the main source of employment in Grenada. The numbers employed in the main occupational groups, according to provisional figures for 1964, are set out below.

Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	
Farm workers	4,828
Farmers	1,408
Fishermen	1,738
Forestry workers	84
TOTAL	8,058
Commerce	2,151
Construction	2,620
Manufacturing	2,109
Services	3,776
Transport and communication	1,244
TOTAL	19,958

256. There were seventeen registered organizations in Grenada in 1965, including one employers' federation.

257. The labour laws of the Territory are being revised with the help of the United Kingdom Ministry of Overseas Development.

258. According to the migrant labour statistics for 1965 supplied by the administering Power, 67 persons left for employment in agriculture in the United States (they were expected to be away for an average period of 5 months), 843 left for the United Kingdom (for an indefinite period), and 104 left on one-year contracts for Ascension Island.

Social services

259. A report on the establishment of a contributory pension scheme for retirement and disability benefits was prepared by a visiting United Kingdom expert in 1965. It is proposed to implement the scheme with technical assistance from the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

Public health

260. There are 3 general hospitals with a total bed capacity of over 300, and 28 medical visiting stations throughout the Territory with resident nurse-midwives in charge.

¹⁹ For further details see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, addendum to agenda item 23, document A/6000/Rev.1, chap. XXIV, paras. 53 to 59 and *Ibid.*, *Twenty-first Session, Annexes*, addendum to agenda item 23, document A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, paras. 104 to 109.

261. Information concerning government medical staff and vital statistics is not available.

262. Expenditure for 1965 on medical and sanitary services was estimated at \$WI 1,332,500, compared with \$WI 1,244,100 in 1964.

Educational conditions

263. Primary education is free to all children between five and seventeen years of age. Attendance is compulsory between the ages of five and fifteen but this is not enforced.

264. At the end of 1965, there were 56 primary schools (government and aided) with 28,315 pupils, and 10 secondary schools with a total of 2,592 pupils. There is also a local teacher's training college which was attended by 30 students in 1965.

265. Five new school buildings were completed during the year. Twenty primary schools are still housed in single-room structures. The administering Power reports that owing to economic strictures, it may be some time before the physical problems which beset education may be resolved.

266. Expenditure on education in 1965 was estimated at \$WI 1,392,500, compared with \$WI 1,274,300 in 1964.

MONTSERRAT²⁰

General

267. Montserrat lies twenty-seven miles south-west of Antigua and some forty miles north-west of Guadeloupe. It is the smallest of the East Caribbean Islands administered separately, having a maximum length of eleven miles, a maximum width of seven, and an area of 32.5 square miles (83 square kilometres).

268. In 1965, the population was estimated at 13,970, almost all of whom were of African or mixed descent.

Constitution

269. The main features of the Constitution have been outlined in paragraphs 115 to 122 above.

270. Montserrat was not included in the proposals set forth in the White Paper of December 1965 and did not participate in the series of constitutional conferences held in London between February and May 1966. At the time the White Paper was issued, it was stated that the future of Montserrat would be considered separately.

Public Service

271. In 1965, there were 10 expatriate officers (1 pensionable and 9 on contract), and 370 local officers, of whom 42 hold senior position. Twenty-five officers were on study-leave courses overseas. There were also in-service training schemes for teachers and other members of the Public Service.

Political parties

272. There are two political parties in the Territory, the Montserrat Labour Party (the governing party) and the Workers' Progressive Party.

273. Elections were held in the Territory in March 1966 when the Labour Party was returned to office.

²⁰ The information on Montserrat has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73 e of the Charter, on 6 December 1966, for the year ending 31 December 1965.

The Labour Party won four seats (a loss of one seat), and the Workers' Progressive Party won two seats.

Economic conditions

274. The economy of the Territory is based on agriculture with sea island cotton as the main export crop. In recent years, exports of bananas, vegetables and citrus fruits have been developed. Secondary industries are limited to the processing of local products and include cotton ginning, distillation of rum, lime juice and lime oil processing, soap manufacture and canning. Tourism is increasing.

275. The administering Power reports that the development which began to make an impact on the economic growth of the Territory in 1964 continued throughout 1965. Local revenue increased by over 25 per cent. In agriculture, the Government decided to increase the area of holdings rented to peasants to a size which would lead towards greater viability. The improvement in the gross domestic product reported in 1964 continued into 1965.

276. In the Report of the Tripartite Economic Survey it was stated that the old estate agricultural system which had broken down in 1953 should be replaced by a new system of farms and farmers producing on a commercial basis. The main growth which had been in real estate development for retired persons from the United Kingdom and North America, should now be accompanied by hotel development and the completion of airport improvements.

277. Cotton continued to be the principal export in 1965. The 1965-66 crop was planted on 1,052 acres and yielded 465 bales of clean lint. Fortnightly shipments of bananas continued to be made to the United Kingdom via Dominica and a total of 15,082 stems valued at \$EC33,093 were exported. Sugar cane was rapidly declining. Exports of syrup to Dominica amounted to 8,800 gallons valued at \$EC7,752. Exports of fruits and vegetables to the Caribbean area and beyond were maintained throughout the year. Tomato exports were valued at \$EC13,806. The export trade in mangoes and peppers was revived during the year and exports of these commodities were valued at \$EC3,756 and \$EC6,727 respectively.

278. In 1966, the total revenue was \$EC3,056,756, derived mainly from customs duties (\$EC670,722) and from excise taxes and internal revenue (\$EC458,123). In addition, the Territory received a grant-in-aid from the United Kingdom totalling \$EC849,665. Total expenditure was \$EC3,186,396.

Social conditions

Labour

279. During 1965, forty-five agricultural workers were engaged under contract for work in the United States Virgin Islands and four women were recruited for domestic work in Canada. In addition, twelve persons received employment vouchers for work in the United Kingdom.

280. The membership of the three trade unions was approximately 620, the same as in 1964. There was no change in the wage rates and hours of work in the principal industries and services during 1965. Owing to the increased activity in the real estate sector of the economy, there was little, if any, unemployment.

Public health

281. In 1965, there were two government registered physicians and one private physician. There was one general hospital with sixty-nine beds, and three health centres and eight outposts at which ante-natal and infant welfare clinics were held.

282. The birth-rate was 27.3 per thousand and the death-rate 8.5 per thousand. There was a considerable improvement in the health of mothers and children as a result of two World Health Organization (WHO)/United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) health programmes. In 1965, expenditure on medical and health services amounted to \$266,589, compared with \$247,200 in 1964.

Educational conditions

283. There were 2,969 children enrolled in the schools during 1965, including 2,698 in primary schools and 271 in the secondary schools, compared with 2,938 in primary schools and 265 in secondary schools during 1964.

284. Recurrent expenditure on primary education in 1965 was \$EC263,200, while that on secondary education was \$EC77,825. Capital expenditure amounted to \$EC4,084 for schools, furniture and the purchase of land for a new primary school in the Central District. School fees at the secondary school amounted to \$EC6,048. Recurrent expenditure on education was 12.05 per cent of the recurrent expenditure of the Territory.

ST. KITTS-NEVIS-ANGUILLA²¹*General*

285. The islands of St. Kitts (which is also known as St. Christopher), Nevis and Anguilla are the most northerly of the islands in the Leeward group administered by the United Kingdom. St. Kitts and Nevis are separated by a three-mile-wide strait and Anguilla lies sixty miles to the north of St. Kitts. The Territory also includes the island of Sombbrero, the administration of which was transferred from the British Virgin Islands to St. Kitts in 1956. The total area of the Territory is 155 square miles (401 square kilometres). The area of St. Kitts is 68 square miles, Nevis 50 square miles, Anguilla 35 square miles and Sombbrero 2 square miles.

286. At the 1960 census, the total population of the Territory was 56,693 made up as follows: St. Kitts, 38,113; Nevis, 12,770; and Anguilla, 5,810. The estimated population in 1962 was 60,451, almost all of whom were of African or mixed descent.

Constitution

287. The provisions of the new Constitution for St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, which are also contained in those of the other five Territories, as well as a description of the new relationship of association with the United Kingdom, are set out in paragraphs 133 to 143 above. The main provisions of the new Constitution relating to the internal system of government are set out below.

288. The legislature of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla will consist of the Queen and a House of Assembly.

The Queen will be represented by a Governor. The Governor will be appointed by the Queen.

289. The House of Assembly will consist of a speaker, elected members and nominated members. There will be at least one elected member from Anguilla, at least two from Nevis and at least seven from St. Kitts. There will be two nominated members appointed on the advice of the Premier, and one appointed on the advice of the Leader of the Opposition, or, if there is no Leader of the Opposition, by the Governor in his discretion. In addition, the Attorney-General will, if he is a civil servant, be an *ex officio* member. He may also be an additional nominated member. Nominated members will be entitled to vote except on motions of no confidence and on bills for the alteration of the Constitution. The Speaker will be elected by the House and if he is not an elected member, will be a member of the House by virtue of his office.

290. The provisions of the new Constitution of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla concerning alteration of the Constitution, the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms, and the exercise of executive authorities are essentially the same as those proposed for Antigua (see paras. 172 to 175 above).

Electoral system

291. The elected members of the House of Assembly will be elected in single member constituencies, of which there will be at least one in Anguilla, at least two in Nevis and at least seven in St. Kitts. There will be a boundaries commission which will consist of the Speaker as chairman, two members of the House appointed on the advice of the Premier and two on the advice of the Leader of the Opposition, or if there is no Opposition, appointed by the Governor in his discretion. The commission will review the boundaries at intervals of not more than five years.

292. A person will be qualified for election or nomination to the House if he is a Commonwealth citizen who has attained the age of 21 and was born and is domiciled in the Territory or is domiciled and has been a resident in the Territory for three years.

293. A person will be qualified as a voter if he has attained the age of 21 years and has such qualifications regarding residence and domicile as may be prescribed by the legislature.

Public Service

294. In 1964, there were 11 expatriate officers (4 pensionable and 7 on contract), and 1,281 local officers, including 97 in senior posts. The figures for 1965 are not available.

Local government

295. It was agreed at the 1966 Constitutional Conference that the new Constitution would provide for councils in Nevis and Anguilla. These councils will be the principal organs of local government in each island. At least two thirds of the members of each council shall be elected on the same franchise as members of the House of Assembly.

Political parties

296. There are three political parties in the Territory, the Labour Party (the governing party), the People's Action Movement (PAM) and the United National Movement (UNM).

²¹ The information on St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73 e of the Charter, on 22 September 1966, for the year ending 31 December 1965.

297. The last elections were held in July 1966. There were twenty-four candidates for the ten elected seats; seven Labour Party, nine PAM, two UNM and six independents. At the elections, the Labour Party won seven seats, all in St. Kitts, PAM won two seats, one in Nevis and one in Anguilla, and UNM won a seat in Nevis.

298. All three parties were represented at the Constitutional Conference and all signed the report. The PAM representative was from Anguilla and the UNM representative from Nevis.

Recent political developments

299. On 16 January 1967, it was announced that the Territory's new Constitution and its new status of association with the United Kingdom would come into force on 27 February 1967.

300. It was reported that during the last week of January 1967, demonstrations took place in Anguilla. The demonstrators were reported as saying that they did not want to be united with St. Kitts. They had not been fairly treated by St. Kitts over the years and they now had no confidence in the Government. They also rejected the amount of autonomy given them.

301. On 27 February 1967 the Territory assumed the status of a State in association with the United Kingdom. During the next four months the inhabitants of Anguilla continued and increased their demands to be separated from St. Kitts, on the grounds that their interests had never been safeguarded by the government of that island.

302. Following demonstrations, on 29 May the small police force from St. Kitts was expelled from Anguilla. Mr. Peter Adams, sole elected member for Anguilla in the Associated State's House of Assembly, subsequently declared the secession of Anguilla from association with St. Kitts-Nevis. It was reported that a referendum was organized in the Territory, on 11 July, on the subject of the future status of the Territory. The results of the referendum were overwhelmingly against continued association with St. Kitts. Thereafter, Anguilla was reported to have sought assistance from the United Nations, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

303. Meanwhile the Premier of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Mr. Robert Bradshaw, appealed to the United Kingdom to send forces to put down the rebellion and addressed appeals for assistance to the Governments of Trinidad, Barbados and Guyana. It was reported that the United Kingdom considered that the responsibility for internal security rested with the Central Government in St. Kitts and that the responsibility of the United Kingdom was confined to the State's external relations and security.

304. At the end of June a delegation from the four independent Commonwealth countries in the Caribbean, Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad, visited St. Kitts. The members of the delegation continued negotiations with the government in St. Kitts and the leaders in Anguilla during July, in an effort to find an amicable settlement of the dispute.

305. On 30 July, Mr. Peter Adams attended a Caribbean Commonwealth conference in Barbados at which agreement was reached. On 31 July, Mr. Bradshaw of St. Kitts and Mr. Adams signed the agreement in Anguilla, by which the secession of Anguilla

from the State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla was ended.²²

306. Full details of the agreement are not yet available. It is reported, however, that the following are among the provisions agreed on:

- (a) Immediate return to constitutional rule in Anguilla;
- (b) Guarantees of increased financial aid and local self-government for Anguilla;
- (c) Establishment of a Local Council for Anguilla for which elections would be held as speedily as possible;
- (d) Provision by the United Kingdom, which was represented at the conference, of substantial economic aid, particularly for the development of tourism;
- (e) The granting of an amnesty to Anguillans charged with political actions against the State and the British Government since 30 May;
- (f) The stationing of policemen from Commonwealth Caribbean Territories in Anguilla until constitutional government is re-established, to be used only as a peace-keeping force.

Economic conditions

307. In St. Kitts the most important crop is sugar, which is produced on large estates. In Nevis, mixed farming is predominant and cotton is produced for export. In Anguilla, the majority of the inhabitants are proprietors and the main activities are stock-raising, salt production and fishing.

308. International trade figures for 1965 are not yet available. In 1964, however, imports were valued at \$WI 13,557,000 and exports at \$WI 9,965,000. The principal exports were sugar (40,800 tons valued at \$WI 8,880,000), molasses (1,274,000 gallons valued at \$WI 346,000), cotton (115,000 pounds valued at \$WI 89,000). The number of tourists decreased from 11,844 in 1964 to 11,766 in 1965.

309. Figures relating to public finance are not yet available for 1965. In 1964, however, revenue amounted to \$WI 5,210,000 and expenditure to \$WI 6,078,000.

310. In the Report of the Tripartite Economic Survey it was stated that there did not appear to be much possibility of expanding the sugar industry and it was suggested that the main area for development should be tourism. However, a more vigorous approach to tourist development was essential and better transport to the Territory would have to be made available.

311. During 1965, there was a drought and poor crops of sugar and cotton were reported. An inquiry into the sugar industry was initiated in 1965 but the results of the inquiry are not available.

312. At the Constitutional Conference in London in May 1966, separate talks were held concerning problems relating to the economic development of the Territory. At these talks, it was recognized that the economy of the Territory would continue to be vulnerable so long as it was almost wholly dependent on sugar production, and there was therefore an urgent need to diversify it by introducing new industries. The St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Government had in the past

²² Developments subsequent to those reported in this section are referred to in the statements in Sub-Committee III, during its consideration of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent (see annex to the present report).

few years endeavoured to promote a tourist industry, which, it was agreed, offered the best means of broadening the economy of the Territory. The Government considered that such developments entailed attracting private investment for hotels and similar amenities. This in turn required the construction or provision by the Government of the necessary infra-structure (e.g., roads, and water and electricity services) as well as an airfield capable of receiving medium-haul jet aircraft, and a deep-water harbour. Until the Government were able to provide acceptable services of this kind the possibility of attracting investment for the development of the tourist industry would be greatly hampered. The St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Government were anxious that the United Kingdom Government should assist them both financially and technically in their endeavour to provide such services.

313. In view of the high priority attached by the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Government to the airfield project, the United Kingdom Government undertook that, provided there was a reasonable prospect that the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Government would be able to negotiate a satisfactory scheme for tourist development, they would be willing to arrange a technical feasibility study of the airfield. Subject to the outcome of that study, they would in principle be willing to give the financial aid to the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Government after March 1968 to make the necessary improvements to the airfield. An examination would be made of existing Colonial Development and Welfare schemes relating to St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla to see if savings could be effected which could be transferred to schemes of road improvement, particularly in Nevis and Anguilla, as the first immediate step towards producing the necessary infra-structure for tourist development.

314. The arrangements under which development assistance and budgetary aid would be made available to the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Government after the new arrangements had been introduced were also discussed fully at the conference. The United Kingdom Government confirmed that so far as development assistance was concerned they would carry out in full the undertakings already given. This, in the view of the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla delegation, was not adequate. They considered that the United Kingdom Government should provide them with additional sources of aid because, owing to their size and other factors, they were not able to obtain aid from as many sources as larger, fully independent countries. The United Kingdom Government considered that the introduction of the new constitutional arrangements did not, of itself, affect the aid position, either as regards what the Territory could absorb or what the United Kingdom Government could make available.

315. The United Kingdom Government also confirmed that the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Government would, if the need arose, continue to be eligible for budgetary aid after the new constitutional arrangements had come into force. The conference could not agree on the conditions under which this aid should be made available. The United Kingdom Government agreed to consider further a proposal made by the territorial government. It was explained, however, that if it did not prove possible to accept the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Government's proposals, the arrangements for budgetary support under the new Constitu-

tion would have to be as proposed by the United Kingdom Government.

316. In August 1966, the Chief Minister was reported as stating that two large tourist developments had been planned, one at Frigate Bay in St. Kitts and one at Pinney's in Nevis. The developments, which would include hotels, marinas and homes, would be financed from British and European sources.

Social conditions

Labour

317. Approximately 7,600 workers are employed in the sugar industry on St. Kitts. There are seven registered trade unions with a total membership of approximately 4,500. The largest union is the St. Kitts-Nevis Trades and Labour Union with a membership of over 4,000. The retail price index for 1965 shows that there was little change in price since April 1964.

Public health

318. In 1965, there were two general hospitals with 157 beds and two cottage hospitals with 25 beds. A new hospital is being constructed in St. Kitts. There were also 21 health centres and clinics throughout the three islands. The administering Power reports that all aspects of preventive health work are carried out at these centres. There are 9 government medical officers and 4 private practitioners.

319. In 1965 the birth-rate was 31.3 per thousand, the death-rate 9.4 per thousand and the infant mortality-rate 59.1 per thousand live births. The administering Power reports that infant mortality is mainly due to gastroenteritis and broncho-pneumonia arising directly or indirectly as a result of nutritional deficiencies. An expanded nutritional programme was established in 1965 with the assistance of WHO and UNICEF to promote improved nutrition standards. Under the programme, instruction is given on diet improvement and powdered milk is distributed free to pre-school and school children.

320. Recurrent expenditure on public health in 1965 amounted to \$EC959,500, or 14.4 per cent of total government expenditure.

Educational conditions

321. Primary education is free and, since 1964, has been compulsory between the ages of 6 and 14.

322. There are 36 government primary and senior schools in the Territory with an enrolment of 15,732 pupils. A total of 414 teachers, including 4 pupil-teachers, are employed in these schools. Three of these schools are senior schools and offer facilities for practical work.

323. The administering Power reports a marked improvement in the equipment supplied to schools, but notes that there is still a need for more and better equipment. Progress was also being made in the liberalization and broadening of the primary school curriculum, and in the supply of more trained teachers.

324. In 1965, there were 4 government secondary schools and one private school. The number of students is not available.

325. In 1965 an in-service training course for uncertified teachers, instituted by the University of the West Indies Institute of Education, was run, jointly

by the Institute and the local Ministry of Education. Thirty-six students teachers were enrolled for the 1965-1966 course. In 1965, two teachers were awarded bursaries and were attending educational institutions in the United Kingdom.

326. The amount voted for education for 1965 was \$EC1,013,600 from local revenue and \$EC38,000 from Colonial Development and Welfare funds.

ST. LUCIA²³

General

327. St. Lucia lies about twenty miles north of St. Vincent and twenty-five miles south of Martinique. It is the second largest of the Windward Islands and has an area of 238 square miles (616 square kilometres). It lies in the hurricane zone.

328. In 1965, the population was estimated at 100,000, almost all of whom were of African or mixed descent.

Constitution

329. The provisions of the new Constitution for St. Lucia, which are also contained in those of the other five Territories, as well as a description of the new relationship of association with the United Kingdom, are set out in paragraphs 133 to 143 above. The main provisions of the new Constitution relating to the internal system of government are set out below.

330. The legislature of St. Lucia will consist of the Queen and a House of Assembly. The Constitution will contain provision for a Senate but this will remain dormant until brought into operation by the decision of a majority of the members of the House of Assembly. The Queen will be represented by a Governor. The Governor will be appointed by the Queen.

331. The House of Assembly will consist of ten elected members, the Attorney-General (so long as he is an official) and, until the provisions relating to a Senate are brought into operation, three nominated members. The House will elect a Speaker who, if he is not already a member of the House, will become one by virtue of his office.

332. Of the three nominated members, two will be appointed on the advice of the Premier and one after consultation with the Premier and such other persons as the Governor in his discretion may decide to consult. Nominated members will not be entitled to vote on motions of no confidence or on constitutional questions.

333. The provisions of St. Lucia's new Constitution concerning alteration of the Constitution, the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms, and the exercise of executive authority are essentially the same as those proposed for Antigua (see paragraphs 172 to 175 above).

Electoral system

334. The House of Assembly will appoint a standing committee, with the Speaker as chairman, to keep under review the number of constituencies and their boundaries.

²³ The information on St. Lucia has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73 e of the Charter, on 1 September 1966, for the year ending 31 December 1965.

335. A person who is a British subject, proficient in English and has reached the age of 21 years will be qualified for election if he was born in St. Lucia and is domiciled and a resident there or if he has been a resident for three years. The same qualifications govern eligibility for nomination except that the minimum age is 30 years.

336. A person will be qualified to vote if he has reached the age of 21 years and has such qualifications regarding residence or registration as may be prescribed by the legislature.

Public Service

337. In 1965, there were fifteen expatriate officers (three pensionable and twelve on contract) in the Public Service. The total number of public servants is not available.

338. In-service training was provided for clerical staff and executive and administrative officers attended local seminars organized with the assistance of the University of the West Indies.

Political parties

339. There are two political parties in St. Lucia, the United Workers' Party (the governing party) and the Labour Party.

340. The last elections were held in June 1964 at which the Labour Party, which had been in office for thirteen years, was defeated. The United Workers' Party won ten seats and the Labour Party won two.

341. Both parties were represented at the Constitutional Conference held in London in April and May 1966. Representatives of both parties signed the report, but the Leader of the Opposition was recorded as stating that because of their fundamental nature, the introduction of the new arrangements should be preceded by a general election.

Recent political developments

342. On 16 January 1967, it was announced that St. Lucia's new Constitution and its new status of association with the United Kingdom would come into force on 1 March 1967.

Economic conditions

343. The economy of the Territory is based on agriculture. The main crops are bananas, coconuts, cocoa, fruit, nutmegs and mace. There is also a fishing industry. The principal manufactures are rum, citrus products, coconut products, cigarettes and mineral waters. The tourist industry is expanding.

344. The administering Power reports that during 1965 general economic conditions continued to improve very gradually, with domestic exports increasing to \$EC11.4 million from the 1964 total of \$WI 9.7 million. Bananas continued to be the major export commodity, accounting for \$EC9.9 million of total domestic exports. Other important commodities were coconut oil (\$EC670,000) and copra (\$EC632,000). The volume of imports also showed an increase over 1964, amounting to \$EC22 million in 1965 against \$WI 20 million in 1964. The number of tourists increased from 17,424 in 1964 to 23,856.

345. Revenue for 1965 was estimated at \$EC9,690,100. The main sources of revenue were customs and excise duties and income taxes.

346. The administering Power reports that an important addition to the machinery for general economic development was made in 1965 with the appointment of the Industrial Development Board with membership drawn from the business and professional community and operating under the aegis of the Ministry of Trade and Industry. The Board will advise the Minister on matters of industrial and general development as well as assist prospective investors in the Territory.

347. An agricultural bank was set up in 1965 to assist the development of agriculture, livestock and fisheries, and a marketing organization was being developed with the help of United Nations technical assistance and a Commonwealth Development and Welfare grant of \$EC212,270.

348. In the Report of the Tripartite Economic Survey it was noted that the banana industry had been the main growth sector of the economy, and now accounted for 80 per cent of exports. According to the Report, however, future expansion would have to be mainly through tourism, which had been facilitated by the recent opening of the Beane Field Airport capable of handling medium-haul jets. The report also recommended that the competitive position of agriculture should be improved through land tenure reform and crop diversification.

349. In a statement reported on 24 December 1966, the Minister of Trade and Industry, Mr. George Mallet, said that St. Lucia, in a drive to expand industrial activity, had succeeded in attracting new ones, including a plant for making coconut and banana chips, which was expected to begin operation in 1967. A factory for the production of low-cost houses would also begin operation in 1967. The Minister said that the Territory's economy was buoyant and that business was on the increase. He also said that the island had made significant progress in tourism and he expected that the earnings from tourism in 1967 would double those for 1966.

Social conditions

Labour

350. The administering Power reports that among the general problems of labour administration are the dearth of statistics on average earnings and hours of work in the major areas of employment and the lack of information on manpower. Plans for an expert from the ILO to do a manpower survey in the Caribbean had been delayed.

351. In 1965, there were five workers' organizations, with a membership of 5,000, and one employers' organization registered in the Territory. In April 1965, a meeting was held to form a Trade Union Council to act as the representative body of the individual unions and to unify trade union activity. Since then, however, no further meetings have been held.

352. A number of trade union leaders attended overseas courses in trade unionism and industrial relations in 1965. The administering Power reports that these courses had helped to improve the low standard of trade union education in St. Lucia.

353. Twenty apprentices were selected for training in agriculture, auto-mechanics, printing and tailoring. The total number of apprentices in training during the period under review was forty-seven. Four apprentices

completed training in 1965: one in agriculture, two in auto-mechanics and one in tailoring.

354. In 1965, 93 migrants were recruited for overseas employment to the United States, 250 to the United States Virgin Islands, 106 to Ascension Island, 16 to Canada and 38 to the United Kingdom, making a total of 503.

355. The cost of living index (base 100 in April 1964) rose from 102.8 in January 1965 to 105.1 in December 1965.

Public health

356. In 1965 there was one general hospital with 208 beds and 3 cottage hospitals with 89 beds. In addition, there were 16 maternity and child welfare centres, one tuberculosis hospital, one mental institution and one institution for the aged and infirm. There were 17 government medical practitioners.

357. In 1965, the infant mortality rate was 47.8 per thousand live births.

358. Recurrent expenditure on public health in 1965 amounted to \$EC1,130,000, of which \$EC112,800 was provided by Colonial Development and Welfare grants.

Educational conditions

359. At the end of 1965, there were 59 primary schools (one government and 58 private) with 23,362 pupils (364 government and 22,998 private) and 688 teachers. There were 3 secondary schools (one government and two private) with 1,032 pupils (178 government and 854 private) and 56 teachers and one teacher training institution with 40 students.

360. In his budget speech delivered in December 1965, the Chief Minister, Mr. G. M. Compton, said that St. Lucia faced an illiteracy rate higher than every other West Indian Territory, with perhaps one exception. Overcrowding in schools was deplorable and of the 700 teachers only 140 were trained. He indicated that teacher training was being intensified with the assistance of Peace Corps volunteers who were assisting with in-service training to prepare teachers for admission to the Teacher Training College. At the College, the course had been extended from one to two years.

361. Recurrent expenditure on education in 1965 amounted to \$EC1,160,000 and was to be raised to \$EC1,250,000 in 1966.

ST. VINCENT²⁴

General

362. St. Vincent lies about 100 miles west of Barbados and south of St. Lucia. The Territory also includes part of the Grenadines chain of islands, known as the St. Vincent Grenadines, including Bequia, Canouan, Mayreau and Union Island. The island of St. Vincent is about 18 miles long and 11 miles wide with an area of about 133 square miles (343 square kilometres). Including the St. Vincent Grenadines, the total area of the Territory is 150 square miles (388 square kilometres).

²⁴ The information on St. Vincent has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73 e of the Charter, on 23 September 1966, for the year ending 31 December 1965.

363. In mid-1965, the population was estimated at 88,400, almost all of whom were of African and mixed descent.

Constitution

364. The provisions of the new Constitution for St. Vincent, which are also contained in those of the other five Territories, as well as a description of the new relationship of association with the United Kingdom, are set out in paragraphs 133 to 143 above. The main provisions of the new Constitution relating to the internal system of government are set out below.

365. The legislature of St. Vincent will consist of the Queen and a House of Representatives. The Queen will be represented by a Governor. The Governor will be appointed by the Queen.

366. The House of Representatives will consist of a speaker, thirteen elected members and, until the legislature otherwise provides, three nominated members. Two of the nominated members will be appointed on the advice of the Premier and one on the advice of the Leader of the Opposition. The speaker will be elected by the members either from among the members of the House or from outside. If the person holding the office of Attorney-General is not a member of the House he shall become an *ex officio* member and will be entitled to vote.

367. The provisions of St. Vincent's new Constitution concerning alteration of the Constitution, the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms, and the exercise of executive authority are essentially the same as those proposed for Antigua (see paras. 172-175 above).

Electoral system

368. The thirteen elected members of the House will be elected in single-member constituencies. Provision will be made for a constituency boundaries commission, consisting of a chairman and not less than two and not more than four other members, to be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Premier. The Commission will review the boundaries of constituencies whenever a census has been held and whenever the legislature has altered the number of constituencies.

369. The new Constitution provides for an increase of four in the number of elected members. As a transitional measure, the existing legislature will be authorized to provide for these additional members to be elected in existing constituencies.

370. A person will be qualified for election or nomination if he is a British subject who has reached the age of 21 years and, in the case of an elected member, if he has resided in St. Vincent for one year or if he is ordinarily domiciled and is a resident in St. Vincent.

371. A person will be qualified to vote if he is a British subject who has attained the age of 21 years and if he satisfies such requirements as to residence or domicile as the legislature may prescribe.

Public Service

372. In 1965, there were ten expatriate officers (one pensionable and nine on contract) and 2,118 local officers in the Public Service. Forty-six of the local officers held senior posts.

373. In-service training courses are conducted for clerical workers, teachers and public health personnel. In addition, 76 officers underwent training overseas during the year 1965.

Political parties

374. There are two political parties in St. Vincent, the Peoples' Political Party (the governing party) led by Mr. Ebenezer Joshua, and the Labour Party, led by Mr. Milton Cato.

375. Both parties were represented at the Constitutional Conference held in London. Representatives of both parties signed the report.

376. It has been stated in reports that there is less difference in the policies of the two parties than in the methods they advocate to deal with the Territory's problems. Both seek regional co-operation, industrial and agricultural development and an improved educational system. The closing down of the sugar industry, and the decline of arrowroot production have been cited by the Labour Party as indications that a new government is necessary. The governing party has pointed to the progress that has been made while it has been in office and has pointed to the new deep-water wharf, the new airport and the increase in banana production. It has also claimed that it has done much to encourage investment in tourism and industrial development.

377. The last elections were held in August 1966. The Peoples' Political Party was returned with five seats, a loss of one, and the Labour Party won four seats, a gain of one.

Recent political developments

378. Following the elections, which were held on 22 August 1966, the Labour Party filed two election petitions. The first claimed that in a constituency where the Peoples' Political Party candidate had won by four votes, *inter alia*, a number of unqualified persons had been allowed to vote. The second claimed that in another constituency the person declared elected could not read the English language with sufficient proficiency.

379. On 17 September 1966, the Peoples' Political Party filed two election petitions. The first claimed that in one of the constituencies the successful candidate and his supporters had offered bribes to induce persons to vote for that candidate. The second claimed that in another constituency the person declared elected could not read the English language with sufficient proficiency. The four petitions are still before the courts.

380. On 8 December 1966, Mr. Milton Cato, Leader of the Labour Party, requested a hearing before the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly. The request was granted but he did not appear before the Committee.

381. On 22 December 1966, the Secretary of State for the Colonies informed the Chief Minister that he had been considering the implementation of the proposals for associated status for St. Vincent in the light of representations made to him by both the Government and the Opposition, and also by other interested groups, since the elections of 22 August 1966. He had taken into account the fact that there were still four outstanding petitions arising from those elections. The results of those elections were, therefore,

not yet finally decided, and it was possible that the outcome of the petitions could lead to a change of government. The Secretary of State had decided to include St. Vincent in the bill before the United Kingdom Parliament which would empower the Queen to issue the necessary Order in Council to bring into force the new constitutional arrangement of associated status. He had decided, however, not to advise the Queen to issue the Order in Council until he had had further discussions with the parties represented at the Constitutional Conference in May. He therefore invited the Chief Minister, his Government and representatives of the Opposition to a meeting with him in London on 16 January 1967. The meeting would consider whether, in the light of developments since the Constitutional Conference, certain modifications should be made in the constitutional proposals which would not change the scheme in any fundamental respect but which would make it more acceptable to the people of St. Vincent generally. The meeting would also consider, *inter alia*, the transitional provisions for bringing the new arrangements into force.

382. The Chief Minister rejected the invitation but subsequently agreed to a meeting with the United Kingdom Minister of State at the Commonwealth Office. The meeting took place on 24 January 1967. The Minister also met separately with the Leader of the Opposition. On 1 February 1967, a joint meeting was held at which agreement was reached. The main points of the agreement were: the waiving of the clauses in the present draft constitution which gives the present Government the right to create four new seats; the appointment of a boundaries commission by the United Kingdom which will divide St. Vincent into thirteen constituencies instead of the present nine; the appointment of an electoral supervisor by the United Kingdom to prepare new electoral rolls; and the holding of elections under the new constituency system before the end of 1968 under United Kingdom supervision. It was also announced that St. Vincent's new status of association with the United Kingdom would come into effect before 1 June 1967.

383. New circumstances making it necessary to postpone Statehood Day for St. Vincent, which had been fixed for 29 May 1967, were explained by Mrs. Judith Hart, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, in answer to a question in the House of Commons on 12 April 1967.

384. The present difficulties, Mrs. Hart said, arose when an elected Minister crossed the floor on 16 March in the St. Vincent Legislative Council (the single chamber of the St. Vincent Legislature), thus depriving the Peoples' Political Party of their previous narrow 5 to 4 majority. The correct first step in the new situation seemed to be to test the confidence of the elected members in the Government; but it appeared from an exchange of messages with the Chief Minister that the business of the legislature was unlikely to be arranged so that a motion of no confidence would be given priority. An Order in Council was made on 5 April empowering the Administrator to summon a meeting of the Legislative Council to hear such a motion. On the same day a message was received from the Chief Minister advising the immediate dissolution of the Legislative Council to be followed as soon as possible by fresh elections on the existing nine-constituency basis. Mrs. Hart agreed that this was the right solution and the Legislative

Council was dissolved on 7 April. However, to ensure complete political impartiality during the election period, an Order in Council had also since been made dissolving the Executive Council and conferring sole responsibility for the administration of St. Vincent on the Administrator until the formation of a new Government after the elections which were expected to be held on 16 May. Till then the Administrator would consult with the leaders of both parties on all significant matters within the responsibilities hitherto allocated to Ministers.

385. Mrs. Hart recalled that in the agreement signed with the Chief Minister and the Leader of the Opposition of St. Vincent on 1 February it was envisaged that Statehood Day for St. Vincent would be not later than 1 June 1967 and that provisional arrangements for 29 May had in fact been made; and explained that it would not now be practicable to keep to this date, though it remained the British objective that St. Vincent should become an associated State as soon as circumstances permitted.

386. In the event, a general election was held on 19 May. It resulted in victory for the Labour Party (six seats, 14,498 votes) over the People's Political Party (three seats, 12,466 votes), thus reversing the results of the 1966 elections in which the PPP won five seats to the LP's four. Mr. R. M. Cato, former Opposition Leader, was sworn in as Chief Minister on 22 May. Mr. Ebenezer Joshua, former Chief Minister, retained his seat.

Economic conditions

387. The economy of the Territory is based mainly on primary production for export. The main crops are bananas, arrowroot, copra and cotton. There is also a small fishing industry producing fish for local consumption. Secondary industries are limited to arrowroot processing and the production of cigarettes, rum and aerated waters. Tourism is of increasing importance.

388. Banana production increased during the period under review. During 1965, 2,365,302 stems or 31,787 short tons were exported, as against 2,177,796 stems, or 28,057 short tons, in 1964. The respective values were \$EC3,148,400 and \$WI 3,372,600. Despite the substantial rise in the quantity of exports, net earnings fell, owing to the lower prices that prevailed. Windstorms and inadequate rainfall also took their toll, as well as pests and diseases. The fierce competition with bananas from other countries was most damaging. Windstorm insurance benefits paid out to growers in 1965 totalled \$EC391,073, as against \$WI 308,161 in 1964.

389. Arrowroot production in 1965 fell back to 33,856 barrels, as against 59,600 barrels in 1964. Because of the large stocks still on hand it was hoped that the 1966 crop would not exceed 20,000 barrels. If production could be kept at this level for the next two years it was believed that the large stocks could be disposed of. After exhaustive negotiations, the United Kingdom Government eventually agreed to support the local Government in guaranteeing a loan from Barclays Bank to the Arrowroot Association to enable them to purchase the crop and to continue operation. This averted a disaster.

390. The administering Power reports that with improved pest control, the operation of a tractor pool,

and the gain in demand for sea island cotton, it had been hoped growers would respond favourably to increased cotton planting. The response was, however, most disappointing; only 600 acres were planted, as against 817 acres in 1964. The administering Power notes that the risks in cotton are high, and that faltering prices would depress interest in this crop. Moreover, competition from Egyptian long staples was becoming more severe every year. It was also reported that the government ginnery which was burnt down in 1964 was rebuilt and commenced operating in 1965. The Territory still lacks a power plant for processing oilseeds.

391. Cocoa plantings continued to increase during 1965 and exports rose from 521 cwts in 1964 to 821 cwts in 1965. The world price for cocoa, however, was very low. Because of unsettled conditions in the Far East, prices of nutmeg and mace rose and growers increased their production. As a result, exports rose considerably to 244,700 pounds, valued at \$EC221,400. Moderate plantings of Robusta Coffee continued and a drive was being made to increase planting of black pepper.

392. Despite a steady market and a strong demand for copra, production remained static. Exports were 2,428 long tons, as against 2,454 long tons in 1964 and 2,409 long tons in 1963. The value of copra exports in 1965 amounted to \$EC825,600, compared with \$WI 827,000 in 1964. Exports of dry coconuts fell to 461,505 cwts. This was due to the state of the copra market, which was glutted in 1963 and early 1964, and to irregular shipping opportunities to the United States.

393. The number of tourists visiting the Territory increased from 17,693 in 1964 to 21,041 in 1965. Two new hotels were opened in 1965 and electricity was to be installed in the island of Bequia, a promising tourist resort.

394. In 1965, internal revenue, of which over half was derived from customs excise and other duties, amounted to \$EC4.9 million, compared with \$WI 4.73 million in 1964. In addition, the Territory received United Kingdom aid totalling \$EC1.28 million, compared with \$WI 1.2 million in 1964. Expenditure under the capital budget amounted to \$EC1.25 million in 1965, compared with \$WI 617,953 in 1964.

395. In the Report of the Tripartite Economic Survey it was noted that St. Vincent had the highest rate of natural increase and the lowest proportion of crop land per head of population of the islands. According to the Report, crops other than export crops and livestock could be developed and prospects for tourist development, particularly in the Grenadines, were excellent if the airport and airstrip were improved and more and better gas and water services were supplied.

Social conditions

Labour

396. Employment is mainly in or connected with agriculture. There is a slack period between July and October, during which the majority of agricultural and factory workers are underemployed.

397. In 1965, 146 workers were recruited for temporary employment abroad as cane-cutters; 66 in the United States and 80 in the United States Virgin Islands. Forty immigrants left for non-temporary employment overseas: 16 for Canada and 24 for the United Kingdom.

398. There were four trade unions in the Territory in 1965; the Federated Industrial and Agricultural Workers' Union, the Civil Service Association, the Teachers' Association and the Secondary School Teachers' Association.

Public health

399. In 1965, there was one general hospital with 208 beds, 3 cottage hospitals with 20 beds and 24 dispensaries and child welfare centres. In addition, there was a mental institution with 100 beds, a leprosarium with 20 beds and a pauper home with 125 beds.

400. There were 12 registered government physicians in the Territory in 1965 (one more than in 1964) and one private physician (one less than in 1964).

401. The birth-rate in 1965 was 40.5 per thousand (42.7 in 1964). The death-rate fell from 9.5 per thousand in 1964 to 8.9 in 1965, while the infant mortality-rate also declined from 75.3 to 73.4 per thousand live births.

402. Expenditure on public health amounted to \$EC897,400, compared with \$EC877,200 in 1964, which represented 11.3 per cent of the total expenditure for the Territory.

Educational conditions

403. Primary education is free but not compulsory between the ages of 5 and 15 years. In 1965, there were 56 government primary schools with 25,541 pupils. There were 3 government secondary schools and 7 private secondary schools with 624 and 1,876 pupils respectively. There is also a teacher-training institution conducted by the Government which, in 1965, had 299 students. In addition, 47 students were pursuing higher education overseas.

404. The administering Power reports that during 1965 two primary schools and one secondary school were enlarged. Lack of space and inadequate equipment were listed as major problems.

405. Expenditure on education in 1965 amounted to \$EC1,164,400, compared with \$WI 1,112,800 in 1964.

4. BERMUDA²⁵

General

406. The Bermudas or Somers Islands are a group of small islands in the western Atlantic Ocean, about 570 miles (917 kilometres) east of the North Carolina coast of the United States. They consist of about 300 islands and islets. The 10 principal islands are connected by bridges or causeways and are about 22 miles (35.4 kilometres) long with an average width of between half and one mile. They have a total land area of about 20.5 square miles (53.33 square kilometres) of which 1.25 square miles (3.23 kilometres) is land reclaimed from the sea. An area of 2.3 square miles (5.99 square kilometres) is leased to the United States Government for naval and military bases.

407. In December 1965, the estimated total resident civil population was 48,799, compared with 47,612 in the previous year. About two thirds of the population is of African or mixed descent and the remainder is of European origin.

²⁵ The information on Bermuda has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73 e of the Charter on 13 September 1966, for the year ended 31 December 1965.

Constitution

408. Bermuda's present Constitution is an unwritten one which has been built up over the last 300 years since 1620, when it was first granted representative institutions. Its main features are set out below.

409. The Governor is the chief executive and is appointed by the Queen. He is advised in the exercise of his functions by an Executive Council, but is not bound to accept the Council's advice.

410. The Executive Council, under the chairmanship of the Governor, consists of three official and six unofficial members nominated by the Governor. The three officials are the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney General and the Colonial Treasurer. The six unofficial members are drawn from the House of Assembly.

411. The Legislature is bicameral and consists of a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly. The Legislative Council (Upper House) has eleven members appointed by the Governor, three of whom are official members (the Chief Justice as President, the Colonial Secretary and the Attorney General), while the remaining eight are prominent citizens of Bermuda, the majority of whom have previously served in the House of Assembly. The Legislative Council reviews legislation passed by the House of Assembly and may itself introduce any bill other than a money bill.

412. The House of Assembly (Lower House) consists of thirty-six members elected for a term of five years. The Governor has power to dissolve the House of Assembly and the British Crown the power to disallow Acts of the colonial Parliament.

413. A number of government departments are controlled by executive boards which consist of unofficial members appointed by the Governor. The head of the department acts in an advisory capacity. The chairmen of most of the major boards are members of the House of Assembly.

Electoral system

414. The 36 members of the House of Assembly are elected from 9 constituencies, each of which returns 4 members. Under the provisions of the Parliamentary Elections Act of 1963, the voters must be British subjects of 25 years of age or over at the time of registration, and if not possessing Bermudian status, must have been resident in the Territory for the whole of the period of 3 years immediately prior to registration, registration being held every year. Candidates for election must qualify as electors and, in addition, must possess Bermudian status. In 1966, the voting age was reduced to 21 and the additional vote for property owners was abolished.

415. At the last general election held on 16 May 1963, 86.5 per cent of the registered electors voted. The Progressive Labour Party (PLP), the first political party to emerge in Bermuda, was successful in getting 6 of its 9 candidates elected. In August 1964, the United Bermuda Party (UBP) was formed by 25 of the 30 independent members elected to the House of Assembly in 1963, and now commands a majority in the House.

416. Since 1964 there have been a number of resignations from the two parties and the state of the parties in the House at present is as follows: UBP, 23 seats; Independents, 10 seats; and PLP, 3 seats.

Judiciary

417. The judiciary consists of a Supreme Court, presided over by a Chief Justice, and two courts of Summary Jurisdiction, each presided over by a magistrate. Appeal from the Supreme Court lies to the Privy Council in the United Kingdom.

Public Service

418. The Public Service is under the control of the Secretary of State for the colonies. According to the administering Power, all junior posts and many of the senior posts are filled by local inhabitants.

419. In 1965, the Government set up a training scheme with two main categories—administrative cadetships, and bursaries and scholarships. Under the former scheme, which is open to young men and women with a university degree or the minimal educational standard for university entrance, successful candidates are to be attached to various government departments to gain experience in administration. They may also undergo a period of secondment to the Civil Service in the United Kingdom. Under the latter scheme, bursaries and scholarships are being made available for professional and technical training, candidates being expected to undertake to serve the Government for a period proportionate to the period of training sponsored.

420. At the end of 1965 there were 118 local officers in the senior grades and 637 in the lower grades. Of the expatriate officers, 61 were on contract and 264 held permanent appointments.

Local government

421. The city of Hamilton and the town of St. George are each governed by a corporation, consisting of elected mayors, aldermen and councillors. The main sources of revenue are charges for water and dock facilities and municipal taxes. Elsewhere in Bermuda, the main unit of local government is the parish, of which there are nine in all. The parish vestries raise revenue by means of levies on land and personal property and are responsible for such functions as street lighting, road cleaning and certain welfare services.

Political parties

422. There are two political parties in the Territory: the Progressive Labour Party (PLP) formed in 1963; and the United Bermuda Party (UBP), the present governing party which was formed in 1964. Other organizations which participate in political activities include the Bermuda Constitutional Conference and the Bermuda Industrial Union (BIU).

423. The positions of the UBP, the PLP and the BIU with regard to constitutional development are outlined in paragraphs 428 to 443 below. Additional information on the views of the political parties in Bermuda is contained in the statement made by Dr. Barbara B. Ball, Secretary-General of the BIU, to the Special Committee in 1965 (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. XXIV, paras. 108-127) and by Mr. A. Hodgson, a member of the PLP, to the Fourth Committee in 1966 (1672nd meeting).

424. The views of the Bermuda Constitutional Conference are contained in the statement made by Mr. W. G. Brown, General Secretary of that organization, to the Special Committee in 1965 (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. XXIV, paras. 100 to 107). Mr. Brown has also

petitioned the Committee complaining of racial discrimination, supporting independence and protesting against the electoral system (A/AC.109/PET.223 and Add. 1, A/AC.109/PET.342 and Add.1 and 2, A/AC.109/PET.431 and Add.1).

Recent developments

Composition of the Bermuda delegation to the Constitutional Conference

425. As noted in the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session (see A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, para. 208), it was announced on 11 July 1966 that a Constitutional Conference on Bermuda would be held in London on 8 November 1966. The Conference was to discuss constitutional developments on the basis of the report of the Joint Select Committee which was adopted by the legislature in December 1965. This report consisted of a majority report and five minority reports, the details of which are set out in the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session (*ibid.*, paras. 197-202).

426. On 22 July 1966, the Governor announced the names of the twenty delegates to the Conference. In addition to himself and the Attorney General, the delegation would consist of eighteen representatives of the legislature. Of these, eight were members of the United Bermuda Party (UBP), four were independent members of the House of Assembly, three were members of the Progressive Labour Party (PLP) and three were members of the Legislative Council.

427. Following the Governor's announcement, the Bermuda Industrial Union (BIU) issued a statement declaring its dissatisfaction with the basis of selection of the delegation to the Conference. According to the BIU, no individual or group would pursue the objectives of the workers as whole-heartedly as the BIU and it would continue to press for representation at the Conference.

Bermuda Industrial Union proposals

428. In a further statement issued in September 1966, the BIU announced that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had informed the Union that he was unable to accede to its request to be represented at the Constitutional Conference. The Secretary of State had replied that while he was satisfied that the choice of delegates should enable all points of view to be expressed, he would be very ready to receive a memorandum setting out the views of the BIU and to bear those in mind during the conference discussions.

429. On 30 July 1966, the BIU made public its constitutional proposals. According to these proposals, the BIU wanted a cabinet system of government with adequate provision in the constitution to lead to complete independence, which should be granted when the adult population expressed a positive desire for it by means of a referendum. Under the terms of the BIU proposals, the legislature would consist of a single House. The Executive and Legislative Councils and all government boards would be abolished. Until the people expressed a desire for independence, the Governor would retain powers in foreign policy and defence. The cabinet, composed of a Premier and eleven other ministers would be appointed by the Governor from the majority party in the House. The Governor's assent would be automatic on the passage of

bills through the House except for those relating to amendments to the constitution and his reserve powers.

430. The Island would be divided into forty single-seat constituencies "drawn up on the basis of population density alone, without regard to parish boundaries or any other factors". An impartial Boundaries Commission, composed in the first instance of persons from the United Kingdom, would review the boundaries every seven years. The voting age would remain at twenty-one, with only Bermudians being permitted to vote or be a member of Parliament or of the Cabinet. The Union's proposals also included a detailed Bill of Rights.

United Bermuda Party proposals

431. The position of the governing party, UBP, on constitutional reform was outlined in the party's new platform which was published on 30 July 1966. According to its new platform, the UBP endorsed the majority report of the Joint Select Committee on Constitutional Reform. Specifically, it supported the proposal by which the Executive Council would be composed of members of the majority group in the House of Assembly and would be responsible to the House for the operation of all government departments, including finance. The majority report had also proposed the retention of the Legislative Council (Upper House) with delaying powers and of the government boards, although they would be subject to the general control of the Executive Council.

432. On 21 October 1966, the UBP made public a number of amendments to the majority report which the party had decided upon after meetings between the UBP delegates to the conference and on the advice of Sir Ralph Hone, the Bermuda Government's constitutional adviser. A statement issued at the same time said that this might be regarded as the brief for the party's delegates to the London Conference.

433. The amendments included a proposal requiring the Governor to dismiss the Government Leader following a vote of no confidence in the House of Assembly and if, as a result of a general election, he considered that the Leader no longer commanded the support of a majority of the House. Another amendment would require the Governor to act in all matters in accordance with the advice tendered to him by the Executive Council, subject to any exceptions that were expressly provided in the new constitution, such as matters relating to defence, internal security and external relations.

434. With regard to external relations, the UBP was of the opinion that the United Kingdom Government should accord to the Bermuda Government a substantial measure of control in civil aviation, shipping and finance in relation to matters which were of vital economic interest to the Territory.

435. The UBP indicated that it would seek an assurance from the United Kingdom Government that the new constitution would not be revoked or amended without prior consultation with the Bermuda Government and the concurrence of the two Houses of the legislature of Bermuda, signified by resolution.

Progressive Labour Party proposals

436. On 18 October 1966, the PLP published a memorandum (see A/AC.109/PET.569), outlining its position on constitutional change in the Territory.

437. In its memorandum, the party attacked the present electoral system, which it claimed was based on a policy of segregating the working class and coloured voters into large constituencies and of reserving for white electors specially designed small constituencies. The PLP believed that the only way to avoid racial and industrial strife in Bermuda was for the United Kingdom Government to insist on the establishment of an electoral system which was not based on class or colour and which gave an equal value to the vote cast by an elector, irrespective of the colour of his skin or his social status in the community. In its view, a delegation determined largely on the basis of party strength in the present House, should have no function in devising a new constitution.

438. The PLP, therefore, proposed that the first item on the agenda of the Constitutional Conference should be the question of the reform of the electoral system. The memorandum declared further that if the Conference was unwilling to agree upon this then the PLP might make it clear that it would oppose any constitutional change increasing the power of the present "oligarchic, undemocratic and racially biased House of Assembly".

439. The PLP considered that the Conference should be divided into two parts, the first devoted to reaching agreement as to how the United Kingdom Government could provide for a fair method of choosing the House of Assembly and for the supervision of a general election; the second part of the Conference should be held only after the general election and—in the light of the verdict of the Bermudian people—should then devise the other appropriate constitutional changes. Under this proposal, the agenda of this part of the Conference would be confined solely to the following items: (a) constituency boundaries; (b) registration of electors; and (c) supervision of the elections by the United Kingdom Government.

440. Commenting on a number of proposals in the majority report of the Joint Select Committee, the PLP expressed its opposition to the retention of the second legislative chamber and suggested that the present boards might be replaced by committees of the House. It also believed that insufficient consideration had been given to possible alternative forms for a constitution under which the Territory could become independent, and suggested that it might be valuable, for instance, to study the constitutions of the Channel Islands.

441. The PLP recommended that Bermuda should be independent. It would be willing to discuss the matter at the Conference, but reiterated its view that the Conference, as at present constituted, was not the right body to come to any final decision on this or any other question of importance. That decision would have to be taken by the new and democratically elected House of Assembly.

442. Sir Henry Tucker, Parliamentary Leader of the UBP, in his comment on the PLP's memorandum, said that while it disclaimed any racial bias, it "simply reeks of it." The PLP had proposed a fundamental change in the electoral system by which one third of the members of the House would be elected by one central parish. Over a long period Bermuda had accepted the proposition that each parish should elect four members each, a system which had generally produced good members and had prevented control of the Assembly from being vested in the Central District. He believed that voters would refuse to be deluded into

destroying the present system by stripping political power from eight parishes in order to concentrate it into one. Sir Henry did not believe that the majority of Bermudians wished to be led by the PLP.

443. After pointing out that Bermuda's economy depended on trade and investment, Sir Henry said that any general loss of confidence in the Government would persuade both local and overseas investors to curtail or abandon their plans for expansion. Acceptance of the PLP's proposals would, he said, unquestionably have this effect. Sir Henry concluded his statement as follows:

"We record our determined opposition to the Progressive Labour Party's recommendation for independence. Independence presupposes the ability of a government to protect the vital interest of its nationals at home and abroad. Quite clearly we do not possess this power. We are a tiny island of 20 square miles with less than 50,000 people, remotely located in the North Atlantic. Can we really imagine that independence is suitable for us? Is it not time that the Progressive Labour Party developed a healthy and realistic sense of proportion in these matters? It is our conclusion that independence can accomplish nothing of value for Bermuda and that its only results will be to increase the cost of government and to create fatly paid jobs to reward the politically faithful. While the Progressive Labour Party in their memorandum support independence, they have failed to produce any reasons—valid or otherwise—in support of their opinion."

Constitutional Conference

444. The Constitutional Conference on Bermuda took place in London between 8 and 22 November 1966. The final report was signed by the United Kingdom representatives, the Governor and the Attorney General, all the delegates from the Legislative Council, all the UBP delegates and one of the independents. Two other independent delegates signed the report subject to their dissent on certain points which was set out in a minority report. A further minority report was signed by the PLP delegates.

445. The Conference had before it the report of the Joint Select Committee on Constitutional Reform which had been approved by the Bermuda legislature in December 1965. It also had before it memoranda prepared by the UBP, the PLP, the BIU, the Speaker of the House of Assembly and others.

446. At the outset of its work, the Conference agreed, with the PLP delegates dissenting, that all shades of political opinion in Bermuda were represented and that it was competent to discuss the subject for which it had been convened. According to the report, it became clear at a very early stage of the Conference that the most important issue before it was the question of constituencies. The agreement reached by the majority on that question and on the other details of a new Constitution for Bermuda are set out below.

(a) Majority report

447. The Conference agreed that a Boundaries Commission should be established and that it should be composed of a chairman and four members to be appointed by the Governor. It was agreed that the chairman should be an eminent person from outside Bermuda, with a knowledge of Bermuda but with no vested interest in Bermudian affairs, and that one

member should be a person who held or had held a high judicial office in the Commonwealth. The remaining members would be members of the legislature; two appointed on the advice of the leaders of the majority party and one on the advice of the opposition leader.

448. The following terms of reference for the Boundaries Commission were agreed upon:

- (i) The parish of Pembroke should be divided into four constituencies and each of the other parishes into two constituencies, each constituency to return two members;
- (ii) No account should be taken of the racial distribution of electors;
- (iii) Account should be taken of natural boundaries within a parish;
- (iv) Subject to the foregoing, the Commission should ensure that the constituencies contain as near as may be equal numbers of adult persons, as determined by the immediately preceding census.

449. The Conference also accepted an offer by the Secretary of State to send an expert to Bermuda to see what improvements could be made to the existing registration system. According to the report, the Secretary of State made this offer in order to meet the criticism of the PLP representative that the existing system of registration resulted in many qualified persons not being registered.

450. It was further agreed that the next general election, which was due at the latest in mid 1968, should be held on the basis of the arrangements agreed upon concerning the constituencies. That part of the new Constitution relating to the legislature would be brought into operation shortly before the next general election, while the remainder would come into force immediately after the election.

451. The Secretary of State pointed out, on behalf of the United Kingdom Government, that the form of the new Constitution could be made an election issue and that if a majority of members were elected to the House of Assembly who were opposed to some or all of its features, the new Government would then have a mandate from the electorate to seek further constitutional changes which the United Kingdom Government would consider.

452. The Conference envisaged that their conclusions would be put to the Bermuda legislature for endorsement after which legislation would be enacted in Bermuda to establish the Boundaries Commission. The Commission would then be appointed and recommend new constituencies which would then be given the force of law and preparations for the next general election would be put in hand. In the meantime, the drafting of other necessary legislation in Bermuda and the drafting of the enabling Bill and the Order-in-Council in the United Kingdom could proceed.

453. Under the new Constitution agreed upon at the Conference, the Governor will continue to be appointed by the Crown and will retain special responsibilities for external affairs, defence, internal security and police. In these matters he will act in his discretion; on all other matters he will be required to obtain and act, in accordance with the advice of the Executive Council, subject to a power to act contrary to their advice in the interest of any of the matters for which he retains special responsibility. In general, the Governor will assent or withhold assent to bills passed by the legislature on the

advice of its Executive Council. He will, however, be required to reserve for decision by the Crown any bill which appears to him, *inter alia*, to be inconsistent with the international relations of the United Kingdom or to affect the matters for which he retains special responsibility. The power of disallowance, at present unlimited, will be restricted to legislation affecting certain government stock.

454. The Executive Council will consist of the Government leader and not less than six other members who will be appointed from among the members of the legislature. The Governor will appoint as Government leader the member of the House of Assembly whom he thinks best able to command the confidence of a majority of the members of that House. The other members will be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Government leader. Not less than one nor more than two will be members of the Legislative Council. The Governor will normally preside at meetings of the Executive Council and members will be collectively responsible to the legislature.

455. Portfolios will be allocated by the Governor on the advice of the Government leader. Such portfolios will not include the subjects for which the Governor has special responsibility. The Governor, however, will be empowered to designate a member of the Executive Council whom he may consult on matters relating to the police force, and after informing the legislature and with the prior approval of the Secretary of State, to delegate a member such responsibility relating to internal security and police as he may deem fit.

456. In matters for which the Governor has special responsibility he will be assisted by a Chief Secretary who will be a civil servant and not a member of the Executive Council. The Attorney General, in whom will be vested power to institute and discontinue criminal proceedings, will similarly be a civil servant and not a member of the Executive Council. Both these officers will be appointed by the Governor in his discretion and their salaries will be paid from funds not subject to the control of the legislature.

457. The existing Government Boards will no longer retain their executive functions. Provision will be made to enable members of the Executive Council to be assisted in the exercise of their responsibilities by boards having consultative and administrative functions.

458. The Governor will appoint as Opposition Leader the member of the House of Assembly whom he thinks commands the support of the largest group of opposition members who are prepared to support one leader.

459. While the Conference agreed that the United Kingdom Government would continue to be responsible for the external relations of Bermuda, many delegates supported the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee that the Bermuda Government should be accorded a substantial measure of control in civil aviation, shipping and finance in relation to matters which were of vital economic interest to the colony. Reference was made to the delegation of powers in external affairs granted in the past to other dependent Territories. The Secretary of State promised that there would be an exchange of dispatches about the arrangements which the United Kingdom Government was prepared to make in this respect having regard to their existing international obligations. The Secretary of State also agreed that the United Kingdom Government would consider the inclusion of a representative of the Government of Bermuda in any United Kingdom delegation attending

international discussions about civil aviation, shipping or finance in which the interests of Bermuda were materially involved.

460. The legislature will be bicameral, consisting of an Upper House called the Legislative Council, and a Lower House called the House of Assembly. It will have a maximum life of five years.

461. The Legislative Council will consist of eleven members appointed by the Governor. Four will be appointed on the advice of the Government leader, two on the advice of the Opposition leader and five will be appointed by the Governor in his discretion. The Legislative Council will have no power to initiate money bills and may delay such bills for only two months. It will have power to delay other bills including taxation bills for at least twelve months.

462. The House of Assembly will consist of forty members elected in two-member constituencies by universal adult suffrage. As already noted, eight of the existing parishes will contain two constituencies each, while the ninth, Pembroke, will contain four. Constituency boundaries will be reviewed at stipulated intervals by the Boundaries Commission. The qualifications for electors will remain unchanged; electors must be British subjects of twenty-one years of age or over with either Bermudian status or three years' residence in Bermuda.

463. Control of the Public Service, previously vested in the Secretary of State for the Colonies, will be exercised by a Public Service Commission in Bermuda.

464. Provision will be made for a Supreme Court consisting of a Chief Justice and as many other judges as the legislature may prescribe, the former to be appointed by the Governor in his discretion after consultation with the Government leader, and the latter appointed by the Governor in his discretion after consultation with the Chief Justice. There will also be a Court of Appeals consisting of a President and two other judges to be appointed by the Governor at his discretion.

465. The Constitution will also make provision to safeguard fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual, whatever his race, place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed or sex, subject only to respect for the rights and freedoms of others. The rights and freedoms will be enforceable in the courts.

(b) Minority report issued by two independents

466. The present Speaker of the House of Assembly and another independent member of the House issued a minority report in which they stated that they could not subscribe to the new Constitution because it omitted or destroyed certain fundamental checks which, in their view, were vital if good government were to be maintained. In their opinion, the powers proposed to be vested in the Government leader should be transferred to the collective responsibility of the Executive Council. They also believed that the present method of electing the members of the Legislative Council, namely appointment by the Governor after consultation with the Executive Council, should be changed very little. They further believed that the present powers of the Legislative Council should be maintained, with the exception that the House of Assembly might be empowered to require a bill which has been rejected by the Council to be made the subject of a referendum. They also wished to restore the additional vote for property owners.

(c) Minority report issued by the Progressive Labour Party

467. In their minority report, the PLP delegates stated that they were unable to sign the report and set out the points with which they disagreed and the reasons for their disagreement. They did not believe that the arguments they had advanced on the question of constituencies had been reported in sufficient detail and considered that the report should have indicated the reasons why some suggestions were accepted and others rejected. They were in almost complete disagreement with the proposed new Constitution, in general, on the ground that it was merely a copy of the Bahamas Constitution of 1963. In their view, experience of the working of that Constitution had not been such as to justify a similar Constitution being enacted for Bermuda. They also felt that it was necessary at least to consider whether an altogether different type of government than that appropriate for the Bahamas might not be established in Bermuda. Other types of constitutions which had proved satisfactory for small Territories, as well as constitutions providing for an elected Governor, should also have been examined. They further considered that the proposed redistribution of constituencies was so unsatisfactory as almost certainly to lead to the election of a House of Assembly not representative of the electorate. Among the principal objections raised by the PLP delegates to the detailed proposals for the new Constitution were the following:

- (i) They did not consider that in an island as small as Bermuda a bicameral legislature was necessary and they were opposed to the type of nominated chamber proposed;
- (ii) They were opposed to the Legislative Council being granted powers of delay in regard to taxation bills. In their view, it was essential to introduce income, property and inheritance taxes as soon as possible and these powers would delay and even frustrate essential fiscal reforms;
- (iii) They were opposed to the new arrangements for constituencies which, according to their calculations would result in the three most populous parishes, which at the 1960 census contained a majority of the inhabitants of the Island, returning only sixteen members to the House of Assembly, while the remaining six parishes, containing a minority of the population, would return twenty-four members. They would not "be parties to inserting into the first written Constitution ever to be designed for Bermuda, a principle which, in our opinion, would only give one third of the value to a working class and coloured vote of that given to the election in the most favoured white constituency". They believed that, if there were equal size constituencies, the number of members in the House would be reduced rather than increased since even with thirty-six members, Bermuda's House already had more members per elector than any other comparable Territory;
- (iv) They were opposed to the proposal that a person without Bermudian status but with three years' residence should be entitled to vote;
- (v) They were not in favour of the present Government Boards being retained in any form. The maintenance of these Boards, of which

there were at present twenty-one, was politically undesirable and financially wasteful;

- (vi) They were opposed to the provisions enabling the Governor to expend public funds without authorization by Parliament;
- (vii) They were strongly in favour of provisions in the Constitution for safeguarding fundamental rights. They believed, however, that these should be based on a complete code as drafted by the United Nations and not modelled on the limited provisions contained in the present Bahamas Constitution which had been submitted for consideration.

Question of independence

468. At a press conference held following the closing of the constitutional conference, Mr. Fred Lee, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, was questioned on the topic of independence for Bermuda. He is reported to have replied that the PLP had apparently changed their minds in this matter and that it now seemed that none of the delegates wanted independence.

469. Mr. Walter N. H. Robinson, PLP Parliamentary Leader, in a letter to *The Times* of London, published on 29 November 1966, *inter alia*, said: "My party favours independence for our island. . . . However, the policy of my party is that the issue of independence should be submitted to the people of Bermuda and that it should only be decided after they have heard all the arguments in favour and against it and recorded their opinions through the ballot box. For this reason we did not raise the independence issue at the Bermuda Conference which has just ended."

Economic conditions

470. The economy of the Territory continues to depend primarily on the tourist industry, and most of the local inhabitants participate directly or indirectly in some aspect of it. The number of tourists visiting Bermuda in 1965 was 237,782, compared with 188,992 in 1964. Approximately 87 per cent of the tourists came from the United States.

471. Bananas, citrus fruits, vegetables, milk, eggs and meat are produced for local consumption. The cultivation of Easter lilies, although declining, is still undertaken for export to the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. The continued increase in population and the corresponding increase in housing and playing fields has further encroached on land available for agriculture, reducing it from 1,020 acres in 1964 to 915 acres in 1965.

472. There is a small fishing industry in Bermuda. It is estimated that 1,350,000 pounds of fish and 140,000 pounds of spiny lobster are landed annually, at a local value of about £250,000.

473. A retail price index was established in January 1961 and is computed quarterly. Taking January 1961 as 100, by October 1965 the index stood at 105.7.

474. In 1965, imports into the Territory were valued at £36,366,901, including those into Ireland Island Freeport, compared with £30,885,509 in 1964. Domestic exports were valued at £945,723 in 1965, compared with £726,928 in 1964. Re-exports were valued at £18,505,657 in 1965 as against £12,488,645 in 1964. The visible adverse balance of trade is offset by revenue from invisible items such as investment, the activities of international companies, the tourist industry, repairs to shipping sustaining damage at sea,

and the United States bases which results in a favourable balance of trade. The United States is Bermuda's principal trading partner, providing almost half of the imports in 1965.

475. Revenue and expenditure for the years 1963, 1964 and 1965 were as follows:

	1963	1964	1965
	(Value in thousand pounds)		
Revenue	5,711	6,554	6,660
Expenditure	6,342	6,385	6,557

476. During 1966, the legislature endorsed a report by its Finance Committee which recommended, *inter alia*, the introduction of a progressive tax on real property. Subsequently a firm of surveyors and valuers began preparing an assessment of all property in the Territory. This work is expected to be completed by April 1967. In October 1966, the legislature made provision in its budget for 1967 for a land tax which was expected to come into operation in the second half of 1967 and to yield £250,000.

477. Bermuda has no income tax and attracts the registration of many international companies. It is reported that some 600 foreign firms are registered in Bermuda. The development of the Ireland Island Freeport was directed in part to attract foreign companies to establish manufacturing industries. It is reported that, so far, thirty companies have begun operations at Freeport but that development has been limited owing to the virtual absence of skilled industrial labour.

Social conditions

Social services

478. Social services are provided mainly by the local authorities and by charitable organizations. A government board provides financial assistance and co-ordinates activities.

479. In its recently announced party platform, the UBP, the governing party, declared its intention to make hospital insurance available to all and to introduce old-age pensions under a self-supporting scheme of contributions from employers and employees. At the recent Constitutional Conference in London, the PLP leader drew attention to the lack of social services, medical and hospital benefits, and working-class housing schemes. He described Bermuda as "the last territory on earth in which the sixteenth century Elizabethan poor law is still in force and effect".

480. An old-age and widows' pension scheme is being considered by a joint select committee of the legislature. The scheme it is considering is based on recommendations made by a United Kingdom expert in 1962.

Labour

481. The Territory's first Workmen's Compensation Law came into operation in August 1965. This law is based on the principle of employer's liability and is non-contributory.

482. In 1965, the Government's Labour Advisory Committee continued its consideration of such questions as imported labour and the establishment of an apprenticeship council. This Committee consists of representatives nominated in equal numbers by employers' and workers' organizations. The Committee also prepared a guide to the conduct of labour relations, setting out certain fundamental principles governing good labour relations.

483. In January 1965, there was a dispute between the Bermuda Industrial Union and the Bermuda Electric Light Company over recognition of the union as the bargaining agent for the hourly-paid employees. The administering Power reported that the dispute evoked widespread sympathy-action on the part of workers in other industries and culminated on 2 February 1965 in a clash outside the company's main plant in which seventeen policemen were injured. Following mediation, an agreement was reached on 18 February by which the union obtained some minor concessions. In a subsequent ballot the union failed to obtain recognition as the bargaining agent. Approximately 98 of the company's 260 employees struck. An estimated 17,672 man-hours were lost, exclusive of time lost through sympathy strikes.

484. In 1965, there were six employees' unions registered in the Territory, namely: the Bermuda Industrial Union, the Amalgamated Bermuda Union of Teachers, the Bermuda Dockworkers Union, the Association of Scientific Workers (Bermuda Branch), the Electricity Supply Trade Union and the Bermuda Civil Service Association which became eligible for registration following the enactment of the Trade Union Act of 1965. The Bermuda Federation of Variety Artists was registered early in 1966. There is one employers' organization, the Bermuda Employers' Council.

Public health

485. The Territory's hospital facilities include a general hospital with 225 beds, a geriatric hospital with 36 beds, and a mental hospital. A new wing of the general hospital was completed during 1965.

486. In 1965, the birth-rate was 22.9 per 1,000 and the death-rate was 7.3 per 1,000. The infant death-rate was 30.4 per 1,000 live births. Total government expenditure for health in 1965 amounted to £877,490 compared with £895,793 in 1964.

Educational conditions

487. Education is compulsory between the ages of 5 and 14 years. The upper limit of the statutory school age is to be raised to 15 in 1967 and to 16 in 1968.

488. Under new legislation enacted in 1965 and 1966, the terms vested and non-vested have been replaced by the terms maintained and aided. Schools located in government buildings formerly called vested are now classified as maintained, while those located in buildings owned by the trustees of the schools are classified as aided.

489. There are 25 primary schools (20 maintained and 5 aided), 5 special schools, 10 secondary institutes (5 maintained and 5 aided) and one vocational school. In two of these schools after-school classes are available for further education. Beginning in September 1967, students at maintained and aided schools preparing for A level examinations are to receive instruction at a new Academic Sixth Form Centre. There is no university in Bermuda.

490. Education for those of school age is free for children at all maintained and aided schools, except for those in the fee-paying B streams of secondary schools. The highest fee payable is £195 a year at a private school.

491. Legislation has been adopted to ensure that race will cease to be a criterion for admission to maintained and aided schools.

492. As noted in the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session (A/6300/Rev.1, chap XXII, paras. 228 to 229), the educational system of the Territory has been criticized by the Amalgamated Bermuda Union of Teachers and by the PLP.

493. In 1965, expenditure on education was £982,457, compared with £1,054,126 in 1964.

5. BAHAMAS²⁶

General

494. The Bahamas is an archipelago of about 700 islands, of which only 30 are inhabited, and over 2,000 rocks, extending from the Florida coast of the United States for over 500 miles (800 kilometres) to the south-east. The Grand Bahama, to the north of the group, lies 60 miles (96 kilometres) off the Florida coast. Andros is the largest island, but New Providence is the most important, with Nassau the capital city. The islands are generally long, narrow and low-lying. The total land area is 4,404 square miles (11,406 square kilometres).

495. The estimated population as at 31 December 1965 was 138,107, of which 85,967 was estimated to be in New Providence.

Constitution

496. The present Constitution of the Bahamas is set out in the Bahama Islands (Constitution) Order in Council, 1963, which came into force on 7 January 1964, giving the Territory full internal self-government.

Governor

497. The Governor is appointed by the Queen and exercises executive authority on her behalf. Generally, he is required to act in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet.

498. The Constitution reserves certain powers—external affairs, defence, internal security and control of the police—to be exercised by the Governor in his discretion, provided that he keeps the Cabinet informed of any matters relating to external affairs or defence which may involve the economic or financial interests of the Bahama Islands or the enactment of laws by the Legislature..

499. The Governor's assent is required to all bills, except the relatively few which require assent by the Queen. The Governor may prorogue both chambers of the Legislature and may dissolve the House of Assembly at any time.

Cabinet

500. The Premier and not less than eight other ministers constitute the Cabinet and are appointed by the Governor. The Premier is the member of the House of Assembly who, in the Governor's judgement, is best able to command the confidence of a majority of its members. At least one and not more than three ministers are members of the Senate; the others are members of the House of Assembly, including the Minister for Finance. Ministers are appointed by the Governor on the Premier's advice.

²⁶ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73 e of the Charter on 16 February 1967, for the year ended 31 December 1965.

501. The Cabinet has general direction and control of the government of the Territory and is collectively responsible to the Legislature. It has, however, no responsibility with regard to courts and criminal proceedings, the audit of the Territory's accounts or the public service.

Legislature

502. The Legislature is bicameral and consists of a Senate (formerly the Legislative Council) and a House of Assembly. The Legislature may make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Bahama Islands, subject to the assent of the Governor. Legislation involving taxation or expenditure of public money is restricted; usually it may only be enacted on the recommendation or with the consent of the Governor.

Senate

503. The Senate consists of fifteen members appointed by the Governor—eight after consultation with the Premier, five on the advice of the Premier and two on the advice of the leader of the opposition. The Senate elects a President and Vice-President from among its members. It has limited powers of delaying legislation passed by the House of Assembly. Those members of the former Legislative Council who were originally appointed to hold office during Her Majesty's pleasure will serve for ten years; others will complete the terms for which they have been appointed.

House of Assembly

504. The House of Assembly consists of thirty-eight elected members, of whom twenty-one represent Out Islands constituencies and seventeen represent New Providence constituencies. The Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the House are elected from among its members.

Fundamental rights and freedoms

505. The Constitution contains provisions for the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual.

Political parties

506. There are four political parties in the Bahamas. The Progressive Liberal Party (PLP), the present ruling party, is led by Mr. Lynden O. Pindling, the present Premier. The PLP draws most of its support from people of African descent, who form some 80 per cent of the Territory's population. As a result of the recent general elections, the PLP assumed office for the first time. The opposition United Bahamian Party (UBP), led by Sir Roland Symonette, the present leader of the opposition, is generally described as representing the Islands' commercial and industrial interests. The Labour Party (LP), led by Mr. Randol Fawkes, gave its support to the PLP in the recent general elections. The National Democratic Party (NDP) was formed in 1965 by a group of former PLP members led by Mr. Paul L. Adderley.

Electoral system

507. Qualification for membership in the House of Assembly requires that a candidate shall be twenty-one years of age, a British subject, shall have been ordinarily resident in the colony for a period of not less than five years in the aggregate prior to the date of his nomination, and ordinarily resident in the co-

lony for not less than six months immediately preceding his nomination. Elections are on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

508. A Constituencies Commission has been charged with reviewing the boundaries, the number of constituencies and the number of seats within each constituency not less frequently than once every five years.

509. The most recent general election for the House of Assembly was held on 10 January 1967. The votes cast for the PLP numbered 18,895 and for the UBP, 18,820. Each of these two parties won 18 seats. However, two of the seats won by the UBP candidates were uncontested, and one of them was later declared invalid by an election court. The UBP candidate was re-elected in a subsequent by-election. Of the two remaining seats, one went to a Labour Party member and the other to an Independent.

Political and constitutional developments

510. Developments up to June 1966 were recorded in the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, paras. 235-251).

511. On 2 September 1966, Mr. Fawkes (LP) tabled a motion for a select committee to consider the advisability of requesting the Government of the United Kingdom to convene a Constitutional Conference with a view to establishing the independence of the Bahamas (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, paras. 235-241). In a letter to the Governor, Mr. Fawkes asked what plans the United Kingdom Government had for the eventual independence of the Islands. In his reply, the Governor said that the aim of British policy for dependent Territories was to develop in each a full measure of self-government. The Governor further advised Mr. Fawkes that he had sent a copy of his letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. During the debate on his motion Mr. Fawkes warned members that independence for the Bahamas was inevitable and urged them to prepare for that day. He cited three paramount reasons for independence: (1) to enable the Bahamas to seek a customs agreement with other nations in the western hemisphere, to avoid having to pay high customs duties when ordering merchandise from countries outside the British Commonwealth; (2) to establish Bahamian citizenship ("We want to be able to have national pride, and we won't be able to have this as long as we are a subject people", he stated); and (3) to enable Bahamians to make adequate preparations for the inevitable future.

512. The Premier, Sir Roland Symonette, advised the House of Assembly that while independence could be requested and would no doubt be granted, it was none the less necessary to face the facts. "It would be extremely expensive, both in money and manpower, for the Bahamas to take on the task of establishing embassies and high commissions abroad, and of raising and equipping its own armed forces. Considerable government funds would have to be diverted for these purposes which, in the view of this Government, would be much better spent on the progress and development of the Bahama Islands for the good of all the inhabitants", he said.

513. On 5 September the House rejected Mr. Fawkes' motion. Mr. Fawkes subsequently addressed a petition on the subject to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PET.544) and appeared before the Committee as a petitioner at its 467th meeting on 15 September 1966.

514. On 17 September 1966, Mr. Adderley (NDP) announced that his party proposed sending a delegation to the Secretary of State in London with the principal object of making representations to the Government of the United Kingdom and submitting recommendations for amendments to the Constitution of the Bahamas. He stated that his party had taken the position that no independence for the Bahamas should be granted until certain constitutional amendments had been made. The NDP considered it to be in the interest of the preservation of orderly government in the Bahamas that electoral reform should precede general elections, and proposed the following constitutional amendments:

(a) The size of the Cabinet should be limited;

(b) The Governor's appointees to the Senate should be increased to ten; the Leader for Government Business in the Senate should be chosen from those members appointed on the advice of the Premier;

(c) The number of members of the House of Assembly elected to represent New Providence and the Out Islands should be increased to reflect more accurately the distribution of population in the Bahamas;

(d) No general elections should be held on the basis of the existing report of the Constituencies Commission. A new commission should be appointed by the Secretary of State to advise on the distribution of seats before a new general election; the Constitution to provide for single-member constituencies only;

(e) Secret balloting should be assured, with certain exceptions;

(f) Constitutional safeguards should be provided against conflict of interests.

515. The NDP hoped to convince the Secretary of State that the question of independence should be delayed until the proposals had been put into effect, and until that issue had been settled by a referendum. Before leaving for London on 9 November 1966, Mr. Adderley said that he regretted that the PLP and the LP had not agreed to join with the NDP in making a combined presentation to the British Government, thereby presenting the unified voice of the opposition forces in the Territory. In the course of the discussions in London, the NDP requested the Secretary of State to communicate its demand for a constitutional conference to all other political parties in the Bahamas.

Conditions at Freeport

516. An account of the opposition's attack on conditions at Freeport was included in the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session (see A/6300/Rev.1, paras. 248-251). On 14 October 1966 the NDP requested the Secretary of State to appoint a royal commission to investigate allegations against the operation of gambling casinos in the Territory. A similar request was addressed by the PLP to the Speaker of the House of Assembly, asking that the House be recalled immediately to debate a motion calling for the appointment of a royal commission.

517. The NDP suggested the following terms of reference for the royal commission:

"To investigate whether the employment of members of the Government and of the Legislature by gambling interests at Grand Bahama has adversely influenced the policy of the Bahamas Government

with regard to maintaining internal security and in its relationship with the Government of the United States.

"To investigate the conduct of certain members of the former Executive Council and the circumstances under which permission to operate gambling casinos at Grand Bahamas was granted.

"To investigate the circumstances under which the members of the Government and members of the Legislature accepted payments for services rendered to the Grand Bahama Development Company Limited, and any connexion between such payments and the granting of casino licenses to Bahamas Amusements Limited.

"To investigate whether the gambling casino operated at Grand Bahama is controlled by, or any interest in this operation is owned by, any person having a financial interest in gambling casinos in the United States".

518. The Governor of the Bahamas, in a speech on 2 November 1966 in Memphis, Tennessee (United States) was reported to have referred to some unfavourable publicity about the gambling at Freeport. In further reference to a statement in an American newspaper that gambling in the Bahamas was to some extent in the hands of organized crime in the United States, he said: "It is my duty to see that it is not true. And happily I have some means of ensuring that it is not true".

519. Mr. Pindling is reported to have stated, in a letter to the Governor, that the Governor's address to the Executives' Club in Memphis, attempting to vindicate his ministers, was uncalled for, unfortunate and most regrettable. "We have intended," Mr. Pindling continued, according to the report, "to lay before you upon your arrival full information regarding:

"(1) The dates of contracts with Bahamian ministers referred to in the article;

"(2) Where the said contracts can be seen;

"(3) The names and signatories to the contracts;

"(4) The consideration in each contract;

"(5) The duration of each contract;

"(6) The names of persons able to give sworn evidence as to the accuracy of the allegations contained in the article.

"Consequently we are making a direct request to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs for an early interview to demand your immediate withdrawal. . . ."

520. The leader of the NDP stated that he agreed entirely with the PLP in their views on the Governor's speech. He also said that the Governor had shown himself to be completely opposed to the opposition point of view.

521. On 28 November 1966, Mr. Pindling announced that his party had received a reply from the Secretary of State for the Colonies agreeing to meet a delegation in London on 9 December to discuss, among other things, the party's demand for the removal of the Governor, the appointment of a royal commission and constitutional reform.

522. On 20 December 1966, the Colonial Secretary stated in the House of Commons that a committee of outside experts was likely to be set up to examine allegations about irregularities in the running of the Bahamas casino. He also said that he had been informed by the Governor that the Bahamas Govern-

ment would welcome an authoritative inquiry by such experts. It was announced that consultations on the membership of the committee of inquiry were likely to be held while the Governor was in London. On his return to the Bahamas, the Governor said that he would discuss with his ministers what form an investigation into casino gambling should take. It was understood that the Constitution of the Bahamas, which guaranteed internal self-government to the Territory, precluded the appointment of a royal commission by the United Kingdom Government.

General elections

523. In a press statement on 1 December 1966, announcing that a general election would be held on 10 January 1967, the Premier, Sir Roland Symonette, said that his Government had decided on an election in order to stop ill-informed talk and unfounded charges and to allow voters to decide whether or not they wished to continue with a government that would bring further prosperity and an increasing standard of living to the people of the Islands.

524. The PLP announced that it would contest every single-member seat in New Providence and nominate at least one candidate in all the Out Island districts. The NDP declared that its candidates would contest seats in New Providence but not in all districts.

525. In a letter of 2 December 1966, addressed to Mr. Pindling and Mr. Fawkes, Mr. Adderley made an appeal to the opposition to join forces. The PLP decided not to contest the constituency in which Mr. Fawkes was standing but rejected the appeal to join forces.

526. Mr. Adderley sent a telegram to the Secretary of State for the Colonies before the date of the election was announced, in an attempt to forestall a general election. The telegram asked that the Governor be instructed to refuse dissolution of the House of Assembly until full effect had been given to his proposed constitutional amendments and until more voters had had time to register. The Governor informed Mr. Adderley that when advice to dissolve the House was tendered to him by the Premier, no alternative government was in sight. The current Government, moreover, had made it clear to him that it would not carry on without a dissolution.

527. The UBP issued a twenty-point electoral manifesto on 21 December 1966. Subjects dealt with in the manifesto included: equal opportunity, education, Out Islands scholarships, pensions, low-cost housing, foreign bases, immigration, labour, health services, tourism, overseas investment, public utilities, roads, New Providence road traffic, agriculture, fisheries, sports facilities, beaches and parks, Out Islands mail boat service, the civil service, the police and the Constitution. The UBP pledged, *inter alia*, to retain the existing form of constitutional government without seeking independence.

528. On 10 January 1967, general elections were held in the Bahamas. The PLP strength in the Out Islands caused a deadlock with the UBP—the former ruling party. The two major parties each won 18 seats in the 38-member House of Assembly, with one seat going to a Labour Party member, Mr. Fawkes, and one to an Independent. Sir Roland Symonette retained his seat by a vote of 558 to 511.

529. The six-day constitutional crisis resulting from the deadlock was resolved when Mr. Pindling gained

the support of the sole Labour Party member elected. The only Independent agreed to serve as Speaker.

530. On 16 January 1967, Mr. Pindling was sworn in as the new Premier. The number of ministerial posts in the new administration has been reduced from fourteen to eleven. At the same time, the portfolios of nine ministers have been enlarged.

531. On assuming office the new Premier said at a press conference: "Whenever an upset occurs in an election anywhere in the world those who have capital at stake are likely to react with doubt, even fear. Let me, therefore, reassure our friends abroad that my Government will foster the climate of free enterprise that they have come to expect in the Bahamas. Our plans for the pleasure of tourists call for more, not less. Our plans for the confidence of investors call for immediate person-to-person conferences with leaders both here and abroad."

532. Referring to foreign affairs, the Premier noted that his Government wished to assure the President of the United States that the Bahamas would remain friendly, would continue to play its role in the defence pattern of the Western world, and would no longer provide a haven for gangsters. "We are determined to be a good neighbour and a good partner", he emphasized.

533. The new House of Assembly was scheduled to meet on 9 February 1967.

Economic conditions

534. The economy of the Territory continues to depend on the tourist industry. A total of 720,420 tourists visited the Islands in 1965, compared with 605,171 in 1964. This record number marked the sixteenth consecutive year of increase. Expenditure on tourism in the 1965 approved estimates was £1,492,886, compared with £1,239,023 in 1964.

535. The tourist trade with North America has enabled the Territory to make commensurate increases in dollar expenditure for the purchase of food-stuffs and other consumer goods, and in education for Bahamians at schools or universities in the United States and Canada.

536. Exchange control statistics for the period 1960-1965 show that United States tourists spent a total of \$227,414,000 in the Bahamas. Expenditures by the Bahamas in the United States during the same period totalled \$382,720,000. Investments by United States companies and individuals, and dividends from Bahamian-owned United States investment portfolios more than offset this apparent dollar deficit.

Agriculture and forestry

537. Arable land at present under cultivation in the Bahamas is estimated at 35,000 acres. There are approximately 3,200 acres of improved pastures and slightly less than 800,000 acres of forest. Hurricane "Betsy", which struck the Territory in September 1965, immediately affected tree crops, such as citrus. Ninety-five per cent of the crop was destroyed. Its effect on vegetable gardens was to produce excess salinity in the soil. Although this condition did not materially reduce current production, it was expected to retard the rate of increase in 1966.

538. Livestock, with the exception of poultry, is largely owned by small farmers. Three dairy herds are run on a commercial scale. There is one large

herd at Eleuthera, which is a source of fresh beef for the local market.

539. It is estimated that 3,500 men are gainfully employed in the fishing industry. In 1965, exports of crawfish were valued at £361,631, compared with £251,631 in 1964. Scale fish is not exported. The export of edible conch was prohibited as a conservation measure.

540. The organized exploitation of forest products is confined to the yellow pine forests of Andros and Abaco Islands.

541. On Inagua Island there is a comparatively large salt industry. A United States company extracts the salt by solar radiation and exports it in bulk form to the United States.

542. As yet no oil has been found in the Bahamas, but in 1965 six companies held sixteen oil concessions for exploration.

543. Exports were valued at £4,520,797 in 1965, compared with £2,616,670 in 1964, mostly to the United Kingdom, Canada, Haiti and the United States of America. The value of total imports during 1965 amounted to £37,431,173, chiefly supplied by the United Kingdom, Canada, Jamaica and the United States, compared with £35,669,627 for the previous year.

544. The total revenue of the Territory continued to rise in 1965 to £14,953,369, compared with £12,163,983 in 1964 and £9,599,255 in 1963. Customs duties (£8,252,657 in 1965) and receipts from fees and public utilities were the main sources of revenue. Total expenditure amounted to £12,687,189, compared with £11,841,216 in 1964 and £9,834,388 in 1963.

545. On 16 January 1967, Mr. Pindling, referring to the question of economic prospects for the Islands, said that agriculture was one of the areas in which his Government planned to take expert advice, particularly from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Canada and the United States. Linked with this was the development of light industry in the Islands, and the promotion of tourism.

546. On 18 January 1967, addressing a gathering of more than a hundred international bankers, the Premier pledged his Government's intention not to impose either corporate or personal income taxes and to honour the financial commitments made by the previous Government. Projects of major importance which were already under way—such as the redevelopment scheme for Nassau harbour—would continue as planned, he stated. The Territory, he emphasized, was determined to develop its commercial, agricultural and industrial potentials, as well as its banking facilities.

547. The Premier disclosed that the Government further intended to institute a penetrating study of industrial development. Definite plans for this study would be announced at an early date, the Premier said. There had already been an instant and rising tide of offers of new investments, all of which would be closely investigated.

548. It has been reported that on 26 February 1967 the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. H. Humphrey, commissioned into service the Atlantic Undersea Test and Evaluation Center (AUTEC) at Andros in the Bahamas (see A/6300/Rev.1, para. 259). Mr. Humphrey is reported to have said that the centre had been established primarily for the purposes of national security but that the knowledge gained

would be of assistance in other ways. Anti-submarine weapons, such as air-to-sea torpedoes, the report continued, were already being tested over and under a 6,000-foot natural trench. The United States Navy was engaged in completing the sonar and acoustic ranges.

Social conditions

549. Prices in general in New Providence tend to be high, especially as local food production is extremely limited and was further reduced in 1965 by hurricane damage. The cost-of-living index at the beginning of 1965 was 190 (based on a datum of 100 in 1949). This index has now been abandoned; a new one was due to be established from 1 January 1966.

550. On 4 July 1966 several hundred marchers paraded through the city of Nassau in protest against the increase in the cost of living. The march was organized by the Bahamas Trade Union Congress (BTUC), with the object of bringing the dissatisfaction of the workers to the attention of the Government and merchants (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, paras. 272-274). The BTUC suggested in a letter of August 1966 that the Government should devote a great deal of time and effort to the problem of maintaining a stable price level, and proposed further that the Government and the BTUC work together in preparing a cost-of-living index.

551. On 1 September 1966, Mr. Clement Maynard, President of the Bahamas Civil Service Union (BCSU) said that his union's request for a general salary increase of 15 per cent for senior staff and 25 per cent for all other government workers had been based on figures published by the BTUC and the Ministry of Labour. The BCSU proposed that a pensionable salary increase would be the most equitable way to achieve this end. The Government decided to increase salaries and wages of members of the public service with effect from 1 September 1966. The pay increase of 7.5-12.5 per cent was approved in the form of a non-pensionable allowance calculated in relation to the basic emoluments of each member of the public service. Members of the opposition raised objections to the manner in which the Government had calculated the percentage increases and to the increase awarded to civil servants in the upper income brackets.

552. The Government issued a statement on 7 September 1966, to the effect that it would undertake a general review of the salary structure of the public service.

Labour

553. In 1965 there were sixteen trade unions and four employers' associations registered in the Bahamas. There is no minimum wage order at present. Wages are fixed by joint consultation and agreement in the various industries. Only two trade disputes involving stoppage of work occurred during 1965, covering a period of eight days. The report of the 1963 census (published in 1965) gave the total labour force as 51,948. During 1965 there were more than 800 agricultural workers employed in the United States, under arrangements sponsored by the Government. The employment of labour in the United States ceased in 1966.

Public health

554. Medical and health services are the responsibility of the Ministry of Health. There are four main

government hospitals, with more than 800 beds, including a new geriatrics hospital opened in 1965. In addition, there are several non-government medical institutions.

555. The death-rate was 7.9 per thousand in 1965 compared with 7.1 per thousand in 1964. The birth-rate was 33.1 per thousand compared with 35.8 per thousand in the previous year. The infant mortality rate was 42.3 per thousand live births (40.3 per thousand in 1964).

556. Recruitment of all medical professional staff, including the Medical Officer of Health, was completed during 1964-1965. Shortage of nursing staff below the rank of sister remained a problem. There were 50 (three part-time) government and 37 (two part-time) private registered physicians, and one private licensed physician. There were also 54 government nurses of senior training, 168 government and 95 private certified nurses and 54 government midwives of senior training. In late 1965 the Government approved a Flying Doctor Service, using chartered and scheduled flights to furnish regular medical attention for those settlements without such service.

557. Capital and recurrent expenditure on health services was estimated to be £1,446,092 in 1965, compared with £1,240,355 in 1964.

Educational conditions

558. Education is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. It is compulsory between the ages of five and fourteen years. The number of schools, children and teaching staff for the school year ending August 1965 were as follows:

<i>Primary schools</i>	<i>Number of schools</i>	<i>Children enrolled</i>	<i>Teaching staff</i>
Ministry schools	152 ^a	17,657 ^b	504
Private and denominational	63	9,452	384
<i>Secondary schools</i>			
Ministry schools	122 ^c	5,580	133
Private and denominational			
Aided	3	751	64
Unaided	16	1,380	81

^a Including all-age rural schools.

^b Including pupils of secondary school age.

^c Secondary sections of all-age schools were reclassified as separate schools in 1965.

559. The Teachers Training College offers a regular two-year course for beginners and a one-year course for experienced but unqualified teachers; it is affiliated with the University of the West Indies.

560. For Bahamians who want to further their education at the university level a special relationship has been established with the University of the West Indies. Other Bahamians seek admission to institutions in the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada. The Government provides scholarships and bursaries tenable at universities and colleges abroad. The number of students studying abroad during the school year ending August 1965 was: 161 in the United Kingdom, 17 in Canada, 66 in the United States, one in Europe and 13 in the West Indies. Forty government scholarships and ten Commonwealth bursaries were awarded during this period.

561. The estimated recurrent expenditure on education was £1,318,356 in 1965; the actual capital expenditure was £442,142.

6. TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS²⁷

General

562. The Turks and Caicos Islands are geographically part of the Bahama Islands. The group extends for a distance of seventy-five miles from east to west and fifty miles north to south. The land area is estimated at 169 square miles (430 square kilometres). Six islands of the group are inhabited.

563. The estimated population as of 31 December 1964 was 6,628.

Constitution

564. The present Constitution is contained in the Turks and Caicos Islands (Constitution) Order in Council of 29 October 1965, which revoked the Order in Council of 1962, and came into effect on 5 November 1965. The revocation of the 1962 Order in Council was necessary for technical reasons.

565. The 1965 Constitution remains the same as that of 1962, with two amendments. The first amendment provides that the Governor of the Bahamas shall also be Governor of the Turks and Caicos Islands. The second makes provision for appeals from the courts of the Turks and Caicos to lie in the Bahamas Court of Appeal rather than in that of Jamaica.

566. The main provisions of the Constitution were set out in the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its nineteenth session (see A/5800/Rev.1, chap. XXIV, C, paras. 59-66). For ease of reference they are summarized below.

Administrator

567. The Administrator, who is appointed by the Queen, exercises his functions according to instructions given to him by Her Majesty or by the Governor. He is required to consult the Executive Council on all important matters within the scope of his responsibilities. He may act otherwise than in accordance with the advice given to him by the Executive Council, but when he does so he must report to the Queen, through the Secretary of State and the Governor, with the reasons for his action. The Governor may, when he is present in the Islands, perform any of the functions conferred upon the Administrator.

Executive Council

568. The Executive Council, which consists of six members (two elected, one nominated and three official, including the Administrator, who presides), is the main executive authority in the Islands. As a first step towards ministerial government, the two elected members have been appointed members concerned, respectively, with public works and social services and with trade and production.

Legislative Assembly

569. The Legislative Assembly consists of nine elected members, two or three official members, and two

²⁷ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73 e of the Charter on 16 February 1967, for the year ended 31 December 1965.

or three nominated members appointed by the Administrator. The Administrator presides. The Legislative Assembly can legislate on all aspects of the Islands' affairs, subject to the assent of the Administrator. Legislation may be disallowed by the Queen.

Electoral system

570. The Legislative Assembly is elected every five years by universal adult suffrage. The last elections were held in September 1962. Voters must either have resided in the Islands for at least twelve months before the date of registration or be domiciled in the Islands and residents at that date.

Political parties

571. There are no political parties in the Territory.

Judiciary

572. There are three courts in the Islands: the Grand Court, the quarterly Petty Court and the Petty Sessions Court. In the absence of the appointment of a judge on the Islands, the stipendiary magistrate has jurisdiction as judge of the Grand Court, except in cases of capital offence. Appeal from the Grand Court lies to the Court of Appeal in the Bahama Islands.

Economic conditions

573. In 1965, imports were valued at £360,922 and exports at £44,424, compared with £300,768 and £47,173 in the previous year. The principal imports are food, beverages and manufactured articles, and the principal exports are salt, valued at £10,799 in 1965 (£12,603 in 1964 and £37,000 in 1963); crawfish, valued at £25,989 in 1965 (£25,778 in 1964 and £27,906 in 1963) and conch shells.

574. The grant-in-aid from the United Kingdom amounted to £176,369 in 1965, compared with £159,116 in 1964. The principal sources of revenue are from customs dues and the sale of stamps, which amounted to £50,718 and £9,137, respectively, in 1965. At the end of 1965, Barclays Bank D.C.O. had agreed to open a branch in Grand Turk.

575. Early in 1965, Mr. B. A. W. Trevallion undertook a survey into the tourist potential of the Islands, and his proposals have been used as the basis for a plan which is being followed by the Government to develop tourism.

576. In June 1965 the Turks Head Inn, a ten-bed government hotel, was opened in Grand Turk, and during the year extensions were made to the Admirals Arms Hotel, a privately owned hotel in South Caicos.

Social conditions

577. Prices of basic food-stuffs are high, as very little food other than fresh fish is provided locally.

Labour

578. It was noted in the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session that at the end of 1964 salt production, which was no longer economic, was closed down in the Islands of Grand Turk and South Caicos but continued on a reduced scale in Salt Cay—primarily to provide work for the inhabitants who had no alternative source of income (see A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, para. 291). Other sources of employment are provided by the two United States bases on Grand Turk and by the crawfish and conch industry in South Caicos. A number of the young men from the

Islands continue to find work in various shipping companies (60 persons in 1965 with National Bulk Carriers, Inc., New York) and young persons of both sexes seek work in the Bahamas (120 persons were employed in 1965 at Freeport and in lumber camps at Abaco and Inagua).

579. There is only one registered trade union in the Territory—the St. George's Trade Union in Cockburn.

Public health

580. The medical services within the Turks and Caicos Islands are under the control of the Government Medical Officer stationed in Grand Turk where there is a sixteen-bed hospital. In 1965 there were two government registered physicians and one dentist, seven government and five private nurses of senior training, three midwives of senior training, nine partially trained midwives and one sanitary inspector.

581. In 1965, the death-rate in the Islands was approximately 8.66 per thousand of the population. The highest percentage of deaths is still amongst infants under the age of one year. The general standard of health during the year was good, and there were no epidemics. Gastro-intestinal diseases continued to be the most common in the Islands owing to the difficulty of ensuring that the water supply, which is mainly rain water collected in tanks, is kept pure.

582. Government recurrent expenditure on medical and public health in 1965, including the cost of staff, was £26,638 (13 per cent of total government recurrent expenditure), compared with £22,321 in 1964 (11.3 per cent).

Educational conditions

583. Education is free throughout the Territory and compulsory for all children between the ages of seven and fourteen years in the Islands of Grand Turk, Salt Cay and South Caicos. There is a primary school in each of the thirteen settlements within the Islands, and a secondary school is situated in Grand Turk where the children are prepared for the Cambridge University Joint School Certificate and the General Certificate of Education, or the London University General Certificate of Education. In 1965 a commercial section was introduced, and by the end of the year work had started on the construction of a technical wing of the school.

584. Government scholarships were awarded to pupils in the Outer Islands to enable them to attend the secondary school. Other scholarships were awarded from private sources.

585. Recurrent expenditure on education in 1965 was £29,288 (14 per cent of total government expenditure), compared with £22,026 in 1964 (11 per cent). In addition, Colonial Development and Welfare funds are provided for the training of teachers in the United Kingdom and Jamaica.

7. CAYMAN ISLANDS²⁸

General

586. The Cayman Islands consist of Grand Cayman, Cayman Brac and Little Cayman (the latter two also

²⁸ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73 e of the Charter on 16 February 1967, for the year ended 31 December 1965.

being known as Lesser Caymans). The total area is about 100 square miles (259 square kilometres). Grand Cayman is located about 180 miles west-northwest of the westernmost point of Jamaica and 150 miles south of Cuba; Cayman Brac lies 89 miles east-north-east of Grand Cayman and Little Cayman lies 5 miles west of Cayman Brac.

587. The population of the Cayman Islands was 7,622 in 1960, according to the census held that year. In 1966, it was estimated to be nearly 10,000.

Constitution

588. The present Constitution is set out in the Cayman Islands Order in Council of 29 October 1965, which came into effect on 5 November 1965. (This Order revoked the Order in Council of 1962 but re-enacted its provisions. This was necessary for technical reasons.) The main provisions of the Constitution are set out below.

Administrator

589. The Administrator is appointed by the Queen and is the head of the administration. He is empowered to make laws with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly; legislation may be disallowed by the Queen. In the exercise of his functions, the Administrator is required to consult the Executive Council on all important matters. Should he act contrary to its advice, he must report to the Queen through the Secretary of State.

Executive Council

590. The Executive Council is presided over by the Administrator and consists of two elected members, chosen by the Legislative Assembly from among its elected members, two official members, and one nominated member appointed by the Administrator. The Executive Council is the main executive authority in the Islands. As a first step towards ministerial government, the two elected members and the nominated member have been appointed as members responsible for finance and development, social services and works and communications.

Legislative Assembly

591. The Legislative Assembly is presided over by the Administrator and consist of twelve elected members, two or three official members, and two or three nominated members appointed by the Administrator. The Legislative Assembly may legislate on all aspects of the Islands' affairs, subject to the assent of the Administrator. As noted above, legislation may be disallowed by the Queen.

Electoral system

592. Persons qualified to vote are those who are British subjects, over twenty-one years of age and who have either resided in the Islands for at least twelve months before the date of registration or are so domiciled in the Islands and are residents there on that date. Elections are held every three years. At the last general election, held on 16 November 1965, the Christian Democratic Party gained four seats, the National Democratic party one seat and the Independents seven seats.

Political parties

593. The two political parties known to be active in the Islands are the Christian Democratic Party (CPD) and the Cayman National Democratic Party (CNDP).

The latest information available on political developments is contained in the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session (see A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, annex, paras. 198-199).

Judiciary

594. The courts of law in the Cayman Islands consist of the Grand Court of the Islands, the quarterly Petty Court and the Petty Sessions Court. A stipendiary magistrate deals with cases in the two Petty Courts, and in the absence of an appointed judge he also has jurisdiction as judge of the Grand Court in all cases except those of capital felony. Decisions of the Grand Court are subject to appeal to the Court of Appeal for Jamaica, and thence to the Privy Council.

Public service

595. There were 159 public service officers in 1965. Of this number, 148 were local officers and 11 were overseas non-pensionable officers.

Economic conditions

596. The economy of the Territory continues to depend mainly on the wages earned by Cayman Islands seamen. Another significant factor in the Island's economic development is the expansion of tourist trade. An estimated 4,437 tourists visited the Islands in 1965, compared with 3,319 in 1964. Other industries include the manufacture of thatch rope, and turtle and shark fishing. In 1965 an agricultural expert from the United Nations visited the Islands at the request of the Government to advise on agricultural development.

597. The New Banks and Trust Companies Law was passed by the Assembly. It was felt to be necessary for the good name and reputation of the Cayman Islands, which hitherto had had no banking law and no taxation. This Act was strongly resisted by the local lawyers, who argued that it would seriously impair the attractiveness of the Cayman Islands to international banks.

598. The value of imports amounted to £1,157,156 in 1965, compared with £958,120 in 1964. Exports were valued at £21,438 in 1965, compared with £31,900 in 1964.

599. The principal imports are food-stuffs, textiles and fuel oil. The principal exports are turtles and turtle products, rope and shark skins. Approximately two thirds of the trade of the Islands is with the United States of America. Sugar, coffee, cement, liquor, kerosene and condensed milk are imported almost exclusively from Jamaica.

600. Government revenue is mainly derived from the sale of postage stamps and from import duties. These together represent over 70 per cent of the Government's annual ordinary revenue. In 1965, the estimated revenue was £516,689 and expenditure £528,384, compared with £299,856 and £296,606, respectively, in 1964.

601. In 1963, the index of retail prices in Georgetown, Grand Cayman, was 116, taking the figure for 1959 as 100. It was based on a limited range of commodities used for comparison.

Social conditions

Labour

602. One trade union is registered in the Cayman Islands—the Global Seaman's Union. Membership is not restricted to Cayman Island seamen, but almost

all Caymanians serving on United States ships are members. There are about 6,100 members, of whom one third are Cayman Islanders.

Public health

603. The medical services in the Cayman Islands are under the control of the Government Medical Officer stationed in Grand Cayman. The average death-rate in the Islands is 7.6 per thousand. The principal causes of death are hypertension, respiratory diseases, senility and diseases of early infancy. The highest death-rate (25.9 per thousand live births) is found in infants of one year of age and under. Government expenditure on medical and public health in 1965 was £41,947 (14.2 per cent of total government expenditure), compared with £38,637 (13.0 per cent) in 1964.

Educational conditions

604. The educational system of the Islands is under the control of the Board of Education, of which the Administrator is chairman. Primary education is free and compulsory for all children between the ages of seven and fourteen. During 1965, eleven government primary schools, one secondary modern and one secondary grammar school were in operation. In addition, there were a number of church-sponsored schools. Many of the teachers in the Cayman Islands are recruited from Jamaica. The recurrent expenditure on education in 1965 was £47,553 (16.0 per cent of government recurrent expenditure), compared with £42,354 (14.3 per cent) in 1964.

8. FALKLAND ISLANDS (MALVINAS)²⁹

General

605. The Falkland Islands (Malvinas), situated in the South Atlantic, lies some 480 miles north-east of Cape Horn. The numerous islands of which they are composed cover 4,618 square miles (11,961 square kilometres). The Dependencies now consist of only South Georgia, the South Sandwich group and a number of smaller islands. Those territories south of latitude 60°S which were formerly part of the Falkland Islands Dependencies, namely, the South Orkney Islands, the South Shetland Islands and the Atlantic Peninsula, together with that sector of the Antarctic Continent lying between longitudes 20°W and 80°W constituted a separate colony in 1962 under the name of the British Antarctic Territory.

606. The population of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) excluding the Dependencies at 31 December 1965 was 2,079. With few exceptions, all were of European descent and most were of British origin. The population of the Dependencies fluctuates with the whaling season.

Constitution

607. The present Constitution was introduced in 1949 and provides for a Governor, aided by an Executive Council and a Legislative Council. The Constitution was amended in 1951 to give for the first time a majority to the non-official members in the Legislative Council, and was amended again in 1955 and 1964. The Executive Council now also has a majority of non-officials.

²⁹ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73e of the Charter, on 17 August 1966, for the year ended 31 December 1965.

608. The Governor, the Queen's representative, is the head of the administration of the Territory. In the exercise of his powers he is advised by the Executive Council. Generally, he acts in accordance with the advice he receives from the Executive Council and may only act against this advice in certain specific circumstances.

609. The Executive Council is composed of two unofficial members appointed by the Governor, two elected members of the Legislative Council and two *ex officio* members. The two elected members of the Legislative Council are chosen by ballot of the elected and independent members of the Legislative Council.

610. The Legislative Council, presided over by the Governor, is composed of eight members, namely, the Colonial Secretary, the Colonial Treasurer (both *ex officio* members), two nominated independent members and four elected members. The four elected members are chosen by universal adult suffrage. General elections were held in 1964, and the next general election is due early in 1968.

Judiciary

611. The judiciary consists of a Supreme Court and a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, the former presided over by the Governor or Colonial Secretary and the latter by a bench of magistrates composed of two or more justices of the peace. On 1 July 1965, a Court of Appeal was set up for the Territory, sitting in the United Kingdom. The laws of the Territory are mainly based on English laws and precedents.

Local government

612. There is a Town Council in Stanley, consisting of six elected members and three members nominated by the Governor. Of the six elected members, three retire every two years and elections are held biennially for half the elected membership. The activities of the Council are financed mainly from rates and from grants from the central Government. Its responsibility consists of the normal range of local government services.

Political parties

613. The only political party in the Territory, the the Falkland Islands Progressive National Party, was formed in August 1964.

Economic conditions

614. The economy of the Territory continues to depend almost entirely on the wool industry. Practically all revenue is derived indirectly from sheep-farming.

615. The external trade figures over the last few years are as follows:

Year	(Value in thousand pounds)		
	Total exports	Wool exports	Imports
1962	940	913	413
1963	1,078	1,054	503
1964	1,050	1,024	545
1965	1,026	1,004	514

The United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries absorb almost all of the Territory's exports and provide most of its imports (77 per cent in 1965).

616. Public revenue is derived mainly from companies tax, income tax, customs duties and the sale of postage stamps. The following table gives revenue and expenditure over the past few years for the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), excluding the Dependencies:

	(Value in thousand pounds)	
	Revenue	Expenditure
1962-1963	294	337
1963-1964	287	350
1964-1965	413	387

617. Expenditure by the Territory from Colonial Development and Welfare funds amounted to £7,405 in 1965, compared with £497 in 1964.

Social conditions

Labour

618. There is a general shortage of labour in the Territory. In 1965, 416 persons left the Territory and 359 arrived, compared with 356 and 297 respectively in 1964.

Public health

619. The Government Medical Department employs one senior medical officer and three medical officers, of whom one each is stationed in Stanley, Darwin in Lafonia and Fox Bay on the West Falkland. There is a 32-bed general hospital in Stanley. Total expenditure in 1964-1965 was £36,670, compared with £35,590 in 1963-1964. The recurrent medical expenditure in 1965 represented 10.71 per cent of the total recurrent expenditure of the Territory, compared with 11.21 per cent in 1964.

Educational conditions

620. In 1964-1965, the number of children receiving education in the Territory was 328, compared with 333 in 1963-1964. There is no system of higher education and no advanced secondary education. In 1965, thirteen travelling teachers were employed among the ninety-one children outside Stanley, Darwin and settlement schools. Education is free except at Darwin Boarding School where a boarding fee of £12 a year is levied.

621. The Territory awards up to two scholarships annually to boarding schools in the United Kingdom. In 1964-1965, there were seven students from the Territory attending schools in the United Kingdom under this scheme. Recurrent expenditure on education in 1964-1965 was £44,178, representing 12.9 per cent of the total recurrent expenditure, compared with £44,204, or 13.9 per cent of the total expenditure in 1963-1964.

9. BRITISH HONDURAS³⁰

General

622. British Honduras lies on the Caribbean coast of Central America, bounded on the north and north-west by Mexico and on the south and south-west by Guatemala. Its land area is 8,866 square miles (22,563 square kilometres), which includes a number of islets lying off the coast. The estimated population at the end of 1964 was 104,450, consisting mainly of Creoles, American Indians (Maya) and Caribs.

Constitution

623. The present Constitution came into force on 6 January 1964. The main provisions of this Constitution are set out below.

³⁰ The information presented in this section has been derived from published reports and from the information transmitted to the Secretary-General by the United Kingdom under Article 73e of the Charter on 29 December 1966 for the year ended 31 December 1965.

Governor

624. The Governor, who is appointed by the Queen, is required to act in accordance with the advice of ministers in all matters except those specifically excepted. Special responsibilities are reserved to him under the Constitution, namely, defence, external affairs, internal security and the public service. The Governor also has special responsibility in the sphere of finance for as long as the Government of British Honduras continues to receive budgetary aid from the United Kingdom.

Cabinet

625. The Cabinet consists of a Premier and other ministers who are appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Premier. The person likely to command the support of the majority in the House of Representatives is appointed Premier. Only members of the Legislature are eligible for appointment as ministers.

626. The Constitution provides for a Security Council and a Consultative Committee on External Affairs to advise the Governor and to enable ministers to familiarize themselves with matters for which they will ultimately assume responsibility.

Legislature

627. The Legislature, called the National Assembly, is bicameral and consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

628. The Senate consists of eight members appointed by the Governor—five on the advice of the Premier, two on the advice of the leader of the opposition and one after such consultations as the Governor considers appropriate. A president is elected by the Senate either from among its members or from outside the Senate; a vice-president, however, is elected solely from and by senators. The Senate has power to initiate legislation, other than financial bills, on which its powers of delay do not exceed one month. In respect of other bills the power of delay is limited to six months, provided the bill in question has been sent forward in two successive sessions.

629. The House of Representatives consists of eighteen members elected by universal adult suffrage. There are no nominated or *ex officio* members. The Speaker is elected by the House either from among its own members or from outside.

Political parties and electoral system

630. There are two political parties in the Territory: the People's United Party (PUP) and the National Independence Party (NIP). The PUP, with Mr. George Price, the Premier, as its leader, has been active in the Territory since shortly after the Second World War. The NIP, now led by Mr. Philip Goldson, came into being in 1958 as the result of a merger between the Honduran Independence Party and the National Party.

631. The main issue separating the two parties at the most recent general election, held on 1 March 1965, was the timing of independence. The NIP advocated that independence be delayed until the colony is economically viable; the platform of the PUP calls for independence within the next few years.

632. The Constitution requires the holding of a general election at intervals of not less than five years. Members of the House of Representatives are elected

on the basis of universal adult suffrage. In the 1965 general election, the PUP won sixteen of the eighteen seats, the NIP the remaining two seats.

Judiciary

633. British Honduras has a Supreme Court which is a Superior Court of Record. Appeal lies in certain instances from the Supreme Court to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. There are also courts of summary jurisdiction which deal with criminal and quasi-criminal matters, and district courts which deal with civil matters.

634. The judiciary consists of the Chief Justice, a puisne judge and two magistrates. Some district villagers have an *alcalde* (in effect, a headman) appointed by the Governor from among the villagers. Each *alcalde* has limited jurisdiction in criminal and civil matters.

635. The Constitution provides for a Judicial and Legal Service Commission which is responsible for advising the Governor on all matters relating to the appointment, removal and discipline of certain judicial officers. It consists of the Chief Justice as chairman, the puisne judge and the chairman of the Public Service Commission.

Public service

636. Provision is made in the Constitution for the establishment of a Public Service Commission, which consists of a chairman and four other members appointed by the Governor after consultation with the Premier. The Governor must consult with the Commission on matters relating to the appointment, removal and discipline of officers in the public service, including senior officers in the police force.

Economic conditions

637. Forests and low scrub cover almost 90 per cent of the total land area of the Territory and, in the past it was on forest products—logwood, mahogany, chicle, cedar, rosewood and pine that the economy was based. The export of mahogany was a major industry for nearly two centuries. The Territory is now turning to agriculture and forest products are now third after sugar and citrus in the export table.

638. In 1952, exports totalled \$BH6.1 million³¹ of which mahogany and other timber exports represented 46.4 per cent while citrus exports represented 13.1 per cent and sugar 1.0 per cent. Exports in 1964 amounted to \$BH19.9 million, the percentage of the main products being sugar 31.3 per cent, citrus products 21.4 per cent and mahogany and other timber 14.0 per cent.

639. Tate and Lyle, a British firm, have taken over the existing sugar factory and are building another at Tower Hill in the north. The new factory is expected to come into operation in 1967. This expansion, it is hoped, will increase the total annual output of sugar to 150,000 tons. Sugar production of 37,000 tons during 1964-1965 exceeded the record output of 33,591 tons during 1963-1964 by some 3,400 tons. The total estimated acreage under sugar cane was 22,893.

640. In 1965 the area under citrus was 8,664 acres (6,414 acres for oranges and 2,250 for grapefruit). Expansion of citrus fruit acreage is planned.

641. The value of timber products fell from \$BH3.1 million in 1964 to \$BH1.9 in 1965 owing to the closing of the resin-extraction plant.

642. Foodstuffs are also produced for home consumption, of which the most important are maize, red kidney beans and rice. Livestock continues to be increasingly important, especially in the Cayo and Belize Districts. The coastal waters provide ample supplies of fish for domestic needs and there is a well-established fishing industry which makes a substantial contribution to the economy. Processing establishments have been developed during recent years with a view to increasing exports to the United States of America—the largest potential market.

643. The Government's new seven-year development plan, based on the United Nations Economic Survey Mission's report, was tabled in the Legislative Assembly in December 1963. It originally envisaged an expenditure of \$BH53 million, but this estimate has been revised in the light of prevailing circumstances, and is now \$BH48.5 million for the period 1964-1970. It is hoped that \$BH29.9 million will accrue from grants and \$BH17.9 from loans.

644. In its efforts to accelerate economic development, the Government has relaxed import duties on agricultural and industrial machinery and on animal feeds. It has also announced increased duties on numerous consumer goods. A programme to attract tourists has been initiated and government expenditure on the development of tourist facilities is expected to increase substantially.

645. The Government's ordinary budget continued to be grant-aided in 1965 to the extent of \$BH500,000. In addition to this assistance, the United Kingdom Government provided \$BH1.5 million for Colonial Development and Welfare schemes. Customs duties continued to be the main source of revenue, contributing as much as \$BH5.3 million out of a total of \$BH10.3 million. Total expenditure in 1965 was about \$BH10 million.

646. As noted previously (A/6300/Rev.1, chapter XXII, para. 319), the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States jointly sponsored an economic survey of British Honduras. On 1 November 1966, the report was published by the Ministry of Overseas Development. It recommends the establishment of a development agency for the Territory to co-operate with the existing development bank in maintaining the increase in the national income at 9 per cent per annum throughout the period 1967-1970. The Mission considers that the expansion of the economy has been due to the growth of the citrus and sugar industries brought about by the decline of forestry. It is further of the opinion that large-scale agriculture is now self-supporting, and concludes that future investment should be channelled into tourism and the processing industries.

Social conditions

Labour

647. During 1965, there was a reduction in employment opportunities owing to the closing of some businesses. Many of the people who lost their jobs, however, were able to find employment in the northern districts of the country owing to the construction of a large sugar factory and to expansion in sugar-cane planting. In general, there was a steady demand for many categories of workers. The manpower expert from the International Labour Organisation (ILO),

³¹ The unit of currency is the British Honduras dollar which is equivalent to five shillings sterling or \$US.70.

who completed his mission at the end of 1965, subsequently issued a report on manpower assessment.

648. During the year under review, there were six strikes all in some phase of the sugar industry, resulting in a total loss of 1,900 man-days. Six collective agreements were negotiated between employers and trade unions during the year. There were ten registered trade unions in 1965 with a total membership of 3,657.

Public health

649. The Government maintains a general hospital, with 162 beds, in Belize City and small hospitals in each of the five districts, with a total of 142 beds. There is also a thirteen-bed private hospital in the capital. There are 20 government and mission rural dispensaries, each with a qualified rural health nurse in charge. Two health centres, a venereal disease clinic, an infirmary and a mental hospital are maintained by the Government in Belize City.

Educational conditions

650. Education is compulsory between the ages of six and fourteen years. Primary education is free. In 1965, there were 26,723 pupils enrolled in 160 primary schools, compared with 26,322 in 1964. Secondary education is provided in 16 fee-paying schools, all managed by various religious denominations. They are all fee-paying. The total enrolment in the secondary schools was 2,237, compared with 2,113 in 1964. The new education policy, approved by the Government in 1965, provides for the transfer of all children to secondary schools at the ages of eleven and twelve, and for the development of curricula and courses to meet the needs of children of varying abilities and interests. The Belize Technical College, a government institution, provides free technical education. There is no university in the Territory. Students desirous of taking post-secondary and university education must go abroad.

651. On the recommendation of the Educational Planning Mission of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Belize Teachers' College was formed in 1965, with the aim of training a total of 160 teachers by the end of 1966.

C. Preliminary consideration by the Special Committee of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent

Introduction

652. At its 488th meeting on 20 February 1967, the Special Committee decided to consider the Territories of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent in its plenary meetings. The Special Committee considered these Territories at its 489th to 497th, 500th, 501st and 504th to 506th meetings between 21 February and 23 March 1967. At the conclusion of its consideration of these Territories, the Special Committee referred them to Sub-Committee III for further consideration. In the course of the detailed and intensive consideration the Sub-Committee gave these Territories, it availed itself of the opportunity of hearing certain individuals who wished to give information to the Sub-Committee. An account of the consideration of these Territories by Sub-Committee III and of the conclusions and recommendations reached by it are set out in the report of Sub-Committee III (see annex below).

1. Written petitions and hearings

653. The Special Committee circulated the following written petitions:

<i>Petitioner</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
<i>Grenada</i>	
Mr. Eric M. Gairy, Leader of the Opposition in Grenada	A/AC.109/PET.573 and Add.1
Mr. Eric M. Gairy, Leader of the Opposition in Grenada, and Mr. Sylvester	A/AC.109/PET.573/Add.2
Mr. M. A. Caesar	A/AC.109/PET.580 and Add.1-3
<i>St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla</i>	
Two petitions from Mr. Ronald Webster	A/AC.109/PET.574
Mr. Atlin Harrigan	A/AC.109/PET.575
<i>St. Vincent</i>	
Two petitions from Mr. E. T. Joshua, Chief Minister of St. Vincent ..	A/AC.109/PET.584

Hearings concerning Grenada

654. The Special Committee heard the following petitioners at the meetings indicated below:

Mr. Eric M. Gairy, Leader of the Opposition (A/AC.109/PET.573) (Mr. Gairy's statement was read by his colleague Mr. Caesar)	489th meeting
Mr. Michael Caesar (A/AC.109/PET.580/Add.2)	493rd meeting

655. Mr. Caesar, speaking on behalf of Mr. Eric M. Gairy, Leader of the Opposition in Grenada, said that when Mr. Gairy had addressed the Committee on 7 September 1966 (463rd meeting) he had stated that the political and constitutional situation in Grenada was volcanic. The people had been demonstrating in large numbers and calling for general elections before the new constitution came into force, not only because the Government had failed to implement its election pledge to take Grenada into unitary statehood with Trinidad and Tobago within one year after the last elections, but also because it had begun discussions with the United Kingdom Government on a new constitution without first consulting the people. Under that new constitution, Grenada would be granted full internal self-government and its status changed to that of a State in association with the United Kingdom.

656. When Mr. Gairy had attended the Windward Islands Constitutional Conference in May 1966, as Leader of the Opposition, he had signed the report of the Conference with certain reservations regarding portions of the text of the proposed constitution. Recent newspaper reports stating that the United Kingdom Minister for Commonwealth Relations had informed the United Kingdom Parliament that Mr. Gairy had fully agreed to the constitution were obviously false. He read out a letter addressed to the West Indian, a leading Grenada newspaper, and signed by the President of the Grenada Trade Union Council. It stated that Mr. Gairy had not agreed to clauses in the proposed constitution dealing with the Senate, the House

of Representatives, transitional provisions and the need for a referendum on certain issues. It also pointed out that assurances had been given by the United Kingdom Colonial Secretary at that Conference that the question of elections before the implementation of the constitution would be discussed. That had not happened. The Grenada opposition leaders had strenuously objected to the inclusion of a clause dealing with transitional provisions without a general election first being held. Mr. Gairy had accordingly reserved the opposition party's position on that clause, and on the other clauses dealing with the composition of the legislature, and his reservations were recorded in the report of the Windward Islands Conference 1966.³² The letter had urged the Minister for Commonwealth Relations to take immediate steps to correct the misunderstanding and had concluded that what was proposed for Grenada was the dissolution of the existing legislature and its replacement by an entirely new and differently composed legislative body with different functions.

657. Mr. Gairy himself had immediately sent a cable stating that the Minister had been misinformed and that he himself had never agreed that the constitution should be implemented without elections, adding that the situation in Grenada was still volcanic and that several protest demonstrations were being organized. Mr. Gairy's reservations to the draft constitution had related to four points, two concerning the internal organization of the legislature and two concerning transitional provisions and the question of arrangements for association. Regarding the transitional provisions, the opposition party had rejected the proposed draft, first because it would transform the elected one-chamber legislature into a two-chamber legislature without the people being consulted; secondly, because it would mean that the provision of the existing constitution governing the life of the present one-chamber legislature would still be in effect after the new constitution providing for a two-chamber legislature had been enforced; thirdly, because the people of Grenada would be denied their fundamental right to elect the first two-chamber House of Representatives in Grenada in accordance with the democratic principles of self-determination.

658. Mr. Gairy had rejected the provision stating that there was no need for a referendum in connexion with a bill terminating the association between the United Kingdom and Grenada and giving constitutional effect to arrangements under which Grenada joined with an independent commonwealth country in the Caribbean. In Mr. Gairy's view, the real question was whether the people themselves had accepted or rejected the constitution. So far, they had not exercised that right.

659. The people of Grenada believed that the primary objective of the Special Committee was to ensure full implementation of the principles of self-determination and to assist oppressed peoples of the world in their struggle to rid themselves of the problems of colonialism in all its forms. Although the Committee did have a very successful record, they very much regretted that, despite the information which Mr. Gairy had provided in September, the Committee had not been able to give Grenada the urgent and necessary attention it deserved. Unfortunately, the United Kingdom Government now claimed that the matter was an internal affair and that therefore it could not post-

pone the enforcement of the new constitution. The people of Grenada could hardly believe that the administering Power was really incapable of delaying the enforcement of what were its own instructions, unless it was deliberately fanning the flames of civil disorder in Grenada. There were already reports of clashes with the police and of assaults upon clergymen. Indeed, the situation was such that all members of the opposition party had resigned from the Legislative Council because the people of Grenada were not to be given an opportunity to exercise their right to elect a new government of their choice. By the stroke of a pen, the structure of the legislature was to be changed and the power of full internal control thrust upon a Government committed to a course of action which ran counter to the wishes of the people.

660. Mr. Gairy had been asked by the people of Grenada to request the Special Committee to intercede with the United Kingdom Government on their behalf, with a view to postponing the enforcement of the proposed constitution until general elections were held. Any attempt to implement the constitution without general elections would be a most unfortunate miscarriage of justice on the part of the United Kingdom Government, which would be held responsible for whatever might transpire in Grenada.

661. At its 493rd meeting, the Special Committee heard Mr. Michael Caesar concerning Grenada.

662. Mr. Caesar said that enforcement by the United Kingdom Government of the new constitutional arrangements granting internal self-government and a new status as States in association with the United Kingdom to each of the six Territories under discussion was already half-completed, and it seemed impossible for the Special Committee to consider the question fully before it was too late. The situation had been brought about by the United Kingdom Government, which had refused to allow United Nations missions to visit the Territories, had submitted very lengthy background information while in the process of enforcing its own decisions, and had refused to postpone the enforcement of its decisions in order to give the Special Committee time to study them.

663. The United Kingdom representative and others had placed great emphasis on the fact that no proposals for individual independence had been put forward at the London Constitutional Conference. Yet it had been generally agreed, and the people of the Territories had recognized as early as 1945, that individual independence was impracticable. The former West Indian Federation had therefore been established, but it had subsequently been dissolved by the United Kingdom Government against the wishes of the people of all the constituent Territories. Both the Federal Prime Minister and the Federal Leader of the Opposition had visited London in March 1962 to protest against the manner in which the United Kingdom Government was preparing to dissolve the Federation, and Mr. Dennis Healey, then a member of the House of Commons, had stated that the United Kingdom Government had chosen to destroy all existing co-operation between the individual Territories without first seeking to achieve any agreement among the unit Governments about what should be put in its place.

664. Immediately following the dissolution of the Federation, the people of the eight Territories concerned had declared their wish to form a new Federation as an independent State within the Commonwealth.

³² See foot-note 11 above.

The question had been debated until 1965, when the United Kingdom had cited as an obstacle to the establishment of such a Federation the fact that, in September 1962, the newly-elected Government of Grenada had stated its intention of seeking association with Trinidad and Tobago, rather than membership of a new Federation. However, the previous Government of Grenada had been dissolved by the United Kingdom Government, after only eighteen months in power, on the basis of a report by a Commission of Inquiry on which the opinion of the electorate had not been sought. Thus, the decision to change the elected Government of Grenada in 1962 had been made by the United Kingdom Government, and not by the people of Grenada. During the 1962 elections, the United Kingdom Government had used tricks; the people had been told that their Government had been dissolved, their Constitution suspended and all grants-in-aid discontinued, and that they must elect a new Government. Since it was that new Government which had stated its preference for association with Trinidad and Tobago, there could be no doubt that the first obstacle to the "Little Eight" Federation had been created by the United Kingdom Government. It was clear from the way in which the question of unitary statehood with Trinidad and Tobago had been presented to the electorate, and from the fact that after four years the Government had failed to fulfil its promise, that the only purpose had been to give the United Kingdom Government time to work out and enforce its new proposals for associated statehood, which would permanently divide the Territories into separate States.

665. It was clear, therefore, that there had been an alternative to the new arrangements for "the West Indies Associated States"—namely, independence within a Federation—but that the people had not been allowed a choice. Whatever advantages, if any, the new arrangements might have, they would divide the people of the Territories against their expressed wishes; each new State would have, for instance, its own national anthem and flag. Even if the Special Committee was confronted by a fait accompli, it should condemn the United Kingdom Government's trickery in no uncertain terms. The people of the Territories were eagerly awaiting the Committee's decision, which would help them in their determination to continue the struggle against colonialism, to achieve unity and to take their rightful place among the free nations of the world.

666. In answer to questions from members of the Special Committee, the petitioner said that when elections had been called in 1962, the existing Government of Grenada had already agreed to form a federation with the other Caribbean Territories. With the change of government, however, the question of unitary statehood with Trinidad and Tobago had arisen, although it had not been clearly presented to the people nor fully understood by them because of the situation created by the United Kingdom Government in dissolving the existing Government, suspending the Constitution and calling elections. The question of associated statehood had been decided upon later by the United Kingdom Government and the Government of Grenada, although the latter had been given no mandate to discuss the question of association, much less to enforce association arrangements. Nevertheless, the people of Grenada did not oppose the association arrangements as such, as was clear from the petition he had presented on behalf of the leader of the opposition party, but they opposed the procedure by which the arrangements were

to be implemented. He thought that if a referendum were held immediately, the people, because of the current circumstances in Grenada, would decide upon associated statehood. However, the fact remained that the United Kingdom Government, in implementing the arrangements, had violated the principle of self-determination. If the people of Grenada were asked whether they wished to endorse the new arrangements for association with the United Kingdom or to unite with other Territories within a federation, they would choose the latter alternative. He also said that the results of the 1962 elections did not represent the wishes of the people because they had been held in abnormal circumstances created by the United Kingdom.

2. *Statements by members*

667. Commenting on the statement made on behalf of Mr. Gairy, the representative of the United Kingdom drew the attention of the Special Committee to the statement which his delegation had made when the Committee had heard Mr. Gairy on a previous occasion (463rd meeting). The main event of significance since that hearing had been the resignation of the members of the opposition party in the Legislative Council. As the Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs had made clear in the House of Commons on 14 February 1967, the resignations did not change the position with regard to the timing of elections in Grenada.

668. The points raised by the petitioner did not in any way affect the acceptability of the new association arrangements which were due to come into force in Grenada on 3 March. At the Windward Islands Conference in 1966, Mr. Gairy had expressed reservations about portions of the internal constitution for Grenada which had been agreed to at the Conference. The reservations, however, did not affect the proposal that Grenada should become a State in association with the United Kingdom, to which the petitioner and his party had fully agreed, as had the representatives of the Government party. When the report of the Conference had been debated in the Legislative Council, however, Mr. Gairy had again maintained that there should be elections before Grenada became an associated State, despite the fact that he had signed the Conference report; he had, moreover, voted for the resolution of the Legislative Council approving that report. Furthermore, when Mr. Gairy had appeared before the Committee in September he had not opposed the association arrangements. The statement made by the United Kingdom Minister for Commonwealth Affairs to which Mr. Gairy's petition had referred was thus fully accurate. He drew attention to a United Kingdom Commonwealth Office press release which stated that when Mr. Gairy had discussed the matter in London recently with the Minister for Commonwealth Affairs, the Minister had informed him that she had not been accurately quoted. While she was aware of the fact that Mr. Gairy had made certain reservations to the report of the Conference, she had reminded him that by signing the report he had signified his agreement that Grenada should proceed to associated statehood. The timing of a general election had been fully discussed at the Conference in 1966 and it had been made clear that the United Kingdom Government considered that it could not properly interfere in something which was an internal matter. The Chief Minister of Grenada had already announced that elections must be held before 15 January 1968.

669. Regarding the timing of the elections, the position under both the existing constitution and the new constitution was exactly the same as in most countries with a two-party parliamentary system: the Constitution laid down the maximum length of time between elections. Since the last election in Grenada had been held in September 1962, under the Constitution the legislature must be dissolved at the end of 1967 and elections held not later than January 1968. There were two circumstances in which elections could be held earlier; first, if the existing Government were defeated in the legislature on a vote of confidence and, secondly, if the Chief Minister decided for any reason to advise the Head of State in Grenada to dissolve the legislature earlier than was constitutionally necessary. There was no constitutional provision in Grenada, any more than there was in the United Kingdom, which would allow the Opposition Leader to decide when elections should be held, and the resignation of the four opposition members of the Legislative Council did not change the situation. It was too late for by-elections to be held under the present Constitution, and under the new constitution the Premier would have to advise the Governor, as was the case with all other internal matters, to issue writs for by-elections which would be needed.

670. The petitioner had called for elections to enable the people of Grenada to pronounce themselves on the new association arrangements and on the new constitution. However, that had in fact already been done; both parties in Grenada and their elected leaders had indicated that they agreed in principle to the new system. The petitioner had also argued that the present Government had no mandate to take Grenada into associate statehood. However, under the association arrangements it would be perfectly possible for Grenada to enter into a union with Trinidad and Tobago, or with any other country, at a later stage, if that was the wish of the peoples and the Governments concerned. The question whether there was an early election or whether the life of the legislature should run its full course as laid down in the Constitution was therefore a purely domestic matter. It was quite legitimate for any opposition leader to argue in favour of early election; however, there could surely be no opposition to the constitutional principle that it was for the Government and not the opposition to decide when elections should be held.

671. Commenting on the petitioner's own statement, the representative of the United Kingdom said that he had already dealt with the constitutional questions raised by the petitioner. The petitioner's use of the term "enforcement" in connexion with the introduction of Grenada's new status was quite unwarranted; both political parties in Grenada had fully endorsed the new arrangements and had participated in the Constitutional Conference which had devised them. Moreover, the leader of the opposition party in Grenada had signed the Conference report on the association proposal and had voted for the proposed new arrangements, when they had been debated in the Grenada legislature.

672. The petitioner had referred to the break-up of the former West Indies Federation and had expressed the hope that some of its members might form a new federation. However, that question was not before the Committee at the present stage. The same was true of the events which had taken place in Grenada in 1962, which were now matters of public record, rather than of current political relevance to Grenada on the eve of statehood.

673. The petitioner had not made it clear what he was advocating or what his attitude was to the mandate of the present Government of Grenada. If the petitioner wanted separate independence for Grenada, a new federation or union with Trinidad and Tobago, those were options which remained available to the peoples concerned under Grenada's new status. In that connexion, he was happy to hear that the people of Grenada were not opposed to the association arrangements, even though some of them seemed to have reservations regarding the methods used. Grenada's accession to associated statehood would therefore not prejudice or prevent any future development that the petitioner might wish to advocate, provided, of course, that the people of Grenada themselves shared his views.

674. Finally, the petitioner had given the impression that there had been undue haste in the introduction of the new arrangements in the Territory. However, the United Kingdom delegation had given early notification to the Special Committee, in September 1966, and had subsequently made full information available to the Committee. Moreover, the original proposal for association had been circulated to the Committee in December 1965.

675. In his general statement, the representative of the United Kingdom said that, during the week beginning 27 February 1967, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and St. Lucia would assume a new status as States in association with the United Kingdom. St. Vincent, where there had been certain special problems, would assume the same status not later than 1 June 1967. With the introduction of the new constitution in each of those Territories, the islands would be known as "the West Indies Associated States". The new arrangements represented a departure in the United Kingdom's decolonization policies. While the status of association was not completely without precedent in the world, certain features of the proposed arrangement with the six Territories in question were quite new. He would therefore explain them at some length and he hoped to be able to supplement the information which he was now giving by circulating the relevant United Kingdom White Papers to members of the Committee.

676. A detailed explanation of his Government's proposals and the processes by which they had been worked out had been given to Sub-Committee III in September 1966 and was summarized in document A/6300/Rev.1, chapter XXIII, annex, paragraphs 139-169. He had made clear in that statement that the new arrangements were to be brought into effect early in 1967. His delegation had also kept the Secretariat fully supplied with relevant material, and many of the basic documents were reproduced in the working paper (see paras. 133-143 above).

677. The first point he hoped to establish was that, under the new arrangements, the six Territories would enjoy a full measure of self-government. They would be completely autonomous in their internal affairs and his Government's obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter would thus be fully discharged. Secondly, the Territories would enter into a strictly voluntary association with the United Kingdom, an association under which each Territory would be entirely free to declare itself independent, in accordance with the agreed constitutional processes, at any time it might wish to do so. Similarly, each island would be entirely free to sever its association with the United Kingdom and enter into

an association with any other State. Thirdly, the new arrangements had been worked out in full consultation with the people of the particular Territory concerned and had been freely and willingly accepted by the people. Clearly, therefore, everything that had been done and was to be done was fully in accordance with his Government's obligations under the United Nations Charter and with the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

678. Antigua and St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla (as well as Montserrat) formed part of the Leeward Islands, while Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada formed part of the Windward Islands. None of the six Territories had a population larger than about 94,000, and it had therefore been felt that the best hope of their future lay in association together. The Federation of the West Indies, including the Territories now under consideration and several other Caribbean territories, had come into being in January 1958 and a date for the Federation's independence (in May 1962) had been set, but it had been dissolved in 1962 following the withdrawal of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Discussions had followed concerning a possible new federation to include Barbados, the six Territories now under consideration and Montserrat—though Grenada had withdrawn from the negotiations in 1962, declaring its intention to seek association with Trinidad and Tobago. By the end of 1964, a considerable measure of agreement had been reached but there had still been serious disagreements on a number of fundamental matters. In April 1965, Antigua had withdrawn from the discussions. Barbados had consequently decided to proceed to separate independence, and had become independent in November 1966. It had thus become evident that there was no immediate prospect of securing agreement on a federation in which the smaller Territories would become fully independent. The United Kingdom Government and many of the territorial Governments had made it clear that they still regarded some form of association between the Territories as the best course, but it had become obvious that, for the time being, some other way forward would have to be found.

679. Throughout the period which he had described, the six islands had already been largely self-governing, but the arrangements in force had not constituted full internal self-government.

680. The economic background against which the United Kingdom Government and the Governments of the six Territories had been considering the question of constitutional advance was fully described in his delegation's statement to Sub-Committee III (A/6300/Rev.1, chapter XXII, annex, paras. 146-149). The six Territories had received over \$US28 million in the last ten years in development grants, and there had been other forms of aid such as budgetary grants (\$3.5 million last year). The total amount of United Kingdom aid to the six Territories in the financial year 1965-1966 had been around \$US6.25 million, and in 1966-1967 it was likely to be about \$US9.15 million. In 1966, the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada had sponsored a Tripartite Economic Survey of Barbados and the Leeward and Windward Islands. The main recommendation of the Survey had concerned the need for full regional economic co-operation. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) had been asked to sponsor a study of a possible regional development bank which would also include the independent Commonwealth countries in the Caribbean. The island Governments had also agreed to form a regional development

committee with which the Governments which had sponsored the Tripartite Economic Survey would be associated.

681. Reverting to the question of the constitutional proposals, he said that the islands had strong links with the United Kingdom, both of sentiment and economic interest, and were anxious to preserve those links. However, several of the island Governments had requested greater control over internal affairs. The United Kingdom Government had therefore sought to devise a new relationship between Territories which would be consistent with their political maturity but enable them to continue such links with the United Kingdom as they might wish to preserve. Under new proposals put to the Territories in the autumn of 1965, it had been suggested that each Territory should become a State in association with the United Kingdom, each with full control over its internal affairs, the right to amend its own constitution and the power to end its association with the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom would accept responsibility for the defence and external affairs of the Territories as long as the association continued. The States would continue to be eligible to receive United Kingdom aid. The Governments of the Territories had indicated their general acceptance of the proposals as a basis for negotiation, and in the case of each Territory a conference had been held with the Government of the Territory and members of all parties represented in the elected legislatures. At the first Conference, with Antigua, it had been agreed that, although the United Kingdom Government should have the ultimate responsibility in defence and external affairs, it would proceed throughout in consultation with the Government of Antigua, and the United Kingdom Government promised to delegate to Antigua a substantial amount of authority over Antigua's external relations. Full agreement had also been reached on an outline of the new internal Constitution of Antigua, under which the Antigua Parliament would be free to amend or replace the Constitution, which would be fully democratic and include safeguards for human rights. The Governor would exercise the powers of constitutional Head of State, acting in all respects on the advice of his ministers, and would not be in any way subject to the United Kingdom Government's instructions. The House of Representatives, like the existing Legislative Council, would be elected by universal suffrage, and executive authority would be exercised by a Cabinet under a Premier who commanded a majority in the House. The Senate would have limited delaying powers and its composition would represent broadly the position of the parties in the lower House. There would be certain entrenched clauses of the Constitution which could be amended only after approval by a two-thirds majority in a referendum. However, it had been agreed that there would be no need for a referendum in connexion with a bill that terminated the association between the United Kingdom and Antigua and brought into effect arrangements under which Antigua joined with other Commonwealth countries either by union or federation. There would also be no need for approval by referendum if Antigua were joining in some other form of constitutional association with an independent Commonwealth country in the Caribbean under which the latter country would take over the United Kingdom's responsibilities for the defence and external relations of Antigua. Apart from that, Antigua would be free to terminate the association with the United Kingdom at any time by means of the same procedure as would

be applied for amending the entrenched clauses of the Constitution.

682. At the Conference with the representatives of the four Windward Islands, the Windward Islands delegates had called for a closer association in the economic sphere between the United Kingdom and the Territories. However, the United Kingdom delegation had been obliged to point out that such problems lay outside the scope of the Conference. The Windward Islands delegates had accepted that position and the Conference had gone on to work out a series of agreements, covering both the internal constitutions of the Territories and the arrangements for association between each Territory and the United Kingdom, on very similar lines to those worked out in the case of Antigua. The only important difference was that several Windward Islands delegations had asked for assurances that the United Kingdom's power to terminate the association unilaterally would not be exercised in an arbitrary or sudden way. The United Kingdom Government had given an undertaking—which also applied to Antigua and St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla—that the United Kingdom would not terminate the association without giving six months' notice of its intention to do so, and would be willing to hold a conference with the Territory concerned at which all the implications of termination could be discussed. The United Kingdom Parliament's approval would be sought for any proposal to terminate the association on the United Kingdom side. The Territories themselves were of course free to terminate the association unilaterally regardless of the views of the United Kingdom Government or Parliament.

683. The conference with representatives of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla had also reached full agreement on lines similar to the two previous conferences. At all three conferences, it had been agreed that there should be certain joint arrangements for the courts of the six Territories. In September 1966, a conference had been held in St. Lucia to discuss arrangements for a regional Supreme Court. The conference had reviewed the statutory provisions to be made for the Supreme Court and approved the draft text of an agreement on administrative arrangements for the Court.

684. The arrangements agreed on at those conferences had been subject to the approval of the six legislatures concerned. The proposed arrangements had been approved by a formal resolution in each Territory. In Antigua, Dominica, St. Lucia, Grenada and St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, the relevant resolutions had been adopted unanimously. In St. Vincent, the resolution had been passed without a division, although the opposition members had left the Legislative Council before the vote in protest against the unwillingness of the St. Vincent Government to defer the introduction of the new arrangements while certain election petitions were pending. However, it should be noted that the opposition speakers in the debate had not attacked the association arrangements as such and that both Government and opposition leaders had signed the report of the relevant conference in London.

685. In four of the Territories, there had been an additional form of indirect consultation concerning the arrangements in the form of general elections held after the announcement of the United Kingdom's new proposals. In Antigua, a general election had been held in November 1965 at which it had been made clear that the government party, if elected, would seek to negotiate a relationship with the United Kingdom in-

volving increased internal self-government while leaving responsibility for defence and external affairs in the hands of the United Kingdom. The party had won all ten seats in the Legislature and the policy had thus been clearly endorsed by the electorate. In Dominica, elections had been held in January 1966, and the Dominica Labour Party, which had stated that it would seek to negotiate a new relationship with the United Kingdom on the basis of the new proposals, had won ten out of eleven seats. The opposition party had also accepted the new arrangements. In St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, elections had been held in July 1966 and members of all the parties winning seats at the elections had signed the report of the London Conference. In St. Vincent, representatives of both parties had signed the report of the relevant conference. The close results of the general election in August 1966, with election petitions contesting the results in several constituencies, had led to internal political difficulties. Those difficulties had now been resolved following discussions in London between the United Kingdom Ministers and the Chief Minister and Leader of the Opposition in the Territory. It had been agreed in those talks that certain features of the St. Vincent Constitution as agreed at the London Conference should be somewhat modified, that an independent boundary commission should delimit the constituencies, that fresh elections should be held not later than December 1968, and that St. Vincent should proceed to associated statehood not later than 1 June 1967.

686. In Grenada and St. Lucia, the position was slightly different. The Grenada legislature's term ran until the end of 1967 and the St. Lucia legislature's term until July 1969. In each Territory, both government and opposition parties had accepted the new arrangements, except that the Grenada opposition had made reservations on a number of points of detail in the proposed internal constitution. In both cases, the responsibility for recommending the date of new elections if held earlier than the time specified by the Constitution rested explicitly with the Chief Minister. The opposition in Grenada had pressed for fresh elections before the new association arrangements came into effect, and that had been resisted by the elected Grenada Government.

687. The third Territory in which particular difficulties had arisen was St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, where there had been some anxiety in the island of Anguilla about the relationship between Anguilla and the island of St. Kitts. The Anguilla member of the Legislative Council had attended the Constitutional Conference in London and signed the Conference report without reservation. He had subsequently been re-elected as member for Anguilla. It had been agreed at the Conference that a new system of local government should be set up in both Nevis and Anguilla and that that should be provided for in the new constitution. It had been agreed that the local legislature should decide upon the details of the system but that under the constitution there should be separate councils, one for Nevis and one for Anguilla. At least two thirds of each council would be elected. Suitable provisions had accordingly been included in the draft constitution. The special interests of Anguilla were thus fully protected. The recent difficulties in Anguilla had arisen mainly from a misunderstanding about the intentions of the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Government. It was the hope of the United Kingdom Government and of the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Government that the publication

of the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Constitution would serve to reassure the people of Anguilla. He would add that the principle of association with the United Kingdom had been fully accepted by the elected representative of the Anguillian people.

688. The West Indies Bill to enable the six Territories to assume a new status of association with Britain and generally to give effect to the conclusions of the three London Conferences had passed through Parliament and received the Royal Assent on 16 February 1967. A number of Orders in Council under the West Indies Act would be brought into effect shortly to determine the dates on which the new associations would come into being, and to establish the Constitution of the Territories. The posts of Administrator in each of the six Territories would be abolished under the new Constitution, and a United Kingdom Government representative would in future be the channel of communication between the associated States and the United Kingdom Government. Further details on the agreements between the United Kingdom and the Territories governing the exercise of British responsibility for external affairs and defence, and on the agreed provisions for the internal constitutions of the Territories, were contained in the conference reports and White Papers which his delegation would circulate as soon as possible.

689. Thus, the six Territories would be fully self-governing. Each Territory's association with the United Kingdom would be entirely voluntary. The West Indies Act laid down that the legislature of any associated State might at any time terminate the status of association, unilaterally and by its own legislation; it was thus open to the associated States in future to proceed either to a declaration of independence or to some form of association with one or more other countries in the area. All those arrangements, both for the internal constitutions of the Territories and for the terms of their association with the United Kingdom, had been worked out in the fullest detail by consultation with the representatives of the peoples of the Territories, and had been fully accepted by those peoples. Indeed, the prime consideration throughout had been action in consultation with the people of the islands. He hoped that when the Special Committee had digested the large amount of information relevant to the matter, it would feel that the people of the Territories deserved to be congratulated on the hard work that had gone into their new status.

690. The representative of Mali said that he did not fully understand the relationship between the Governor and the Government of Antigua. If the Government should be out-voted in Parliament, would the Governor fall together with the ministers?

691. The representative of Syria remarked that the United Kingdom representative had seemed to give little weight to the reservations of Mr. Gairy, the Leader of the Opposition in Grenada. He asked for clarification of those reservations.

692. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that it was clear from the petitioner's statement that the talks on the future status of Grenada had taken place solely between representatives of the Government and the opposition, and that no attempt had been made to ascertain the views of the people. The last time the Special Committee had discussed the question of Grenada, the United King-

dom delegation had said that there was no special procedure for consulting the people. His delegation was dissatisfied with that statement, and asked the United Kingdom representative what procedure there was for finding out the wishes of the people in regard to the future status of Grenada.

693. The representative of Iraq asked whether the financial assistance referred to by the United Kingdom representative came only from the United Kingdom Government or from other Governments as well. He would also like to know what part of such assistance was spent on the salaries of United Kingdom or other foreign officials in the Territories.

694. The United Kingdom representative had emphasized the right of the Territories to break away from the association whenever they wished, but he had placed no such emphasis on the way in which the association had been decided upon. He had referred to the two-thirds majority that was required to break away from the association. But four members of the legislative body had resigned over the question of association, leaving the six government members. He wondered whether six members out of ten constituted a two-thirds majority of the electorate or of public opinion in the Territory.

695. The representative of Iran asked whether any organic relationship was envisaged for the six Territories which were to be associated with the United Kingdom. Secondly, he would like to know whether the people of the Territories had ever had the opportunity to opt for independence as an alternative to free association with the United Kingdom, and whether they had been educated as to the values to that alternative before their representatives were consulted about their future status.

696. The representative of Uruguay pointed out the importance of ensuring that a Territory's emergence from colonial status was effected in accordance with the will of the majority, since the United Nations thereafter ceased to have any jurisdiction. Should the Territories under discussion opt for some form of association, declaration of absolute independence would thereafter be a matter for each associated government to decide, in accordance with the respective constitutions. But if there were special quorums laid down in those constitutions, and the principle of the simple majority was not observed, the decision might be in the hands of minorities and the freedom of the peoples concerned might be restricted. He would like an explicit assurance from the United Kingdom on that point.

697. The representative of Tunisia noted that the United Kingdom representative had made no reference to the United Nations when speaking of the Territories under consideration, and asked whether the Organization might not be invited to come and observe on the spot the decolonization process being carried out by the United Kingdom.

698. The representative of Bulgaria said that he, too, would like to know more about the procedures used to ascertain the wishes of the peoples of the Territories, and whether they had had an opportunity to opt for independence.

699. The representative of Venezuela noted that the Territories constituting the association would enjoy full internal self-government. He would like to know how their external affairs would be conducted.

700. The Chairman, speaking as the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, said that in most of its Territories the United Kingdom had provided for elections before the passage from self-government to independence. Having negotiated a new status for the Territories under discussion, why had the United Kingdom Government not arranged for elections so that the people could express their views?

701. The United Kingdom representative had said that if the associated States wanted to opt for another status, a two-thirds majority would be required. Why, then, had it not been necessary for the United Kingdom Government to institute a two-thirds majority referendum on the assumption of the new status? He asked whether the United Kingdom Government could not postpone the coming into effect of the new status until the Special Committee had had time to report to the General Assembly.

702. The representative of the United Kingdom, in reply to the preceding questions concerning the new status of association about to come into force between the United Kingdom and five of the six Eastern Caribbean Territories, said that the answers to some of the questions could be found in the documents which his delegation hoped to supply to the Special Committee very shortly. Thus, the question asked by the representative of Mali concerning the precise relationship between the Governor and the Premier and ministers of each of the associated States once they had assumed their new status was answered in the reports of the three London Constitutional Conferences dealing with the internal Constitutions of the Territories. The Governor of each associated State would not in any way be subject to the control of the United Kingdom Government, whose relations with the associated States would be conducted through a separate officer, the United Kingdom Government representative. The Governor of Antigua, for example, would be a purely constitutional head of State, exercising his powers solely on the advice of the Premier and the ministers, and his position would be strictly analogous to that of the Queen in the United Kingdom or the Governor-General in Australia or Sierra Leone.

703. Similarly, the question asked by the representative of Syria about the reservations made by Mr. Gairy, the former Leader of the Opposition in Grenada, to the agreed arrangements for the internal Constitution of Grenada, could be answered by referring to the report of the Windward Islands Conference (mentioned above). Page 11 of that report stated that Mr. Gairy's reservations related to paragraphs 5, 6, 11 and 17 of appendix IV, where the outline of the Constitution of Grenada was set out; those paragraphs dealt with the Senate and the House of Representatives, transitional provisions for the Legislature and provisions for union with another Commonwealth country without a referendum.

704. The representative of Uruguay had asked about safeguards to ensure that no change in the status of any island would be made by a minority Government, without satisfactory evidence of a widespread desire for the change among the population. Such safeguards were also described in the three Conference reports. For example, paragraph 20 of the Antigua Conference report³³ stated that termination of the association by Antigua would require a two-thirds majority in the House of Representatives and a two-thirds majority in a referendum; however, no referendum would be

required where the association was terminated for the purpose of effecting any form of constitutional association with an independent Commonwealth country of the Caribbean or with one or more other associated States in a new independent unit. While it was now generally accepted that association with Commonwealth neighbours in the Caribbean would not be practicable at present, nevertheless hope was still cherished that such a union might be possible in the future; the requirement of a two-thirds majority in a referendum had therefore been dropped for such cases, with the full agreement of the representatives of the Territories at the three Conferences. A Government which gained only a minority of the votes cast might hold a majority in the Legislature but was unlikely to hold a two-thirds majority of the lower House; there was, therefore, an adequate safeguard against the risk mentioned by the representative of Uruguay.

705. The answer to the question asked by the representative of Venezuela, concerning the external relations of the new associated States, was, very broadly, that the United Kingdom Government would be responsible for the external affairs of each of the associated States but would delegate authority in appropriate fields to the State Governments as far as possible. The detailed arrangements for the administration of external affairs were set out in a Secretariat working paper (see paras. 135-137 above). Under their delegated powers, the State Governments could apply for full or associate membership in United Nations specialized agencies or similar organizations, negotiate and conclude certain types of trade agreements with other countries, arrange visits for commercial purposes, negotiate and sign agreements of purely local concern with any Commonwealth country or United Kingdom Territory in the area, and make various arrangements in matters of foreign aid and other external affairs.

706. The answers to the questions asked by the representative of Iraq about aid to the Eastern Caribbean were not readily available in New York at the moment, but inquiries had been made and he hoped to have the information available shortly.

707. The organic relationship between the six associated States and the United Kingdom, about which the representative of Iran had inquired, would be controlled and defined by the West Indies Act, the separate Constitution Orders containing the Constitutions of the Territories, the Order establishing the West Indies Associated States' Supreme Court, Orders concerning appeals to the Privy Council and compensation and retirement benefits, and a number of agreements between the United Kingdom Government and the States concerning defence and external affairs. Those agreements would be supplemented by dispatches such as those set out in the Conference reports.

708. The representative of Iran had also asked whether the people of the Territories had the opportunity to opt for independence as the alternative to free association. The answer was that once the association arrangements were in force, the people of each State would have the right to decide at any time in favour of independence. The alternative to the proposed association arrangements would have been the indefinite continuance of the islands' colonial status; that would no doubt have been unwelcome to the mem-

³³ *Report of the Antigua Constitutional Conference, 1966*, London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1966 (Cmd. 2963).

bers of the Special Committee and would certainly have been unacceptable to the United Kingdom Government, as indicated in paragraph 9 of the report of the Windward Islands Conference.

709. The Chairman, speaking as the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, had asked why the United Kingdom Government had not arranged for a general election or a referendum before any change was made in the status of the Territories. It was indeed true that in a number of other colonial Territories, especially where the proposal to proceed to independence was a matter of local controversy, elections had been held before any final decision had been taken to grant independence. In the case of the six Eastern Caribbean Territories, however, no political party had sought independence and all had agreed in supporting the new association arrangements; furthermore, the decision taken was not final and irrevocable. The provisions for consultation of the whole people concerning their future, through referenda and through their elected legislatures, were embodied in the association arrangements themselves; the advocates of independence would be free under the Constitutions of the States and under the association arrangements to seek support in the Legislature and among the people for constitutional arrangements that would bring about independence.

710. He hoped that his explanation had also answered a number of questions raised by the representatives of the Soviet Union, Iraq, Iran and Bulgaria and by the Chairman.

711. With regard to the specific point raised by the representative of Iraq concerning Grenada, it was true that the six Government members of the Grenada Legislature had not constituted two thirds of the ten-member Legislature; however, the resolution endorsing the new association arrangements had been approved in that Legislature before the resignation of the Opposition members, not by a two-thirds majority but unanimously. The adoption of the resolutions in the other Legislatures had also been unanimous.

712. In four of the six Territories, elections had been held in the context of proposals for the association of the new States with the United Kingdom. In each case, either a party favouring the proposed arrangements had been returned to power with a substantial majority, or else both the Government and the Opposition had supported the arrangements; in the two Territories where no election had been held, there had been similar agreement between the Government and Opposition parties. It was clear, therefore, that the people of each Territory supported the proposed association arrangements.

713. Lastly, in connexion with the questions put by the representative of Tunisia, the United Kingdom Government had always fully recognized the legitimate interest of the United Nations and the international community in that Government's discharge of its responsibilities, under the Charter and otherwise, to the peoples of its dependent Territories. His Government had always co-operated fully with the Special Committee and had provided full and detailed information concerning United Kingdom policies and their execution, in relation to the Eastern Caribbean Territories as to others. Detailed information about the association proposals had been provided in the United Kingdom statement in Sub-Committee III on 8 September 1966; that statement had been incorporated

into the Sub-Committee's report to the Special Committee and the Committee's report to the General Assembly (see A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, annex); in addition, substantial amounts of information had been available to the Committee and the Secretariat in the form of published documents and other sources. In any event, the Territories were open societies which could be freely visited by anyone, so that it would be impossible to misrepresent the true situation in the Territories or to prevent certain kinds of information from reaching the United Nations.

714. Lastly, the Chairman, speaking as the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, had asked whether any of the proposed arrangements might be postponed while the Special Committee considered the matter. It would be very difficult to justify any such postponement to the peoples of the Territories; they knew that all the proposals had been explained to the Special Committee in September 1966 and that in five of the six Territories the new arrangements were scheduled to come into force within a few days. The preparations for the celebration of their new status could clearly not be halted at the eleventh hour. Moreover, virtually all the relevant legislation either had been passed and completed or else was about to come into effect. However, the entry into force of the new association arrangements, with the incomparably wider range of choice open to the people of the new States, need not in any way prevent the Special Committee from continuing its study of the situation in the Eastern Caribbean, and his delegation would be glad to co-operate fully in in that study.

715. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that the first statement made by the United Kingdom representative had given his delegation some cause for concern, particularly since it had glossed over some of the conflicts which existed between the aspirations of the people of the Territories and the plans of the administering Power. The pertinent questions which had been put to that representative were evidence of the Committee's anxiety. The United Kingdom representative had again failed to deal with the matters which were of primary concern to the Committee, namely the obligations of the administering Power under the Charter towards its colonized peoples, the responsibility of the United Nations vis-à-vis such peoples and, most important of all, the legitimate aspirations of the colonized peoples to take their rightful place in the world community by their own free choice.

716. The United Kingdom representative had stated categorically that, under the new arrangements, the Territories would attain a full measure of self-government. He himself, however, emphatically rejected that argument. The conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee regarding the six Territories (A/6300/Rev.1, para. 469) had reaffirmed that it was for the people of the Territories, and for them alone, to express themselves freely on the form of political status they wished to adopt in order to achieve the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Those conclusions had also reaffirmed the right of the people of the Territories to exercise their right of self-determination in complete freedom and in full knowledge of the various forms of political status open to them and had expressed the belief that, particularly in the case of small Territories, the United Nations should take appropriate steps to ensure that the people of the Territories were enabled to express themselves freely on their future status and

in full knowledge of the options available to them. At the present meeting, however, the United Kingdom representative had stated that no arrangements had been made to consult the people as a whole because no irrevocable decision was being taken.

717. The United Kingdom representative had also stated that certain difficulties had arisen in Grenada because the opposition party disagreed with certain provisions in the new constitution and had called for election before the new arrangements came into effect. The administering Power, however, denied responsibility for the holding of elections in Grenada. That situation was reminiscent of other colonial situations in which the United Kingdom had sought to impose its innovations against the wishes of the peoples involved. The Tanzanian delegation continued to maintain that it was the duty of the administering Power to enable the peoples of colonial Territories as a whole to exercise their right to express their wishes fully and freely. That was a cardinal and inalienable right embodied in both the Charter and the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and it had not been safeguarded in Grenada. Also implicit in the Charter and the Declaration was the duty of the administering Power to ensure that the United Nations had a part to play in the exercise of that right. It seemed, however, that the administering Power was neither prepared nor willing to fulfil its obligation to call for elections in the Territories. Moreover, as the petition presented by the leader of the opposition party in Grenada had pointed out, the enforcement of the proposed arrangements would not only be unconstitutional but would deny to the people of Grenada their fundamental right to elect the first two-chamber legislature in their history in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

718. It was important to know, therefore, why the United Kingdom was refusing to change its position. Under the present Constitution, the term of the legislature expired in October 1967, and fresh elections would normally have to be called by the administering Power. However, under the new arrangements, the existing executive and administrative authority was to continue in office for a further five years, which would mean that the people of the Territory would not be consulted on their constitutional status, or fully informed about the situation, for a period of ten years. Indeed, the opposition party had resigned from the legislature to demonstrate the people's opposition to such a denial of their legitimate rights. The United Kingdom Government had therefore not fulfilled its obligation under the Charter and under the Declaration.

719. The United Kingdom representative had also observed that there were certain problems relating to Anguilla and had hoped that the publication of the St. Kitts Constitution, including the local government provisions for Anguilla, would serve as a reassurance to the people of that Territory. If that meant that the provisions it wished to bring into effect in the near future were not even published, then the situation was indeed very serious.

720. His delegation was also apprehensive about the economic aspects of the situation in the six Territories. The United Kingdom had taken pains to emphasize the importance of its economic channels to the Territories and, while he did not wish to discuss the kind of economic aid involved, it was disturbing that so much emphasis was being placed on that aspect at the present

stage. His delegation had always maintained that the right of peoples to self-determination should not be restricted by any economic considerations; the economic viability of any Territory was a matter for the people of that Territory alone. Economic interests had often been used in colonial Territories in the past as a "big stick" to intimidate peoples struggling for their legitimate aspirations.

721. The Special Committee itself also had obligations in respect of the Territories under consideration and was in duty bound to ensure that colonial Powers fulfilled their obligations and that colonized peoples attained self-determination. The situation in the six Territories showed that there were basic contradictions between the people and the colonial authorities which were the result of the attempts of the administering Power to deny the peoples their right to self-determination. The Special Committee should therefore immediately call upon the administering Power to refrain from taking any action to implement its plans which would further jeopardize the legitimate right of the peoples concerned to self-determination, and should also call upon the United Kingdom to consult the people of the Territories as a whole on their future status, through an election or a plebiscite. In that connexion, the Special Committee, as the representative of the United Nations, should decide that it had a part to play in such consultations.

722. The representative of Uruguay said that he wished to give some further clarification of what he had said previously. He had pointed out that, if the peoples of the Territories could not subsequently choose, by a simple majority, to abandon associated status and to assume complete independence, the freedom of the peoples concerned might be restricted. The United Kingdom representative, in his reply, had stressed that a decision in favour of complete independence would require a two-thirds majority in the House of Representatives and a two-thirds majority in a referendum. That was precisely his point: those provisions would tend to protect the *status quo* and limit the possibility of self-determination. There would be no objection to any particular arrangements between a Territory and the former colonial Power provided that, under the Constitution, the indigenous people could opt for complete freedom by a simple majority, but, if not, their freedom of choice would be restricted. With a two-thirds majority requirement, a minority could block any decision in favour of complete independence. He thought that that should be a matter of concern to all, and it would be helpful if the point could be clarified.

723. The past decisions of United Nations bodies were favourable to the concept of association, provided that the arrangement was freely chosen by the indigenous people and that their act of choice was supervised by the United Nations. It was not enough to say that no opposition had been expressed to the proposed arrangements; General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) required not merely the absence of opposition but the existence of a positive desire for a particular arrangement. If such a desire was shown to exist, and provided that the associated States could choose complete independence at any time by a simple majority, the Committee might well be happy to support an association arrangement.

724. The representative of Iraq wished to associate himself with the remarks made by the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, and particularly with his emphasis on the need for compliance with relevant

United Nations resolutions. United Nations resolutions had repeatedly stressed that the unity of colonial Territories must not be disrupted, whereas the remarks of the United Kingdom representative seemed to leave the door open to fragmentation of the Territories. The Tanzanian representative had also commented on the great stress placed by the United Kingdom representative on its economic assistance to the Territories. He would welcome more detailed information from the United Kingdom representative regarding that assistance. In that connexion, the United Kingdom representative had asserted at the previous meeting that the Territories had strong links with Britain, both of sentiment and of economic interest. He would welcome an explanation of that statement, because he did not know what bonds of sentiment could exist between a former colony and the colonial Power.

725. The United Kingdom representative had also referred to provisions permitting any Territory to terminate its association with the United Kingdom and to join in some form of association with an independent Commonwealth country in the Caribbean. He wondered what the procedure would be if one of the Territories wished to associate itself with a country which was neither a member of the Commonwealth nor situated in the Caribbean. Moreover, he noted that, according to information to be found in the Secretariat working paper, one particular country which was not a member of the Commonwealth was placed in a privileged position as far as scientific and cultural relations were concerned. He would like to know why that exception had been made.

726. The representative of Iran said that he appreciated the comprehensive statement made by the United Kingdom representative in answer to the questions put to him. However, that representative had laid stress on the fact that the decision in favour of association was not irrevocable. But the basic question related to the sovereign rights of the people. It might be possible to agree that the restriction on the sovereign rights of the people inherent in colonial status would be somewhat alleviated as a result of the new status. He noted, however, that the United Kingdom representative had refrained from asserting that the people of the Territory had exercised their right of self-determination. Had they exercised that right by choosing association with the United Kingdom, or had they merely advanced to a higher stage of political development? He would like to know whether the United Kingdom representative considered that the decision constituted an exercise of the right of self-determination. In regaining its full sovereign rights, a people might choose to join with another State, but the people must have an opportunity to exercise their right of self-determination in absolute freedom, and there must be some kind of impartial international presence to ensure that that was so.

727. The representative of Syria said that he shared the preoccupations of the representative of Uruguay. A question relating to the destiny of a people should be put to a popular referendum. The United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) spoke of "self-determination" and of the "freely expressed will and desire" of the people. He therefore attached importance to the reservations of the opposition in the case of Grenada. The reservations did not relate to minor matters but, according to the United Kingdom representative, concerned such matters as the Senate, transitional provisions for the legislature and the provi-

sions for union with another Commonwealth country without a referendum. These matters were at the very basis of the proposed constitutional arrangements, which were perhaps intended, as the Uruguayan representative had suggested, to consecrate the *status quo*. He wondered why the simple procedure of self-determination was not applied and why complex procedures were laid down instead.

728. The representative of Venezuela said that he would like to put to the United Kingdom representative a further question concerning the external relations of the future associated States. The document quoted in the Secretariat working paper (see para. 137 above) gave a list of the limited matters in which authority was delegated by the United Kingdom Government to the Government of the particular Territory. In paragraph 2 (f) it was indicated that the Government of the Territory would have authority to negotiate and sign agreements for financial and technical assistance or of a cultural or scientific nature with any member of the Commonwealth or the United States of America or with any international organization of which the United Kingdom was a member. He wondered why the provision discriminated in favour of the United States and excluded, for example, Spanish-speaking countries in the same region.

729. The representative of the United States of America said that her delegation heartily welcomed the initiative taken by the United Kingdom Government and by the Governments of the six Caribbean Territories in drawing up plans for the proposed West Indies Associated States. The new arrangements had been devised through amicable consultations between the Governments involved and appeared to be a workable and appropriate solution to the special problems facing the small Territories. Equally important was the fact that the arrangements had been worked out in consultation with the elected representatives of the people of the islands concerned, and were therefore in accordance with the desires of the people.

730. The negotiations had been conducted by representatives elected through universal adult suffrage who had accepted the methods proposed for amending the new Constitutions. Moreover, the fact that members of opposition parties had attended the constitutional conferences had ensured that all views would be taken into account before definite arrangements were made. That the new arrangements were voluntary was also demonstrated by the fact that no proposal for individual independence had been put forward at the conferences. Furthermore, the representatives of the Windward Islands had requested that the United Kingdom should not terminate the association in an arbitrary or sudden manner, thus showing that there was a desire for continued close association with the United Kingdom.

731. The reservations expressed in the Special Committee on behalf of the leader of the opposition party in Grenada were, in her view, of essentially internal political interest. While there might possibly be some disagreement concerning the internal aspects of the Constitution for Grenada, that Constitution could be amended if a large enough proportion of the electorate so desired, and, in any case, elections would be held in Grenada by January 1968. In conclusion, she said that the formation of the West Indies Associated States represented a new and constructive approach to the problem of the small Territories.

732. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics pointed out that the question under

consideration had important implications not only for the six Territories concerned but also for many other small Territories. After careful study of the Secretariat document on the six colonial Territories under discussion and of the statement by the United Kingdom representative, his delegation could not but conclude that the United Kingdom had worked out its plans for the future status of the Territories without consulting the people. The future status of any colonial Territory must be settled in accordance with the freely expressed will of its people. It was claimed that the approval of the people had been secured through the legislative organs of the six Territories. But those organs had been elected under the colonial system and were controlled by the United Kingdom administration. The fact that representatives of those organs had been invited to comment on the proposed constitutional reforms could not, therefore, be regarded as tantamount to participation of the people. He reminded the Committee of what Mr. Gairy, the leader of the opposition in Grenada, had said about the demonstrations in Grenada when the territorial government had begun Constitutional discussions with the United Kingdom Government without consulting the people.

733. The situation was complicated by the long-standing refusal of the United Kingdom to co-operate with the United Nations and to allow a mission of the Special Committee to visit the Territories in order to ascertain the views of the inhabitants concerning their future status. The United Nations had therefore been unable to ensure that the peoples of the Territories would be given an opportunity to exercise their sovereign will in conditions of relative freedom. The new status, which would come into effect shortly, had thus been worked out without the approval of the people and in circumvention of the United Nations.

734. The fact that the United Kingdom would retain control over external affairs and defence, which were principal attributes of sovereignty, clearly showed that there could be no question of the Territories being independent. Moreover, there were other provisions in the proposed arrangements indicating that the United Kingdom Government would retain the right to direct interference in the domestic affairs of the Territories (see para. 136 above). The contention that the Territories would enjoy full internal self-government and that the United Kingdom Government had accordingly discharged its obligations under the United Nations Charter was thus meaningless. If in addition it was borne in mind that the executive head of all the so-called associated states was to be appointed by the Queen, that the Territories would continue to be economically dependent on the metropolitan country, and that there would still be military bases in the Territories the measures taken by the United Kingdom Government could certainly not be regarded as putting an end, as claimed, to the colonial relations between those Territories and the United Kingdom. On the contrary, with the introduction of the new status the former colonial dependence would be continued in a new form.

735. The Special Committee should accordingly state that the peoples of the Caribbean Territories had not had an opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence was fully applicable to the Territories, and that the United Kingdom was responsible to the United Nations for complying with the Declaration and with other decisions on the Territories

in particular General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI), which it had completely ignored. The Committee's decisions should also reflect the right of the United Nations to supervise the situation in the Territories for the purpose of assisting their peoples to exercise the right to self-determination and independence.

736. In view of its far-reaching implications, the situation in the Caribbean Territories confronted the Special Committee with a most important task: to recommend to the General Assembly that colonial Powers carry out a series of preparatory measures to ensure that the people of the Territories under their administration had an opportunity to express freely and without hindrance their wishes concerning their future. The measures must be such as effectively to frustrate all attempts by colonial Powers to use various forms of association, integration and so forth as a means either of annexing small Territories completely or of maintaining their former rule under a new label. Failing such measures in the Caribbean, the United Kingdom would have no difficulty in securing a solution in its own interest. There could be no guarantee that other colonial Powers would not follow suit and apply their own versions of decolonization having nothing to do with the true interests of the peoples under their rule. It was no accident that the United States representative had praised the measures taken by the United Kingdom in the Caribbean Territories as a model for the solution of similar problems in the future.

737. The working out of the measures he had suggested would demand great efforts from the Special Committee, since the colonial Powers could be expected to put up stubborn resistance. But such measures were obviously essential. In his delegation's view, the key points were the following:

(a) Assurance to the indigenous population of all democratic rights and freedoms;

(b) Withdrawal of the metropolitan country's armed forces and the elimination of foreign military bases;

(c) Abrogation of all agreements with dependent Territories which could directly or indirectly entail a limitation of their future sovereignty, or which aimed at ensuring special rights and privileges for metropolitan countries, their citizens and enterprises in the Territories;

(d) Refraining from activities designed to violate the national unity and territorial integrity of a Territory;

(e) Repeal of all laws, regulations and practices permitting racial discrimination in the political, economic and other spheres of life in colonial Territories;

(f) Preparation and conduct by the United Nations of elections, on the basis of direct universal suffrage and in accordance with the principle of "one man, one vote", and the creation of representative authorities in the colonial Territories.

738. The representative of Bulgaria said that it was clear from recent developments in the six Caribbean Territories, and from the statements made by the representatives of the administering Power and the leader of the opposition party in Grenada, that the Territories had reached an important stage in their development. In view of the special obligations which the United Nations and the Special Committee had towards the Territories and their peoples under the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it was essential to ensure that the development of those Territories took place in conditions which were in conformity with the

democratic principles of the Declaration, the aspirations and interests of the peoples concerned, and their right to self-determination.

739. While it had been stated that as the West Indies Associated States the Territories would become self-governing under a new status of association with the United Kingdom, he could not really believe that the new constitutional arrangements, including the provision that the peoples involved were free to change their status at any time, would in fact discharge the obligation which the administering Power had under Chapter XI of the Charter. The main conclusions and recommendations relating to the Territories which the Special Committee had formulated as early as 1964, to the effect that the provisions of the Declaration should be applied in the Territories in accordance with the freely expressed will of the population, remained valid and had been reaffirmed in General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI). In his view, constitutional conferences were not the best way of ascertaining the wishes of the people with a view to implementing paragraphs 2 and 5 of the Declaration. The consultations envisaged in the Declaration should not be mere formalities but the first sovereign act of a people exercising their right to self-determination. It was for the people themselves to appoint representatives to draft a new constitution for their new, independent and sovereign State. Any solution to the problems of the small Territories must ensure the correct implementation of the Declaration's provisions regarding the right to self-determination. Moreover, it was the duty of the administering Power and of the Special Committee to recommend measures to ensure that the peoples concerned could fully and freely exercise that right.

740. It was clear that political, economic and social conditions in most colonial Territories, including the small Territories, hampered the exercise of the right to self-determination. Furthermore, the increasing influence of foreign monopolies, which deprived the local population of the possibility of participating in economic life, as well as the existence of foreign military bases and the military arrangements of the colonial Powers, were serious obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration. He regretted that effective co-operation between the Special Committee and the administering Power regarding the six Caribbean Territories had not been possible and that the administering Power had not even agreed to allow a mission to visit the Territories.

741. In conclusion, he observed that the United Nations should not content itself with passively endorsing the decisions of the administering Power, but should, in the spirit of the Charter and of the Declaration, recommend measures that would enable the peoples of colonial Territories freely and fully to decide their future for themselves.

742. The representative of Chile said that his delegation recognized the special difficulties involved in the decolonization of small Territories. The small islands of the Caribbean, in view of their limited population, relative isolation and lack of economic resources, could hardly be viable as independent entities. It was for that reason that attempts had been made to establish federations in the area. In the modern world, where the trend was towards integration and the creation of larger economic units, mini-States were something of an anachronism. Colonialism, however, was also an anachronism and the problem of the economic viability of small Territories should not be used as a pretext to deny peo-

ples the right to self-determination, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

743. It was possible that some of the alternatives to independence mentioned in resolution 1541 (XV) might have practical advantages for particular Territories and might appear desirable as transitional arrangements preceding complete independence; however, according to principle VII in the annex to resolution 1541 (XV), free association with another State should be the result of a free and voluntary choice by the peoples of the Territory concerned, expressed through informed and democratic processes, and the people of the Territory should retain the freedom to modify the Territory's status through the expression of their will by democratic means and through constitutional processes. In the case of the islands under consideration, he regretted that the association agreements with the United Kingdom had not been based on a referendum in which the peoples of the islands had specifically chosen association with the former administering Power in preference to independence or integration. If that procedure had been followed, the people would have exercised their right to self-determination, as in the case of the Cook Islands.

744. He did not doubt the statements of the United Kingdom delegation that the Government and opposition representatives in the various islands had consented to association with the United Kingdom, nor that the arrangement might be materially advantageous to the islands. However, consultation of the people might have led to the same result as that achieved by consulting political leaders and would have been more in accordance with the principle of self-determination. The importance of a United Nations presence before and during such a referendum had also been stressed by the Special Committee and the General Assembly. Reconciliation of those principles with the political reality of the association agreements presented a particularly delicate problem and his delegation would wish to give careful study to any draft resolution or consensus on the subject before taking a final position.

745. The representative of Italy said that in its consideration of the present item the Committee was breaking new ground. In the case of the Territories which it had considered in the past, the Committee's task had been theoretically rather simple, even though it had sometimes been complicated by lack of co-operation on the part of the administering Power. In each case, the two main parties to the problem had been the United Nations on the one hand and the administering Power on the other, and the people of the Territory had been left somewhat in the background. The six Territories under discussion, however, had been discussing their future over a long period and had made much progress towards self-government. There existed territorial Governments, established through democratic procedures on the basis of general elections, and there was no reason to believe that the legislative assemblies of the Territories did not represent the will of the peoples. The new status of association with the United Kingdom had been freely negotiated with the representatives of the Territories and approved by them. The legislative assembly of each Territory had accepted the proposals unanimously, and, in the case of four Territories, the decisions had been further endorsed in recent elections. That was the background against which the situation must be considered.

746. His delegation might have wished that all the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the area had joined

together in a federation, that a referendum had been held in each Territory before the introduction of the new arrangements, that the procedures laid down for subsequent modification of the Territories' constitutional status had been different, and that all the Territories had been economically independent and had not had to rely on financial assistance from the United Kingdom. But the point was not whether the situation was ideal. The Committee's responsibility was to establish beyond reasonable doubt that the new arrangements had been freely accepted by the people of the Territories through their elected representatives and had not been imposed upon them. He believed that that was the case. None of the petitions addressed to the Committee indicated any real opposition to the association arrangements. The case presented by the petitioner from Grenada did not indicate that the majority of the people of Grenada were opposed to the arrangements. In the case of Anguilla, there appeared to be some opposition to union with St. Kitts and Nevis; he hoped that the documents circulated at the present meeting would shed some light on that matter.

747. In conclusion, he said that while sharing some of the misgivings voiced by his colleagues, he felt that the constitutional arrangements agreed upon were along the lines set forth in the past by the Committee with regard to small Territories—it being understood that the populations concerned were free to change their constitutional status in the future as they desired. He wished to emphasize that his delegation considered that the best solution for the Territories in the area lay in some form of federation or association among themselves, and he hoped that some such arrangement would come into being in the near future.

748. The representative of Afghanistan said that the statements of the United Kingdom representative had shed light on some aspects of the question which had previously not been clear to his delegation. However, there were still points which remained somewhat obscure. His delegation was uncertain, for example, as to the effectiveness of the methods by which the population of the Territories had been consulted concerning the proposed new status for their homelands. Had the administering Power taken adequate measures to ensure that the wishes of the peoples of the Territories were respected? Could the Committee be sure that the peoples of the Territories had fully exercised their right to self-determination? Had the question of the economic viability of the new States been sufficiently taken into account? To what extent would it be possible for the new States to receive assistance from the United Kingdom if they subsequently chose complete independence? Could it be assumed that, before the adoption of the new arrangements, all avenues had been explored by the administering Power, in co-operation with all parties concerned, to find ways of bringing about a new union among the Territories and establishing a single economically and administratively viable State? In his view, those questions could have been answered and the Committee would have been in a better position to take a decision if a United Nations visiting mission had been sent to the Territories to ascertain the facts. The problem before the Committee was a colonial problem, and it was essential that the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) should be carefully applied. The administering Power was solely responsible for the unconditional implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions and for guarantee-

ing the progress of the Territories towards genuine independence.

749. The representative of Syria said that, although the statement by the United Kingdom representative had shed some light on the background to the situation in the Caribbean islands under discussion, the Committee still felt that the arrangements made fell short of meeting the requirements of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Were the islands' resources subject to the foreign exploitation mentioned in paragraph 1 of the Declaration? Who controlled the agriculture and the various industries in the Territories? With reference to paragraph 2 of the Declaration, how had the new status of association with the administering Power been agreed upon? The Committee had been told that the political parties and the elected representatives of the people had concurred, but to what extent were they representative and what had their mandates been when they were elected? What did the masses of the people feel about the new status? Those questions remained unanswered. One thing that was certain was that the elections in question had not taken place under United Nations supervision.

750. Contrary to paragraph 3 of the Declaration, economic and political difficulties were being invoked as a pretext for delaying the independence of the Territories. Special stress was being placed by the administering Power on the fact that the Territories were not economically viable. Yet the administering Power claimed to have fulfilled its obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter. How could it be explained that throughout the years of colonial rule nothing had been done to develop the resources of the Territories? The tripartite survey which had been carried out and the approach which had now, belatedly, been made to the United Nations Development Fund seemed tantamount to a confession that the Territories had been neglected in the past.

751. In view of those cardinal questions, his delegation found itself unable to assess the intentions of the administering Power and the measures which it was taking. Their ultimate effects were hard to predict, and the expectation that they would ameliorate the plight of the inhabitants was highly dubious.

752. The representative of Mali said that the Committee should give serious consideration to the measures it was entitled to propose regarding the full and proper application of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in the six Caribbean Territories. The wind of change which had blown through the world after the Second World War had shaken the foundations of the colonial empires set up against the will of the peoples of the third world. The successes achieved in recent years in the struggle for self-determination and independence had given confidence to the peoples of the small territories, and the new developments in the six Caribbean Territories were but a logical development of that courageous struggle.

753. On 27 February, Antigua and St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla had become States in association with the United Kingdom, and the other Caribbean Territories would assume the same status within a few days. Such developments certainly represented a step forward and the Committee should thank the United Kingdom for having made some concessions. According to the United Kingdom representative, the associated status offered

to the six Territories, together with substantial economic assistance, would bring progress to the islanders. But he himself failed to understand why they had never been consulted. Admittedly, the Governments of the Territories and the leaders of the various opposition parties had participated in the Constitutional Conference; but that should not necessarily exclude popular consultations on the future of the associated States, particularly since the United Kingdom had stated that a two-thirds majority in a referendum would be required for any State to withdraw from the association. He therefore could not agree with the United Kingdom representative that the Territories would be completely autonomous in their internal affairs and that the United Kingdom Government had fully discharged its obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter. The Charter imposed precise obligations upon administering Powers with respect to the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories. Moreover, the administering Power was not applying the principle enunciated in paragraph 2 of the Declaration, namely that all peoples had the right to self-determination and that by virtue of that right they freely determined their political status and freely pursued their economic, social and cultural development.

754. His delegation continued to think that, while some progress had been achieved, the six Territories still remained colonies, and it believed that the Special Committee would share that opinion by continuing to examine the situation in those Territories in the light of Chapter XI of the Charter. It hoped that the United Kingdom would soon fully discharge its obligations to the peoples of the Territories by enabling them freely to express their views according to their own aspirations.

755. The representative of the United Kingdom said that many members of the Committee had asked why the United Kingdom Government had not held referenda, or other means of direct consultation, to ascertain the wishes of the people of the six Territories regarding association with the United Kingdom. In reply, he pointed out, first, that his delegation had already described the exhaustive consultations which had taken place with the elected representatives of all political parties in the Territories—representatives who had been elected by universal suffrage. A referendum was not the only possible method of consultation and, moreover, it was not necessarily the best in all circumstances, since it was difficult to offer a simple "yes or no" alternative to peoples when detailed and complicated proposals were involved. Consultations had therefore been carried out with the people through their elected representatives and the results had been confirmed unanimously by the legislatures in each of the islands, and, in four out of six of the Territories, by recent general elections.

756. Secondly, a referendum implied a choice between two alternatives; however, the option to become independent was inherent in the proposals for association. None of the peoples of the Territories desired immediate independence, although they were free to become independent whenever they wished under the new arrangements. Therefore, the only possible alternative to association would have been continued colonial status—something which the United Kingdom Government itself had made clear it was not prepared to offer to the peoples of the Territories.

757. Thirdly, the new association arrangements were essentially a form of free and democratic choice which was permanently available. Under the new status

the peoples of the Territories were to assume full control over their own destinies. It was surely not being suggested that formal popular consultations had to be held with colonial peoples before they were granted self-government; the Special Committee had never called for a popular referendum on the granting of independence to a colonial Territory. There was therefore no reason to demand a referendum before granting a new status which included full freedom to choose independence at any time and, moreover, gave the peoples concerned a wider area of choice for the future than full independence itself.

758. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that the United Kingdom representative had again made it clear that the peoples concerned had not been offered a choice. He himself had pointed out that the United Kingdom Government had not fulfilled its obligations under the Charter and under the Declaration. Moreover, the situation in Grenada was becoming more and more serious, and an appeal had been made to the Committee to take urgent action because, according to the Leader of the Opposition in Grenada, the situation was volcanic.

759. The representative of the United Kingdom stressed that he had not said that the peoples of the six Territories had been offered no choice—rather the reverse. Under the new arrangements, the peoples involved had complete freedom to decide upon their own future. With regard to Grenada, he pointed out that no political party in that Territory was opposed to the new association arrangements.

760. The representative of Sierra Leone said that his delegation constantly bore in mind the principle that the people of any Territory under colonial domination had an inalienable right to self-determination and independence. While his delegation recognized that the administering Power had made efforts to achieve that goal in the six Caribbean Territories, it had been disturbed by the United Kingdom representative's emphatic statement that upon the attainment of statehood under the present arrangements the Territories would have attained a full measure of independence. His delegation had the impression that the administering Power was not prepared to go all the way, and he could therefore not agree that the Territories would be attaining a full measure of independence, in accordance with the Charter and with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

761. The spirit of the Charter required complete sovereignty for all peoples under colonial domination; under the present arrangements, that did not seem to be the case with the six Caribbean Territories. If that was so, it was the sacred duty of the Special Committee not only to press for the complete independence of the six Territories but also to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in those Territories.

762. It might be well for the Special Committee to await the reports of its Sub-Committees on small Territories, so that the broad question of the future status of such Territories could be given more serious consideration than hitherto. In view of the current situation, such a procedure should not seriously affect the interests of the six Caribbean Territories.

763. The representative of Yugoslavia said that his delegation had always felt that the United Nations bore a special responsibility towards the small Terri-

ties. The General Assembly did not distinguish between the fundamental rights of peoples to freedom and independence in small territories and large territories; the principles embodied in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) were applicable to all Non-Self-Governing Territories, irrespective of size, population and circumstances. While it was true that the peoples of the small Territories were encountering difficulties in their struggle for independence, they had an inalienable right to express themselves freely regarding their rights under that resolution and the United Nations should assist them to do so. However, in the six Caribbean Territories the United Nations had not been able to fulfil all its obligations and it was regrettable that it had not been possible to send visiting missions there.

764. The six Territories were soon to change their status, although the people as a whole had not been consulted. No one could have questioned the new arrangements had the people of the Territories been an opportunity, under United Nations supervision, to express their views. His delegation could therefore not support the new arrangements since it was not convinced that they reflected the wishes of the peoples concerned; the fact that there had been no opposition on the part of political parties was no substitute for the free expression of the wishes of the people.

765. He, too, thought that the administering Power had failed to fulfil its obligations to the peoples of the six Territories. Although the new arrangements did represent some degree of progress, the United Kingdom continued to have an obligation to the peoples of the Territories and to the United Nations.

766. The representative of Tunisia said that, in replying to questions put by members of the Committee, the United Kingdom representative had confined himself to providing information—something which was hardly adequate in the circumstances. Admittedly, much could be said about the meaning of the obligations of the administering Power towards the Territories, the difference between the nature of Security Council resolutions and General Assembly resolutions, and about the relative merits of the various forms of popular consultation. However, the fact remained that many problems could have been prevented if the United Nations had been more closely involved in the process of decolonization of the six Territories, as it had been, for example, in the case of the association arrangements between New Zealand and the Cook Islands.

767. Certainly, the problems of the six Territories were very complex, and statehood in association with the United Kingdom might well be the best solution. The leader of the opposition in Grenada had not questioned the principle of association as such. However, as the Soviet Union representative had rightly pointed out, the methods used by the United Kingdom to implement the arrangements might set a precedent for the decolonization of other dependent Territories and mean that administering Powers would refuse to cooperate with the United Nations. The Special Committee would be failing in its duty if it endorsed the methods used by the United Kingdom. He therefore considered that the administering Power had not fully fulfilled its obligations towards the Territories, particularly since the United Nations had not been involved in the preparation of the new arrangements. It was to be hoped, however, that the new constitutional arrangements would not stand in the way of a

popular consultation to determine the wishes of the peoples concerned.

768. The representative of the United States of America said that her delegation continued to believe that the formation of the West Indies Associated States represented a realistic and effective solution to the problems of the six small Caribbean Territories; indeed, few members of the Committee had presented evidence to the contrary. Nevertheless, it was important to ensure that the proposed arrangements reflected the desires of the people involved. The association arrangements had been drawn up after painstaking consultation with the elected representatives of the Territories, but without referenda as such. In four of the six Territories, elections had been held in the context of the association proposals. In the light of the debate in the Committee, and the helpful evidence presented by Mr. Caesar, there seemed to be no reason to question the United Kingdom assertion that the association arrangements were in accord with the present desires of the peoples concerned. Moreover, no critical reaction had been heard from five of the six Territories which had had an opportunity to express themselves through the communications media and through their political organizations and Mr. Caesar's criticisms regarding Grenada had concerned matters of procedure rather than the association proposals as such.

769. Her delegation was satisfied that the elected representatives of the people of the Territories had been given ample opportunity to express their preference for alternative arrangements. Although Mr. Caesar had stated that the Government conducting negotiations for Grenada had had a mandate to arrange for unitary statehood with Trinidad and Tobago, she herself was no clear about the exact nature of that mandate and the extent to which it should be considered binding. In any case, it did not seem that union with Trinidad and Tobago would now be favoured over the association arrangements in Grenada, and, moreover, the people would now be in a position to decide their future for themselves. The alternatives which the people of the six Territories could consider included those spelled out in General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV), a resolution which was particularly applicable to small Territories.

770. If the Committee was to give further consideration to the question of the six Territories, she would support the view that the question should be referred to Sub-Committee III.

771. The representative of Poland said that the problems of the six Caribbean Territories did not seem to have been solved in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The primary objective of the Special Committee was to ensure the full implementation of the principles of that Declaration, and he agreed that the Committee should give serious consideration to the future status of the small Territories in question. It was quite obvious that politically the six Caribbean Territories were still far from self-government and independence. Two cardinal attributes of sovereignty, namely foreign relations and defence, had been reserved to the United Kingdom. Therefore, the Territories could not be said to have attained a full measure of self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter and the principles of the Declaration.

772. Another point raised during the discussion had been the course of action taken by the United Kingdom to implement the association proposals. Free association as the term was understood by the Polish delegation meant that peoples of the Territories concerned should take a decision directly through the process of a referendum conducted in an atmosphere of complete freedom and with full knowledge of the various possibilities open to them. That was particularly important since association could lead to serious restrictions of the sovereign rights of the people of the associated Territory. The new arrangements had been devised at constitutional conferences attended by representatives of the United Kingdom Government and of the Governments and political parties of the Territories; however, the legal mandate of the representatives of the Territories was still open to question. Despite those shortcomings, the representatives of the Territories had relinquished a considerable part of the sovereignty of the Territories with regard to defence and external affairs.

773. Admittedly, it might be argued that lack of resistance in the Territories concerned to the new arrangements could be construed as consent. However, as the representative of Uruguay had pointed out, there must be a demonstration of the people's will in favour, rather than a mere absence of opposition. The Committee should therefore not endorse the proposed arrangements but should recommend measures to enable the peoples of the six Territories freely to decide upon their future.

774. The representative of Australia said that the fundamental question before the Committee was whether the six Caribbean Territories had attained a full measure of self-government in accordance with the Charter. Principle VII, contained in General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV), set out the requirements which should govern association between an administering Power and a Non-Self-Governing Territory.

775. He had no doubt that the first requirement, namely that free association should be the result of a free and voluntary choice by the peoples of the territory concerned expressed through informed and democratic processes, had been fulfilled. No one could contend that the decision to be associated with the United Kingdom had not been voluntary; it had been made by a majority of the freely elected legislatures of the Territories, i.e., a majority of those bodies representing the opinion of the people, which in his view constituted "informed and democratic processes". While it might be argued that a clearer choice should have been given between independence, integration and association, it was a fact that the peoples of the Territories had not wished to seek independence and that all attempts to obtain integration through federation had been unsuccessful. Thus the only alternative to voluntary association would have been continuation of colonial status.

776. Principle VII also required that Territories in association should be free to modify the status of the Territory through the expression of their will by democratic means and through constitutional processes. That requirement was fulfilled by the constitutional provisions enabling each of the Territories to have its independence, subject to a two-thirds majority. Admittedly, as had been pointed out by the representative of Uruguay, that might mean that a minority could prevail over the wishes of the majority; however, no constitutional instrument was

perfect and, moreover, such a situation was unlikely. In addition, a two-thirds provision for alteration of the Constitution could hardly be considered harmful to democratic constitutional processes since it was included in the constitutions of many independent States to prevent precipitate and irrevocable action on important questions. The General Assembly, too, required a similar two-thirds majority for important questions.

777. The other requirements expressed in Principle VII, namely that the associated territory should have the right to determine its internal constitution without outside interference, in accordance with due constitutional processes and the freely expressed wishes of the people, had also been met by the administering Power. His delegation was therefore convinced that the association arrangements for the six Territories constituted a genuine act of self-determination.

778. The problems of the small Territories were so profound and complex that the Committee should be as flexible as possible in its approach and be cautious about introducing new and more stringent requirements which might delay or even halt the process of decolonization. It should, in particular, avoid laying down arbitrary preconditions which might prejudice the wishes of the people. The representative of Chile had drawn attention to the efforts made to establish a federation in the Caribbean in which the chances of economic viability and continued prosperity for the Territories might have been greater. However, although the United Kingdom's attempts to bring the Territories into federation had failed, the possibility of federation still remained open; moreover, there was nothing to suggest that the administering Power had attempted to prevent the formation of such a federation. Petitioners from Grenada had continually spoken about their wish to associate with Trinidad and Tobago; so far, however, the people of Trinidad and Tobago had not given their approval, although it was quite possible that they would do so at some future date. Since federation had proved impossible, the United Kingdom appeared to have done the next best thing: in entering into an association with each of the Territories it would continue to provide economic and other assistance and would also assume many of the international responsibilities of the Territories in accordance with the wishes of their Governments. It seemed, therefore, that the United Kingdom had done as much as it possibly could in what were difficult circumstances.

779. The representative of the United Kingdom said that he would now reply to the questions raised in the course of the debate on the Eastern Caribbean islands.

780. The representative of Iraq had asked whether any share of the aid received by the Territories came from sources other than the United Kingdom, and how much of the aid at present provided by the United Kingdom Government was devoted to the support of officials from outside the Territories. Some aid had been given in recent years by the United Nations and the Government of Canada as well as by the United Kingdom Government; in addition, the Territories had benefited directly from a number of schemes begun during the period of The West Indies Federation, financed by the United States Government and recently completed. Only 1.6 per cent of all United Kingdom aid given in 1966 represented payments of any kind to British or other non-

indigenous officials. The representative of Iraq had further suggested that the amount of United Kingdom development aid for the current three-year period (1965 to 1968) of \$13 million might be inconsistent with the figures for total United Kingdom aid to the Territories for the individual financial years 1965-1966 and 1966-1967; however, the latter figures represented the total amount of aid in the form of capital assistance, both grants and loans, budgetary help and technical assistance—whereas the figure of \$13 million represented only development aid in the form of grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts. There was thus no inconsistency.

781. The representative of Iraq had inquired about the position of the Territories with regard to association with non-Commonwealth countries in the Caribbean, or indeed generally with countries outside the Caribbean. Under the new arrangements the associated States would be entirely free to devise unions or associations with any other sovereign State, provided the necessary constitutional requirements were fulfilled. The only difference was one of procedure: the requirement for approval by a two-thirds majority in a referendum would not arise if the proposal concerned a Commonwealth country or a territory in the Caribbean.

782. The Venezuelan representative had drawn attention to the delegation of executive authority by the United Kingdom Government (see para. 137 above), which would authorize the associated State to negotiate certain agreements with any member of the Commonwealth or the United States of America, but which confined that authority to such countries; he had suggested that that might restrict the dealings of the associated States with their Spanish-speaking neighbours. But it was also stated in the document that "the British Government will give sympathetic consideration to any request by the Government of the Territory for authority to take action on individual questions of external relations not covered by this despatch". An extension of the existing authority to cover agreements with Governments other than those at present specified was thus not necessarily precluded.

783. A number of representatives, notably those of Uruguay and Syria, had criticized the requirements incorporated in the Constitutions of the associated States for two-thirds majorities in order to effect major constitutional changes. It had been suggested that simple majorities would be sufficient. But in many parts of the world the two-thirds majority requirement was a generally accepted safeguard against hasty, arbitrary or ill-considered constitutional change. Indeed, far from the principle of a simple majority being universally accepted for the purpose of determining major constitutional change, a requirement for a substantially larger majority—whether two-thirds, or, in some cases, three-fourths—was enshrined in the constitutions of many of the countries represented on the Special Committee. Article 18 of the United Nations Charter contained a very similar provision. One reason why the framers of those constitutions had decided against a simple majority was clearly a desire to protect the basic freedoms and human rights enshrined in those documents. He appreciated the Uruguayan representative's concern at the possibility that a minority might be able to block major changes, but that was a risk which many other sovereign countries had taken in defence of basic human free-

doms. While the associated States would not be completely independent, they would have full authority—unlike United Kingdom colonial territories—to amend their own constitutions and to change their own status. It was for that reason that the safeguards had been thought necessary. Furthermore, the two-thirds majority requirement had been accepted without reservation by all the West Indian delegations at the Constitutional Conferences, and had been subsequently endorsed by the six elected legislatures.

784. The representative of Iran had asked whether and when the Territories would have an act of self-determination. The answer was that in the elaboration of the new arrangements there had been not one single act of self-determination but rather continuous exercises of self-determination on several levels: at the level of the general populations, self-determination through the democratic processes of elections and all the other channels of political activity available in a democracy; self-determination through decisions of the elected legislatures, each of which had approved the new arrangements; and self-determination exercised by the elected parties and Governments of the Territories in their conferences and other consultations with the United Kingdom Government. Moreover, self-determination would not cease when the new arrangements came into effect, since they provided a permanent machinery for its continuing exercise.

785. The petitioner from Grenada had been asked whether the Grenada Government had received a mandate from the electorate for association with the United Kingdom. His delegation had two comments. First, in four out of the six Territories general elections had been held in the context of proposals for full self-government and association with the United Kingdom; in each case, the result had been an overwhelming endorsement of the proposals. In the remaining two Territories, one of which was Grenada, there had been no recent elections but the political parties—Government and Opposition—had participated in drawing up the new association arrangements and had fully accepted them; their leaders had signed the Conference reports and the legislatures had voted unanimously for the formal resolutions endorsing them. The question of a mandate through a general election had not therefore arisen in those two Territories, since there was no dispute between the parties on that issue.

786. Secondly, under British constitutional forms a Government was elected by the people to govern according to its own best judgment; it was not tied down to a specific mandate, and its accountability lay in the power of the electorate to reject it at the next elections if it used its powers in an unacceptable way. Popular opinion on great issues of political importance naturally influenced Governments in many ways, not only at election time but also between elections, through all the media of communication, through the party organizations and through all the other institutions of representative democracy. It certainly could not be argued, just because in two Territories there had been no elections after the formulation of the association proposals, that there was therefore no evidence of popular acceptance of those arrangements. On the contrary, the evidence was overwhelming. There had been ample time and opportunity for any opposition to the proposals to make itself felt; nothing of the sort had occurred in any of the Territories. The people had expressed, freely and without pressure of any

kind, through their own elected representatives of all parties, their willing approval of the new status.

787. The representative of Sierra Leone had suggested that the six Caribbean Territories were not achieving full independence within the meaning of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). But it was necessary to look into the basic United Nations texts. First of all, there was Chapter XI of the Charter, which defined a dependent Territory or colony as one whose people had "not yet attained a full measure of self-government": the touchstone of decolonization was, therefore, "a full measure of self-government". Secondly, there was resolution 1541 (XV), which laid down the principles to be used in determining whether there was an obligation to transmit information under Article 73e of the Charter—which was no mere technical matter, because if there was no such obligation, then the Territory concerned was not a Non-Self-Governing Territory under Chapter XI of the Charter. Resolution 1541 (XV) expressed the view that full self-government could be achieved by sovereign independence, free association or integration with an independent State; principle VII of the resolution described the characteristics of free association, and the new arrangements in the Caribbean Territories were fully consistent with those characteristics. Finally, there was resolution 1514 (XV), which was very familiar to all members of the Special Committee. As the representative of Uruguay had demonstrated, resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), adopted within hours of one another, must be interpreted so as to avoid inconsistencies between the two. Resolution 1541 (XV) laid down some of the alternative methods of decolonization in addition to full sovereign independence; paragraph 5 of resolution 1514 (XV) called for immediate steps for the transfer of all powers to the peoples of colonial Territories "in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire". That paragraph could have only one meaning: all powers must be offered to the people and those which they wished to assume and exercise for themselves directly must be transferred to them. In cases where they freely decided to request some other authority to exercise certain limited powers on their behalf, that fundamental recommendation in resolution 1514 (XV) was nevertheless satisfied, especially if, as in the present case, they had the opportunity to assume full powers themselves.

788. In its statement on 21 February (see para. 677 above) his delegation had sought to establish three points. First, that under the new arrangements the six Territories would have full self-government; second, that their association with the United Kingdom was completely voluntary and could be terminated by either side at any time by what was described in principle VII of resolution 1541 (XV) as "democratic means and through constitutional processes". Third, the new status of the Territories had been worked out in a process of prolonged and comprehensive consultation with the peoples and had been freely accepted by them, again through democratic means and due constitutional processes. He believed that his delegation had produced overwhelming evidence to bear out those three points.

789. The representative of Syria noted that the representatives of the United States of America, Australia and the United Kingdom had spoken of the status of association as though it were full association such as that referred to in resolution 1541 (XV). Yet

the administering Power itself spoke, in other respects, of a lesser degree of association in which the six islands would leave their defence and foreign affairs in the care of the administering power. Was that a true association, and would the islands be represented in the United Kingdom Parliament? Or would the United Kingdom Parliament legislate for them, at least in the fields of defence and foreign affairs, without their consent?

790. The next point to which he took exception was one made tacitly by the representative of Italy, and openly by the representative of Australia: that the islands were strictly limited to a choice between maintenance of the colonial status and association. He asked those representatives why the Islands should not be given a choice of association, federation or independence, as they wished.

791. The more his delegation heard about the so-called constitutional arrangements, the more confused it felt. It continued to have strong misgivings.

792. The representative of Italy said that he had spoken of a possible opposition between the ideas of association and federation only in connexion with the petitioner's statement that he would have preferred federation with Trinidad and Tobago. But Trinidad and Tobago was an independent and sovereign country, and unless there was a positive will on the part of that country to form a federation with Grenada, that alternative could not be submitted to the people of Grenada in a referendum. It followed that, even if the United Kingdom Government and the Government of Grenada could be persuaded to postpone the entry into force of the present arrangements, the only choice that could be presented in a referendum would be between association and simple colonial status.

793. The representative of the United Kingdom said that if the Syrian representative studied the text of his delegation's statement he had just made he would find that the association arrangements were indeed fully consistent with resolution 1541 (XV). Secondly, the detailed mechanics for the exercise of the United Kingdom's ultimate responsibilities for defence and external affairs were set out fully in his earlier statements and in the documents provided; those responsibilities would be undertaken always after full consultation, and with the maximum delegation of responsibility. The Syrian representative had asked why the people had not been offered the choice of independence; but such choice was an intrinsic element in the new status and was permanently open to each of the Territories.

794. The representative of Australia said that he would not attempt to answer the representative of Syria, but would simply refer him to the verbatim record of his statement.

795. The representative of Sierra Leone said that one of the points he had emphasized in his statement at the previous meeting was that the Territories would not achieve full sovereign independence under the new arrangements. He noted that the United Kingdom representative had himself admitted as much in the course of his statement at the present meeting.

796. The representative of Uruguay said that the debate had touched on a great many questions, including the validity of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). In that connexion, he quoted from a statement he had made in the Security Council at its 1287th meeting, on the occasion of

Guyana's admission to the United Nations.³⁴ In that statement, he had drawn attention to the changes brought about by the General Assembly through the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), and had referred to the booklet *Las Naciones Unidas y la Descolonización*³⁵ by former Ambassador Velázquez, in which it was pointed out that, even if it might be argued that resolution 1514 (XV) went beyond the letter of the United Nations Charter, it was in keeping with its spirit.

797. Resolution 1514 (XV) undoubtedly had its roots in the provisions of Chapters XI and XII of the Charter. According to Article 73, Members of the United Nations having responsibilities for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories accepted the obligation, *inter alia*, to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples of the Territories, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each Territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement. According to Article 76, the objectives of the Trusteeship System included that of promoting the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants and their progressive development toward self-government or independence. Resolution 1514 (XV) also reflected the provision in Article 55 c of the Charter concerning the promotion of universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, colour, sex, language or religion, and the reference in Article 1 (2) to the principle of self-determination of peoples. Resolution 1514 (XV) thus had its legal and political basis in the text and the spirit of the Charter.

798. In that connexion, it was argued in *Las Naciones Unidas y la Descolonización* that one of the distinctive features of resolution 1514 (XV) was its stress on the need for the act of self-determination to take place in complete freedom, without any prior conditions, so that the popular will could be authentically expressed beyond all shadow of doubt. It was further suggested that the resolution seemed to open the door to United Nations supervision over the procedures of popular consultation—and not only in the case of integration with an independent State, as provided by resolution 1541 (XV). He himself, in Sub-Committee III, had firmly maintained that there was no incompatibility between resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). He referred members to the summary records of the 52nd meeting of that Sub-Committee, in which he was recorded as arguing that the concept of self-government, in the case of small Territories, could take any of the forms defined in General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV), and that the procedure proposed in the case of the United States Virgin Islands was consistent with resolution 1541 (XV), which the Sub-Committee had a duty to interpret in conjunction with resolution 1514 (XV) in the case of Territories to which both resolutions were applicable. In the case of small Territories which would not be economically viable as independent States, complete independence would have no real meaning.

Different arrangements were therefore required to allow them to emerge from colonial status.

799. In speaking of self-determination, resolution 1514 (XV) implied the holding of a referendum. The United Kingdom representative had argued that elections could be just as valid an act of self-determination as a referendum. Neither the Charter nor resolution 1514 (XV) stated how self-determination was to be exercised, but the latter text did specify that the freely expressed will and desire of the people must be respected. The question of the procedure followed might be of secondary importance if one could be sure that the people's elected representatives had a clear mandate to consent to the association of the Territories with the administering Power under the conditions laid down in the agreements. The ideal course was clearly a referendum held under United Nations supervision. As he had argued in his previous statement, it was not enough to say that no opposition had been expressed to the proposed arrangements; there must be a positive desire in favour. The United Kingdom representative seemed to agree with that view, since he had referred to the elections which had taken place. The difficulty for the Committee was that, as a result of electoral acts which the United Nations had not had an opportunity to supervise, it was faced with a *fait accompli*. What attitude was the Committee to take? As a lawyer, he was in favour of strictly juridical solutions. However, he realized that international law was in a state of development and was not clearly defined; moreover, there were no sanctions by which it could be enforced. Since the Committee was not a law court, what was it to do if resolution 1514 (XV) had in fact been ignored by the United Kingdom? In that regard he referred members to another statement which he had made in the Security Council.³⁶ He had drawn attention in that statement to the dangers of legal dogmatism and had urged that, without compromising principles, peace should be sought through understanding, goodwill and negotiation. That applied also in the task of decolonization. In the same statement he had referred to a comment by de Visscher, a former judge of the International Court of Justice, who had pointed to the danger of trying to make international law an absolutely autonomous system and of closing one's eyes to political and social factors.

800. The difficulty was that, now that the *fait accompli* had occurred, the United Kingdom could not take into account any decision the Committee might take. In substance, the actual solution which had been adopted might be acceptable to the majority of the members of the Committee, and in keeping with the position taken on the question of small Territories by Sub-Committee III, the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly itself. With regard to the procedure which had been followed, however, there had been no United Nations supervision to ensure that the wishes of the people concerning their status had been freely expressed. Should the Committee, in those circumstances, take a decision which would be tantamount to a declaration of war against the United Kingdom? He did not think so. Although it could be said that the procedure followed had not been in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV), he felt that a solution could be sought in consultation with the new Governments of the Territories to which powers

³⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year*, 1287th meeting, paras. 41-50.

³⁵ Carlos María Velázquez, "Las Naciones Unidas y la Descolonización," *Anuario Uruguayo de Derecho Internacional* 1963 (Montevideo, 1964), Vol. II.

³⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year*, 1274th meeting.

had been transferred by the United Kingdom. The political leaders of the islands, whether they belonged to the Government or opposition parties, could be invited to a conference and agreement might be reached on the holding of a referendum so that the act of decolonization could be brought into line with the norms established by the United Nations. The matter could be referred to Sub-Committee III, which would report back to the Special Committee. In that way a realistic and sensible solution could be found to the problem facing the Committee.

D. Preliminary action taken by the Special Committee

801. At the 495th meeting on 3 March 1967, of the Special Committee, the representative of Sierra Leone introduced a draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.378) on the six Territories sponsored by Afghanistan, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia.

802. The operative part of the draft resolution read as follows:

"1. *Deeply regrets* the failure of the administering Power to implement the relevant General Assembly resolutions, and in particular resolution 1514 (XV);

"2. *Reaffirms* that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) continues to apply to these Territories and calls upon the administering Power to expedite the decolonization of these Territories in conformity with the Declaration contained therein;

"3. *Requests* its Sub-Committee III to examine the situation in these Territories in all its aspects including the possibility of sending a visiting mission and to report to the Special Committee at an early date."

803. The representative of Sierra Leone said that the draft resolution incorporated certain broad principles which seemed to have emerged from the discussion. He did not think that there would be any disagreement with the contents of the four preambular paragraphs. Operative paragraph 1, regretting the failure of the administering Power to implement the relevant General Assembly resolutions, particularly resolution 1514 (XV), reflected a position taken by a substantial number of representatives in the debate. The administering Power itself had confined itself to claiming that the Territories had achieved a "full measure of self-government" but that was not the same as independence, even though the United Kingdom delegation had laid much stress on the new status of the Territories. As had been observed in the debate, it was not in the interest of the United Nations to interpret the Charter narrowly, and the spirit of the Charter and of the United Nations resolutions should always be taken into account.

804. Operative paragraph 2 re-emphasized that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) continued to apply to the Territories, and called on the administering Power to expedite their decolonization. Although it could be conceded that a change had taken place in the status of the islands, questions had been raised in the Committee concerning the validity of the change, in view of the method of consultation which had been used and the fact that there had been no guarantee of freedom of choice, a guarantee such as only the United Nations could provide.

805. Operative paragraph 3 asked Sub-Committee III to examine the situation in the Territories and to consider the possibility of sending a visiting mission. Sub-Committee III, which had already studied the case of the Caribbean islands, would be empowered to make recommendations on such questions as how the people of the islands could exercise self-determination, how their economic viability could be ensured, and how the United Nations could help them to move towards independence at an early date.

806. The representative of Syria said that the representative of Sierra Leone had ably demonstrated the need for the adoption of a resolution on the Territories under discussion. The arrangements introduced by the administering Power clearly fell far short of the goals of resolution 1514 (XV). That fact particularly needed to be stressed in the light of the United Kingdom's surprising claim that it had fulfilled its obligations under Article 73 e of the Charter. The draft resolution should help to close the gap between the goals set forth in that Article and the actual state of affairs in the islands.

807. The representative of the United Kingdom said that his delegation would require further time to study the draft resolution; however, on first reading, the text seemed highly controversial. While asking Sub-Committee III to examine the situation further, it seemed to prejudge many of the main points which Sub-Committee III would have to consider. His delegation emphatically repudiated the suggestion that the six Territories under discussion had not been decolonized. His statement at the previous meeting on the question of resolution 1514 (XV) had not been taken into account, nor did the draft seem to contain any reference to the United Kingdom fulfilment of its Charter obligations in respect of Non-Self-Governing Territories. He would suggest that no vote should be taken on the draft resolution at the present stage, and that it should be referred to Sub-Committee III, which should be given an opportunity to consider the whole matter thoroughly.

808. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that, despite the remarks of the United Kingdom representative, the validity and applicability of resolution 1514 (XV) could not be called in question. He was not surprised that the United Kingdom delegation should contend that the adoption of the resolution would be tantamount to prejudging the issue. However, the Committee had a mandate to consider all territories that had not achieved independence, whatever the administering Power might assert as to their status. It was undoubtedly correct to state that the United Kingdom had not complied with the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) in respect of the Territories under discussion. If resolution 1514 (XV) was valid, and covered any Territory that had not achieved independence, it followed that the United Kingdom must be called upon to decolonize the six Territories. The reason why it was proposed that the case should be referred to Sub-Committee III was that there were other matters to be considered, such as the preference which had been given to certain of the countries in the area as far as economic relations were concerned.

809. The representative of Italy said that he would like to receive some clarification from the sponsors concerning certain points. His first question applied to operative paragraph 1. The crucial element in decolonization, at least as far as small Territories were concerned, was self-determination, or the consultation of the

populations of the Territories as to their future. Therefore, a failure to implement resolution 1514 (XV) could take two forms: the administering Power might refuse outright to allow the population of a Territory to exercise its right of self-determination, or it might recognize the right to self-determination in principle and try to circumvent it in practice, for example, through the manipulation of elections. He wondered whether the sponsors could indicate which of those possible forms of non-implementation was in question. Or did they consider that complete independence could be granted to the Territories, taking into account their small size and population, quite apart from the fact that the populations concerned had indicated no desire for separate independence.

810. His second question concerned operative paragraph 2, and particularly the second part of the paragraph. He wondered whether the sponsors were suggesting that no decolonization at all had taken place in the Territories. In similar resolutions in the past, some formula such as "further decolonization" had been used. He wondered what kind of measures the sponsors considered that the administering Power should adopt in order to comply with the second part of operative paragraph 2.

811. Finally, he would like to ask some questions about operative paragraph 3. If the assumptions set forth in operative paragraphs 1 and 2 were accepted, how could those paragraphs be reconciled with operative paragraph 3, and what would be the mandate of Sub-Committee III when the Special Committee had already adopted a radical decision on the situation in the Territories? As a member of Sub-Committee III, Italy feared that the mandate might be so restricted by operative paragraphs 1 and 2 as to make it almost unworkable.

812. The representative of Venezuela said that his delegation was familiar with the problems under discussion, not only because it was represented in Sub-Committee III but also because of Venezuela's geographical proximity to the islands. It could not be said that the new arrangements for association with the United Kingdom represented a backward step in the political evolution of the Territories. When Sub-Committee III had discussed the Territories in 1966, the situation had been discouraging. Negotiations with a view to a federation had broken down and one of the larger islands in the area had decided to seek separate independence. A formula had now been found which, although it might not be completely compatible with resolution 1514 (XV), was an important step forward and fully in accord both with the provisions of Article 73 *e* of the Charter and with General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV). While his delegation supported resolution 1514 (XV) without any reservations, it believed that a solution of the type envisaged in resolution 1541 (XV), which complemented resolution 1514 (XV), should be perfectly acceptable. Was it right to deplore a positive step forward in the lives of peoples who had been under colonialism for more than a century and a half, because that step did not correspond strictly to resolution 1514 (XV)?

813. It was quite correct to point to one shortcoming in the agreements which had been concluded between the administering Power and the representatives of the Territories. Significant decisions of the kind in question required popular consultation. The people had had no opportunity to express their preference among the alternatives open to them. Professor Rousseau, an un-

questioned authority in the field of international law, had stated that a referendum was an indispensable element in self-determination. Nevertheless, Professor Rousseau had also remarked that a political solution was sometimes more practical than a strictly legal solution. He feared that the discussions in Sub-Committee III would be unduly restricted if the Committee was to state that resolution 1514 (XV) alone was applicable to the Territories.

814. His delegation had the highest respect for resolution 1514 (XV); however, in the case of small Territories lacking adequate resources, it was essential to find solutions which would ensure their well-being.

815. The representative of the United Kingdom said that the issue before the Special Committee was of great importance to the future work of the United Nations and his country in the field of decolonization. It was not just the future of the Caribbean islands that was at stake; the question was how the best interests of peoples in many other small Territories could be served. Thirty-one of the Territories on the Committee's agenda had populations of less than 100,000. What was done in the case of the Caribbean islands might affect the rest, and the Committee therefore had an obligation to give the whole matter careful thought before reaching any conclusion.

816. In the past twenty years colonialism had been largely liquidated, and his own country had played a leading part in that revolutionary development. Ninety-nine per cent of the people of the Commonwealth now lived in independent countries. The United Kingdom was now dealing with the remaining 1 per cent. Though the percentage was small, the difficulties were varied and great. Each remaining colonial Territory presented a unique problem and demanded careful study. The problem to which the Special Committee must now direct its attention was that of countries too small, too poor or too isolated to stand alone as independent States. Not only were they unable to stand alone; often their peoples did not wish them to do so. There were perhaps thirty countries, many of them small islands, in that category. Their populations were small, but that was no justification for indifference; the problem of the right policy to be pursued in those remaining Territories was of the utmost concern to the United Kingdom, and he trusted that the Special Committee would consider the matter with full regard to the United Nations Charter and the purposes declared by the General Assembly.

817. Since the first West Indian Federation Conference at Montego Bay in 1947, the United Kingdom had worked to bring the West Indian colonies to self-government and independence as one united federation. At the last moment, when the date for independence had already been settled, a plebiscite had been called in Jamaica and the federation had been rejected by a narrow majority. Since then, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Barbados had been admitted to the United Nations as separate and independent States. Having served in the Caribbean for nearly ten years, he regarded the collapse of the proposed West Indian Federation as the failure of a fine conception.

818. At the time of that failure, five years previously, there had been many Caribbean islands still under United Kingdom administration ranging in population from nearly 100,000 to less than 10,000. All had democratic institutions and long political experience, but many were clearly too small, too isolated

or too poor to carry the superstructure of an independent State. The possibility that many of the smaller islands might form a federation of their own had therefore been exhaustively explored, but, as consultations had proceeded, it had become clear that the islands were not at present prepared to federate. While a closer association perhaps leading to a wider Caribbean federation might still be possible in future, and the door to such a federation had deliberately been left wide open, it had been necessary to respect the wishes of the peoples themselves. Federation having been ruled out, for the present at least, the United Kingdom had then embarked on a series of consultations with the elected leaders of the separate islands, including the leaders of opposition parties. The disagreements arising from many matters of local concern had been resolved, and on the main aims there had been throughout complete agreement between government and opposition leaders. Indeed, all six of the legislatures had voted unanimously for the proposed constitutional advance. The United Kingdom regarded the unanimous vote of a parliament freely elected under full adult suffrage as an ultimate and unassailable expression of the popular will. The wishes of the people thus represented had been accepted by his Government, and put into effect in all the islands concerned except St. Vincent, where the new arrangements would go into effect on 29 May.

819. The principles by which his country and the elected representatives of the islands had been guided in that enterprise were as follows. First, that the islanders should be enabled to manage their own affairs, that the colonial era should be ended, that "a full measure of self-government" should be attained. Second, that in all the arrangements to that end the interests and wishes of the people should be paramount, and that they should be given "a free and voluntary choice . . . through informed and democratic processes". Third, that in each Territory the people should be given "the right to determine its internal constitution without outside interference in accordance with due constitutional processes and the freely expressed wishes of the people". Fourth, that the peoples should be guaranteed the freedom to modify the status of their Territories — including the right to choose full independence — whenever they wished "through the expression of their will by democratic means". Those aims and principles, maintained throughout the consultations, had been laid down by the United Nations itself, in the Charter and in the General Assembly resolution establishing the principles of free association. To the first two criteria — self-government and free choice — the architects of that resolution had added two essential tests. Were the people free to change their constitution if they wished, and were they free to change their status of association at any time of their own free will? Those tests were the absolute guarantee that the people's wishes would be paramount now and in the future. The new constitutions in the Caribbean not only fully satisfied those tests, but incorporated full and permanent options for the future ranging from new federations or associations to full individual independence if ever the people of each territory should so desire. The United Kingdom could not more clearly have met the requirements which it, and indeed the Special Committee too, were bound to respect. No one who had studied all the documents and statements, particularly the speech made by the Minister of State, Mrs. Judith Hart, in the House of Commons on 31 January 1967, could doubt that

those aims and principles had guided both the representatives of the United Kingdom and the representatives of the islands at every step.

820. The United Kingdom had kept the Special Committee fully informed of its intentions. No one could question his delegation's readiness to co-operate fully with the Committee or its anxiety to place the full facts before it. But it was now faced with a draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.378) which deeply regretted what the United Kingdom had done. There was no acknowledgement of the purposes his country had pursued, no recognition of the processes of democratic consultation, no respect for the wishes of the peoples concerned, no welcome for the self-government achieved, no approval of the right given to the peoples concerned to change their constitutions and to proceed if they so wished to full independence, and no reference at all to the provisions for free association which had been explicitly authorized by the General Assembly. The only reaction in the draft resolution was regret. What deduction was his delegation to draw from the draft resolution? Was it to assume that the sponsors rejected the explicit provisions of Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) and the free expression of the peoples concerned? Did the sponsors wish to stipulate that all the remaining colonial Territories, however small, poor or isolated, must be required to abandon their own freely expressed aims and be forced into independence whether they wanted it or not? Any such arrogant intention would certainly be rejected by the peoples concerned.

821. Beyond expressing deep regret, the draft resolution proposed that Sub-Committee III should consider the whole question further. His delegation had already stated its readiness to co-operate with the Sub-Committee. But if the draft resolution were to be adopted, the United Kingdom would see no justification for further discussion in the Sub-Committee or in the Special Committee. If the Special Committee were to regret what had been done, and thus treat the wishes of the people with contempt, his delegation's co-operation with the Committee on those important issues would be at an end. He was not asking any member of the Committee to abandon his views. But the issues were of far-reaching consequence, and he therefore appealed to the Committee to allow further time for reconsideration of the whole problem.

822. The representative of Finland said that the Special Committee was faced with the complex question of how best to help the peoples of small, isolated Territories to fulfill their aspirations for the future. His delegation felt that the new arrangements outlined for the Caribbean Territories represented a reasonable and practical approach at the present stage. It was its understanding that the association agreement had not met with any real opposition either in the Territories concerned or in the Special Committee. Those arrangements were obviously an important step away from colonialism and towards independence in one form or another. It was not so much the results but the procedure that had been criticized in the Committee. Several delegations had asked why the peoples of the Territories had not been given the opportunity of expressing their choice through a referendum. His delegation would also have preferred a referendum, but it seemed that arrangements had been freely entered into by the elected representatives of the Territories, and that the latter represented the will of the people. He noted that under the new agreements the Territories might opt for full independence if they chose.

823. Draft resolution A/AC.109/L.378 failed to recognize that the new arrangements represented a step in the right direction. The suggestion that the question should be examined by Sub-Committee III was valuable, but the Sub-Committee should be enabled to proceed without the restrictions imposed by the rest of the draft. While appreciating the aims of the sponsors, his delegation would prefer not to vote on the draft resolution but to see the question referred to Sub-Committee III.

824. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that the Committee had reached a stage where it should discuss small colonial Territories with particular care so as to ensure that it was not instrumental in selling out the interests of future societies. He rejected the United Kingdom representative's suggestion that the sponsors of the draft resolution had failed to give sufficient thought to the issues or had shown arrogance towards the peoples of the Caribbean Territories. It was the colonial Powers that showed arrogance. He had not been surprised to hear the United Kingdom representative lament the failure of plans for a West Indian federation. The people of the area had passed judgement on those colonial machinations when they had had an opportunity to express themselves; the result had been the emergence of sovereign independent States such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados and Guyana.

825. The representative of Sierra Leone said that he had always had great faith in the United Nations in general and in the Special Committee in particular. Peoples under colonial rule looked to the Organization to bring them to freedom and independence. With those thoughts in mind, he wished to reply to various points which had been raised in the debate. First, he wished to say that he stood by his previous statement, when he had acknowledged that the administering Power had made efforts in the directions of self-determination and independence for the six Caribbean Territories; nor had he suggested that the problems in that regard were simple.

826. Objections had been raised to the second clause of operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/AC.109/L.378, in which the administering Power was called upon to expedite the decolonization of the Territories concerned in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). As he understood it, it was argued that Her Majesty, the Queen, by an Act of Parliament, had divested herself of all jurisdiction over the internal affairs of the six Territories in question, and that the Territories had consequently been decolonized. That might possibly be the case *de jure*, but was it the case *de facto*? The constitutional text in respect of each Territory stated that executive authority was to be vested in Her Majesty and exercised on her behalf by the Governor, who would be appointed by Her Majesty and hold office during Her Majesty's pleasure. There was nothing in the text which indicated that the Premier, his Cabinet or the people of the Territory had any say in the appointment or removal of the Governor. That did not seem consistent with the basic principle that any association of the kind which had been established should be on the basis of absolute equality. In operative paragraph 6 of resolution 742 (VIII), the General Assembly had stated its view that self-government could be achieved by association with another State if it was done "freely and on the basis of absolute equality". According to operative paragraph 5 of the same resolution,

the validity of any form of association between a Non-Self-Governing Territory and another country depended on the freely expressed will of the people "at the time of the taking of the decision". In the present case, the will of the people had not been expressed at the time of the decision. In those Territories where elections had taken place, the people as a whole had been consulted after the agreements had been reached, and in two Territories they had not yet been consulted. In order to have removed all doubt, the administering Power should have complied with the terms of resolution 742 (VIII), as had been done in the case of the Cook Islands.

827. Those reasons alone would justify the adoption of the draft resolution. However, there was also the matter of defence arrangements. The Governments of the Territories were not to grant access to their territory or territorial waters to the forces or agents of any other Government without the consent of the United Kingdom. He would like to make three points in that regard. Firstly, the provision appeared to deprive the island Governments of the free exercise of the rights involved in a full measure of self-government. Secondly, there was not even a provision to the effect that consent to such an arrangement would not be unreasonably withheld. Thirdly, one would expect an association which was based on absolute equality to require consultation rather than to place one partner in a position of subservience. Clearly, the principle of absolute equality was disregarded. Was there not then a case for deep regret?

828. The Special Committee had been asked by the General Assembly to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) in those territories which had not yet attained independence or a full measure of self-government. That was what the draft resolution sought to do.

829. The representative of the Ivory Coast said that his delegation had never compromised on colonial questions and had always given its full support to the cause of small Territories. However, in the case of the Territories under discussion, he found the situation confusing. In view of the new arrangements which had been introduced in the Territories, there was no need, in his view, for the Committee to take an immediate decision on the substance of the problem. The question should be referred to Sub-Committee III, which could study all the legal aspects of the new arrangements. Moreover, the Committee had not had an opportunity to ascertain the views of the islanders themselves about the problems raised. Without taking a position on the substance of the question, he felt that it was wrong, on the basis of present information, to reject whatever steps might have been taken by the administering Power in the direction of the decolonization of the Territories. He agreed that the process of decolonization had not been completed and that resolution 1514 (XV) consequently still applied to the Territories; but he did not think that the Committee should proceed to adopt a resolution such as that contained in document A/AC.109/L.378. He would propose that the question should be referred to Sub-Committee III for detailed study. If that proposal was rejected, his delegation would unfortunately find it very difficult to support the draft resolution before the Committee.

830. The representative of the United Kingdom said he was sure that the representative of Sierra

Leone recognized the particular force of the decisions of a free and sovereign parliament elected by adult suffrage, particularly when such decisions had been approved unanimously. He would ask that representative to consider carefully whether the United Kingdom had acted within the framework of General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV); it was his own contention that the United Kingdom and the elected representatives of the Territories had carefully borne that resolution in mind. Moreover, the Committee also had an obligation to pay special attention to it.

831. He did not think that the representative of Tanzania, upon reflection, would wish to maintain his accusation that the endeavours to establish a federation in the Caribbean area had been the result of the machinations of the United Kingdom Government. He himself knew from personal experience that the proposals for a federation had come from the people themselves and from their elected representatives; the efforts made to establish a federation had been made in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the people and had not been initiated by the United Kingdom Government, although it had fully supported and encouraged them. When, eventually, one of the entities which formed part of the federation had indicated its unwillingness to continue as a member, the United Kingdom Government had readily accepted the wishes of the peoples involved. The Committee could not disregard the wishes of the people, freely and unanimously expressed through the elected leaders of both majority and minority parties, in free parliaments. The Tanzanian representative had talked of selling out the interests of the colonial peoples. However, the question before the Committee was whether it wished to repudiate the wishes of the people expressed through a free parliamentary system.

832. He had accused neither the Committee nor the sponsors of arrogance. He had merely said that, if the Committee were to treat the wishes of the people of the Territories with contempt, that would be regarded by them as arrogance. In all processes of decolonization it was essential that the freely expressed wishes of the people should be taken into account, and in the six Caribbean Territories the wishes of the people had been freely expressed.

833. He agreed with the representative of the Ivory Coast that further time should be allowed for consideration of the draft resolution. Certainly, the question was not simple; all factors must be considered and due attention paid to the methods employed for consulting the people. The Committee would be losing nothing if it gave further time to Sub-Committee III for consultations, not only with the members of the Committee, but with other interested Member States. The future of the United Nations might well be affected by the status attained by the thirty or more scattered colonial Territories which remained on the Committee's agenda. He therefore proposed that, before proceeding to a vote on the draft resolution, the Committee should refer the question of the six Territories to Sub-Committee III for further consideration.

834. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania observed that the United Kingdom representative had indicated that the United Kingdom had sought to create a federation in the Caribbean and had nearly succeeded, and that only when a plebiscite had been called in Jamaica had the federation been rejected by the people. While he did not wish to interpret the actions of the people, he would assume that they had

rejected the proposals because they did not agree with them.

835. Draft resolution A/AC.109/L.378 provided that the question would subsequently be transmitted to Sub-Committee III. Adoption of the draft resolution would merely reflect the mandate given to the Committee by the General Assembly, namely to consider all Territories that had not yet attained independence; such Territories were covered by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and that fact was reflected in the first two operative paragraphs of the draft resolution. The third operative paragraph met the wishes of the many delegations which had requested that the question should be referred to Sub-Committee III. He would therefore strongly recommend that the Committee adopt the draft resolution, which would in no way prejudice consideration of the question by Sub-Committee III.

836. The representative of Uruguay said that there were a number of basic texts which referred to the issue before the Committee and they should be considered as a whole. It was incorrect to consider that the only text that should govern the Committee's deliberations was General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Admittedly, that resolution was a basic instrument of the international community from which all others flowed, but that did not mean that other texts should not be applied where appropriate.

837. The present debate concerned very small Territories and colonial issues affecting a number of islands which economically, demographically and geographically had limited importance. The total population of all the islands, large and small, which the Committee was now considering, amounted to 480,000. Only a few hours after adopting resolution 1514 (XV), the General Assembly had realized that an additional resolution was necessary to cover very small Territories which could not accede to independence by themselves and which might fall prey to Powers seeking to impose some new form of colonialism upon them. Furthermore, United Nations concern with small territories had not begun when resolution 1514 (XV) had been adopted; General Assembly resolution 742 (XIII) had laid down a list of factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory had or had not attained a full measure of self-government. General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) had referred to that resolution, and to resolution 1467 (XIV) which had established a Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73 *e* of the Charter, and had stated that the principles proposed by the Committee should be applied in the light of the facts and the circumstances of each case to determine whether or not an obligation existed to transmit information under Article 73 *e* of the Charter. Principle III, in the annex to resolution 1541 (XV), indicated that the obligation to transmit information constituted an international obligation and should be carried out with due regard to the fulfilment of international law. Under principle VI, a Non-Self-Governing Territory was said to have reached a full measure of self-government by, *inter alia*, free association with an independent State. Principle VII stated that free association should be the result of a free and voluntary choice by the peoples of the Territory concerned expressed through informed and democratic processes, should respect the individuality of the cultural characteristics of the Territory and its peoples, and retain for the peoples of the Territory the freedom to modify the status of that territory

through the expression of their will by democratic means and through constitutional processes. It added that the associated Territory should have the right to determine its internal constitution without outside interference, in accordance with due constitutional processes and the freely expressed wishes of the people, without precluding consultations as appropriate or necessary. Therefore, the principles governing free association enabled the associated State to exercise its will and to choose complete political independence whenever it wished to do so. Since only General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was mentioned in draft resolution A/AC.109/L.378, the impression might be created that there was only one rule to be followed in respect of decolonization. That would contradict the recommendations of the General Assembly that the small Territories should seek a form of federation or free association which would enable them to develop fully and independently.

838. The fact that resolution 1514 (XV) was not the only relevant text, and that certain Territories were considered exceptions, was clear from what had happened with the former Territories of Basutoland and Bechuanaland. In that connexion, he had stated in the Security Council⁸⁷ that the accession to independence of Lesotho and Botswana constituted a further affirmation of the spirit of decolonization which was rapidly transforming the political map of the world. He had pointed out that the Sub-Committee set up to study the measures necessary for securing the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland had done all that was necessary to promote the achievement of secure and effective independence in the two countries that were ready and able to enjoy independence, namely Basutoland and Bechuanaland. Both of those Territories were located in a region of southern Africa which was politically in the hands of a non-African minority. The Sub-Committee had therefore taken into account General Assembly resolution 1817 (XVII) and 1954 (XVIII) according to which any attempt to annex Basutoland, Bechuanaland or Swaziland, or to encroach upon their territorial integrity in any way, would be regarded by the United Nations as an act of aggression violating the Charter of the United Nations. He had further stated that there was an urgent need to adopt international guarantees that would effectively protect countries exposed to neighbours whose expansionist aims and objectives were notorious and whose policies of *apartheid* were repudiated by all civilized people.

839. It was therefore clear that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was not the only resolution applicable to the small Territories. Accordingly, he could not agree that draft resolution A/AC.109/L.378 should refer only to resolution 1514 (XV) and make no mention of the other relevant resolutions. In his view, further consultations should be held before a vote was taken on the draft resolution; Sub-Committee III should give further consideration to the question not only because of its implications for the six Caribbean Territories but also because it might serve as a precedent for similar Territories which had yet to be decolonized. The Committee should certainly be enthusiastic about its task of decolonization, but it should also proceed with caution.

840. In his previous statement, he had drawn attention to the disadvantages of a *de facto* situation and

had indicated that the Committee could not take a decision that might be tantamount to imposing a *casus belli* upon the administering Power. That view had acquired added significance because of the request made by the representative of the United Kingdom to refer the item to Sub-Committee III. No one could deny that Uruguay was tirelessly and fearlessly devoted to the cause of decolonization. However, it did feel that the special features of each particular case must be weighed and that, in view of its great responsibilities, the Special Committee must act with prudence. For that reason, the Committee should suspend its debate on the six Caribbean Territories and refer the item to Sub-Committee III for further consideration.

841. The representative of Tunisia said that he realized that one consideration which had led to the submission of a draft resolution was the time factor. The sponsors had been anxious to see the Committee take a decision before the new arrangements came into force. Another consideration was the United Kingdom delegation's statement that, after the new provisions came into force, the administering Power would not consider itself obliged to transmit any further information to the United Nations or to co-operate with the Special Committee. However, as far as the first consideration was concerned, the arrangements had now entered into force for all the Territories except St. Vincent. Secondly, he understood from the statement of the United Kingdom representative at the present meeting that the United Kingdom delegation was ready to continue to co-operate with the Special Committee and to provide it with all necessary information for the study of the question now before it. He was therefore led to wonder whether there was still an urgent need to adopt a draft resolution before the submission of the question to Sub-Committee III. Without prejudice to the position of his delegation on the draft resolution, he wondered whether the United Kingdom delegation could assure him that it would continue to co-operate with the Committee in the study of the question before it and provide all information necessary for that study.

842. The representative of Madagascar said that his delegation had always given its enthusiastic support to all measures adopted in the Committee to hasten decolonization. In the present case, however, he felt that the question should be considered on its merits, free from doctrinaire considerations. The issue was whether certain constitutional changes introduced in certain Territories represented progress in the direction of decolonization. His delegation considered that the best path to independence was the granting of a greater measure of self-government to the elected representatives of the population. The steps taken by the administering Power seemed clearly to constitute a step forward towards self-determination and self-government, and called not for regret but for appreciation or at least for some kind of objective assessment. Many countries had acceded to independence following a process in which they had gradually been given more power over local affairs, a process which had itself stimulated their desire for independence. He was convinced that it would not be long before the population of the islands under discussion would ask for independence, and he was convinced that the United Kingdom would grant that independence when it was requested.

843. He recalled that the constitutional arrangements were not completely in line with resolution 1514 (XV).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Twenty-first Year, 1306th meeting, paras. 22-34.

As the representative of the United Kingdom had said, there was much still to be done. Improvements were perhaps needed, as for example with regard to the appointment of the Governor, to which reference had been made. It was precisely because of the need for improvements that his delegation supported the proposal of the representative of the Ivory Coast that the question should be referred to Sub-Committee III.

844. The representative of the United States of America said that his delegation had no objection to the proposal in the draft resolution that the question should be referred to Sub-Committee III. It disagreed, however, with the statements in operative paragraphs 1 and 2, as well as with the generally negative tone of the draft resolution. Besides referring the question to the Sub-Committee, the draft resolution also appeared to suggest what the outcome of the Sub-Committee's consideration should be. His delegation shared the view expressed by numerous speakers that the association represented a positive step forward. No one had challenged that view, and it therefore seemed inappropriate to begin the operative part of the draft resolution with an expression of deep regret. Furthermore, his delegation had never accepted the view that independence was the only means of terminating non-self-governing status. It continued to believe that the various alternatives set forth in General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) were also applicable. In their consultations with the United Kingdom Government, the elected representatives of the Territories under discussion had shown no preference for independence over the present arrangements. In any event, now that they were self-governing, the people of the Territories would have a full opportunity to make future choices for themselves, and could opt for independence whenever they desired. It was not for the Committee to dictate the people's choice. The draft resolution, with its emphasis on a supposed failure to implement resolution 1514 (XV), seemed to suggest that the only acceptable solution was independence. If the matter was to be referred to Sub-Committee III for further examination, it should be done without any such prior findings.

845. The representative of the United Kingdom said that, in reply to the question asked by the representative from Tunisia, he wished to make clear his delegation's attitude with regard to co-operation with the Committee and the Sub-Committee. He did not wish to add to or subtract from what his delegation had already said on that point. If a draft resolution in the terms proposed was adopted, further participation or co-operation by his delegation on the matters under discussion, either in the Sub-Committee or in the Special Committee, would not be possible. If, however, his proposal was adopted and it was decided that the matter should be further considered by the Sub-Committee, he could give an assurance that his delegation would participate fully in the discussion in the Sub-Committee in order to assist it in reaching its conclusions.

846. The representative of Sierra Leone did not think that it was proper for the United Kingdom representative to attempt to influence the vote by a threat. The United Kingdom representative had also asked him to consider the new arrangements in the light of General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV). But resolution 1541 (XV) dealt with the principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation existed to transmit the information called for under Article 73 *e* of the Charter. In any case, the principle of equality, to which he had referred earlier, was en-

shrined in that resolution. According to principle V, if there were elements affecting the relationship between the metropolitan State and the Territory in a manner which arbitrarily placed the Territory in a position or status of subordination, they supported the presumption that there was an obligation to transmit information under Article 73 *e*. The substance of the case for the draft resolution was that the element of absolute equality was absent in the present arrangements.

847. The Chairman said that he also felt obliged to refer to the statement of the United Kingdom representative concerning the co-operation of his delegation with the Committee. The obligations of the United Kingdom and of other members of the Special Committee flowed from obligations under the Charter and under resolutions of the General Assembly, although it was natural for each delegation to interpret the Charter and United Nations resolutions for itself.

848. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that he wished to associate himself with the remarks made by the representative of Sierra Leone and the Chairman. It would be a sad day for the Committee when its actions were determined by threats of non-co-operation from colonial Powers.

849. His delegation rejected the position of the United Kingdom Government concerning the Territories under discussion and considered that the action called for in the seven-Power draft resolution was correct and necessary. It was therefore strongly opposed to the United Kingdom proposal that the matter should be referred to Sub-Committee III without any action by the Committee, especially in view of the time that had already been spent debating the question. He proposed that the Committee should proceed to the vote on the draft resolution.

850. The representative of Iran said that, following consultations with other members of the Committee, he wished to propose certain amendments to the draft resolution which he hoped would meet the views of a number of delegations which had participated in the debate. Firstly, he proposed that operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution should be deleted. That should satisfy those representatives who felt that there should be no expression of regret in view of the fact that there had been some advance in the Territories' status. Secondly he proposed that present operative paragraph 2 should be amended to read: "*Reaffirms* that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions continue to apply to these Territories". The administering Power had been asked to expedite decolonization in other relevant resolutions, and there was therefore no need for the last part of the paragraph. In present operative paragraph 3, he proposed the addition of the words "in the light of the recent constitutional developments" after the word "examine". The Sub-Committee must naturally study the situation in the light of the important constitutional developments that had taken place. He hoped that the sponsors of the draft resolution could accept those amendments, and that the United Kingdom delegation would find it possible to withdraw its proposal for referral of the question to Sub-Committee III. In that way the Committee might be able to come near to unanimity.

851. The representative of Sierra Leone said that the sponsors of the draft resolution accepted the amendments submitted by the Iranian delegation. They did so not because of the unfortunate threat which had been made by the United Kingdom delegation at a recent

meeting, but in furtherance of the interests of the Committee and of the peoples of the Territories under discussion. He hoped that the United Kingdom delegation would find the amendments acceptable, and offer its full co-operation to the Committee and the Sub-Committee.

852. The representative of Italy said that the new text of the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.378/Rev.1) resulting from the acceptance by the sponsors of the Iranian amendments went a long way to meet his delegation's point of view. He was glad to note that there was general agreement that the problem should be examined in detail by Sub-Committee III. However, the present wording of the draft resolution still left some doubt in his mind. He felt that the new operative paragraph 1, in reaffirming that resolution 1514 (XV) and other resolutions continued to apply to the Territories, was anticipating the conclusions of the Sub-Committee's deliberations. Resolution 1514 (XV) was certainly the Committee's main guiding resolution, but the question whether resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions had been implemented in the Territories, and to what extent, was one which had not yet been resolved. He therefore proposed that new operative paragraph 1 should be deleted and that new operative paragraph 2 should be amended to read "*Requests its Sub-Committee III to examine the situation in these Territories in all its aspects in the light of recent constitutional developments and in the light of the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions*" (A/AC.109/L.381). That would give Sub-Committee III the widest possible mandate.

853. The representative of the United Kingdom said that in discussing the important question of the six Caribbean Territories the Committee should adopt an attitude of co-operation without prejudgement. Clearly, General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) were complementary not contradictory and the Committee should take account of both. Free association was a permissible, acceptable, and duly authorized alternative to full independence. The stipulations on that subject in General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) had been fully met after the widest consultation between the United Kingdom Government and the islanders and with the unanimous support of the legislatures of the Territories which had been freely elected under full adult suffrage. His delegation had asked whether the sponsors of the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.378) rejected the explicit provisions of General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) and the free expression of the peoples concerned, and whether they wished to stipulate that all the remaining colonial Territories, however small, poor or isolated, must be required to abandon their own freely expressed aims (see para. 820 above). Those important questions remained unanswered.

854. The revised draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.378/Rev.1) did not acknowledge the purposes which the United Kingdom Government and the elected legislatures of the islands concerned had pursued. It did not recognize the processes of democratic consultation which had been so fully and freely employed. It did not respect the wishes of the peoples concerned freely and plainly expressed. It did not welcome the self-government which the United Kingdom Government had granted by its policy and in conformity with its obligations under the Charter. It did not express approval of the right given to the islanders to change their Constitutions and to proceed by their own free will, if

they so wished, to full independence. And it made no reference at all to the provisions governing free association which were explicitly authorized by the General Assembly. Those shortcomings certainly deserved reconsideration.

855. His delegation continued to believe that the issues before the Committee had far-reaching implications not only for the Caribbean Territories but for other Territories as well. He urged the Committee not to make a final judgement at the present stage, but to allow further time for reconsideration of the question and for fruitful co-operation. Full discussion and full co-operation were still possible and still necessary, but without prejudgement. Mrs. Judith Hart, the Minister of State in the Commonwealth Office, who was primarily responsible for the matters now under discussion, would shortly be arriving in New York and was looking forward to holding informal discussions with many delegations in the United Nations. It would be a pity if the Committee took a decision which might preclude such discussions.

856. The Committee must bear in mind the wider question of the future of the scattered and often small colonial Territories that remained throughout the world. What it did in respect of the six Caribbean Territories must necessarily have some influence on its future decisions in respect of those remaining Territories. In proposing that the question should be referred to Sub-Committee III for further consideration, he was not asking any member of the Committee to alter the opinions he had expressed, although he hoped that in listening to further arguments representatives would keep an open mind.

857. While he welcomed the fact that the sponsors of the original draft resolution had taken account of the arguments put forward in the Committee and had made important changes in their revised draft (A/AC.109/L.378/Rev.1) they were still doing something which should not be done at the present stage, namely, making a prejudgement. The final recommendation to the General Assembly was entirely a question for the Committee itself. It would retain its full powers and full freedom of action. The amendment (A/AC.109/L.381) to the revised draft resolution submitted by the representative of Italy would be acceptable to his delegation.

858. It might well be that the draft resolution as it stood was not wholly satisfactory to any member of the Committee. After further reflection and consideration a fuller text might emerge that would more adequately reflect the general view. He was not asking for the withdrawal of any of the proposals before the Committee. The consequences of any decision the Committee might take were so far-reaching that it would be well to allow Sub-Committee III to review the entire matter. It had been his experience in the United Nations that, even in cases where opinions were very far apart, and even if only one member believed that there was advantage in further consideration of an issue, such a course would not be precluded. He therefore asked the Committee, in a spirit of the fullest co-operation, to give that opportunity to Sub-Committee III so that an attempt could be made to find a common basis for agreement.

859. He was certainly not offering threats, as had been claimed, but rather co-operation. He would certainly be sorry if the Committee were to reject that co-operation. He was quite ready to discuss the question at full length with Sub-Committee III before a conclu-

sion was reached. He therefore hoped that further time for discussion would be allowed, that Sub-Committee III would be allowed to review the question, that the United Kingdom would not be prevented from co-operating with that Sub-Committee and that the Committee would reserve its judgement on the draft resolution and on the amendment to it.

860. The representative of Uruguay said that the Committee should deal with the matter before it with the required realism. It should be borne in mind, in particular, that free association or complete integration with another State, and political federation or economic union were perfectly legitimate methods of decolonization, the adoption of which might, in some cases, overcome otherwise insurmountable obstacles. General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) should in no case be considered as contradicting the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV), of which it was, in fact, a natural corollary. It was accordingly most important to reaffirm the principle that resolution 1541 (XV) should probably be considered to apply not only to the six Territories with which the Committee was currently dealing but to various other Territories in a similar situation. It would be remembered that when the draft Declaration on the granting of independence was being discussed, some countries had objected to the fact that the text treated complete and immediate independence as the only acceptable goal, which seemed to them to be contrary to the provisions of the Charter concerning the attainment of self-government within broader political associations. On that occasion the United States representative, in particular, had questioned the wisdom of embracing a principle the application of which might, in some cases, lead to undue territorial and political fragmentation, and had stated that full self-government within a broader political system was sometimes more appropriate than complete independence. Mr. Velazquez, a former Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee, commenting on those reservations in an important article in the *Anuario Uruguayo de Derecho Internacional*,³⁸ stressed the fact that the two resolutions (resolution 1514 (XV) and resolution 1541 (XV)) had been adopted by the same Assembly session with only a few hours' interval and concluded from that that they could not be mutually contradictory. Mr. Velazquez had gone on to consider the hypothesis that independence, as defined in the text of resolution 1514 (XV), was to be considered as a first and absolutely indispensable step, after which—and only then—the Territory which had acquired independence could enter into such commitments as those concerning its association with another State. The hypothesis was, in short, that a people would have to possess, if only for a single instant, the sovereign and complete power of decision characteristic of independence before undertaking further commitments. However, Mr. Velazquez had advanced that hypothesis only to refute it immediately because, as he had said, if it were accepted, all acts of self-determination performed in various territories while they were still subject to colonial rule, in other words, almost all acts so far performed in the colonial sphere, even after the adoption of the Declaration on the granting of independence, would have to be considered null and void. In that way, purism, carried to the extreme, could eventually negate the very principles underlying the original concept. If that interpretation were accepted, the integration of Greenland with Denmark, for example, and of Surinam with the

Netherlands, both of which had occurred prior to the Declaration on the granting of independence, and the integration decisions involving Malaysia, Zanzibar, Kenya and many other cases which had occurred since December 1960 would have to be considered invalid.

861. His delegation rejected that theory and believed that the political and historical facts of the current situation in the British West Indies, despite its obscurities, would have to be faced directly. In fact, a hostile attitude would have much more serious results than a more flexible but more constructive attitude, which would have the advantage of channelling decolonization in the direction desired by the United Nations, while working in harmony with the administering Power.

862. Throughout the debate, his delegation had at all times tried to secure the adoption of a formula which gave equal weight to three fundamental factors: the desire for decolonization, political realism and devotion to the principles of law. The solution adopted at the London conferences were undoubtedly legitimate, since it met the interests of the people concerned. Moreover, it was in accordance with the conclusions and recommendations contained in the reports of Sub-Committee III for 1964, 1965 and 1966, which were adopted by the Special Committee, by the Fourth Committee and by the Assembly itself. The following passage was an extract from the conclusions and recommendations drawn up by the Committee in 1964, as reproduced in the report on its work during 1966:

"The Committee noted that these islands seemed to possess sufficient features in common . . . to make some form of union possible among some, if not all of them. The Committee stated that there appeared to be general agreement among the 'little seven' . . . concerning immediate independence and the formation of some sort of federation." (A/6300/Rev.1, Chap. XXII, para. 2)

Those same formulae of "union" and "federation" had served, in the London constitutional agreements, as a basis for free association between the small West Indian islands and the United Kingdom. The proposed relationship between the United Kingdom and the Territories in question was described in the following terms in the report of the Sub-Committee III on its work in 1966:

"The United Kingdom Government recognized that those requests . . . could not be met merely by the devolution of additional powers upon the local governments in a colonial context and had set out to devise a new relationship that would be consistent with the political maturity of the Territories but would enable them to continue voluntarily such links with the United Kingdom as they wished. . . . The United Kingdom Government had proposed that each Territory should become a State in association with the United Kingdom, with control of its internal affairs and with the right to amend its own constitution, including the power to end the association with the United Kingdom and declare itself independent." (*Ibid.*, chap. XXII, annex, paras. 150 and 151)

Sub-Committee III had therefore taken that situation into account when it drew up its recommendations on completing its work.

863. In those circumstances, the formula agreed upon during the London constitutional conferences was not only not contrary to the principles governing decolonization but also demonstrated, to some degree, a desire to apply the recommendations made by Sub-Committee

³⁸ See foot-note 35 above.

III and therefore, by the Special Committee, the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly.

864. It had to be pointed out, however, that the administering Power had not, in fact, organized a referendum to determine the wishes of the people concerning the new arrangements. The United Kingdom delegation had put forward the view that, under the Charter, the referendum was not the only means of applying the principle of self-determination. On that point it was apparently supported by Mr. Velazquez, from whose article in the *Anuario Uruguayo de Derecho Internacional* he had already quoted. In that article Mr. Velazquez pointed out that when the draft Declaration on the granting of independence was being discussed at the fifteenth session of the Assembly, the colonial Powers had been opposed mainly to paragraph 5 of that Declaration, which referred to immediate measures to be taken to transfer all powers to the people of Non-Self-Governing Territories. In his commentary on that question Mr. Velazquez said it was obvious that wherever such a transfer was mentioned in the Declaration, it could only refer to transfer to the representatives of the people, since modern constitutional law recognized no other system than that of representation, and he had added that the important thing was to ascertain what conditions should be met by those representatives so that the sovereignty transferred to them might be considered to have been transferred to the peoples themselves.

865. Without restating his own personal position, which was in favour of a referendum, he did not feel that the validity of Mr. Velazquez's reasoning could be denied, especially with regard to Territories dependent on the United Kingdom, a country where the will of the people was expressed only through elections, since the formula of a referendum was alien to the British system.

866. It should also not be forgotten that, according to all the versions of the facts, including those put forward by various petitioners, the people of the six Territories were apparently in favour of the system which had been adopted, so that if the people were consulted, a large majority would probably vote "yes".

867. With those considerations in mind the Uruguayan delegation had studied the various proposals which had been submitted on the question before the Committee. As it had not been possible to reach unanimous agreement on the seven-Power draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.378/Rev.1) or on the single paragraph proposed by the representative of Italy (A/AC.109/L.381), a number of delegations had proposed the adoption of a new text in place of operative paragraph 1 of the seven-Power draft resolution which would read: "1. *Reaffirms* that the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and other relevant resolutions must be satisfied in these Territories;".* Such a wording would take into account both the principles and the facts: in adopting it, the Committee would remain faithful to resolution 1514 (XV) without ignoring the *fait accompli*. The adoption of that text would also make it possible to avoid an unfortunate conflict with the administering Power, whose firm desire to collaborate should be recognized. If the situation was considered objectively, it could be asserted that the United Kingdom had taken posi-

tive steps, during the conferences in London, towards the decolonization of and granting of self-government to the Territories in question. The Committee, for the its part, had for several weeks stressed the need for full respect for the principles involved. It was true that it had done so because of its attachment to those principles, but it was also true that, by its insistence, it was, without wishing to do so, opposing their implementation. It would be absurd to attack a state of affairs over which those mainly concerned, namely the people of the Territories under consideration, were apparently rejoicing. In the opinion of the Uruguayan delegation, Sub-Committee III should try to seek a formula which would reconcile what had been accomplished under British law with the principles of international law, and should try to correct a situation which had already been firmly established instead of seeking, puritanically so to speak, to reverse the situation. Decolonization must follow its course and it would be absurd to delay it on the pretext of perfectionism. When, in any instance, that process had already escaped action by the Special Committee, the latter must try to channel and not hinder it.

868. Uruguay had no colonies and was therefore not motivated by any selfish interest in the present instance. It was merely seeking to promote the application of law with respect for political and historical situations which were based on the true will of the people. For that reason, the Uruguayan delegation felt that it must submit its amendment, and urged the co-sponsors of the draft resolution to accept it.

869. The Chairman, speaking as the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, said that his delegation would try to approach the question from a realistic, but not solely from a legal point of view. The African countries knew very well that the problem of decolonization had to be approached on the basis of experience and it was precisely because there were still subject countries in Africa that the views of the African delegations could not fail to be realistic. At the same time, however, when they cast their votes the African delegations committed themselves more than did other delegations and their votes took on a special importance for them when they considered that they might set a precedent.

870. The United Republic of Tanzania thought that the moment had come to take a decision, if possible, during the current meeting. When the Committee had decided to include the question of the six Territories on its agenda immediately, it had found itself faced with a *fait accompli*, since it was doubtful that the United Kingdom would have agreed to go back on the arrangements which it had made concerning the status of the Territories under consideration, and that status had become effective while the Committee was debating the question. The Committee should therefore now say what it thought of the new status and judge it in relation to United Nations principles. It was a fact that certain Territories had obtained their independence before the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), but, since that resolution had been adopted, it had been called upon to serve as a guiding principle. Tanzania had certainly no intention of telling colonial peoples how they should conduct themselves; nevertheless, it examined any step which might be taken, especially in the present instance, in the context of resolution 1514 (XV). The United Kingdom representative had stated that the six Territories would be completely autonomous in their internal

* Subsequently issued as document A/AC.109/L.387. In the course of the debate the text was orally amended by substituting the word "fulfilled" for the word "satisfied".

affairs and that the United Kingdom Government's obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter would thus be fully discharged (see para. 677 above). That had never been the opinion of Tanzania, which considered that one of the most important points was in fact whether the United Kingdom Government had the right to make such a claim for itself. Without going into the question of whether the new status was agreeable to the people or not, he thought that the Committee should ask itself only whether the United Kingdom had discharged its obligations and whether resolution 1514 (XV) still applied to the case under consideration. If it did, paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/AC.109/L.378/Rev.1 was almost superfluous since the problem would then, without any doubt, have to be referred to Sub-Committee III. It had emerged from the many consultations held between the United Kingdom and Tanzania that the only difference of opinion between the two countries, although a fundamental one, was whether resolution 1514 (XV) was still applicable to the Territories in question, and that that difference of opinion could not be resolved by further consultations; hence the necessity of taking a decision without further delay.

871. Certain colonial Powers refused to describe their African Territories as colonies and declared that they were an integral part of the metropolitan country. It might happen therefore that one day the Committee might be told that the traditional leaders of those Territories had agreed to the integration of their Territories. For that reason, the Tanzanian delegation wanted a principle to be formulated which would be applicable to all Territories, however small. Of course, Tanzania did not consider independence as the only expression of the right to self-determination: for example, in the Fourth Committee, it had supported the status of the Cook Islands, after making sure that the population had genuinely been able to exercise that right and despite the fact that they had not in that case chosen independence. He wished to make it clear that the Tanzanian delegation's support for the draft resolution now before the Committee was in no way dictated by a feeling of hostility towards the United Kingdom. The Tanzanian delegation had more than once recognized the spirit of co-operation shown by the United Kingdom Government in its relations with the Committee of Twenty-Four. But that did not justify the blind abandonment of principles. He was, moreover, convinced that the United Kingdom Government would continue to co-operate with the Committee of Twenty-Four.

872. The co-sponsors of the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.378/Rev.1) considered that in its present form it represented the minimum that the Committee should do for the people of the six Territories. The Tanzanian delegation hoped therefore that the Committee would take an immediate decision, since further consultations seemed useless, and that, when the matter was referred to Sub-Committee III, the United Kingdom would give the latter the benefit of its co-operation.

873. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics pointed out that his delegation had already stated its position on the question before the Committee and that that position remained unchanged.

874. He wished, however, to make a few comments on the draft resolution submitted to the Committee and on the amendments to that draft resolution submitted by the Italian delegation.

875. The importance of the decision which the Committee must take on the question of the six colonies under United Kingdom administration could escape no one: the future of the population of those Territories was at stake. For three weeks the Committee had discussed the question of whether the changes introduced in the constitutional status of those Territories by the administering Power were in keeping with the requirements of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and with the provisions of the Charter and of other documents which recognized the right of any people to self-determination and independence. The Committee must also decide whether the administering Power had discharged all its obligations under those documents and under the General Assembly decisions on a question of such importance as the future situation of States, although that was a question which must finally be decided by the people and by the people alone.

876. To answer those questions, the Committee should first examine the conditions under which the people of the Territories in question had exercised their right of self-determination with a view to determining whether they had made a free and unobstructed decision regarding the constitutional changes and their future status. It was clear from the information submitted to the Committee that that had not been the case or, at all events, that the methods employed by the administering Power had not been in keeping with the principles set out in the Charter and the Declaration. It was not merely by chance that a majority of the Committee's members had, after careful consideration, concluded that the assurances offered in that regard by the administering Power were without any real basis. The peoples of the Territories under consideration had not been given an opportunity to make a direct choice. The only alternative offered to them had been that of rejecting or accepting the status of associated States, and the possibility of independence had not even been debated by the Constitutional Conference. Since conditions under which the people could make a free choice had not been created, it was reasonable to conclude that the provisions of the Declaration relating to the opportunity to make that choice had not been complied with. That was an essential point which the Committee should consider in deciding whether or not the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) had been implemented.

877. Negotiations held with members of the legislative bodies of the Territories under consideration could in no sense be described as constituting a popular consultation. Under the conditions of colonial administration, such bodies could not be regarded as speaking for the people. That had been apparent during the events which had occurred in Grenada in connexion with the constitutional reforms introduced by the colonial Power; in that instance, the elected representatives of the people had negotiated on the basis of principles completely different from those which the voters had asked them to uphold and the people's wishes had thus been flagrantly disregarded. It had been argued in the Committee that the fact that the people of Grenada wished to be united with the other Territories did not mean that Trinidad and Tobago, for example, also wished to enter into such an association. However, that was not the point at issue; what concerned the Committee was the fact that the representatives of Grenada had not taken the people's wishes into account. By choosing the path of association with the United

Kingdom, they had disregarded the instructions which they had received from the Territory's inhabitants.

878. The explanations given by the United Kingdom representative made it clear that the administering Power had no intention whatever of holding a genuine popular consultation. It was true that provision had been made for permitting the inhabitants of the islands to unite, through certain constitutional procedures, with other British Commonwealth Territories in the area. The constitutional agreements that had been entered into also reserved the people's right to become independent, but that decision would have to be taken by a two-thirds majority. In actual fact, there was no question of a referendum, unless perhaps on some remote and hypothetical future occasion. For the present, the people had been given no opportunity to make their opinions known; they had not been invited to express their views on association with the United Kingdom. As the representative of Uruguay had observed, the administering Power had employed a procedure to which the Committee could not give its approval. It was therefore not surprising that the United Kingdom refused to permit a United Nations visiting mission to be sent to the Territories.

879. With regard to the intrinsic value of the constitutional provisions which had been enacted, his delegation noted that the status of associated State did not in any sense terminate the colonial relationship between the Territories and the United Kingdom. For example, the United Kingdom Government reserved the right to intervene directly in the internal affairs of the Territories without even being requested to do so by the local government in matters of defence and foreign relations. It could not even be said that the Territories were being accorded internal self-government. There was therefore every reason to conclude that the United Kingdom had not implemented General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

880. In the present circumstances, the Special Committee could not simply refer the question to Sub-Committee III, as the United Kingdom and the United States wished it to do. If the Committee yielded to such pressure, it would delay still further a settlement of that important question and would betray the trust of the peoples concerned. On the contrary, the Committee must state clearly and unambiguously that the United Kingdom had not discharged its obligations, since association was not a first step towards independence and sovereignty.

881. It was therefore the Committee's duty to follow the situation and to make certain that the administering Power took steps in conformity with the Charter and the decisions of the United Nations. That was why his delegation supported the draft resolution previously submitted by the Afro-Asian countries (A/AC.109/L.378). Unlike the revised version (A/AC.109/L.378/Rev.1), that text correctly described the Committee's position with regard to the status proposed for the Territories under consideration and stated unequivocally that the administering Power had failed to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. However, since the revised version also said that resolution 1514 (XV) continued to apply to the Territories in question, his delegation would vote in favour of the new text.

882. The representative of the United Kingdom, speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said that he deeply regretted the serious allegations just made against the peoples of the West Indies Associated

States. The Soviet representative had stated that the peoples concerned had not been given an opportunity to make a genuine choice, that they had not been consulted and, furthermore, that their elected representatives could not be regarded as actually speaking on their behalf. He wished to point out that all representatives, including both elected representatives and the leaders of opposition parties, had been duly consulted. One could only deplore the Soviet representative's remarks, which would certainly be regarded as an insult in the Territories concerned.

883. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said he wished to state once again that the peoples of colonial Territories must be called upon, in all parts of the world and under all circumstances, to decide their own political status, as was their inalienable right. That was the meaning of his delegation's statements.

884. The reply of the representative of the United Kingdom had not provided the Committee with any new information. The fact remained that the people had not had an opportunity to make a choice and that they had not been consulted in a direct, democratic manner. The administering Power had disregarded the General Assembly's decisions, especially resolution 2232 (XXI), which called upon it to permit the sending of a United Nations visiting mission to the Territories. Similarly, the administering Power had taken no steps to withdraw its troops from the Territories in question or to dismantle the military bases which it had established there. The examples of Ascension Island and Aden provided ample proof that in colonial countries the exercise of the sovereign rights of the people was incompatible with the maintenance of a foreign military presence. His delegation had merely wished to state again that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) continued to apply to the Territories under consideration, and its concern in that regard was shared by numerous representatives.

885. The representative of the United Kingdom said that he wished to point out once again the representative nature of the elected members of the government councils in the Territories under consideration, where the peoples had more experience of representative democracy than the Soviet Union.

886. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics observed that the views of those persons, whatever might be their representative nature, did not necessarily reflect those of the population, as was shown by the example of Grenada.

887. The representative of Venezuela said that the Special Committee, which was devoted to the principles of resolution 1514 (XV), should always be mindful of the interests and well-being of the people of the Territories with which it was concerned. In the case of small Territories in particular, care must be taken to avoid granting a precarious, fictitious independence. In that connexion, operative paragraph 2 of resolution 1514 (XV) seemed to allow for certain special forms of self-determination and internal self-government.

888. In any event, the Special Committee could not take the place of the persons concerned, particularly the elected representatives—whose representative nature he did not in any sense dispute—in seeking the most appropriate solutions. On the contrary, it was the duty of the Committee to ensure that the will of the people was expressed freely and by democratic means in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV). The people

of the Territories, whose political future was at stake, should therefore—as the United Kingdom representative would perhaps agree—be consulted by means of a referendum in which the alternatives being offered were clearly indicated. Those were the considerations which would guide his delegation in voting on the various proposals before the Committee.

889. The representative of the United Kingdom said that there was general recognition in the Committee of the usefulness of the discussions some members had had with Mrs. Judith Hart, the United Kingdom Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs, who was responsible for the Territories under discussion. She also had found the discussions valuable. Some members had also had an opportunity to hold informal talks with Mr. Southwell, Deputy Premier of St. Kitts, who had been Chief Minister when the new arrangements had been approved. He thought that all delegations would agree that the discussions held in recent weeks had been valuable and important. They had raised questions whose scope went far beyond the Caribbean and were at the core of the problem now before the Committee—how smaller, poorer Territories could find their right place in the world and be assisted to make a free choice regarding their future. There were few precedents to turn to. His delegation had given careful study to the principal recent precedent, that of the Cook Islands. The New Zealand Government had taken a wise initiative and the United Nations had played a valuable part in bringing about an agreed result, on the basis of respect for the wishes of the people concerned.

890. The United Kingdom had asked for more time to arrive at a satisfactory solution with regard to the Caribbean Territories; it wished for co-operation without prejudgement. His delegation maintained, first, that General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) were not contradictory but complementary and, secondly, that free association was an acceptable and duly authorized alternative to full independence. The stipulations in resolution 1541 (XV) concerning free association had been fully met with regard to the Territories under discussion, after the widest consultations between the United Kingdom Government and the peoples concerned and after unanimous votes by the legislatures of those Territories, which had been elected by full adult suffrage.

891. Some fundamental questions had been raised in the course of the debate. It was in order to study developments in the Caribbean Territories against the background of those questions that the United Kingdom Government had called for further discussion. One of those questions concerned the effect of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), operative paragraph 5 of which provided that immediate steps should be taken to transfer all powers to the peoples of colonial countries and territories in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire. During the discussion of the Cook Islands in 1965, the representative of Iraq had demonstrated that that fundamental requirement would be satisfied if all the powers freely and openly desired by the people of a former colonial territory were transferred to them, including the power to proceed to independence immediately at any time they wished (A/6000/Rev.1, chap. VIII, paras. 106-113). That was exactly the situation in the West Indies Associated States.

892. The second fundamental question was whether the only way to comply with the pertinent General

Assembly resolutions was by granting full independence. He did not think that any member of the Committee would wish to answer that question in the affirmative, and the remarks of the representative of Tanzania at the previous meeting had been very relevant in that connexion. The important thing was that the peoples concerned should have independence of choice. That, too, was the case in the Caribbean Territories, where principle VII of General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) had been fully respected. A related question was whether the Caribbean Territories should be allowed or encouraged to form a federation. The arrangements made in agreement with the peoples concerned had been deliberately framed to leave open the way to a future federation if the people so wished.

893. Another important question was what was the best method of giving peoples the right to proceed to full independence whenever they wished. In the present instance, provision had been made for a referendum. There might be differing views on the virtues of a referendum, but it had been readily accepted by all the peoples concerned. A further question was that of United Nations involvement. The United Nations had in some cases in the past supervised plebiscites and elections, but there was no prescribed form for United Nations involvement and none of the relevant General Assembly resolutions laid down any requirement of that sort. There was room for discussion of whether the United Nations might be called upon to play a new part in order to safeguard the interests and wishes of the people themselves. That might usefully be discussed in the Committee with the aim of finding an answer to the overriding question of the best method of consulting public opinion. At the previous meeting the Uruguayan representative had discussed the advantages of a referendum, which were many. It had been said by others that if a referendum had been held in the islands, the result might have been exactly the same as it was at present and the Committee would have been entirely satisfied. If that was so, all that was necessary now was evidence that in fact the arrangements made were in full accordance with the wishes of the people. As the Tanzanian representative had said, the choice of the people was for them to decide and not for the Committee to dictate. If the evidence available was not sufficient, further evidence could probably be procured. For instance, it might be possible to arrange direct contact between the Committee and the Associated States' elected leaders. He was sure that, given time, his delegation could lay the Committee's doubts to rest.

894. The United Kingdom had always strongly defended the parliamentary system. A referendum could answer a few simple questions but a new constitution was not a simple question, and it had to be worked out by negotiation between accredited representatives of the people. That could be done at a conference but not in a referendum.

895. The United Kingdom, which had the greatest remaining colonial responsibilities of any Power, had always favoured the closest co-operation with the United Nations, particularly with the bodies dealing with colonialism. Although it had not always shared the views of other delegations, it had always been willing to provide information to explain and justify its policies. He was most anxious that that relationship should continue; nothing but good could come from a continuation of such co-operation.

896. Another and wider question was that of the effectiveness of the work of delegations in the United Nations. In his view, the business of representatives to the United Nations was not merely to state differences but persistently to seek common ground on which agreement could be reached. In that respect there was still a possibility of progress on the matter under discussion. The problem was not only one of the actual facts of the situation; the Committee needed to be assured that what had been done was in accordance not only with the wishes of the people but also with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the other resolutions forming the mandate of the Committee. That being the case, he was convinced that everyone would wish to leave the door open for further consultation, including direct contact between members of the Committee and the elected leaders of the peoples concerned.

897. All the United Kingdom delegation was asking was that the Committee should suspend judgement while preserving freedom of action and decision. That could be done either by adopting the Italian amendment (A/AC.109/L.381) or the Uruguayan amendment (A/AC.109/L.387) or by accepting the United Kingdom proposal to refer the whole matter to the Sub-Committee before taking a final decision. He felt that agreement was close and that there was a general wish to avoid a breach. He appealed to the Committee not to prejudge the issue but to leave the door open for constructive action.

898. The Chairman, speaking as the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, said that some of the remarks he had made previously had been quoted out of context in the statement just made by the United Kingdom representative and had been given a meaning never intended by his delegation. He hoped that members who wished to know the true meaning of the Tanzanian delegation's statement would read it.

899. The representative of Sierra Leone said that he did not doubt the sincere desire of the United Kingdom Government to fulfil the obligations of Chapter XI of the Charter and of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, paramount among which was General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). His delegation's views as to whether the elections held in the Caribbean Territories under consideration represented the type of consultation envisaged in that resolution had been made clear at an earlier meeting. What he wished to discuss today was operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/AC.109/L.378/Rev.1, reaffirming that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions continued to apply to those Territories, for he felt that a decision on that subject could affect the future of all the small islands remaining on the Committee's agenda.

900. In the case of the Cook Islands in 1965, a United Nations mission had supervised the elections and submitted a report to the Secretary-General, who in turn had submitted a report to the Committee; the Committee had discussed the item without making any definite pronouncement on the applicability of resolution 1514 (XV). It had been tacitly understood, however, that the resolution continued to apply, until the moment when the General Assembly at its twentieth session had decided that the administering Power need not transmit information concerning the Cook Islands.

901. The Committee seemed unwilling at present to make a definite pronouncement concerning the Carib-

bean islands, but since everyone apparently agreed that the matter should be referred to Sub-Committee III, it seemed obvious that the resolution and Article 73 of the Charter must be regarded as applicable to the Territories until such time as the Special Committee, having examined recommendations of Sub-Committee III, might decide that they were not.

902. The United Kingdom Government had co-operated with the Committee by complying with requests for information and had generally helped it in arriving at solutions; even its views on the question of visiting missions appeared to be closer to those of most members of the Committee than in the past. The United Kingdom's willingness to refer the matter to Sub-Committee III, in his view, indicated agreement that the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) applied until the Committee itself decided otherwise, and his delegation, among others, had expressed the view that any resolution adopted by the Committee should be regarded as temporary and could be superseded by a new decision.

903. A growing number of items before the Special Committee were connected with the difficulties of extremely small Territories. In such Territories the people should be given an opportunity to express their views on their political future, but independence of the kind that had become traditional for larger Territories did not appear feasible for them. The Special Committee must therefore examine very carefully the methods to be followed in dealing with the problems of such mini-territories, among which the Caribbean islands were practically the first to be discussed by the Committee. His delegation wished to avoid the adoption of a formula that some administering Power could misuse in the future. The adoption of operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution did not prejudice the ultimate decision of the Sub-Committee or close the door to any future negotiation.

904. His delegation believed that some progress had been made in the achievement of a new status by the Caribbean islands, and it had therefore agreed to delete a part of the draft resolution which might have been regarded as a condemnation of United Kingdom policies. He hoped that the United Kingdom would co-operate in enabling Sub-Committee III to consider all aspects of the question, including the sending of a visiting mission which could discuss the situation with the new constituent Governments.

905. The representative of Iraq said that the Iraqi delegation's statement in the debate on the Cook Islands, which had been mentioned by the United Kingdom representative, had related to a situation very different from the present situation in the Caribbean islands. First, the authorities of the Territories in the Caribbean had not been given full powers or offered the opportunity to assume them. Secondly, the people of the Cook Islands had been offered four alternatives: complete independence, integration with New Zealand, internal self-government, and federation with the Polynesian groups; he wondered whether a choice among such alternatives had been offered to the peoples of the Caribbean islands. Thirdly, there had been a United Nations Mission in the Cook Islands when the people had taken their decision, while no United Nations presence had been allowed in the Caribbean islands. The United Kingdom representative had spoken, after the final decisions had been taken, of the possibility of direct contact between members of the Special Com-

mittee and leaders of the Territories, but he wondered whether that suggestion implied the United Kingdom's agreement to the sending of a visiting mission or whether it meant only that some members of the local government would communicate with members of the Special Committee as petitioners or in some other capacity.

906. Mention had been made of the United Kingdom Government's willingness at all times to co-operate in answering questions and justifying its policy. What the Special Committee wanted, however, was that the United Kingdom should co-operate by changing its policy and helping the Committee in the implementation of United Nations resolutions.

907. The United Kingdom representative had also spoken of composing the differences that separated the administering Powers and the members of the Special Committee, but the most important party to a colonial question was neither the administering Power nor the Committee but the people of the Territory. The members of the Committee could not compromise with the administering Power; both must consider first and foremost the wishes of the people of the Territory and must work to give them the right to decide for themselves what they wanted.

908. The representative of Bulgaria said that his delegation found it hard to believe that the constitutional arrangements in the six Caribbean Territories were of such a nature as to discharge the obligations of the administering Power under Chapter XI of the Charter. The provision ensuring the people's freedom to decide at any time on a change in their status referred only to the future. His delegation appreciated the sincere efforts of members of the Committee to find a formula which would be acceptable to all and in keeping with the obligations of the United Nations in the historical process of decolonization, but the Organization could not be expected to seek co-operation and unanimity at the cost of abandoning a position of principle. Bulgaria believed that all colonial Territories, irrespective of their size or economic development, ought to be freed from foreign colonial domination and that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) must be implemented in all of them.

909. His delegation would vote in favour of draft resolution A/AC.109/L.378/Rev.1 and hoped that the administering Power would give the Committee its constructive co-operation when the question of the six Territories was discussed again.

910. The representative of Italy, reaffirming his delegation's earlier statement at the 500th meeting, said that the recent constitutional events in the six eastern Caribbean Territories had substantially followed the lines set forth in resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. His delegation welcomed the new arrangements worked out by the freely elected Governments of the six Territories and by the United Kingdom Government, regarding them as a positive step towards the objectives set by the United Nations in respect of colonial peoples and countries. It had proposed an amendment (A/AC.109/L.381) to draft resolution A/AC.109/L.378 because it believed that operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution seemed to specify in advance one of the conclusions which Sub-Committee III might arrive at after its consideration of the item. The proposal had been intended not to modify the purpose and meaning of the draft resolution but rather to clarify

the issue, so that Sub-Committee III could study the problem without any limitations.

911. He agreed with the Tanzanian delegation that the question of the methods and procedures followed by the administering Power in introducing the new constitutional arrangements could have far-reaching implications affecting other Non-Self-Governing Territories and therefore justified further comprehensive consideration of the item by Sub-Committee III. The aim of the Committee's debate had been precisely that of determining whether, and to what extent, resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions had been implemented and whether, and in what form, they still applied to the Territories in question.

912. In view of the wide agreement as to the meaning of the debate, it might be unfortunate if a vote on the Italian proposal were to emphasize a division of opinion which did not in fact exist. His delegation had therefore decided to withdraw its amendment, provided that the Committee would vote on the Uruguayan draft amendment (A/AC.109/L.387), which could be regarded as a better effort to bridge certain gaps among the various delegations.

913. The representative of the United Kingdom said that if he had misinterpreted what the Chairman had said when speaking as the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, he wished to apologize. But he had been greatly impressed by the Chairman's statement that it was for the people themselves to decide what their future should be; that, indeed, was the essence of the case his own delegation had been endeavouring to put to the Committee.

914. While he understood the Sierra Leone representative's anxiety to find a solution acceptable to all, he would again most seriously put to the Committee the basic point that there should be no prejudgement. If the Committee took up a position before hearing all the evidence, he could not see what value there would be in participation by his delegation in any further examination by Sub-Committee III.

915. He assured the representative of Iraq that in quoting from a statement made by his predecessor he had not suggested that the case now before the Committee was exactly comparable with that of the Cook Islands. He had in fact been referring to the principle that the requirements of resolution 1514 (XV) could be met if all the powers desired by the people of a former colonial Territory were transferred to them, including the power to proceed to independence at any moment.

916. The Committee had come a considerable distance towards the action which should now be taken. If the question was referred back to the Sub-Committee without prejudgement, good results could be achieved, and his delegation offered its co-operation on that basis. However strong members' views might be, he hoped that the door would not be closed to the exploration of whatever possibilities there might be for a satisfactory outcome.

917. The Chairman, speaking as the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, repeated what he had said at the previous meeting: that while his delegation did not challenge the new status accepted by the people of the Caribbean islands, it considered that the obligations of the United Kingdom Government under Chapter XI of the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV) had not been fulfilled.

918. The representative of the United States of America said that it was essential that any further study of the question in the appropriate Sub-Committee be made in the light of the pertinent resolutions, but without an advance decision by the Committee on the outcome. To do otherwise would tie the hands of the Sub-Committee and hamper the effectiveness of its work. Her delegation would accordingly vote for the Uruguayan amendment.

919. The representative of India said that, after listening to the several statements of the administering Power, he felt that there was considerable common ground between the views of the latter and of his own delegation. For example, he agreed with the United Kingdom representative that the highest priority in these considerations should be given to the interests of the peoples of the Territory. He also agreed that resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), both highly respected by his delegation, were not contradictory. By that his delegation meant that in a case where resolution 1541 (XV) had been satisfied, resolution 1514 (XV) might still apply, though not necessarily in every case. However, where resolution 1514 (XV) had been applied, resolution 1541 (XV) could not apply.

920. His delegation also agreed with the United Kingdom that although a referendum might be the ideal way of ascertaining the wishes of the people, it was not the only way. However, all colonial Powers should endeavour to hold referendums in colonial Territories. Nor was a United Nations presence in all colonial Territories essential: if for some reason it had not been possible in a particular Territory, that by itself did not necessarily mean that the people had been unable to exercise their right of self-determination in full conformity with the pertinent resolutions.

921. His delegation's difference with the administering Power lay in the former's conviction that the fulfilment of resolution 1541 (XV) did not necessarily preclude the application of resolution 1514 (XV). In the Cook Islands, an election with the proposed constitutional arrangements as its central issue was held in the presence of a United Nations observer who was satisfied that the people had exercised their right of self-determination freely. In spite of these factors, the General Assembly had declared that the administering Powers' obligation to transmit information under Article 73 *e* of the Charter had terminated, but that resolution 1514 (XV) nevertheless continued to apply. That meant that should circumstances warrant it, it would be within the competence of the Committee or the General Assembly to reopen discussion on the Cook Islands. Even the administering Power had voted in favour of that resolution.

922. In the case of the Caribbean islands, there had been no elections in some of the Territories. In the others, it was not quite clear whether the proposed constitutional status was the central issue in the elections. However, his delegation was not making a judgement on the issue. Even if the Special Committee was satisfied that the present status was what the people desired, the administering Power still had to agree with the Committee that resolution 1514 (XV) continued to apply. In such a case, the administering Power would no longer be required to provide information about the Territories, but the Committee would still be entitled to reopen the question at a later date if circumstances so warranted.

923. He had been concerned to hear that the United Kingdom delegation was seriously considering the whole

question of its co-operation with the Committee. The United Kingdom had always displayed a very co-operative attitude towards the Committee and his delegation much appreciated it. But adoption of the seven-Power draft resolution would certainly not close the door to co-operation because of the very wide mandate given to Sub-Committee III—to consider whether or not the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) had been satisfied—offered ample scope for continuing co-operation between the United Kingdom delegation and the Special Committee. If Sub-Committee III should find that resolution 1541 (XV) had been implemented and if this finding was accepted by the Special Committee, it would be a considerable achievement.

924. His delegation would abstain on the Uruguayan amendment and vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole.

925. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics pointed out that none of the Assembly resolutions pertaining to the Special Committee made any reference to resolution 1541 (XV). The terms of reference of the Special Committee were based exclusively on resolution 1514 (XV).

926. His delegation would vote for the seven-Power draft resolution, for reasons already explained. It would vote against the Uruguayan amendment, for it added nothing and implied that the Committee should take no position on what had happened in the Caribbean Territories. It was no accident that the delegations that were strongly opposed to the adoption of any resolution by the Special Committee and simply wanted to have the matter referred to Sub-Committee III were the ones that supported the amendment.

927. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that his delegation would vote against the Uruguayan amendment because it did not agree that the question was whether resolutions of the General Assembly should or should not be applied. Those resolutions, and in particular resolution 1514 (XV), continued to be applicable to all Territories that had not obtained independence. It was on the basis of that principle that his delegation had co-sponsored the draft resolution.

928. The representative of Mali said that he would be unable to support the Uruguayan amendment. If it adopted the amendment, the Committee might appear to extend *de facto* recognition to the situation now prevailing in the Territories. In spite of that situation, they were still colonial Territories, and resolution 1514 (XV) was as applicable to them as it was to Southern Rhodesia.

929. The representative of Iraq said he was glad to hear from the United Kingdom representative that the situations in the Cook Islands and in the Caribbean islands were different and that the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) would be satisfied if all the powers desired by the population were transferred to them. However, the Iraqi statement to which that representative had referred had been made in the context of General Assembly resolution 2064 (XX) regarding the Cook Islands which had made it quite clear that resolution 1514 (XV) still applied to that Territory. Resolution 2064 (XX) had stated not that the responsibility of the administering Power in the Cook Islands had terminated, but that the transmission of information was no longer necessary. He therefore failed to see why the United Kingdom representative opposed a provision in the draft resolution mentioning the applicability of

resolution 1514 (XV), particularly since the matter was to be referred to Sub-Committee III, which would report back in due course. In conclusion, he stated that his delegation would vote against the Uruguayan amendment (A/AC.109/L.387).

930. The representative of Uruguay said that he could not agree with the Soviet Union representative that the Uruguayan amendment added nothing and implied that the Committee should take no position. The amendment was a positive and constructive attempt to lead the Committee out of its impasse; it made no prejudgement nor did it commit the Committee in any way except to its avowed aim of decolonization.

931. The representative of Mali had also stated that he would not support the Uruguayan amendment. However, that position would seem to be at variance with the position adopted recently by the same representative in connexion with French Somaliland. His own delegation's position had remained completely consistent with regard to all the Territories the Committee had discussed.

932. He could also not agree that the Uruguayan amendment would curtail the powers of the Committee. Operative paragraph 2 of the seven-Power draft indicated that Sub-Committee III was to examine the situation. The Committee would therefore have to wait for the report of Sub-Committee III before it could take a final decision. Therefore, he failed to see why the Committee should issue directives in advance. Moreover, by allowing Sub-Committee III to examine the situation fully and freely, and without prejudgement, the Special Committee would not be curtailing its own powers.

933. The representative of the United Kingdom observed, with reference to the comments made by the representatives of India and Iraq, that his delegation would certainly be prepared to consider arrangements for the six Caribbean Territories similar to those adopted in respect of the Cook Islands. That would be a very suitable subject for discussion in Sub-Committee III. However, the real question before the Committee was whether the matter was to be prejudged before being referred to Sub-Committee III, i.e., whether there should be a verdict before the hearing.

934. The representative of Mali said that his delegation had in the past given adequate proof of the consistency of its policy with regard to decolonization. He remained convinced that the Uruguayan amendment was fundamentally different from operative paragraph 1 of the seven-Power draft. The question was not whether the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) should be applied—that would be misinterpretation of the resolution itself—but whether those provisions continued to apply to the Territories.

935. The representative of India welcomed the fact that the United Kingdom delegation was willing to consider applying the formula used in the Cook Islands to the Caribbean Territories. However, the seven-Power draft would not exclude that possibility. If Sub-Committee III found that the obligations of the administering Power under Article 73 *e* of the Charter had been fulfilled or had been terminated, and if that finding was accepted by the Special Committee, the formula applied to the Cook Islands could certainly be applied to the six Caribbean Territories.

936. The representative of Iraq said he could not agree with the United Kingdom representative that if the Committee adopted the seven-Power draft it would be reaching a verdict before the hearing. The Committee

had given that representative ample opportunity for a hearing. Furthermore, any decision regarding the applicability of resolution 1514 (XV) to the Territories in question was for the Committee itself to make; Sub-Committee III could only consider the situation, including the possibility of sending a visiting mission to the Territories, and then report back to the Special Committee. In addition, he failed to see how the United Kingdom representative could say that the situations in the Cook Islands and in the six Caribbean Territories were different and at the same time suggest that similar solutions should be applied.

937. The representative of the United Kingdom observed that he had said his delegation would be perfectly prepared to consider some arrangements similar to those accepted in the Cook Islands. However, he would reiterate his view that the question before the Committee should be considered without prejudgement by Sub-Committee III.

938. At its 506th meeting on 23 March 1967, the Special Committee voted on the three proposals before it, namely, the revised joint draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.378/Rev.1); the Uruguayan amendment (A/AC.109/L.387), as orally amended; and the proposal by the United Kingdom to the effect that rather than proceeding to a vote on the draft resolution the Committee should refer the whole matter to Sub-Committee III.

939. The Special Committee voted first on the United Kingdom proposal, which was rejected by 16 votes to 6, with 2 abstentions.

940. The Uruguayan amendment (A/AC.109/L.387) was rejected by a roll-call vote of 13 to 8, with 3 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Australia, Chile, Finland, Italy, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Against: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia.

Abstaining: Ethiopia, India, Iran.

941. The Special Committee then voted on the revised joint draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.378/Rev.1) as follows:

(a) Operative paragraph 1 of the revised joint draft resolution was adopted by 17 votes to 4, with 3 abstentions.

(b) The revised joint draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.378/Rev.1) as a whole was adopted by a roll-call vote of 18 to 3, with 3 abstentions, as follows:

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

Against: Australia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Finland, Italy, Uruguay.

942. The representative of Chile, speaking in explanation of his vote, said that his delegation had supported the Uruguayan amendment because it would have allowed the Sub-Committee to study the situation in the Territories without hindrance and made it possible to refer the question to the Sub-Committee without in any way prejudging the actions of the administering Power.

943. His delegation had abstained from voting on operative paragraph 1 because it prejudged the future work of Sub-Committee III on the question. Sub-Committee III would be presenting a report to the Special Committee in the near future and at that time the Special Committee would be able to consider the substance of the matter. However, his delegation had supported the revised joint draft resolution as a whole because it considered that the question deserved special consideration by the Committee.

944. The representative of Iran said that his delegation had abstained from voting on the Uruguayan amendment because its meaning was virtually identical to that of operative paragraph 1 of the revised joint draft resolution. However, his delegation had voted in favour of that operative paragraph since it had the merit of clarity and required no interpretation.

945. His delegation had suggested the deletion of operative paragraph 1 of the original draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.378), as well as the phrase in that draft resolution which would have called upon the United Kingdom to expedite the process of decolonization in the Territories, because such provisions would have constituted a prejudgement by the Committee. However, the resolution as adopted was not a prejudgement but merely a preliminary finding. There was nothing to prevent Sub-Committee III from making a recommendation in the light of new information and in the light of its detailed and full examination of the question. He therefore hoped that the United Kingdom would continue to offer its co-operation to the Committee.

946. The representative of Venezuela said that his delegation had voted in favour of the Uruguayan amendment because it felt that it would help to ensure the widest co-operation from the administering Power—something which was most necessary if the Sub-Committee was to be able to carry out its task. It had supported the revised joint draft resolution as a whole because it did not feel that the Uruguayan amendment and the draft resolution itself were mutually exclusive, neither of the two texts calling for an abdication of the powers or functions of the Committee.

947. The representative of Tunisia said that his delegation had voted against the Uruguayan amendment because it had felt that the spirit of the amendment was already reflected in the text of the revised joint draft resolution.

948. The text of the resolution on the question of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent (A/AC.109/235) adopted by the Special Committee at its 506th meeting on 23 March 1967, reads as follows:

"The Special Committee,

"Having considered the oral and written petitions presented to it concerning Antigua, St. Lucia and St. Vincent,

"Having heard the statements of the administering Power,

"Having examined the recent developments concerning these Territories,

"Recalling General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI) of 20 December 1966,

"1. Reaffirms that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions continue to apply to these Territories;

"2. Requests its Sub-Committee III to examine, in the light of the recent constitutional developments, the situation in these Territories in all its aspects including the possibility of sending a visiting mission, and to report to the Special Committee at an early date."

E. Consideration by the Special Committee of United States Virgin Islands, British Virgin Islands, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Bermuda, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and British Honduras

Introduction

949. At its 488th meeting, on 20 February 1967, the Special Committee decided to refer the following Territories to Sub-Committee III for consideration and report:

- (a) United States Virgin Islands;
- (b) British Virgin Islands;
- (c) Montserrat;
- (d) Bermuda;
- (e) Bahamas;
- (f) Turks and Caicos Islands;
- (g) Cayman Islands;
- (h) Falkland Islands (Malvinas);
- (i) British Honduras.

950. As set out in paragraph 948 above, the Special Committee, by adopting its resolution concerning Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, requested the Sub-Committee III "to examine, in the light of the recent constitutional developments, the situation in these Territories in all its aspects including the possibility of sending a visiting mission, and to report to the Special Committee at an early date".

951. Subsequently, Sub-Committee III made a detailed and intensive examination of the Territories referred to it, including the Territories of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. An account of this consideration is contained in the report of Sub-Committee III which is annexed to this chapter. In seeking further information on the Territories of Antigua, Dominica, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the Sub-Committee availed itself of the opportunity of hearing certain individuals who wished to place before the Sub-Committee information concerning Anguilla. On the basis of this information, Sub-Committee III drew up its conclusions and recommendations which are set out in its report (see annex to the present chapter).

952. The Special Committee considered these Territories at its 548th, 564th and 565th meetings on 30 August, 27 September and 6 October 1967. At its 548th meeting, it heard a petitioner concerning British Honduras. At its 564th and 565th meetings, it considered these Territories on the basis of the report of Sub-Committee III.

953. The Committee had before it two letters dated 3 February 1967 (A/AC.109/219 and 220), addressed

to the Secretary-General, in which the Permanent Representatives of Argentina and the United Kingdom to the United Nations stated that their Governments wished to reaffirm their willingness fully to implement the consensus approved by the General Assembly on the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), as also the terms of resolution 2065 (XX) of 16 December 1965 which also invited their respective Governments to enter into negotiations with a view to finding a solution to the problem.

954. In a letter dated 30 August 1967 (A/AC.109/263), the Permanent Representative of Guatemala to the United Nations requested permission to participate in the Committee's discussion of the question of British Honduras. At its 548th meeting, the Special Committee decided, without objection, to accede to this request.

955. In a letter dated 2 August 1967 (A/AC.109/257), the Permanent Representative of Guyana to the United Nations requested permission for his delegation to participate in the Special Committee's deliberations on matters affecting the Caribbean Territories, especially those relating to Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. At its 565th meeting, the Special Committee decided, without objection, to accede to this request.

Written petitions and hearings

Written petitions

956. The Special Committee circulated the following written petitions, in addition to those listed above:

<i>Petitioner</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
<i>Bermuda</i>	
Mr. W. G. Brown, Secretary-General, Bermuda Constitutional Conference	A/AC.109/PET.577
<i>British Honduras</i>	
Mr. Compton Fairweather, Chairman, British Honduras Freedom Committee of New York, on behalf of the Hon. Philip Goldson, Member of the House of Representatives and Leader of the Opposition in British Honduras	A/AC.109/PET.696
<i>Falkland Islands (Malvinas)</i>	
Mr. Daniel Fernandez Amor	A/AC.109/PET.703
<i>Grenada</i>	
Mr. E. M. Gairy, Leader of the Opposition in Grenada ..	A/AC.109/PET.573/Add.3
<i>St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla</i>	
Three petitions from Mr. Peter E. Adams	A/AC.109/PET.708
Dr. Bertram Schaffner, President, U.S. Caribbean Aid to Mental Health	A/AC.109/PET.709
Messrs. Kennedy A. Simmonds, Vice-President, and Richard L. Caines, Secretary, People's Action Movement ..	A/AC.109/PET.710
<i>St. Vincent</i>	
Mr. Milton Cato, Leader of the Labour Party in St. Vincent	A/AC.109/PET.628
Miss Alma Johnson, General Secretary, Federated Industrial and Agricultural Workers' Union, St. Vincent	A/AC.109/PET.646

Hearing concerning British Honduras

957. The Special Committee heard Mr. Philip Goldson, Leader of the Opposition in British Honduras, at its 548th meeting.

958. Mr. Goldson said that he wished to speak not so much as the Leader of the Opposition in British Honduras but as the representative of all its people; it was his hope that in the near future the Premier of his country would also have the opportunity to describe some of the serious problems facing British Honduras. After noting the geographical position of British Honduras, he pointed out that 80 per cent of its population of 110,000 were of Afro-European origin and 20 per cent of mixed Spanish and Maya Indian descent, the Mayas having left many traces of their occupation before they had left the area, for unexplained reasons, after the eighth century. The Territory had been uninhabited until 1638, when the survivors of a wrecked British ship had founded the first recorded European settlement at the mouth of the Belize river. That settlement had been constantly attacked by Spanish settlers from neighbouring territories, since Spain had claimed sovereignty over the whole Western Hemisphere, with the exception of certain regions of South America which were assigned to Portugal.

959. By the Treaty of Madrid of 1670, Spain had given *de facto* recognition to all British possessions in the Caribbean area with the exception of the settlement at the mouth of the Belize river. In 1763, under the Treaty of Paris, which had ended the Seven Years' War, Spain, while retaining sovereignty over the Territory, had conceded the right to engage in the logwood industry to the British settlers. Further treaties in 1783 and 1786 had confirmed that right. The British settlers, who had alternated between governing themselves and entrusting the management of their affairs to administrators from Great Britain, had by then managed to occupy the whole of the area which formed modern British Honduras. In 1798, they had won a decisive naval victory over the Spaniards off St. George's Caye and thereafter had maintained that the Territory had become British by conquest.

960. In 1821, Guatemala and other Central American republics had gained independence from Spain. Subsequently, Guatemala had claimed that it had inherited all lands contiguous to its frontiers which had formerly been owned by Spain. That was the basis for its current claim to British Honduras. The sovereignty of British Honduras had been guaranteed, however, by the Dalls-Claredon Treaty of 1850 and by the Anglo-Guatemalan Treaty of 1859, although the current difficulties had arisen from the last-named Treaty.

961. It was important to bear in mind that under that Treaty British sovereignty over British Honduras had not been explicitly proclaimed, although it had long been exercised in practice, that the boundaries of the Territory had not been defined by treaty or agreement since the Anglo-Spanish treaties of 1783 and 1786, and that, under the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, Britain had been precluded from extending its dominion in Central America. Moreover, Guatemala's claims had never been admitted by Great Britain or Spain.

962. Article VII, the most controversial article of the Treaty, had provided that the Contracting Parties should:

"...mutually agree conjointly to use their best efforts, by taking adequate means for establishing the easiest communication between the fittest place on the Atlantic coast near the settlement of Belize, and the capital of Guatemala, whereby the commerce of England, on the one hand, and the material prosperity of the Republic, on the other, cannot fail to be sensibly increased".

According to historians, the British negotiator had accepted that article on his own responsibility, to the great surprise of the British Government. Of course, if the article had been rejected, Guatemala would never have signed the Treaty. Its provisions had recompensed Guatemala for abandoning its rights to the territories unlawfully occupied by the settlers of Belize. The planned road had been intended to link Guatemala City and the Atlantic port of Izabal and would therefore not have run through British Honduras. It would, however, have contributed to the prosperity of the colony by facilitating trade between England and the whole of Central America. The intention had been that Great Britain should supply the technicians and Guatemala the materials and labour. The British engineer appointed to mark the boundary line and survey the proposed road had begun work in 1860. At the end of the year, however, he had stopped work because he did not know where the frontier of the north-west corner of the colony ceased to be contiguous to Guatemalan territory and began to be contiguous to Mexican territory. Since Great Britain and Guatemala had also disagreed on their respective financial obligations, a further agreement had had to be negotiated.

963. Under the Additional Convention signed in 1863, Great Britain had undertaken to pay to Guatemala £50,000 for the building of a road from Guatemala City to the Atlantic Coast "whether by land, or by partly making use of the River Montagua, or by any other route best calculated to communicate with the British Possessions in Belize". Provision had been made for the Convention to be ratified within six months, but that period had long since elapsed when Guatemala had asked that the exchange of instruments of ratification should be postponed for a year to enable it to be sure of being able to carry out its obligations "without sacrifice". More than a year later, in 1865, Guatemala had finally ratified the Convention but had proposed two clarifications, which had been formally laid before the British Government in 1866. The latter had refused to accept the clarifications and had declared that the Additional Convention had lapsed by reason of the Guatemalan Government's delay. Guatemala had replied that article VII of the 1859 Convention had provided for granting "a real compensation to Guatemala... for the abandonment of the territorial rights of Belize" and had stated that it was prepared to sign a new Convention identical with the former one. The British Government had energetically repudiated Guatemala's territorial claims, denied that the 1859 Convention had involved any cession of territory and maintained that it had been released from its obligations under the Additional Convention.

964. In 1884, British Honduras had become a Crown Colony.

965. In 1937, Guatemala had repeated its previous proposals, but, since they had again been rejected, it had proposed arbitration with the President of the United States as the sole umpire. The proposal for arbitration had been readily accepted; however, the

United Kingdom Government had considered that the Hague Court was the only tribunal competent to decide such an extremely complex legal question.

966. In 1948, the Guatemalan Government had once again proposed that the dispute should be mediated by the United States; the United Kingdom Government had again refused. Guatemala had then declared that all schools in Guatemala would teach that British Honduras was Guatemalan and that all maps would be altered accordingly. For its part, the United Kingdom Government had stated that it could not surrender any territory in which the inhabitants had repeatedly expressed the wish to remain within the Commonwealth without a decision by the International Court of Justice.

967. It was reasonable to suppose that, if Guatemala shrank from arbitration of the legal issues involved, it was because it was doubtful of the validity of its claims. It might even be suspected from its propaganda that the Guatemalan Government did not seek a legal decision at all but rather a political decision.

968. Despite its previous statements, the United Kingdom Government now found it expedient to accept United States mediation. However, it was generally known that the United States was heavily committed to Guatemala and therefore could not be impartial.

969. The people of British Honduras were unalterably opposed to integration, incorporation or political association with the Republic of Guatemala. They were united in their determination that their country should attain genuine independence. They had demonstrated unmistakably and repeatedly that they did not wish to be Guatemalans. In June 1966, there had been riots at Belize, the capital city, when news had leaked out of a United Kingdom-United States-Guatemalan plan to place the defence, foreign affairs and economic development of British Honduras under Guatemalan control. In recent weeks, United Kingdom newspapers had published details of a secret plan devised by the United Kingdom, under United States pressure, to sell out British Honduras to Guatemala. The people of British Honduras had shown their reaction in a series of demonstrations. Telegrams of protest had been sent to Queen Elizabeth and to various high officials. All of those messages had demonstrated the people's desire to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

970. British Honduras had sound reasons for not wishing to be absorbed into Guatemala. The latter had never controlled or possessed the territory known as British Honduras. British Honduras had existed as a self-governing territory more than 150 years before Guatemala had ceased to be a Spanish colony. Great Britain had brought it under colonial rule in 1884 and therefore had a legal and moral responsibility to ensure that the territory re-entered the community of free nations. Most important, for more than three centuries the people of British Honduras had experienced democracy. They had benefited from freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, equality before the law, trial by jury, freedom of religion, parliamentary democracy, a stable civil service and a 90 per cent literacy rate. The Government had never been overthrown by violence, and citizens had not been imprisoned without due process of law or compelled to flee into exile because of their political views or activities.

971. Those who sought integration with Guatemala argued that British Honduras did not have a viable economy which would enable it to sustain its independence. That was partly true; however, it was

certain that the economy of British Honduras would become less viable if it was under Guatemalan control. In fact, British Honduras was anxious for the threat of integration to be disposed of speedily, since it hindered its development and at present retarded both foreign and local investment.

972. He did not believe that Guatemala, which was financially dependent on the United States, could solve the financial and economic problems of British Honduras. The economy of British Honduras, like that of many small countries, had been blighted by imperialist exploitation. Therefore, at a time when even the tiniest nation could hope to develop its own resources through the process of decolonization promoted by the United Nations, British Honduras could not now agree to exchange British for Guatemalan colonialism.

973. That seemed to be the aim of the President of Guatemala, as was clear from an interview published in *The Times* of London of 12 March 1962 and from a letter of 13 August 1958 from the President to the editor of the newspaper *La Hora*. Guatemala hoped to accomplish recolonization of British Honduras by allowing it first to become independent. Guatemala had been preparing the ground for a long time. The breakdown of negotiations with the United Kingdom, which had been held in 1957 to discuss the question of funds for the development of British Honduras, could be explained as follows, as the Governor of British Honduras had stated at the time: the leader of the Honduran delegation, Mr. Price, had met the Guatemalan Minister unofficially; the latter had invited him to sever all connexions with the British Commonwealth and had proposed the establishment of a form of association with Guatemala, in exchange for which Guatemala would agree to give financial assistance to British Honduras until such time as the people decided, by means of a plebiscite, on the country's future régime. However, the Guatemalan Minister had implied that if that proposal was rejected the frontier would be closed and economic contacts would cease. The Minister had also stated that Guatemala would assume complete control over the external affairs of British Honduras, which would never be able to join the Federation of Central America unless it first became an associate state of Guatemala.

974. He also recalled that a Guatemalan postage stamp had been issued showing a map of the Republic including British Honduras and bearing the inscription: "Belize is Guatemalan".

975. Thus, Guatemala had over the years been conducting a massive indoctrination campaign. There was a reason for the fact that thousands of "Belizean" flags, in the blue and white national colours of Guatemala, had been introduced into British Honduras, that all public buildings had been repainted in blue and white, and that the Government-controlled radio spoke of Belize, since Guatemala did not recognize the existence of British Honduras.

976. Guatemalan maps distributed around the world showed British Honduras under the name of Belize and separated from Guatemala by a departmental rather than an international border. The maps bore the inscription: "Belize, Guatemalan territory unlawfully retained by England". Guatemalan school children learned that Belize was a department of Guatemala which they would be in duty bound to recover, and, throughout all those years the children of British Honduras could not learn their own history. In that connexion, he recalled that an opposition motion calling

for the preparation of new history textbooks had been defeated in the House of Representatives, as had another opposition motion calling for the training of Honduran nationals in the British Army so that they could defend the country after independence.

977. During the past few years, however, the people of British Honduras had begun to realize that they were the victims of a monstrous conspiracy. The opposition party's spectacular gains in the elections, despite the efforts of the Government party to falsify the results, were proof of that fact. The people had been horrified to discover that the United Kingdom Government, which had indignantly rejected Guatemalan recolonization of British Honduras in 1957, was now seeking to aid and abet Guatemala in that process.

978. In support of that statement, he referred to document A/AC.109/PET.528 containing a resolution adopted by the British Honduras Freedom Committee of New York in 1966 and listing the thirteen articles of a proposed treaty between the United Kingdom and Guatemala which would place the defence, the foreign affairs and, to a certain extent, the economy of British Honduras under Guatemalan control after independence. The proposed terms, reportedly concluded with the help of the American mediator appointed by the President of the United States, were substantially the same as those presented to the British Honduras delegation by the Guatemalan Minister in London in 1957.

979. Two articles published in two leading London daily newspapers, the *Daily Express* and *The Times*, on 5 August 1967, disclosed that the plan drawn up under United States pressure was, in fact, designed to place independent British Honduras under permanent Guatemalan control. Under the plan, British Honduras would not be allowed to become a member of the Commonwealth, the United Kingdom and Guatemala would retain responsibility for foreign and defence affairs after it became independent, and it would be forced to accept a customs union with its neighbour, which would be allowed free access to its Caribbean ports and territorial waters. The United Kingdom would provide \$500,000 to Guatemala for the construction of a rail link between the Caribbean Sea and the Guatemalan border. *The Times* added that, in return for those concessions, Guatemala would probably accept the present disputed frontier.

980. The reason why the United States was fully supporting the Guatemalan claims was that it was defending its sphere of influence in Latin America.

981. He therefore urgently requested the United Nations to intervene so that the people of British Honduras could exercise their right of self-determination and, through a referendum organized by the United Nations, express their wishes concerning any form of political association with the Republic of Guatemala. Finally, he asked that the question of the Anglo-Guatemalan dispute over British Honduras should be placed on the agenda of the forthcoming session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

982. Speaking on the petitioner's statement, the representative of the United Kingdom said that he reserved his position and that of his Government on the statement which the petitioner had just made. He would refrain from any comment, since mediation between the United Kingdom and Guatemala was in progress. However, he wished to point out that the United Kingdom Government had already publicly denied allegations that there was any secret plan to hand over British Honduras to Guatemala. His Gov-

ernment's position with regard to sovereignty over British Honduras remained unchanged.

983. The representative of Guatemala said that his Government categorically rejected the statements of the petitioner, which were absolutely at variance with the truth. As the Committee was well aware, the Territory of Belize, also known as British Honduras, was the subject of a dispute between Guatemala and the United Kingdom; that was why the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV), with the exception of paragraph 6, were not applicable to it. Guatemala and the United Kingdom, which had both accepted the mediation of the Government of the United States of America, were continuing negotiations concerning the Territory which would probably result in a satisfactory solution.

984. He wished categorically to confirm that his Government had never renounced, and never would renounce, its inalienable rights over the Territory of Belize. His Government's traditional reservation with respect to its rights over the Territory in no way conflicted with the deep concern felt by Guatemala for the well-being and progress of the population of Belize. His Government would continue its current negotiations with the United Kingdom and, since mediation was in progress, would accept no other jurisdiction for the settlement of the dispute, unless both parties so decided.

985. Lastly, he reserved the right to submit to the Committee, if necessary, the legal arguments on which his Government's just case was based.

Consideration of the report of Sub-Committee III

986. The representative of the United States of America expressed her delegation's reservations regarding the conclusions and recommendations (see annex to the present chapter, para. 82) which, in her view, did not accurately reflect the situation in the United States Virgin Islands. As could be seen from the summary records of the meetings at which Sub-Committee III had discussed the item, the United States delegation had shown in what respects the conclusions were at variance with the actual facts.

987. The representative of Bulgaria felt that Sub-Committee III's conclusions and recommendations in general reflected the situation which continued to exist in the colonial Territory of the United States Virgin Islands, despite resolution 1514 (XV) and other General Assembly resolutions relating to small colonial Territories, particularly resolution 2232 (XXI).

988. His delegation had some reservations in regard to paragraph 82, sub-paragraph (5), which was not in line with the facts and was inconsistent with the other sub-paragraphs. It did not believe that any significant constitutional progress had been made since the situation in the Territory had last been considered by the Sub-Committee. As was clear from paragraph 42 of the report, even the proposal by the 1964 Constitutional Convention to increase the people's participation in the management of local affairs had not altered the basic relations between the Territory and the administering Power, and the proposed measures had not been put into effect.

989. His delegation also had reservations regarding the recommendation contained in sub-paragraph (8), which called for a United Nations presence in the Territory during the exercise of the right to self-determination. What was required at the present stage was a visiting mission to report on the situation. Only after the visiting mission had reported would it be

possible to consider other procedures. He was not, of course, opposed to the idea of a United Nations presence in the Territory; but he feared that in the circumstances a United Nations presence might be exploited by the colonial Power to the detriment of the interests of the population, and might lend an appearance of legality to a procedure which would only strengthen the authority of the administering Power. It should also be remembered that the Sub-Committee had refused to participate in a procedure which was in no way related to the exercise of the right to self-determination.

990. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agreed with the previous speaker. It was impossible to argue that any constitutional progress had been made, since the administering Power was still exercising the right of veto over legislation. A United Nations presence in the Territory would not contribute anything of value, until conditions existed in which the United Nations could play an active role. As a first step, a visiting mission should be sent to the Territory to study the situation. When the visiting mission had submitted its report, it would then be possible to take a decision regarding a United Nations presence in the Territory. At present, a United Nations presence would be premature.

991. The representative of the United States of America said that, in her delegation's view, statements to the effect that no political progress had been made since the Special Committee had last considered the situation in the Territory were unwarranted. They took no account of the facts communicated to the Sub-Committee by her delegation. There were two political parties in the United States Virgin Islands. Free elections had been held in the Territory in November 1966, and more than 80 per cent of the electorate had voted. The population had thus had an opportunity of expressing its views on its future.

992. Furthermore, her delegation had informed the Special Committee that it had complied with the recommendation made by the 1964 Constitutional Convention that the composition of the Territory's legislature should be changed and the legislature enlarged. In pursuance of another recommendation by the Convention, the legislature was now entitled to establish legislative salaries; and, as the Convention had also recommended, a bill providing for an elected governor had been introduced in the United States Congress, which had not yet dealt with it. The bill was supported by the Federal Government. In her view, all those measures represented progress towards self-determination. If the United States had been intending to annex the Territory of the Virgin Islands, it would not be taking steps to hold elections which might lead to self-government.

993. The representative of the United Kingdom said that his delegation reserved its position on the conclusions and recommendations of Sub-Committee III on the United States Virgin Islands.

994. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania was surprised that the word "independence" did not appear in the conclusions and recommendations in paragraph 82. Could the Committee reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of the Territory to self-determination, as it had done in sub-paragraph (6), without at the same time recognizing its right to independence? He suggested that the words "and independence" should be added after the words "to self-determination" in that sub-paragraph. With that single

exception, his delegation whole-heartedly supported the conclusions and recommendations of Sub-Committee III.

995. The representative of Venezuela drew the Tanzanian representative's attention to the fact that the word "independence" appeared in sub-paragraph (2), in which it was stated that the Committee reaffirmed that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples applies fully to the Territory. The idea of independence was also implicit in sub-paragraph (5), in which the Committee expressed its regret that the administering Power had not yet implemented the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly with respect to the Territory. The term "self-determination" was, of course, to be understood in the widest sense to cover all possibilities, including absolute independence, which was the highest form of self-government.

996. The representative of Iran said that his delegation would gladly support the Tanzanian representative's proposal, but wished to place on record his belief that the word "self-determination" was wide enough to embrace independence. It was out of respect for the freedom of the population that no reference was made to any particular form of self-determination. That was a matter for the inhabitants of the Territory themselves to decide.

997. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that it was precisely that idea which he had had in mind in suggesting an explicit reference to independence.

998. The Special Committee adopted, as amended, the conclusions and recommendations concerning the United States Virgin Islands as contained in paragraph 82 of the Sub-Committee's report.

British Virgin Islands

999. The representative of the United Kingdom said that he particularly deplored the negative character of the conclusions and recommendations concerning the British Virgin Islands (see annex to the present chapter, para. 160), since no account had been taken of the progress which the inhabitants of the Territory had made during the last few years. He consequently reserved the position of his delegation with regard to section III of the report.

1000. The representative of Australia expressed general reservations regarding the conclusions and recommendations, since they did not pay due attention to the recent political developments of the Territories.

1001. The representative of Bulgaria said that the report accurately reflected the situation in the British Virgin Islands. Nevertheless, he had reservations regarding sub-paragraph 9 of the conclusions and recommendations, since in his opinion the United Nations presence in small colonial Territories should take the form of visiting missions; otherwise the administering Powers could use the United Nations machinery in order to maintain their colonial domination. He asked for his reservations to be recorded in the Committee's report.

1002. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that he was in general agreement with the Committee's conclusions and recommendations but he recalled the reservations that his delegation had expressed when the Special Committee had considered the Territories in the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. The United Nations presence

in colonial Territories should be conditional upon a study of the situation and the adoption of certain measures by the administering Powers, so that the inhabitants could express their wishes freely; otherwise the United Nations presence might favour the continuation of colonialism.

1003. The representative of India said that the second part of sub-paragraph 8 repeated an idea that was already stated in sub-paragraph 7. He suggested that the last sentence of sub-paragraph 8, beginning with the word "Accordingly", be deleted.

1004. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics supported the Indian representative's suggestion.

1005. The representative of Sierra Leone said that he had no objection to the Indian suggestion but would propose that not only should the last sentence of sub-paragraph 8 be deleted but the present order of sub-paragraphs 7 and 8 should be reversed. Sub-paragraphs 1 to 6 were in fact conclusions, as was the first part of sub-paragraph 8, whereas sub-paragraph 7 was a recommendation.

1006. The representative of Iran said that he had no objection to the proposal by the representative of Sierra Leone in so far as the reversing of the order of the sub-paragraphs was concerned. He himself, however, would suggest that instead of the second part of sub-paragraph 8 being deleted it should be replaced by the following sentence: "Accordingly, it invited the administering Power to take the necessary steps in that respect, in accordance with sub-paragraph 8."

1007. The representative of the United Kingdom said that, if the deletion of the last sentence of sub-paragraph 8 was put to the vote, he would vote against it, for the intention seemed to be to delete all reference to resolution 1514 (XV).

1008. The representative of Venezuela agreed with the amendment proposed by the representative of Sierra Leone but he himself proposed that the last phrase of sub-paragraph 8, namely "and other pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly", should be inserted in sub-paragraph 7 after the words "resolution 1514 (XV)".

1009. The representative of Italy agreed with the representatives of Sierra Leone and Iran and supported the Venezuelan representative's proposal.

1010. The representative of India supported by the representative of Ethiopia proposed that the reference in the Venezuelan amendment should be worded as follows: "other resolutions of the General Assembly concerning this Territory".

1011. The Special Committee adopted the proposal made by the representative of Sierra Leone that the last sentence of sub-paragraph 8 should be deleted and that the order of sub-paragraphs 7 and 8 should be reversed.

1012. The Special Committee also adopted the proposal made by the representative of Iran that the following new sentence should be added to new sub-paragraph 7: "Accordingly, it invites the administering Power to take the necessary steps in this regard on the basis of sub-paragraph 8 below."

1013. The Venezuelan representative's proposal, as amended by the representative of India, that the words "and other resolutions of the General Assembly concerning this Territory" should be inserted after the words "resolution 1514 (XV)" in new sub-paragraph 8,

was adopted by the Special Committee by 13 votes to none, with 8 abstentions.

1014. The representative of Iran said that he had abstained from voting since, in his view, the amended sub-paragraph did not accurately reflect the debates which had taken place in Sub-Committee III.

1015. The representative of the United States of America said that General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) was applicable to the Territory dealt with in that section of the report and could not be dismissed as a simple reference to the procedure for the transmission of information.

1016. The Special Committee adopted, as amended, the conclusions and recommendations concerning the British Virgin Islands as contained in paragraph 160 of the Sub-Committee's report.

Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent

1017. With regard to this section of the Sub-Committee's report, the representative of the United Kingdom said that his Government had already stated that the resolution of the Special Committee prejudged the situation of the associated States of the Eastern Caribbean and that it saw no point in collaborating with the Sub-Committee. He would abstain in the vote on that section of the report.

1018. The representative of Australia expressed general reservations regarding the conclusions and recommendations (see annex to the present chapter, para. 287), since they did not pay due attention to the recent political developments of the Territories.

1019. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Bulgaria expressed reservations with regard to sub-paragraph 11 of paragraph 287, similar to those which they had expressed with regard to sub-paragraph 9 of paragraph 160 of the Sub-Committee's report.

1020. The representatives of India, Italy, Ivory Coast, Chile, Madagascar, Tunisia, Australia, Ethiopia and Afghanistan expressed reservations with regard to sub-paragraph 4 of paragraph 287, because they did not consider that Sub-Committee III was competent to hear petitioners.

1021. The representative of Iran pointed out, with reference to the reservations which had been expressed, that Sub-Committee III had not granted any hearings to petitioners. It had confined itself to giving certain individuals an opportunity to provide it with the information it needed for the discharge of its task. In so doing, it had not departed from established precedents, as the case of the Sub-Committee on Equatorial Guinea showed.

1022. The representative of Venezuela felt that the Sub-Committee had not exceeded its terms of reference by availing itself of the opportunity to obtain first-hand information on the situation in the Territories.

1023. The representatives of Madagascar, the United Kingdom and the United States of America expressed reservations with regard to paragraph 286.

1024. The Special Committee took note of paragraph 286 and decided to defer consideration of the question raised therein.

1025. The Special Committee adopted conclusions and recommendations concerning Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and

St. Vincent as contained in paragraph 287 of the Sub-Committee's report.

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

1026. The representative of the United Kingdom said that he deplored the negative character of the conclusions and recommendations regarding Bermuda, the Bahamas, Montserrat, the Turks, and Caicos Islands and the Cayman Islands, since no account had been taken of the progress which the inhabitants of those Territories had made during the last few years. He consequently reserved the position of his delegation with regard to this section of the report.

1027. The representative of Australia expressed general reservations regarding the conclusions and recommendations, since they did not pay due attention to the recent political developments in the Territories.

1028. The Special Committee adopted conclusions and recommendations concerning Bermuda, Bahamas, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands, as contained in paragraph 352 of the Sub-Committee's report.

Falkland Islands (Malvinas)

1029. The Special Committee adopted the statement of consensus concerning the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) as contained in paragraph 355 of the Sub-Committee's report.

General conclusions and recommendations on Territories under United Kingdom administration

1030. The representative of the United Kingdom reserved the position of his delegation with regard to the general conclusions and recommendations contained in the Sub-Committee's report.

1031. The representative of Australia expressed general reservations regarding the conclusions and recommendations.

1032. The Special Committee adopted the general conclusions and recommendations on Territories under United Kingdom administration as contained in paragraph 356 of the Sub-Committee's report.

F. Action taken by the Special Committee

1033. The conclusions and recommendations adopted by the Special Committee at its 564th and 565th meetings on 27 September and 6 October 1967 are as follows:

(a) United States Virgin Islands

(1) The Special Committee recalls its conclusions and recommendations concerning the Territory which it adopted in 1966 and which were endorsed by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session.

(2) It reaffirms that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples applies fully to the Territory.

(3) It recognizes that the small size and population of the Territory present peculiar problems which demand special attention.

(4) It notes that no significant constitutional progress has taken place in the Territory since the item was last examined by the Special Committee.

(5) Furthermore, it regrets that, despite advancement in the political field, the administering Power has failed further to implement the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and the other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly with respect to this Territory.

(6) It reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence, while emphasizing once again that the administering Power should enable the people to express their wishes concerning the future status of the Territory in full freedom and without any restrictions.

(7) It also invites the administering Power to encourage open, free and public discussion of the various alternatives open to them in their achievement of the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and to ensure that the people of the Territory shall exercise their right of self-determination in full knowledge of these alternatives.

(8) Recalling paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI) of 20 December 1966 that "the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of these Territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status", it reiterates its belief that a United Nations presence during the procedures for the right of self-determination will be essential for the purpose of ensuring that the people of the Territory exercise their right of self-determination in full freedom and without any restrictions, in full knowledge of the various alternatives open to them.

(9) It urges the administering Power to enable the United Nations to send a visiting mission to the Territory and to extend to it full co-operation and assistance.

(b) *British Virgin Islands*

(1) The Special Committee recalls its conclusions and recommendations on the Territory which were approved by the Special Committee in 1964 and 1966 and were confirmed by the General Assembly at its twentieth and twenty-first sessions.

(2) It reaffirms that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples continues to apply fully to the Territory.

(3) It recognizes that the small size of the Territory and its sparse population raise particular problems which require special attention.

(4) It takes note of the result of the Constitutional Conference of October 1966, and also of the elections which were held in the Territory on 14 April 1967.

(5) It regrets that, despite the political and constitutional progress made in the Territory since the Special Committee last considered the matter, the administering Power has failed further to implement the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) and other General Assembly resolutions relating to this Territory.

(6) It reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the Territory to self-determination, and wishes to stress once again that the administering Power should enable the people to express its will regarding the future status of the Territory in complete freedom and without restrictions of any kind.

(7) It reiterates the view that it should be possible for the Territory to unite with other Territories in the area in order to form an economically and administratively viable State. The Special Committee regrets that, since 1947, no effective steps have been taken to bring

about a possible federation with other Territories. Accordingly, it invites the administering Power to take the necessary steps in this regard on the basis of paragraph (8) below.

(8) It invites the administering Power to encourage open, free and public discussion of the possible options from which the people can make its choice in its efforts to attain the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other resolutions of the General Assembly concerning this Territory, and to ensure that the people of the Territory will be able to exercise its right of self-determination in full knowledge of the options open to it.

(9) Recalling paragraph 6 of resolution 2232 (XXI), which states that "the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of these Territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status", the Special Committee reiterates its belief that a United Nations presence during the procedures connected with the exercise of the right of self-determination will be essential to ensure that the people of the Territory can exercise this right in complete freedom, without any restrictions of any kind, and in full knowledge of the possible options open to it.

(10) The Special Committee regrets that the administering Power has not yet agreed to the sending of a visiting mission to the Territory, and affirms that such a visit will be useful and necessary. Therefore it urges the administering Power to enable the United Nations to send a visiting mission to the Territory and to extend to it full co-operation and assistance.

(c) *Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent*

(1) The Special Committee recalls its previous conclusions and recommendations concerning these Territories, which were endorsed by the General Assembly.

(2) It recalls the resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its 506th meeting on 23 March 1967, in particular, operative paragraph 2, under which the Sub-Committee was charged "to examine, in the light of the recent constitutional developments, the situation in these Territories in all its aspects including the possibility of sending a visiting mission, and to report to the Special Committee at an early date".

(3) It notes with regret the attitude of the administering Power, which has refused to co-operate with the Sub-Committee in its efforts to obtain more complete information concerning the recent constitutional and political developments in the Territories.

(4) It notes that Sub-Committee III, deeming it necessary for the discharge of its task, granted hearings to individuals who provided it with information on the recent political and constitutional developments in Anguilla.

(5) It takes note of the constitutional developments that have taken place in these Territories, and considers that they represent a certain degree of advancement in the political field for the peoples concerned.

(6) It further takes note of the recent political developments that have taken place in the island of Anguilla.

(7) It reaffirms that resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions continue to apply fully to these Territories.

(8) The Special Committee, bearing in mind resolution 2232 (XXI), reiterates that the small size and

meagre resources of these Territories present peculiar problems which demand special attention.

(9) It reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of these Territories to exercise their right of self-determination in complete freedom and without any restriction. It requests the administering Power to ensure that the peoples of the Territories are informed of the various possibilities available to them in their achievement of the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV).

(10) It requests the administering Power to promote the development of closer ties among these Territories through the building of a common political, economic and social infrastructure in accordance with the wishes of the population.

(11) Recalling resolution 2232 (XXI), paragraph 6, which establishes "that the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of these Territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status", the Special Committee reiterates its belief that a United Nations presence during the procedures connected with the process of self-determination will be essential in order to ensure that the peoples of the Territories are enabled to exercise their right in complete freedom, without any restriction and in full knowledge of the options available to them.

(12) The Special Committee regrets that the administering Power has not agreed to the dispatch of a visiting mission to these Territories and affirms that such a visit would be useful and desirable. Accordingly, it again requests the administering Power to allow the dispatch of a United Nations visiting mission to the Territories and to extend to it full co-operation and assistance.

(d) Bermuda, Bahamas, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands

(1) The Special Committee recalls its earlier conclusions and recommendations relating to Bermuda, Bahamas, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands, which were endorsed by the General Assembly.

(2) It takes note of the statement of the administering Power containing additional information on these Territories.

(3) It reaffirms that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples applies fully to these Territories.

(4) It regrets that the administering Power has not yet taken effective measures to implement the Declaration in these Territories and urges it to do so without further delay.

(5) It notes that financial interests unrelated to the political, economic and social development of these Territories may constitute an obstacle to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) in the Territory of the Bahamas.

(6) It considers that, in view of the lack of sufficient information on some of these Territories, the administering Power should make it possible for the United Nations to dispatch a visiting mission to the Territories as soon as possible.

(7) It considers that the administering Power should take immediate measures to transfer all powers to the peoples of these Territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, in order to enable them to enjoy complete freedom and independence.

(8) It reiterates its belief that, particularly in the case of small Territories, the United Nations should take appropriate steps to ensure that the peoples of these Territories are enabled to express themselves freely on their future status, in full knowledge of the options available to them.

(e) Falkland Islands (Malvinas)

Considering that bilateral negotiations are the best way of solving the problem of the decolonization of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), but having no information on the progress made in this direction since the approval of the consensus of 20 December 1966, the Special Committee recommends that the attention of the parties should again be drawn to General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) and the consensus of 20 December 1966, with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem as soon as possible, due regard being paid to the recommendation at the end of the consensus that the Special Committee and the General Assembly should be kept informed about the development of the negotiations on this colonial situation, the elimination of which is of interest to the United Nations within the context of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

(f) General conclusions and recommendations on Territories under United Kingdom administration

(1) The Special Committee recalls its conclusions and recommendations concerning these Territories which were adopted by the Special Committee in 1966 and which were endorsed by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session.

(2) It reaffirms that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples applies fully to these Territories. At the same time, it recognizes that the small size and population of these Territories, and the nature of their economies, present peculiar problems which demand special attention.

(3) It reaffirms the right of the people of these Territories to exercise their right of self-determination in complete freedom and in full knowledge of the various forms of political status open to them. It also expresses its belief that, particularly in the case of small Territories, the United Nations should take appropriate steps to ensure that the people of these Territories are enabled to express themselves freely on their future status and in full knowledge of the options available to them.

(4) It reiterates its previous recommendation concerning the need for visiting missions to these Territories and, to this end, urges the administering Power to enable the Special Committee to send visiting missions to the Territories.

(5) It recalls its belief expressed in 1964 that it should be possible for these Territories to join with others in the area to form an economically and administratively viable State. It also recalls that, at that time, negotiations were being carried on between certain of these Territories with a view to establishing a federation. The Special Committee regrets that these negotiations were not successful and that, as a consequence, each Territory has been obliged to seek a separate solution. It expresses the hope that the administering Power will do everything possible to promote the development of closer ties among these Territories through

the building of a common political, economic and social infrastructure in accordance with the wishes of the people.

ANNEX*

Report of Sub-Committee III

Rapporteur: Mr. Gilberto Ignacio CARRASQUERO
(Venezuela)

INTRODUCTION

Terms of reference

1. At its 488th meeting on 20 February 1967, the Special Committee, in approving the twenty-sixth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.368/Rev.1), decided to maintain Sub-Committee III with the same membership as in 1966.^a At the same meeting, the Special Committee confirmed the Sub-Committee's existing terms of reference, and decided to consider urgently and directly in plenary meetings the Territories of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. The Territories referred to Sub-Committee III are as follows: Antigua, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Honduras, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Falkland Island (Malvinas), Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Turks and Caicos Islands and United States Virgin Islands.

2. In addition to these terms of reference, the Special Committee requested the Sub-Committee to carry out the specific tasks assigned by the General Assembly in its resolutions concerning the Territories referred to Sub-Committee III. The decisions of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session relating to the Territories referred to Sub-Committee III are contained in General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI) of 20 December 1966 and in the consensus on the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) approved by the General Assembly on 20 December 1966. The operative paragraphs of resolution 2232 (XXI) read as follows:

[The General Assembly]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The consensus on the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) reads as follows:

* Previously reproduced under the symbols A/AC.109/L.401/Rev.1 and A/AC.109/L.401/Add.1-4.

^a The members of the Sub-Committee are Bulgaria, Iran, Italy, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Uruguay and Venezuela.

"With reference to General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) of 16 December 1965 concerning the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), the Fourth Committee took note of the communications dated 15 December 1966 of Argentina and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (A/C.4/682 and A/C.4/683). In this regard there was a consensus in favour of urging both parties to continue with the negotiations so as to find a peaceful solution to the problem as soon as possible, keeping the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the General Assembly duly informed about the development of the negotiations on this colonial situation, the elimination of which is of interest to the United Nations within the context of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960."^b

3. At the same meeting, the Special Committee authorized Sub-Committee III to submit specific recommendations without delay regarding the sending of visiting missions to the Territories with which it was concerned.

4. By a resolution adopted at its 506th meeting on 23 March 1967 (see para. 948 of the present chapter), the Special Committee requested its Sub-Committee III to examine, in the light of the recent constitutional developments, the situation in the Territories of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent in all its aspects including the possibility of sending a visiting mission.

Election of officers

5. At its 60th meeting on 23 February 1967, the Sub-Committee unanimously elected Mr. Mohsen Sadigh Esfandiary (Iran) as Chairman and Mr. Gilberto Ignacio Carrasquero (Venezuela) as Rapporteur.

Meetings of the Sub-Committee

6. The Sub-Committee held a total of thirty-nine meetings between 23 February and 25 September 1967, and considered the questions referred to it in the following order:

- (a) Question of visiting missions
- (b) United States Virgin Islands
- (c) British Virgin Islands
- (d) Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent
- (e) (i) Bermuda, Bahamas, Montserrat
(ii) Turks and Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands
- (f) Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

7. Owing to lack of time, the Sub-Committee decided to defer consideration of the Territory of British Honduras.

I. QUESTION OF VISITING MISSIONS

8. The Sub-Committee considered the question of visiting missions at its 62nd and 63rd meetings on 7 and 9 March 1967. The Sub-Committee resumed the consideration of this item at its 87th meeting on 25 August 1967.

9. In considering this question, the Sub-Committee noted that it had been authorized by the Special Committee to submit specific recommendations without delay regarding the sending of visiting missions to the Territories with which it was concerned. It also noted that the Special Committee had decided that visiting missions to Territories should, if possible, be sent during the period preceding the fifth special session of the General Assembly.

10. The Sub-Committee was guided by the decisions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee concerning the desirability of sending visiting missions to the Territories to which the Declaration applies, namely the decisions contained in paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI). It also noted that in 1966, the Special Committee had decided

^b See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes*, addendum to agenda item 23, document A/6628, para. 13.

that visiting missions should be sent to the following Territories: United States Virgin Islands, British Virgin Islands, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Bermuda, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands.

11. The Sub-Committee therefore decided to recommend to the Special Committee that it send visiting missions to all Territories as soon as possible, if necessary spreading the visits over two years. At the same meeting the Sub-Committee requested its Chairman to ascertain from the administering Powers whether they would be prepared to receive visiting missions in 1967 to the specific Territories proposed by the Sub-Committee, namely: United States Virgin Islands, British Virgin Islands, Montserrat, the Bahamas, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent.

12. At the 74th meeting on 9 May, the Chairman stated that the representatives of the United Kingdom and of the United States had replied to his inquiries concerning visiting missions.

13. In a letter dated 20 April 1967, addressed to the Chairman, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations stated that he had been instructed to say that "in existing circumstances, visiting missions to Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and St. Lucia, which now have the status of fully self-governing Associated States, would be inappropriate". He also stated that a reply concerning the Bahamas, the British Virgin Islands and Montserrat would be sent in due course. Subsequently, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations informed the Chairman by letter, dated 7 June 1967, that his Government had considered this request, but had decided that it was unable to agree to the proposals.

14. In a letter dated 26 April 1967, addressed to the Chairman, the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations stated that the position of his Government with regard to the proposed visiting mission to the United States Virgin Islands remained as communicated to the Sub-Committee in 1966. He further stated that "the United States Government believes that a United Nations visiting mission to the Virgin Islands would not be warranted at the present time, and regrets that it is therefore unable to concur in the Sub-Committee's recommendations".

Conclusions and recommendations

15. Recalling paragraphs 5 of General Assembly resolutions 2232 (XXI) and 2189 (XXI), the Sub-Committee notes with regret that the administering Powers, namely the United States and the United Kingdom, continue to maintain the same negative attitude towards the acceptance of visiting missions to the Territories referred to Sub-Committee III.

16. The Sub-Committee recommends that the Special Committee should strongly urge the administering Powers to receive visiting missions to these Territories at an early date.

II. UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS

A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE

Introduction

17. The Sub-Committee considered the Territory of the United States Virgin Islands at its 64th to 72nd meetings between 29 March and 19 April 1967.

18. The Sub-Committee had before it the working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see paras. 19-65 of the present chapter).

19. In accordance with the procedure agreed upon by the Special Committee, the representative of the United States of America, as administering Power, took part in the Sub-Committee's work at the invitation of the Chairman.

General statements

20. The representative of the United States said that his delegation had made a basic statement on the United States Virgin Islands to the Sub-Committee on 18 August 1966 at the 47th meeting and had discussed the Territory further in

the Fourth Committee only three months previously, on 16 December 1966. In recent months there had been further political, social and economic developments which were of interest.

21. During the 1966 fiscal year and until mid-February 1967, the Territory had enjoyed continuing economic and social growth. *Per capita* income had increased by \$100 per year since 1965 and, by early 1967, stood at \$2,100 per year. Government revenue collections from local sources for the 1966 fiscal year had risen by approximately one third, compared with the previous year. The Government of the Territory had collected \$37.5 million locally during 1966, an increase of \$8.5 million over the preceding fiscal year. Collections for the first half of the 1967 fiscal year (from 1 July to 31 December 1966) had increased by an even greater percentage compared with collections in the first half of the previous fiscal year. Bank assets were now more than \$100 million, an 11 per cent increase over 1965.

22. The authorized ceiling for revenue bonds had been increased from \$10 million to \$30 million, explicitly recognizing the fiscal responsibility of the local Government and allowing it to act to meet the Territory's expanding requirements.

23. The Virgin Islands Development Authority, created to allow local ownership and management of properties formerly held by the Virgin Islands Corporation, had completed its first full year of operations and collected more than \$550,000 in revenue, compared with Virgin Islands Corporation receipts of \$406,000 during the previous year. Ownership of the Harry S. Truman Airport had been transferred from the United States Government to the Virgin Islands Government. There were now twenty-one jet return flights per week between the Territory and the United States mainland, compared with only three in 1965. The airport, which was managed by the Development Authority, was also used by three airlines operating in the Caribbean.

24. The island of St. Croix had continued to expand its industrial base with the completion of a large alumina plant in an industrial complex on previously unproductive wasteland. Rapid progress was also being made towards the completion of a large petroleum refinery on the island. When completed, it would aid the economic diversification of the Territory by attracting satellite industries to St. Croix.

25. On the island of St. Thomas, the Virgin Islands Planning Board has selected a site suitable for industrial development. The island's industrial development had previously lagged behind that of St. Croix because of the latter's natural physical advantages.

26. The housing problem had been partially alleviated by the recent opening of a 200-unit public housing project on St. Croix, although there was still a gap between available public housing and demand. More than 3,000 additional units, public and private, were now in planning or under construction. The "turn key" method, utilizing private enterprise for building low-cost housing with United States Government aid, was now being employed and the construction of more than 600 units by that method had recently been approved. Owing to population increase, existing hospital and medical care facilities remained taxed in comparison with United States standards. Two multi-million dollar medical care centres, each of which would include a general hospital, long-term care centre, public health centre, out-patient clinic and staff residence facilities, were now in the land acquisition stage; construction was expected to begin in early 1968.

27. Progress continued to be made in the educational field. During 1965 the Government had initiated an accelerated programme to build 113 additional classrooms, and the construction of a junior high school and a senior high school had already been completed. The student-teacher ratio compared favourably with the highest standards in mainland United States. The College of the Virgin Islands now had 229 full-time and 1,000 evening students, and the second graduation exercises had been held in June 1966. Full-time enrolment in 1967 was expected to be 75 per cent greater than in 1966 and a four-year programme for teacher-training, in conjunction with New York University, had been instituted in 1966.

28. The political climate in the Virgin Islands was informed and free. There were six newspapers, a monthly magazine, three radio stations and two television stations which provided coverage of local, national and international events. Universal adult suffrage had been introduced in 1936 and literacy requirements could be met in either Spanish or English. There was a two-party system in the Territory and in the last elections, held in November 1966, over 13,000 persons, representing more than 80 per cent of the registered voters, had cast ballots.

29. In 1966 his delegation had informed the Special Committee that the recommendation of the 1964 Constitutional Convention that the Legislature should be reapportioned had been passed into law. He was pleased to inform members that an enlarged and reapportioned Legislature consisting of fifteen members—five each from St. Thomas and St. Croix, one from St. John, and four senators-at-large—had been elected and had been meeting during 1967. As a result of a recommendation by the 1964 Constitutional Convention, the Legislature now had the power to establish legislative salaries and had, in fact, recently done so. Pursuant to another recommendation of the 1964 Convention, bills providing for an elected governor had been introduced in, and passed by, both houses of the United States Congress in 1966. The two bills passed had differed in minor points, such as effective dates, and, owing to lack of time, the differences had not been reconciled before the adjournment of the 89th Congress. As a pending bill lapsed at the end of a session of Congress in which it was introduced, the bills in question no longer had any legislative status. On 17 January 1967, a new bill providing for an elected governor had been introduced in the 90th Congress and had been referred to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, which was now considering it. The bill provided for the governor of the Virgin Islands to be elected by a majority of the people entitled to vote for the Legislature. It also granted to the Legislature the authority to determine the length of its sessions and affirmed the applicability of certain portions of the Federal Constitution to the unincorporated Territory of the Virgin Islands. The protection afforded to United States citizens by those provisions had already been included in territorial legislation.

30. The representative of Venezuela was glad to note that the economic and social conditions in the Territory were among the most favourable in the Caribbean area. However, his delegation was also interested in the political developments in the Territory. Noting that on 16 May 1966 the United States House of Representatives had passed a bill to provide for an elected governor of the Virgin Islands and that on 10 October 1966 the United States Senate had passed the House bill with a number of amendments, he asked whether the United States representative could tell the Sub-Committee what those amendments had been and what was the present situation regarding the election of the governor. He would also like to know what the political platform of the Virgin Islands Party was and whether it had been absorbed by the Democratic or Republican Party.

31. The representative of Italy said that his delegation was particularly interested in political developments in the Territory within the framework of the resolutions that governed the Sub-Committee's work. With regard to the elections that had been held in the Territory on 8 November 1966, he asked the United States representative whether he could give some information concerning the main themes of the electoral campaign and the platforms of the political parties. It would also be useful if the United States delegation could provide the Committee with newspaper clippings so that members could see what issues had been put before the electorate and what the political climate had been in the Territory. Lastly, he asked whether the Legislature had begun its work and what political tendencies had been manifested within that body.

32. The representative of Uruguay said he would be interested to know what the views of the political parties in the Virgin Islands were regarding the future political status of the Territory.

33. The representative of the United States said in reply to the Venezuelan representative that the most important difference between the two bills passed by the House of

Representatives and the Senate in 1966 had related to the date on which the governor was to be elected. Consultations were to have been held between the two Houses to reconcile the differences, but there had not been sufficient time to do so before Congress had adjourned. New legislation had therefore been introduced, with the endorsement of the Executive Branch, at the present session of Congress.

34. With regard to one of the questions asked by the Italian representative, he could inform the Sub-Committee that the Legislature had in fact begun its work and had already met during the current year.

35. The representative of Bulgaria said that he would like to put some questions to the representative of the administering Power. First, the need had frequently been stressed for General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 to be publicized as widely as possible in colonial Territories. He imagined that the information media in the United States Virgin Islands were controlled by the United States Government and he thought it possible that the inhabitants might not be fully informed concerning resolution 1514 (XV) and other subsequent resolutions and recommendations of the Special Committee and the General Assembly. He wondered whether the United States representative could give the Sub-Committee some information on the question, and regarding the extent to which the people were informed of the various possibilities open to them in the matter of political emancipation.

36. Secondly, he would like some information regarding the ownership of the land in the Territory: did it belong, for example, to those who cultivated it, or to commercial concerns?

37. Thirdly, attention had frequently been drawn to the need for United Nations visiting missions to small Territories such as the Virgin Islands in order to examine the situation at first hand and ascertain the wishes of the population. Both in resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966 (operative paragraph 5), and in resolution 2232 (XXI) of 20 December 1966 (operative paragraph 5), the General Assembly had urged the administering Powers to allow United Nations visiting missions to be sent to the Territories under their administration. At its 63rd meeting, the Sub-Committee had decided to recommend the dispatch of visiting missions during 1967 to a number of Territories, including the United States Virgin Islands. One month had passed since that meeting and he wondered whether the Committee could now have some indication of the United States Government's attitude with regard to a visiting mission.

38. The representative of the United States said that, with regard to the dissemination in the Virgin Islands of information concerning General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the options open to the people, he wished to make it clear, first, that the information media in the Virgin Islands, as in the United States, were in private hands and not controlled by the United States Government as the representative of Bulgaria had said. However, resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) had been publicized in the Territory and all deliberations at the United Nations were followed with interest there. A press representative from the Territory had recently been at United Nations Headquarters, and editorials concerning the Special Committee had appeared in the Press of the Virgin Islands. In general, the Virgin Islanders were fully aware of the options set forth in resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). They were also aware of the developments in neighbouring Caribbean islands and of the new arrangements recently introduced in some of them.

39. The representative of Iran said that he would like to ask the United States representative what measures had been taken in the direction of self-determination and whether the people would be given an opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination in the near future. He recalled that, at the previous meeting, the representative of Italy had asked for information on the platforms of the various political parties in the Territory. He would like to know, in particular, whether each party took a particular position regarding the future of the Territory. If so, he asked whether it would be possible to say which of the various possibilities for the Territory's future status enjoyed the widest support among the people.

40. The representative of Bulgaria noted that in its last report to the General Assembly (A/6300/Rev.1) the Special Committee had stated that the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) were fully applicable to the small colonial Territories and had presented a number of conclusions and recommendations concerning the Territories appearing on the Sub-Committee's agenda. In its resolution 2232 (XXI), moreover, the General Assembly had reaffirmed the right of the peoples of those Territories to self-determination and independence and had called upon the administering Powers to implement the relevant resolutions without delay. It was therefore unfortunate that, in view of the position taken by the administering Power with regard to the sending of a visiting mission and the absence of petitioners, the Sub-Committee was once again obliged to consider the situation in the United States Virgin Islands with nothing to guide it but a working paper prepared by the Secretariat. His delegation felt that the Sub-Committee should draw the attention of the Special Committee and the Assembly to that improper situation and try to obtain all available information, including reports in the international Press. At the same time, it was to be hoped that the administering Power would promptly provide the information requested of it concerning political parties in the Virgin Islands and the debates in the United States Congress regarding the bill on election of the Governor and the amendments to that bill.

41. Although the representative of the administering Power had stated that progress had been made in the political, social and economic spheres, the fact remained that the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) had not yet been applied to the United States Virgin Islands.

42. His delegation did not reject *a priori* any decision that the people of the Territory might take regarding their future. The essential point was that the people must be given complete freedom to take their decision, and that proper economic, social and political conditions should be created so that their exercise of self-determination would be genuine and without any restrictions. It was, however, regrettable not only that the proposals of the 1964 Constitutional Convention to increase the people's participation in the management of local affairs had done nothing to change the basic relationship between the Territory and the administering Power but also that implementation of the proposed measures had been postponed. After more than two years the Constitutional Convention's proposals concerning election of the governor and abolition of the veto were still far from having been settled. It was therefore urgently necessary for the Special Committee to reaffirm its earlier recommendations and at last obtain compliance with those recommendations by the administering Power.

43. While it was interesting to be informed of the Territory's average *per capita* income, he would like the United States delegation to indicate the actual distribution of income among the various social groups.

44. His delegation wished to state in conclusion that, instead of passively noting the decisions taken by administering Powers, the Special Committee should seek all possible means of helping the peoples of the colonial Territories to exercise their right of self-determination in a completely free manner and in full awareness of the various alternatives open to them and of helping them to advance the process of decolonization. It was to be hoped that the administering Power would fully recognize the responsibilities of the United Nations and give the Organization its complete cooperation in implementing resolution 1514 (XV).

45. The representative of the United States said he did not agree that the situation in the Territory had remained virtually unchanged since the last time the Sub-Committee had discussed it. Local government revenue for the financial year 1966 (a total of \$37.5 million for a population of less than 50,000) attested to the level of economic activity in the Territory. This was an increase of \$8.5 million over fiscal year 1965. It was also of some interest to note that 3,000 low-cost dwellings and 113 classrooms were planned or under construction, that more than 1,000 students were attending the College of the Virgin Islands and that several million dollars had been invested in hospital construction.

46. It was unfortunately not possible to provide information on the distribution (by population segment) of income in the Territory. Statistical data of that kind were unobtainable for many other areas, including even many parts of the United States.

47. The recommendations of the Constitutional Convention had been before Congress for only one year, not two. While it was true that congressional action in 1966 had yielded no results because of differences between the Senate and the House of Representatives regarding the length of the governor's term and the provisions relating to his recall etc., it should be added that the United States Government, which was anxious to arrive at a satisfactory solution, had once again brought the matter before Congress. His delegation was currently studying the bills which had been passed by the House of Representatives and the Senate in 1966 and would give the Sub-Committee specific information on the subject of differences in the bills in the near future. In any event, he wished to draw the members' attention to the working paper (see para. 40 of the present chapter) which gave a rather brief but extremely clear account of the differences between the bills passed during the 89th Congress.

48. The representative of Uruguay said that because of the very heavy agenda of the Special Committee and other United Nations bodies in whose work his delegation took part and in view of the need to work out, in the light of the special situation of the smaller Territories, a policy governing the application to those Territories of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), his delegation would like to be able to prepare a documented, carefully considered statement without being subjected to the pressure of time.

49. The representative of Italy agreed with the Uruguayan representative that the Sub-Committee should give thought to the methods it should use in dealing with the small Territories. The best course would be to begin by defining a policy applicable to all the small Territories on the Sub-Committee's agenda and then decide how the General Assembly resolutions should be applied to each. Such a course would be necessary as the Special Committee's terms of reference had clearly been framed with the decolonization of larger and politically and economically viable Territories, whose peoples wanted independence, in mind.

50. So far as the United States Virgin Islands were concerned, he noted with satisfaction that there had recently been substantial progress towards self-government. During the campaign that had preceded the elections of November 1966, the people of the Territory had had every opportunity to express their views on the future of the islands, and the new Legislative Assembly, though its competence might be somewhat limited, was free to take up any political subject. It seemed that the people were inclined to make the best politically, economically, and otherwise, of the present situation which was encouraging, having regard, in particular, to the increase in *per capita* income (from \$1,543 in 1963 to more than \$2,000 in 1965).

51. The Sub-Committee should therefore recommend that the administering Power should continue to bring the Territory along the road to full self-government and should have the bill providing for the election of a governor passed as soon as possible. It should also ask the United States Government not to conceal from the people of the Islands that several options were open to them regarding their political future and to refrain from exerting any pressure on them in favour of one option rather than another. Lastly, the administering Power should be invited to disseminate information on the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization and to facilitate contacts between the United Nations and the elected representatives of the Islands, if the latter wanted such contacts.

52. In the case of Territories which, like the United States Virgin Islands, already enjoyed a large measure of political freedom, it could be argued that each free election was an act of self-determination. It could also be argued that no act of self-determination was valid unless the issues were clear. That was a point that deserved further consideration by the Sub-Committee in respect not only of the United States Virgin Islands but also of all the other Territories on its agenda.

53. The representative of Iran said with reference to the Uruguayan representative's observations that he thought the policy to be evolved should be based on the principles of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which were applicable to all the Territories studied by the Special Committee. For the small Territories, the Sub-Committee could also be guided by other General Assembly resolutions and, additionally, by the relevant views expressed by various United Nations bodies. He emphasized, however, that the right of self-determination could not be called in question and the whole policy hinged on it; the right must be exercised in absolute freedom, particularly in the case of the small Territories. The General Assembly had indicated in several resolutions that for that condition to be fulfilled a United Nations presence was essential. It was the task of the Sub-Committee, in seeing to it that those basic principles were applied, to observe the progress being made and, if it seemed too slow, to call for the pace to be quickened.

54. The representative of Bulgaria shared the view that the Special Committee and its Sub-Committees should base their work on General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and, at the same time, be guided by later resolutions, such as, in the present case, resolutions 2189 (XXI) and 2232 (XXI). All members of the Sub-Committee had voted for the latter resolutions, but that did not mean that they must refrain from discussing how those resolutions were applied.

55. The representative of Italy said that he had consulted independent sources before making the statement that the Sub-Committee had just heard.

56. The terms of reference of the Special Committee and of its Sub-Committees generally were obviously based on resolution 1514 (XV), which provided *inter alia* that "Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories". But that surely did not mean that the transfer of powers must be imposed upon the peoples in question even when the latter did not yet consider themselves ready for independence and preferred to wait. In his own view, decolonization was not only a political expedient for all Territories; it was also, and above all, a matter of conscience.

57. The representative of Iran said he believed that all peoples desired freedom and, in the case of the small Territories, that freedom was the right to choose the status that suited them best, free from outside pressure. It was therefore the task of the Sub-Committee and of the Special Committee, under General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), to recommend, in accordance with resolution 2189 (XXI), the most appropriate methods and also the steps to be taken to enable the populations of those Territories to exercise fully the right to self-determination and independence.

58. The representative of Uruguay said that the main difficulty, for the Special Committee and its Sub-Committees, was to place the problem raised by each colonial Territory in context and to determine which resolutions applied to it so far as their spirit was concerned. Different problems undoubtedly called for different solutions; that was why, after adopting resolution 1514 (XV), the General Assembly had supplemented it with resolution 1541 (XV), which some rejected but which offered many possibilities to the colonial peoples, particularly those of small Territories, regarding the exercise of their right of self-determination.

59. The Special Committee was not a court but a United Nations body, with the task of solving the problem of decolonization in peace and harmony—a difficult task which must not be carried out hastily if the new States were to be viable and were to have democratic institutions that would guarantee their freedom. The smaller the Territory the more complex the problems of decolonization and the reluctance of the administering Powers was often understandable. That was why he thought that an informed and serious discussion on the United States Virgin Islands would be useful.

60. The representative of Venezuela said it was true that certain advances had been made in the Virgin Islands, particularly with regard to the enlargement of the legislature; however, in view of the delay in considering the proposals for

an elective governor, he could not express unreserved satisfaction.

61. In the economic sphere, too, progress had been made. *Per capita* income was indeed high, and economic and social conditions in the Virgin Islands were among the most favourable in the region. He did not know how the total income was distributed among the population, but, since the figure indicated was only an average, there might of course be disparities between different population groups. His delegation welcomed the efforts which had been made to give the Territory a sound industrial and agricultural base in order to help ensure that the economic structure of the islands acquired similar characteristics and that the system of tenure was favourable to the people, giving them a large share in the management of their own resources. It was urgently necessary, however, to reduce the volume of imports, which seemed abnormally high even if allowance was made for the conditions peculiar to an island economy.

62. Noteworthy progress had also been made in public health and education, but it would be useful for the Sub-Committee to have further information regarding the approach adopted in education, particularly secondary education, so that it could determine whether the system met the economic and social development needs of the Territory.

63. He hoped that the administering Power, in response to the General Assembly's appeal (resolution 2232 (XXI)), would extend full co-operation and assistance to the Sub-Committee so as to enable it to accomplish its mission.

64. The representative of Uruguay said that, in view of the limited time at the Sub-Committee's disposal, he would discuss only certain aspects of the situation in the United States Virgin Islands. In 1966, the Special Committee had noted the information provided by the administering Power concerning the Constitutional Convention which had met between December 1964 and February 1965 and proposed a new Organic Act providing for a greater degree of autonomy for the Territory. It had also noted that the administering Power had taken final action on only one of the proposals made by the Convention and that the proposal for an elected governor had not yet been enacted into law. In resolution 2232 (XXI), relating to twenty-five Territories, including the United States Virgin Islands, the General Assembly had called upon the administering Powers to implement its earlier resolutions without delay. The Sub-Committee should proceed from those three points mentioned in the report in considering the situation in the Territory with a view to determining whether progress had been made since 1966 in the direction indicated by the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The latter resolution was, of course, the basic text to be taken into account, but there were other relevant resolutions, such as 1541 (XV), which did not supersede it but were complementary to it. Resolution 1514 (XV) set forth absolute independence as a fundamental principle, but when the size or economic situation of a Territory prevented the attainment of that ideal, another formula had to be sought in keeping with the spirit of resolution 1541 (XV); such a formula could be free association with an independent State, integration with an independent State on the basis of complete equality, or federation with other small States.

65. If the decolonization of the Virgin Islands was proceeding slowly, it was not due to indifference or ill-will on the part of the administering Power. It was clear from the report that the administering Power was conscientiously discharging its responsibilities towards the Territory. Advances had been made in the economic and social fields and in education. There was less visible progress in the political sphere; it was true that universal suffrage had been introduced, but there had been no progress with regard to institutions because the United States Congress had not yet taken a decision. He noted in that regard that it was the complexity of the democratic system which caused delays in legislative action.

66. His delegation supported the suggestion made by the representative of Italy, who felt that, to assist the administering Power in complying with resolution 1514 (XV), the Sub-Committee might recommend that it should adopt the bill providing for the election of a governor as soon as possible and inform the people of the various options open to them,

giving them all the information they needed in order to make a wise choice. As the representative of Italy had also suggested, the administering Power should be asked not to exert pressure on the people in favour of one option rather than another and should inform them of the views of the United Nations.

67. The Government of Uruguay supported decolonization, but that process must be carried out in accordance with the real interests of the peoples concerned and with due regard for economic and political realities. It was not so much a question of decolonizing as many Territories as possible each year as of helping to create viable new States whose economic situation and political awareness permitted them to benefit from freedom. The Special Committee should therefore ask the administering Power to ensure the economic development of the Territory, to awaken the political awareness of the people and to inform them of the options open to them, so that they could make a fully informed choice in complete freedom.

68. The representative of the Ivory Coast recalled that his delegation had expressed its views on the question of the Virgin Islands during the consideration of General Assembly resolutions 2069 (XX) and 2232 (XXI). The Ivory Coast reaffirmed its support for the principles set out in those resolutions—texts based on resolution 1514 (XV), which was fully applicable, in his view, to the Territories now under consideration by the Sub-Committee. He thanked the United States representative for the information he had supplied on his Government's efforts to speed the economic, social and political development of the Virgin Islands; it was, however, essential that, in accordance with operative paragraph 5 of resolution 2232 (XXI), the Committee should visit the Virgin Islands to obtain directly, with the full co-operation of the United States, first-hand information on the situation in the Territory and the wishes of the people. He hoped that the administering Power would take the necessary steps to ensure that the people would enjoy complete freedom to express their views regarding their political future.

69. The representative of the United States said that before complying with some of the requests for clarification and additional information made by members, he wished to point out that his Government did not collect information on political activities within either mainland United States or the Territory under consideration. Therefore, much of the information which he would present to the Sub-Committee would be either general or generally available. The Bulgarian representative had claimed that the administering Power was the only source of information on the Territory. In fact, the six newspapers and other information media in the Virgin Islands provided a considerable volume of readily accessible information on the Territory's affairs.

70. With regard to political parties, their platforms and goals, he said that the working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see paras. 31-33 of the present chapter) contained a factual description of the party structure in the Virgin Islands and that the information given concerning the recent electoral campaign was correct. To the best of his knowledge, however, no petitions had been filed after the election of 8 November 1966. A recount had been held, but it had not affected the results.

71. One of the primary elements in the political life of the Virgin Islands was the preponderance of Democratic over Republican registration. The Democratic Party had developed into two "camps" and the major political issues were possibly a result of that split within the party. However, the issues were limited to basically local questions because both factions were part of the Democratic Party active in mainland United States and approved of the platform which that Party adopted at its national convention. The Territory possessed both voice and vote at the national political conventions. The Republican Party in the Territory also identified itself with the mainland Republican Party. The election issues in the Virgin Islands reflected to some extent the varying positions of the major parties in the United States. In addition, a wide variety of local issues, such as competition for the expenditure of public funds on roads and other objects, had been discussed during the most recent electoral campaign. An additional issue

had concerned the "loyalty oath" law, which required candidates for primary elections to subscribe to an oath of loyalty to their political party. As the Virgin Islands community was small and the Government was close to the voters, elections often turned on personalities, reputations, and the capabilities of the candidates, rather than on issues.

72. The future status of the Territory had not been a political issue in the campaign. However, a recent and reliable indicator of the population's views on that question was the report of the Virgin Islands Constitutional Convention of 1964, which reflected the Islanders' desire for progress in local self-government, paralleled by increasing participation in the political life of the United States.

73. Members would agree that a requisite of self-determination was the existence of democratic institutions through which the people's will could be expressed. In the case of the Virgin Islands, such institutions were in a relatively developed stage, prominent among them being the Legislature, which was elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage and had recently been reapportioned to reflect more accurately the population of the various areas. In that connexion, he pointed out that over 80 per cent of the registered voters had cast ballots in the November 1966 election. The Legislature enjoyed broad powers. It was free to pass any law not inconsistent with United States laws applicable to the Territory. In recent years, the United States Congress had not passed any measures bearing on local issues, but had limited its legislation applicable to the Territory to the type of law which applied to all States, such as regulation of inter-state commerce. The Legislature was also able to make its will known by passing resolutions on any topic, including the Territory's future status, and its autonomy was shown by the fact that it had complete authority to appropriate local revenues.

74. Additional steps towards full self-determination were being taken. The bill for an elected governor was now before Congress, with the full support of the Executive Branch. With regard to the differences between the House of Representatives and Senate versions of the bill, he said that the statement in paragraph 40 of the working paper was correct and that some additional differences included the day of the year on which the governor would take office and the date on which the bill would have become effective.

75. Vocational training was offered in twelve disciplines at the high-school level. Since his delegation had last discussed the question, the Virgin Islands Employment Office and the Department of Labor had arranged a programme under the Manpower Development Act whereby students interested in vocational training not offered in the Territory could be given such training outside it.

76. The situation with regard to land ownership in the Territory was similar to that in the United States. Virtually all productive land was owned by small landowners and the only large plots were the desert area in St. Croix and the National Park in St. John.

77. The representative of Bulgaria hoped that it would be possible for the administering Power to inform the Sub-Committee at some time of its views concerning visiting missions.

78. He wished once again to reaffirm his delegation's position on the question of small colonial Territories and of colonial Territories in general. That position was based on the resolutions of the General Assembly, which reflected the anti-colonialist policy of the United Nations. His delegation did not *a priori* reject any solution not excluded by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) which might be adopted by colonial peoples in the process of political emancipation and decolonization. The important thing was that colonial peoples should be given full freedom to exercise their right to self-determination and that the necessary political, economic and social conditions should be created to enable them to do so. The Special Committee should be guided by the decisions of the General Assembly, including resolution 2232 (XXI) concerning small Territories.

B. ADOPTION OF THE REPORT

79. The Sub-Committee considered its conclusions and recommendations on the Territory at its 70th to 72nd meetings on 14, 18 and 19 April 1967, and adopted them by consensus—subject to the following reservations:

80. The representative of Bulgaria expressed his delegation's strong reservations on the deletion of the words "some measure of" from between the words "despite" and "advancement" in sub-paragraph 5 of the conclusions and recommendations.

81. He further expressed reservations concerning sub-paragraph 8 of the adopted text. His delegation had had reservations concerning similar recommendations in the past. He thought that, in the present conditions prevailing in the United States Virgin Islands, such a United Nations presence would serve no useful purpose and might well detract from United Nations prestige in the Territory. He did not disagree with the idea of a United Nations presence, since it was right that the United Nations should be deeply involved and play an active part in the process of decolonization. Such a presence should, however, first be in the form of a visiting mission which could report on the situation. Consideration could then be given to some other form of United Nations presence.

C. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

82. The Sub-Committee recommends to the Special Committee that it adopt the following conclusions and recommendations:

(1) The Sub-Committee recalls its conclusions and recommendations concerning the Territory which were adopted in 1966 by the Special Committee and which were endorsed by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session.

(2) It reaffirms that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples applies fully to the Territory.

(3) It recognizes that the small size and population of the Territory present peculiar problems which demand special attention.

(4) It notes that no significant constitutional progress has taken place in the Territory since the item was last examined by the Special Committee.

(5) Furthermore, it regrets that, despite advancement in the political field the administering Power has failed further to implement the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and the other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly with respect to this Territory.

(6) It reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the Territory to self-determination, while emphasizing once again that the administering Power should enable the people to express their wishes concerning the future status of the Territory in full freedom and without any restrictions.

(7) It also invites the administering Power to encourage open, free and public discussion of the various alternatives open to them in their achievement of the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and to ensure that the people of the Territory shall exercise their right of self-determination in full knowledge of these alternatives.

(8) Recalling paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI) of 20 December 1966 that "the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of these Territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status", it reiterates its belief that a United Nations presence during the procedures for the right of self-determination will be essential for the purpose of ensuring that the people of the Territory exercise their right of self-determination in full freedom and without any restrictions, in full knowledge of the various alternatives open to them.

(9) It urges the administering Power to enable the United Nations to send a visiting mission to the Territory and to extend to it full co-operation and assistance.

III. BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS

A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE

Introduction

83. The Sub-Committee considered the Territory of the British Virgin Islands at its 73rd to 78th meetings between 20 April and 16 May 1967.

84. The Sub-Committee had before it the working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see paras. 66-113 of the present chapter).

85. At the invitation of the Chairman, the representative of the United Kingdom, as administering Power, participated in the work of the Sub-Committee on this Territory.

General statements

86. The representative of the United Kingdom said that he would confine his remarks to the British Virgin Islands as he had only just learned that Montserrat would also be on the agenda and there had anyway been no significant developments in the Territory in the short period since the Sub-Committee had last examined it.

87. Very considerable progress had recently been made in the British Virgin Islands. Major constitutional decisions had been taken at the Constitutional Conference held in London from 4 to 10 October 1966. Before dealing with those decisions, which were summarized in the working paper on the British Virgin Islands prepared by the Secretariat, he recalled that the islands were a very small Territory (with a surface area of less than sixty square miles, and 8,619 inhabitants in 1965) which had long experience of democratic representation; an elected constitutional Government and Legislature had been set up as early as 1774. General elections had been organized in 1950. In 1954, shortly before the dissolution of the Federation of the Leeward Islands to which it had belonged, it had been granted a Constitution which had been amended in 1959.

88. The object of the 1966 Constitutional Conference had been to bring the Constitution up to date. The decisions taken had been largely based on the report by Mrs. Proudfoot, who had been appointed in 1965 as Constitutional Commissioner for the British Virgin Islands to make recommendations, taking into account the opinions expressed by the population, for any constitutional changes which might be thought desirable. Her report had been prepared after extensive consultations with all shades of opinion in the Territory.

89. It had been agreed unanimously at the Conference that the Legislative Council should consist of a Speaker chosen from outside the Council, two *ex officio* members (the Attorney General and the Financial Secretary), one nominated member appointed by the Administrator after consultation with the Chief Minister, and seven elected members. The Speaker would be elected, by a simple majority of all members, for the life of the Council and have a casting vote only. All the other members of the Council would have votes, but only the votes of the elected members would determine whether a motion of no confidence in the Government was carried or defeated. The elected members would represent seven constituencies approximately equal in population whose boundaries were to be established by a Commissioner appointed from outside the Territory. The Legislative Council would meet at least once every three months and its life would be extended from three to four years. The Administrator would be able to prorogue or dissolve it after consulting the Chief Minister.

90. It was agreed that the Executive Council would consist of two *ex officio* members (the Attorney General and the Financial Secretary) and three Ministers, one of them the Chief Minister, appointed from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. It had been proposed that the Chief Minister should be directly and separately elected but in the end the Conference had decided that it would be preferable to adopt a system similar to that in force in the United Kingdom: the Chief Minister would be appointed by the Administrator as the elected member best able to command support from the majority of the elected members of the

Legislative Council, and if it was doubted whether he had the support of the majority of the elected members of the Legislative Council, the latter would indicate their preference by vote. The other two Ministers would be appointed by the Administrator on the advice of the Chief Minister.

91. The Administrator would have certain special responsibilities: defence and internal security, external affairs, the terms and conditions of service of public officers, the administration of the courts and finance. He would have a reserved legislative power, although only in respect of his special responsibilities, but, before using those powers, he would have to consult the Executive Council, and in the event that he disagreed with the latter, he would have to report to the Secretary of State and seek his prior approval.

92. The Constitution would also provide for the appointment of a Public Service Commission, consisting of three members appointed by the Administrator for a maximum period of three years. The Administrator would have to consult the Commission on all matters relating to public officers. The Conference had also decided to take advantage of the suggestion that the Supreme Court of the West Indies Associated States might also serve the British Virgin Islands.

93. In accordance with the decision of the Conference, a Boundary Commissioner, who was a former Grenada Judge, had been appointed at the end of 1966 and had submitted recommendations to the Legislative Council, which had unanimously approved them. On 14 April 1967, elections had been held in the constituencies thus formed to fill the seven seats for elected members in the Legislative Council: four had been won by the United Party, two by the Democratic Party and one by the People's Own Party. Five of those elected had been members of the outgoing Council. The percentage of voters had been high and there had been no untoward incident. A Chief Minister, probably a member of the majority United Party, would be appointed under the prescribed procedure.

94. The Territory's economy was closely linked to that of the United States Virgin Islands and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The rapid economic expansion in the latter Territories had had various effects on the economy of the British Virgin Islands, particularly in drawing away labour and forcing up local wage rates. Live-stock raising, which had been the backbone of the economy and was still important, had declined in recent years, but tourism was becoming of increasing importance. The funds which his Government provided for the Territory, including Colonial Development and Welfare grants, were devoted mainly to projects for the expansion of agriculture, communications, trade and tourism.

95. Education was compulsory until the age of fifteen. For a total school population of 2,536 pupils, there were sixteen primary schools and one secondary school, which were public, and three private schools, one of them assisted. As to public health, the Territory had one hospital and eight dispensaries. Recent figures for the aid provided by his Government had been provided to the Sub-Committee in 1966.

96. Lastly, he expressed the view that the rapid progress which had been achieved in the British Virgin Islands, particularly at the constitutional level with the entry into force of the new Constitution, placed in the hands of the inhabitants themselves the major part of the responsibility for governing themselves and deciding their future.

97. The representative of the Ivory Coast and the representative of Italy asked for details of the political parties to which the United Kingdom representative had referred, including their views on the Territory's future.

98. The representative of Madagascar asked for fuller details of the functions of the recently elected Legislative Council and its future relations with the Government. He also asked the representative of the administering Power whether there was a vocational school in the Territory and whether the secondary school pupils, on completion of their studies, had access to higher education. If so, he would like to know many young people in the Territory were receiving higher education.

99. The representative of Bulgaria inquired what the administering Power's attitude was to the dispatch of a visiting mission to the Territory.

100. The representative of Uruguay asked for information on the trends and attitudes of the political parties in the British Virgin Islands in regard to the future political status of the Territory. He asked whether the Territory considered forming some kind of federation with the United States Virgin Islands or with other territories in the area.

101. The representative of the United Kingdom referred the representatives of Italy and Uruguay to paragraph 138 of the Sub-Committee's report (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, annex) where it was stated that the inhabitants of the British Virgin Islands had expressed no interest in joining any federation with the other Leeward and Windward Islands. The possibility had periodically been considered of the integration of the Territory with the neighbouring United States Virgin Islands. The United Kingdom Government would, as elsewhere, be guided by the wishes of the people concerned. The Constitutional Conference in London had devoted its attention chiefly to the Territory's immediate future, and the main concern of the representatives elected at the last elections—on the basis more of their personal qualifications than of distinctive political programmes—would now be to manage the country's affairs under the new ministerial system. The political parties had not yet evolved any clear distinguishing policies and had not formulated ideas about the Territory's eventual status.

102. In reply to the question put by the representative of Madagascar, he said that the Legislative Council of the British Virgin Islands would legislate on all questions within its competence. The Administrator would use his reserved powers only in exceptional circumstances—for example if the decisions of the Legislative Council were incompatible with United Kingdom law, or with the Constitution of the Territory, or his own responsibilities. That was a normal feature at this stage of the development of United Kingdom Territories towards autonomy. In the case in question, the Administrator's special responsibilities had been agreed upon at the Constitutional Conference. Moreover, any decision to use his reserved powers taken by the Administrator against the advice of the Executive Council must first be approved by the Secretary of State. Experience in other territories suggested that such conflicts would in practice rarely if ever arise.

103. He did not have detailed information on vocational training in the Territory. The population being small, there were few candidates for post-secondary education; those who had completed their secondary education and wanted to continue their studies, in many cases went to the College of the United States Virgin Islands or elsewhere.

104. His delegation had already informed the Chairman in reply to his letter about the possible sending of a visiting mission, about which the Bulgarian representative had inquired, that a further reply would be sent as soon as his Government's instructions had been received.

105. The representative of Venezuela asked for further information regarding the Administrator's powers. In what cases were they exercised and what happened when there was a conflict of interests between the Administrator and the local authorities? He asked also whether United Kingdom financial aid was mainly intended for the development of tourism and what was the percentage of secondary school students to primary school students.

106. The representative of the United Kingdom said that it was misleading to speak of a conflict of interests between the Administrator and the local authorities. The normal process of transfer of powers required that certain responsibilities, such as defence and foreign affairs, should continue to be borne by the administering Power for as long as the Territory remained non-self-governing. The Administrator also had special responsibilities in matters of internal security, the public service, the administration of the courts and finance. But over most of the field of government, the Administrator, the Ministers and the Legislative Council could be expected to work in close co-operation and consultation.

107. It was the local authorities which planned the distribution of United Kingdom financial aid among the various sec-

tors of activity, such as tourism, agriculture, health and education. Once these priorities had been agreed, any project within them which was considered sound was automatically approved. He had no information on the ratio of secondary to primary school students, but anyone interested could obtain detailed statistics of this kind from the information transmitted by the United Kingdom Government under Article 73 *e* of the Charter.

108. The representative of Iran asked why there were non-elected members in the Legislative Council and, also, whether the political parties and the population of the British Virgin Islands were aware of all the possibilities which would be open to them when the time came for them to exercise their right of self-determination.

109. The representative of the United Kingdom explained that two of the three non-elected members of the Legislative Council, the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary, were official members, and that their functions consisted mainly in participating in the Council's proceedings on questions relating to their respective areas; the third, who would be nominated in consultation with the Chief Minister, would no doubt be either a prominent individual chosen for his experience and competence, or an individual representing a particular sector or interest-group of the population which for one reason or another, had not secured adequate representation at the elections.

110. There were three non-elected to seven elected members, and for the purpose of votes of confidence only the votes of the elected members would count.

111. The Virgin Islanders were fully aware of the possibilities open to them with regard to their future political status, but it was generally recognized that the immediate task was to lay the foundation for self-rule and to strengthen them gradually.

112. The representative of Uruguay asked the administering power to supply the Sub-Committee as soon as possible with information concerning the elections which had been held in the Territory on 14 April. That information could be published as an addendum to the working paper prepared by the Secretariat.

113. The representative of Bulgaria said that his delegation had carefully studied the relevant documents on the British Virgin Islands and had listened attentively to the statement of the representative of the administering Power.

114. There was no need for his delegation to review in detail the history of United Kingdom colonial rule in the Caribbean Territories. A full discussion of the question had been held in the Sub-Committee in 1964 on the basis of information provided only by the administering Power. However, positive and valuable conclusions had been reached regarding the situation in those Territories. A study of the relevant documents had shown that the administering Power was not only failing to implement the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in the Territory, but that it was seeking to preserve its control there. No effective steps had been taken to consult the people of the Territory regarding their future political status. In the conclusions and recommendations which it had adopted in 1966 concerning the Territory, the Special Committee had reaffirmed that the Declaration applied fully to the Territory. It had also reaffirmed that the people were entitled to exercise their right of self-determination in complete freedom. Furthermore, it had regretted that the administering Power had not agreed to a visiting mission, and had affirmed that such a visit was both useful and necessary. Members were well aware of the United Kingdom's attitude to the question of visiting missions, as had just been demonstrated once again. The United Kingdom had reserved its position on the conclusions and recommendations which the Special Committee had adopted in 1966. He would point out, however, that those conclusions and recommendations had formed the basis for the Fourth Committee's consideration of the question and had been endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 2232 (XXI).

115. Although the position of the British Virgin Islands had much in common with that of the other British Caribbean

possessions, the pace of constitutional development had been much slower there than elsewhere. As the Constitutional Commissioner who had visited the Territory in 1966 had pointed out, the limited representative system which had been established by the 1773 Constitution had developed no further after the departure of the white ruling classes following the emancipation. The power to govern was, in fact, still largely in the hands of the Administrator, who was appointed by the Crown. The Constitutional Commissioner had made recommendations which were designed to modernize and to adapt the Territory to some extent to the conditions of the twentieth century. However, it was not a question of modernization or adaptation but of putting an end to colonial rule and implementing without delay the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The purpose of all the proposed changes was to maintain the colonial administration in the Territory. The economic and financial position of the Territory was similar to that of other Caribbean Territories in that its budget could not be balanced without substantial grants from the United Kingdom. In that connexion, his delegation reiterated its view that the colonial Power, which had exploited the Territory for centuries, must give back what it had taken from the Territory so that the people could exercise their right to self-determination in full freedom and not be placed in a position in which they had no choice but to remain under the control of the colonial Power.

116. His delegation considered that the Sub-Committee should reaffirm the conclusions and recommendations which it had adopted the previous year concerning the Territory and he expressed the hope that the administering Power would realize the need for more practical co-operation with the United Nations and would implement the various relevant resolutions which had been adopted.

117. The representative of the United Kingdom said that he would add some further information to the statement made by his delegation at the 74th meeting.

118. Several delegations had requested fuller details regarding the elections held in the Territory on 14 April 1967; the Secretariat working paper (paras. 91-98 of the present chapter) which had just been circulated contained some information on this. He added that of the 3,641 registered voters 70 per cent had voted; the United Party (UP) had obtained 1,094 votes, the Democratic Party (DP) 800 and the People's Own Party (POP) 663. The party manifestoes were on similar lines. The United Party (UP) pledged itself to work for better relations with neighbouring countries, particularly the United States Virgin Islands, and continue good relations with the mother country (the United Kingdom).

119. It was interesting to note that the report submitted in June 1965 by Mrs. Proudfoot, Constitutional Commissioner for the British Virgin Islands, included a memorandum from Mr. Stoutt, now the elected Chief Minister, containing suggestions similar to Mrs. Proudfoot's own proposals; Mr. Stoutt had emphasized the need to put development before constitutional reforms. With a view to promoting economic development, the assistance provided by the United Kingdom Government had been increased considerably since 1940 and reached nearly \$US6.5 million; of that amount, \$1.9 million had been in the form of development grants. The average amount of the annual financial assistance for development was as follows: from 1940 to 1949, \$US14,000; from 1950 to 1959, \$47,000; from 1960 to 1963, \$137,000; from 1964 to 1966, \$235,000. Development projects planned for 1967 included a major expansion of electricity supply, and several new buildings including a court-house and Council chambers. Large-scale projects by private developers were also under study, in particular with regard to waterfront development at Road Town.

120. The representative of Venezuela remarked that members of the Sub-Committee were given only a very incomplete picture of the situation in the Territory. He deplored the fact that it had not proved possible to send a visiting mission there, because of the administering Power's refusal to co-operate.

121. He asked the United Kingdom representative to clarify certain points for him. According to the Secretariat working paper (para. 71 of the present chapter) the administering

Power had in a way a right of veto in the Legislative Council, for the decisions of that body were subject to the assent of the Administrator, who was appointed by the Crown. In those conditions, it could hardly be claimed that the Territory enjoyed a degree of self-government, since the Legislative Council was not free to legislate on all aspects of internal affairs.

122. Moreover, in a democratic régime, the Parliament represented the people; in the British Virgin Islands, however, the Speaker, who presided over the Parliament, was not chosen by the people. It would be useful to know how the Speaker was designated.

123. The powers of the Administrator seemed excessive: the Executive Council was practically under his control, and it might even be said that, according to the provisions in paragraph 83, his powers were almost absolute.

124. He expressed surprise at the fact that only some of Mrs. Proudfoot's proposals had been accepted.

125. Turning to the economic situation, he said that a comparison of the data for 1964 with those for 1965 showed that the total value of imports had tripled, whereas the value of exports had fallen 40 per cent. He deplored the fact that tourism was the only industry to have been encouraged in the Territory in recent years and that animal husbandry, which had traditionally been an important activity, was declining. The United Kingdom representative had himself indicated that the least development had occurred in the social field; education, in particular, was neglected; a single secondary school and three private schools were not enough to ensure free and compulsory education.

126. The representative of the United Kingdom regretted that the Venezuelan representative had spoken in such a negative way regarding the progress achieved by the British Virgin Islands. When he had mentioned the role of the Legislative Council and of the Administrator, that representative had referred to paragraph 83 of the Secretariat working paper; however, that paragraph related to the former Constitution and Mrs. Proudfoot's recommendations and the Constitutional Conference had led to the replacement of that Constitution together with many of the features of it which he had mentioned. He invited the Venezuelan representative to examine the new Constitution, as described in the Secretariat working paper beginning with paragraph 74.

127. As stated in paragraph 9 of the report of the Constitutional Conference, the Speaker was elected by a simple majority of all members of the Legislative Council for the life of the Council and had a casting vote only. The Deputy Speaker was elected in a similar manner; unlike the Speaker, he would be elected from among the members of the Council.

128. The question of the presence in the Legislative Council and the Executive Council of *ex officio* members, the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary, had already been discussed and explained: all those at the Constitutional Conference had deemed this arrangement desirable for practical reasons.

129. The role of the Public Service Commission, as described in paragraph 24 of the report of the Constitutional Conference, was to advise the Administrator on all questions relating to officers in the public service—appointments, promotions, discipline, etc. There was also an independent Judicial and Legal Service Commission, as agreed at the Conference.

130. It was not the case that the Administrator controlled the Legislative Council. The Chief Minister was appointed by the Administrator, as the elected member having the support of the majority of the elected members of the Legislative Council. In case of uncertainty, they indicated their preference by a vote. The two Ministers were then appointed by the Administrator on the advice of the Chief Minister: in fact, it was the latter who really made the choice, in exactly the same way as in the United Kingdom, where the Queen appointed as Ministers persons nominated by the Prime Minister.

131. Not all of Mrs. Proudfoot's recommendations had been adopted by the Constitutional Conference; but the Conference,

including all shades of British Virgin Islands opinion, had been largely guided by those recommendations and had reached unanimous agreement on its own decisions.

132. The Venezuelan representative considered that the educational facilities in the Territory were inadequate; but the education statistics did not appear to support this view.

133. Lastly, if there was any conflict between the provisions of General Assembly resolutions and the desire of the people of the Territory, in the last analysis it must be for the people themselves to decide on their constitution and on their future and the United Kingdom Government would continue to be guided by the people's wishes.

134. The representative of Venezuela said that, despite the details supplied by the United Kingdom representative, the information available to the Sub-Committee was still too vague. Thus, it was difficult to judge the extent of the special powers conferred on the Administrator and to know in exactly what circumstance he could overrule the decisions of the Executive Council, thus exercising a right of veto. Moreover, despite the United Kingdom representative's attempt at justification, it was hard to see what freedom of action the seven elected representatives of the people could enjoy in a council which also had three official members.

135. The economic situation of the Territory, as described in the documents available to the Sub-Committee, was somewhat disturbing. It did not appear from the information received by the Secretariat that there was any attempt at industrialization. As the United Kingdom representative had admitted, in his statement at the 73rd meeting, live-stock raising, traditionally the backbone of the economy, had declined so that the development of the British Virgin Islands seemed to depend entirely on tourism, which was not enough.

136. As to the political parties in the British Virgin Islands, it was disappointing for Sub-Committee III, which was responsible for seeing to it that the Territories with which it was concerned exercised their right to self-determination, to note that the programmes of those parties did not embody political aims consistent with the resolutions of the General Assembly.

137. The representative of the United Kingdom said that the Venezuelan representative's apprehension with regard to the Administrator's powers were unjustified, since those powers were precisely defined in the report of the Constitutional Conference. He read out paragraphs 20 and 21 of the report, from which it was clear that the Administrator could act without consulting the Executive Council only in urgent or very special cases: he emphasized that such a procedure was exceptional. As to the reserved legislative power conferred on the Administrator, that too could be exercised only in exceptional circumstances, in matters involving the Administrator's special responsibilities, and he could not as a rule obstruct legislation adopted by the Legislative Council.

138. If, in spite of the fact that they were entirely at liberty to do so, the political parties had not included in their programmes any statements regarding future constitutional evolution, the Sub-Committee might conclude that the question was not of immediate concern to the population. That was perfectly understandable, for the new Constitution had been in force for only a few weeks. The population of the Territory was obviously satisfied with the present status—which had indeed been worked out in full consultation with the people and accepted by them. When they wished for further change in future, the United Kingdom Government would always be ready to work this out with them once again.

139. The representative of Venezuela thought it a pity that, for want of adequate knowledge of the real state of affairs in the Territory, members were obliged to fall back on hypotheses which it was hard for them to verify. It was the Sub-Committee's duty to find out what the people of the British Virgin Islands wanted, and the attitude of the administering Power made that task difficult. Indeed, Mrs. Proudfoot, Constitutional Commissioner for the British Virgin Islands, had already drawn attention to that problem in her

report, stressing that the administering Power did not maintain sufficient contact with the population.

140. The representative of Iran said that the Venezuelan representative had raised some extremely important questions, especially with regard to awakening of political consciousness among the population of the British Virgin Islands. He recalled that, in answer to a question he had asked at the 73rd meeting, the representative of the administering Power had stated that the population was fully aware of the possibilities open to it with regard to its future political status. However, the extent to which the population was really aware of those possibilities was open to question, since it had not been consulted, either by the political parties or in any other way. The decisions taken by the Constitutional Conference certainly embodied the views of the Legislative Council, but it was by no means certain that they reflected the views of the population. The despatch of a visiting mission would undoubtedly facilitate the task of the United Nations, as assurances on that point could then be obtained from the population itself.

141. The representative of Venezuela observed that, according to paragraph 124 of the October 1966 report of Sub-Committee III (see A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, annex) when the people of the British Virgin Islands had been consulted in 1947, they had made it clear that they did not wish to become part of the proposed federation of the Leeward and Windward Islands. He inquired how the situation had evolved since 1947.

142. The representative of the United Kingdom replied that, although the British Virgin Islands were a small territory, the mass media (free Press, publications of every sort, radio) were not lacking. For example, apart from their links with the United States Virgin Islands, the other countries of the West Indies and the United Kingdom, the people no doubt heard the full accounts broadcast by the BBC of what went on in the outside world, including the activities of the United Nations, the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee. The Territory would soon have its own broadcasting system. He therefore thought that the people could hardly be described as uninformed, and they had a long history of representative government behind them. The fact that neither they nor their elected representatives had raised the question of the Territory's political future might lead the Sub-Committee to conclude that they were not as yet concerned about it.

143. With reference to the Venezuelan representative's question, he regretted that he could not supply precise details about the events of 1947. However, it had been quite clear that the Virgin Islanders had not been interested in joining a federation of the other Leeward and Windward Islands and to the extent that they looked outward at all it had been more in the direction of the United States Virgin Islands. On all these matters, the United Kingdom Government would be guided solely by the wishes of the population.

144. The representative of Iran said that it was certainly odd that a people fully aware of the political possibilities open to it should not take an active interest in them. No administering Power could ask the United Nations to accept its unsupported word. He therefore continued to believe that the direct contacts with the population of the British Virgin Islands which would be established by a visiting mission would be useful in all respects. Perhaps the United Kingdom representative would state how the assistance which the British Virgin Islands were receiving under the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) could help them to achieve the aim of decolonization more rapidly.

145. The representative of Venezuela said that, in view of the negative attitude of the administering Power with regard to the dispatch of a visiting mission to the Territory, which was plain from the letter read out by the Chairman at the 74th meeting, the Sub-Committee had every reason to doubt the accuracy of the information supplied by the administering Power. He would like to know whether, at the time of the 1964 Constitutional Conference, the representatives of the British Virgin Islands had participated in the discussions regarding the possible creation, at some future time, of a

federation of the Eastern and Western Caribbean Territories and, if so, what views they had expressed.

146. The representative of Bulgaria remarked that the remarks of the Iranian and Venezuelan representatives gained added importance from the fact that they were applicable to all small Territories, especially those of the Caribbean region. The administering Power ought to realize that the United Nations, and especially the Special Committee and its sub-committees, needed the most detailed information possible, since they had special responsibilities towards the colonial Territories both under the Charter and under resolution 1514 (XV) and other resolutions of the General Assembly and could not therefore passively accept the views of administering Powers. As he had said at the 74th meeting, it was not a question of modernizing or adapting the Territory to the conditions of the twentieth century but of putting an end to colonial rule, and it was the duty of the United Nations to promote actively the political emancipation of colonial peoples.

147. The representative of the United Kingdom said that reports of the various organs of UNDP no doubt contained detailed information regarding any aid supplied to the British Virgin Islands under the Programme. The great bulk of the aid received by the islands certainly came from the United Kingdom Government. The Virgin Islanders had not participated, or wished to participate, in the discussions which had taken place after the failure of the West Indian Federation on the subject of a possible new federation of the Caribbean Territories.

148. In reply to the Bulgarian representative, he stated that it was the practice of the United Kingdom Government not only to discharge fully its obligations as an administering Power under Article 73 *e* of the Charter but also to supply to the Secretariat, the Special Committee and the Sub-Committee on a voluntary basis, detailed information which went well beyond its strict Charter obligations, especially with regard to the political and constitutional evolution of the Territory. His delegation thought that the information supplied was abundantly sufficient to enable the Sub-Committee to form a sound and balanced judgement.

149. The representative of Uruguay said that his delegation had already stated its position concerning the British Virgin Islands. In its view, the Sub-Committee, in recommending independence for such small Territories, should satisfy itself that the best conditions prevailed. Any decolonization process which led to dismemberment and was not based on economic realities would be injurious and doomed to failure. Because they were so small in area and in population and had very limited natural resources, the British Virgin Islands, which had always been dependent, could not survive on their own. Association or federation with other groups of islands seemed to be the best solution. In the modern world, moreover, co-existence necessitated integration; Europe provided an example with the Common Market, and Latin America had recently embarked on a similar course with the signing of the Charter of Punta del Este. The conclusions of the report of Mrs. Proudfoot, the Constitutional Commissioner for the British Virgin Islands, pointed in the same direction. Such small West Indian Territories could only survive in a federation or an association, and they must be encouraged to choose the status best suited to them.

150. He noted that, in the case of the British Virgin Islands, there was in fact a programme for the improvement of general conditions, but under the subordination of the administering Power.

151. The Secretariat working paper (paras. 92-98 of the present chapter) showed that the various parties saw no alternative to a continuation of the colonial presence. The people of the Territories must have an awareness of the possibilities open to them and must give consideration to association or federation which, in his view, should be their choice.

152. The representative of Bulgaria agreed that an excellent solution for the smaller West Indian Islands, which were similar in many respects—for instance, in size, in ethnic origin and culture and in economic conditions—would be to join together in a federation, which might also include Puerto Rico. Moreover, federation was fully in conformity with the

resolutions of the General Assembly. The administering Power did not seem to favour such a solution, however, and the Federation of the West Indies had encountered many difficulties as a result of United Kingdom policy.

153. He deplored the fact that the administering Power did not allow the smaller Territories any other choice than to remain subordinate to it.

154. The representative of Venezuela said that his delegation had always expressed the view that special solutions must be found in the case of the smaller Territories; they should not be encouraged towards an independence which would prove to be extremely precarious. Once a Territory became independent, it should not find itself compelled to go cap in hand for assistance from the former administering Power or from other countries. The Sub-Committee should therefore try to recommend a solution which fitted the special problems of the smaller Territories. It would particularly be helpful if a United Nations visiting mission could be sent to hold on-the-spot consultations with the representatives of the people and to evaluate the progress achieved. The administering Power's refusal to allow a visit to the Territories under its administration was disturbing. The prime essential was that the people should be allowed freely to express their views on the future political status of their Territory.

155. The representative of the United Kingdom said that he had listened carefully to the suggestions concerning the establishment of a federation. The Federation of the West Indies had not broken down because of United Kingdom hostility to the project, as the representative of Bulgaria had said. On the contrary, the constant and declared policy of the United Kingdom Government ever since 1946 had been to encourage and establish an independent West Indies Federation and no one had worked harder for this than the United Kingdom. An independence date had even been fixed for the Federation. The breakdown of the Federation had been due to many complex factors, including conflicts of interest among those involved on such questions as financing, economic development and political powers.

156. There had been no discussion of the inclusion of the British Virgin Islands in a federation because the people had not indicated any interest in that solution. On this as on other matters the United Kingdom Government would be guided by the wishes of the people of the Territory.

157. The representative of the Ivory Coast said that both the administering Power and the members of the Sub-Committee deserved credit for the steps that had been taken to help the people of the British Virgin Islands to independence. The United Kingdom, however, would do the Sub-Committee a service if it would provide more information. The information it had provided so far was undoubtedly valuable, but for an equitable solution more was needed, particularly on the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in economic and social affairs and the efforts made by the administering Power to inculcate a sense of social responsibility. The United Kingdom's refusal to accept a visiting mission was regrettable. He would therefore urge that Government to co-operate by providing all the necessary information and allowing a mission to visit the Territory.

B. ADOPTION OF THE REPORT

158. The Sub-Committee considered its conclusions and recommendations on the Territory at its 78th meeting, and adopted them by consensus—subject to the following reservations.

159. The representative of Bulgaria expressed his delegation's reservations on the question of a United Nations presence referred to in sub-paragraph 9. In the view of his delegation, a United Nations presence should take first the form of a visiting mission and following that, the question of considering other forms of presence might arise.

C. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

160. The Sub-Committee recommends the following conclusions and recommendations for approval by the Special Committee:

(1) The Sub-Committee recalls its conclusions and recommendations on the Territory which were approved by the Special Committee in 1964 and 1966 and were confirmed by the General Assembly at its twentieth and twenty-first sessions.

(2) The Sub-Committee reaffirms that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples continues to apply fully to the Territory.

(3) The Sub-Committee recognizes that the small size of the Territory and its sparse population raise particular problems which require special attention.

(4) The Sub-Committee takes note of the result of the Constitutional Conference of October 1966, and also of the elections which were held in the Territory on 14 April 1967.

(5) The Sub-Committee regrets that, despite the political and constitutional progress made in the Territory since the Special Committee last considered the matter, the administering Power has failed further to implement the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) and other General Assembly resolutions relating to this Territory.

(6) The Sub-Committee reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the Territory to self-determination, and wishes to stress once again that the administering Power should enable the people to express its will regarding the future status of the Territory in complete freedom and without restrictions of any kind.

(7) The Sub-Committee invites the administering Power to encourage open, free and public discussion of the possible options from which the people can make its choice in its efforts to attain the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and to ensure that the people of the Territory will be able to exercise its right of self-determination in full knowledge of the options open to it.

(8) The Sub-Committee reiterates the view that it should be possible for the Territory to unite with other Territories in the area in order to form an economically and administratively viable State. The Sub-Committee regrets that, since 1947, no effective steps have been taken to bring about a possible federation with other Territories. Accordingly, it invites the administering Power to take steps to ensure that the population of the Territory is fully aware of the various possibilities open to it in its efforts to attain the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV) and other pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly.

(9) Recalling paragraph 6 of resolution 2232 (XXI), which states that "the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of these Territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status", the Sub-Committee reiterates its belief that a United Nations presence during the procedures connected with the exercise of the right of self-determination will be essential to ensure that the people of the Territory can exercise this right in complete freedom, without any restrictions of any kind, and in full knowledge of the possible options open to it.

(10) The Sub-Committee regrets that the administering Power has not yet agreed to the sending of a visiting mission to the Territory, and affirms that such a visit will be useful and necessary. Therefore it urges the administering Power to enable the United Nations to send a visiting mission to the Territory and to extend to it full co-operation and assistance.

IV. ANTIGUA, DOMINICA, GRENADA, ST. KITTS-NEVIS-ANGUILLA, ST. LUCIA AND ST. VINCENT

A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE

Introduction

161. The Sub-Committee considered the question of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent at its 79th to 89th meetings between 8 and 28 August 1967.

162. The Sub-Committee had before it the working papers prepared by the Secretariat (paras. 114-405 of the present chapter) and the text of the resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its 506th meeting on 23 March 1967 (see para. 948 of this chapter).

163. In reply to its request for information concerning the situation in Anguilla, the Sub-Committee was informed by a

letter dated 11 August 1967, from the representative of the United Kingdom, that in view of the Special Committee's resolution which in his Government's view prejudged the further examination of the situation in the Eastern Caribbean Associated States, the United Kingdom delegation could not assist the Sub-Committee in its further studies concerning those States.

164. Requests for hearings in connexion with the question of Anguilla were submitted by Mr. J. Gumbs, an Anguillian, and Mr. Roger Fisher, a Harvard law professor and "Legal Adviser to the Provisional Government of Anguilla". The Sub-Committee granted a hearing to Mr. Gumbs at its 79th meeting on 8 August 1967, and to Mr. Fisher at its 85th to 87th meetings on 24 and 25 August 1967.

General statements

165. The Chairman said that, by referring the question of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent to Sub-Committee III, the Special Committee had entrusted it with a great responsibility, since the action to be taken by the Sub-Committee might have far-reaching consequences for the future of all small Territories.

166. Unfortunately, the Sub-Committee was hampered by the fact that, contrary to the usual practice, the United Kingdom representative was not attending its deliberations and had decided not to furnish such additional information as the Sub-Committee might need. The United Kingdom representative had maintained that, by choosing associated status with the United Kingdom, the Territories under consideration had attained a full measure of self-government and, furthermore, that the elected representatives of the people had been duly consulted. Most members of the Special Committee had considered, however, that since the United Nations had not been able to ascertain the wishes of the population of the six Territories concerned, the Committee had not been able to ascertain whether the people had really been able to express their wishes.

167. Since the Special Committee had been considering the question, the developments which had occurred in three of the six Territories—Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and St. Vincent—had only strengthened the doubts expressed in the Special Committee. So far as Anguilla was concerned, *The New York Times* of 8 August 1967 had made the surprising statement that "The United Nations turned down today a request that a fact-finding mission be sent to Anguilla". Since Sub-Committee III was the only United Nations body currently dealing with Anguilla, one could not see how Anguilla's request could have been turned down, since it had not even reached the Sub-Committee.

168. Sub-Committee III was confronted with a request for independence from a so-called associated State which rejected its status. While it obviously could not ignore that request, it could not endorse it without first studying the feasibility of Anguilla surviving as an independent State. Anguilla covered an area of thirty-five square miles and had 6,000 inhabitants. In view of the size of the island, the Sub-Committee, while following the well-established principles which guided the United Nations, in the task of decolonization, should seek new precepts consonant with the particular circumstances of the small Territories. Sub-Committee III should therefore undertake a systematic and scientific study in order to determine the criteria on the basis of which rights of the population of small Territories could in future be suitably protected.

169. The representative of Venezuela recalled that, in resolution 2189 (XXI), the General Assembly had mentioned the special situation of small Territories. It had also emphasized the usefulness of visiting missions but the appeals to the administering Powers to allow visiting missions to be sent to their Territories had often been rejected. When the Special Committee had decided to refer the question of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent to the Sub-Committee, the latter had asked the United Kingdom for additional information but none had been provided. It was therefore impossible for the Sub-Committee to progress further than the Special Committee had been able to do in its consideration of the question, since the Sub-Committee was no better informed.

170. It seemed doubtful whether the administering Power had fully implemented resolution 1514 (XV) in the six Territories in question. It was stated in the working paper prepared by the Secretariat (para. 132 of this chapter), that, when the report on the new status of association with the United Kingdom had been signed, the Leader of the Opposition of St. Lucia had called for a general election; the Leader of the Opposition of Grenada, for his part, had not agreed to certain provisions and had also called for general elections. The recent events in Anguilla confirmed that the population was not satisfied with the status of association worked out at the constitutional conferences held in London between 28 February and 26 May 1966.

171. The Chairman should ask for the Sub-Committee to be given access to every possible source so that it might obtain the information it needed to make recommendations.

172. The representative of Uruguay recalled that his delegation's position regarding the six Territories had been stated in the Special Committee at the end of 1966. At that time, the Committee had tried to determine, firstly, whether the constitutional changes resulting from the London conference had met the wishes of the peoples and, secondly, whether they had represented progress towards the self-determination of the six Territories. The Committee had felt that it needed first-hand information to answer those questions and had referred the matter to Sub-Committee III so that the latter might obtain that information. Sub-Committee III was thus the body at present competent to consider the request of Anguilla; in that connexion, the article in *The New York Times* to which the Chairman had referred was quite uncalled for.

173. Sub-Committee III should seek the information it needed from every possible source but it should not infringe the powers of the Sub-Committee on Petitions if it wished to hear an Anguillian.

174. The representative of Bulgaria said that he supported the remarks made by the Chairman at the beginning of the meeting; he too was aware of the great importance of the matter for the future of the small Territories. He also endorsed the Chairman's remarks about the article in *The New York Times* concerning Anguilla's request for a visiting mission.

175. The task entrusted to Sub-Committee III by the Special Committee was specified in operative paragraph 2 of the resolution (see para. 948 of the present chapter). It was regrettable that, in the performance of that task, the Sub-Committee could not have the benefit of assistance from the United Kingdom, which was not even attending the deliberations.

176. It was difficult to believe that the constitutional arrangements adopted for Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent were in conformity with Chapter XI of the Charter and the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV). The events which had just occurred in Anguilla confirmed the doubts which most of the members of the Special Committee had voiced. Sub-Committee III and the Special Committee should now see that the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV), and particularly those in operative paragraphs 2 and 5, were fully implemented.

177. At the 79th meeting of the Sub-Committee on 8 August 1967, the Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories informed the Sub-Committee that Mr. J. Gumbs, an Anguillian, had called upon him the day before and had asked that the United Nations send a visiting mission to Anguilla. He had explained to Mr. Gumbs what procedure he should follow, stating that the competent bodies in the matter were the Sub-Committee on Petitions, the Special Committee and the General Assembly. He also suggested that Mr. Gumbs should get in touch with the Chairman of Sub-Committee III.

178. The representative of Madagascar said that he had listened carefully to the statements made by the Venezuelan, Uruguayan and Bulgarian representatives and the Under-Secretary. However, he reserved his position on the question of hearing Mr. J. Gumbs of Anguilla, since the Sub-Committee on Petitions was the body competent to decide whether the Special Committee should consider any particular petition. He suggested that the Sub-Committee should postpone any decision on the subject until its next meeting and should in the meantime get in touch with the Sub-Committee on Petitions.

179. The Chairman pointed out that the Special Committee was not currently in session and that the only one of its bureau Members present in New York was the Rapporteur, who had no power to call a meeting. Moreover, in the resolution of 27 March 1967, the Special Committee had requested its Sub-Committee III to examine, in the light of the recent constitutional developments, the situation in the Territories in all its aspects. Since Mr. J. Gumbs was certainly a very important source of information, the Chairman thought that the Sub-Committee would be justified in inviting him to make a statement, an action which would not, however, set a precedent.

180. The representative of Uruguay agreed that Sub-Committee III should avoid any jurisdictional conflict with the Sub-Committee on Petitions. Subject, however, to that reservation, he thought it would have much to gain by drawing on all sources of information in carrying out its task.

181. The representative of the Ivory Coast said that he supported the reservation made by the Uruguayan representative. While it was true that the Sub-Committee on Petitions had precise terms of reference, it should be borne in mind, firstly, that the members of the Special Committee were absent from New York and, secondly, that the representative of the administering Power, which was in a position to inform the Sub-Committee, was not willing to take part in the Sub-Committee's debate.

182. The Chairman said that the Sub-Committee's terms of reference were very clear. Moreover, it was given broad powers under the resolution adopted. He proposed that the Sub-Committee should invite Mr. J. Gumbs to make a statement, with the understanding that that did not establish a precedent.

183. Mr. Gumbs said that, contrary to the information appearing in *The New York Times*, the United Nations had not rejected the request of the Anguillian people. The Anguillian delegation had been well received by the Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories, who had explained to it what procedure it must follow to be granted a hearing. The Anguillian people ardently hoped that the United Nations would champion their cause and would send a mission to the island at an early date.

184. After 300 years of colonial domination and seventy-five years of association with St. Kitts and Nevis, Anguilla had no drinking water, roads, electricity or proper schools. There was not a single telephone in the country for communications either within or outside the island. As far as the schools were concerned, hundreds of children were crammed into each classroom. The Anguillian people knew that that state of affairs would not be changed unless they themselves had the necessary authority to improve their lot and that the only way they could acquire that authority was by becoming independent.

185. With regard to the incidents of the past few days, contrary to the information published in *The New York Times*, which had alleged that 250 Anguillians had fired on the police, the policemen had dispersed at the bidding of a single Anguillian, who had rapidly brought them over to the common cause despite the threat of prison. In fact, a number of policemen had been arrested and what the people now feared was an invasion of the island by the forces of the central Government.

186. Anguilla's status of association with St. Kitts and Nevis had been for the Anguillian people only a source of oppression from which they were trying to liberate themselves. That was proved by the fact that, on 11 July 1967, when the people had voted in a referendum to establish whether they wanted (a) to withdraw from the association and (b) to form a provisional government, their response had been unmistakably affirmative and unanimous. The following day, the people's representatives, with the assistance of a world-renowned jurist, had begun to draft a constitution and to fix a date for future elections. Unfortunately, as could have been expected, the central Government had taken severe measures. In reprisal, all mail, medicines, remittances and so on intended for the Anguillians were being held at St. Kitts, where a half million dollars belonging to them was virtually frozen. The Anguillian delegation to a conference recently held at Barbados had not been allowed to raise the question of secession and had been

subjected to pressure to sign the conference's report without even having read it.

187. Consequently, the Anguillian people were now turning to the United Nations asking it to intercede in their behalf. The Anguillians were a peaceful people who fully realized that law and order must be maintained, but they could not tolerate having their future decided without being allowed to express their wishes through their representatives.

188. Anguilla was only a small island of some thirty-five square miles and 6,000 inhabitants, but it was economically viable. In addition to tourism, which could become a flourishing industry because of the island's natural beauty, the Anguillians knew that they could rely on external assistance in developing all their natural resources. In fact, offers had already been made to them for that purpose.

189. In reply to a question on Anguilla's position at the Barbados Conference asked by the representative of Uruguay, Mr. Gumbs, read out the following text:

"Statement to the people of Anguilla by their Government

"The recent Conference in Barbados and the resulting situation has been seriously misunderstood. The facts are as follows.

"(1) *The conference report is not binding on the people of Anguilla*

"The Anguillian delegates made clear their limited authority at the beginning of the Conference. Under the provisional constitution, and under the referendum, no agreement to return Anguilla to St. Kitts could be binding, except one approved by the people. In the opening statement for Anguilla, which is recorded on tape, Walter Hodges stated:

"Any of the heads of agreement discussed or reached cannot commit the people of Anguilla, until the people have the opportunity to see and agree to them'.

"The people of Anguilla have not yet seen the conference report. They have not agreed to it. It is not now binding on Anguilla.

"(2) *The effect of signing the conference report*

"The four members of the Anguillian delegation who signed the conference report believed that these were the best terms that could be obtained from that conference, and that they should be brought home for serious study by the people. On the last day, the delegates were faced with a report that was already duplicated, with warnings of various kinds, and with a take-it-or-leave-it situation. The report contains many advantages as well as disadvantages. On such an important matter, there were strong reasons to sign the report, and to bring it home for people to consider.

"(3) *The conference report has not been rejected by the people of Anguilla*

"The conference report is a complex document of twenty-one pages, with four appendices and numerous statutory references. It contains intricate proposals concerning a Commonwealth peace-keeping force, economic aid, local self-government, and proposed legislation. We owe it to Anguilla, and to those from Britain and the other islands, not to reject the proposals out of hand without understanding them. If the people are unwilling to accept them as they stand, we should come back with specific proposals of our own, designed to provide adequate self-government for the people of Anguilla.

"(4) *Our future course of action*

"The Government of Anguilla, operating under the provisional constitution, will continue to administer the independent island of Anguilla, pending a peaceful settlement. In the meantime we shall:

"(a) Explain the conference report to the people and discuss it with them.

"(b) Invite others to come to the island to discuss the report with them.

"(c) Seek a consensus of the report, and on what counter-proposal, if any, Anguilla should make.

"(d) Request all other parties to allow us time for our constitutional deliberations. A hasty use of force by any other island would be most unwise.

"(5) Acting Chairman of the Council"

"Under the present constitution, the Chairman is at all times subject to the decision of the majority of Council. For the time being, Ronald Webster shall continue as Acting Chairman. All other members remain on the Council.

"(6) Unanimity of the Council"

"This statement to the people of Anguilla is unanimously approved by all the available members of the Council.

"Signed on 7 August 1967.

"Ronald WEBSTER Emile GUMBS
Peter ADAMS John ROGERS
Walter HODGE John HODGE."

190. The Chairman recalled that, at its previous meeting, the Sub-Committee had requested him to get in touch with the United Kingdom delegation and ask it to furnish information on the situation in Anguilla. He had done so and, in response to his inquiry, he had just received a letter dated 11 August 1967, which he would read, from Sir Leslie Glass, the United Kingdom representative. The substantive part of the letter read as follows:

"I have the honour to refer to your enquiry, made in accordance with a decision of Sub-Committee III 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, about the possibility of the United Kingdom delegation participating in the Sub-Committee's discussions on the situation in Anguilla, which forms part of the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla.

"In reply to this request, I am instructed to confirm the United Kingdom Government's position as indicated by my delegation to the Special Committee in March 1967, namely that in view of the terms of the Special Committee's resolution of 24th March, 1967, which in my Government's view prejudged the further examination of the situation for which the resolution provided, no purpose would be served by continuing the United Kingdom delegation's collaboration with the Special Committee on these matters. In these circumstances, I regret that my delegation cannot assist the Sub-Committee in its further studies concerning the Eastern Caribbean Associated States.

"In so far as the Sub-Committee contemplates in particular discussion of events in any of the Eastern Caribbean Associated States which occurred after their achievement of Statehood, I wish to recall that on becoming States in association with Britain, the territories attained a full measure of self-government. Accordingly, Article 73 of the Charter of the United Nations ceased at that point to apply, and subsequent events affecting the territories, including the purported secession of Anguilla from St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and developments connected therewith, are no longer within the competence of the Special Committee or its Sub-Committees.

"In this connexion, the United Kingdom Government regrets that despite the attainment of a full measure of self-government by the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla on the 27th of February, 1967, the Sub-Committee nevertheless agreed to hear a person in the capacity of a petitioner to the Special Committee on a matter concerning the Associated States.

"I am therefore instructed fully to reserve my Government's position both on the hearing of petitioners concerning St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla or any other Associated State and on any proceedings in the Special Committee or its subordinate organs concerning events in the West Indies Associated States which occurred after the achievement of Associated Statehood.

"The United Kingdom Government would particularly regret any actions or proceedings by the Sub-Committee that might tend to prejudice the peaceful implementation of the settlement of the Anguillan problem recently negotiated in Barbados through the good offices of representatives of the Governments of Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, and with the participation of the United Kingdom Government."

191. The representative of Venezuela said that the problem of the West Indies was extremely important. The letter which

the President had read out at the beginning of the meeting was a further proof of the administering Power's failure to co-operate. No decisions by the General Assembly had authorized it to disregard the obligations set forth in Article 73e of the Charter. Contrary to the implications of that letter, the Sub-Committee was competent to take up the question of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla under the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. While there were, of course, small territories whose economic and political viability must be ensured, a satisfactory solution could be found in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV). He categorically rejected the United Kingdom reply.

192. The documents prepared by the Secretariat and the statements made by Mr. J. Gumbs at previous meetings showed that, after more than 300 years of colonial domination, the Anguillans lacked even the minimum economic and social infrastructure they needed to improve their lot in the immediate future. The island had been exploited only to serve foreign economic, political and strategic interests. Anguilla's secession from the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla proved that the process of decolonization had been started in that Territory without allowing the 6,000 Anguillans to exercise their right to self-determination. Significantly, the administering Power had then brought pressure to bear on the Anguillan representatives to make them sign the report of the Barbados Conference and, according to the latest information, a frigate was preparing to land police forces on the island in order to bring its inhabitants into line. It might well be asked why the United Kingdom had not taken the same action with regard to the rebellious white régime of Southern Rhodesia. In any case Venezuela is opposed to the unilateral use of force.

193. The problem of Anguilla was not a local one; it must be seen in the context of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the wishes of the Anguillan people must be taken into consideration if that resolution was to be fully implemented.

194. The representative of Bulgaria stressed the importance of the item on the six Territories under discussion by the Sub-Committee. During the Special Committee's 506th meeting, his delegation had voted in favour of the resolution submitted in that connexion (see para. 948 of the present chapter) and had expressed the hope that the administering Power would co-operate constructively with the Sub-Committee when the item on the six Territories was taken up again.

195. The responsibility of the United Nations under the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, was something which could not be overlooked. The latest letter from the representative of the administering Power questioned the Organization's competence to deal with the problems of the Territories under consideration—an attitude which was harmful to the decolonizing process and could only be regretted. His delegation fully shared the Venezuelan representative's views that only a decision by the General Assembly could absolve the administering Power of its responsibilities under the Charter. As members were aware, the United Kingdom was persisting in its refusal to allow a visiting mission to go to the Territories, despite the decisions of the Special Committee and the Sub-Committee. Such an attitude was, of course, in keeping with the administering Power's position on the question.

196. Current developments in Anguilla must be interpreted, not as an isolated incident but as clear proof of a lamentable state of affairs inasmuch as the administering Power was endeavouring, in one way or another, to maintain its control of the colonial Territories for whose administration it was responsible. The information reaching the United Nations, together with recent events in certain of the Territories, confirmed the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the Special Committee and of the Sub-Committee that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was still applicable to the Territories in question and that the recently introduced constitutional arrangements did not free the administering Power from its obligations under the Charter.

197. As his Government had at various times stated, all colonial Territories must be liberated and resolution 1514 (XV) must be applied to them whether they were large or small. It was obvious that, in the case of the six Territories under con-

sideration the administering Power had failed to create conditions favourable to the exercise of the right of self-determination, as it should have done. Article 73 stressed the "principle that the interests of the inhabitants are paramount" in such Territories. Whatever solution they might propose, the Special Committee and the Sub-Committee must therefore bear in mind the objective of resolution 1514 (XV), particularly operative paragraph 2. It was important to establish whether the population of the Territories had had an opportunity freely to express their will concerning the constitutional arrangements affecting them and their future status. The available information indicated that such had not been the case in the six Territories under discussion. They had not been given a choice; they had simply been offered association with the United Kingdom.

198. During the Special Committee's discussion of the item, the administering Power had stressed that the constitutional arrangements included provisions whereby the population would, at a future date, have the right to terminate the status of associative State and join other territories in the region, or even opt for independence. But that right related only to the future. The population had already shown its dissatisfaction with the new status.

199. Furthermore, the administering Power had ignored the appeals made to it to authorize a visiting mission to go to the Territories. By so doing, it was preventing the United Nations from confirming at first hand the people's wishes regarding their future status. The status of associated State was such that the United Kingdom retained the right to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Territories, even without waiting for their Governments to request it to do so. That alone showed that the new status has not ended the United Kingdom's control of its former colonies.

200. The United Kingdom's responsibilities for the Territories stemmed from the fact that they had been under British colonial domination for centuries. It should not be forgotten that that responsibility had been a decisive factor in the dissolution of the former Federation of the West Indies, as well as in the current constitutional arrangements.

201. The administering Power and the Special Committee had a duty to prepare and recommend appropriate measures to promote the conditions necessary for the exercise of the right to self-determination in all colonial Territories and in the small ones in particular. It was evident that the present economic, social and political conditions in the Territories in question, together with the bases and the military agreements were an obstacle to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). The United Nations must continue to keep a very close watch on the situation in all colonial Territories and must pursue its endeavours to help their populations achieve independence.

202. The representative of Italy wished to make some remarks on the special political criteria that should be taken into account in considering small Territories. In that respect, General Assembly resolutions 1541 (XV) and 2189 (XXI) were binding complements to resolutions 1514 (XV) because they had laid down the legal basis on which the General Assembly and the Special Committee had been able to discuss and adopt resolutions on some of the major colonial problems still pending. The necessity of applying special methods and policies in the case of the small Territories had been explained at length by the Uruguayan representative. That explanation and the remarks made by his delegation and other members of the Sub-Committee might be helpful in devising a more subtle and articulated policy to solve the problems arising from the decolonization of the small Territories.

203. His delegation thought that four considerations should be borne in mind in discussing the special criteria to be adopted for the small Territories. The first was the form and timing of independence and the organization of the new State, in accordance with the size and economic conditions of the Territories concerned. According to principle VI of resolution 1541 (XV), it should also be possible to achieve independence by the union of a number of Territories in one State or by that State's association with the former administering Power. Self-determination should, in the first place, lead to the creation of economically viable units, because that was a condition for

stability and social progress and would prevent a resurgence of any form of imperialism. The Sub-Committee should consider whether that condition was met by the integration of small Territories into larger political units or by their association with the former administering Power. The latter possibility should not be rejected out of hand. It might offer considerable advantages, in that the former administering Power could, as one State to another, give the Territories the economic help that it might have neglected in the past and that would enable the Territory to avoid having to seek help from private enterprises, whose activities were often speculative and socially dangerous. Association seemed to be a good solution, particularly in the case of the small Territories with which Sub-Committee III was concerned. As Mr. Fisher had pointed out, the people of Anguilla had no fixed ideas about possible solutions and if Mr. Bradshaw, the political leader they opposed, stepped down, Anguilla might even wish to join St. Kitts-Nevis.

204. Secondly, consideration should be given to ways and means by which the colonial peoples could exercise their independence. The relevant resolution did not limit them to any particular forms and United Nations practice was consistent with the principles of international law, under which political entities were free to adopt the proper methods to determine the form of their independence. The practice of States also showed that there were a great variety of forms and methods for exercising self-determination and for establishing a political régime. In the case of small Territories, the question was whether provision should not be made for special methods of self-determination that would permit, with independence, a certain amount of political and economic integration in larger units. The trend towards federation and integration was a proof of the maturity of States. The attainment of independence by new States was always very naturally accompanied by trends towards separatism. Anguilla was a good example in that respect. However, the fear that such separatist trends might lead to the fragmentation of small Territories and their social and economic decline had always led the Special Committee and the Sub-Committee to require the administering Powers to organize the Territories in larger and more viable political units.

205. Thirdly, special attention should be given to the fact that each small Territory belonged to a particular region of the world. The United Nations must be respectful of local situations and practices and avoid any action, even if inspired by good intentions, that might damage a region's balance and stability. That was particularly true for the small Territories and especially for the islands, which needed the support of regional organizations, but which, if encouraged in their natural trend towards particularism and insularity, might disrupt regional ententes and bring about secession and fragmentation in other States recently established in the region. There again, Anguilla was an excellent example. The United Nations should always pay attention to regional situations and should develop a practice of close consultation with representatives of the countries concerned.

206. Fourthly, the Sub-Committee should be concerned with the co-operation of the administering Powers and the question of visiting missions. While visiting missions were in most cases necessary, they should not be considered an essential and universal instrument of decolonization. Other means such as consultations with Member States in the regions concerned and the dispatch of observers to the Territories or their attendance at negotiations affecting them, should be considered. As far as co-operation with the administering Powers was concerned, the Sub-Committee should, above all, avoid taking any negative or radical attitude that could lead to a deadlock. Thus, it would be perhaps well advised to find other ways and means of securing the co-operation of the United Kingdom without prejudice, for the time being, to its position. By creating the associated States, the United Kingdom had become responsible for their relations with the United Nations and those of its organs whose activities fell within the field of foreign relations. In other words, the six Territories were represented at the United Nations by the United Kingdom, which should be invited to take part in the Sub-Committee's meetings and which should therefore furnish information on all external and

internal events affecting the position of the six Caribbean Territories.

207. The representative of Uruguay observed that the smaller a country was, the more complicated its problems were. One problem, however, had not received the attention it deserved, and that was the problem of the form of government for which a country was suited. In addition to establishing whether a country had a historical tradition and a viable economic and political system, it was essential to determine whether it had the national identity fitting it for a particular form of government and that determination should be the criterion applied, so that, irrespective of the size of a Territory's population, the Special Committee could never be accused of having impelled into international life small nations quite unaware of the problems which it entailed.

208. He believed that, from a rational point of view, it would be a mistake to try to make a State or nation out of every small island. That did not by any means signify that he was opposed to the granting of independence to countries with populations smaller than, for instance, those of the great Powers. Nevertheless, it was a fact that the greatest inequity was to treat two unequal things as equal: a distinction had to be made between objective and theoretical equality and subjective equality founded on facts. Otherwise the United Nations, by artificially creating States, might attenuate its own purpose and power and jeopardize its future work.

209. He had already made a number of statements on the question of small Territories in the Special Committee. All aspects of the question had been analysed and discussed at length, and the only reason why Sub-Committee III was again dealing with it was that it wanted to be certain that the will of the people had been correctly interpreted when the constitutional agreements were drawn up in London. It was essential to be sure that the Government of the islands as it now existed was a legitimate result of those agreements.

210. The Sub-Committee should take a positive attitude towards political and historical realities in the British West Indies and should never lose sight of the wishes and well-being of the peoples concerned. It should strive to apply to them the provisions of both resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), which complemented each other.

211. The formula agreed upon by the London constitutional conferences did not appear to be incompatible with the resolutions of Sub-Committee III, the Special Committee, the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly. On the other hand, it was true that the administering Power had not followed certain procedures in connexion with the referendum by means of which the wishes of the population concerning the new institutions had been ascertained. The use of the referendum was, of course, linked to the problem of the transfer of powers: operative paragraph 5 of resolution 1514 (XV) provided that immediate steps should be taken in the Territories concerned to transfer all powers to the peoples of those Territories. In his article on decolonization, Mr. Velasquez, Uruguay's representative on the Special Committee, had written that when the Declaration on the granting of independence spoke of the transfer of powers to the "peoples of those Territories", what was meant was clearly the representatives of those peoples, since in modern constitutional law there was no system other than that of representation, at least in the case of the principal public powers. The only question remaining was that of the qualifications to be possessed by those representatives in order that the sovereignty so transferred to them might be considered as having been transferred to the people they represented.

212. The position in the case under discussion was that the United Kingdom applied to the Territories it administered a process of constitutional development which did not include a referendum. There were several stages in that process, from internal self-government to constitutional conferences at which the final details of independence were settled. In other words, in the case under discussion decolonization would have been completed with the intervention of the United Nations and without resort to a referendum. The process was none the less a democratic one, since the local legislative bodies had to approve the constitutional agreements drawn up by

the elected representatives of the Territories and the United Kingdom Government.

213. Although he personally favoured the referendum, he considered that the validity of that process was indisputable. All that remained was to determine whether the elections establishing the local legislative body were valid.

214. There was no need to question the whole process of constitutional development under English law: that would force a number of large decolonized countries to re-examine the very basis of their independence where that independence had not been the result of a referendum. The fact was that if the constitutional agreements relating to those countries had been concluded between the United Kingdom Government and the legislatures which were representative of the peoples concerned, they were unassailable.

215. In Anguilla the subject of the referendum had not been full independence but the island's wish to be separated from St. Kitts without thereby ending its association with Great Britain. Two questions had been asked, the first on the separation of Anguilla from St. Kitts and the second on the possible establishment of a provisional government of Anguilla. As the matter of relations between Anguilla and the United Kingdom had not been raised it had been an incomplete referendum, with the same defects as those characterizing the referendum which France had organized in French Somaliland.

216. Moreover, the situation in Anguilla was such that the members of Sub-Committee III could do no more than recall what they had said in the Special Committee. There was no new information available on the Jamaica conference and the Sub-Committee was not in a position to say that it had any proof that the people of Anguilla had not indeed given their consent to the existing form of government.

217. There was now an indisputable political fact which had to be faced. The Sub-Committee therefore should not turn backwards but should endeavour to find a way of correcting the present situation rather than trying, in an excess of zeal, to destroy what did exist. Decolonization had to take its course and if at times it appeared to remain outside United Nations control an effort should be made to participate in it, not to halt it. Even if Anguilla had gained independence under constitutional agreements, the value of its independence was not thereby diminished. The Sub-Committee should not censure the expression of a people's will if it had been freely expressed.

218. The representative of Venezuela said that he was not by any means casting doubt on the validity of the process applied in the decolonization of the six Territories. However, when decolonization took a form other than absolute and total independence—such as that of an associated State, as in the present case—the United Nations should study the matter very closely to prevent the emergence of neo-colonialism in a disguised form. In extreme cases, alleged decolonization might be nothing but a change of labels.

219. The representative of Uruguay remarked that he was strongly in favour of the referendum, a procedure which was, moreover, firmly established in his country; but he none the less recognized that many countries which were now Members of the United Nations had not acceded to independence by that means. No resolution expressly stated that the referendum was the only means by which peoples could exercise their right to self-determination.

220. The Sub-Committee's task was simply to satisfy itself that the people had expressed their will in full freedom and without constraint. It could not discharge its task unless it had direct proof that such was the case; for that purpose it would have been preferable if it had been able to visit the Territory. The Sub-Committee should ascertain whether, in the present instance, the election of which the local legislature was the result had performed the same function as a referendum. If so, the Sub-Committee's task would have been completed, for it was not called upon to create difficulties where none existed. There was enough trouble in the Middle East and Viet-Nam, and there was no need to encourage it in the West Indies.

221. The representative of Venezuela said that although that was not specified in either resolution 1514 (XV) or resolution 1541 (XV) of the General Assembly, the doctrine of popular consultation, i.e., the referendum, was universally recognized. In the absence of adequate information the Sub-Committee could not, of course, make any categorical assertions. Nevertheless, when a constitutional conference organized by the administering Power with reference to a colonial territory did not ultimately lead to the complete independence of that territory, it was permissible to question whether the inhabitants had been fully consulted.

222. As for the use which was made of the United Nations flag, he knew full well that it had never been employed except to defend the sacred right of peoples to be masters of their own destiny.

223. The representative of Bulgaria deplored, like the representative of Uruguay, the grave injustices which existed throughout the world and particularly in Viet-Nam where so-called freedom was being imposed with bombs and napalm and in Southern Rhodesia where 4 million Africans were oppressed by a white minority. Little attention was paid to the wishes of the people and the reactionary forces of imperialism and colonialism were seeking to maintain their domination by methods which they sought to adapt to the standards of modern society.

224. With particular reference to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, he did not think that a constitutional conference was the best form of popular consultation. Indeed, a popular consultation must be considered not as a simple formality but as the first sovereign act of a people in the exercise of its right to self-determination. It was doubtful whether the people of the six Caribbean Territories had been given the opportunity to express their wishes fully and freely, as laid down in paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In the case of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, the only choice which had been discussed at the London Constitutional Conference had been that of an associated State. Without rejecting *a priori* a given political status, the United Nations should ensure that the people were fully aware of their right to choose the status which best conformed to their aspirations.

225. The facts and the principles at issue were clear and he wished to reaffirm once again that in his opinion: (a) the people of the Territories had not been consulted; (b) the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples continued to be applicable to them and (c) the United Kingdom continued to be responsible for them. Finally, he expressed the hope that the administering Power would show a better spirit of comprehension and co-operation.

226. The representative of Uruguay wished to make clear, in order to dispel any misunderstanding, that he had nothing against referenda; quite the contrary. However, there were other means by which the people could express their wishes freely; in particular, they could do so just as legitimately through their democratically elected representatives.

227. The important question was not whether such and such a form of popular consultation had been used rather than another but whether the people had made known their aspirations without any coercion. The Sub-Committee would be ill-advised to formulate conclusions and recommendations in categorical terms without being certain that they corresponded exactly to the facts.

228. The representative of Iran said that as a rule self-determination was the primary procedure by which decolonization was achieved. But just as there is an exception to every rule, there is also an exception to this rule. In cases where it was evident that self-determination might produce a result inimical to the nature and objectives of decolonization, a different procedure must be used to bring about decolonization. Despite its consistent reaffirmation of the right of self-determination, the Committee of Twenty-Four, in cases where self-determination might serve to perpetuate a colonial situation, has decided to recommend a different procedure for decolonization. Thus, we have seen how the Committee, in the cases of Gibraltar, the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and Ifni,

instead of self-determination, has deliberately urged negotiation as the means for decolonization.

229. By the same token, if self-determination should prove to be inimical to the purposes of decolonization in the small territories which, because of their peculiar circumstances, require special attention, an approach other than self-determination might more genuinely serve the purposes of decolonization. Since freedom from subjugation of any kind, political, economic and others, is the fundamental purpose of decolonization, we should examine carefully the question of whether a non-viable territory could in fact attain freedom even though the people concerned had expressed the wish to become independent. Under these circumstances the United Nations, because of its over-all responsibility and broad perspective, might be in a position to secure to a non-viable territory, aspiring for freedom and independence, the best means by which they could, in reality and not in name, attain and enjoy such a status. It has been with this view in mind that the majority of members in this Sub-Committee have often urged the creation of a federation or confederation for the territories in the Caribbean. The assistance and co-operation of the administering Power in this regard is obviously most essential in the fulfilment of the aspirations of the peoples of small territories to genuine freedom and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV).

230. The Chairman said that, in accordance with the decision taken by the Sub-Committee at the previous meeting, Mr. Fisher would be heard in a private capacity.

231. Mr. Fisher said that he was appearing before the Sub-Committee on behalf of the Provisional Government of Anguilla. He was a professor of law at Harvard and specialized in questions of international law, although he sometimes dealt with criminal law and procedure. Before taking up teaching, he had practised law for ten years. His relations with Anguilla were of quite recent date; he had visited the island for the first time in July 1967. At the end of June, one of his friends and the wife of Mr. Gumbs whom he had met two years earlier had asked him to help the Anguillans. He had agreed to do so with the understanding that he would treat it as a case like any other, i.e., his expenses and travel would be reimbursed and he would be paid a fee, if only a nominal one. He had no links with any potential investors or any United States interests and his only client was the Provisional Government of Anguilla. He had made altogether three trips to Anguilla, each of about one week's duration, and while there he had met the members of the Council and the Chairman, first Mr. Adams and later Mr. Webster.

232. Early in July the island had been placed under the control of a peace-keeping committee set up by the inhabitants of the island after the departure of the St. Kitts police in May. On 11 July the committee had organized a referendum in which the people had been asked whether they wished (a) to terminate the association with St. Kitts and Nevis and (b) to form a provisional government. The replies had been almost unanimous in both cases.

233. Anguilla was a small, impoverished island, with a population of about 6,000, without any telephone or electricity services and with barely a mile of paved roads. The problem was what was to become of the island. At present, several representatives of Anguilla, who were members of the opposition, were under arrest in St. Kitts. Mr. Bradshaw, the Prime Minister of St. Kitts, was threatening to turn Anguilla into a desert if it did not submit. Weapons had been imported into St. Kitts for the purpose of subduing Anguilla by force if necessary. The United Kingdom had imposed on Anguilla a constitution tying it to two islands too remote for the arrangement to prove satisfactory.

234. The question was whether Anguilla was bound by past solutions, and, if not, what solution might be envisaged and how it could be reached. Of the two past solutions which, it was argued by some, were binding on Anguilla, the first was the constitution which had been imposed on the island by the United Kingdom in circumstances with which the Sub-Committee was familiar. The Anguillans considered that they were not bound by the constitutional arrangements adopted in London, since they had not been consulted as they should

have been. If they had been consulted, the arrangements would have provided a measure of autonomy for Anguilla, and that was not the case. They also considered that it was not for the former administering Power to decide the most appropriate form of self-determination for a Territory. Furthermore, they objected to being under the control of St. Kitts. The second solution which some regarded as binding on the Anguillians was the solution proposed at the Barbados Conference. In his opening statement at that Conference, however, on 29 July, Mr. Walter Hodges has stated on behalf of the Anguillian delegation that its authority was limited and that any agreements discussed or reached at the Conference could not commit the people of Anguilla until the latter had seen and approved them. He had made that point in order to avoid a repetition of what had happened at the London Conference, namely, the adoption of arrangements without consultation of the Anguilla population. In reply to that reservation, Lord Shepherd, Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs, had stated that everything had been done during the Conference to take into account the point of view of the Anguillians and that a refusal on their part to accept the conclusions of the Conference would be an extremely serious act which would oblige the United Kingdom to consult the Governments of the other Caribbean States to see what measures should be taken.

235. On 31 July, four members of the Anguillian delegation had signed the report of the Barbados Conference. Six other members had chosen not to sign. All the members, whether they had signed or not, had made it known that they did not consider the Conference report to be binding on the people of Anguilla until they had studied it and approved it.

236. The conclusions of the Barbados Conference were as follows: Anguilla was to agree to submit once again to the authority of the St. Kitts Government, peace-keeping machinery was to be established to protect its population, and it was to be granted some measure of self-government. The only clear element in that conclusion was the return of Anguilla to St. Kitts. The rest was obscure, complex and ambiguous. Following the Conference, the Council of Anguilla had met and decided that Mr. Webster, who had been appointed Chairman of the Council in the absence of Mr. Adams, should remain in office. The Council had subsequently published a statement explaining to the people the position taken by the Anguillian delegation at the Barbados Conference. According to that statement, the conference report was not binding on the Anguillians; Anguilla did not reject the report out of hand but would study it at leisure in order to make constructive proposals and find a peaceful solution. The response to that statement had been the dispatch by the United Kingdom of a frigate carrying marines who were ready to land on the island. On 9 August, Mr. Webster had addressed an appeal to the Minister for External Affairs of Barbados, on behalf of the Council of Anguilla, confirming the telephone conversation they had had that morning and assuring him that the Anguillian population was ready to study the report carefully and to co-operate in any just solution; he urged the Minister not to resort to force and not to send marines to the island, and, lastly, asked for advisers to be sent to Anguilla who could explain to the population the tenor and meaning of the report of the Barbados Conference. Later, two officials of Commonwealth countries had arrived in Anguilla where they had taken part in meetings attended not only by the Government leaders but also by several thousands of people who had followed the deliberations and asked questions. The two officials had departed with the impression that the Anguillian population found the report of the Barbados Conference unacceptable and that many changes would have to be made in it. The Council's position was thus that Anguilla was not bound either by the constitutional arrangements reached in London or by the conclusions of the Barbados Conference.

237. Some had compared the developments in Anguilla with events in Southern Rhodesia. It had been said that in both cases there had been unilateral declaration of independence and that the United Kingdom should act to restore legality. He thought that any comparison of the situation in

the two territories was quite inappropriate. In the case of Anguilla, it was not a question of a minority or majority Government, but of the fact that the whole population of the island wanted to terminate its association with St. Kitts.

238. Consequently, if past solutions did not commit Anguilla, other solutions must be considered. The island was clearly not large enough to be left to its own devices. In view of the number of problems which a modern State had to face and the administrative structure required, the entire population of the island would be needed for the civil service. On the other hand, the Anguillians wanted to govern themselves, to be free and above all not to be subject to St. Kitts. They were not concerned with prestige: they were not interested in having ambassadors or in seeing their country become a Member of the United Nations; they simply wanted to manage their own affairs. They would be ready, indeed, to consider an association with St. Kitts, provided that such an association permitted them to have an autonomous government.

239. Another solution might be a form of trusteeship under the supervision of the Commonwealth countries, or an association with other entities, such as some of the French-speaking islands of the Caribbean or St. Martin, with which Anguilla enjoyed excellent relations. There was also the possibility of complete independence, with the development of natural resources and of tourism, and preferential international assistance. The Council of Anguilla had also asked him to mention to the Sub-Committee the possibility of Anguilla, as a self-governing and independent entity, accepting some form of association with the United Nations; such a course would require no amendment of the Charter and there was no reason why the United Nations could not accept such a situation.

240. The third question was how to arrive at a solution. Admittedly, the fragmentation of small Territories created problems and the United Nations should not encourage secessionist tendencies. On the other hand, a committee dealing with problems of decolonization should concern itself with the problems of a small Territory as much as with those of the colonies of a great Power. On the whole, Anguilla would rather be a colony of the United Kingdom than of St. Kitts.

241. The Provisional Government of Anguilla hoped that a United Nations representative would go to the island to see the situation for himself and that the Sub-Committee would recognize in some manner that the Constitution imposed by the United Kingdom did not settle the matter and was not in keeping with the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV). It also hoped that the United Nations would urge all parties not to resort to force. Lastly, it believed that the Sub-Committee might ask the Secretary-General to appoint someone to look into the problem and ascertain what administrative support, technical advice and economic assistance could be furnished to Anguilla.

242. He was convinced that a solution could be found for Anguilla which could thereafter serve as a model for many other islands and small Territories, and he hoped that the Sub-Committee would adopt Anguilla's motto: "One does not have to be big in order to be free".

243. The representative of Uruguay sought information on two of the main protagonists of Anguilla's peaceful revolution, Mr. Peter Adams and Mr. Ronald Webster. How did it happen that Mr. Webster today presided over the Council of Anguilla, when it had been Peter Adams who had started the course of events and organized the referendum and had represented Anguilla at the Barbados Conference, whose proposals he had accepted? He was also surprised to find that Mr. Adams had expressed fear for his family's safety, and would like to know the source of the threats against Mr. Adams's family. He also wondered why the Anguillian people now seemed opposed to what Mr. Adams had accepted in Barbados. Was it public opinion in the island that had changed or was it Mr. Adams himself?

244. Mr. Fisher stated that Mr. Adams had not changed and that his behaviour during the past months and his attitude at the Barbados Conference were easy to explain. At the Conference, Mr. Adams had stressed the fact that his delegation was not authorized to make any commitment on behalf of the

people of Anguilla. Faced with Lord Shepherd's attitude and the quasi-ultimatum of the Conference, Mr. Adams had felt that his best course of action was to sign the Conference report but express reservations with regard to his delegation's powers. He had thought it best to gain time, avoid a crisis, and return to Anguilla with the report, and to make observations and comments later, if necessary. In that way he had avoided a test of strength and a return to the harsh rule of St. Kitts.

245. The fact that Mr. Webster was Chairman of the Council of Anguilla was explained as follows: Mr. Adams had been absent on several occasions, and Mr. Webster had served as Acting Chairman of the Council. When Mr. Bradshaw had stated over the St. Kitts radio, three or four days after the Barbados Conference, that Anguilla would be returned to St. Kitts as a result of the Conference, that there would be an amnesty, and that the island would receive appropriations, the residents of Anguilla had believed that Mr. Adams had betrayed them. There had even been talk of hanging him. Consequently, as soon as Mr. Adams had returned to the island, the Council of Anguilla had met and had decided, in Mr. Adams' presence and with his consent, that it was better to have Mr. Webster continue as Chairman of the Council. There had certainly not been a palace revolution.

246. The representative of Uruguay asked under what conditions the referendum had been held and whether those conditions had provided the necessary guarantees, in particular with regard to the secrecy of the ballot.

247. Mr. Fisher replied that the committee governing the island until 10 July had published on 8 or 9 July a proclamation stating all the details of how the referendum would be held. Only electors registered for the last general elections would be allowed to vote. Voting would take place from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m. There would be five polling places, the same that had been used in the general elections of July 1966. The vote would be supervised by the electoral staff of the last general elections. He had personally visited two of the polling places and seen for himself that no difficulties had arisen. The ballot papers had a detachable slip which was signed by the voter and served as a voting receipt. The ballots were marked with a "Yes" and the corresponding symbol, a hat, or with a "No" and the corresponding symbol, a shoe. Those symbols had been selected from five symbols commonly used in the island. In the evening the ballots had been counted by the person who had performed that task at the last elections. The entire operation had taken place in a fair and orderly manner. Moreover, representatives of a half dozen newspapers had been in Anguilla at the time and had been able to see for themselves the legality of the balloting.

248. The representative of Uruguay asked what was the source of the statement that the Anguillian people did not consider itself bound by the decision, taken at the London Conference, to make the island a unitary State with St. Kitts and Nevis.

249. Mr. Fisher replied that the statement came from the Anguillian Provisional Government Council, which had sent a telegram to the United Kingdom Government after the 11 July referendum, informing it that the Anguillian people had decided to separate from St. Kitts and Nevis, but wished to explore the possibility of establishing new ties with the United Kingdom within the Commonwealth.

250. The representative of Uruguay noted that, in his statement at the previous meeting, Mr. Fisher had stressed the difficulties which would face a small, poor island trying to survive as an independent nation. He agreed with Mr. Fisher's remarks on that point, and he also agreed that there was no reason why Anguilla should be subject to St. Kitts if the people wished otherwise. However, the picture of the situation presented by Mr. Fisher seemed over-dramatized. No lives had been lost in Anguilla, and no troops had been landed there. The difficulties of the island arose from its particular circumstances, and not from the recent political events. Fact should be separated from fantasy. The United Nations had reason to be concerned with the plight of the people, but matters extraneous to the principle of decolonization should not concern the Sub-Committee.

251. Mr. Fisher had analysed various possible solutions to Anguilla's problems and had referred, *inter alia*, to the possibility of association with St. Martin which was partly under French and partly under Netherlands jurisdiction. He would like to ask Mr. Fisher whether there had been any discussions with the authorities of either part of that island regarding the possibility of such an arrangement.

252. He had been somewhat surprised at Mr. Fisher's suggestion concerning some form of association of Anguilla with the United Nations. It was true that the innovations of today were the commonplaces of tomorrow, but it was difficult to envisage such a solution in practice. In any event, it was hardly conceivable in the immediate future, and Anguilla needed immediate answers to its problems.

253. As he had stressed on previous occasions, the task of the United Nations was not to persuade the peoples of colonial Territories to make this or that choice, but merely to help them in the task of determining their own future by bringing to their attention the alternatives open to them—complete independence, or some form of federation or association with neighbouring islands, it being clearly understood that they must remain free to seek a further change in their status at any time in the future.

254. Despite Mr. Fisher's strictures on the constitution which he said had been imposed on Anguilla by the United Kingdom, his proposal was that a solution should be sought in co-operation with the neighbouring Caribbean countries; thus, he apparently recognized that those countries had no intention of imposing anything on the Anguillians. Mr. Fisher's plea that force should not be used was somewhat superfluous as far as the Sub-Committee was concerned, since all its members certainly shared that concern; the Sub-Committee's efforts were directed towards bringing an end to violence and colonization.

255. While recognizing the value of the opinions of Mr. Fisher as an authority on international law, he felt that what the Sub-Committee really needed was not so much advice as solid information, so that it could reach its own conclusions.

256. Mr. Fisher said that, to the best of his knowledge, no negotiations had taken place with the authorities of either part of St. Martin, and the possibility of association with that island had been discussed only in Anguilla itself. With regard to association with the United Nations, he agreed that such a solution would take time to work out and that some form of interim status would be needed. However, it was often easier to devise new procedures in terms of a particular case than in the abstract. There was general agreement that the decolonization of small island Territories presented problems, and Anguilla offered an opportunity to come to grips with those problems in a specific case.

257. As for the use of force, he did not, of course, fear that the United Nations would use force, but he was asking it to help to ensure that others did not do so. With regard to the difficulties which would face an independent Anguilla, the people had resolved that, whatever the difficulties, if the choice was between independence and subordination to St. Kitts, they would choose independence. He thought that it was a mistake to attach too much importance to the question of independence as such. In the modern world most countries, whether they were independent or not, had close ties with their neighbours. The task was to find a solution which would give Anguilla a substantial measure of self-government. Law was designed to serve the interests of peoples, and not vice versa. He might add that he had come before the Sub-Committee to request help, and not to attempt to provide answers.

258. The representative of Venezuela said that the information provided by Mr. Fisher on the situation in Anguilla was extremely useful. One point that had emerged from his statement and from the Sub-Committee's discussions with Mr. Gumbs was that, although the United Kingdom had repeatedly stated that it had no authority to intervene in the internal affairs of the Territory, some of its recent actions had obviously been intended to bring pressure on Anguilla. The statement by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the Government would not accept the situation that had devel-

oped in Anguilla, the sending of a Royal Navy vessel to patrol certain areas of the Caribbean, and the recent remark by an official spokesman that the whole population of the island was liable to be imprisoned unless its leaders accepted the conclusions of the conference of Commonwealth countries, were clear instances of coercion.

259. The fact that the political authorities of the island had authorized Mr. Fisher to suggest that some form of association with the United Nations might be a solution appeared to indicate that the United Kingdom Government had not fully informed the people of the three forms of self-government—association, integration and independence—from which their choice had to be made. He asked Mr. Fisher whether, in his opinion, the people of Anguilla had been aware of those options prior to the establishment of the Associated State.

260. Mr. Fisher said that since early July the people of Anguilla had been discussing a variety of forms of independent status. He could not say whether the choices available had been fully understood prior to the separation from St. Kitts.

261. The representative of the Ivory Coast said that the information available to the Sub-Committee, and in particular a recent communication from the People's Action Movement, showed that the current situation had arisen largely because of the failure of the central Government in St. Kitts to set up a local government council in Anguilla, as the Constitution required. There was also evidence that the central Government was trying to destroy the opposition party, the People's Action Movement, which was supported by most Anguillians. He asked Mr. Fisher whether he had any knowledge of the reasons given by the St. Kitts Government for its failure to organize the local government elections in Anguilla.

262. Mr. Fisher agreed that one of Anguilla's grievances was that no legislation had been enacted to enable local government elections to be held in Nevis and Anguilla, but said that he knew of no adequate reasons for the delay. It was true that the people of the island, as a whole, supported the opposition party.

263. The representative of Madagascar asked Mr. Fisher what the views of the authorities in Anguilla were on the recent Commonwealth discussions and which of the various solutions described in his statement was preferred by them.

264. Mr. Fisher said that he had no first-hand information on the Commonwealth discussions. He believed, however, that the long-term measures recommended at the discussions were of little interest to the Anguillian authorities, who wanted an immediate solution. What the people of Anguilla desired most of all was a system of substantial self-government, free from political connexions with St. Kitts. Failing that, the status of a self-governing unit associated with the United Nations would be acceptable. One interim form of participation in the British Commonwealth which was being considered was an arrangement whereby a Commonwealth committee approved by all the parties would provide the island with administrative assistance and secure the lifting of the embargo imposed by the central Government. He further said that whatever limited resources Anguilla had at the moment were derived from loans and gifts from well-wishers. It might be able in the near future to exploit its provisional status by issuing its own coins and stamps, but no substantial foreign investment could be expected until Anguilla had a stable, recognized government.

265. The representative of Bulgaria said that it was evident from Mr. Fisher's statements that the Anguillian people had been included in the Associated State status conferred on St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla without being consulted and that such a status was not what they wanted. In his view, the problem was not confined to the relations between St. Kitts and Anguilla and was attributable to the policy which the United Kingdom had pursued in the region for over three centuries and was still pursuing today. That policy was the source of all the economic and political difficulties confronting Anguilla; they would, no doubt, one day confront other islands in the region, including St. Kitts. According to *The New York Times* of 29 August, the United Kingdom's efforts to put an end to the secession of Anguilla had resulted in a deadlock. It was asserted that the United Kingdom frigate anchored in

the area was not a threat to Anguilla and that the administering Power wished only to maintain order, but it was not the first time that such a pretext had been advanced by colonial Powers, and the United Nations should not be misled by it.

266. He deplored the fact that the administering Power had refrained from participating in the Sub-Committee's discussions and had therefore failed to furnish the Sub-Committee with the information it had the right to expect from any administering Power concerning the Territories under its administration.

267. Mr. Fisher said that Anguilla was an example of inadequate decolonization. The article in *The New York Times* mentioned by the Bulgarian representative was wrong in referring to a federal State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. There was no federation, since Anguilla had no separate government. The three islands were treated as if they were one.

268. The representative of Iran asked for more detailed information on certain points. What was the exact wording of the questions put to the Anguillian people at the 11 July referendum?

269. Mr. Fisher read out the two questions which had been published in *The New York Times*.

"1. Are you in favour of secession from St. Kitts? Yes? No?"

"2. Are you in favour of setting up an interim government? Yes? No?"

The term "interim government" meant a peace-keeping committee.

270. The Chairman asked what organic ties had existed between Anguilla and St. Kitts before the granting of Associated State status.

271. Mr. Fisher replied that, in general, the island of Anguilla had always been administered through St. Kitts during the 300 years of colonial domination.

272. The Chairman asked Mr. Fisher for his opinion on what would have happened in Anguilla if, in response to a single-vote referendum held by the administering Power, St. Kitts had chosen association with the United Kingdom and Anguilla had chosen independence.

273. Mr. Fisher said that it was difficult to answer such a question. What the Anguillians wanted was substantial self-government, probably under some form of association with the United Kingdom but certainly not with St. Kitts. They felt that they could manage their own affairs without having to be dependent on other islands more than seventy miles away.

274. The Chairman thought that the Anguillian people had ethnic and cultural ties with the people of St. Kitts. What was Mr. Fisher's opinion?

275. Mr. Fisher replied that such ties existed not only between Anguilla and St. Kitts but between all the islands of the region.

276. The Chairman asked whether Anguilla's association with the United Nations, as envisaged by the Provisional Government Council of Anguilla, would differ from the system of trusteeship in force under the League of Nations.

277. Mr. Fisher replied that Anguilla desired the status of an Associated State having full powers of self-government and free from all foreign domination. The international community would provide it with the necessary advice and technical, economic, legal and other aid. He realized that it would be a delicate and complicated task for the United Nations but, in his view, it was easier to deal with a particular case than to evolve a universally applicable standard solution.

278. The Chairman asked whether Mr. Fisher believed that the form of association he had just described would ensure for Anguilla the viability and progress which were the ultimate aim of decolonization.

279. Mr. Fisher replied that what was most important to the Anguillians was the right to manage their own affairs. No doubt they would not have the necessary capability from the start, but it might be better for them to solve their own

problems than to have them solved by others even if those others were to find a better solution.

280. The Chairman agreed that independence was, in a sense, an end in itself, but he continued to believe that it was primarily a means for achieving greater political freedom and economic prosperity. If a newly independent country underwent severe difficulties at first and was temporarily worse off than it had been under the colonial régime, that situation could be accepted if it was known at the outset that the country was capable, although at the cost of great effort, of achieving true economic and political independence which would ensure a better life for its inhabitants.

281. Mr. Fisher had also spoken of various forms of association, and even of trusteeship, a word which it was preferable not to use in a sub-committee dealing with decolonization. What measures did Mr. Fisher recommend in order to set up closer ties between Anguilla and the other islands in such a way that, while each enjoyed self-government, the islands would be united and, legally speaking, would constitute a single entity in the eyes of the world.

282. Mr. Fisher replied that he had mentioned some form of trusteeship among the possible solutions merely as a transitional measure, for there was no doubt that the present situation could not continue. Experience had shown that it was difficult to establish a federation in the West Indies; but a form of association was possible in which each island would be completely self-governing but would be dependent on the United Kingdom in some matters, such as defence. What was most important was to reach an agreement that would not create a situation of tension in an island or group of islands and would give each island a fair measure of self-government.

283. The Chairman, noting Mr. Fisher's remark that it was difficult to establish a federation in the West Indies, asked whether that difficulty was due to the presence of certain individuals in the Governments of the islands or whether the peoples of the islands opposed a federal system. Since the former administering Power seemed to constitute the only unifying factor, he also asked whether it would not be possible to introduce a system that could promote closer relations between the islands and make it possible to establish a federation or perhaps a confederation of associated States.

284. Mr. Fisher replied that there were indeed powerful cultural and historic ties which ought to facilitate relations among the islands, but at present lack of self-government made such relations difficult, since it aggravated trends towards insularity, which inevitably led to fragmentation.

B. ADOPTION OF THE REPORT

285. The Sub-Committee considered its conclusions and recommendations on Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent at its 87th to 89th meetings on 25 and 29 August 1967, and adopted them subject to reservations concerning sub-paragraph 5 expressed by the representative of Bulgaria.

286. The Sub-Committee also considered a proposal made by the representative of Iran to the effect that the Secretary-General should be asked to initiate a study of the feasibility of arrangements under which the small Territories which may wish to be fully self-governing might be enabled to have available to them the status of a sovereign entity associated with the United Nations. At its 97th meeting, the Sub-Committee, in the light of the discussion that took place, decided to refer the matter for further examination by the Special Committee. The representative of Bulgaria reserved the position of his delegation.

C. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

287. The Sub-Committee recommends to the Special Committee that it adopt the following conclusions and recommendations:

(1) The Special Committee recalls its previous conclusions and recommendations concerning these Territories, which were endorsed by the General Assembly.

(2) The Special Committee recalls the resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its 506th meeting on 23 March 1967, in particular, operative paragraph 2, under which the Sub-Committee was charged "to examine, in the light of the recent constitutional developments, the situation in these Territories in all its aspects including the possibility of sending a visiting mission, and to report to the Special Committee at an early date".

(3) The Special Committee notes with regret the attitude of the administering Power, which has refused to co-operate with the Sub-Committee in its efforts to obtain more complete information concerning the recent constitutional and political developments in the Territories.

(4) The Special Committee, deeming it necessary for the discharge of its task, granted hearings to individuals who provided it with information on the recent political and constitutional developments in Anguilla.

(5) The Special Committee takes note of the constitutional developments that have taken place in these Territories, and considers that they represent a certain degree of advancement in the political field for the peoples concerned.

(6) The Special Committee further takes note of the recent political developments that have taken place in the island of Anguilla.

(7) The Special Committee reaffirms that resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions continue to apply fully to these Territories.

(8) The Special Committee, bearing in mind resolution 2232 (XXI), reiterates that the small size and meagre resources of these Territories present peculiar problems which demand special attention.

(9) The Special Committee reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of these Territories to exercise their right of self-determination in complete freedom and without any restriction. It requests the administering Power to ensure that the peoples of the Territories are informed of the various possibilities available to them in their achievement of the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV).

(10) The Special Committee requests the administering Power to promote the development of closer ties among these Territories through the building of a common political, economic and social infrastructure in accordance with the wishes of the population.

(11) Recalling resolution 2232 (XXI), paragraph 6, which establishes "that the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of these Territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status", the Special Committee reiterates its belief that a United Nations presence during the procedures connected with the process of self-determination will be essential in order to ensure that the peoples of the Territories are enabled to exercise their right in complete freedom, without any restriction and in full knowledge of the options available to them.

(12) The Special Committee regrets that the administering Power has not agreed to the dispatch of a visiting mission to these Territories and affirms that such a visit would be useful and desirable. Accordingly, it again requests the administering Power to allow the dispatch of a United Nations visiting mission to the Territories and to extend to it full co-operation and assistance.

V. BERMUDA, BAHAMAS, MONTSERRAT, TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS AND CAYMAN ISLANDS

A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE

Introduction

288. The Sub-Committee considered the Territories of Bermuda, Bahamas, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands at its 90th to 96th meetings between 30 August and 8 September 1967.

289. The Sub-Committee had before it the working papers prepared by the Secretariat (paras. 406-604 of the present chapter).

290. In accordance with the procedure agreed upon by the Special Committee, the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as administering Power, participated in the work of the Sub-Committee on those Territories at the invitation of the Chairman.

General statements

(a) Bermuda, Bahamas and Montserrat

291. The representative of Bulgaria noted that, as the administering Power had once again refused to allow a United Nations mission to visit the Territories, the Sub-Committee had only limited information at its disposal.

292. Despite all the resolutions and specific recommendations adopted by the Sub-Committee and other United Nations bodies concerning the small Territories under discussion, no substantial progress had been made in implementing the Declaration on the granting of independence, and the pace of political advancement had been rather slow. The process of self-determination was not evolving, and the administering Power did not seem prepared to create the necessary conditions for the exercise of the right of self-determination. No particular changes had occurred since the Sub-Committee had last discussed the Territories; indeed, little progress appeared to have been made since 1964. Colonial rule persisted and, as could be seen from the relevant working paper (see para. 498 of the present chapter) the present Constitution of the Bahamas reserved certain important powers to be exercised by the Governor at his discretion.

293. It was also evident that the economic situation in the Territories remained unchanged. The testimony given by a petitioner from the Bahamas in 1966 had shown that the cost of living was very high and social services were inadequate. The economy, being based solely on tourism, suffered from weakness and instability, yet no efforts had been made to develop other industries.

294. The administering Power also appeared to be paying no attention to the important question of the Atlantic Undersea Test and Evaluation Centre. The establishment of a foreign military base in the Bahamas represented a serious threat to the peace and security of the population and of the entire area. Hundreds of United States sailors and civilians would be stationed at the base, which was situated in a sensitive area of the world. That development was certainly not in the interests of the people of the Bahamas, who had not been consulted in any way. Moreover, the attitude adopted by the administering Power, which enjoyed discretionary powers in the direction of foreign policy and defence, was contrary to the spirit and the letter of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

295. He also wished to draw attention to the question of the casinos and gambling establishments that had been opened in the Bahamas and other Territories with United States capital. Most of those casinos were controlled by United States interests, which enjoyed tax privileges.

296. The Special Committee should reaffirm that the Declaration on the granting of independence applied fully to the Territories under consideration and should be implemented by the administering Power. His delegation felt strongly that visiting missions should be sent to the Territories, in order to enable the Sub-Committee to carry out its task.

297. The representative of Venezuela said that after a careful perusal of the Secretariat's working papers he had come to the conclusion that the information which they provided on a number of questions was inadequate. In his opinion, the administering Power should provide the Sub-Committee with more complete and more accurate information in order to enable it to formulate its conclusions and recommendations. For instance, the working paper on Bermuda contained very little information on the Constitutional Conference held in London in November 1966. It mentioned the majority report and minority reports, which, however, reflected only the views of the political parties and did not show what concrete decisions had been taken regarding the electoral system. In a petition addressed to the Special Committee, the Progressive Labour Party (PLP) had complained that the electoral sys-

tem was based on a policy of segregating the working class and coloured voters, and it had urged the Government of the United Kingdom to insist on the establishment of an electoral system not based on class or colour. In addition, PLP had recommended that Bermuda should become independent. At the press conference which had been held at the conclusion of the Constitutional Conference, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for the Colonies had been reported as saying that PLP had apparently changed its mind on that matter and that it now seemed that none of the delegates wanted independence. However, in a letter to *The Times* of London, the Parliamentary Leader of the Progressive Labour Party had said that his party favoured independence but felt that the issue of independence should be decided after the people of Bermuda had heard all the arguments pro and con. That was why the independence issue had not been raised by PLP at the Constitutional Conference. In any event, the Venezuelan delegation had the general impression that there had been very little political progress since the elections of 1963 and the General Assembly's last recommendations regarding Bermuda.

298. The Bermuda economy was almost entirely dependent on tourism. Gambling casinos helped to attract tourists, but they also had undesirable effects on the local population. It was not clear from the available information whether the administering Power had taken steps to diversify the economy and develop agriculture in order to make the islands self-supporting.

299. He would also like to have more precise information on education—for instance, on the number of school-age children so as to be able to judge whether there were enough schools, whether the government grants were adequate and so on. In the field of health, he was disturbed to note that infant mortality was extremely high in Bermuda. For that reason the administering Power should further obstetrical and child-care services.

300. It appeared from the documents before the Sub-Committee that the chief executive, who was the Governor appointed by the Queen, had very wide powers. He was advised in the exercise of his functions by an Executive Council, but he was not bound to accept the Council's views. The Governor had power to dissolve the House of Assembly, and the Crown had the power to disallow Acts of the colonial Parliament. He would like to know what changes had been envisaged in that area by the Constitutional Conference.

301. The representative of Uruguay pointed out that the scarcity of information was due to the silence of the administering Power. The Secretariat's working papers contained information culled from all possible sources but it was not enough to enable the Sub-Committee to make precise recommendations. He recalled that when he had last spoken on the item under discussion he had said that if the administering Power did not provide the essential information, the Sub-Committee should visit the territories and study conditions on the spot. The Sub-Committee must act without delay if the local people were not to be at the mercy of unscrupulous persons. Indeed, the magazines *Time* and *Life* had published articles denouncing the activities of gangsters, particularly in the Bahamas, where they trafficked in drugs, encouraged gambling and carried on all sorts of illegal activities under cover of fictitious companies. Although some of those activities had probably ceased in consequence of the publicity resulting from those articles, nobody knew how much political influence was still being exercised by such persons.

302. In September 1966, Mr. Fawkes, a member of the House of Assembly, had proposed that a constitutional conference be convened to consider independence for the Bahamas and had declared that independence was inevitable, for three paramount reasons. That, however, had only been a political party's manoeuvre, which had been in no way constructive and had not proposed any positive solution. Mr. Fawkes appeared to have called for independence more on economic than on constitutional grounds. During the debate on Mr. Fawkes' motion, the then Prime Minister had said that independence would be expensive to the Bahamas and that considerable funds would accordingly have to be provided,

which, in his Government's view, would be much better spent in developing the Bahamas for the good of all the inhabitants. When his motion had been rejected, Mr. Fawkes had addressed a petition on the subject to the Special Committee.

303. General elections had been held in December 1966, following which a new Government had been formed in January 1967. In assuming office, the new Prime Minister had taken steps to reassure tourists and investors about his Government's intentions, and had sent a message to the President of the United States assuring him that the Bahamas would remain friendly with the United States, would continue to play its role in the defence pattern of the Western world and would no longer provide a haven for gangsters. That had been an encouraging note, but the Sub-Committee had received no further information on the situation in the Bahamas since February 1967. He therefore proposed that the Sub-Committee should request the administering Power to provide additional information to enable it to base its recommendations on current data.

304. The representative of the United Kingdom said that the administering Power had already provided the Sub-Committee with a detailed report on Montserrat, which was summarized in paragraphs 121 to 125 of the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. XXII, annex). Under the new Constitution, the Territory now had an Executive Council, headed by a Chief Minister, and a Legislative Council comprising seven elected members, two officials and one nominated member. In the elections of March 1966, the Montserrat Labour Party had once more obtained a majority. Constitutional questions had not been an issue in the electoral campaign, and only economic and social development had been discussed. The United Kingdom Government was nevertheless prepared to convene a conference on constitutional changes for Montserrat whenever the local political parties were ready.

305. In line with its electoral manifesto, the Montserrat Government had concentrated its efforts on the expansion of agriculture and tourism. During the last calendar year, the United Kingdom had supplied the Territory with aid totalling £274,000 for development and welfare schemes and improvements to Blackbourne Airfield.

306. Of the three Territories under discussion, Bermuda was the one in which the most important and far-reaching political and constitutional advances had been made. He reviewed the constitutional developments in Bermuda since the establishment of representative government in 1620 and pointed out that, as in the United Kingdom, the Constitution of the Territory consisted of a large number of written provisions and many unwritten conventions. The written provisions often gave a misleading impression of the actual situation. For instance, although in theory the Governor had very broad powers and the elected House of Assembly played practically no part in the administration of the Territory, in practice all expenditure and legislation needed the approval of the House of Assembly and there was close co-operation between the Executive, particularly the Governor, and the Legislature. In practice, therefore, Bermuda had for some time enjoyed a wide measure of internal self-government. There had been substantial progress also with regard to the franchise. In 1963, the franchise had been granted to all Bermudans over twenty-five years of age, and property owners, who had been entitled until then to vote in every parish in which they owned land, were restricted to a single additional vote. Early in 1966, the voting age had been reduced to twenty-one years, and the additional property vote had been abolished. Bermuda had thus in the space of three years gone through a complete transition to universal adult suffrage, one man one vote, which in the United Kingdom had taken over a century.

307. That had been the situation in Bermuda when, from 8 to 22 November 1966, the Constitutional Conference had taken place in London. The outcome of that Conference was outlined in the Secretariat working paper (paras. 444-467 of this chapter). The Conference report had not been unanimously adopted, and there were two minority reports attached to it,

one signed by two Independents and the other by the Progressive Labour Party representatives. The former had felt that the Conference's decisions went too far, and the latter that they did not go far enough. In view of the divergency between those extremes, the decisions reached appeared to be a satisfactory compromise and had in fact been accepted by the majority of the delegates. Under those decisions, Bermuda would now have a single written Constitution to be provided for in an Order in Council as in other dependent Territories of the United Kingdom. The Constitution would give Bermuda a responsible government, with the Governor retaining special responsibilities for defence, external affairs, internal security and the police. The Territory would have two chambers, an upper house to be called the Legislative Council with five members nominated by the Governor and six chosen by the two main party leaders, and a lower house, the House of Assembly, with forty members elected by universal adult suffrage. The former would have limited powers similar to those of the House of Lords. In preparation for the elections to the House of Assembly, a special commission with an outside Chairman had been established to define the boundaries of the new constituencies, with the number of adults in the constituencies being as nearly equal as possible, and without any distinction of race. Once the House of Assembly had been elected, a new Executive Council, composed of members of both houses, would be appointed on the advice of the member of the House of Assembly best able to command the confidence of his fellow members. The Governor would be required by the Constitution to act in accordance with the advice of the Executive Council on all matters except external affairs, defence, internal security and the police. The new Constitution of Bermuda would also provide safeguards for fundamental rights and freedoms and ensure the independence of the judiciary and the public service. It would thus provide for a modern form of government.

308. The report of the Conference had been duly endorsed by the Bermuda Legislature, and the Boundaries Commission had finished its work. Its recommendations were unanimous except in relation to one constituency where the recommendations of the majority resulted in more nearly equal constituencies than that put forward by the one dissenting member. The House of Assembly had accepted the Commission's recommendations and had also decided to relax the rules requiring certain government employees to resign before standing for election to the House of Assembly or when elected to it; it had also substantially increased payments to the members of the Legislature. This would allow the range of persons able to sit in the Legislature to be widened. An expert on electoral registration had also been appointed in accordance with a Conference decision and had made his report, whose conclusion was that the system was fair and efficient. The report's recommendations had been accepted by the House of Assembly with one minor exception relating to a mobile registration unit.

309. When the Constitution of Bermuda had been promulgated by an Order in Council, a good deal of local legislation would have to be amended or drafted. There would have to be a new registration of electors in the new constituencies, and other steps leading up to a general election would have to be taken. The probability was that registration would take place the next spring and that the general election would be held at the due time—about the middle of 1968. The new Constitution eliminated many of the archaic features of the old Constitution and embodied a number of important steps forward. Nevertheless, as the Minister of State in the Commonwealth Office had said in the House of Commons during the debate on the Bermuda Constitution Bill, constitutions were continually evolving and fresh amendments would probably be proposed in the future. The Government of the United Kingdom would always be willing to consider such proposals in due course, when there had been some experience of the new constitution.

310. Turning to the Secretariat working paper on Bermuda he pointed out that the paragraphs on the party political situation in Bermuda were somewhat out of date. A new party, the Bermuda Democratic Party, had been formed by

three former members of the Progressive Labour Party (PLP), and was now the second largest party in the House of Assembly. In addition, one former PLP member now sat as an Independent. As a result of those changes, the composition of the House of Assembly was as follows: United Bermuda Party, 23 seats; independent members, 8 seats; Bermuda Democratic Party, 3 seats; Progressive Labour Party, 2 seats.

311. The so-called "Bermuda Constitutional Conference" mentioned in paragraph 422 of the working paper and in petitions addressed to the Special Committee was not, as far as his delegation was aware, a political organization with any following. There was of course no connexion between it and the Constitutional Conference held in London in November 1966.

312. In paragraph 417 mention should also be made of the existence of a Bermuda Court of Appeal. The wording of paragraph 491 did not perhaps make it sufficiently clear that there was already no racial discrimination whatever in admission to maintained and aided schools.

313. Turning to the Bahamas, he recalled that internal self-government had been introduced in 1964. The Governor had responsibility for foreign affairs, defence, internal security and the police; apart from those matters, he acted on the advice of his Ministers. Under the Constitution introduced in 1964, there was a cabinet, headed by a Premier and including at least eight Ministers, and a Legislature consisting of a Senate and a House of Assembly. In January 1967, for the first time in the Bahamas, general elections had been held on the basis of universal adult suffrage after abolition of the limited second vote for which owners and renters of property had been eligible. The membership of the House of Assembly had been enlarged, and thirty-eight constituencies had been delimited by a special commission. The number of seats for the island of New Providence (where Nassau, the capital, was situated) had been increased from twelve to seventeen. Representation for the other islands had remained the same (twenty-one seats), but the seats had been redistributed.

314. As a result of the elections, the Progressive Liberal Party, led by Mr. Lynden Pindling, had increased the number of seats it held from four to eighteen. The United Bahamian Party, also with eighteen seats in the new House, had lost a number of seats, and the Bahamas Labour Party had retained the one seat it held. The National Democratic Party, which had had three seats in the old House of Assembly, had not won any seats in the House, and, as in the previous House of Assembly, one independent member had been elected. The PLP and UBP thus had eighteen seats each but as the Labour Party and independent members had each declared their support for the PLP, the Governor had invited Mr. Pindling, as Parliamentary Leader of PLP, to form a government. The former Premier, Sir Roland Symonette, had become Leader of the Opposition. At a press conference on 16 January, the new Premier had indicated his Government's intention of encouraging tourism and investment and of continuing to maintain friendly relations with countries in the area.

315. The United Kingdom delegation was aware that the subject of gambling establishments in the Bahamas had been mentioned in the Sub-Committee. In that connexion, his delegation thought it appropriate to recall that the Colonial Secretary had announced last December in the House of Commons that the then Premier of the Territory would welcome an investigation by outside experts into the allegations concerning the administration of gambling casinos in the Bahamas. On 1 March 1967, the Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs had informed the House of Commons that a Commission of Enquiry was to be set up by the newly elected Government of the Bahamas, under the Bahamas Commission of Enquiry Act. A former Assistant Commissioner at Scotland Yard had agreed to lead the inquiry, and the other members of the Commission were a barrister and a detective superintendent from Scotland Yard. The Commission had begun its work at Nassau on 13 March. In view of those circumstances, it would be inappropriate for his or any other delegation to make any comment that might anticipate the Commission's report.

316. In the past the Sub-Committee and the Special Committee had shown interest in the question of activities of Ministers which conflicted with their ministerial duties. That question had been raised by Mr. Pindling, now Premier of the Bahamas, when he had appeared before the Special Committee as a petitioner. The new Government of the Bahamas had drawn up a code of ethics and communicated it to the House of Assembly on 15 June. The Government had earlier approved the payment of salaries and allowances to Ministers and other members of the Legislature; previously they had been unpaid and had therefore been allowed to continue with their private business interests. The new code required that Ministers should so order their affairs that no conflict arose between their private interests and their public duties. They were absolutely prohibited from taking an active part in any undertaking which had contractual relations with a government department. The code was based on the principles laid down by Sir Winston Churchill in 1952 in relation to the United Kingdom Government and also embraced the practice which had developed in Commonwealth countries. He had the full text of the new code available for the benefit of the members of the Sub-Committee.

317. Early in 1967 the Bahamas Government had commissioned the well-known economist Sir Arthur Lewis to make preliminary recommendations for an economic survey of the Bahamas which might lead to the preparation of a comprehensive development plan. Some of the recommendations made were the appointment of an industrial consultant to consider such matters as the existing use of skilled manpower and training facilities; the establishment of a development agency; the amendment of the law for encouraging industry; increasing local agricultural produce for home consumption; and the possibilities of the development of small industries for the local market. As a result of those recommendations, a firm of consultants in Puerto Rico had been appointed to carry out a technical assistance programme. The Bahamas Government had also pressed on with its plans for the expansion of educational facilities and had recently recruited about 100 teachers from the United Kingdom.

318. A number of points in the Secretariat's working paper called for some comment. Specifically, paragraph 502 seemed to indicate that the Governor's assent was required for all laws adopted by the Legislature, and in particular that laws concerning taxation or the expenditure of public money could be adopted only on the Governor's recommendation or with his assent. Such an account gave a misleading impression of the situation. Under section 22 of the Constitution, the Governor could act only on the advice of the Bahamas Cabinet or of a Minister acting under the general authority of the Cabinet. Apart from a very small number of questions referred to in section 53 (3) of the Constitution, which required a decision by the United Kingdom Government, the Governor acted on the advice of Bahamas Ministers. On such matters as assent to legislation involving taxation or public expenditure, for example, the Governor was required to act in accordance with ministerial advice.

319. Sub-paragraph 514 (e) of the working paper might be thought to imply that the voting in the recent elections had not been by secret ballot. However, voting in the Bahamas was by secret ballot. The proposal referred to in that sub-paragraph was designed merely to ensure that additional precautions were taken.

320. The representative of Venezuela noted that, during the recent elections in Montserrat, neither the question of constitutional development nor that of independence had been raised. It might, therefore, be wondered what had been done to implement the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in that Territory.

321. In the case of Bermuda and the Bahamas, he noted that the administering Power had not given the political parties an opportunity to express their views concerning the political status of the Territories. The Constitution of Bermuda dated back to 1620, and since that date there did not seem to have been many changes or advances, even towards internal self-government. The powers of the Governor had remained the same: he appointed the members of the Executive Council and of the Legislative Council, could dissolve the House of Assem-

bly, had to give his assent to laws and had extensive powers in matters relating to the external affairs and security of the Territory. He noted that, at the time of the elections, the Progressive Labour Party of Bermuda had published a memorandum attacking the electoral system, which, in its opinion, was based on a policy of segregation. The United Kingdom representative had just spoken about a new electoral system, and it would be useful if he would specify what measures had been taken to eliminate segregation. The Progressive Labour Party had also recommended that Bermuda should receive independence, in spite of what had been said by the Secretary of State for the Colonies at a press conference held following the closing of the Constitutional Conference. The Sub-Committee would welcome fuller details concerning the Constitutional Conference and the measures taken by the United Kingdom to meet the wishes of the people and help them to advance towards independence, a goal which seemed as far off as ever.

322. The representative of Bulgaria noted that since the Sub-Committee had last considered the question of the Territories the administering Power seemed to have taken no positive steps to ensure the implementation of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The fact that Bermuda's Constitution was one of the oldest in the British Commonwealth was of no great significance. The administering Power must take steps not to modernize the colonial administration but to ensure the process of decolonization in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The Sub-Committee must co-operate with the other United Nations organs concerned and with the United Kingdom in taking the positive steps which would make it possible to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

323. The United Kingdom representative's statement was extremely useful to the Sub-Committee, but it could not be as useful as a visiting mission which could gather information on the spot. He would also like to know whether the people of the Territories were acquainted with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the other United Nations decisions.

324. The representative of Italy noted that some changes had taken place in the Territories. In constitutional affairs practice was more important than the official text of the constitution, and he would therefore like to have some details about the practical changes mentioned by the United Kingdom representative.

325. The representative of the United Kingdom said that the suggestions and comments concerning the application of resolution 1514 (XV) in Bermuda, the Bahamas and Montserrat seemed to indicate some misapprehensions about his Government's policy on those and other colonial Territories. There was, in fact, no conflict between operative paragraph 3 of that resolution and the procedures for constitutional development applied in the Territories: his Government acted in consultation with and by consent of the peoples and was guided by their wishes on the pace and direction of their political progress, freely expressed through democratic parliamentary procedures. This was clearly consistent with the emphasis in resolution 1514 (XV) on the freely expressed wishes of the peoples of the colonial territories as the yardstick of constitutional progress in the transfer of powers to local hands.

326. There was no requirement in resolution 1514 (XV) that colonial peoples should be forced to make decisions on their ultimate status before they wished to do so, and it would be improper for the United Kingdom Government or the Special Committee to bring pressure to bear on them. The view of the Bulgarian representative that constitutional and political progress before decolonization was not of interest to the Sub-Committee was thus contrary to resolution 1514 (XV) and disregarded the wishes of the colonial peoples themselves.

327. He had described the new constitutional arrangements for Bermuda in his statement at the previous meeting but subsequent comments by members of the Sub-Committee had indicated that clarification of the powers of the Governor was again required. The Governor would not, as had been stated, choose government Ministers; his function was to appoint as Government Leader, or Premier, the member of the House of

Assembly most likely to command the support of the majority. He was then bound to take the Government Leader's advice on the appointment of the remaining Ministers. A mistaken choice of Leader would, of course, be rejected by a vote of no confidence by the elected members of the House. Similarly, in the case of the Legislative Council, or upper house, the Governor was bound to appoint, out of a total of eleven members, six nominated by the leaders of the two main political parties. Moreover, the Governor's power to withhold his assent to bills passed by the Legislature was extremely limited; except in the case of his special responsibilities for external affairs, defence, internal security, police and certain other matters, he was bound to accept the advice of the Executive Council on granting or withholding assent. His power to dissolve the Legislature was subject to the restrictions normal in a parliamentary democracy whether in a dependent territory or an independent country.

328. The suggestion that the new electoral system for Bermuda contained elements of racial discrimination was absolutely unfounded. The report of the Constitutional Conference showed that the Boundaries Commission had explicit instructions to take no account of the racial distribution of the electors.

329. All three Territories had a free and active Press, and newspapers and other information media gave wide publicity to all United Nations resolutions and proceedings affecting the Territories which in the judgement of editors and journalists might be of local interest. The Press and other media were able to obtain information from the United Nations regional information office, the Government press office, and such other sources as were available to any independent country.

330. His delegation invited the Sub-Committee to revise the relevant parts of its draft conclusions and recommendations on the Territories in the light of the information he had provided.

331. The representative of Bulgaria said that his delegation agreed that limited constitutional progress had been made in the Territories under discussion; it was questionable, however, whether the fact that Bermuda, for instance, had until the current year been governed by seventeenth-century constitutional provisions was an example of satisfactory progress. It was the duty of the administering Power actively to encourage decolonization and to take specific measures to publicize the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV). The Sub-Committee could not therefore accept as satisfactory the assurance that the people of the Territories had full access to information about United Nations discussions and decisions on their affairs, or the administering Power's undertaking that there would be a constitutional conference for Montserrat when the parties there were ready for it. Moreover, in at least one Territory, the Bahamas, the Governor still retained substantial powers and controlled the main spheres of political life. His delegation hoped that the administering Power would in future co-operate more effectively with the Special Committee and that, in particular, it would allow a visiting mission into the Caribbean Territories.

332. The representative of Madagascar agreed with the observations of the representative of Bulgaria on the powers of the Governor of the Bahamas. He asked the United Kingdom representative to give the Sub-Committee the approximate date when the reserved powers of the Governor were expected to be transferred to the elected government and when the local legislature would be empowered to promulgate legislation without seeking the Governor's assent.

333. The representative of the United Kingdom, replying to the Bulgarian representative, pointed out that it was the Montserrat political parties themselves which would decide when the time had come to hold a constitutional conference.

334. As to the suggestion that the Governor of the Bahamas still controlled the main spheres of the Territory's political and economic life, the documentation available to the Sub-Committee made it quite clear that the Territory enjoyed full internal self-government under its Constitution. Furthermore, paragraphs 499 and 502 of the working paper (see corresponding paragraphs of the present chapter) required amendment. The Governor's powers to withhold assent to legislation were exercisable only on the advice of Bahamas

Ministers, except in a small category of unusual cases. His power in regard to appointments to the Senate had been agreed at the Constitutional Conference in 1963, the results of which had been discussed at length by the Sub-Committee in 1965 and 1966 and summarized in the Committee's reports. He wished only to point out once again that it was not correct that the Governor chose the whole membership of the Senate in his own discretion as had been suggested. On the question put by the representative of Madagascar about the Governor's powers in relation to legislation, which were incorrectly described in the Working Paper, he drew attention to his own statement at the Sub-Committee's 93rd meeting on the preceding day.

335. The representative of Venezuela said that the sparse information in the Secretariat working papers had given rise to doubts as to the freedom of the Territory's Legislature. Those doubts had been only partially resolved by the United Kingdom representative's statements. While the Governor's powers might not be absolute, he did have some power to restrict the action of the Legislature.

336. The Sub-Committee had not been established to note changes in colonial systems but to observe progress in the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), which had been adopted as a result of a general outcry against colonialism. While the United Nations could not force a Territory to choose any particular system, it could require that the people of that Territory should be aware of the alternatives open to them, and that they must be allowed to make their choice with complete freedom.

337. The representative of the United Kingdom, replying to the representatives of Bulgaria and Madagascar, referred to paragraphs 497, 498 and 503 of the working paper (see corresponding paragraphs of the present chapter) and said that the Bahamian Constitution provided that, in the exercise of his functions, the Governor should obtain and act in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet, except in the spheres described in paragraph 495 of the working paper. Although the Governor formally gave his assent to decisions, those decisions were taken by the Bahamian Ministers.

338. The provision that some members of the Legislative Council would complete the terms for which they had been appointed had been agreed at the 1963 Constitutional Conference. The decision at that Conference that a new lower house should be created had meant that certain transitional procedures, of which the provision in question was one, were necessary to enable the people appointed to the former house to complete their terms in the new Senate.

(b) *Turks and Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands*

339. The representative of the United Kingdom said that his delegation had described the general historical background of the Territories at length on previous occasions in the Sub-Committee. After the dissolution of the West Indies Federation in 1962, the Turks and Caicos Islands had considered the possibility of becoming a free associated overseas territory of Jamaica, but a proposal to that effect had received no second in the Legislative Assembly, and after Jamaica had become independent the Territory had come under direct United Kingdom administration. Since that time, the Territory had considered the possibility of merging with the Bahamas, and in 1964, a working party had been set up, composed of representatives of the Governments concerned, to consider what form any association might take. The general position on the question of closer relations with the Bahamas remained much as described in the Secretariat working paper of the previous year. In the summer of 1965, two members of the United Kingdom Parliament, one Labour member and one Conservative, had visited the Territory on behalf of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. They had recommended that the Governor of the Bahamas should become the Governor of the Territory, a change which had taken place soon after the visit, and that the existing Executive Council and Legislative Council should be replaced by a single State Council, a move which was still being discussed but which did not seem to be favoured by the Territory. They had also recommended that a land officer should be appointed to work out an efficient system of land registration on the basis of a

cadastral survey, and work was already under way to implement that recommendation.

340. With regard to constitutional changes in the Turks and Caicos Islands, the paragraphs of the Secretariat working paper before the Sub-Committee were out of date and should be redrafted. It should be indicated that the Administrator was appointed by the Queen and exercised his functions in accordance with instructions given to him by Her Majesty (which meant in effect the United Kingdom Government) or by the Governor of the Bahamas, that he was required to consult with the Executive Council on all important matters within the scope of his responsibilities and might act otherwise than in accordance with the advice of the Executive Council but must in that event report to the Queen through the Secretary of State on the reasons for his actions, and that the Governor might, when he was present in the Islands, perform any of the functions conferred on the Administrator. It should be indicated that the administration of justice was in the hands of a magistrate who was acting judge of the Grand Court, that the Grand Court also had jurisdiction in divorce and matrimonial proceedings and that appeal from the Grand Court lay to the Court of Appeal of the Bahamas.

341. The Cayman Islands had also considered the possibility of an association with Jamaica upon the dissolution of the West Indies Federation and had been offered independence in association with Jamaica. The Territory had chosen to sever all constitutional links with Jamaica and to remain with the United Kingdom. When a federation of the small Eastern Caribbean Territories had been proposed in 1962, the Legislative Assembly had voted in favour of continuing its association with the United Kingdom and negotiating for internal self-government, taking account of the wishes of the people of the Territory as to timing, and had decided that any such negotiations should be deferred until after a general election. Those recommendations had been accepted by the United Kingdom. No proposals for negotiations on self-government had been made in 1962 and, as a result of the elections in November 1965, the party campaigning for rapid constitutional change had lost ground in the Assembly. The then United Kingdom Colonial Secretary had stated that the United Kingdom would be guided by local opinion in considering the future of the Territory. A committee of the whole of the new Legislative Assembly had been established to consider the question of constitutional advance and, after consultation by the elected members with their constituents, to put forward proposals for constitutional change. In January of the current year, the Committee had met and a majority of members had agreed on a number of proposals; they had proposed that the provision for nominated members in the Legislative Assembly should be deleted, that the stipendiary magistrate should be replaced by an attorney-general, and that the Assembly should be presided over by an independent speaker from outside the legislature rather than by the Administrator, who would retain the same special responsibilities as at present. It had also been proposed that the Executive Council should have five elected members, no nominated member, and three official members, the Assistant Administrator, the Treasurer, and the Attorney-General. The elected members in the Executive Council would be given executive responsibility and would have portfolios. The proposed changes would have given more power to the elected members. The proposals had been discussed by elected representatives with constituents at meetings throughout the Territory and in all but two of the constituencies the proposals had been opposed on the grounds that a substantial majority of people did not wish for any change at present in the existing constitutional arrangements. The conclusion of the Constitutional Committee was that there was no mandate from the people for the proposed changes, despite the fact that they were supported by the majority of elected representatives. The Committee had therefore recommended no change, except that the stipendiary magistrates should be replaced by an attorney-general in 1968. Any political party or individual who disagreed with those recommendations would naturally be free to campaign on the issue in the next elections, which were due to take place by 1969. In conclusion, he pointed out that the United Kingdom Government had not requested the Assembly of the Territory to pass the New Banks and Trust Com-

panies Law, and the working paper should be amended accordingly.

342. The representative of Madagascar thanked the representative of the United Kingdom for his statement. He would like to know, however, who the three official members of the Executive Council in the Turks and Caicos Islands were, since it appeared that of the total of six members, only two were elected. He would also like some further clarification of the statement that all legislation was subject to the assent of the Administrator. With regard to educational conditions in the Turks and Caicos Islands, he noted that no mention of higher education was made in paragraph 583 of that document and wondered whether the United Kingdom had envisaged establishing schools for training administrative cadres or giving scholarships to students who wished to receive university training.

343. The representative of Venezuela observed that the process of constitutional development in the Turks and Caicos and the Cayman Islands followed the pattern familiar from other Territories administered by the United Kingdom. In all those Territories the representative of the Queen continued to exercise wide powers and the functions of the local legislature were limited. In none of them, therefore, had there been any political advance of substance in the preceding year. Moreover, in the case of the Turks and Caicos Islands, it was difficult to see how the people could be properly consulted on future political development if there were no political parties.

344. The administering Power was, of course, also responsible for the economic and social development of the Territories and, in the matter of education at least, the situation was satisfactory in the islands. The high rate of infant mortality seemed to indicate, however, that public health and welfare services required improvement.

345. The representative of Bulgaria said that nothing in the information provided by the United Kingdom representative gave him reason to retract the conclusions he had expressed in his general statement on the Territories under discussion. There had been no new developments, except for the consultations held in the Cayman Islands, in the course of which no decision had been taken regarding any constitutional changes.

346. The representative of Uruguay thanked the representative of the United Kingdom for his valuable and informative statement on the Turks and Caicos and the Cayman Islands. While it was true that progress towards decolonization had not been as rapid and efficient as the Sub-Committee might wish, a slow process of political development was not inappropriate in very small Territories with limited natural resources. The extracts from the report of the Cayman Islands Constitutional Committee were evidence that practical steps were being taken to consult the people about their future status and he hoped that the United Kingdom could make the entire report available to the Sub-Committee.

347. The presence of a representative of the administering Power had proved extremely useful and members had been helped in their work by having the opportunity of hearing another point of view on decolonization problems.

348. The representative of Italy associated himself with the observations of the representative of Uruguay on the usefulness of having a representative of the administering Power present at the Sub-Committee's discussions of the Territories. It might, in fact, be advisable to invite the administering Powers to be represented at all meetings, as they were responsible in all cases for the external affairs of the Territories.

349. The representative of the United Kingdom said that he would be happy to make a copy of the report of the Cayman Islands Constitutional Committee available to the Secretariat for distribution to members and suggested that it might be included in the Sub-Committee's report, since it provided evidence of a democratic process of extensive personal consultations with the people of a small Territory concerning their future. Similarly, there was a continuous process of consultation in the Turks and Caicos Islands, and the absence of political parties, to which the representative of Venezuela had referred, was not necessarily a disadvantage in a Territory with a population of under 7,000. In those islands the

possibility of union with the Bahamas had been the main theme of recent discussions.

350. In reply to the representative of Madagascar, he said that full details of the Legislative Assembly of the Turks and Caicos Islands were contained in the records of the Sub-Committee's proceedings in 1964 and in the Secretariat working paper of that year, which was reproduced in the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly (A/5800/Rev.1, chapter XXIV, paras. 59-63). He was not in a position to give detailed figures on scholarships for higher education for students from the two Territories, but qualified students were eligible for the scholarships available under United Kingdom technical assistance provisions for dependent Territories. Moreover, the Territories had close links with Jamaica and the Bahamas and could draw on the extensive educational facilities available in the Caribbean, Britain and elsewhere. Neither had a population large enough to support a separate university.

B. ADOPTION OF THE REPORT

351. The Sub-Committee adopted its conclusions and recommendations on these Territories by consensus at its 96th meeting on 8 September 1967.

C. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

352. The Sub-Committee recommends to the Special Committee that it adopt the following conclusions and recommendations:

(1) The Special Committee recalls its earlier conclusions and recommendations relating to Bermuda, Bahamas, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands, which were endorsed by the General Assembly.

(2) The Special Committee takes note of the statement of the administering Power containing additional information on these Territories.

(3) The Special Committee reaffirms that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples applies fully to these Territories.

(4) The Special Committee regrets that the administering Power has not yet taken effective measures to implement the Declaration in these Territories and urges it to do so without further delay.

(5) The Special Committee notes that financial interests unrelated to the political, economic and social development of these Territories may constitute an obstacle to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) in the Territory of the Bahamas.

(6) The Special Committee considers that, in view of the lack of sufficient information on some of these Territories, the administering Power should make it possible for the United Nations to dispatch a visiting mission to the Territories as soon as possible.

(7) The Special Committee considers that the administering Power should take immediate measures to transfer all powers to the peoples of these Territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, in order to enable them to enjoy complete freedom and independence.

(8) The Special Committee reiterates its belief that, particularly in the case of small Territories, the United Nations should take appropriate steps to ensure that the peoples of these Territories are enabled to express themselves freely on their future status, in full knowledge of the options available to them.

VI. FALKLAND ISLANDS (MALVINAS)

353. At the 90th meeting of the Sub-Committee on 30 August 1967, the representative of Uruguay called attention to the fact that at its 1500th plenary meeting on 20 December 1966, the General Assembly took note of the consensus on the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), which reads as follows:

"With reference to General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) of 16 December 1965 concerning the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), the Fourth Committee took note of the communications dated 15 December 1966 of Argentina and

the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (A/C.4/682 and A/C.4/683). In this regard there was a consensus in favour of urging both parties to continue with the negotiations so as to find a peaceful solution to the problem as soon as possible, keeping the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the General Assembly duly informed about the development of the negotiations on this colonial situation, the elimination of which is of interest to the United Nations within the context of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.”^e

354. Considering that bilateral negotiations are the best way of solving the problem of the decolonization of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), but having no information on the progress made in this direction since the approval of the consensus of 20 December 1966, the representative of Uruguay supported by the representative of Venezuela proposed that the attention of the parties should again be drawn to resolution 2065 (XX) and the consensus of 20 December 1966 with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem as soon as possible, due regard being paid to the recommendation at the end of the consensus that the Special Committee and the General Assembly should be kept informed “about the development of the negotiations on this colonial situation, the elimination of which is of interest to the United Nations within the context of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960”.

355. At its 91st meeting on 31 August, the Sub-Committee adopted the following statement which it recommends for adoption by the Special Committee: Considering that bilateral negotiations are the best way of solving the problem of the decolonization of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), but having no information on the progress made in this direction since the approval of the consensus of 20 December 1966, the Special Committee recommends that the attention of the parties should again be drawn to resolution 2065 (XX) and the consensus of 20 December 1966, with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem as soon as possible, due regard being paid to the recommendation at the end of the consensus that the Special Committee and the General Assembly should be kept informed about the development of the negotiations on this colonial situation, the elimination of which is of interest to the United Nations within the context of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

^e *Ibid.*

VII. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON TERRITORIES UNDER UNITED KINGDOM ADMINISTRATION

356. At its 96th meeting on 8 September 1967, the Sub-Committee unanimously adopted the following general conclusions and recommendations on Territories under United Kingdom administration which the Sub-Committee submits for adoption by the Special Committee:

(1) The Special Committee recalls its conclusions and recommendations concerning these Territories which were adopted by the Special Committee in 1966 and which were endorsed by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session.

(2) The Special Committee reaffirms that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples applies fully to these Territories. At the same time, it recognizes that the small size and population of these Territories, and the nature of their economies, present peculiar problems which demand special attention.

(3) The Special Committee reaffirms the right of the people of these Territories to exercise their right of self-determination in complete freedom and in full knowledge of the various forms of political status open to them. It also expresses its belief that, particularly in the case of small Territories, the United Nations should take appropriate steps to ensure that the people of these Territories are enabled to express themselves freely on their future status and in full knowledge of the options available to them.

(4) The Special Committee reiterates its previous recommendation concerning the need for visiting missions to these Territories and, to this end, urges the administering Power to enable the Special Committee to send visiting missions to the Territories.

(5) The Special Committee recalls its belief expressed in 1964 that it should be possible for these Territories to join with others in the area to form an economically and administratively viable State. It also recalls that, at that time, negotiations were being carried on between certain of these Territories with a view to establishing a federation. The Special Committee regrets that these negotiations were not successful and that, as a consequence, each Territory has been obliged to seek a separate solution. It expresses the hope that the administering Power will do everything possible to promote the development of closer ties among these Territories through the building of a common political, economic and social infrastructure in accordance with the wishes of the people.

CHAPTER XXIV*

INFORMATION ON NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND RELATED QUESTIONS

INTRODUCTION

1. In operative paragraph 5 of its resolution 1970 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee *inter alia* to study the information transmitted to the Secretary-General in accordance with Article 73 e of the Charter and to take it fully into account in examining the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

2. In order to discharge its functions under the above resolution, the Special Committee, at its 315th meeting on 17 November 1964, approved certain procedures which had been suggested by the Secretary-General (A/5800/Rev.1,¹ Chap. II, appendix I). These proce-

dures were later also approved by the General Assembly in its resolution 2109 (XX) of 21 December 1965.

3. According to these procedures, the latest information transmitted by administering Powers is used in the preparation by the Secretariat each year of working papers on the individual Territories for the Special Committee. This information is taken into account by the Committee in its consideration of the Territories concerned and is reflected in the chapter of the Special Committee's report dealing with each of the Territories. In addition, the Special Committee considers each year, as a separate item on its agenda, a report by the Secretary-General on the information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter and on the action taken during the year in implementation of General Assembly resolution 1970 (XVIII).

4. At the conclusion of its consideration of this item in 1966, the Special Committee, on 19 October 1966, adopted a consensus in which it deplored the fact that

* Previously issued under the symbol A/6700/Add.15.

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 8 (part I).

whereas some administering Powers had transmitted information under Article 73 e of the Charter, others had not done so, or had done so insufficiently or too late.

5. At its twenty-first session, the General Assembly, on 20 December 1966, adopted resolution 2233 (XXI), operative paragraphs 2 to 4 of which read as follows:

"2. *Expresses its profound regret* that, despite the repeated recommendations of the General Assembly, including the most recent recommendation contained in resolution 2109 (XX), some Member States having responsibilities for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories have not seen fit to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter or have done so insufficiently or too late;

"3. *Once again urges* all Member States which have or which assume responsibilities for the administration of Territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government to transmit, or continue to transmit, to the Secretary-General the information prescribed in Article 73 e of the Charter, as well as the fullest possible information on political and constitutional development;

"4. *Requests* the Special Committee to continue to discharge the functions entrusted to it under General Assembly resolution 1970 (XVIII) in accordance with the procedures referred to above."

A. Consideration by the Special Committee

General

6. In accordance with the procedures outlined above, the latest information transmitted by administering Powers under Article 73 e of the Charter was used in the preparation by the Secretariat of working papers for the Special Committee in 1967 and was taken into account by the Committee in its consideration of the Territories concerned. As in previous years, this information is reflected in the chapter of the Special Committee's report dealing with each of the Territories.

7. Also in accordance with the said procedures, the Special Committee, at its 557th to 559th meetings, on 12 and 13 September 1967, considered a report by the Secretary-General (see annex to the present chapter) on the information which had been transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter up to 13 September 1967, and on the action which had been taken in implementation of General Assembly resolution 1970 (XVIII).

Statements by members

8. The representative of the United Kingdom observed that, according to the Secretary-General's report (see annex below), the United Kingdom had transmitted information on six of its Territories. He pointed out that his delegation had provided information on six further Territories—the Bahamas on 11 September, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands on 11 September, Mauritius on 8 September, and New Hebrides, St. Helena and Swaziland on 11 September—although the information had been sent too late for inclusion in the Secretary-General's report. He proposed that, in accordance with the procedure followed in previous years, the information in question should be included in the Committee's report to the General Assembly. His delegation expected to be able to transmit information on Bermuda, British Honduras, Hong Kong, the Seychelles and the Turks and Caicos Islands in the very near future, before the Com-

mittee finally adopted its report to the General Assembly; the Committee might therefore incorporate the relevant references and dates in its report.

9. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania noted that certain colonial Powers had a negative attitude towards the efforts of the Committee in particular, and the United Nations as a whole, to implement the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. He deplored the fact that certain colonial Powers had transmitted information in a manner which was inadequate and had done so too late for it to be of real use in the Committee's work.

10. He observed that the United Kingdom, the colonial Power administering Southern Rhodesia, had not yet transmitted any information on that Territory—by which he meant information relating solely to the activities of the United Kingdom Government in connexion with Rhodesia. The United Kingdom should transmit all the necessary information, for it was well known that several members of the United Kingdom administration had been sent to Southern Rhodesia to communicate with the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith. That was something that should be brought to light, but, of course, the colonial Power was seeking to hide it.

11. In addition, since its work was paralysed when the information it needed did not reach it in time, the Committee should consider the possibility of setting a time-limit for the submission of such information. In that way, those colonial Powers which were always complaining that certain members of the Committee were not informed about the situation would no longer be able to do so.

12. The Portuguese Government, once again, had refused to submit any information. In 1966, he himself had said that no condemnation could be too strong for a Government which mocked the rules recognized by the entire international community and was carrying out a policy of extermination in the Territories under its administration. That comment was still valid. The fascist colonial régime in Portugal was continuing its criminal war against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Many countries, in particular the members of NATO, were contributing materially to its efforts to maintain its domination over the peoples of those Territories. The activities of foreign monopolies in the Territories were well known, as was the fact that the African inhabitants possessed nothing. All such information should be submitted to the United Nations for consideration by the Committee.

13. It was now September 1967 and neither the United States of America nor France had so far submitted information on the Territories under their colonial domination. The Committee should bear that fact in mind. For its part, his delegation would seek, with other delegations, to prepare a text which would enable the Committee to conclude its discussion of the item in a constructive manner.

14. The representative of India observed that he was glad the United Kingdom representative had announced that his Government had just transmitted information on six further Territories and would soon provide information on other Territories for which it was responsible. He was not, however, completely satisfied with the way in which the United Kingdom Government and other Governments were discharging their responsibilities under Article 73 e of the United Nations Charter. Like the Tanzanian representative,

he thought that the administering Powers should expedite the transmission of information on their colonies so that the Secretariat working papers for the Committee could be as up to date as possible.

15. The most glaring culprit in that respect was the Portuguese Government, which constantly defied the United Nations. The Territories, which Portugal euphemistically called overseas provinces, had been declared Non-Self-Governing Territories by the General Assembly in resolution 1542 (XV). Portugal therefore had an obligation to transmit information on them.

16. The United Kingdom delegation had taken an active part in the Committee's discussions on the question of Southern Rhodesia; he therefore could not understand why the United Kingdom Government was providing no information on that Territory, since it recognized it as a Non-Self-Governing Territory under its administration. It would seem that the United Kingdom delegation owed an explanation to the Committee, and he hoped that the United Kingdom Government would recognize that it was its responsibility to transmit information to the Committee on Southern Rhodesia.

17. In conclusion, he endorsed the suggestion made by the Tanzanian representative regarding the need to prepare a text to permit the Committee to conclude its consideration of the item constructively.

18. The representative of the United States pointed out that her Government regularly reported on the Territories for which it was responsible. The information which it had available had been transmitted to the Secretariat and had already been discussed by the relevant sub-committees of the Committee. Moreover, paragraph 2 of the Secretary-General's report (see annex below) indicated that the United States had submitted more information than Article 73 e of the Charter required, particularly concerning political and constitutional developments in the Territories. The information which had not yet been submitted for 1966 would be available to the Committee before the end of the week; thus, the delay would be negligible.

19. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics observed that whenever the Committee considered the question of the information which administering Powers were required to transmit under Article 73 e, it always found that several colonial Powers provided no information or provided information which was of no value to it.

20. The representative of the United States had asserted that her country had transmitted more information than was required; the question was, however, whether that additional information really added anything.

21. The United Nations Charter clearly stated that the basic obligation of Administering Authorities was to promote the economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and their development towards self-government or independence. Information on constitutional development must therefore be regarded as coming under the heading of information which should normally be provided. In any case, the information transmitted by the administering Powers was totally inadequate and was actually designed to disguise the real situation in the Territories. From what the Committee knew about the activities of international monopolies and the military activities of certain Powers in colonial Territories, it was clear

that certain facts had been hidden from the Committee and from world public opinion. It was therefore quite reasonable to say that the information available to the Committee was not so valuable that it could not do without it.

22. Since Article 73 e of the Charter was not being complied with, he supported the Tanzanian representative's proposal that a time-limit should be set for the submission of information. He himself thought that the Secretariat should, in preparing documents for the Special Committee, use not only the information provided by the colonial Powers but also all information from other sources which might be of interest to the Committee.

23. Lastly, the Committee should indicate how United Nations decisions were being carried out and how the resolutions of the Special Committee were being implemented by the colonial Powers.

24. The representative of Tanzania had spoken of the assistance given by certain NATO members to Portugal. The Committee should not wait for the administering Powers to provide information on that matter and for them to recognize that as members of NATO they were helping Portugal to crush national liberation movements but should request the Secretariat to obtain any information which would throw light on the machinations of the colonial Powers and to include such information in its reports instead of relying solely on information transmitted by the colonial Powers.

25. The representative of the United Kingdom said that the critical remarks made by certain delegations about the adequacy of the information supplied by administering Powers could not apply to his Government, since it had always conscientiously fulfilled its responsibilities as administering Power. Moreover, he had the impression that the Secretariat did not rely exclusively on the information provided by administering Powers but drew widely on other reliable sources.

26. With regard to the timing of the transmission of information, he recalled that in 1964 the Committee had established and approved a time-limit of six months from the termination of the administrative year applying to the Territories in question. That time-limit was 30 June for the Territories under United Kingdom administration.

27. He also recalled that the procedures approved by the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories had provided for the transmission of information every three years. In the intervening years, the administering Powers had been required to provide supplementary information only. The year 1966 was one of the years for which full and detailed information was required.

28. The United Kingdom was doing its best to adhere to the target date of 30 June. However, since assembling the large volume of information requested in the questionnaire approved by the General Assembly required substantial administrative effort and imposed a considerable financial burden on small Territories with limited resources, the United Kingdom could not invariably undertake to meet the deadline.

29. The submission of information on Southern Rhodesia was a complex question which had many ramifications. His delegation would certainly report the comments made by certain delegations, in particular those of India and Tanzania, to his Govern-

ment, and he could assure the Committee that the United Kingdom Government would give them consideration.

30. The representative of Sierra Leone noted that the information for 1965 in respect of some Non-Self-Governing Territories had been transmitted in 1967. He supported the view that administering Powers should try to submit the information more promptly, so that the data available to delegations were up to date. He also noted that France had not provided any information on French Somaliland and the Comoro Archipelago; Portugal, of course, had supplied no information at all. That failure to co-operate was to be deplored. The United Kingdom continued to provide no information on Southern Rhodesia. His delegation wished that the United Kingdom would find it possible to supply information on that Territory.

31. With regard to the adequacy of the material supplied, Article 73 e of the Charter had been interpreted in various ways, but it seemed to him essential that complete information should be supplied indicating what political progress had been made in the direction of independence. He therefore associated himself with previous speakers in urging the administering Powers not only to co-operate in supplying information, but to assist the Committee and the Secretariat by supplying fuller information and by recognizing that the kind of information required at the present day differed from the type of information which had been required in 1945.

32. The representative of Uruguay thought that a clear distinction should be made between obligations under Article 73 e and any other obligations that might arise. There were some administering Powers—notably Portugal—which had defied the United Nations by refusing to submit any information at all. France must unfortunately be included in the same group in view of its policy regarding French Somaliland. It was sad that France had refused to recognize the competence of the United Nations and withheld the information it required.

33. There was another group of Powers whose position was different. The United Kingdom, for example, according to the Secretary-General's report, had provided information for 1966 on only six Territories, but the United Kingdom representative had indicated that reports were being prepared on the other Territories. He had offered some explanations which might not be accepted by all but which at least revealed the United Kingdom's desire to co-operate. The Committee should not therefore adopt a resolution criticizing all the administering Powers equally. There was perhaps a case for a resolution directed against those States which had denied their obligation to submit information.

34. He considered that the representative of Tanzania had made a very pertinent suggestion concerning the fixing of a time-limit for the submission of information. It appeared from what the United Kingdom representative had said that there was already a time-limit which had been fixed by the General Assembly some years previously. All that seemed needed was to ask administering Powers to comply with the terms of the relevant General Assembly resolution—with the understanding that supplementary information covering additional developments could always be submitted later.

B. Action taken by the Special Committee

35. At the 558th meeting, on 13 September 1967, the Chairman stated that on the basis of the statements of representatives and informal consultations with delegations, he wished to suggest the following consensus:

"The Special Committee takes note of the report of the Secretary-General. The Special Committee also takes note of the fact that some administering Powers have transmitted information under Article 73 e of the Charter but have done so too late and in some cases insufficiently.

"In this connexion the Committee recalls that in accordance with General Assembly resolution 66 (I) of 14 December 1946, resolution 142 (II) of 3 November 1947 and resolution 218 (III) of 3 November 1948, the administering Powers are requested to send to the Secretary-General annually the most recent information at their disposal as early as possible and, at the latest, within a maximum period of six months following the expiration of the administrative year in the Non-Self-Governing Territories concerned.

"The Committee calls upon the administering Powers to comply with this decision. The Committee regrets that some administering Powers have not submitted any information under Article 73 e of the Charter. The Committee deeply deplores the fact that, in spite of the numerous decisions taken by the General Assembly, Portugal for all these years has not submitted any information with regard to its colonial Territories as required under Article 73 e of the Charter. The Committee also deplores the consistent refusal by the United Kingdom to submit information on Southern Rhodesia in accordance with Article 73 e of the Charter."

36. The representative of Uruguay said that he was in general agreement with the draft consensus; however, he thought that, before considering it, the Committee should hear a further statement from the United Kingdom representative clarifying its position regarding Southern Rhodesia. It was true that the Committee had not received information on Southern Rhodesia in the ordinary way in pursuance of Article 73 e, but the question of Southern Rhodesia had been discussed in the General Assembly and the Security Council, and the United Kingdom had made it clear that it would in no circumstances support the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia and ignore the wishes of the majority. Perhaps the Chairman could consult the United Kingdom representative as to the possibility of his informing the Committee on the measures being taken by the United Kingdom to put down the rebellion of the racist minority. If the United Kingdom was willing to provide such information, the Committee could consider whether Southern Rhodesia should be mentioned in the consensus.

37. The Chairman said that what the Committee was concerned about was the formal submission of information to the Secretary-General under Article 73 e. The United Kingdom Government had never submitted information on Southern Rhodesia, having always contended that Southern Rhodesia could not be regarded as a Non-Self-Governing Territory. Should the United Kingdom decide, in the present circumstances, to change its mind and submit information in the future, that would be a welcome move, but the Committee would still have a right to regret what had happened up to the present moment, and he therefore

thought that it would be best to keep the wording of the consensus as it stood.

38. The representative of Australia said he did not think that the criticisms which had been levelled at administering Powers regarding the submission of information applied to Australia. Australia had submitted information as required under the Charter and, as indicated in paragraph 2 of the Secretary-General's report (see annex below), had also provided additional information in the annual reports of the Territories, and during meetings of the Special Committee. Consequently, his Government had fulfilled its Charter obligations conscientiously, and had gone beyond those obligations. The consensus suggested by the Chairman stated that some administering Powers had transmitted information but had done so too late and in some cases insufficiently. The word "insufficiently" hardly applied to Australia, and whereas information had sometimes been submitted later than Australia would have wished, that had been due simply to the physical difficulties of assembling, processing, printing and transmitting the detailed statistical information. He thought that it was generally understood that the compilation of statistics sometimes took more time than the six-month period mentioned in some resolutions adopted at early sessions of the General Assembly.

39. The Chairman said, that, if the administering Powers had the right to defend themselves on the grounds that they had not had sufficient time to submit the necessary information, then they should have done so when the relevant resolutions on the transmission of information had been adopted by the Assembly. It was the task of the Special Committee to see that those resolutions were implemented and to adhere to the decisions it had taken in the past.

40. The representative of the United Kingdom said it was certainly the position of his Government that until the time of the illegal declaration of independence in November 1965 Southern Rhodesia did enjoy a full measure of self-government and therefore fell outside the scope of Article 73 e. The illegal declaration, however, created a situation which was both transitional and complex. His delegation did not wish at the present stage to go beyond that observation. The matter would be given full and careful consideration by the United Kingdom Government. Of course, his delegation could not at present accept the paragraph of the consensus referring to Southern Rhodesia and therefore could not be associated with the consensus as a whole.

41. The representative of the United States entered a general reservation concerning the consensus. Although it was within the Committee's province to express itself on the question of the deadline, it should be made clear that the United States Government also encountered considerable delays in the process of collating, analysing and checking information from remote areas and in preparing it for distribution. His delegation had sought to remedy those delays by presenting information on request in the Sub-Committees. Such information was up-to-date and generally went beyond the scope of the topics required under Article 73 e of the Charter.

42. The representative of Uruguay said that the Special Committee was not discussing the fulfilment of the obligation to submit information under Article 73 e of the Charter but the legal position taken by the United Kingdom in the specific case of Southern

Rhodesia. The United Kingdom had formally stated that since the illegal assumption of power by the Smith régime it did not consider itself bound to submit information under Article 73 e. The Special Committee must consider that legal position, but it was improper to condemn the United Kingdom because it had not submitted information. His delegation was therefore bound to enter a legal reservation about that paragraph of the consensus dealing with Southern Rhodesia.

43. The Chairman said the representative of Uruguay was fully entitled to enter a reservation but he would remind him that in 1962 the General Assembly had adopted resolution 1747 (XVI) affirming that Rhodesia was a Non-Self-Governing Territory under Article 73 e of the Charter. Nevertheless, the United Kingdom Government had not submitted information, as could be seen from paragraph 3 of the Secretary-General's report (see annex below). The real position of the United Kingdom was that it had not submitted information in the past because, in its view, Southern Rhodesia had obtained a large measure of self-government. That position had been contested by the majority of the Members of the United Nations. Since the unilateral declaration of independence the situation was extremely complex and discussion of it in the Committee might perhaps be unduly prolonged.

44. The representative of the United Kingdom said it was not the position of his Government that because of the existence of a *de facto* régime in Rhodesia the United Kingdom was no longer bound to transmit information. Up to the time of the illegal declaration of independence in November 1965 it had been the consistent position of the United Kingdom Government that Southern Rhodesia enjoyed a full measure of self-government and therefore fell outside the scope of Article 73 e. The illegal declaration clearly created a new situation and there were now in any case obvious practical obstacles to the provision of information.

45. The representative of Uruguay said that his delegation had voted for the 1962 resolution affirming that Southern Rhodesia was a Non-Self-Governing Territory and in its view Southern Rhodesia had certainly not achieved autonomy. The position of the administering Power in the light of the illegal declaration of independence was that it was powerless to act. It now stated that it no longer possessed the means to obtain the information required from Southern Rhodesia. In other words, the Committee could not place the United Kingdom in the same position as those countries which could submit information but refused to do so. With the legal reservation he had entered, he would be able to support the consensus.

46. At the 559th meeting, the representative of Venezuela suggested that the second sentence of the draft consensus should be replaced by the following paragraph:

"The Special Committee takes note of the fact that some administering Powers have transmitted information in conformity with Article 73 e of the Charter. The Special Committee also takes note that some administering Powers have transmitted this information too late. The Special Committee takes note furthermore that in some cases the information supplied was not sufficient."

In his opinion that text dealt more accurately with all aspects of the problem and thus correctly reflected the understanding arrived at by the members of the Committee.

47. The representative of Chile supported the Venezuelan representative's suggestion. He felt that the proposed changes brought out more clearly the various situations existing with regard to the transmission of information.

48. The representative of the United Kingdom said that since the proposed changes related only to the first paragraph of the text, he maintained the reservations which he had expressed at the previous meeting.

49. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania asked whether the other delegations which had expressed reservations at the previous meeting also maintained them.

50. The representative of the United States said that he appreciated the efforts made by the Venezuelan and Chilean representatives to improve the proposed text; however, since the changes in question did not relate to the main problem, namely that of setting a time-limit for the transmission of information, his delegation was compelled to maintain its reservations.

51. The representative of Uruguay maintained that while the paragraph proposed by the Venezuelan representative was useful in providing clarification, the text did not accurately reflect the situation. Certain administering Powers were not complying with their obligations under Article 73 e of the Charter, and they had been mentioned by name during the discussion. However, the proposed text referred specifically to only one Power which was not providing information on the Territories under its administration and one other Power which refused to provide such information on one particular Territory. Since Portugal and the United Kingdom were mentioned in the text, another administering Power, France, should also be mentioned, since it was refusing to comply with the rules of decolonization in the case of French Somaliland. Rather serious accusations had been made against France in connexion with the referendum which it had recently held in French Somaliland. Information from the administering Power might—and, it was to be hoped, would—show that the accusations were without foundation. In his opinion, all administering Powers, including France, should co-operate with the United Nations in ensuring decolonization and in dealing with the difficulties involved in integrating the various peoples of the colonial Territories. In conclusion, he wished to state that he agreed to the changes suggested by the Venezuelan representative with regard to the beginning of the text but maintained the reservations he had expressed at the previous meeting as far as the remainder of the text was concerned.

52. The representative of Australia reiterated that his Government had more than met its obligations with regard to the information to be provided on the Territories under its administration and that only technical difficulties had prevented it from submitting the requested information on time. He therefore maintained his reservations regarding the text of the proposed consensus.

53. The representatives of Finland and Italy wished to make it clear that they had not actually expressed any reservations at the previous meeting but had merely asked for an opportunity to study the text before taking a position. They could now inform the Committee that they accepted the text as well as the amendment suggested by the Venezuelan representative.

54. The Chairman, referring to remarks made earlier in the discussion, explained that, in preparing working

papers, the Secretariat was continuing to use all the information it could gather, including that transmitted to it by administering Powers under Article 73 e of the Charter. The working papers on the Territories under Portuguese administration and on Southern Rhodesia were entirely based on information assembled directly by the Secretariat.

55. At the 559th meeting, on 13 September 1967, the Special Committee decided, in the absence of objection, to adopt the text of the consensus suggested by the Chairman with the amendment suggested by the representative of Venezuela, it being understood that the reservations expressed by certain members would appear in the records of the meetings. The text adopted by the Special Committee reads as follows:

"The Special Committee takes note of the report of the Secretary-General. The Special Committee takes note of the fact that some administering Powers have transmitted information in conformity with Article 73 e of the Charter. The Special Committee also takes note that some administering Powers have transmitted this information too late. The Special Committee takes note furthermore that in some cases the information supplied was not sufficient.

"In this connexion, the Committee recalls that in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 66 (I) of 14 December 1946, 142 (II) of 3 November 1947 and 218 (III) of 3 November 1948, the administering Powers are requested to send to the Secretary-General annually the most recent information at their disposal, as early as possible and at the latest within a maximum period of six months following the expiration of the administrative year in the Non-Self-Governing Territories concerned. The Committee calls upon the administering Powers to comply with this decision.

"The Committee regrets that some administering Powers have not submitted any information under Article 73 e of the Charter. The Committee deeply deplores the fact that, in spite of the numerous decisions taken by the General Assembly, Portugal for all these years has not submitted any information with regard to her colonial Territories as required under Article 73 e of the Charter. The Committee also deplores the consistent refusal by the United Kingdom to submit information on Southern Rhodesia."

ANNEX*

Information on Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter

1. The Secretary-General's previous report on this subject (A/6300/Rev.1,^a chapter XXIII, appendix), listed the dates on which information was transmitted to the Secretary-General under Article 73 e of the Charter up to 29 September 1966. The table at the end of the present report shows the dates on which such information in respect of the years 1965 and 1966 was transmitted up to 13 September 1967.

2. The information transmitted under Article 73 e follows in general the standard form approved by the General Assembly and includes information on geography, history, population, economic, social and educational conditions. In the case of

* Previously reproduced under the symbols A/AC.109/269 and Add.1.

^a Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23.

Territories under the administration of Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America, the annual reports of the Territories, which also include information on constitutional matters, were transmitted. Additional information on political and constitutional developments in Territories under their administration was also given by the representatives of Australia, New Zealand, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America during meetings of the Special Committee.

3. No information has been transmitted to the Secretary-General concerning Territories under Portuguese administration, which, by resolution 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960, the General Assembly considered were Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. Nor has the Secretary-General received information concerning Southern Rhodesia which, the Assembly affirmed by resolution

1747 (XVI) of 28 June 1962, was a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter.

Study of information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter

4. In compliance with the provisions of operative paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 170 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963, operative paragraph 4 of resolution 2109 (XX) of 21 December 1965 and operative paragraph 4 of resolution 2233 (XXI) of 20 December 1966, which requested the Special Committee to study the information transmitted under Article 73 e, and in accordance with the procedure approved by the Special Committee in 1964, the Secretariat has continued to use the information transmitted in the preparation of working papers on each Territory for the Special Committee.

Dates of transmission of information under Article 73 e for 1965 and 1966

This table includes all Territories listed in annex II of the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to the General Assembly at its eighteenth session,^a with the exception of Barbados, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, British Guiana, Gambia, Jamaica, Kenya, Malta, North Borneo, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Sarawak, Singapore, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda and Zanzibar.

	1965	1966
AUSTRALIA (1 July-30 June):^b		
Cocos (Keeling) Islands	28 February 1967	19 July 1967
Papua	5 August 1966	19 July 1967
FRANCE (Calendar year):		
Comoro Archipelago ^c		
French Somaliland ^c		
New Hebrides	12 June 1967	
NEW ZEALAND (1 April-31 March):^d		
Cook Islands ^e	17 October 1966	
Niue Islands	17 October 1966	15 August 1967
Tokelau Islands	17 October 1966	15 August 1967
PORTUGAL:		
Angola	—	—
Cape Verde Archipelago	—	—
Guinea (called Portuguese Guinea) ..	—	—
Macau and dependencies	—	—
Mozambique	—	—
São Tomé and Príncipe and dependencies	—	—
Timor (Portuguese) and dependencies ..	—	—
SPAIN (Calendar year):		
Equatorial Guinea	28 June 1966	29 June 1967
Ifni	28 June 1966	29 June 1967
Spanish Sahara	28 June 1966	29 June 1967
UNITED KINGDOM (Calendar year):		
Aden	6 July 1966	
Antigua	6 December 1966	
Bahamas	5 August 1966	11 September 1967
Bermuda	13 September 1966	
British Honduras	29 December 1966	
British Virgin Islands	10 March 1967	
Brunei	20 September 1966	
Cayman Islands	13 June 1966	21 August 1967
Dominica	9 December 1966	
Falkland Islands (Malvinas)	17 August 1966	28 August 1967
Fiji	12 August 1966	5 July 1967
Gibraltar	1 September 1966	24 August 1967
Gilbert and Ellice Islands	26 August 1966	11 September 1967
Grenada	29 September 1966	
Hong Kong	1 June 1966	12 September 1967
Mauritius	22 July 1966	8 September 1967
Montserrat	6 December 1966	
New Hebrides	22 July 1966	11 September 1967
Pitcairn Island	18 April 1966	2 June 1967

	1965	1966
UNITED KINGDOM (Calendar year) (<i>continued</i>):		
St. Helena	1 August 1966	11 September 1967
St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla	22 September 1966	
St. Lucia	1 September 1966	
St. Vincent	23 September 1966	
Seychelles	6 December 1966	
Solomon Islands	1 August 1966	14 July 1967
Southern Rhodesia	—	—
Swaziland	29 September 1966	11 September 1967
Turks and Caicos Islands	19 February 1967	
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (1 July-30 June): ^b		
American Samoa	29 March 1967	
Guam	8 June 1966	13 September 1967
United States Virgin Islands	8 June 1966	13 September 1967

^a Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighteenth Session, Supplement No. 14, part I.

^b Period extends from 1 July of previous year to 30 June of year listed.

^c On 27 March 1959, the Government of France notified the Secretary-General that this Territory had attained internal autonomy and consequently the transmission of information thereon had ceased as from 1957.

^d Period extends from 1 April of the year listed to 31 March of the following year.

^e In operative paragraph 5 of resolution 2064 (XX), adopted on 16 December 1965, the General Assembly considered that since the Cook Islands had attained full internal self-government, the transmission of information under Article 73 *e* of the Charter was no longer necessary.

ANNEX

List of Delegations

AFGHANISTAN

Representative:

Mr. Abdul Samad Ghaus

Alternate Representative:

Mr. Mohammad Mirza Sammah

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. B. C. Mishra

Mr. C. R. Gharekhan

Adviser:

Miss Shivaraman

AUSTRALIA

Representatives:

H.E. Mr. Patrick Shaw, C.B.E.

Mr. Kenneth Rogers

Alternate Representative:

Mr. B. B. Hickey

IRAN

Representative:

H.E. Mr. Mehdi Wakil

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. Mohsen S. Esfandiary

Mr. Farrokh Parsi

Adviser:

Mr. Kambiz Ahy (until June)

BULGARIA

Representatives:

H.E. Mr. Milko Tarabanov

Mr. Dimitar Sabev

IRAQ

Representatives:

H.E. Mr. Adnan Pachachi (since August)

H.E. Mr. Kadhim Khalaf (until July)

Alternate Representative:

Mr. Salim A. Saleem

Advisers:

Mr. Burhan M. Nouri

Mr. Riyadh T. Ali

Mr. Abdul Hussein Alisa

CHILE

Representative:

H.E. Mr. José Piñera

Alternate Representative:

Mr. Javier Illanes

Adviser:

Mr. Jorge Hunecus

ETHIOPIA

Chief Representative:

H.E. Lij Endalkachew Makonnen

Representative:

Mr. Kifle Wodajo

Alternate Representative:

Miss Konjit Sinegiorgis

ITALY

Representative:

H.E. Mr. Piero Vinci

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. Ludovico Carducci-Artenisio

Mr. Massimo Castaldo

Mr. Alessandro Grandi

FINLAND

Representatives:

H.E. Mr. Max Jakobson

Mr. Matti Cawén

Mr. Paavo Keisalo

IVORY COAST

Representative:

H.E. Mr. Siméon Aké

Alternate Representative:

Mr. Kouamé Koffi

INDIA

Representative:

H.E. Mr. Gopalswami Parthasarathi

MADAGASCAR

Representative:

H.E. Mr. Louis Rakotomalala

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. Gabriel Rakotonina
Mr. Raymond Raelina

MALI

Representative:

H.E. Mr. Moussa Léo Keita
Mr. Mamadou Moctar Thiam
Mr. Yaya Diakité
Mr. Mamadou Diarra

POLAND

Representatives:

H.E. Mr. Bohdan Tomorowicz
Mr. Jan Slowikowski

Adviser:

Mr. Franciszek Czajkowski

SIERRA LEONE

Representative:

H.E. Mr. Christopher O. E. Cole

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. Gustavus E. O. Williams
Mr. Ambrose P. Genda (until March)
Mr. Malcolm O. Cole (since September)
Mr. Frank Karefa-Smart

SYRIA

Representative:

H.E. Mr. George J. Tomeh

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. Rafic Jouéjati
Mr. Adnan Nachabe
Mr. Abdallah El-Attrash

TUNISIA

Representatives:

H.E. Mr. Mahmoud Mestiri
Mr. Ahmed Chtourou
Mr. Mohamed Fourati (since May)
Mr. Hamdan Ben Aissa (until July)
Mr. Hédi Drissi

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Representative:

H.E. Mr. N. T. Fedorenko

Alternate Representative:

Mr. P. F. Shakhov

Advisers:

Mr. F. D. Popov (until May)
Mr. V. I. Ustinov
Mr. A. V. Grodsky (until July)

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Representative:

H.E. The Rt. Hon. Lord Caradon, G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. C. P. Hope, C.M.G., T.D.
Mr. J. D. B. Shaw, M.V.O.

Adviser:

Mr. Brian L. Barder

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Representatives:

H.E. Mr. J. W. Malecela
Mr. M. A. Foun
Mr. I. Mtingwa (until July)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Representatives:

H.E. Mrs. Eugenie M. Anderson
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