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SPECIAL PROGRAMME OF ACTIVITIES IN CONNEXION WITH THE TENTH  
ANNIVERSARY 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

Rapporteur: Mr. S.M.S. CHADHA (India)

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## ANNEXES

- I. DRAFT TEXT OF THE SUGGESTED PROGRAMME OF ACTION PROPOSED BY ITALY ON BEHALF OF A GROUP OF DELEGATIONS
- II. REPORT OF THE AD HOC GROUP ESTABLISHED BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AT ITS 740TH MEETING ON 21 APRIL 1970

## INTRODUCTION

1. At its twenty-fourth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2521 (XXIV) of 4 December 1969 concerning the special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The text of the resolution is reproduced below:

"The General Assembly,

"Having considered the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

"Mindful of the need on the occasion of that anniversary to evaluate the progress so far made in the implementation of the Declaration and, taking into account the various existing obstacles, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism,

"1. Approves the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and endorses the recommendations contained therein 2/ concerning the programme of activities to be undertaken in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration;

"2. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit to all Member States, the specialized agencies and other international organizations concerned the above-mentioned recommendations for appropriate action and to report on their implementation to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

"3. Requests the Special Committee, in its preparation of a draft declaration or a suggested programme of action for consideration at the special commemorative meeting, to co-operate as appropriate with other United Nations bodies concerned and, in addition to carrying out the other specific tasks assigned to it in the report, to follow, in consultation with the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, the implementation of the above-mentioned recommendations and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session."

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1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 24, document A/7684.

2/ Ibid., para. 22.

2. As regards the other specific tasks assigned to the Special Committee in the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to which reference is made in paragraph 3 of the above-mentioned resolution, the following is the text of the relevant recommendations of that Committee:

"PROGRAMME OF ACTIVITIES TO BE UNDERTAKEN IN CONNEXION WITH THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

...

"Holding of a commemorative meeting

"2. A special commemorative meeting might be held to which, in addition to Member States, specialized agencies, regional organizations and interested non-governmental organizations, as well as representatives of dependent peoples and of national liberation movements whenever possible, would be invited as observers or participants. It is suggested that the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration might be co-ordinated with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, thus taking advantage of the presence at United Nations Headquarters of a number of Heads of State or Government attending the United Nations Silver Jubilee. Consequently, October 1970 and United Nations Headquarters might be considered the most convenient time and place for a solemn commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on decolonization. The special commemorative meeting should conclude with the adoption of a declaration and/or elaborate a programme of action aimed at dealing effectively with the remaining colonial problems. In that connexion, the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session might wish to entrust the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with the task of preparing early in 1970 a draft declaration or a suggested programme of action for consideration at the special commemorative meeting.

...

"Documentation on decolonization

"5. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be requested to prepare, with the assistance of the Secretary-General and taking into account the various views and suggestions submitted by Member States to the Preparatory Committee, a succinct analytical study on the subject of decolonization with a view to mobilizing public opinion as well as the international community towards the

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full implementation of the Declaration. Such a study should contain, inter alia, an analysis of the various aspects and manifestations of colonialism and of the obstacles to decolonization, a review of the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, as well as recommendations regarding concrete ways and means of achieving the full implementation of the Declaration without any further delay. The study should also contain an annotated index of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the Organization relating to colonial problems, to be prepared by the Secretariat. The above documentation could serve as a basis on which the draft declaration or resolution referred to in recommendation 2 above might be prepared."

3. The present report is submitted in accordance with paragraph 3 of the above resolution, read in conjunction with the extracts from the report of the Preparatory Committee reproduced in paragraph 2 above.

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# I. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

4. The Special Committee considered the item at its 727th to 738th, 740th, 744th, 745th, 748th, 749th, 751st, 758th and 761st to 770th meetings, between 11 March and 2 October 1970.

5. At its 727th to 737th meetings, between 11 March and 13 April, the Special Committee held a general debate covering the present item, together with the organization of its work for 1970, during which the following delegations took part: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.727 and Corr.1, 730 and 732 and Corr.1); Norway (A/AC.109/PV.727 and Corr.1); Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/PV.728 and 732 and Corr.1); Ivory Coast (A/AC.109/PV.728, 730 and 733 and Corr.1); India (A/AC.109/PV.728); Poland and Venezuela (A/AC.109/PV.729 and Corr.1 and 736 and Corr.1); Ethiopia, Madagascar and Italy (A/AC.109/PV.729 and Corr.1); United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America (A/AC.109/PV.729 and Corr.1 and 735); Syria and Mali (A/AC.109/PV.730 and 733 and Corr.1); Iraq and Ecuador (A/AC.109/PV.730); Iran and Tunisia (A/AC.109/PV.730 and 735); Bulgaria (A/AC.109/PV.730 and 736 and Corr.1); United Republic of Tanzania (A/AC.109/PV.734); and Afghanistan and Sierra Leone (A/AC.109/PV.736 and Corr.1).

6. At its 735th meeting, on 1 April, the Special Committee, on the proposal of its Chairman, decided, without objection, to entrust to the Working Group for consideration and report the tasks assigned to the Committee by the General Assembly in its resolution 2521(XXIV). In taking that decision, it was the understanding of the Special Committee that delegations which are not members of the Working Group would be at liberty to submit suggestions to that body during its consideration of the matter.

## A. Dispatch of an ad hoc group to Africa

7. At its 738th and 740th meetings, on 16 and 21 April, the Special Committee considered the forty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.624), which recommended that, within the context of the item, an ad hoc group of representatives should be dispatched for the purpose of establishing contact with leaders of national liberation movements from colonial Territories in Africa. At the same meeting, the Committee Secretary, in a statement to the Committee (A/AC.109/PV.738),

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submitted, under the terms of regulation 13.1 of the Financial Regulations and Rules of the United Nations, the report of the Secretary-General concerning the administrative and financial implications of the recommendation of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.626)..

8. During ensuing discussions statements were made, at the 738th meeting, by the representatives of the Ivory Coast, Ethiopia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom (A/AC.109/PV.738); and at the 740th meeting, by the representatives of Yugoslavia, the United Kingdom, the Ivory Coast, India, the United Republic of Tanzania, Tunisia, Syria, Mali, Ethiopia and Poland, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.740 and Corr.1). The Special Committee then adopted without objection the above-mentioned recommendation of the Working Group, it being understood that the reservations expressed by certain members would be reflected in the records of the two meetings.

9. Further, at its 741st meeting, on 4 May, the Special Committee, on the recommendation of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.629), decided without objection that the Ad Hoc Group should visit Lusaka, Dar es Salaam, Addis Ababa and Algiers beginning on 24 May, and spending two to three working days at each of the capitals. At the same meeting, on the proposal of the Chairman, the Special Committee decided, without objection, that the Ad Hoc Group should be composed of the following: the Chairman (Sierra Leone), one of the Vice-Chairmen (Ecuador) and the Rapporteur (India) and Ethiopia, Iraq, Italy, Poland and Tunisia.

10. At the 745th meeting, on 18 June, the Chairman and the Rapporteur made statements concerning the work of the Ad Hoc Group (A/AC.109/PV.745 and Corr.1).

11. At the 748th meeting, on 20 July, the Rapporteur, in a statement to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.748 and Corr.1), introduced the report of the Ad Hoc Group (see annex II below). The Special Committee considered the report at the same meeting and at its 749th meeting, on 23 July. Statements in that connexion were made, at the 748th meeting, by the representatives of Italy, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Spain and by the Rapporteur and the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.748 and Corr.1); and at the 749th meeting, by the representatives of Iraq, the United Republic of Tanzania, Syria, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, India, the United Kingdom, Madagascar, the United States, Bulgaria, Poland and Italy and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.749 and Corr.1).

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12. At the 749th meeting, on 23 July, the Special Committee, on the proposal of the representative of Iraq and following a statement by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.749 and Corr.1), decided, without objection, to take note of the report of the Ad Hoc Group and to refer it to the Working Group for consideration within the context of its mandate as set out in paragraph 6 above. In doing so, it was the understanding of the Special Committee that the Working Group would take fully into account the various views of the national liberation movements, as contained in the report, in connexion with its preparation of the documentation relating to the tenth anniversary of the Declaration.

13. At the same meeting, the representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.749 and Corr.1) concerning the matters raised in paragraphs 36, 51 and 52 of the report of the Ad Hoc Group. Statements were also made by the representatives of the United Kingdom, India and the United Republic of Tanzania (A/AC.109/PV.749 and Corr.1). A further statement was made by the representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees at the 756th meeting, on 13 August (A/AC.109/PV.756 and Corr.1).

B. Special postal cancellation to mark the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

14. At its 744th meeting, on 2 June, the Special Committee considered the fiftieth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.633) which contained a proposal for a special postal cancellation to mark the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In that report, the Working Group recalled that the General Assembly, by approving in its resolution 2521 (XXIV) the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had decided, inter alia, that the motto "Freedom and Progress" ("Liberté et Progrès") should be adopted to mark the event and that a special postal cancellation on that theme should be used by the United Nations Postal Administration during 1970. The Working Group, accordingly, recommended, in the light of the programme of the postal cancellation scheduled for 1970, that the most appropriate time for the cancellation envisaged in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration would be the period

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between the opening of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly (15 September 1970) and 9 December 1970.

15. At the same meeting, following a statement by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.744), the Special Committee decided without objection to adopt the above-mentioned recommendation of the Working Group.

C. Suggested programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

1. Draft text of the suggested programme of action, contained in the 55th report of the Working Group

16. At the 765th meeting, on 25 September, the Chairman, in a statement to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.765), introduced the fifty-fifth report of the Working Group (see annex I below), which included the draft text of the suggested programme of action that the Working Group, in accordance with the decision referred to in paragraph 6 above, recommended for consideration by the Special Committee with a view to its submission to the General Assembly in accordance with paragraph 3 of resolution 2521(XXIV). The draft text is reproduced below:

/...

DRAFT TEXT OF THE SUGGESTED PROGRAMME OF ACTION  
FOR THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION  
ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL  
COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES 3/

The General Assembly,

/Having held a special commemorative session on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,]

Considering that by arousing world public opinion and promoting practical action for the speedy liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, the Declaration has played and will continue to play an important role in assisting the peoples under colonial domination in their struggle for freedom and independence,

Conscious of the fact that although many colonial countries and peoples have, in the last ten years, achieved freedom and independence the system of colonialism continues to plague vast areas of the world,

Convinced that the existence of colonialism constitutes a serious impediment to the maintenance of international peace and security and the development of peaceful relations among nations,

/1. Declares the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations a crime against humanity which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the principles of international law;]

or

/1. Declares that the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations represents a denial of fundamental human rights which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the principles of international law;]

2. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to achieve freedom and independence, and recognizes their right to struggle /including armed struggle/ against colonial Powers which suppress their aspiration for freedom and independence;

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3/ The portions of the draft text on which no agreement was reached have been placed in brackets.

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

(a) Member States shall do their utmost to promote, in the United Nations and the international institutions and organizations within the United Nations system effective measures for the full implementation of the Declaration in all Trust Territories, Non-Self-Governing Territories and other colonial Territories, large and small, including the adoption by the Security Council of effective measures against Governments and régimes which engage in any form of repression of colonial peoples, which would seriously impede the maintenance of international peace and security;

(b) Member States shall render all necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples in colonial Territories in their struggle to attain freedom and independence;

(c) (i) Member States shall intensify their efforts to promote the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council relating to Territories under colonial domination;

(ii) In this connexion the General Assembly draws the attention of the Security Council to the need to continue to give special attention to the problems of southern Africa by adopting measures to ensure the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and its own resolutions, and in particular:

- To widen the scope of the sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia by declaring mandatory all the measures laid down in Article 41 of the Charter;

/- To impose sanctions on South Africa and Portugal, whose Governments have blatantly refused to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council;

- To give urgent consideration, with a view to promoting the speedy elimination of colonialism, to the question of imposing fully and unconditionally, under international supervision, an embargo on arms of all kinds to the Government of South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia;

- To consider urgently the adoption of measures to prevent the supply of arms of all kinds to Portugal as these enable that country to deny the right to self-determination and independence to the peoples of the Territories under its domination;

(iii) Member States shall also intensify their efforts to combat collaboration between the régimes of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal, racist régime of Southern Rhodesia for the preservation of colonialism in southern Africa, and to end the political, military, economic and other forms of aid received by the above-mentioned régimes which enables them to persist in their policy of colonial domination;

(d) Member States shall wage a vigorous and sustained campaign against activities and practices of foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in colonial Territories for the benefit and on behalf of colonial Powers and their allies, as these constitute a major obstacle to the achievement of the goals embodied in resolution 1514 (XV). Member States shall consider the adoption of necessary steps to have their nationals and companies under their jurisdiction discontinue such activities and practices. These steps should also aim at preventing the systematic influx of foreign immigrants into colonial Territories which disrupts the integrity and social, political and cultural unity of the peoples under colonial domination;

(e) A further sustained and vigorous campaign shall be carried out by all States against all military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration. Military bases in colonial Territories constitute a serious obstacle to the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and effective measures must be taken by all States to ensure that no such bases are used to suppress liberation movements in colonial Territories and that these bases are dismantled immediately by those States concerned and that no new bases are established;7

or

Member States shall also carry out a sustained and vigorous campaign against military activities which constitute an obstacle to the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV);7

- (f) (i) All freedom fighters under detention shall be considered as prisoners of war and shall be treated in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1949;
- (ii) The specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations shall intensify their activities related to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV);
- (iii) Representatives of liberation movements shall be invited whenever necessary by the United Nations and other international organizations within the United Nations system to participate in an appropriate capacity in the proceedings of those organs relating to their countries;
- (iv) Efforts shall be intensified to provide increased educational opportunities for the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories. All States shall render greater assistance in this field both individually through programmes in the countries concerned, and collectively by contributions through the United Nations;

(g) All States shall undertake measures aimed at enhancing public awareness of the need for active assistance in the achievement of complete decolonization and, in particular, creating satisfactory conditions for activities by national and international non-governmental organizations in support of the peoples under colonial domination;

(h) The United Nations as well as all States shall intensify their efforts in the field of public information in the area of decolonization through all media including publications, radio and television. Of special importance will be programmes on United Nations activities on decolonization, the situation in colonial Territories and the struggle being waged by colonial peoples and the national liberation movements;

(i) The Special Committee shall continue to examine the full compliance of all States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization. The question of territorial size, geographical isolation and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration. Where resolution 1514 (XV) has not been fully implemented with regard to a given Territory, the General Assembly shall continue to bear responsibility for that Territory until such time as the people concerned has had an opportunity to exercise freely its right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration. The Committee is hereby directed:

- (i) To continue to assist the General Assembly in finding out the best ways and means for the final liquidation of colonialism;
- (ii) To continue to give special consideration to the views expressed orally or in written communications by representatives of the peoples in the colonial Territories;
- (iii) To continue to send visiting missions to the colonial Territories and to hold meetings at such places where it can best obtain first-hand information on the situation in colonial Territories as well as to continue to hold meetings away from Headquarters as appropriate;
- (iv) To assist the General Assembly in making arrangements, in co-operation with the administering Powers, for securing a United Nations presence in the colonial Territories to participate in the elaboration of the procedural measures for the implementation of the Declaration and to observe the final stages of the process of decolonization in the Territories.
- (v) To prepare draft "Rules and Regulations for Visiting Missions" for approval by the General Assembly.

17. At the same meeting, the Special Committee took note of the Chairman's statement that, on behalf of the Special Committee and in accordance with the relevant provision of General Assembly resolution 2521 (XXIV), he would transmit the draft text of the suggested programme of action, as contained in the fifty-fifth report of the Working Group, to the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and to the United Nations Council for Namibia for their views and suggestions.

18. The Special Committee considered the draft text of the suggested programme of action at its 765th to 770th meetings, between 25 September and 2 October. Statements in that connexion were made, at the 765th meeting, by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania, Tunisia, Yugoslavia, Syria, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ivory Coast and Afghanistan, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.765) and, at the 766th meeting, by the Chairman and by the representatives of Bulgaria and the United Republic of Tanzania (A/AC.109/PV.766).

2. Amendments submitted by Iraq on behalf of a group of delegations

19. At the 767th meeting, on 30 September, the representative of Iraq, on behalf of a number of African and Asian delegations, submitted the following amendments to the draft text contained in the fifty-fifth report of the Working Group:

(a) The fourth preambular paragraph would be replaced by the following text:

"Reaffirming that all peoples have the right to self-determination and independence and that the subjection of the peoples to alien domination constitutes a serious impediment to the maintenance of international peace and security and the development of peaceful relations among nations";

(b) In operative paragraph 1, the second alternative would be deleted;

(c) Operative paragraph 2 would be replaced by the following text:

"2. Reaffirms the inherent right of colonial peoples to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against colonial Powers which suppress their aspiration for freedom and independence";

/...

(d) In operative paragraph 3 (c)(ii), the second sub-paragraph in brackets would be replaced by the following text:

"To give careful consideration to the question of imposing sanctions on South Africa and Portugal, in view of their refusal to carry out the relevant decisions of the Security Council";

(e) In operative paragraph 3 (e), the two alternatives would be replaced by the following text:

"(f) Member States shall carry out a sustained and vigorous campaign against all military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration as these constitute an obstacle to the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV)";

### 3. Amendments submitted by the United States

20. At the same meeting, the representative of the United States submitted the following amendments to the draft text contained in the fifty-fifth report of the Working Group:

(a) In the third preambular paragraph, the words "continue to plague vast areas of the world" would be replaced by the words "continue to exist in certain areas of the world, notably southern Africa";

(b) The fourth preambular paragraph would be replaced by the following text:

"Reaffirming that all peoples have the right to self-determination and independence and that the subjection of peoples to alien domination could constitute a serious impediment to the maintenance of international peace and security and the development of peaceful relations among nations";

(c) In operative paragraph 1, the first alternative would be deleted;

(d) In operative paragraph 1, the second alternative would be replaced by the following text:

"1. Declares that the continued suppression of the legitimate aspirations of colonial peoples represents a denial of fundamental human rights and is in conflict with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples";

/...

- (e) In operative paragraph 3, the word "full" would be deleted;
- (f) Operative paragraph 3 (a) would be replaced by the following text:

"(a) Member States shall do their utmost to promote, in the United Nations and the international institutions and organizations within the United Nations system, effective measures for the full implementation of the Declaration in all Trust Territories, colonial Territories and other Non-Self-Governing Territories";

- (g) Operative paragraph 3 (b) would be replaced by the following text:

"(b) In their resistance to actions which deprive peoples of the right to self-determination, such peoples are entitled to seek and to receive support in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations";

- (h) Operative paragraph 3 (c)(i) would be replaced by the following text:

"(i) Member States undertake to promote in the General Assembly and in other bodies of the United Nations, as appropriate, resolutions designed to facilitate these objectives in relation to the Territories concerned, bearing in mind the need for the effective implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council relating to Territories under colonial domination";

- (i) Operative paragraph 3 (c) (ii) would be replaced by the following text:

"(ii) In this connexion the General Assembly draws the attention of the Security Council to the need to continue to give special attention to the problems of southern Africa";

- (j) Operative paragraph 3 (c)(iii) would be replaced by the following text:

"(iii) Member States shall also intensify their efforts to oppose any collaboration between the régimes of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia for the preservation of colonialism in southern Africa";

- (k) Operative paragraph 3 (d) would be replaced by the following text:

"(d) Member States shall take steps to discourage and limit the activities of any foreign economic interests operating in Non-Self-Governing Territories which are prejudicial to the interests of the peoples concerned and which, in consequence, may impede the attainment of self-determination, freedom and independence";

/...



- (l) In operative paragraph 3 (e), the two alternatives would be deleted;
- (m) Operative paragraph 3 (f)(i) would be replaced by the following text:

"(i) All freedom fighters under detention shall be extended humane treatment in accordance with the humanitarian principles outlined in the Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War";

- (n) Operative paragraph 3 (f)(ii) would be replaced by the following text:

"(ii) The specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations shall, to the extent consistent with their respective statutes, intensify their activities relating to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)";

- (o) Operative paragraph 3 (f)(iii) would be deleted;

(p) In operative paragraph 3 (g) the phrase preceded by the words "and, in particular" would be deleted;

(q) In operative paragraph 3 (i), the introductory paragraph would be replaced by the following text:

"(i) The Special Committee shall continue to bear the responsibility for examining the question of decolonization until such time as the peoples of the Territories under study have had an opportunity to exercise freely their right to self-determination, freedom and independence. The Committee is hereby requested:".

21. At the same meeting, statements were made by the representatives of Italy, the United Republic of Tanzania, Mali, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, the United Kingdom and the United States, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.767).

4. Draft text of the suggested programme of action proposed by Italy on behalf of a group of delegations

22. At the 768th meeting, on 1 October, the representative of Italy, on behalf of a group of delegations, submitted a draft text (see Annex I below) of the suggested programme of action for consideration by the Special Committee. Statements in that connexion were made by the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Poland and the United Republic of Tanzania, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.768).

/...

23. At the 770th meeting, on 2 October, the representative of Italy, on behalf of the group of delegations, informed the Special Committee that the above proposal would not be pressed to a vote (A/AC.109/PV.770).

5. Other amendments to the draft text contained in the 55th report of the Working Group

24. At the 769th and 770th meetings, on 2 October, further amendments to the draft text contained in the fifty-fifth report of the Working Group, were submitted orally, as follows:

(a) In the third preambular paragraph, India, on behalf of the same delegations referred to in paragraph 20 above, proposed that the words "continues to plague vast areas of the world" should be replaced by the words "continues to exist in many areas of the world";

(b) In operative paragraph 1, Ecuador proposed that the words "against humanity" should be deleted;

(c) In operative paragraph 3 (c)(iii), India, on behalf of the same delegations referred to in paragraph 20 above, proposed that the word "combat" should be replaced by the word "oppose";

(d) In operative paragraph 3 (f)(i), the United Republic of Tanzania proposed that the words "considers as prisoners of war and shall be" should be deleted and that, at the end of the paragraph, the words "relative to the treatment of Prisoners of War" should be added;

(e) In operative paragraph 3 (i), the United Kingdom proposed that the following new sub-paragraph should be inserted between the second and third sub-paragraphs:

"(iii) Having regard to the special problems of small Territories and the effect of these on progress in decolonization in Territories outside Africa, to take into account the fact that in appropriate cases the exercise of the right to self-determination and independence may be attained by various means, namely full independence as a separate State, or by free association with another sovereign State, or by integration with another sovereign State".

/...

6. Voting

25. At its 769th and 770th meetings, on 2 October, the Special Committee voted on the draft text contained in the fifty-fifth report of the Working Group and the amendments thereto (see paragraphs 19, 20 and 24 above), as follows:

(a) The second preambular paragraph was adopted without objection.

(b) Third preambular paragraph -

The amendment by India (see paragraph 24(a) above) was adopted by 17 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(a) above) was not pressed to a vote.

The third preambular paragraph, as amended, was adopted without objection.

(c) Fourth preambular paragraph -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(b) above) was withdrawn.

The amendment by Iraq (see paragraph 19(a) above) was adopted by 18 votes to 1, with 1 abstention.

(d) Operative paragraph 1 -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(c) above) was rejected by 14 votes to 3, with 2 abstentions.

The amendment of Iraq (see paragraph 19(b) above) was adopted by 14 votes to 1, with 4 abstentions.

The amendment by Ecuador (see paragraph 24(b) above) was adopted by 13 votes to 3, with 4 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 1, as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 17 to 3, with 1 abstention. The result of the voting was as follows:

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

Against: Italy, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Norway.

(e) Operative paragraph 2 -

The amendment by Iraq (see paragraph 19(c) above) was adopted by 17 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.

/...

(f) Operative paragraph 3 -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(e) above) was rejected by 15 votes to 2, with 2 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 3 was adopted without a vote.

(g) Operative paragraph 3 (a) (introductory paragraph) -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(f) above) was rejected by 14 votes to 4.

Operative paragraph 3 (a) was adopted by 18 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.

(h) Operative paragraph 3 (b) -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(g) above) was rejected by 14 votes to 4, with 3 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 3 (h) was adopted by 18 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.

(i) Operative paragraph 3 (c)(i) -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(h) above) was rejected by 14 votes to 4, with 2 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 3 (c)(i) was adopted by 16 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.

(j) Operative paragraph 3 (c)(ii) -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(i) above) was rejected by 15 votes to 4, with 1 abstention.

The amendment by Iraq (see paragraph 19(d) above) was adopted by 16 votes to 2, with 3 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 3 (c)(ii), as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 16 votes to 2, with 2 abstentions.

(k) Operative paragraph 3 (c)(iii) -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(j) above) was rejected by 15 votes to 2, with 2 abstentions.

The amendment by India (see paragraph 24(c) above) was adopted without objection.

Operative paragraph 3 (c)(iii), as amended, was adopted by 19 votes to 2.

(l) Operative paragraph 3 (d) -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(k) above) was rejected by 12 votes to 3, with 1 abstention.

Operative paragraph 3 (d) was adopted by 13 votes to 2, with 3 abstentions.

/...

(m) Operative paragraph 3 (e) -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(l) above) was rejected by 16 votes to 4.

The amendment by Iraq (see paragraph 19(e) above) was adopted by 11 votes to 2, with 6 abstentions.

(n) Operative paragraph 3 (f)(i) -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(m) above) was rejected by 12 votes to 4, with 5 abstentions.

The Tanzanian amendments (see paragraph 24(d) above) were adopted without objection.

Operative paragraph 3 (f)(i), as amended, was adopted by 19 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

(o) Operative paragraph 3 (f)(ii) -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(n) above) was rejected by 13 votes to 4, with 4 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 3 (f)(ii) was adopted by 19 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

(p) Operative paragraph 3 (f)(iii) -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(o) above) was rejected by 16 votes to 4, with 1 abstention.

Operative paragraph 3 (f)(iii) was adopted by 19 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

(q) Operative paragraph 3 (f)(iv) was adopted without objection.

(r) Operative paragraph 3 (g) -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(p) above) was rejected by 16 votes to 4.

Operative paragraph 3 (g) was adopted by 19 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

(s) Operative paragraph 3 (h) was adopted without objection.

(t) Operative paragraph 3 (i) -

The United States amendment (see paragraph 20(q) above) was rejected by 15 votes to 4, with 2 abstentions.

The United Kingdom amendment (see paragraph 24(e) above) was withdrawn.

The first sentence of operative paragraph 3 (i), on which a separate vote was requested by the United Kingdom, was approved by 20 votes to 1, with 1 abstention.

/...

(u) Operative paragraph 3 (i) (v) was adopted by 15 votes to 1, with 3 abstentions.

(v) Operative paragraph 3 (i) (i) to (v), as a whole, was adopted by 20 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

(w) First preambular paragraph -

The Special Committee decided without objection to maintain the first preambular paragraph in its present form, pending the decision by the General Assembly concerning the timing and modalities for the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration (see section D below).

26. At its 770th meeting, the Special Committee adopted the draft text as a whole, as amended, by a roll-call vote of 18 to 2, with 2 abstentions (see paragraph 40 below). The result of the voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ecuador, 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: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Italy, Norway.

27. At the 769th and 770th meetings, statements in connexion with the voting were made by the following delegations (A/AC.109/PV.769 and 770) with respect to specific paragraphs and amendments related thereto:

| <u>Concerning</u>           | <u>Delegation</u> <sup>4/</sup>  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| (769th meeting)             |  |
| third preambular paragraph  | India, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, USSR   |
| fourth preambular paragraph | Afghanistan, United States, United Kingdom   |
| operative paragraph 1       | India, Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, Venezuela, United Republic of Tanzania, Tunisia, United States, Bulgaria, United Kingdom, Ecuador, Sierra Leone, USSR, Poland, Syria, Ethiopia, Yugoslavia |

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<sup>4/</sup> References relate to one or more interventions.

Concerning

Delegation<sup>4/</sup>

(769th meeting) (continued)

|                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| operative paragraph 2           | United Kingdom  |
| operative paragraph 3 (a)       | Ecuador, United Republic of Tanzania,<br>USSR, United Kingdom |
| operative paragraph 3 (b)       | Venezuela, United Kingdom                                     |
| operative paragraph 3 (c) (ii)  | United Kingdom, Ecuador                                       |
| operative paragraph 3 (c) (iii) | India, United States, Venezuela, United<br>Kingdom            |

(770th meeting)

|                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| operative paragraph 3 (d)       | United Kingdom, India   |
| operative paragraph 3 (e)       | Venezuela, United Kingdom, Syria  |
| operative paragraph 3 (f) (i)   | India, United Republic of Tanzania,<br>United States  |
| operative paragraph 3 (f) (ii)  | Bulgaria  |
| operative paragraph 3 (f) (iii) | United States, United Kingdom   |
| operative paragraph 3 (f) (iv)  | Venezuela   |
| operative paragraph 3 (h)       | United Kingdom  |
| operative paragraph 3 (i)       | United Kingdom, India, USSR, Venezuela,<br>United States, Ecuador, United Republic<br>of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Iraq |
| operative paragraph 3 (i) (v)   | Ecuador, USSR, Poland, India  |

28. At the 770th meeting, statements were made by the following delegations concerning the draft text, as a whole, as amended: Norway, the United States, the Ivory Coast, Italy, Madagascar, India, the USSR, Yugoslavia, the United Kingdom, the United Republic of Tanzania, Syria, Sierra Leone, Poland, Ecuador, Venezuela, Bulgaria, Ethiopia and Afghanistan (A/AC.109/PV.770).

29. At the same meeting, the Chairman made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.770).

/...

D. Holding of a special commemorative meeting to mark the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

30. At its 770th meeting, on 2 October, the Special Committee recalled that the General Assembly, in paragraph 7 of resolution 2499 A (XXIV) of 31 October 1969 concerning the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, decided that "the same period of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations should provide an opportunity for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which should conclude with the adoption of an appropriate document by the General Assembly during the commemorative session".

31. The Special Committee noted in that connexion that, on 11 September, the Chairman of the Special Committee, in the light of paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 2521 (XXIV), transmitted to the Chairman of the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations the following views of the Working Group of the Special Committee concerning the modalities for the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration:

(a) During the commemorative session scheduled for 14 to 24 October, one meeting (or a substantial portion thereof) of the General Assembly should be set aside for the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration;

(b) The commemoration might take the form of addresses to be delivered by the President of the General Assembly, the Chairman of the Special Committee and by the Secretary-General of the United Nations;

(c) In view of the solemnity of the occasion, and since references to the suggested programme of action would no doubt be made during the commemorative meeting, consideration of that programme and its adoption by the General Assembly could take place at plenary meetings prior to the commemorative session.

32. The Special Committee also noted in that regard that, as at 2 October, no decision had been taken by the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations with respect to the modalities for the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration.

33. In view of the foregoing and on the proposal of the Chairman, the Special Committee, at the same meeting, decided without objection to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the urgent need for a decision concerning the

/...



modalities of the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration in accordance with paragraph 7 of resolution 2499 A (XXIV) and taking into account the aforementioned views of members of the Special Committee in this respect.

34. At the same meeting, the Special Committee recalled that, included in the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and endorsed subsequently by the General Assembly in its resolution 2521 (XXIV), was the following provision: "... specialized agencies, regional organizations and interested non-governmental organizations, as well as representatives of dependent peoples and of national liberation movements" should, whenever possible, be invited "as observers or participants" to the commemorative meeting.

35. At the same meeting, on the proposal of the Chairman, the Special Committee decided without objection to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the aforementioned decision in order that appropriate arrangements might be made for its immediate implementation.

E. Analytical study on the subject of decolonization

36. With respect to the preparation of the documentation on the subject of decolonization, referred to in paragraph 6 above, it is the intention of the Special Committee to submit a further report thereon in an addendum to the present document.

F. Adoption of the report

37. At its 770th meeting, on 2 October, the Special Committee decided without objection to authorize its Rapporteur to submit its report directly to the General Assembly.

/...

## II. DECISIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

38. At its 770th meeting, on 2 October 1970, the Special Committee decided without objection to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the urgent need for a decision concerning the modalities for the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration in accordance with paragraph 7 of resolution 2499 A (XXIV), taking into account the views expressed by members of the Special Committee, as summarized in paragraph 31 above.

39. At the same meeting, the Special Committee decided without objection to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the recommendation made by the Preparatory Committee for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which, among others, was endorsed in paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 2521 (XXIV), to the effect that specialized agencies, regional organizations and interested non-governmental organizations, as well as representatives of dependent peoples and of national liberation movements should, whenever possible, be invited as observers or participants to the commemorative meeting for the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration.

/'...  
/...

### III. RECOMMENDATION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

40. The Special Committee recommends for consideration by the General Assembly the following suggested programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (see para. 26 above):

#### SUGGESTED PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

The General Assembly,

/Having held a special commemorative session on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,<sup>/</sup>\*

Considering that, by arousing world public opinion and promoting practical action for the speedy liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, the Declaration has played and will continue to play an important role in assisting the peoples under colonial domination in their struggle for freedom and independence,

Conscious of the fact that, although many colonial countries and peoples have, in the last ten years, achieved freedom and independence, the system of colonialism continues to exist in many areas of the world,

Reaffirming that all peoples have the right to self-determination and independence and that the subjection of the peoples to alien domination constitutes a serious impediment to the maintenance of international peace and security and the development of peaceful relations among nations,

1. Declares the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations a crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the principles of international law;

2. Reaffirms the inherent right of colonial peoples to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against colonial Powers which suppress their aspiration for freedom and independence;

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\* Note by the Rapporteur: At its 770th meeting, the Special Committee decided without objection to maintain the paragraph in its present form pending the decision by the General Assembly concerning the timing and modalities for the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration (see section D above).

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

(a) Member States shall do their utmost to promote, in the United Nations and the international institutions and organizations within the United Nations system, effective measures for the full implementation of the Declaration in all Trust Territories, Non-Self-Governing Territories and other colonial Territories, large and small, including the adoption by the Security Council of effective measures against Governments and régimes which engage in any form of repression of colonial peoples, which would seriously impede the maintenance of international peace and security.

(b) Member States shall render all necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples in colonial Territories in their struggle to attain freedom and independence.

(c) (i) Member States shall intensify their efforts to promote the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council relating to Territories under colonial domination.

(ii) In this connexion, the General Assembly draws the attention of the Security Council to the need to continue to give special attention to the problems of southern Africa by adopting measures to ensure the full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and its own resolutions, and in particular:

- To widen the scope of the sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia by declaring mandatory all the measures laid down in Article 41 of the Charter;
- To give careful consideration to the question of imposing sanctions on South Africa and Portugal, in view of their refusal to carry out the relevant decisions of the Security Council;
- To give urgent consideration, with a view to promoting the speedy elimination of colonialism, to the question of imposing fully and unconditionally, under international supervision, an embargo on arms of all kinds to the Government of South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia;
- To consider urgently the adoption of measures to prevent the supply of arms of all kinds to Portugal, as such arms enable that country to deny the right to self-determination and independence to the peoples of the Territories under its domination.

/...

- (iii) Member States shall also intensify their efforts to oppose collaboration between the régimes of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia for the preservation of colonialism in southern Africa and to end the political, military, economic and other forms of aid received by the above-mentioned régimes, which enables them to persist in their policy of colonial domination.

(d) Member States shall wage a vigorous and sustained campaign against activities and practices of foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in colonial Territories for the benefit and on behalf of colonial Powers and their allies, as these constitute a major obstacle to the achievement of the goals embodied in resolution 1514 (XV). Member States shall consider the adoption of necessary steps to have their nationals and companies under their jurisdiction discontinue such activities and practices; these steps should also aim at preventing the systematic influx of foreign immigrants into colonial Territories which disrupts the integrity and social, political and cultural unity of the peoples under colonial domination.

(e) Member States shall carry out a sustained and vigorous campaign against all military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration, as such activities and arrangements constitute an obstacle to the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).

- (f) (i) All freedom fighters under detention shall be treated in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 12 August 1949.
- (ii) The specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations shall intensify their activities related to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).
- (iii) Representatives of liberation movements shall be invited, whenever necessary, by the United Nations and other international organizations within the United Nations system to participate in an appropriate capacity in the proceedings of those organs relating to their countries.
- (iv) Efforts shall be intensified to provide increased educational opportunities for the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories. All States shall render greater assistance in this field, both individually through programmes in the countries concerned and collectively by contributions through the United Nations.

(g) All States shall undertake measures aimed at enhancing public awareness of the need for active assistance in the achievement of complete decolonization and, in particular, creating satisfactory conditions for activities by national and international non-governmental organizations in support of the peoples under colonial domination.

(h) The United Nations as well as all States shall intensify their efforts in the field of public information in the area of decolonization through all media, including publications, radio and television. Of special importance will be programmes relating to United Nations activities on decolonization, the situation in colonial Territories and the struggle being waged by colonial peoples and the national liberation movements.

(i) The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples shall continue to examine the full compliance of all States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization. The question of territorial size, geographical isolation and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration. Where resolution 1514 (XV) has not been fully implemented with regard to a given Territory, the General Assembly shall continue to bear responsibility for that Territory until such time as the people concerned has had an opportunity to exercise freely its right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration. The Special Committee is hereby directed:

- (i) To continue to assist the General Assembly in finding the best ways and means for the final liquidation of colonialism;
- (ii) To continue to give special consideration to the views expressed orally or in written communications by representatives of the peoples in the colonial Territories;
- (iii) To continue to send visiting missions to the colonial Territories and to hold meetings at such places where it can best obtain first-hand information on the situation in colonial Territories, as well as to continue to hold meetings away from Headquarters as appropriate;
- (iv) To assist the General Assembly in making arrangements, in co-operation with the administering Powers, for securing a United Nations presence in the colonial Territories to participate in the elaboration of the procedural measures for the implementation of the Declaration and to observe the final stages of the process of decolonization in the Territories.
- (v) To prepare draft rules and regulations for visiting missions for approval by the General Assembly.

/...

ANNEX I

DRAFT TEXT OF THE SUGGESTED PROGRAMME OF ACTION PROPOSED BY  
ITALY ON BEHALF OF A GROUP OF DELEGATIONS

The General Assembly

Conscious of the significance of the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Considering the role which the Declaration has played during the ten years since its adoption in arousing world opinion and in encouraging action to bring about a speedy end to colonialism,

Recognizing that in the course of the last ten years many colonial countries and millions of peoples formerly under colonial rule have achieved freedom and independence in accordance with the terms of the Declaration,

Gravely concerned that at the same time in various regions of the world, and especially in large areas of southern Africa, the peoples have yet to exercise their right to self-determination, freedom and independence,

Affirming that the suppression of the legitimate aspirations of the colonial peoples constitutes an affront to human dignity and a violation of fundamental human rights contrary to the provision of the Charter of the United Nations and to the principles of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Acknowledging that all peoples who are being denied the attainment of their legitimate aspirations and the fulfilment of the goals set out in the Declaration are entitled to assert their right to self-determination, freedom and independence by every means at their disposal consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter,

Welcomes the programme annexed to this resolution.

/...

## PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Member States in discharge of their responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations undertake to make every effort, both within the United Nations and elsewhere, to bring about the attainment of the goals set out in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and to enable the peoples of all remaining Trust and other Non-Self-Governing Territories to exercise their right to self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with their freely expressed wishes on the basis of the principles enshrined in the Charter.

In order to assist the peoples of these Territories in their efforts to exercise the right to self-determination, freedom and independence, and in order to promote the objective of complete decolonization, Member States undertake to refrain from any forcible action contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter which might impede the exercise of this right.

Member States similarly undertake to promote in the General Assembly and in other bodies of the United Nations, as appropriate, resolutions designed to facilitate these objectives in relation to the Territories concerned, bearing in mind the need for their effective implementation.

Member States recognize the need to assist to the best of their ability and in accordance with the resources at their disposal in promoting the economic, social and cultural advancement of the peoples in Non-Self-Governing Territories. Such efforts shall be directed towards ensuring that the peoples of the Territories concerned exercise their right to self-determination, freedom and independence in the most favourable conditions.

Member States shall take steps to discourage and limit the activities of those foreign and economic interests operating in Non-Self-Governing Territories which are prejudicial to the interests of the peoples concerned and which, in consequence, may impede the attainment of self-determination, freedom and independence.

In the belief that effective efforts to attain these goals depend for their success on the development of an informed public opinion in the Territories concerned and on the spread of knowledge about the range of choices open to their peoples in exercise of their right to self-determination, intensified efforts will

/...



be made to widen the educational opportunities open to them. All Member States undertake to render greater efforts commensurate with their responsibilities and resources to extend assistance in this field, whether through bilateral programmes or through the United Nations and international institutions and organizations within the United Nations system.

Member States recognize the urgent need to give special attention to the problems of Territories in southern Africa, and to this end agree to pursue the following measures with the aim of securing the early attainment of the goals set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV):

- (a) to render, as they deem appropriate, moral and material support consistent with the purposes and the principles of the Charter to the peoples of the Territories concerned in their efforts to attain freedom and independence;
- (b) to ensure that the Security Council keeps under review the situation in these Territories until such time as their people attain self-determination, freedom and independence on a basis of human equality;
- (c) to condemn the use of military force in repression of the attainment of these objectives and to consider the promotion of effective measures to prevent the sale or supply to Governments and régimes of arms which are intended to be used for such repression.

ANNEX II\*

REPORT OF THE AD HOC GROUP ESTABLISHED BY THE  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE AT ITS 740TH MEETING ON  
21 APRIL 1970

Rapporteur: Mr. S.M.S. CHADHA (India)

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\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.641.

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## INTRODUCTION

1. By operative paragraph 1 of its resolution 2521 (XXIV) of 9 December 1969, the General Assembly approved the report of the Preparatory Committee for the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples<sup>a/</sup> and endorsed the recommendations contained therein concerning the programme of activities to be undertaken in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration. In that report, the Preparatory Committee had recommended, inter alia, that "the Special Committee ... should be requested to prepare, with the assistance of the Secretary-General and taking into account the various views and suggestions submitted by Member States to the Preparatory Committee, a succinct analytical study on the subject of decolonization with a view to mobilizing public opinion as well as the international community towards the full implementation of the Declaration (A/7684, para. 22 (5)).
2. Following the general debate concerning the organization of its work for 1970, and on the recommendation of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.625), the Special Committee, at its 735th meeting, on 1 April 1970, decided that it should include in the agenda for the year an item entitled "Special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" and that the tasks assigned to it in connexion with that item should be referred to its Working Group for consideration and report.
3. At its 740th and 741st meetings, on 21 April and 4 May 1970, by adopting the forty-eighth and forty-ninth reports of its Working Group relating to this item (A/AC.109/L.624 and 629) the Special Committee decided, inter alia, to dispatch an Ad Hoc Group of representatives to Africa for the purpose of establishing contact with representatives of national liberation movements from colonial Territories in that continent. In taking that decision, it was the understanding of the Special Committee that the views of the liberation movements would be fully taken into account by the Committee in the preparation of the analytical study and programme of measures called for in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration. In addition to the reports of its Working Group, the Special Committee had before it the report of the Secretary-General

<sup>a/</sup> A/7684.

(A/AC.109/L.626) concerning the financial implications of the recommendation contained in paragraphs 5 to 7 of the forty-eighth report of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.624).

4. The Special Committee further decided in that connexion that, subject to the convenience of the respective Governments, the Ad Hoc Group should, in principle, visit for two to three working days at each of the following capitals beginning 24 May 1970: Lusaka, Dar es Salaam, Addis Ababa and Algiers. In taking that decision, it was the understanding of the Special Committee that the Ad Hoc Group would be at liberty to make such modifications or reductions in the aforementioned schedule as would facilitate the necessary contacts with the leaders of the national liberation movements.

5. At its 741st meeting, on 4 May 1970, the Special Committee, on the proposal of the Chairman and having regard to paragraph 6 of the forty-eighth report and paragraphs 2 to 6 of the forty-ninth report of its Working Group, decided, without objection, that the Ad Hoc Group to be dispatched to Africa should be composed of the following: the Chairman, H.E. Dr. Davidson Nicol, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone, the Rapporteur, Mr. S.M.S. Chadha of India, Mr. Horacio Sevilla Borja of Ecuador, Mr. Kifle Wodajo of Ethiopia, Mr. Adnan Raouf of Iraq, Mr. Massimo Castaldo of Italy, Mr. Tadeusz Strulak of Poland and Mr. Mohamed Fourati of Tunisia.

6. The Ad Hoc Group met in the various capitals according to the following schedule:

|   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| Algiers, Algeria                              | - between 24 and 27 May 1970     |
| Addis Ababa, Ethiopia                         | - between 28 and 30 May 1970     |
| Dar es Salaam, United Republic of<br>Tanzania | - between 30 May and 3 June 1970 |
| Lusaka, Zambia                                | - between 3 and 5 June 1970      |

7. Except for its opening meetings in each capital, the Ad Hoc Group held its meetings in closed session and heard the representatives of each liberation movement separately. The Ad Hoc Group met representatives of all liberation movements which expressed a desire to be heard in regard to Territories in the Special Committee's purview. Representatives of the host Governments concerned were invited to observe the meetings.

/...

8. In addition to its meetings with representatives of the liberation movements, an account of which is set out in section I below, the Ad Hoc Group met in Addis Ababa, on 29 May, with Mr. Diallo TELLI, Secretary-General, Mr. Mohamed SAHNOUN, Assistant Secretary-General (Political), and other senior officers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Also, on the same date, the Group met with Mr. Robert K.A. GARDENER, Executive Secretary, and other officers of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).

9. In Dar es Salaam, on 2 June, the Ad Hoc Group met with Mr. George Magombe, Executive Secretary, and Mr. Ahmed M. Sadki, Assistant Executive Secretary (Defence), of the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).<sup>b/</sup> A summary of the Group's discussions appears in section II below.

10. In Lusaka, on 5 June, the Ad Hoc Group met with Mr. Anatole M. Komorsky, representative for Zambia of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). A summary of the Group's discussion appears in section III below.

11. While in Lusaka, the Ad Hoc Group felt that there was some uncertainty as to whether the Gouvernement révolutionnaire de l'Angola en exil (GRAE) of Angola, based in Kinshasa, was fully acquainted with the itinerary of the Ad Hoc Group. Keeping in view its objective of meeting the largest possible number of liberation movements from colonial Territories in Africa, and in particular those recognized by the OAU, the Ad Hoc Group attempted to inform the GRAE of its presence in Lusaka through the Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in Lusaka, but it was not known by the time of the departure of the Ad Hoc Group from Lusaka if it had been possible to contact the GRAE.

#### A. MEETINGS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

12. The representatives of national liberation movements heard by the Ad Hoc Group in Africa were as follows:

| <u>Liberation movements</u>   | <u>Representatives</u>                            |
|---|---|
| Algiers, Algeria, 25-26 May 1970                                    |   |
| Partido Africano da Independência da<br>Guinea e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) | Mr. Joseph Turpin, representative in<br>Algeria   |
| South West Africa People's Organization<br>(SWAPO)                  | Mr. Ewald Katjivena, representative in<br>Algeria |

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<sup>b/</sup> The representative of Tunisia did not attend the meeting.

Liberation movements

Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)

African National Congress of South  
Africa (ANC)

Dar es Salaam, United Republic of  
Tanzania, 1-2 June 1970

Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)

South West Africa People's Organization  
(SWAPO)

Frente de Libertação de Moçambique  
(FRELIMO)

African National Congress of South  
Africa (ANC)

Lusaka, Zambia, 4-5 June 1970

Front de Libération de la Côte des  
Somalis (FLCS)

African National Congress of South  
Africa (ANC)

Movimento Popular de Libertação de  
Angola (MPLA)

Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)

Comité Revolucionario de Moçambique  
(COREMO)

Representatives

Mr. P. Katjavivi, representative in  
the United Kingdom of Great Britain  
and Northern Ireland

Mr. Charles K.D. Chikerema,  
representative in Algeria

Mr. J. Makatini, representative in  
Algeria

Mr. P.K. Leballo, Acting President,  
National Secretary and Chairman of  
the Revolutionary Command

Mr. T.M. Ntantala, National Executive  
Member and Commander

Mr. Andrew Shipanga, Director of  
Information and Publicity

Mr. Ben Amathila, Secretary of  
Education

Mr. Marcelino dos Santos,  
Vice President

Mr. Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General

Mr. Aden Roble Awale, Secretary-General

Mr. Duma Nokwe, Director of Political  
Affairs

Mr. Henrique Carreira, Member of the  
Director Committee

Mr. G.B. Nyandoro, National Secretary

Mr. T.F. Silundika, National Secretary  
for Information and Publicity

Mr. Absolun T. Bahule, Secretary-  
General

Mr. Fanuel Marluza, Secretary for  
External Affairs

Liberation movements

Representatives

Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)

Mr. Henry Hamadziripi, representative  
in Lusaka

Mr. S.V. Mtamhanengwe, representative  
in Lusaka

Unity Movement of South Africa (UM-SA)

Mr. Wycliffe M. Tsotsi, Vice President

13. The chief observations made by representatives of liberation movements in their statements before the Ad Hoc Group and in response to questions by members of the Ad Hoc Group are summarized below. Points of interest emerging from meetings with the OAU and with the representative of the UNHCR in Lusaka are also summarized at the end.

General

14. Almost all the representatives conveyed a sense of deep frustration with the efforts of the United Nations thus far in regard to the current colonial problems in Africa. There was a feeling that the United Nations as a whole was not doing enough to help the anti-colonialist struggle in Africa. Some representatives stated that they appreciated some of the resolutions that had emerged in the General Assembly, but realized that it was on account of the intransigence of certain Powers, particularly the countries belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Portugal and South Africa, that the resolutions had not been implemented. The SWAPO from Namibia was particularly bitter about the lack of effectiveness of the United Nations. It was pointed out that various bodies of the United Nations were "bursting at the seams" with the petitions and papers that had been presented to them by liberation movements but that, in spite of resolution after resolution in the General Assembly, nothing had been achieved so far in regard to Territories such as Namibia.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)<sup>c/</sup>

15. NATO was bitterly criticized by most of the representatives, who felt that the relations of NATO with Portugal, and of individual nations comprising NATO with Portugal and South Africa constituted one of the most serious impediments in the way of decolonization in Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and

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<sup>c/</sup> The delegate from Italy expressed a reservation on this paragraph.

Southern Rhodesia. It was felt that Portugal, the poorest country in Western Europe, had for a number of years been able to conduct an expensive colonial war against the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) thanks largely to the support, both military and political, given to the Portuguese Government by its NATO allies. It was also stated that Portugal, in return, had given its allies licence to plunder the riches and exploit the human resources of these Territories.

#### Foreign economic interests

16. The representatives were unanimous in their bitter criticism of foreign economic investments in Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa. According to them, the investments had done immense harm to the colonial peoples and had been instrumental in prolonging the struggle that was being waged in colonial Territories in southern Africa. Several of the big companies operating in the region were mentioned by name as profiting from the misery of the peoples of the Territories by taking advantage of the discriminatory labour conditions, and at the same time impeding the struggle of the colonial peoples by providing revenues to the Portuguese Government, the Government of South Africa and the Smith régime which enabled them to sustain their war against the people.

#### Caborra Bassa scheme and Cunene River scheme

17. Both these schemes were criticized as furthering the ambitions of colonial countries in southern Africa. It was pointed out that a number of Western countries headed by Krupp of the Federal Republic of Germany were involved in the construction of the Cunene River Dam. It was felt that the silence of the United Nations over the Cunene River project was a particularly serious matter.

18. The Caborra Bassa scheme was referred to as a "crime" against the people of Africa, and an appeal was made to the Ad Hoc Group to call upon the United Nations to declare the scheme a threat to international peace.

19. The collaboration of certain countries in the Caborra Bassa scheme was condemned in strong language. It was felt that any participation in the scheme was tantamount to outright support of the policy of settling large numbers of

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white people in the area, to the detriment of the present inhabitants and to the advantage of Powers such as South Africa, which were striving hard to change the racial balance in the region. The decision of the Governments of Sweden and Italy to withdraw support from the scheme was noted with appreciation. The United Nations was asked to put pressure on the remaining participants in the scheme to effect withdrawal of their support.

#### Peaceful solution to colonial problems

20. It was stated that there were a number of countries in the United Nations which were opposed to the armed struggle of colonial peoples in Africa and which called for peaceful solutions to colonial problems. It had to be realized that what one was dealing with in South Africa were "demented racist and fascist bigots devoid of any sense of humanity", who would appreciate only the language of force. It was suggested that advice regarding peaceful solutions generally came from Powers that gave support to the oppressors in southern Africa.

#### Armed struggle

21. Most representatives felt that in the remaining colonial Territories in Africa today, armed struggle was the only way out for colonial peoples. They had come to this conclusion as all avenues for a peaceful solution had by now been exhausted. They had no illusions about the effectiveness of other means such as negotiations with the colonial powers in southern Africa as, according to them, history had shown that such a possibility no longer existed. In commenting on the Lusaka Manifesto, some representatives pointed out that sufficient time had already elapsed for the colonial Powers concerned to take up the suggestion for negotiations referred to in the Manifesto, and that no such initiative had been forthcoming. According to these representatives, this showed conclusively that negotiations were no longer possible and armed struggle, however long it might take, was the only way out for the colonial peoples in southern Africa.

#### Legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples

22. Almost all the representatives lauded the recognition by the United Nations General Assembly of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples for their

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self-determination. It was felt by some that, as a natural corollary to this recognition, the United Nations should go further and give direct aid to liberation movements in all possible ways.

#### Unity of struggle of liberation movements

23. A large number of representatives expressed their awareness that the struggle against colonialism and foreign domination was universal and indivisible. Most of them stressed the affinity with the liberation movements in Africa, the struggle of the Palestinians to re-affirm their inalienable rights, and other liberation movements all over the world, particularly in South-East Asia. A number of representatives stated that their organizations maintained regular contacts and exchange views and experiences with liberation movements elsewhere in the world.

#### Direct contact with the United Nations

24. It was suggested that the United Nations and its specialized agencies should enter into direct contact with the liberation movements. Thus far, no aid had been received by the liberation movements directly from the United Nations or from any of the specialized agencies. There was considerable scope for such assistance. Many liberation movements, notably the PAIGC and the FRELIMO, made concrete suggestions in regard to the fields in which assistance could be provided by the various specialized agencies such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). It was felt that in areas which had been liberated from the colonial yoke there was considerable scope for outside help. An opinion was also expressed that the liberated areas, such as those in Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique, were comparable to sovereign States and that the remaining areas of the Territory under Portuguese domination ought to be considered as under illegal enemy occupation for purposes of contact with the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Specifically, there was scope for a contribution by the WHO in the training of cadres in the field of health and for supply of

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medicines and equipment. Likewise, UNICEF could assist children, UNESCO could cater to training for technicians by providing occupational training scholarships, and FAO could contribute towards eradication of problems pertaining to malnutrition, etc. Also, there was scope for the introduction of improved techniques in various spheres in the liberated areas.

#### Invitation to the Special Committee to visit liberated areas

25. Some representatives of liberation movements invited the Special Committee to visit the liberated areas of colonial Territories in Africa. In their view, such visits were essential to the work of the Committee.

#### Direct material aid from the United Nations

26. All the representatives of liberation movements that met the Ad Hoc Group asked, inter alia, for direct material assistance from the United Nations. They felt that the United Nations having recognized the legitimacy of their struggle, should provide aid to them by way of funds, medicines and other supplies, and even weapons. Some representatives suggested setting up a United Nations fund from which such assistance would be provided. It was also suggested that if there were constitutional difficulties in the establishment of such a fund, under United Nations auspices, an independent special fund could be considered to which interested States could contribute, and which would be officially recognized by the Special Committee.

#### Material assistance by countries individually

27. It was suggested that the United Nations should call upon individual countries to render individually all possible assistance to the liberation movements.

#### Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia

28. Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia came under severe criticism not only from representatives of the liberation movements in Southern Rhodesia but also from others. The feeling was expressed that sanctions could never be effective so long

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as they were not extended to South Africa, and that the United Kingdom had pressed for the sanctions merely to provide a false sense of complacency to well-wishers of the people of Zimbabwe.

#### Legal authority in Southern Rhodesia

29. Representatives called for rejection of the United Kingdom's claim to legal authority in Southern Rhodesia. It was felt that the United Kingdom Government had failed to honour her moral responsibilities towards the people of Zimbabwe and that, while force must be used to bring down the minority régime, that force should be used not by the Government of the United Kingdom, but by the people of Zimbabwe themselves. An appeal was made for the explicit recognition of the legitimacy of the use of force by the people of Zimbabwe to free their country. It was felt that the use of force by the United Kingdom Government would have as a consequence the continuation of the colonial régime and that British intervention would be intended quite certainly to eliminate the people's liberation movement and to favour the racist minority.

30. The United Nations should plan for the "political education" of the people in Southern Rhodesia. This was particularly important in view of the vast propaganda machine of the Government of South Africa and of the Ian Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia.

#### Education of Namibians

31. A plea was made for each State to provide education for one Namibian student from the secondary school to university level. It was pointed out that this would alleviate some of the difficulties at present encountered in existing educational programmes for Namibians abroad.

#### Reference of the Namibian question to the International Court of Justice

32. An opinion was expressed that the Namibian question should not be referred to the International Court of Justice. This would merely provide a breathing spell for those who were not genuinely interested in the solution of the problem. Moreover, once the question was before the International Court of Justice, it would become difficult for the United Nations to pass resolutions on Namibia.

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Apartheid in South Africa

33. A strong plea was made for treating apartheid in South Africa as a colonial issue. Only in this manner could the problem be dealt with in the proper perspective.

Boycott of Portugal and of products from Portuguese Territories

34. The United Nations was urged to use all possible means to isolate Portugal internationally and to put into effect an effective boycott of Portugal, as well as of products emanating from Portuguese colonies.

35. It was pointed out, for example, that the export of coffee from Angola, almost all of it to the United States, constituted a half of the total exports of Angola. A boycott of this item alone, over a period of a year or so, would greatly contribute to bringing the war in Angola to an end. Another important single commodity exported from Angola was oil.

Aid for refugees

36. Most liberation movements recognized that the High Commissioner for Refugees was rendering useful assistance, on the whole, to refugees from their Territories. Some felt however, that there should be direct collaboration between the High Commissioner for Refugees and themselves, and that aid should be channelled through them. In some instances, it was pointed out that the aid provided led to the weaning away of the colonial people from their struggle. It was generally felt, however, that increased aid with the proper emphasis in particular cases was desirable.

Political prisoners

37. The view was expressed that the United Nations should initiate an all-out effort, not only in the world body but in all possible forums for the release of political prisoners in southern Africa. The United Nations should also endeavour to ensure that the relevant Geneva Convention was respected in regard to freedom fighters detained by Colonial Powers.

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#### Assistance to South Africa and Portugal

38. It was pointed out that in spite of the arms embargo voted by the United Nations Security Council in 1963 and 1964 certain countries were continuing to supply arms to South Africa. France was singled out for its "brazen defiance" as the principal supplier of weapons which were being used for the extermination of the people of southern Africa and for aggression against independent African States. It was also stated that an agreement recently concluded involved the supply of war material amounting to £200 million to South Africa. Other States which were actively assisting the Pretoria régime and Portugal in varying degrees included the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Japan. Several petitioners spoke critically of recent collaboration between South Africa and Malawi, and felt that South Africa was preparing to use Malawi as a spring-board for furthering its aggressive designs.

39. The United Nations was asked to bring pressure on the countries concerned to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions concerning the supply of arms to South Africa and Portugal.

40. It was also pointed out that it was not sufficient for countries selling arms to Portugal to stipulate conditions for their use - it should be ensured by such countries that the conditions were adhered to. Some representatives agreed to a suggestion that some form of international control over the use of weapons in such cases would be welcome.

#### Dialogue on colonial territories in Africa

41. According to the representatives there appeared to be ample evidence that no dialogue on colonialism was possible between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the South African Government. Any dialogue on this subject involving the Secretary-General should in fact be with those Western countries which continued to defy United Nations resolutions calling for severance of diplomatic, economic and military relations with South Africa.

#### Isolation of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia

42. The representatives felt that efforts should be made by all countries to isolate South Africa in every way. This could be done by expelling that country

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from various official and non-official international bodies. Members of liberation movements from Southern Rhodesia felt that the Smith régime should also be isolated and that the multiracial posture in sports put forth by the illegal régime should not delude countries into accepting participants from Southern Rhodesia in their fields. Some representatives felt that efforts should be made at the United Nations to expel South Africa from its membership, as that country had clearly demonstrated that it could not shoulder the responsibilities that the conditions for United Nations membership had placed on it. It was also felt that South Africa was increasingly feeling the fear of isolation, and that such a step could have a tonic effect in bringing home to the people of that country the strength of world opinion.

#### Information centres on southern Africa

43. It was suggested that there was need for regional United Nations information centres catering for French-speaking and Spanish-speaking countries. In particular, the relative ignorance of the French people of the horrors of apartheid had been taken advantage of by their Government, and the absence of public pressure in France such as obtains in countries like the United Kingdom had resulted in France being the main supplier of genocidal weapons to South Africa. It was therefore important to set up a suitable centre to produce material in French, if not in France, then in a country like Algeria whose geographical position was suitable for serving both Europe and French-speaking African countries.

#### Participation by liberation movements in tenth anniversary celebrations

44. All liberation movements expressed a desire to participate in the commemorative session of the General Assembly in connexion with the celebration of the tenth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Some suggested that the United Nations should bear the expenditure for one or more delegates from the organizations concerned.

#### Participation by the liberation movements in the work of the United Nations

45. Some leaders of liberation movements also expressed the opinion that they should be periodically invited to the United Nations to explain their plight to the delegates assembled there and to acquaint them with the problems confronting them.

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Condemnation of colonialism in southern Africa

46. It was repeatedly suggested to the Ad Hoc Group that Portuguese and South African colonialism in southern Africa as well as the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia should be condemned in the strongest possible terms in the United Nations and other world forums.

B. MEETINGS WITH THE OAU

47. The Ad Hoc Group met with His Excellency, Mr. Diallo Telli, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, and other top officials of the OAU in Addis Ababa. Mr. Telli expressed concern at the lack of positive results at the United Nations in the colonial field and added that the indecision of the Security Council in regard to colonial questions was a source of great concern. He said that the greatest contribution of the United Nations so far was the recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle against colonialism and against racial discrimination, and added that the United Nations should call on Member States to give concrete material assistance to liberation movements as political support alone was not longer sufficient. A discussion was subsequently held on matters of common concern between the officers of the OAU and the members of the Ad Hoc Group. It was stated by the OAU inter alia that steps were being initiated to liaise with the specialized agencies in regard to assistance for liberation movements, and some concrete plans had been submitted in this regard.

48. As regards liberation movements, members of the Ad Hoc Group were informed that recognition of liberation movements by the OAU was based strictly on their effectiveness, and was under continuing review. The OAU felt that the United Nations should, as far as possible, take cognizance only of liberation movements recognized by the OAU. There were some organizations which had no basis in effect and which were making a good deal of propaganda, particularly in New York. The OAU felt that taking cognizance of such organizations led to the frustration of the genuine ones, and to a confusion of the real issues.

49. Asked as to how the United Nations could increase effective assistance in the colonial field, the Secretary-General said that the best way for the United Nations to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Declaration and the twenty-fifth

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anniversary of its founding was to create a special fund for decolonization. To make this effective, a co-ordination committee including the United Nations, the OAU and the specialized agencies should administer such a fund. The Special Committee should have the predominant role in this and should ensure that the fund was used only for genuine liberation movements.

50. The Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee of the OAU and members of his staff, in their meeting with the Ad Hoc Group in Dar es Salaam, emphasized and highlighted some of the ideas and views that had been discussed at OAU headquarters, particularly the importance of material and financial assistance to liberation movements.

C. MEETING WITH THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES IN LUSAKA

51. The Ad Hoc Group met with Mr. Komorsky representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Lusaka to obtain information in regard to the treatment of refugees from Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Komorsky mentioned that the United Kingdom had taken the position that all persons from Southern Rhodesia in Zambia were entitled to the protection of the United Kingdom High Commissioner. As such, the Office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, in accordance with its statutes, was at present unable to render any assistance to refugees from Southern Rhodesia in Zambia. In an answer to a question, he added that he was not aware of what specific assistance, if any, was being granted to such persons by the United Kingdom Government.

52. It was pointed out by a member of the Ad Hoc Group that up to 12 August 1969, the United Kingdom Government had maintained that Southern Rhodesia was a self-governing Territory, rather than a Non-Self-Governing Territory to which Article 73 e of the Charter applied. Apparently, therefore, the legal protection of the United Kingdom could not extend to refugees from Southern Rhodesia before that date. In view of this, the representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was asked to state if any assistance had been rendered by his organization to refugees from Southern Rhodesia before that date. He stated that no such assistance had been rendered before that date.