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Chairman: Mr. FAKHREDDINE Mohamed  
(Sudan).

Organization of work

1. The CHAIRMAN said that the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/L.850, dealing with agenda items 66 and 68, had asked to be permitted to submit it immediately, in order to expedite the Committee's work.

2. Mr. CAMPORA (Argentina) said that the Committee had already approved an order of priority for the items on its agenda. The chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/6300/Rev.1) relating to Territories not considered separately included one chapter on colonial territories in America which was of special interest to the Argentine delegation. He would be glad to know, therefore, whether the agreed order of priority was going to be followed.

3. The CHAIRMAN said that the order of priority agreed on by the Committee would be followed. As draft resolution A/C.4/L.850 was uncontroversial, however, it might save time to allow the sponsors to submit it. The item relating to Territories not considered separately would be taken up immediately that had been done.

4. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania) said that in the Journal of the United Nations two agenda items were shown which had already been completed by the Committee, together with another, that relating to Ifni and Spanish Sahara, on which a draft resolution was to be submitted. It would save time to allow delegations to speak on any of the remaining items.

5. The CHAIRMAN said he agreed with the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania.

AGENDA ITEMS 66 AND 68

Special educational and training programmes for South West Africa: report of the Secretary-General (A/6463, A/C.4/L.850);

Special training programme for Territories under Portuguese administration: report of the Secretary-General (A/6464, A/C.5/L.850)

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/C.4/L.850)

6. Mr. ASTROM (Sweden) submitted draft resolution A/C.4/L.850. In it the Secretary-General was requested to study, in consultation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Heads of other appropriate agencies and organs, the question of a consolidation and an integration of the United Nations special educational and training programmes for South West Africa and for Territories under Portuguese administration, and the educational and training programme for South Africans. The Secretary-General might also wish to consult with Member States which had a special interest in the programmes either as host countries or as donors. The study should embrace all relevant questions concerning administration, financing, location, etc. The purpose of those programmes was not to replace the main activities of the United Nations on behalf of the Territories in question, but to complement them. Their aim was to help the people to raise their cultural level and to prepare them for assuming their responsibilities when apartheid disappeared and South West Africa and the Portuguese Territories achieved their freedom. The integration and consolidation of the programmes was necessary to raise their influence and effectiveness to the highest possible level; it would in no way modify the purposes or the fundamental nature of the programmes, which, although they were designed to meet similar needs and had common objectives, were administered separately and financed differently. If the programmes were properly co-ordinated they would give better results per dollar, franc or rouble invested.

7. He wished to emphasize that the proposal implied absolutely no criticism of the Secretary-General's administration of the programmes. The draft resolution took into account the establishment of a refugee education account under the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. That new element had to be allowed for, and the administration of the account in question should be co-ordinated with the United Nations programmes.

8. The interest of Member States in the programmes must be stimulated. Sweden for its part was studying the possibility of integrating its own national refugee programme with the United Nations programmes.

9. He hoped that the draft resolution and, at a later stage, the results of the study to be carried out by the Secretary-General, would be approved by the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly.

10. The CHAIRMAN announced that the Democratic Republic of the Congo, El Salvador, Ghana, Morocco, Rwanda, Tunisia and the United States of America had decided to become sponsors of the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.850/Add.1).

11. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) said that he was one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, whose purposes had been very clearly explained by the Swedish representative. The Iranian delegation's particular interest in the education and training of inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and refugees had been made clear in its statements before various United Nations organs. Under-development and under-education were parallel phenomena, and intellectual under-nourishment was as serious as physiological under-nourishment. In the post-industrial era, the eradication of illiteracy was not enough; laboratories, research centres and universities were lacking, and to develop those facilities the development of the human capital was essential. That was a need which was obvious in the independent countries, and it was felt even more acutely in the colonial countries, in which the metropolitan countries often deliberately maintained conditions of backwardness. The international community must do its utmost to ensure that everyone received an education and to help countries in need of such assistance to reduce their backwardness in that sphere. The Third Committee had just approved the draft International Covenants on Human Rights, and one of those rights was the right to education.

12. The Secretary-General's reports of 12 October 1966 (A/6463), of 13 October 1966 (A/6464) and 9 November 1965<sup>1</sup> contained encouraging elements. A number of States had made voluntary contributions to the programme, and Iran too intended to make a contribution during the current year. On the other hand there appeared to be some delay in the submission of applications for the scholarships offered under the programmes. The consolidation and integration proposed in draft resolution A/C.4/L.850 and Add.1 would undoubtedly help to remove those negative features.

13. Mr. BARRERA (Ecuador) said that his country had become one of the sponsors of the draft resolution

because it considered that decolonization throughout the world should go forward hand in hand with education. He paid tribute to Iran, whose educational policy he had already had occasion to support.

#### AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: Territories not considered separately (A/6242, A/6261 and Add.1, A/6262 and Add.1, A/6277, A/6278, A/6300/Rev.1, chaps. XI and XIV-XXII; A/C.4/680)

#### GENERAL DEBATE

14. The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee of its decision (1633rd meeting) that all Territories not listed separately in paragraph 5 of document A/C.4/669 and Corr.1 should be considered together, with the exception of the chapters of the Special Committee's report relating to French Somaliland and to Ifni, Spanish Sahara and Equatorial Guinea.

15. Mr. ALJUBOURI (Iraq), speaking as Rapporteur of the Special Committee, submitted to the Fourth Committee the chapters of the Special Committee's report (A/6300/Rev.1) relating to Territories not considered separately. Chapters XI, XIV-XIX and XXII included an account of the Special Committee's consideration of the following Territories: Gibraltar; Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena; Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands; Niue and the Tokelau Islands; New Hebrides; American Samoa, Guam and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; Trust Territory of Nauru, Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, and the Cocos (Keeling) Islands; United States Virgin Islands, British Virgin Islands, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Barbados, Bermuda, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands, Cayman Islands and Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

16. The chapter on the Trust Territory of Nauru, Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea (*ibid.*, chap. XIX) was also related to agenda item 13 (Report of the Trusteeship Council), Chapters XX, XXI and XXII contained information on three Territories—Brunei, Hong Kong and British Honduras—which the Special Committee had been unable to consider during 1966.

17. Mr. HOPE (United Kingdom) said that in the last year four Territories—Guyana, Botswana, Lesotho and Barbados—had passed from United Kingdom administration to independence and early dates had been set for the independence of South Arabia and Swaziland. He then proceeded to describe the situation in the remaining small Territories still under United Kingdom administration.

18. In Mauritius, a new electoral system had been devised in consultation with the people and with the full agreement of all the political parties. Preparations for elections were under way, and if the newly elected legislature so requested, independence would be granted after a six-month period of full internal self-government.

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1965, document S/6891.

19. In the Seychelles, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs had proposed the adoption of universal adult suffrage. In addition, a Constitutional Commissioner had been appointed to visit the Territory, consult all shades of opinion and recommend stages for the future constitutional evolution of the islands. Both the United Kingdom Government and the Territory's political parties had accepted the Commissioner's proposal for immediate adoption of universal adult suffrage and a single Council with both executive and legislative functions.

20. In St. Helena, the Governor had undertaken consultations and had recommended a substantial transfer of power to the indigenous population. Under the new system, the Advisory Council would become a Legislative Council with only two officials and twelve elected members. There would be an Executive Council which would include the chairmen of the Legislative Council's committees. Those proposals, which had been accepted by the United Kingdom Government and embodied in a new Constitution a month before, were based on the almost unanimous agreement of the people of the Territory.

21. Reference was made in the Special Committee's report (*ibid.*, chap. XIV) to certain atolls in the Indian Ocean previously administered from Mauritius and the Seychelles. His delegation had already made clear its position on that question and would merely repeat that the new arrangements for those atolls, which had no indigenous inhabitants and virtually no permanent inhabitants, had been decided upon after consultation with and with the agreement of the Governments of Mauritius and the Seychelles, including their elected members. On 16 November 1966 the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Defence had made it clear that the United Kingdom Government had no programme for creating military bases on those atolls.

22. In the Solomon Islands, the Legislative Council had discussed and formally approved proposals designed to increase the number of elected members and, subject to the administrative limitations imposed by climate and geography, for all elections to be direct. Those proposals were due to be submitted shortly to the United Kingdom Government for approval with a view to their implementation in 1967.

23. Similarly, in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, proposals had been published during the year to abolish the Advisory Council and substitute a House of Representatives with a large majority of members elected by universal adult suffrage. Half the members of the Executive Council would be drawn from among those elected members. All those proposals had been considered and approved by members of the local Government and submitted for consideration by the United Kingdom.

24. Consultations had also taken place between the United Kingdom Government and the French Government on progress in the New Hebrides. Several aspects of the Territory's internal administration which impeded progress needed to be brought up to date and there had been several rounds of talks at ministerial and official levels for that purpose.

25. Even on tiny Pitcairn, which had only eighty-eight inhabitants, there had been considerable changes in the system of administration and the islanders managed their own affairs with a fully elective system.

26. With reference to the Caribbean area, he drew attention to the fact that a full account of the new arrangements contemplated for Antigua, St. Kitts, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent was to be found in the report of Sub-Committee III of the Special Committee (*ibid.*, chap. XXII, annex).

27. A constitutional conference on the British Virgin Islands held in October 1966 had reached full agreement on various new constitutional measures, including the establishment of an office of Chief Minister and a ministerial system.

28. In view of its small size, the proposals for the other islands had not included Montserrat, where the elected Government was concentrating its efforts on economic development. The United Kingdom Government was prepared to convene a conference on the constitutional future of Montserrat at any time when the local political parties were ready for it.

29. In November, a constitutional conference on Bermuda had been held in London, at which it had been decided, after full discussion with delegates representing all the parties in the elected legislature, that there should be a written constitution, with a ministerial system and an elected lower house, and a revision of the electoral and constituency system. Two minority groups had made reservations. He drew attention to the fact that the voting age had been reduced to twenty-one and that the additional property vote had been abolished, so that Bermuda would henceforth have full universal adult suffrage based on the principle of one man, one vote.

30. In the Bahamas, the Governor, acting on the advice of the Premier, had dissolved the House of Assembly and a general election on the basis of one man, one vote, with universal adult suffrage and the constituencies determined by an independent commission, was to take place on 10 January 1967.

31. In the Cayman Islands, a committee of the newly elected Legislative Assembly was preparing a report on constitutional changes for consideration by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs. Representatives of the Turks and Caicos Islands had proposed that there should be some administrative link with the outside world, and it had been agreed that the Governor of the Bahamas should also be Governor of the Turks and Caicos Islands.

32. Finally, talks had taken place between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Spain on the question of Gibraltar in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 17 November 1966 (*ibid.*, chap. XI, para. 66). His Government was prepared to continue those bilateral talks and would keep the United Nations informed concerning them. He would state his Government's position on the substance of the matter only if other delegations felt it necessary to do so. Talks were also taking place with the Government of Argentina on the Falkland Islands in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX), and the United Nations would also be kept informed

of them. In the case of British Honduras, mediation by a mediator appointed by the United States Government in response to a request by the United Kingdom and Guatemala was continuing.

33. His Government had declared its readiness to give independence to Territories that wanted it and could sustain it. In the remaining Territories where there was a general desire for early independence, arrangements for granting it were well advanced. In many of the smaller Territories, there was more concern with immediate progress towards greater internal autonomy without prejudice to later decisions on final status. In any event, both the pace and the direction of progress must depend first and foremost on the wishes of the peoples themselves, and on that basis the pace of progress was—as all that information showed—rapid and sure.

34. Mr. CAMPORA (Argentina) said that in General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) the United Nations had expressly recognized the existence of the dispute between his country and the United Kingdom on the question of the Malvinas. Those islands, which undeniably were a part of Argentine territory, had been brought by force under the colonial rule of the United Kingdom as a result of armed action taken in 1833 and as a consequence of which the Argentine authority which had been exercising its legitimate rights of sovereignty over the Islands had been supplanted. Later, through action taken by the colonizing Power, the Islands had been settled by an adventitious population without natural roots, which at present number only 2,079.

35. By its resolution 2065 (XX), the General Assembly had considered the case of the Malvinas to be a specific case of colonialism to which its resolution 1514 (XV) applied. It was in implementation of the provisions of that resolution, in other words, to bring to an end the colonial situation affecting the Malvinas, that the General Assembly had invited the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to conduct negotiations with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem. Bringing the colonial situation affecting the Islands to an end could mean only their return to the Argentine Republic, since that was the only just and effective way in which the purposes of resolution 2065 (XX) could be achieved.

36. In that connexion, in response to the invitation in that resolution, the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom had issued in January 1966 a joint communiqué reporting that they agreed to proceed without delay with the negotiations. Talks with a view to finding a solution had taken place subsequently in London and they were still proceeding. The Secretary-General had been advised so that he could keep the Special Committee duly informed of the course of the negotiations and the Special Committee had noted the fact in its present report to the General Assembly.

37. He expressed his appreciation to the Special Committee, and particularly to its Sub-Committee III, for their work with respect to colonial situations in the Americas. He reserved the right to intervene later in the discussion if the need arose.

38. Mr. APPIAH (Ghana) asked the United Kingdom representative how many of the eighty-eight inhabitants

of Pitcairn Island were British officials. He also wished to know what other British staff there was in the island, the amount of the national income and the annual administrative costs.

39. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania), referring to Mauritius, remarked that the electoral system of that Territory was one of the most complex in the world, as the Special Committee had recognized.

40. With regard to the atolls formerly administered by Mauritius and the Seychelles, he recalled that, when the Special Committee had considered the matter and asked the United Kingdom Government not to establish a military base there, it had done so because The New York Times had mentioned the possibility of a United Kingdom and United States military base being established in that area. He would be grateful if the United Kingdom would again confirm that it had no intention of setting up a base on those atolls.

41. Mr. ZOHRAB (New Zealand) expressed his regret that the Fourth Committee had set aside so little time for consideration of the smaller Territories, whose people faced problems in determining their future which required careful study and understanding. In the large colonies the classic solution of sovereign independence had been the logical and desired result of self-determination. For many of the small Territories, however, the solution was much less obvious. With their right to self-determination undenied, the people had to get down to reconciling the natural desire of any human group to run their own affairs with the demands and resources which possession of absolute sovereignty required. A modern sovereign country had to have a certain minimal State apparatus and be able to maintain its integrity and meet from its own resources a reasonable proportion of its operating costs. If it were not able to meet these requirements then it might come to be in some jeopardy. In some small Territories, whose people's rights were no less than those of larger groupings, but which lacked minimal human and material resources, solutions other than sovereign independence—such as, for example, association with another country with which they had historical, cultural or ethnic ties—might provide the answer. The people of the Territory must, however, themselves decide its future, and its problems could not be resolved by the mere restatement of formulae which had had undoubted applicability elsewhere.

42. The dilemma was best comprehended in considering specific examples. New Zealand, for instance, was still responsible for Niue Island, which had 5,000 inhabitants, and the Tokelau Islands, which had a population of fewer than 2,000; the natural resources of both islands were extremely slender.

43. In order to make General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) known, New Zealand, with the co-operation of the Department of Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories, had had it translated into the vernacular languages and distributed in the islands, and had organized meetings so that the people could make their views known. The islanders were aware of their rights and also that New Zealand felt that the colonial relationship must terminate. The people, however, wished to continue the association

with New Zealand and appeared, at the moment, to wish to continue it indefinitely.

44. The possibilities before the islanders were theoretically endless but it was up to the islanders to decide what were actual possibilities. Even when New Zealand, considering it possible and logical that the Tokelau Islanders might wish to become associated with one or other of the neighbouring island groups, had promised to bear the administrative cost of the group for many years were the Tokelauans to join up with others, the latter had preferred to remain linked with New Zealand. They apparently wished to safeguard their guaranteed right to unrestricted entry to New Zealand and their guaranteed right to direct financial grants and technical help, and they believed that New Zealand's was the only stable economy in the area which could supply such assistance.

45. The 5,000 Niueans too appeared, at the moment at least, to wish to retain a direct link with New Zealand. In 1962 four possibilities had been suggested to them: independence, integration with an independent State, membership in a possible Polynesian federation, or self-government in association with some other State. The Niue Island Assembly had rejected the first three possibilities and had then declared, and had since maintained on several occasions, that it was prepared only to proceed towards self-government at the present time. As the first step in that direction, an embryonic ministerial system had been inaugurated. Since 1962, of course, the Legislative Assembly had had financial control of all revenues, including the subsidies granted by New Zealand.

46. The people of those groups of islands had as yet made no final decision on their future but apparently they were not seeking the classic solution of sovereign independence and wanted to consider other possibilities. They could make a final decision when they wished; New Zealand would continue, regardless of the decision, to provide them with assistance. The primary function of the Committee in such situations as those was to ensure not that they should seek this or that status but that the people of the small Territories should be able freely to exercise their right to self-determination, when and how they wished.

47. Mr. BARDER (United Kingdom), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he was gratified that the representative of Argentina had referred in cordial terms to the talks being held between the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom on the Falkland Islands and expressed the hope that those talks would lead to a peaceful and generally acceptable solution of the problem. His delegation could not, however, accept either the statements of the Argentine representative which

disputed United Kingdom sovereignty over the Falkland Islands, a matter about which his Government had no doubts, or much of what that representative had said about the problem and its origins. His Government was anxious, however, that the controversy about the Falkland Islands should not damage the good relations between its country and Argentina.

48. With reference to what the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania had said about the complex electoral system of Mauritius, he pointed out that the only criterion by which that system should be judged was whether or not it was acceptable to and accepted by the people of Mauritius. As the entire people and all parties of Mauritius accepted it, the fact that the Special Committee had found it difficult to understand was of relatively lesser importance.

49. In reply to the Ghanaian representative's first question, he said that there were no British officials in Pitcairn Island. His delegation would at once look into the other questions raised.

50. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, deplored the fact that the United Kingdom delegation considered the question of the complex electoral system of Mauritius irrelevant; that delegation was apparently trying to minimize the right of the people of that island to determine its own future. To say that the complex constitutional position was a question for the people alone was to ignore the fact that the United Nations should be informed about the possible options offered to the people. In that connexion, he pointed out that the people of Tanganyika had accepted, having had no other option, a Constitution by virtue of which the European population of 22,000 had as many representatives as the indigenous population of several million. The people of Mauritius might be in a similar position; and it was always advisable to have a choice.

#### Requests for hearings (continued)

#### REQUEST CONCERNING BERMUDA (AGENDA ITEM 23)

51. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that he had received a communication dated 13 December 1966 from Mr. A. Hodgson, Co-Deputy Chairman of the Progressive Labour Party, Bermuda, requesting a hearing on the Territory of Bermuda. If there was no objection, he would take it that the Committee decided to circulate that communication as a Committee document and to grant the request contained therein.

*It was so decided.<sup>2/</sup>*

*The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.*

<sup>2/</sup> The request was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/681.