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President: Mr. MARAMIS (Indonesia)

AGENDA ITEM 24

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations (E/4840, E/4877, E/4881, E/4886 and Corr.1, E/4892 and Corr.1, A/AC.109/353)

1. The PRESIDENT reminded the meeting that by resolution 1450 (XLVII), adopted in August 1969, the Council had decided to maintain on its agenda the question that was now item 24, and had requested the ACC, the CPC and the Joint Meetings of those two Committees to give the item continuing consideration. It had also requested the President of the Council to maintain contact with the Chairman 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. Furthermore, by resolution 2555 (XXIV) the General Assembly had requested the Council to continue to consider, in consultation with the Special Committee, appropriate measures for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies in implementing the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

2. Relevant documents before the Council at its present session were: the report of the President of the Council (E/4892 and Corr.1), the note by the Secretary-General communicating a report by the ITU (E/4881), the thirty-sixth report of the ACC (E/4840), the report of the CPC on its sixth session (E/4877), the report on the Joint Meetings of the CPC and the ACC (E/4886 and Corr.1) and the Secretary-General's report to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/353).

3. Mr. ROUAMBA (Upper Volta) observed that the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of

Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations was turning into one of those problems which were so "traditional" that they became esoteric in character. That hampered a proper awareness of the responsibilities in the matter and obscured the plain necessity of obtaining justice for the peoples in question. For that reason, his delegation had tried to adopt a fresh approach when studying the various documents before the Committee. It was true that from time to time, as had recently been the case, events occurred in those countries which brutally awakened international public opinion: press accounts of such events sharpened the public's awareness of the problem and aroused greater interest in the possibility of immediate practical measures by the specialized agencies and other international institutions associated with the United Nations. However, because the delegations of some countries, such as the United Kingdom, might argue that certain aspects of the problem were outside the province of the Council and were more a task for the Security Council, his delegation had preferred to concentrate on the report of the President of the Economic and Social Council (E/4892 and Corr.1), an extremely important document which ought to enable a little more progress to be made in dealing with the problem.

4. First of all, however, he would comment on some points made in the other documents before the Council. Paragraph 25 of the report on the Joint Meetings of the CPC and the ACC (E/4886) seemed especially encouraging, in particular because some members of the CPC had recognized that the existing problems were not insoluble; whereas previously it had always been held that the situation should be allowed to mature — in other words, to be perpetuated — it was now said that what was required above all was the will to attain the objectives of the resolutions of the Council and the Assembly, particularly as regards the provision of assistance to the national liberation movements in the colonial territories in Africa and the discontinuance of collaboration with the Portuguese and South African Governments as well as with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. The other reports submitted to the Council indicated that there was not enough detailed information available to permit international opinion to grasp the magnitude of the problem in southern Africa and to enable the specialized agencies and the institutions associated with the United Nations to take suitable action. In that connexion, it was worth drawing attention to paragraph 29 of the report of the CPC on its sixth session (E/4877) and, more especially, to paragraph 23 of the report on the Joint Meetings of the CPC and the ACC (E/4886), where it was admitted that certain aspects of the two main resolutions of the Council and the General Assembly had been virtually left aside.

5. His delegation was grateful to the specialized agencies and the institutions associated with the United Nations for the efforts they had made towards putting the Declaration into effect in spite of certain difficulties of a constitutional or technical nature, but there were still obvious gaps in their approach. Not only had some agencies done nothing towards implementing the resolutions of the Council and the Assembly, but the efforts made by others (for instance, agreements or arrangements with OAU) were exceedingly sporadic and disorganized and showed a complete lack of co-ordination between agencies. In that connexion it should not be forgotten that there did exist a Special Committee responsible for studying the question, nor that 1970 was the tenth anniversary of the Declaration. From those two points of view, the report presented by the President of the Council (E/4892 and Corr.1), which took account of certain suggestions made at the Council's forty-seventh session regarding the way to approach the problem and to follow it out, could be extremely helpful.

6. Although time should not be wasted in either recriminations or praises, it was worth repeating how much the countries concerned appreciated the fine work done by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Attention should be drawn to the exceptional way in which he had repeatedly succeeded in making his voice heard and in having certain suggestions put into effect with were not easily acceptable to the colonial powers concerned nor to certain African countries which had not been altogether co-operative. He therefore wished to pay a major tribute to Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan and his organization for the work they were doing.

7. In view of the practical conclusions stemming from the President's report, his delegation thought that the Council could approve that document as representing a consensus, by adopting a draft resolution which would take note of the report, possibly endorse it, and refer further study of the matter to the Special Committee, which was to meet in October 1970. That was the only way to ensure that the valuable contacts established by the President at various levels would be really effective and would help to bring justice to the countries in question. It would not prevent Council members from discussing aspects of the report, but it would enable the Special Committee to resume its study on a new basis, and would allow the President to pursue his consultations with a view to urging the specialized agencies and the institutions associated with the United Nations to take action, with greater regard for justice and humanity.

8. The PRESIDENT drew attention to a slight error in the English version of his report (E/4892): the last sentence of paragraph 11 should form a separate paragraph, numbered 12.

9. Mr. BRECKENRIDGE (Ceylon) said that his delegation had studied with great interest the President's report, which had undoubtedly made it very much easier for the representatives to consider the problem. His delegation on the whole was surprised that the question of the implementation of the Declaration continued, to judge from the speeches in the various bodies, to be regarded as a "cause"

rather than a concrete task. Yet it was an issue with very important social and economic implications, and the Council's discussions on that point should be more serious and more practical. In that connexion, the consultations between the President of the Council and the Chairman of the Special Committee were of particular importance; his delegation had already had occasion to refer to those consultations in the ACC and at the CPC/ACC Joint Meetings.

10. A number of points should be noted in the President's report. First of all, his delegation welcomed the reference in paragraphs 9 and 13 to the need, which it had always felt, for the representatives of the various States members of the Council and other bodies to adopt a consistent attitude, especially as to the action which the Governments represented in the governing bodies of the various agencies should take to apply the resolutions which had been adopted. His delegation was perfectly aware of the difficulties which States might meet on the political and constitutional plane; that was an additional reason for concerted action by representatives of the States members of the governing bodies and deliberative organs of the various organizations. His delegation regretted that institutions like UNDP and the World Bank played limited roles in the spheres connected with the question of colonization. In that regard, it was not without interest to mention another paragraph of the report on the CPC/ACC Joint Meetings, in which the ILO said that in its opinion specialized agencies could only supplement the action taken by the General Assembly (E/4886, annex II, para. 11). That point of view could not be overstressed: the action of the specialized agencies undoubtedly could and should supplement the political decisions of the General Assembly. It should be recognized, however, that some specialized agencies had made great efforts to carry out the Declaration, in spite of political and technical difficulties, especially in the case of Southern Rhodesia. That question certainly deserved further study, and attention should be drawn to the importance of the corrigendum published as document E/4892/Corr.1. It would be superfluous to restate the importance of the work done by OAU in that connexion, or to stress the need for effective co-ordination between that organization and the United Nations to deal with the various issues which could arise in that field: those points were raised in several passages of the report, notably those dealing with the activities of national liberation movements and refugee problems.

11. Another important point was the need to make greater and concerted efforts in the fields of education, training, health and nutrition, as urged in paragraph 11 of the President's report. His delegation was firmly convinced that it was in those fields, which were of the same importance both during and after liberation struggles, that the various agencies were best equipped to do useful work. It therefore supported the point of view of the members of the Special Committee, outlined in that paragraph.

12. Lastly, his delegation unreservedly supported the proposal of the Upper Volta representative that the President's report should be transmitted to the Special

Committee; it would make the task of that Committee very much easier.

13. Mr. AYOUB (Tunisia) wished to inform the meeting on behalf of his delegation — which had the honour to belong to both the Council and the Special Committee — of the great interest with which it had studied the documents submitted. It welcomed in particular the fact that the problem had been studied by different bodies (ACC, CPC, and CPC/ACC Joint Meetings) and it hoped that procedure would continue to be followed to enable organizations within the United Nations system to apply more effectively the General Assembly's resolutions and especially the resolution concerning assistance to refugees and national liberation movements. Similarly, the consultations between the Chairman of the Special Committee and the President of the Economic and Social Council seemed to have been very successful and should be continued, since they had enabled those two essential bodies of the General Assembly to unify and co-ordinate their actions in the crucial matter of decolonization. The report issued after those consultations (E/4892 and Corr.1) gave a clear and concise picture of the situation, while annex II of document E/4886 and Corr.1 went into the activities of the various agencies in greater detail.

14. As regards the report of the Council's President, the main point was that the specialized agencies should endeavour to simplify the procedures for assistance to refugees, thus following the example of the ILO and WHO, which were co-operating efficiently with OAU and UNHCR; it was intolerable that requests, which were generally of a very urgent nature, should be left unanswered or subject to long delays solely because of administrative formalities.

15. The fact remained, however, that the initiative belonged in the first place to the deliberative bodies of those agencies, that is to say in the final analysis to the member States themselves, especially as regards the legal problems facing some agencies (for instance UNESCO, which should stop any further co-operation with Portugal). It was for the States to exercise the necessary political power and to give requisite instructions to their delegations at those meetings for proposing and approving the decisions called for in the circumstances. There was a two-fold problem of political resolve and national co-ordination; its solution was entirely in the hands of Governments.

16. Special mention should finally be made of the admirable work done by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and his Office. Unfortunately, that remarkable work was often hampered by legal difficulties; on that point, the arguments advanced by the United Kingdom Government in connexion with the problem of refugees from Southern Rhodesia seemed somewhat specious, and it was to be hoped that the High Commissioner would be able to overcome those difficulties in the near future.

17. The growing importance of relationships between the specialized agencies and OAU should be welcomed; several agencies had established legal relations with that Organiz-

ation or had laid the necessary legal basis for such relations to be established in the near future: such action had been taken notably by the ILO, WHO, FAO, IAEA, IMCO and ITU, not to mention the close relations which naturally existed between UNHCR and OAU. The formal acceptance of such relationships would enable the organizations concerned to take more effective action towards assisting refugees and national liberation movements.

18. Finally, his delegation noted with satisfaction the suggestion in the President's report that the secretariat should prepare "a clear and comprehensive report which would describe the activities carried out hitherto by the organizations of the United Nations system in the implementation of the Declaration" (E/4892, para.15). Such a study would give a complete picture of the situation and encourage more effective co-ordination.

19. Mr. KRISHNAN (India) also considered that the report of the Council's President was most illuminating for its account of the exchanges of views with the Chairman of the Special Committee, its analysis of various suggestions and its recommendations for guidance of future action. In his delegation's view, the resolution adopted by the Council at its forty-seventh session was a considerable advance over preceding sessions, when there had been only vague talk of co-operation in implementing the Declaration; resolution 1450 (XLVII) gave comprehensive, clear and definite guidelines for the first time. That resolution and resolution 2555 (XXIV) of the General Assembly taken together provided all the elements necessary to give the specialized agencies and other organizations associated with the United Nations precise instructions on action to be taken and the right approach to the problem.

20. It was clear from the documents before the Council that the immediate necessity was genuine concerted and co-ordinated action to attain quickly the aims on which agreement had been reached. In that connexion, the comments in paragraphs 13 and 14 of the President's report were of the greatest importance. The first main point, emphasized by the Ceylonese representative, was that the efforts of the agencies to meet the intent of the General Assembly and the Council would be greatly facilitated if States members of the governing bodies and deliberative organs of the organizations of the United Nations system took effective action along the lines indicated in paragraph 8 of General Assembly resolution 2555 (XXIV). His delegation had been convinced by experience that rapid, effective and co-ordinated action was not possible unless the representatives at the meetings of those various bodies really co-ordinated and unified their respective positions. That aspect of the matter was linked to the problem of co-ordination at the national level. It was absolutely essential that the representatives of States members of the governing bodies and deliberative organs of the various organizations should have a full understanding and a clear view of the aims involved.

21. Some constitutional and technical difficulties might be met with. They were of course real, but there was a tendency to exaggerate their importance and to use them as an excuse for belated or unco-ordinated action. The

President and the Chairman were therefore right to recognize that those difficulties were not insoluble (E/4892, para. 14). His delegation was also convinced of the usefulness of the suggestion concerning the preparation of a clear and comprehensive report which would describe the activities carried out by the organizations of the United Nations system in the implementation of the Declaration and which would replace the various separate reports previously submitted to the different United Nations bodies concerned with related aspects of the question (E/4892, para. 15).

22. In conclusion, he said that his delegation was fully in agreement with the procedure proposed by the Upper Volta representative, and would support any draft resolution that he might propose to that effect.

23. Mr. GUELEV (Bulgaria) said that the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence was an extremely important question which deserved to have received more of the Council's attention. He welcomed the statement by the Upper Volta representative, which should encourage Council members to look at the problem in a fresh light, rather than as mere routine.

24. His delegation was pleased to note that, in pursuance of Council resolution 1450 (XLVII) and General Assembly resolution 2555 (XXIV), the President of the Council had had useful and productive consultations with the Chairman 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. It approved most of their conclusions on the specialized agencies' efforts to implement the relevant General Assembly resolutions, but nevertheless wished to point out that Council resolution 1450 (XLVII) was the first decision by that body regarding the practical measures to be taken by United Nations agencies and institutions to help colonial countries in their struggle for independence.

25. With regard to the report of the President of the Council (E/4892 and Corr.1), his delegation shared the regret expressed by members of the Special Committee that no significant progress had been achieved in introducing greater flexibility into the procedures followed by most of the agencies in the field of assistance to refugees, as was also clear from the statements made by the specialized agencies at the Joint Meetings of the CPC and the ACC (E/4886 and Corr.1, annex II).

26. It also supported the suggestion in paragraph 15 that a clear and comprehensive report should replace the various separate reports submitted previously.

27. He also approved the comments made in paragraph 23 of the report on the CPC/ACC Joint Meetings (E/4886 and Corr.1) to the effect that the information furnished on the implementation of the Declaration was inadequate, being largely confined to the matter of assistance to refugees from the dependent Territories in Africa, to the virtual exclusion of other aspects of the relevant resolutions of the Council and General Assembly; he believed it was a good opportunity of reminding the United Nations of the responsibilities of the specialized agencies in implementing

those resolutions. He also drew the Council's attention to paragraph 25 of the same report, concerning the provision of assistance to the national liberation movements in the colonial territories in Africa and the discontinuance of collaboration with the Portuguese and South African Governments and with illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

28. He was pleased that the initiative taken by his delegation at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, leading to the adoption of resolution 2311 (XXII), had had useful and important results. To make that achievement even more effective, all Governments and United Nations institutions would have to make a steady effort to get rid of the last remnants of the colonial régimes: on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, with the twentieth century drawing to a close, such régimes could not be tolerated.

29. Mr. HILL (Jamaica) said that implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence was of the utmost importance, and regretted that so few speakers had taken the floor. As his delegation had observed at the Council's forty-seventh session, the remedies envisaged by the Council should not obscure other measures which, in the face of persistent political opposition, would be far more appropriate and effective. Notwithstanding the large number of documents presented, his delegation felt that the Council had not yet really come to grips with the problem and that the measures proposed so far were hardly a practical proposition. However, if the Council decided to extract the relevant passages from the President's report (E/4892 and Corr.1), such as paragraphs 9, 11 and 15, and to incorporate them into some kind of consensus reflecting a "routine" examination of the question, his delegation would reluctantly bow to the general opinion.

30. With regard to the problem of refugees from Southern Rhodesia, mentioned in paragraph 10 of the report, he thought it would be best to ask the High Commissioner for Refugees for some details on the plight of those refugees.

31. Lastly, he wished to say that if the Council was going to continue dealing with the present important item in the same fashion, it would do better not to put it on the agenda at all.

32. Mr. ROUAMBA (Upper Volta), referring to the report of the President of the Council, paragraph 10, concerning the plight of refugees from Southern Rhodesia, pointed out that when preparing its work time-table at its resumed forty-seventh session (October 1969) the Council had decided that the annual report of the High Commissioner would again be included on the agenda of its summer session, but would be forwarded to the General Assembly without discussion, unless the Council decided otherwise.¹ However, the High Commissioner himself might wish to give the Council some further information, in response to the requests made by previous speakers.

33. The problem of refugees from colonial territories in Africa was mentioned in paragraph 9 of the President's

¹ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Resumed Forty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1A*, p. 3.

report; his delegation wished to encourage the High Commissioner to pursue his efforts to solve that problem, which was an additional source of difficulties.

34. Finally, he wished to make clear that his suggestions about procedure were intended to facilitate future action, especially with respect to the recommendations concerning periodic consultations between the President of the Council and the Special Committee and other bodies for the purpose of studying the implementation of the Declaration.

35. Prince Sadruddin AGA KHAN (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), replying to the representatives who had asked for fuller information on UNHCR's role in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, indicated that in pursuance of Council resolution 1450 (XLVII) and General Assembly resolution 2555 (XXIV) UNHCR had been very mindful of the question. It was particularly anxious to help the Governments concerned to solve that humanitarian problem. It not only maintained close contact with OAU, but had also established a working relationship with it: thus it had been closely associated with the preparation of the OAU Convention of 1969 governing the specific aspects of the problems of refugees in Africa, and with the establishment of the OAU Bureau for the Placement and Education of Refugees.

36. UNHCR action in favour of refugees from dependent territories in Africa was threefold: first, it gave them international protection with all that it meant in terms of enjoying the benefits of the basic rights provided for by the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, which included the principle of non-refoulement and access to employment until such time as they could return to their homeland. Secondly, UNHCR provided material assistance, mainly for rural settlement but also for resettlement in other skills, particularly in the larger towns where the number of refugees was growing. Thirdly, UNHCR assisted in the field of education and vocational training, not only helping the refugees to become self-supporting but also preparing them for the time when they could make an important contribution to the further construction and development of Africa.

37. UNHCR was in close touch with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and he himself had given information to the Joint Meetings of the CPC and the ACC on the practical measures taken to assist refugees from dependent territories in Africa. Between 1960 and 1968 UNHCR had earmarked some \$4 million for assisting those refugees; in 1969 the allocation had been \$1 million, and a similar amount had been earmarked for that purpose in 1970. During 1969 alone, some 140,000 refugees from the territories concerned had benefited from UNHCR material assistance projects. Most of them were refugees from Guinea (Bissau) in Senegal, Angolans in Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Zambia, or Mozambiquans in Tanzania and Zambia. The majority of them were being assisted in settling on the land, and all of them

received medical assistance and educational assistance. In the Lower Congo, for example, primary schools had been built for Angolan children; in Senegal, new mobile clinics and dental services had been provided for refugees from Guinea (Bissau); at the Rutamba settlement in Tanzania a new school had been built for Mozambiquan refugee children; and an important allocation had been made under the UNHCR Programme for the rural settlement of Angolan, Mozambiquan and Namibian refugees in Zambia. A fuller account of UNHCR's activities was to be found in its annual report to the General Assembly (E/4869). Even more important than such direct action, however, was the success of UNHCR as a catalysing agent in encouraging and co-ordinating assistance given to refugees by other organizations both governmental and non-governmental.

38. With regard to the role of the other organizations of the United Nations system, it was worth noting that following the conclusions adopted by the *Ad Hoc* Inter-Agency Meeting on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held in January 1969, more flexibility and speed had been introduced in arrangements between UNHCR and other United Nations organizations. Inclusion of refugees in projects of other United Nations agencies was still presenting certain technical difficulties, but there had been tangible evidence of goodwill. UNHCR especially welcomed the very flexible arrangements made with ILO, and hoped that the terms of reference of some other agencies would permit similar arrangements in the future; the answer lay in initiatives by the Governments members of the agencies' governing bodies and by the Government of the host country. Thus the inclusion of refugee areas in the zonal development programmes of other United Nations agencies under the auspices of UNDP, upon completion of UNHCR programmes, was still raising problems the solution of which depended largely on requests being addressed to UNDP by the host Governments concerned. As far as the financing of major infrastructure equipment in refugee settlement areas was concerned, UNHCR would welcome the impact of one of the competent United Nations agencies. The World Food Programme, for its part, had continued generously to supply large quantities of food-stuffs for refugees in Africa.

39. The UNHCR had continued to co-operate with the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and had transmitted \$52,000 in 1969 from the Fund to voluntary agencies for the relief of refugees from South Africa, who had been welcomed in various African countries. UNHCR had also co-operated in the field of education with the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, referring eligible refugees to the fund for scholarships. A division of competence had been agreed to prevent overlapping between UNHCR and the United Nations Programme, whereby UNHCR would deal with the first level of secondary education and the United Nations Programme with the second level of secondary education as well as the technical and higher levels. In that connexion he wished to pay tribute to the Governments of the refugees' countries of asylum and residence: their support and co-operation were indispensable.

40. The question of refugees from Southern Rhodesia had been carefully considered by UNHCR on the basis of the limited data available. So far, some 25 refugees had applied for assistance, most of them at the OAU Bureau for the Placement and Education of Refugees. As the President of the Council had stated in his report (E/4892 and Corr.1), the legal position of those refugees was a complex one. The Government of the United Kingdom, of which they were nationals and held passports, was at present able to grant them diplomatic protection and possibly also other assistance. They did not therefore come within the mandate of UNHCR under its Statute, but under the protection of the British authorities. However, a distinction had to be made between their legal position and their material needs. UNHCR was mindful of the fact that in its resolution 277 of 18 March 1970, the Security Council had requested specialized agencies and other international organizations concerned to assist refugees from Southern Rhodesia and those suffering from oppression by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia, and UNHCR had sought ways and means to give aid, at least in individual cases. Together with the British authorities, it was exploring a formula whereby, in accordance with the good offices resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the persons concerned could receive material aid from sources other than the UNHCR regular programme. The High Commissioner assured the Council that he would not at any time disinterest himself from the eminently humanitarian problem of those refugees. In conclusion, he warmly thanked the countries that had welcomed and assisted refugees in Africa.

41. Mr. POJARSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) shared the Bulgarian representative's opinion that the question deserved to have received closer attention by the Council. The plight of refugees was a serious problem, and his delegation congratulated UNHCR on the zeal it had shown in its assistance work. But several much more complex questions were involved which had not been adequately dealt with in the documents and which had not been raised during the debate.

42. During the last five years, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council had adopted many resolutions concerning the implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It was not possible to mention every provision in them, but General Assembly resolution 2311 (XXII) explicitly stated that the specialized agencies should not grant assistance to the colonial powers until they renounced their policy of racial discrimination and colonial domination. How far had that resolution been implemented? Although most of the specialized agencies — in particular UNESCO, WHO, ILO and UNHCR — had started programmes for assistance to the oppressed peoples in pursuance of the Assembly's resolutions, other agencies, such as IMF and IBRD, were continuing to give assistance to the colonial powers of southern Africa. In 1969, IMF had made a further departure from the policy laid down by the General Assembly, by granting the Republic of South Africa a loan of \$66 million. Why had such facts, directly related to the agenda item under consideration, not been

reported to the Council in any of the documents presented? His delegation hoped that when the time came to discuss the question again, the Council would be provided with more reliable documentation, giving factual data on the real situation and not merely on the consultations held with this or that chairman.

43. It was also worth pointing out that, in the opinion of many members of the Special Committee, UNDP and IBRD had played only a small part in the action taken to help refugees from colonial territories in Africa. According to paragraph 14 of the President's report (E/4892 and Corr.1), several members of the Special Committee had expressed serious disappointment at the failure of some of the agencies to discontinue all collaboration with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa as well as with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. His delegation would like further information on the attitude of those agencies.

44. The Chairman of the Special Committee recognized that the existing problems were not insoluble provided that the States members of the organizations associated with the United Nations had the necessary political will and a sense of commitment to the objectives of the relevant resolutions. As it happened, that political will existed. Most States Members of the United Nations had stated their position very clearly, and the specialized agencies should bear that in mind. The Governments of Portugal and South Africa and the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia should be deprived of all financial and technical aid and any other advantage stemming from international co-operation. The Economic and Social Council should make greater efforts to obtain implementation of the resolutions and to co-ordinate activities.

45. Mr. ALLEN (United Kingdom) admitted that the problem of refugees from Southern Rhodesia was a difficult one, because those refugees were United Kingdom nationals under the protection of the United Kingdom Government, so that the UNCHR was not empowered to help them. But as the High Commissioner had told the Council, the United Kingdom Government was in touch with him about ways in which it might be possible for him to help refugees within the terms of his mandate. Few peoples were affected but the problem was none the less very distressing, and his delegation hoped that it would be possible to reach some acceptable arrangement.

46. Mr. DOO KINGUE (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) thanked the representatives and the President for their encouraging comments on the action undertaken by the specialized agencies; he hoped that the very outspoken discussions between the CPC and the representatives of United Nations organizations within the ACC would continue.

47. He wished to dispel the impression which might have been created by some sentences in paragraph 23 of the report on the Joint Meetings of the CPC and the ACC (E/4886), in which some doubt seemed to be cast on the goodwill of the secretariats of the agencies. UNESCO regretted that it had not been possible to include in the

report for the Special Committee (A/AC.109/353) the text of the detailed report submitted by the Director-General of UNESCO to the UNESCO Executive Board in May and June 1970. However, the text of the decision adopted by the Executive Board, which outlined its position, could be found in document A/AC.109/353.

48. The General Assembly resolutions provided that the specialized agencies should draw up positive programmes of assistance to national liberation movements through the OAU. Experience showed, however, that the preparation of those programmes required considerable time; UNESCO had first to contact OAU, which in turn had to get in touch with the movements concerned. In one particular case, sixteen months passed between the notification to OAU of a decision of the General Conference in 1968 and the receipt by UNESCO of the first draft of a specific programme. In that connexion, it should be pointed out that UNESCO's Executive Board had not entirely followed the Director-General's proposals. As the Executive Board was composed of government representatives, that situation raised once again the question of the co-ordination of the attitudes of the various delegations within the organizations of the United Nations system. All those details were essential to enable the Economic and Social Council to come to a decision with a full knowledge of the facts.

49. Mr. HILL (Jamaica) said that the inaction of some agencies was largely due to their deliberative organs, composed of government representatives.

50. Referring to the High Commissioner's statement that refugees from Southern Rhodesia were United Kingdom nationals and to the USSR representative's statement that action should be taken to deprive the Governments responsible for some oppressed territories of all aid, he said that such action could not of course be directed against the United Kingdom.

51. His delegation suggested that the Council might accept the Upper Volta representative's suggestion and work out a consensus, commending the High Commissioner for Refugees for his work and highlighting certain points in the President's report.

52. Mr. POJARSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) made it clear that he had not spoken of a Government in the case of Southern Rhodesia but of the illegal régime of a racist minority in that territory; he was using the terminology to be found in the General Assembly's resolutions, especially resolution 2555 (XXIV).

53. Mr. AYOUB (Tunisia) paid a tribute to the High Commissioner for the work he had done in fulfilment of his task.

54. It was not solely a matter of refugees, however. That problem was a temporary one – he himself had been a refugee for fourteen years, and now he represented his country at the United Nations. It would not be long before the Angolans or the Namibians, who were at present refugees, would have their own seat in the Council. In actual fact, most countries had been subject to colonization

or foreign occupation. The Special Committee had been set up to help solve the problems of colonized countries, by instigating a process of evolution instead of armed conflict. The specialized agencies should follow similar lines and endeavour to reconcile exploiting and exploited countries and put an end to the sufferings of colonized peoples. The day would surely come when South Africa and Portugal would change their policies, for the course of history could not be stopped.

55. He praised the President for his constructive report (E/4892 and Corr.1). In the belief that the Council members were agreed that the question should remain on the agenda until all refugees could return to their countries, he submitted the following draft resolution:

"The Economic and Social Council

"1. Takes note of the report of the President of the Council (E/4892 and Corr.1);

"2. Endorses the conclusions and suggestions contained therein;

"3. Recommends these conclusions and suggestions for action by the specialized agencies and other institutions concerned within the United Nations system;

"4. Draws the attention of the Special Committee to the discussions that have taken place in the Council and also in the CPC and in the Joint Meetings of the CPC and the ACC."

56. Mr. PANGGABEAN (Indonesia) supported the draft resolution.

57. Mr. ASANTE (Ghana) also supported it.

58. At the same time, he hoped that the organizations within the United Nations system would not repeat the errors of the past, which threw discredit on the very notion of international morality, and that exhortations and expressions of compassion would be replaced by real action. His country expressed its gratitude to those specialized agencies which had shown political awareness in that matter, and praised the High Commissioner for his energy and broadmindedness.

59. His delegation was surprised at the excuses put forward by the representatives of some agencies to justify their inaction. If legal considerations were the real reason why they were not taking part in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence, then why did they not introduce the necessary amendments into their own constitutions ?

60. The slow pace at which a number of specialized agencies moved forward was discouraging, and his country appealed to the Governments of member States whose lethargy was holding up positive action. Africans would recognize their friends by their deeds.

61. Mr. ALZAMORA TRAVERSO (Peru) said that the peoples of Latin America, who had gained their political independence more than a hundred years ago but were still struggling for their economic sovereignty and independence, were not indifferent to the cause of political

refugees from countries which were still colonies. They urged the Council to do everything possible to ensure that the specialized agencies implemented the decisions of the General Assembly in that matter. His delegation was therefore in favour of the Tunisian draft resolution.

62. Mr. HAMID (Sudan) said that as far as the refugees from the southern part of Sudan were concerned, it could not be said that they were unable to appeal to the protection of their own Government. Their departure was due to unwelcome interference by foreign Powers and unfounded fears, but not to his Government's policies. It should be noted, moreover, that the question was gradually becoming less acute and would soon be solved. His delegation considered the High Commissioner's statement very interesting, and it supported the Tunisian representative's draft resolution.

63. Mr. GUELEV (Bulgaria) would have preferred paragraph 3 of the Tunisian representative's draft resolution to highlight certain points in the President's report and certain paragraphs of the report on the Joint Meetings of the CPC and the ACC. However, for the sake of reaching a common agreement, he would not call for any amendment of the Tunisian text.

64. Mr. POJARSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) had no objection to the adoption of the Tunisian draft resolution, but would like to know the meaning of the term "conclusions and suggestions" contained in the Council President's report.

65. The PRESIDENT replied that all those passages of the report noting an agreement in views between himself and the Chairman of the Special Committee could be regarded as suggestions.

66. If there was no objection, the draft resolution submitted by Tunisia would be considered adopted.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 34

United Nations action against drug abuse: special session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (E/4896, E/L.1344 and Add.1, E/L.1345, E/L.1350)

67. The PRESIDENT announced that the Council had decided at its 1708th meeting to include in its agenda an additional item entitled "United Nations action against drug abuse: special session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs".

68. He called upon the United States representative to introduce the draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Brazil, France, Ghana, Greece, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Norway, United Kingdom and United States (E/L.1344 and Add.1), the financial implications of which were contained in document E/L.1345.

69. In accordance with rule 75 of the rules of procedure, he invited the Observer for Turkey to take part in the discussion.

70. Mr. KOTSCHNIG (United States of America) said that the serious spread of drug addiction which had evoked deep concern on the part of the Council at its forty-eighth session was continuing unabated and assuming vast proportions in both developed and developing countries. According to experts, if the present tendency continued, 30 per cent of the inhabitants of some countries could shortly become addicts, at the risk of losing their soul, destroying their body and making a long agony of their life. In New York alone 4,200 deaths caused by drug addiction had been registered in 1969. Drug addiction was a threat to childhood, the family, human values and the very foundations of society. Such a menace called for immediate and decisive action by the United Nations. The twelve-Power draft resolution was an attempt to launch a general attack on drug addiction. Its sponsors hoped that the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the non-governmental organizations would join forces in that attack, which sought to preserve the world from a common danger.

71. With regard to the preamble of the draft resolution, the Council would remember that the General Assembly had by its resolution 2434 (XXIII) requested the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and the International Narcotics Control Board and in consultation with interested Governments, to develop plans for putting an end to the illegal or uncontrolled production of narcotic raw materials and to submit those plans, through the Economic and Social Council, to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session. That request was recalled in the third preambular paragraph. The new action called for was therefore the extension of action already undertaken over many years. The fourth preambular paragraph stated a new idea since it laid stress not only on the illicit supply of narcotic drugs but also on the illicit demand which had to be suppressed.

72. The strategy of the draft resolution needed some explanation. The special session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs was essential because the General Assembly had to have before it recommendations from the competent body in order to take effective action in the matter. The opening date – 28 September 1970 – had been fixed partly for practical reasons with a view to the material organization of the session (availability of premises and conference services, particularly interpretation). The first operative paragraph set forth the three forms that international action would take against drug abuse: it would seek to suppress the illicit drug traffic by strengthening national and international means of enforcement, to put an end to the illegal and uncontrolled production of narcotic raw material, and to reduce the illicit demand for drugs by means of educational and social programmes and by means of treatment and re-habilitation of addicts. Such action, to be effective, should be concerted with all the interested organizations, as requested in operative paragraph 2. Lastly, if the General Assembly were to discuss the question to some purpose and make a decision at its twenty-fifth

session, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs must submit its report to the Council not later than 1 November 1970; the Council would then discuss it and submit it as soon as possible to the General Assembly; that was the procedure requested in operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution.

73. The action envisaged could also include psychotropic substances. It was a fact that a person using psychotropic substances frequently passed on to the use of other drugs. In that respect such action would serve as preparation for the plenipotentiary conference which was to meet in 1971 under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council in order to adopt a Protocol on Psychotropic Substances.

74. The international community should find encouragement to further action in the success already achieved in the international control of narcotic drugs. Thanks to the drafting of conventions and the persistent action of Governments it could now be said that the quantities of legally manufactured drugs approximated closely to the legitimate world consumption of such drugs. The international community had also cause for satisfaction in that the draining of narcotic drugs from the production of factories authorized to manufacture them had practically ceased. On the other hand, however, it had been impossible to get rid of illicit drug traffic from clandestine factories.

75. He paid tribute to the action undertaken by the specialized agencies in the control of drug addiction in all its forms, of which resolution WHA/23.42 on drug dependence adopted by the twenty-third World Health Assembly was an example.

76. He hoped that draft resolution E/L.1344 and Add.1 would be adopted unanimously.

77. Mr. KANDEMIR (Observer for Turkey) said that his Government attached paramount importance to the humanitarian aspect of the problems mentioned in the draft resolution. It was of no use to attempt to solve the problem of raw materials by controlling their supply and demand and suppressing illicit traffic in them, if similar action was not taken promptly with regard to synthetic psychotropic substances. Moreover, the United States delegation itself interpreted broadly the abuse of drugs as including synthetic psychotropic substances.

78. The plenipotentiary conference to be held in 1971 to adopt a Protocol on Psychotropic Substances would be mainly concerned with the techniques of the action to be taken. The special session of the Commission, which would deal not only with raw materials but also with uncontrolled synthetic substances, would not duplicate the work of that conference because its purpose would be to prepare, for the attention of the Council and the General Assembly, recommendations on short- and long-term policies to be pursued at the international level. In other words, the general principles of United Nations policy in the matter would be determined by its supreme body, and the technical authorities would continue to study methods of applying those general principles.

79. The problem of drug addiction must be dealt with as a whole, comprising both traditional narcotics and uncontrolled synthetic substances, since although it was

necessary not to suppress the entire production but to limit and control the source of addiction constituted by the illicit and uncontrolled production of raw materials used to manufacture narcotic drugs, the youth of many developed countries would not be protected from drug addiction so long as pharmaceutical industries continued to produce and put on sale without any real control synthetic psychotropic products which were at least as dangerous as the raw materials in question. The two problems were inseparable, especially as the General Assembly was to be asked to recommend the general principles of an integrated international policy. The countries producing raw materials, generally developing countries, should of course exercise strict control in the matter, but the developed countries should apply the same control with regard to the production of synthetic psychotropic substances.

80. His delegation therefore proposed two amendments (E/L.1350) to the twelve-Power draft resolution, which were intended to supplement it and make it a more effective instrument for later action by the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. In so doing his delegation was only acting in conformity with the broader interpretation given by the United States delegation itself to the term "narcotic drugs", by including both raw materials and synthetic psychotropic substances. It therefore hoped that the United States delegation would be able to accept those amendments.

81. Mr. HILL (Jamaica) said that it would be easier to put an end to the illicit or uncontrolled production of narcotic raw materials if the international community and the Governments concerned encouraged farmers to change their crop patterns. His delegation therefore proposed that in operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution E/L.1344 and Add.1 the words "by all means, including the development of alternative economic programmes and activities such as the substitution of crops" should be inserted after the words "to put an end to the illegal and uncontrolled production of narcotic raw material".

82. Mr. HUDA (Pakistan) supported the draft resolution submitted by the United States and eleven other countries (E/L.1344 and Add.1) and the amendments of the Turkish delegation (E/L.1350). He also supported the oral amendment of the Jamaican representative.

83. Dr. SACKS (World Health Organization) recalled that WHO was one of the international organs for the control of drug dependence and abuse. As such it would be represented at the special session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs if it took place, as it had been at all the previous sessions of that Commission.

84. The twelve-Power draft resolution (E/L.1344) concerned an area of particular concern to WHO, namely the reduction of the illicit demand for drugs which essentially involved the development and application of suitable measures of prevention such as educational and social programmes, the treatment of addicts and their medical and social rehabilitation.

85. WHO had recently taken two measures with regard to drug dependence. The twenty-third World Health Assembly

had adopted in May 1970 a resolution (WHA/23.42) which stated among other things that “there was an urgent need at local, national and international levels to implement improved preventive treatment and rehabilitation measures” and recommended, *inter alia*, “that the World Health Organization should encourage and assist the development of improved preventive, treatment and rehabilitation programmes and the pursuit of needed knowledge in the field of drug dependence”.

86. Secondly, the WHO Expert Committee on Drug Dependence would meet a few weeks before the date of the proposed special session of the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs. That meeting would devote itself almost entirely to the study of means of reducing illicit demand for dependence-producing drugs through appropriate and up-to-date measures of prevention, medical control, treatment, rehabilitation and post-treatment intensive follow-up. The World Health Organization would thus be well prepared to participate fully in the special session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, should it be convened, and to supply the necessary documentation.

87. Mrs. HIRLEMANN (France) said that she could not understand why the United Nations Office at Geneva was not better equipped with conference services. She had carefully studied the administrative and budgetary implications of the draft resolution. She noted that eight temporary interpreters would have to be recruited for the proposed special session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and that the permanent staff of translators, revisers and stenographers would not be sufficient to service the session. Her delegation, which had always considered it necessary to equip the Geneva Office with a conference service able to meet unforeseen requirements, reserved its position with regard to the administrative and budgetary implications of the proposed special session.

88. Mr. GUELEV (Bulgaria) wondered why a regular session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs could not be convened instead of a special session. He felt that the problem of drug addiction would be solved not by a session of the Commission or by international action but only if countries suffering from that affliction had the will to solve their own economic and social problems.

89. His delegation accepted the draft resolution as modified by the amendments of the Turkish and Jamaican delegations.

90. Mr. AHMED (Secretary of the Council) explained that the next regular session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs was to take place in 1971; hence, if it was desired that the Commission should meet in 1970, a special session had to be convened.

91. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) wished to have his country included in the sponsors of the resolution under discussion (E/L.1344 and Add.1) and accepted the amendments proposed by the Turkish delegation (E/L.1350).

92. Mr. KRISHNAN (India) supported the draft resolution, with the Turkish amendments.

93. Mrs. MIRONOVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) also supported in principle the draft resolution introduced by the United States representative, together with the amendments of the Turkish delegation.

94. Mr. KOTSCHNIG (United States of America) and Mr. ABE (Japan) accepted the two amendments submitted by Turkey (E/L.1350), and the oral amendment submitted by the Jamaican delegation.

95. Mrs. DAES (Greece) said that her delegation was prepared to accept the amendments submitted by the delegations of Turkey and Jamaica if the Turkish delegation would agree to delete the last phrase of its amendment 1 (following the words “psychotropic substances”).

96. Mr. ALLEN (United Kingdom) associated himself with the request of the Greek representative that the Turkish delegation should delete that phrase from its first proposed preambular paragraph; if that were done, his delegation was prepared to accept the Turkish amendments.

97. Mr. KANDEMIR (Observer for Turkey) agreed to the proposed deletion.

98. The PRESIDENT proposed that the Council should adopt the twelve-Power draft resolution (E/L.1344 and Add.1) with the amendments submitted by the Turkish delegation (E/L.1350), as amended orally, and the Jamaican amendment.

The draft resolution, thus amended, was unanimously adopted.

The meeting rose at 7.5 p.m.