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REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE  
AFRICAN GROUP AT THE UNITED NATIONS



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Introduction

Of all the questions dealt with at the XXI session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Rhodesian and the South West African issue were the most important. The African Group, therefore, devoted most of its time to them and this report deals mainly with these points. The other decolonization questions, as in the past, also mobilized the Group, and the report refers to the sustained and harmonious action undertaken by the African representatives which, each time, has led to a satisfactory solution.

The refugee problem was examined with increased attention by the Group in view of its acuteness. The High Commissioner's report containing an appeal to the major powers for increased help to African refugees was defended by the Group in the Third Committee and has gained the Assembly's approval. In this respect, it is useful to note the adoption by the Assembly of the Protocol on refugees which adapts the 1951 Convention to present realities in the world and particularly in Africa. This Protocol has been forwarded to Member States for their adherence, and we hope that the African nations will be the first to subscribe to it as this Protocol meets the anxieties expressed in several resolutions of the Heads of State.

The position of our New York Secretariat deserves serious examination in the light of the last resolution adopted by the Heads of State and Government. This Secretariat clearly suffers from serious administrative shortcomings due to the financial and material conditions under which it operates. The budget which was allocated to it last year is clearly insufficient and the staff is threatening to leave. In fact, the Executive Secretary, Mr. Pédanou (Togo) who would have renewed his contract had he been offered better conditions has preferred to return to his post at the United Nations where he finds the material advantages and security which he lacked while working for us.

We must, once again, point out the importance of the New York Bureau for the activities of our Organization. Our Secretariat enables the co-ordination of the African Group and its several committees such as the Nominations Committee, the Committee on Rhodesia etc., our Secretariat also ensures co-ordination between our Group and other groups (Afro-Asian, European, etc.); The Secretariat keeps the important records of our activity in New York and enables the continuity and permanence of the Group's action.

This Bureau is also one of our main sources of information having at hand United Nations services and records. Thus if we take up any matter relating to decolonization or sanctions against South Africa and Rhodesia, we would find that UN has an up-to-date, rich and functional documentation which our modest means could never enable us to collect. However, we could benefit from this documentation if we appoint a qualified staff to follow their activities. This would be valid not only for political matters but also for economic, social and other questions. This qualified staff could also advise our various services and specialized commissions about the opportunities offered by the UN and its institutions and would enable us to exploit to the greatest extent, the possibilities of international co-operation.

#### I - THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PROBLEM

1. After the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 2145 (XXI) of October 27, 1966, the African Group met several times during the month of November in order to examine the problem of membership of the Special Committee on South West Africa set up in accordance with paragraph 6 of the said resolution.
2. The fourteen members of this Committee having to be designated by the President of the General Assembly, the latter contacted the President-in-office in order to know the views of the Group with regard to the repartition of seats. It appears from the reports presented by the President-in-office to the Group that certain major powers have advocated a composition of the special committee similar to that of the Security Council. This view was rejected by the Group as a whole which considered that the Special Committee could not be considered an executive organ but rather a body entrusted with a specific task, namely the examination of the best ways and means to administer South West Africa in order to enable the people of that territory to exercise their

right to self-determination and to accede to independence. Allocation of seats similar to that of the Security Council would have had as one of its consequences the granting of only three seats to Africa. The consensus of opinion of the Group was that in view of the particular concern of African States with regard to the future of South West Africa, the African Group should have at least four seats if it were not possible to have five. In a more general way, the majority of the Group's members thought that in order to have the common views of African and Asian States prevail, at least seven seats ought to be given to the Afro-Asian Group.

3. Following lengthy consultations with other groups, the President of the General Assembly made it known that he could not apportion more than four seats to Africa and no more than two to Asia without hampering the desire of other groups to participate. His final proposal was to allot, as a compromise, the fourteen seats in the following way, four seats to Africa, two to Asia, two to Latin America, two to the Socialist countries, three to the Western countries and one to the Scandinavian countries. This proposal was accepted by the Group.

4. In accordance with operative paragraph 6 of resolution 2145 (XXI) the nomination of the committee's members was left to the discretion of the President of the General Assembly. On November 21, 1966, he nominated the following Member States: Canada, Chili, United States of America, Ethiopia, Senegal, Finland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, United Arab Republic, Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

5. On December 5, 1966, the members of the Group exchanged views on the directives it would be appropriate to give to the four African representatives on the Committee in order to attain the African States' objectives. These objectives, as has been recalled by Mr. Sahnoun, OAU Assistant Secretary-General, are defined in resolution CM/Res. 87 on South West Africa, adopted by the Heads of State and Government at their last Assembly held from November 5 to 9 1966. It has been agreed that the four African members of the Committee should report in good time to the Group on the work of the Committee.

6. Towards the end of the XXI session, a number of illegal acts such as the eviction of Africans from urban zones, the arrest and deportation of political leaders were brought to the attention of the General Assembly and

motivated the submission by some African and Asian delegations of a draft resolution denouncing these acts committed in flagrant violation of the powers conferred on the United Nations under resolution 2145 (XXI). The co-authors, however, did not insist on having it put to the vote, it being understood that all acts and deeds of the South African Government would be brought to the attention of the General Assembly at the special session which is to convene in April 1967, to examine the Special Committee's report on South West Africa. The first meeting of this Committee is scheduled for January 17, 1967.

7. After consideration of the Secretary-General's report on the special training programme for the people of South West Africa (set up under resolution 1705 (XVI) of the General Assembly), the General Assembly adopted a resolution on December 20, 1966:

- (a) Invites those Member States offering scholarships and those which may subsequently do so to consider including in their offers scholarships for secondary education and for vocational and technical training;
- (b) Further invites Member States to give sympathetic consideration to requests by the Secretary-General for the placement in their secondary, vocational or technical schools of candidates who have been awarded scholarships under the Special Training Programme for South West Africans;
- (c) Once again requests all Member States to facilitate in every possible way the travel of South West Africans seeking to avail themselves of educational opportunities provided under the programme. (Résolution 2236 (XXI)).

#### References

- Resolution 2145 (XXI) of October 27, 1966 adopted on the subject of South West Africa.
- Resolution 2236 (XXI) of December 20, 1966 on the special teaching and training programmes for South West Africa.

## II - THE PROBLEM OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

### General Assembly

8. The last report of the African Group at the United Nations contains the minutes of the discussions on the problem of Southern Rhodesia at the XXI session of the General Assembly. The two resolutions adopted take into consideration the concern of African States.

9. In its first resolution adopted on October 22, 1966, the General Assembly expressed its concern over "the talks concerning the talks" then proceeding between the United Kingdom Government and the Salisbury regime; it "condemned any arrangement" concluded between the administrative power and the racist and illegal minority regime which would not recognize the inalienable rights of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and to independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly and reaffirmed the obligation of the administrative power to transfer power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of the universal suffrage according to the principle "one man, one vote". (Resolution 2138 (XXI)).

10. In its second resolution adopted on November 17, 1966 by a majority of 89 votes in favour, 2 against (South Africa and Portugal) with 17 abstentions, the General Assembly inter alia:

- (a) Condemns the Governments of Portugal and South Africa for their support of the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia;
- (b) Condemns the activities of those foreign financial and other interests which, by supporting and assisting the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, are preventing the African people of Zimbabwe from attaining freedom and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and calls upon the Governments of the States concerned to take all necessary measures to bring to an end such activities;
- (c) Draws the attention of the Security Council once again to the grave situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia, in order that it may decide to apply the necessary enforcement measures envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations;

- (d) Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom to take prompt and effective measures to prevent any supplies, including oil and petroleum products, from reaching Southern Rhodesia;
- (e) Calls once again upon the Government of the United Kingdom to take all necessary measures, including in particular the use of force, in the exercise of its powers as the administering Power, to put an end to the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia and to ensure the immediate application of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions. (Resolution 2151 (XXI)).

#### Security Council

11. Following the convening of the Security Council at the request of the British Government which proposed requesting "certain further measures against the illegal regime of Rhodesia", the African Group met on December 8, 1967 to decide on a common position with regard to the measures that would be proposed by the United Kingdom and requested the three African representatives at the Council (Mali, Nigeria and Uganda) and the representatives of the three States having been empowered by the Heads of State and Government of the OAU to present the African cause at the Security Council (Algeria, Senegal and Zambia) to set up a working group in order to determine the tactics to be followed and in co-operation with the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. H.M. Sahnoun, to report to the Group.

12. On December 8, 1966, the United Kingdom requested the Council to apply the provisions of articles 39 and 41 of the Charter and to decide that all Member States of the United Nations should prevent:

- (a) The import into their territories of asbestos, iron ore, chrome, pig-iron, sugar, tobacco, copper, meat and meat products and hides, skins and leather originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of this resolution;
- (b) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the export of these commodities from Southern Rhodesia and any dealings by their

nationals or in their territories in any of these commodities originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of this resolution, including in particular any transfer of funds to Southern Rhodesia for the purposes of such activities or dealings;

- (c) Shipment in vessels or aircraft of their registration of any of these commodities originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of this resolution;
- (d) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the sale or shipment to Southern Rhodesia of arms, ammunition of all types, military aircraft, military vehicles and equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition in Southern Rhodesia
- (e) Any activities by their national or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the delivery to Southern Rhodesia of all other aircraft or motorized vehicles and equipment and material for the manufacture, assembly or maintenance of aircraft or motorized vehicles in Southern Rhodesia; the dispatch by ships or aircraft registered with them of all equipment of such a nature destined for Southern Rhodesia, and any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the manufacture or the assembly of aircraft or motorized vehicles in Southern Rhodesia, notwithstanding any contracts entered into or licences granted before the date of this resolution. (Document S/7621/Rev.I).

13. Following the meeting held on December 9 to examine the British draft resolution, the Group decided not to submit a counter draft resolution, but rather amendments which, taking into account the OAU objectives as defined in the relevant OAU resolutions, particularly resolution CM/Res. 78 adopted at the Third Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, would seek to have oil, and oil products as well as other imported products added to the embargo list proposed by the United Kingdom and to provide measures for implementation of the Security Council decisions.



14. The text of the amendments drafted by the working group of 6 has been examined at a meeting held on December 12. In the final text, the Group proposed that the Security Council "note that the situation at present prevailing in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security and deplores the action undertaken by States, particularly Portugal and South Africa, which have lent their support to the rebel regime of Rhodesia in violation of Security Council resolution 217."

At the request of the representative of Zambia, the Group also requested the Council to add coal and all manufactured products to the list of products the importation of which should be denied to Southern Rhodesia.

With a view to an embargo on oil supplies, the Group proposed that the Council request all Member States to forbid "the participation on their territories or on territories placed under their administration, or by means of land and air transport, or by their citizens, or of ships registered in their country of the supply of oil or oil products to Southern Rhodesia".

15. Furthermore, in order to achieve the essential objectives of African States, the Group proposed that the Security Council:

- (a) Calls upon the United Kingdom to withdraw all offers previously made to the illegal régime and to make a categorical declaration that it will only grant independence to Southern Rhodesia under majority rule;
- (b) Invites the Government of the United Kingdom to prevent by all means the transport to Southern Rhodesia of oil or oil products;
- (c) Reminds Member States that the failure or refusal by any of them to implement this resolution shall constitute a violation of article 25 of the Charter;
- (c) Reaffirms the inalienable rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia to freedom and independence in accordance with the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and recognizes the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations;
- (d) Calls upon all States not to render financial or other economic aid to the illegal racist regime in Southern Rhodesia".

16. Finally, taking into account the date of the forthcoming session of the OAU Council of Ministers (end of February, beginning of March 1967) the Group proposed to the Security Council that it "request the Secretary-General to give to the Council an account of the progress achieved in the implementation of the resolution, the first report to be submitted, at the latest, on March 1, 1967". This provision would enable the Council of Ministers to give its opinion on the progress achieved by the United Nations in its action against the Salisbury regime.

17. In support of these amendments submitted by the representatives of Mali, Nigeria and Uganda (Document S/7630/Rev.I), the spokesman of the African Group, namely the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Senegal and Zambia, the permanent representatives of Algeria and of the three African States, members of the Security Council have declared that they did not believe in the efficiency of the measures proposed by the United Kingdom in view of the selective nature of these measures and that even selective sanctions would remain invalid if the Security Council did not provide means to force Portugal and South Africa to contribute their active co-operation to the implementation of the decisions. They made it clear that the amendments submitted by the African States were a minimum needed in order to fill the gaps existing in the British draft. That is why when it appeared that the main points of these amendments, particularly those mentioned in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b) of paragraph 15, would not be accepted by the British delegation and did not stand a chance in the Council, the African delegations requested the suspension of the last sitting of the Council in order to discuss the adequacy of a resolution which did not mention their main requests. At the end of this discussion, a majority of six delegations considered it inopportune to abstain from voting on the resolution as it stood. The abstention of three African States Members of the Council would entail that of Jordan and of two socialist countries and would prevent the adoption of the resolution. It was obvious that only the minority regime of Southern Rhodesia could benefit from the dead-lock in which the Security Council would find itself.

Two African delegations, Nigeria and Uganda, thus gave their support to a resolution that did not comprise the main requests of the African States and was considered a palliative. Mali abstained.



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18. The operative part of the resolution, adopted on December 16, 1966, is the following:

"The Security Council,

1. Determines that the present situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security;
2. Decides that all States Members of the United Nations shall prevent:
  - (a) The import into their territories of asbestos, iron ore, chrome, pig-iron, sugar, tobacco, copper, meat and meat products and hides, skins and leather originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of this resolution;
  - (b) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the export of these commodities from Southern Rhodesia and any dealings by their nationals or in their territories in any of these commodities originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of this resolution, including in particular any transfer of funds to Southern Rhodesia for the purposes of such activities or dealings;
  - (c) Shipment in vessels or aircraft of their registration of any of these commodities originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of this resolution;
  - (d) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the sale or shipment to Southern Rhodesia of arms, ammunition of all types, military aircraft, military vehicles, and equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition in Southern Rhodesia;
  - (e) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the supply to Southern Rhodesia of all other aircraft and motor vehicles and of equipment and materials for the manufacture, assembly, or maintenance of aircraft and motor vehicles in Southern Rhodesia; the shipment in vessels and aircraft of their registration of any such goods

destined for Southern Rhodesia; and any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the manufacture or assembly of aircraft or motor vehicles in Southern Rhodesia;

- (f) Participation in their territories or territories under their administration or in land or air transport facilities or by their nationals or vessels of their registration in the supply of oil or oil products to Southern Rhodesia;

3. Reminds Member States that the failure or refusal by any of them to implement the present resolution shall constitute a violation of article 25 of the Charter;
4. Reaffirms the inalienable rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia to freedom and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); and recognizes the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations;
5. Calls upon all States not to render financial or other economic aid to the illegal racist regime in Southern Rhodesia;
6. Calls upon all States Members of the United Nations to carry out this decision of the Security Council in accordance with article 25 of the United Nations Charter;
7. Urges, having regard to the principles stated in article 2 of the United Nations Charter, States not Members of the United Nations to act in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 of the present resolution;
8. Calls upon States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies to report to the Secretary-General the measures each has taken in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 of the present resolution;
9. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution, the first report to be submitted not later than March 1, 1967;
10. Decides to keep this item on its agenda for further action as appropriate in the light of developments.

Paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9 and 10 were proposed by the African States.

References:

- S/7621/Rev.1 : United Kingdom revised draft resolution  
S/7630/Rev.1 : Revised amendments to United Kingdom draft resolution  
introduced by Mali, Nigeria and Uganda  
S/Res. 232 : Resolution adopted by the Security Council on December 16, 1966.

III - APARTHEID POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC

19. During the discussions at the Third Committee on the problem entitled "Question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid in all countries with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories", the African delegations succeeded in inducing the Committee to go beyond the traditional framework of the humanitarian aspects of the violation of human rights mainly in South Africa but also in South West Africa, in Southern Rhodesia and in the African territories under Portuguese domination. That way, the way in which they denounced the policy of States, extending material assistance to the South African Government, to Portugal and to the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia. They further declared that they were in favour of the immediate adoption of obligatory diplomatic and economic sanctions in accordance with article 41 of the Charter in order to put an end to the violation of human rights in the territories concerned. The resolution adopted on October 26, 1966, by the General Assembly at the recommendation of the Third Committee, provides for the establishment within the United Nations Secretariat of a "unit to deal exclusively with the policies of apartheid in order that maximum publicity may be given to the evils of those policies" (Resolution 2144 (XXI) A). Besides, the General Assembly declares that it is "convinced more than ever that apartheid in South Africa constitutes a menace to international peace and security; and appeals to the Security Council urgently to take effective measures with a view to eradicating apartheid from South Africa and other adjacent territories. (Resolution 2144 (XXI) B).

20. During discussions on the problem of apartheid at the Special Political Committee, the African delegations pointed out the complicity of South Africa's main partners who, after refusing to become members of the Special Committee on apartheid, continue to further their collaboration with the South African Government, encouraging the latter to persist in its racial policy. They also pointed out the manner in which the Pretoria regime is seeking to strengthen the contiguous colonial and racist regimes; and, in the spirit of paragraph 8, of resolution CM/Res. 86 adopted at the Third Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, advocated the organization of an international conference devoted to the problems of apartheid and racial discrimination and colonialism in South Africa.

21. The resolution which was adopted on December 16, 1966 by the General Assembly at the recommendation of the Special Political Committee appeals in particular to all States:

- (a) To comply fully with the decisions duly taken by the Security Council solemnly calling on them to cease forthwith the sale and delivery to South Africa of arms, ammunition of all types, military vehicles and equipment and materials intended for their manufacture and maintenance;
- (b) To discourage immediately the establishment of closer economic and financial relations with South Africa, particularly in investment and trade, as well as loans by banks in their countries to the Government of South Africa or South African companies, and to report to the Secretary-General on steps taken in this respect, such reports to be transmitted by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly and the Special Committee;
- (c) To consider effective political, moral and material assistance to all those combating the policies of apartheid, in the light of the recommendations of the International Seminar on Apartheid;
- (d) To make adequate and generous contributions to humanitarian programmes designed to assist the victims of apartheid;
- (e) To endeavour to grant asylum and extend travel facilities and educational and employment opportunities to refugees from South Africa.

On the other hand the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General in consultation with the Special Committee assigned to examine the policy of apartheid of the South African Republic's Government, and the Special Committee entrusted with the task of examining the situation as regards application of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, to organise, as soon as possible, an international conference, or an international seminar devoted to the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in South Africa, and to submit a report on that conference or seminar to the General Assembly at its XXII session. The General Assembly once again draws the Security Council's attention to the fact that the situation in South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security; that measures adopted in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter are indispensable in order to solve the problem of apartheid and that universal mandatory economic sanctions are the only means towards a peaceful solution. Finally, the General Assembly invites the Special Committee on apartheid to take all measures needed with a view to the better implementation of its mandate, and, to this end authorises it:

- (a) To hold sessions away from Headquarters or to send a sub-committee on a mission to consult specialized agencies, regional organizations, States and non-governmental organizations on ways and means to promote the international campaign against apartheid and to investigate various aspects of the problem of apartheid;
  - (b) To continue and increase co-operation 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 with a view to the consideration of the activities of foreign economic interests in Southern Africa which impede the efforts to eliminate apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in the region.
- (Resolution 2202 (XXI)).

#### References

Resolution 2144 (XXI) of October 26, 1966  
Resolution 2202 (XXI) of December 16, 1966

#### IV - PROBLEMS OF DECOLONIZATION

22. During the debate which the General Assembly devoted to the general question of implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the African delegations drew the General Assembly's attention to the means resorted to by the colonial powers in order to check the liberation of African territories still under foreign domination, and in particular to the systematic immigration of foreigners, the movement and transfer of indigenous populations, and the use of armed force and repressive measures against national liberation movements.

Following the debate the General Assembly, on December 13, 1966 adopted a resolution wherein it declared itself convinced that any further delay in the integral and universal application of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonized countries and peoples, constitutes a source of international dispute and conflict which seriously hampers international co-operation and compromises world peace and security, and inter alia reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle in which those people still under colonial domination are engaged for the exercise of their right to self determination and independence and urged all States to provide material and moral assistance to the national liberation movements in colonial territories; requests the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other international relief organizations and the specialized agencies concerned to increase their economic, social and humanitarian assistance to the refugees from those territories; draws the attention of all States to the grave consequences of the formation in the southern part of Africa of an entente between the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist minority regime of Southern Rhodesia, and calls upon all States to withhold any support or assistance to this entente, whose existence and activities run counter to the interests of international peace and security; requests the colonial Powers to dismantle their military bases and installations in colonial territories, and to refrain from establishing new ones and from using those that still exist to interfere with the liberation of the peoples in colonial territories in the exercise of their legitimate rights to freedom and independence; condemns the activities of those foreign financial and economic interests in colonial territories, in particular in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the territories under Portuguese domination, which support colonial regimes and thus constitute a



serious obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and calls upon the Governments concerned to take the necessary measures to put an end to those activities; and decides to include in the provisional agenda of its twenty-second session an item entitled "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and territories under Portuguese domination as well as in all other territories under colonial domination".

23. As regards the problem of decolonization of the African territories administered by Portugal of Ifni, the Spanish Sahara, Equatorial Guinea and so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti), the African delegations succeeded in gaining acceptance for the OAU positions as demonstrated in the relative resolutions adopted by the Heads of State and Government, particularly those resolutions adopted at the Third Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

24. The discussion on the problem of territories under Portuguese administration enabled African delegations to condemn the assistance provided to Portugal by its NATO allies, which assistance it is using to pursue its colonial wars. The situation arising out of these wars, they pointed out, constitutes a threat to peace and security, which is all the more serious, as Portugal is using its colonies as a base from which to attack neighbouring countries. They requested the General Assembly to invite the Security Council to order economic sanctions against Portugal.

25. The resolution which the African delegations succeeded in having the General Assembly adopt on December 12, 1966, inter alia:

Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of the territories under Portuguese domination to freedom and independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and recognizes the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve this right;

Calls upon Portugal to apply immediately the principle of self-determination to the peoples of the territories under its administration, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and Security Council resolution 183 (1963) and 218 (1965);

Appeals to all States to give the peoples of the territories under Portuguese domination the moral and material support necessary for the restoration of their inalienable rights and to prevent their nationals from co-operating with the Portuguese authorities, especially in regard to investment in the territories;

Requests all States, and in particular the military allies of Portugal within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to take the following steps:

To desist forthwith from giving the Portuguese Government any assistance which enables it to continue its repression of the African peoples in the territories under its domination;

Appeals once again to all the specialized agencies, in particular to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, to refrain from granting Portugal any financial, economic or technical assistance as long as the Government of Portugal fails to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). (Resolution 2184 (XXI)).

26. Discussion of the problems of Equatorial Guinea, Ifni and the Spanish Sahara, was characterized by the hearing of petitioners originating from those territories, and insofar as concerns Ifni and the Spanish Sahara, to the African Group as well as the Fourth Commission. Spain having stated that in principle it was in favour of self-determination for those territories, the discussion centred above all on the ways and means of application of the principle of self-determination.

27. As regards Equatorial Guinea (Rio Muni and Fernando Po) Spain considered that the organization in the early months of 1967 of a constitutional conference, at which would be represented "All sectors of Guinean public opinion" would be sufficient for the process of decolonization to begin "in an irreproachable and certain manner". On their own side the African delegations thought that certain measures, such as the abrogation of restrictive measures hampering political activity, and the establishment of an electoral system based on universal adult suffrage were indispensable in order to ensure the non-fraudulent application of the principle of self-determination.

The General Assembly, in its resolution adopted at the proposal of

the African delegations, on December 20, 1966, inter alia:

Invites the administering Power to implement as soon as possible the following measures:

- (a) The removal of all restrictions on political activities and the establishment of full democratic freedoms;
- (b) The institution of an electoral system based on universal adult suffrage and the holding, before independence, of a general election for the whole territory on the basis of a unified electoral roll;
- (c) The transfer of effective power to the government resulting from this election;

Requests the administering Power to ensure that the Territory accedes to independence as a single political and territorial unit and that no step is taken which would jeopardize the territorial integrity of Equatorial Guinea;

Requests the administering Power, in accordance with the wish of the people of Equatorial Guinea, to set a date for independence as recommended by the Special Committee and, for this purpose, to convene a conference in which the various political parties and all sections of the population would be fully represented;

Further requests the administering Power to establish in law and in practice full equality of political, economic and social rights;

Requests the Secretary-General to take appropriate action, in consultation with the administering Power and the Special Committee, to ensure the presence of the United Nations in the territory for the supervision of the preparation for, and the holding of, the election envisaged and to participate in any other measures leading towards the independence of the territory. (Resolution 2230 (XXI)).

At the voting, Spain abstained, as did South Africa, the United States, France, Mexico, Portugal and the United Kingdom.

28. Following the hearing of petitioners originating from the territories of Ifni and the Spanish Sahara, who underlined all the various affinities between their territories and Morocco and Mauretania, it appeared necessary

that the process of self-determination be undertaken, "in consultation with the Governments of Morocco and Mauretania", which in fact gave rise to formal opposition by Spain; on the pretext that such a procedure would introduce a move without precedent in the United Nations.

The resolution which was adopted on December 20, 1966, following the debate, was drawn up taking into account the provisions of resolution CM/Res. 82 adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its Third Ordinary Session. By this resolution, the General Assembly inter alia:

Requests the administering Power to take immediately the necessary steps to accelerate the decolonization of Ifni and to determine with the Government of Morocco, bearing in mind the aspiration of the indigenous population, procedures for the transfer of powers in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

Invites the administering Power to determine at the earliest possible date, in conformity with the aspirations of the indigenous people of the territory and in consultation with the Governments of Mauritania and Morocco and any other interested party, the procedures for the holding of a referendum under United Nations auspices with a view to enabling the indigenous population of Spanish Sahara to exercise freely its right to self-determination, and to this end:

- (a) To create a favourable climate for the referendum to be conducted on an entirely free, democratic and impartial basis, by permitting, inter alia, the return of exiles to the territory;
- (b) To take all the necessary steps to ensure that only the indigenous people of the territory participate in the referendum;
- (c) To refrain from any action likely to delay the process of the decolonization of Spanish Sahara;
- (d) To provide all the necessary facilities to a United Nations mission so that it may be able to participate actively in the organization and holding of the referendum;

Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the administering Power and the Special Committee, to appoint immediately a special mission to be sent to Spanish Sahara for the purpose of recommending

practical steps for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular, for determining the extent of United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of the referendum and submitting a report to him as soon as possible for transmission to the Special Committee. (Resolution 2229 (XXI)).

29. Contrary to the other problems of decolonization; the problem of so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) aroused a certain amount of disagreement within the African Group. In point of fact the principle of a United Nations presence before the referendum announced by the administering Power, and the supervision by the United Nations of that referendum was not unanimously accepted by the African delegations, certain of whom considered that United Nations intervention would not be timely and that confidence should be placed in the administering Power to lead the referendum to a successful issue. When the draft resolution, drawn up taking into account OAU resolution CM/Res. 84, was voted upon, the paragraph referring to the referendum was only adopted by 72 votes for, 2 against (South Africa and Portugal) with 39 abstentions: among those which abstained were 16 African delegations.

30. The resolution adopted on December 20, 1966 includes the following provisions: the General Assembly inter alia:

Calls upon the administering Power to ensure that the right of self-determination shall be freely expressed and exercised by the indigenous inhabitants of the territory on the basis of universal adult suffrage and with full respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms;

Urges the administering Power to create a proper political climate for a referendum to be conducted on an entirely free and democratic basis;

Requests the administering Power, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to make appropriate arrangements for a United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the holding of the referendum;

Requests the Secretary-General to transmit the text of the present resolution to the administering Power and to report on its 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.

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# Report on the Activities of the African Group at the United Nations

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