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MILITARY ACTIVITIES AND ARRANGEMENTS IN NAMIBIA AND OTHER COLONIAL TERRITORIES

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Deeply concerned at the escalating armed repression of the peoples of dependent Territories in southern Africa, the General Assembly in 1965 requested the colonial Powers to dismantle the military bases in colonial Territories under their administration and to refrain from establishing new ones. ^{1/} In 1967, the Assembly further requested those Powers to refrain from using such bases and installations to interfere with the liberation of the peoples in colonial Territories in the exercise of their legitimate rights to freedom and independence. ^{2/} At the same time, the Assembly requested the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to examine, for the first time, military activities and arrangements in colonial Territories which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration. ^{3/}

2. In carrying out its study on the subject, in 1968 the Special Committee found conclusive evidence that military activities and arrangements in Territories in southern Africa were a serious impediment to the implementation of the Declaration. ^{4/} In respect of other, smaller colonial Territories, the Committee found that the colonial Powers, with the co-operation of their allies, often maintained the military bases as part of their global strategy, using the bases as staging points for offensive acts against other States. The Committee noted that those Powers and their allies were thus attaching increasing strategic importance to their military presence in some of the smaller colonial Territories. ^{4/}

3. Since then, military activities and arrangements in dependent Territories have continued to engage the close attention of the General Assembly and the Special Committee, as reflected in a number of decisions on decolonization adopted annually by the General Assembly.

4. Since 1976, the United Nations Council for Namibia has submitted a series of recommendations to the General Assembly based on detailed annual reviews of South Africa's military operations and installations in Namibia.

5. Excerpts from recent reports of the United Nations Council for Namibia on the subject ^{5/} are given in section II below. Summaries of the information contained in the related working papers prepared for the Special Committee ^{6/} are set out in section III.* Section IV contains an outline of the most recent decisions adopted by the General Assembly, on the basis of the recommendations of the Special Committee and the United Nations Council for Namibia.

* For a general description of the Territories' constitutional, political, economic and social conditions, see Objective: Justice, June 1987, vol. XIX, No. 1 (United Nations Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York).

II. MILITARY SITUATION IN AND RELATING TO NAMIBIA

Location: South-western Africa

Administering Power: United Nations

A. Military occupation

6. South Africa has continued to strengthen its illegal military presence in Namibia by increasing its occupation forces inside the Territory, by recruiting mercenaries and forcibly conscripting Namibians. Major garrison towns in the northern area are situated at Ruacana, Oshakati and the Ondangwa air base and are reported to be whites-only enclaves surrounded by machine-gun towers and barbed wire. Smaller bases are reported to be located at 30-kilometre intervals along the highways ^{7/} (see annex I).

7. The number of troops reported to be stationed in the Territory increased steadily over the years, from approximately 17,000 in 1971, ^{8/} to 53,000 in 1977. ^{9/} By 1985, between 100,000 and 110,000 troops were reported to be operational within Namibia. In 1986, the Special Committee against Apartheid, in co-operation with the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, presented a paper entitled "South Africa's military capacity" at the International Seminar on the United Nations Arms Embargo against South Africa, held in London from 28 to 30 May. In that study, experts estimated that South African forces deployed for day-to-day operations numbered about 200,000 troops, half of which were stationed in Namibia and Angola. ^{10/}

8. A variety of military troops, comprising infantry, armoured, mechanized and parachute battalions, as well as paramilitary and police units, are deployed in Namibia. These include "counter-insurgency forces", which comprise units of the Permanent Force, the Citizens Force and various paramilitary police forces; conventional forces (army, navy and air force); and "support forces" (commando, logistical support and service units, medical corps, etc.). ^{11/}

9. Among the special units deployed inside Namibia are Battalion 32, the Reconnaissance Commandos, the South West Africa Specialist Unit, the 44th Parachute Regiment and the Koevoet unit, extensively reported to have been deployed to suppress opposition to South Africa's continued occupation of the Territory and support for the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

10. South African forces are reported to be stationed at approximately 85 to 90 bases; the largest among them are at Windhoek, Walvis Bay, Grootfontein, Oshivello, Odangwa, Ruacana, Oshakati, Rundu, Mpache, Katima Mulilo, Omega and Caprivi. ^{12/} Smaller bases have been established in the operational zone in a belt stretching east from the Atlantic Ocean along the Angola-Namibia border to the Zambezi river, at Epupa, Ruacana, Ohopoho, Onahenene, Okalongo,

Oshakati, Onuno, Eenhana, Ondangwa, Hawanga, Cuangar, Nkongo, Runtu, Mbwata, Andara, Singalamwe and Katima Mulilo. 13/

11. A major military base is reported to be located at Walvis Bay, with 2,500 troops stationed there manning a large army, navy and air force complex. The marines, a "counter-insurgency" section of the South African Navy, have also been installed at Walvis Bay. There is a South African air force base at Rooikop, just south of Walvis Bay. Rooikop is reported to have a low-altitude airfield with a long runway which services South African aircraft on coastal reconnaissance and is equipped with a transmitting relay station and a long-range communications system. 14/ The South African Infantry Battalion Group, one of the élite units of the South African Defence Forces (SADF), is also based in the area. 15/

12. According to recent reports, South Africa maintains some of its largest military bases in the Caprivi Strip. One such example is the large military air base at Mpacha, near Katima Mulilo in East Caprivi, where Mirage jet fighters, Buccaneer jet bombers and military helicopters are stationed. 16/ The South African army is reported to be expanding the Mpacha air base. 17/

13. In terms of actual military activities, the operational area of the South African military is divided into three sectors: sector 10, with headquarters at Oshakati; sector 20, with headquarters at Rundu; and sector 70, with headquarters at Katima Mulilo. Each sector is divided into two to five battalion areas, and these are further subdivided into company areas. 18/

14. In October 1984, South Africa amended the South African Defence Act to make it applicable to Namibia. By so doing, it imposed conscription on all Namibian males between 17 and 55 years of age for service in the occupying army. The purpose of the amendment was to acquire additional manpower for the South African forces and the South West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF). 19/

15. In assessing the casualty figures, SWAPO estimates that 18,000 people have died in Namibia as a result of the war; some 380,000 Namibians have been displaced, either as internal or external refugees, as a result of the situation in their country; and over 100,000 of such displaced persons have taken refuge in neighbouring Angola, Botswana and Zambia. Approximately 25,000 farmers from the northern rural areas have been forced to abandon their farms and have become squatters in shanty towns near Oshakati and Ondangwa; 30,000 others have been forced to seek work at Windhoek, where living conditions and overcrowding in townships like Katatura continue to worsen. 20/

B. Military expenditures

16. South Africa's military spending continues to be the largest single component of its total budget. In addition, some military and security allocations are listed under categories other than defence. South Africa's military spending is reported to have risen from some 700 million rand in 1974/75 to R 1.4 billion in 1977, to more than R 1.8 billion in 1979/80, 21/ and to R 4.3 billion in 1985/86. 22/

17. Annual spending on SWATF has almost doubled since its creation in 1980, from R 72 million in 1981/82 to R 142 million in 1985. ^{23/} The war in Namibia is estimated to cost between R 3 million and R 4 million a day, ^{24/} a large portion of which is taken from non-military funds allocated to the colonial administration of Namibia. ^{25/}

18. It is estimated that South African defence expenditure in and around Namibia and Angola amounts to R 1,500 million, approximately 33 per cent of total annual expenditure by the South African military, police and security forces. ^{26/} Thus, Namibia is an increasing drain on the fiscal and military personnel resources of South Africa. The gross cost of maintaining Namibia is already calculated to be 10 per cent of South Africa's State budget, representing about half of its annual external borrowing. ^{27/}

C. Acquisition of arms and armaments

19. Since the imposition of the United Nations voluntary arms boycott by Security Council resolution 181 (1963) of 7 August 1963 and the adoption of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977, calling for the stoppage of any shipments to South Africa of arms and related matériel, South Africa has made a determined effort to achieve total military self-sufficiency. The acquisition and production of matériel is reported to account for the largest part of South Africa's defence spending. ^{28/}

20. In 1980, it was reported that South Africa had become the largest arms producer in the southern hemisphere and the tenth largest in the world. ^{28/}

21. The production and acquisition of armaments by South Africa is the responsibility of the State-owned Armaments Development and Production Corporation (ARMSCOR), established by the Government in 1968 in anticipation of the United Nations mandatory arms embargo. According to reports, ARMSCOR is one of South Africa's largest industrial companies, with assets of R 1.2 billion and 30,000 employees, and some 600 private sector contractors. ^{29/} By 1982, the number of private sector contractors was reported to have increased to 800 ^{30/} and the South African arms manufacturing industry to employ about 100,000 people. ^{31/}

22. Despite the huge buildup of its own armaments industry, South Africa has continued to purchase arms, licences and technology from abroad. According to evidence presented in 1984 by the World Campaign against Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa to the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa, the total arms procurement budget of the South African military was R 1,620 million. Of that sum, over R 900 million was spent on arms purchases from overseas, either directly by the régime or through the private sector. ^{32/}

D. Military operations

23. The people of Namibia are not only subjected to the institutionalized violence of the apartheid régime but must also endure an army of occupation and a police force which increasingly use the broad powers conferred upon them

to intimidate and brutalize the population. Those responsible for the repressive acts are reported to be members of SADF, the police force, the security police and their surrogates (special constables and house guards) and the Koevoet and Takkie squads, whose members have been widely accused of atrocities against the civilian population. ^{33/} The Koevoet unit was used extensively in Windhoek in June 1985 to break up popular demonstrations against the imposition of the so-called interim government. ^{34/}

24. Further new security restrictions enforced along the northern border with Angola and the eastern border with Zambia and Botswana were imposed by proclamation by South Africa during the first few months of 1985. Access to the areas under martial law is prohibited without a police permit. In other words, over two thirds of the country's population is effectively subject to martial law. The entire northern regions of the country are under dusk-to-dawn curfews. ^{35/} The restrictions are being strictly enforced, and heavy penalties are imposed on those travelling without the required permits.

E. South Africa's nuclear-weapon capability

25. It has been recognized over the past few years that in addition to building a vast military-industrial complex, South Africa also possesses a nuclear-weapon capability. What is not known is the number and the precise nature of those weapons. ^{36/}

26. At its thirtieth regular session, on 3 October 1986, the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) adopted a resolution on South Africa's nuclear capabilities which stated, *inter alia*, that South Africa was strengthening its nuclear capabilities partly through the illegal acquisition of Namibian uranium, and demanded that South Africa stop immediately the illegal mining, utilization, exploitation and sale of Namibian uranium. ^{37/} The resolution called upon the member States of IAEA, particularly those whose corporations were involved in the mining and processing of Namibian uranium, to take all appropriate measures in compliance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and with Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, ^{38/} enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974.

F. Aggression by South Africa against neighbouring States

27. South Africa has escalated its systematic campaign aimed at destabilizing neighbouring African States in an attempt to force them to cease their support for the liberation struggle in southern Africa. South Africa has also subjected Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe to subversion, military aggression, incursions and other forms of harassment. As part of its policy of aggression against those States, South Africa has been recruiting, training, financing and equipping mercenaries to create instability within and along their borders, and has been supplying groups, such as the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) in Angola and the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) in Mozambique, with military hardware and funds to carry out attacks against the legitimate Governments of those countries.

28. In response to South Africa's simultaneous military attacks against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, the Security Council met on 22 and 23 May 1986. As a result of the negative votes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, the Council failed to adopt a proposed resolution which would have determined that the policies and acts of the South African Government constituted a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security. By the draft resolution, the Council strongly condemned the racist régime for the recent military raids into Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe and called for the imposition of selective economic and other sanctions against the South African régime. ^{39/}

29. In June 1986, the Security Council considered the situation in Angola resulting from South Africa's unprovoked and unwarranted military attack on the Angolan port of Namibe and, on 18 June, once again as a result of the negative votes of the United Kingdom and the United States, failed to adopt a draft resolution ^{40/} by which it would have decided to impose selective economic and other sanctions against the South African régime.

30. On 10 August 1986, South African troops invaded Angolan territory and launched armoured attacks on the town of Kuito Kuanavale, in the southern province of Cuando Cubango, approximately 300 kilometres inside Angolan territory. The Angolan Government stated that the invading forces, which comprised three battalions in addition to the Buffalo Battalion, were supported by Kentron 155-millimetre and 106.6-millimetre artillery batteries and AML-90 armoured cars. ^{41/}

31. In November 1986, units of the South African army invaded Angola, proceeding up to 300 kilometres into Angolan territory. The Angolan army was able to repel the South African intervention southwards around the villages of Onkokua, Namacunde, Ewale and Nehone. The South African Air Force repeatedly violated Angolan airspace during that time. ^{42/} Throughout the month of November, South African troops were reported to have continued operations inside Angolan territory in support of UNITA.

III. MILITARY ACTIVITIES AND ARRANGEMENTS IN OTHER COLONIAL TERRITORIES

A. Bermuda

Location: Western Atlantic

Administering Power: United Kingdom

32. The major military facilities in Bermuda belong to the United States Navy, which operates them under an agreement signed in 1941 which is due to expire in the year 2040. Two facilities, the Naval Air Station at St. George's and the King's Point Naval Station, together comprise about one tenth of Bermuda's total land area and involve approximately 1,500 enlisted personnel, including some 100 marines and more than 350 Bermudians.

33. According to a recent study on the role of the military facilities in Bermuda in the overall command structure of the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Naval Air Station in Bermuda falls under the command of the United States Atlantic Fleet based at Norfolk,

Virginia. During wartime it would come under the dual supreme command of the United States and NATO, and the Commander of the Station would assume the position of Island Commander with headquarters in Hamilton. 43/

34. According to United States military sources, the primary function of the Naval Air Station is anti-submarine warfare. It also refuels and repairs ships and submarines operating in the Atlantic, provides a mid-ocean stepping-stone for NATO aircraft in transit, and assists in the transfer of weaponry among aircraft carriers deployed in the Mediterranean. 44/

35. A squadron of nine P-3C Orion planes is based at St. George's Naval Air Station. The planes are nuclear-capable, long-range maritime patrol aircraft, sent to Bermuda from either the Atlantic headquarters of the Air Wing at New Brunswick, New Jersey, or the Jacksonville Naval Air Station, Florida, where a combined total of 12 P-3 squadrons are located. During the course of their 12-hour missions, these aircraft drop submarine tracking sonar buoys and hydrophones in the waters surrounding Bermuda. Information gathered by these sound surveillance systems is ultimately sent back for correlation to the East End Base, which is Bermuda's Anti-submarine Warfare Operations Centre. The facility is also a forward operating base for aircraft from the Atlantic squadron based at Patuxent River, Maryland. 43/

36. A low-frequency transmitter and receiver is also located at the East End Base, a key communications station for United States naval ships and submarines operating in the western Atlantic. The tracking station maintained by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) of the United States States at Cooper's Island also has a military function. Along with stations on Grand Bahama, Antigua and Ascension, Cooper's Island supports strategic missile tests fired from the Eastern Test Range (ETS), centred at Patrick Air Force Base in Florida. It was reported in 1985 that there was about one test firing a week. 43/

37. In February 1985, Mr. John W. Swan, Premier of Bermuda, requested from the United States Government a copy of the secret Nuclear Weapons Deployment Plan (see A/AC.109/810, para. 15), which reportedly calls for the deployment of 32 nuclear depth charges in Bermuda that would be targeted for destruction in the early stages of any nuclear war. The Acting United States Consul-General in Bermuda transmitted a letter from his Government to the Premier stressing that it was United States Government policy not to confirm or deny the presence of nuclear weapons in its bases and installations, and adding that "... it remains essential that the United States and its NATO partners maintain a strong and modern military deterrent to aggression; United States military activities in Bermuda are an integral part of that deterrent". 45/ Premier Swan accepted the contents of the letter with respect to the necessity to maintain an adequate defence system, from which Bermuda could not be isolated, and declared that he would not pursue the matter further. 45/

38. The naval facility located at Southampton, Bermuda, is a processing centre for the Sound Surveillance System, which stores and processes information picked up from the sonar buoys and hydrophone areas surrounding Bermuda. The facility is also part of the Broad Ocean Area Sound Fixing and Ranging System, which is used to determine the accuracy of test-fired

United States missiles. The Tudor Hill Laboratory at Southampton is part of the Naval Underwater Systems Centre. Along with its auxiliary site at High Point Cay, the Tudor Hill Laboratory develops new acoustic anti-submarine warfare techniques. It has data acquisition, processing and analysis equipment. Information from a number of underwater acoustic installations -- some laid more than 4,877 metres deep -- is also sent back to the laboratory for processing. The laboratory operates a ship, the R/V Ervine, which provides at-sea support for research programmes carried out in the Bermuda area. 43/

39. One of the prime functions of the NASA station on Cooper's Island is to monitor the flights of the space shuttles. There are approximately 80 scientists and workers employed at the station.

40. The United Kingdom has a naval dock-yard facility, the HMS Malabar, and a military installation on Ireland Island for the defence and support of the Territory. A senior resident naval officer of the Royal Navy is in charge of those facilities and is responsible for the co-ordination of plans for NATO.

41. The Nuclear Awareness Group of Bermuda released the results of a telephone survey conducted in 1985 46/ in which 85 per cent of the residents of Bermuda expressed the belief that their Government should be advised if nuclear weapons were to be deployed on the island. About 57 per cent of respondents indicated that they would support the banning of all nuclear weapons on Bermuda, while 29 per cent said they would not.

B. Guam

Location: Western Pacific

Administering Power: United States

42. The United States took possession of Guam in 1898, following the Spanish-American War. In December 1941, it was occupied by Japan, but after 31 months, the United States recaptured the island in May 1946 and placed it under the control of the United States Navy. In June 1950, Guam was made an unincorporated Territory of the United States.

43. Guam is a military base of the United States in the Western Pacific, where the Air Force, Navy, Army, Marines, National Guard and Army Corps of Engineers all maintain offices. As of January 1985, there were 11,590 active duty personnel stationed there, as well as 12,010 dependants. 47/

44. The major military installations on Guam belong to the Air Force and the Navy. Andersen Air Force Base is the home of the 43rd Strategic Wing, the first permanent B-52 unit in the Western Pacific. In July 1983, it was reported that five B-52 bombers, capable of carrying nuclear weapons, were stationed there and that another nine would gradually be added. The Third Air Division is concerned with Strategic Air Command (SAC) operations in the Pacific area west of the International Date Line and in the Far East and South-East Asia. According to a press report, 48/ Andersen Air Force Base also serves as a global command-and-control station, a practice site for SAC radar bomb scoring and nuclear bombing, an Air Force satellite control facility and a submarine communications monitoring station. The same source states that 368 nuclear warheads, containing artillery projectiles, bombs and depth bombs, have been installed on Guam.

45. There are a number of naval facilities: the Santa Rita Naval Magazine; naval air stations at Brewer Field and Apra Harbor; a naval communications station at Barrigada and a communications annex at Finegayan; a naval processing station at Ritedian Point; and Nimitz Hill, headquarters for the United States Naval Forces (Marianas). Guam is also a base for the repair, maintenance and provisioning of the Seventh Fleet and for Polaris submarines, as well as the home port of five Navy vessels, the USS Proteus (a submarine), the USS San Jose (a supply ship), the USS Niagara, the USS White Plains (a combat stores ship) and the USS Haleakala (an ammunitions ship).

46. After the Government of Guam, the military is the largest employer of Guamanians on the island; as of 31 December 1984 a total of 5,773 Guamanian civilian personnel, or about 17 per cent of the labour force, were employed by the Department of Defense. 49/

47. Defence expenditures, a dominant factor in Guam's economy, amounted to \$US 614 million* in 1984. The largest items of expenditure during that year were military pay (\$184.5 million), petroleum purchases (\$172.5 million), civilian pay (\$119.8 million) and military construction (\$29.7 million). 50/ The Government of Guam was reported to have collected about \$22 million in income taxes from federal employees, including servicemen. Expenditures decreased in 1984 compared with 1983 (\$US 712 million), largely because of a reduced level of military construction in conformity with the austerity programme of the United States Federal Government and the non-renewal of the petroleum contract between the Department of Defense and the Guam Oil Refinery.

48. Projected military construction amounted to \$US 85 million for 1985/86 and \$51 million for 1986/87. Major projects included a fuel tank installation at Andersen Air Force Base, a new ammunition wharf at Apra Harbor and an Air National Guard facility. 51/

49. The Federal Government, mainly represented by the military, occupies one third of Guam's total area, or some 42,000 hectares. 47/ The question of transfer of land under military control to the Government of Guam for economic development has been under continuous review by the military in recent years. In 1977, the Department of the Navy, in co-operation with the Department of the Air Force, prepared a study known as the Guam Land Use Plan, which indicated that the Department of Defense was ready to release to the Territory 2,100 hectares or its local holdings. Several small transfers were subsequently made. In 1984, the military transferred to the Government of Guam an additional 194 hectares on Cabras Island and indicated that further transfers would soon be made. 52/

* The local currency is the United States dollar.

C. St. Helena

Location: South Atlantic

Administering Power: United Kingdom

50. Ascension, an 88-square kilometre volcanic island in the South Atlantic Ocean, is a dependency of St. Helena and has no indigenous inhabitants. The island is an important communications centre as a relay station for telegrams between South Africa and Europe, operated by the South Atlantic Cable Company.

51. During the Second World War, the United States Government, by arrangement with the United Kingdom Government, established an air base on Ascension. Since 1956, the base, known as Wideawake, has been operated by NASA as part of the United States rocket-tracking system. The provisions of the lease under which the United States enjoys facilities on Ascension Island are contained in the agreement of 25 June 1956 and other related exchanges of notes. The original agreement remained in force until 20 July 1975 and has since continued on a year-to-year basis. The sites are provided by the United Kingdom free of all rents and charges.

52. During the 1982 conflict between Argentina and the United Kingdom, Ascension's strategic location facilitated military air traffic between the United Kingdom and the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). Its 3,000-metre airstrip became a major supply link during the conflict. The conflict is also said to have added some 1,300 British military personnel to the population at the height of the hostilities, and a probable permanent addition of 700 to 800, according to some reports. Peak traffic during the conflict was some 800 sorties a day.

53. As a result of the conflict, several facilities on the island are reported to have been further improved and expanded, including the installation of an additional water desalination plant and the laying of a 5-kilometre-long oil pipeline. A new Royal Air Force (RAF) camp on the island was completed in 1984. ^{53/}

54. In July 1984, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Defence stated that expenditure on Ministry of Defence facilities on Ascension from 3 April 1982 to 31 March 1984 amounted to about £33 million. A further £27 million was expected to be spent during the 1984/85 financial year and £11 million was envisaged for 1985/86.

D. United States Virgin Islands

Location: Caribbean

Administering Power: United States

55. The United States Navy maintains a radar and sonar calibration station on St. Croix, the largest island in the Territory, and an underwater tracking station off its west coast. There is also a United States Coast Guard Station on St. Croix. The United States Virgin Islands National Guard, which is affiliated to the United States Army and consists of 949 members, has its headquarters on St. Thomas.

56. It was reported in July 1986 that the Marine Safety Detachment of the United States Coast Guard was to be relocated to St. Thomas, after 10 years on St. Croix. The detachment is responsible for the inspection of commercial vessels and for responding to violations of environmental laws by ships wishing to dock in Virgin Islands ports. The Coast Guard also responds to emergencies, but the Territory relies mainly on the Coast Guard Rescue Co-ordination Center in Puerto Rico. ^{54/}

57. In a statement to the Navy League on St. Thomas in November 1986, the United States Naval Commander in the Caribbean reiterated the strategic importance of the Caribbean region to the security interests of the United States. He expressed satisfaction with the performance of the Atlantic Fleet Weapons Training Facility covering the waters around Puerto Rico, St. Croix and the neighbouring areas. According to the Commander, ships and personnel could simultaneously simulate bombings, amphibious landings, submarine warfare and other military activities. ^{55/}

58. It was reported in October 1986 ^{56/} that the number of service personnel in the Virgin Islands National Guard had increased from 113 in 1973, when it was established, to a current figure of nearly 1,000. In 1985, the National Guard paid almost \$US 8 million* in salaries and a further \$1.6 million for the operation and maintenance of its facilities. With the construction of additional facilities, the local budget of the National Guard was expected to amount to approximately \$20 million by 1988.

59. In December 1986, the Rules and Nomination Committee of the Senate of the United States Virgin Islands approved and sent to the full Senate a bill to transfer the functions of civil defence to the jurisdiction of the Virgin Islands National Guard. Provision was made under the bill for the establishment of the Virgin Islands Emergency Management Agency, under the authority of the Adjutant-General of the National Guard. He would be responsible for disaster-preparedness planning and would act as the principal adviser to the Governor in the management of emergencies. ^{57/}

IV. ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS

60. Since 1968, the General Assembly has annually called upon the administering Powers concerned to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones.

61. In 1982, the General Assembly, for the first time, adopted a separate decision on military activities and arrangements, by which it reiterated its conviction that those activities and arrangements in colonial Territories constituted, in a great number of instances, a serious impediment to the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on decolonization with respect to those Territories. ^{58/} The Assembly condemned all military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which are detrimental to the interests and rights of the colonial peoples concerned, especially their right to self-determination and independence.

* The local currency is the United States dollar.

The Assembly deplored the fact that the colonial Powers concerned had taken no steps to terminate military activities and eliminate bases in compliance with its relevant resolutions. The Assembly also deprecated the continued alienation of land in colonial Territories for military installations. It concluded that the large-scale utilization of local economic and manpower resources for military purposes had diverted resources that could be more beneficially utilized in promoting the economic development of the Territories concerned.

62. Most recently, in 1987, the General Assembly reaffirmed its strong conviction that the presence of military bases and installations in the colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories could constitute a major obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Assembly also urged administering Powers not to involve those Territories in any offensive acts or interference against other States. (For the full text of the Assembly's decision 42/417, see annex II to the present bulletin.)

63. With regard to the question of Namibia, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of both the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the United Nations Council for Namibia, strongly condemned South Africa for its military buildup in Namibia, its imposition of military conscription on all Namibian males between 17 and 55 years of age for service in the occupying colonial army, its proclamation of a so-called security zone in Namibia and its recruitment and training of Namibians for tribal armies. It also condemned South Africa for the forcible displacement of Namibians from their homes, its use of mercenaries to suppress the Namibian people and to carry out its military attacks against independent African States, and its threats and acts of subversion and aggression against those States. The Assembly also denounced the latest acts of aggression by the racist régime against Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe; declared that Pretoria's policy of aggression and destabilization not only undermined the peace and stability of the southern African region but also constituted a threat to international peace and security; and called upon South Africa to cease all acts of aggression against the neighbouring African States. The Assembly condemned and called for an immediate end to the continuing military collaboration, including nuclear collaboration, of certain Western countries with the racist régime of South Africa, and expressed its conviction that such collaboration not only strengthened the aggressive military machinery of the Pretoria régime but also constituted a hostile act against the people of Namibia and the front-line States. It was also a violation of the arms embargo imposed against South Africa under Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977. ^{59/}

64. Efforts by the Security Council to curb the growth of the South African military date back over two decades. In 1963, the Security Council by its resolution 181 (1963) imposed a voluntary arms embargo against South Africa. In 1977, the Security Council, recognizing that the voluntary arms embargo needed to be strengthened, adopted resolution 418 (1977), in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. By that resolution, the Council decided that all States should cease any provision of arms and related matériel to South Africa and called upon them to review existing contractual and licensing agreements relating to the manufacture and maintenance of arms, ammunition, military equipment

and vehicles by South Africa. States were also called upon to refrain from any co-operation with South Africa in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons. By its resolution 558 (1984), the Security Council requested that all States refrain from importing arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles produced in South Africa.

65. The Security Council adopted resolution 591 (1986) on 28 November 1986, by which it urged all States to prohibit the export to South Africa of items which they had reason to believe were destined for the military and/or police forces of that country, had a military capacity and were intended for military purposes, namely, aircraft, aircraft engines, aircraft parts, electronic and telecommunication equipment, aircraft-computers and four-wheel drive vehicles. The Council requested of all States that henceforth the term "arms and related matériel" referred to in its resolution 418 (1977) should include, in addition to all nuclear, strategic and conventional weapons, all military, paramilitary police vehicles and equipment, as well as weapons and ammunition, spare parts and supplies for the aforementioned items and the sale or transfer thereof.

Notes

- 1/ General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965.
- 2/ General Assembly resolution 2326 (XXII) of 16 December 1967.
- 3/ See the programme of work for 1968 submitted to the General Assembly by the Special Committee (Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6700/Rev.1)), which was subsequently approved by the General Assembly by its resolution 2326 (XXII) of 16 December 1967.
- 4/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/7200/Rev.1).
- 5/ A/AC.131/179, A/CONF.138/4-A/AC.131/179/Add.1 and A/AC.131/241.
- 6/ A/AC.109/902, A/AC.109/905 and A/AC.109/909.
- 7/ SWAPO Information Bulletin, July 1986, p. 9; see also Africa Confidential (London), vol. 27, No. 21, p.5.
- 8/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/8424), para. 108.
- 9/ Ibid., Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/34/24), vol. I, part II, chap. VIII.
- 10/ A/AC.131/241, para.10.
- 11/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/37/24), para. 767.
- 12/ A/AC.131/179, p. 3.
- 13/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/32/23/Rev.1), vol. I, annex II, para. 5.
- 14/ Ibid., Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/34/24/Rev.1).
- 15/ Ibid., Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/18424); see also Namibia: The Facts (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, January 1982), p. 3.
- 16/ Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report, vol. V, 23 July 1985.
- 17/ Africa Confidential (London), vol. 29, No. 18.
- 18/ A/AC.131/179.
- 19/ The Windhoek Advertiser, 23 October 1984.

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- 20/ SWAPO Information Bulletin (Luanda), July 1986.
- 21/ Robert S. Jaster, "South Africa's narrowing security options", Adelphi Papers, No. 159 (London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1980), p. 28.
- 22/ British Broadcasting Corporation, Summary of World Broadcasts and Monitoring Reports, ME/W.1331/A2/9, 26 March 1985.
- 23/ The Windhoek Advertiser, 1 August 1985.
- 24/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 29 July 1980; see also Report of the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, Paris, 25-29 April 1983 (A/CONF.120/13), para. 73; and The Windhoek Advertiser, 25 April 1985.
- 25/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 29 July 1983; see also the Resister (Journal of the Committee on South African War Resistance), No. 12, p. 15.
- 26/ Phyllis Johnson and David Martin, eds., Destructive Engagement: Southern Africa at War (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House of the Southern Africa Research and Documentation Centre, 1986), p. 129.
- 27/ Ibid., p. 135.
- 28/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 17 September 1982; see also The Financial Times (London), 14 September 1982.
- 29/ The Financial Times (London), 25 May 1982 and 14 September 1982.
- 30/ The Washington Post, 27 September 1982.
- 31/ The Financial Times (London), 14 September 1982; see also British Broadcasting Corporation, Summary of World Broadcasts, part 4, No. ME/7192, September 1982.
- 32/ A/CONF.138/4-A/AC.131/79/Add.1.
- 33/ The Combatant (Luanda), February 1985.
- 34/ United Nations Press Release NAM/807, 1 February 1985; see also Quarterly Economic Review of Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (London), No. 1, 1985, p. 13.
- 35/ Quarterly Economic Review of Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, Annual Supplement 1985, p. 13.

Notes (continued)

36/ Abdul Minty, "South Africa's nuclear capability: the apartheid bomb", paper presented at the International Seminar on the United Nations Arms Embargo against South Africa (United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, London, 28-30 May 1986), p. 1.

37/ International Atomic Energy Agency, Resolutions and Other Decisions of the General Conference, Thirtieth regular session, resolution GC(XXX)Res/468.

38/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/35/24), vol. I, annex II.

39/ Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-first Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1986, document S/18087/Rev.1.

40/ Ibid., document S/18163.

41/ Ibid., Supplement for July, August and September 1986, document S/18282; see also The Christian Science Monitor (Boston), 15 August 1986; and Reuters dispatches, Lisbon, 10, 11 and 12 August 1986.

42/ Tass dispatch, Luanda, 7 November 1986; Angop press agency dispatch, 8 November 1986; and The Washington Post, 8 November 1986.

43/ The Royal Gazette (Hamilton), 5 February 1985.

44/ Ibid., 14 August 1985.

45/ Ibid., 9 February 1985.

46/ Ibid., 5 August 1985.

47/ 1985 Guam Annual Economic Review, p. 40.

48/ Pacific Daily News (Guam), 15 June 1985.

49/ 1985 Guam Annual Economic Review, p. 109.

50/ Ibid., p. 41.

51/ Ibid., p. 40.

52/ A/AC.109/905, para. 9.

53/ The Europa Yearbook (London, Europa Publications, Ltd., 1987), p. 2962.

54/ The Daily News (United States Virgin Islands), 28 July 1986.

55/ Ibid., 22 November 1986.

56/ Ibid., 25 October 1986.

Notes (continued)

57/ Ibid., 4 December 1986.

58/ General Assembly decision 37/420 of 23 November 1982.

59/ General Assembly resolution 41/39 A of 20 November 1986.

Annex I

SOUTH AFRICAN OCCUPATION BASES AND UNITS PERMANENTLY STATIONED
IN NAMIBIA*

Location	Facilities and units
Windhoek	South West Africa Command Headquarters (non-SWATF) SWATF headquarters South West Africa Brigade 91 headquarters Battalion 911 headquarters Armoured Car Regiment 91 Composite Field Regiment 91 Maintenance Unit 91 Alta Feste Area Force Unit Khomasdal Area Force Unit Air Force Base South West Africa Squadron 1
Grootfontein	Northern Supply Command headquarters (non-SWATF) Engineer Support Unit 101 (non-SWATF) Workshop 101 (non-SWATF) Maintenance Unit 16 (non-SWATF) Transit camp for South Africa Defence Force (SADF) Units Area Force Unit Air Force Base
Ruacana	Kaokoveld Counter-insurgency headquarters Air Force Base
Oshakati	South Africa Police Headquarters and Detention Centre Army Base
Ondangwa	Ovambo Counter-insurgency headquarters Technical Services Unit 85 (non-SWATF) Air Force Base
Rundu	Kavango Counter-insurgency headquarters Battalion 202 Battalion 32 (non-SWATF) Air Force Base
Katima-Mulilo	Caprivi Counter-insurgency headquarters

* Medical and administrative units and supply bases are not listed.

Location	Facilities and units
Okahandja	South West Africa Military School Area Force Unit
Walvis Bay	South Africa Infantry Battalion Group 2 (non-SWATF) Rooskop Air Force Base South Africa Navy Base
Omega	Battalion 201
Bagani/Buffalo	Battalion 32 (non-SWATF)
Mpache	Battalion 701 Air Force Base
Eenhana	Battalion 32 (non-SWATF)
Olunu	Battalion 101
Tsumkwe	Battalion 203
Opuwo	Battalion 102
Otjosundu	Company, Battalion 911
Kamanjab	Company, Battalion 911
Drimiopsis	Company, Battalion 911
Navaspoort	Company, Battalion 911
Narubis	Company, Battalion 911
Oshivello	Major base South West Africa Specialist Unit 1
Namutoni	Battalion 913
Omaruru	Battalion 912 Area Force Unit
Okakuejo	Etosha Area Force Unit
Outjo	Major base Area Force Unit
Otjiwarongo	Major base Area Force Unit

Location	Facilities and units
Okakarara	Hereroland Area Force Unit
Uis	Damaraland Area Force Unit
Gobabis	Area Force Unit
Swakopmund	Area Force Unit
Rehoboth	Area Force Unit
Aminius	Area Force Unit
Aranos	Bo Nossob Area Force Unit
Stampriet	Anob Area Force Unit
Mariental	Area Force Unit
Gibeon	Namaland Area Force Unit
Bethanien	Area Force Unit
Keetmanshoop	Area Force Unit
Luderitz	Area Force Unit
Karasburg	Area Force Unit
Oranjemund	Area Force Unit
Rietfontein	Area Force Unit
Khomas Hochland	Area Force Unit

Other large bases include Nkongo, Oshigambe, Oshikango, Andara, Otavi and Tsumeb.

The location of the following SWATF units is not known:

- South West Africa Signal Regiment 1
- South West Africa Engineer Regiment 1
- South West Africa Medium Workshop 1
- Engineer Squadron 16
- South West Africa Services School
- Provost Unit 1

Source: Apartheid's Army in Namibia, Fact Paper No. 10 on Southern Africa (London, International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1982).

Annex II

GENERAL ASSEMBLY DECISION 42/417 OF 4 DECEMBER 1987

Military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

1. The General Assembly, having considered the question of 'Military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples' and recalling its decision 41/405 of 31 October 1986 on the question, deplores the fact that the colonial Powers concerned have taken no steps to implement the request that the General Assembly has repeatedly addressed to them, most recently in paragraph 10 of its resolution 41/41 B of 2 December 1986, to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones.

2. In recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and all other relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations relating to military bases and installations in colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories, the General Assembly reaffirms its strong conviction that the presence of military bases and installations in the colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories could constitute a major obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration and that it is the responsibility of the administering Powers to ensure that the existence of such bases and installations does not hinder the populations of the Territories from exercising their right to self-determination and independence in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration. Furthermore, aware of the presence of military bases and installations of the administering Powers concerned and other countries in those Territories, the Assembly urges the administering Powers concerned to continue to take all necessary measures not to involve those Territories in any offensive acts or interference against other States and to comply fully with the purposes and principles of the Charter, the Declaration and the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations relating to military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration.

3. The General Assembly reiterates its condemnation of all military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration that are detrimental to the rights and interests of the

colonial peoples concerned, especially their right to self-determination and independence. The Assembly once again calls upon the colonial Powers concerned to terminate immediately and unconditionally such activities and eliminate such military bases in compliance with the relevant resolutions of the Assembly, in particular with paragraph 9 of the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in the annex to Assembly resolution 35/118 of 11 December 1980.

4. The General Assembly declares that the colonial Territories and areas adjacent thereto should not be used for nuclear testing, dumping of nuclear wastes or deployment of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

5. The General Assembly notes with serious concern that, in southern Africa in general, and in and around Namibia in particular, a critical situation continues to prevail as a result of South Africa's continued illegal occupation of the Territory and its inhuman repression of the people of South Africa. The racist régime has resorted to desperate measures in order to suppress by force the legitimate aspirations of those peoples and, in its escalating war against them and their national liberation movements, struggling for freedom, justice and independence, the régime has repeatedly committed acts of armed aggression against neighbouring independent African countries, particularly Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe, which have caused extensive loss of human lives and destruction of the economic infrastructure. The Assembly condemns in particular the repeated acts of aggression carried out by racist South Africa against Angola. It emphasizes the particular gravity of this violation of the Charter, carried out from illegally occupied Namibia. It declares the destabilization of Angola and the occupation of part of its territory to be an extension of the hegemonistic scheme of apartheid on which the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia is based.

6. The General Assembly strongly condemns South Africa for its military buildup in Namibia, its persistent acts of aggression and subversion, particularly against Angola and Mozambique, its introduction of compulsory military service for Namibians, its proclamation of a so-called security zone in Namibia, its forced recruitment and training of Namibians for tribal armies, its use of mercenaries to suppress the Namibian people and carry out its attacks against independent African States, in particular the front-line States, its illegal use of Namibian territory for acts of aggression against independent African States and its forcible displacement of Namibians from their homes. The Assembly calls upon all States to take effective measures to prevent the recruitment, training and transit of mercenaries for service in Namibia. It condemns the continued military, nuclear and intelligence collaboration between South Africa and certain countries, which constitutes a violation of the arms embargo imposed against South Africa by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977, and which poses a threat to international peace and security. The Assembly urges that the Security Council consider, as a matter of urgency, the report of the Committee

established under its resolution 421 (1977) of 9 December 1977 a/ and that it adopt further measures to widen the scope of resolution 418 (1977) in order to make it more effective and comprehensive. The Assembly also calls for the scrupulous observance of Security Council resolution 558 (1984) of 13 December 1984 enjoining Member States to refrain from importing armaments from South Africa. The Assembly is particularly mindful in that regard of a series of resolutions adopted by the Security Council during 1985, b/ in which the Council strongly condemned the acts of armed aggression committed by the racist régime, and of the relevant documents adopted by the Organization of African Unity, the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the question of Namibia, held at New Delhi from 19 to 21 April 1985, c/ the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the Forty-first Session of the United Nations General Assembly held in New York on 2 October 1986, d/ the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare from 1 to 6 September 1986 e/ and the extraordinary plenary meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia, held at Luanda from 18 to 22 May 1987. f/

7. The General Assembly demands the urgent dismantling of all military bases in the international Territory of Namibia and calls for the immediate cessation of the war of oppression waged by the racist minority régime against the people of Namibia and their national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization, their sole and authentic representative. Reaffirming the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Namibia to achieve their freedom and independence, the Assembly appeals to all States to render sustained and increased moral and political support, as well as assistance in all fields, to the South West Africa People's Organization to enable it to intensify its struggle for the liberation of Namibia.

a/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980, document S/14179.

b/ Security Council resolutions 567 (1985) of 20 June 1985, 568 (1985) of 21 June 1985, 571 (1985) of 20 September 1985, 574 (1985) of 7 October 1985, 577 (1985) of 6 December 1985 and 580 (1985) of 30 December 1985.

c/ A/40/307-S/17184 and Corr.1, annex. See also Official Records of the Security Council, Fortieth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1985, document S/17114.

d/ A/41/703-S/18395, annex.

e/ A/41/697-S/18392, annex.

f/ A/42/325-S/18901, annex.

8. The General Assembly considers that the acquisition of nuclear weapons capability by the racist régime of South Africa, with its infamous record of violence and aggression, constitutes a further effort on its part to terrorize and intimidate independent States in the region into submission while also posing a threat to all mankind. The Assembly condemns the continuing support to the racist régime of South Africa in the military and nuclear fields. In this context, the Assembly expresses its concern at the grave consequences for international peace and security of the collaboration between the racist régime of South Africa and certain Western Powers, Israel and other countries in the military and nuclear fields. It calls upon the States concerned to end all such collaboration and, in particular, to halt the supply to South Africa of equipment, technology, nuclear materials and related training, which increases its nuclear capability.

9. The General Assembly, noting that the militarization of Namibia has led to the forced conscription of Namibians, to a greatly increasing flow of refugees and to a tragic disorganization of the family life of the Namibian people, strongly condemns the forcible and wholesale displacement of Namibians from their homes for military and political purposes and the introduction of compulsory military service for Namibians and declares that all measures by the illegal occupation régime to enforce military conscription in Namibia are null and void. In this connection, the Assembly urges all Governments, the specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations to provide increased material assistance to the thousands of refugees who have been forced by the apartheid régime's oppressive policies in Namibia and South Africa to flee into the neighbouring States.

10. The General Assembly, in recalling its resolutions ES-8/2 of 14 September 1981 and S-14/1 of 20 September 1986, by which it strongly urged States to cease forthwith, individually and collectively, all collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa in order totally to isolate it politically, economically, militarily and culturally, strongly condemns the continuing collaboration of certain countries with the racist régime in the political, economic, military and nuclear fields. The Assembly expresses its conviction that continuing military collaboration, in addition to strengthening the aggressive military machinery of the Pretoria régime, thereby constituting a hostile action against the people of Namibia and the front-line States, is also in violation of the arms embargo imposed against South Africa under Security Council resolution 418 (1977). It calls for the termination forthwith of all such collaboration as it undermines international solidarity against the apartheid régime and helps to perpetuate that régime's illegal occupation of Namibia.

11. The General Assembly deprecates the continued alienation of land in colonial Territories for military installations. The large-scale utilization of local economic and manpower resources for this purpose diverts resources that could be more beneficially utilized in promoting the economic development of the Territories concerned and is thus contrary to the interests of their populations.

12. The General Assembly requests the Secretary-General to continue, through the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat, an intensified campaign of publicity with a view to informing world public opinion of the facts concerning the military activities and arrangements in colonial Territories which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

13. The General Assembly requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to examine this question and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its forty-third session.

