

be ascribed in this context to the words: "peoples" and "nations". Does the for applying it. Indeed, there is little agreement concerning the meaning to acceptance of the principle imply that there is a right of peoples to determine their internal form of government, or a right to independence of countries which are not fully self-governing, or a right to be free from foreign control or intervention in their internal affairs? Does it imply the right of component parts of existing national entities to secede and establish autonomous units? How are minority groups to be considered for this purpose? What necessary conditions, if any, are to be met before the principle should be implemented in particular cases? These and other similar questions have been answered differently by different members of the United Nations. The fact that there is a fundamental cleavage of views on this subject within the membership of the United Nations emerged even more clearly during the debate at the tenth session of the General Assembly, when the Third Committee, against the wishes of a minority, which included Canada, adopted for inclusion in the draft International Covenants on Human Rights, an article which states that "all peoples have the right to self-determination".

During the years the notion of self-determination has been an important factor in the consideration of many subjects before the First (Political and Security) and Special Political Committees and of the problems before the Fourth Committee (which is responsible for questions relating to trust and non-self-governing territories).

More specifically, it has for some time been a separate item on the agenda of the Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee, to which three draft resolutions on the subject of self-determination were transmitted by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 1955. The first two of these resolutions, dealing respectively with the economic and the political aspects of self-determination, were originally submitted by the Human Rights Commission. The first of these proposals would provide for the establishment of a special commission to conduct "a full survey of the status of the permanent sovereignty of peoples and nations over their natural wealth and resources", with recommendations where necessary, for the strengthening of "this basic constituent of the right to self-determination". The resolution also provided that, in the conduct of this survey, "due regard will be paid to the rights and duties of states under international law and to the importance of encouraging international co-operation in the economic development of under-developed countries". The second proposal would provide for the establishment of a similar commission to examine "any situation resulting from alleged denial or inadequate realization of the right of self-determination", to "provide its good offices for the peaceful rectification" of any such situation, and, if necessary, to "report the facts, with appropriate recommendations, to the General Assembly". To these two proposals, ECOSOC had added a third: namely, to "establish an *ad hoc* commission on self-determination consisting of five persons to be appointed by the Secretary-General, to conduct a thorough study of the concept of self-determination".

Because of the pressure of business during past sessions, the substance of these proposals had not been discussed. However, the General Assembly, at its twelfth session, adopted a resolution by which it was decided, *inter alia*, to consider the item further at the thirteenth session. At the thirteenth session it was apparent that many delegations wished to see action taken on at least one of the three resolutions before the Committee (agenda item 33). Resolution III (which had been sponsored at ECOSOC by the United States Delegation) had been criticized on the grounds that it called into question the