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SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE THIRTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 19 April 1962, at 11.5 a.m.

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PRESENT:

<u>Chairman:</u>	Mr. RIFAI	(Syria)
later,	Mr. JHA	India
<u>Rapporteur:</u>	Mr. RIFAI	Syria
<u>Members:</u>	Mr. PLIMSOLL	Australia
	Mr. KOUN WICK	Cambodia
	Mr. WODAJO	Ethiopia
	Mr. NATWAR SINGH	India
	Mr. IVELLA)	Italy
	Mr. ZITO)	
	Mr. ANDRIAMAHARO	Madagascar
	Mr. TRAORE	Mali
	Mr. SOLTYSIAK	Poland
	Mr. NSILO SWAI	Tanganyika
	Mr. MESTIRI	Tunisia
	Mr. OBEREMKO	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
	Mr. CROWE	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
	Mr. BINGHAM)	United States of America
	Mr. BLAKE)	
	Mr. SILVA SUCRE	Venezuela
	Mr. KREACIC	Yugoslavia
<u>Secretariat:</u>	Mr. CHACKO	Secretary of the Committee

NORTHERN RHODESIA (A/5078/Add.7) (continued)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Stewart Gore-Browne, Mr. T.L. Desai and Mr. A.N.L. Wina, took places at the Committee table.

Mr. OBEREMKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) noted that Mr. Kaunda's party was willing to take part in the forthcoming elections, even under a Constitution which it considered to be unjust and racist and which it thought should be abolished and replaced by a new and truly democratic Constitution. That being so, the five conditions on which the party would participate in the elections were of particular importance. One of those conditions was the establishment of an independent and impartial commission to delimit the constituencies. He would like to know what in Mr. Kaunda's opinion the membership of the commission should be in order to ensure its independence and impartiality.

He would also like to know what effect the presence of Federal troops in Northern Rhodesia would have on the freedom of action of the political parties, which was one of the essential conditions laid down by Mr. Kaunda.

Mr. KAUNDA (United National Independence Party) said that his party's decision had been reached after careful consideration. It was because it had felt that its abstention would be disastrous for the country that UNIP had decided to participate in the elections, even under a Constitution which it disliked, subject to certain conditions.

He admitted that it would be difficult to ensure that the commission for the delimitation of the constituencies was truly independent. He thought that the best solution would be to request the United Kingdom Government to appoint an impartial judge, as it had already done on several occasions, to head the commission, the other members of which would be one white man and one black man who should not be closely allied to any political party.

The presence of Federal troops in Northern Rhodesia was not only a means of intimidation but a real danger to peace and good order in the country, as had been proved by the sad events which had taken place in 1961, when UNIP had engaged in non-violent action.

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He emphasized in that connexion that since Sir Roy Welensky's Federal Government had the power to mobilize all Europeans between the ages of eighteen and fifty in what was called the Territorial Army, it could paralyse the industries, the administration and many departments in the country, almost all of which were headed by white men. Many white members of his party who had refused to register as Territorials so as not to have to fire upon their fellow-countrymen were threatened with prosecution.

Mr. OBEREMKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) recalled that in February 1962 a newspaper, the West Africa Pilot, had reported that the Federal Government had purchased helicopters and intended to purchase rockets which could be fired from aircraft at ground targets. That fact seemed to prove that there was no question of defence against an imaginary attack from outside and the step taken should be considered in conjunction with the statements made in London by Sir Roy Welensky to the effect that he was prepared to use force. He asked what information Mr. Kaunda had on that question.

Mr. KAUNDA (United National Independence Party) replied that that information was correct. Sir Roy Welensky apparently possessed not only rockets but eight military helicopters, presumably purchased from some big European country. He also had FN rifles, very dangerous weapons which had been used the previous year against UNIP supporters.

Those weapons could not have been purchased in anticipation of an external attack, since the Federation had no enemies among its neighbours. Tanganyika was bent on raising the level of living of its people and was spending no money on armaments; Angola seemed to have come to some military arrangement with the Federation; the Republic of South Africa was going to conduct air exercises jointly with the Federation; as far as Katanga was concerned, Sir Roy Welensky had admitted that he was thinking of some kind of union between Katanga and the Central African Federation; indeed that was one of the factors which was contributing to the difficulties in the Congo. Since the weapons accumulated under the orders of Sir Roy Welensky were not intended for the defence of the Federation against an enemy, the logical conclusion was that they were intended to be used against that part of the population which claimed its legitimate right to run its own affairs.

Mr. OBEREMKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) wished to ask a question about the membership of the Legislative Council. With reference to the elected members of the Council, Mr. Kaunda had explained the manoeuvres devised by the British colonialists to prevent there being an African majority. He also noted that under the constitutional proposals submitted to Parliament by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in February 1961, the Governor retained powers which would enable him to add to the Legislative Council, in addition to the elected members, a number of nominated members as determined by Her Majesty's Government from time to time. He wondered whether, in the event of the real representatives of the African population of Northern Rhodesia obtaining a majority in the Legislative Council, the Governor would not make use of those powers to nullify that victory.

Mr. KAUNDA (United National Independence Party) said that that question was one on which his party laid particular emphasis. UNIP had made it clear to the United Kingdom Government that it considered the Constitution to be unworkable and that should the fourteen "national" seats remain vacant after the election - the fifteenth was reserved for Asians - his party was not prepared to see those vacancies filled by nominated members, who were merely the tools of those who nominated them. The United Kingdom Government had promised that in the event of some seats remaining vacant there would be by-elections and that if the seats were still not filled there would be no nominations other than the two provided for in the Constitution.

He did not know what value could be attached to the United Kingdom Government's promise, since many of its promises had been broken.

Mr. OBEREMKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he understood Mr. Kaunda's statement to lay down a sixth condition in addition to the five he had previously enumerated. He asked what the attitude of Mr. Kaunda's party would be if the United Kingdom Government refused to accept all those conditions.

Mr. KAUNDA (United National Independence Party) explained that, since two of the conditions he had previously mentioned - the release of political prisoners and the lifting of bans on political parties - in fact constituted one condition, there were actually five conditions in all. They were the following:

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firstly, the immediate appointment of an independent and impartial commission to delimit the constituencies; secondly, no nomination of members to any "national" seats which might be left vacant; thirdly, an amnesty for political prisoners and the lifting of the ban on movements and activities of the African nationalist leaders; fourthly, no Federal Review Conference until Northern Rhodesia had a representative majority in the Legislative Council; fifthly, the elections should take place earlier than the proposed date of October.

The United Kingdom Government must know that the Constitution it had offered was so bad and so racist that UNIP had agreed to participate in the elections only in order to prevent the chaos which Sir Roy Welensky might bring to the country. The conditions laid down by UNIP were clear and were based on the principle "one man, one vote, one value". They sprang from a genuine desire to help the country and were designed to enable the people themselves to decide the future of the country. It was therefore to be hoped that the United Kingdom Government, taking a realistic attitude, would appreciate UNIP's intentions and would meet its legitimate demands. If, however, the United Kingdom Government refused to accept the conditions stipulated, it was greatly to be feared that the consequences would be tragic.

Mr. OBEREMKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) thought that in the circumstances it would be reasonable to ask the United Kingdom representative what attitude his Government had adopted with regard to the UNIP conditions.

Mr. CROWE (United Kingdom) said that the position of the United Kingdom Government would be made clear in the course of the debate.

Mr. OBEREMKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) took note of that statement.

He considered that it would be of great interest to the Committee to be in possession of the information transmitted by Mr. Kaunda to the Acting Secretary-General indicating that Mr. Tshombe had received assistance from Sir Roy Welensky, through Northern Rhodesia, which was not confined to the supply of foodstuffs. He wondered whether Mr. Kaunda would prefer to give the Committee that information direct or to leave it to the Acting Secretary-General to transmit it to the Committee.

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Mr. KAUNDA (United National Independence Party) said that, since he had communicated that information to the Acting Secretary-General, it was not for him to disclose the details to the Committee. If the Committee so desired, it could ask the Secretary-General to transmit the information to it.

Mr. OBEREMKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he agreed with Mr. Kaunda's opinion on that point.

The USSR delegation would like to know what foreign companies controlled the copper mines and other mines in Northern Rhodesia and what links there might be between those companies and the companies which were engaged in similar activities in neighbouring territories and provinces, such as Katanga (Congo, Leopoldville).

He did not expect an immediate reply to that question, but if the petitioners were in possession of the information they might perhaps communicate it to the Committee either at a later meeting or in the form of a supplementary document.

Mr. KAUNDA (United National Independence Party) said that he would endeavour to supply the information requested at a later stage.

Mr. Jha (India) took the Chair.

Mr. NSILO SWAI (Tanganyika) said that he understood that Mr. Kaunda was at present Chairman of PAFMECA. He would like to have some information on that organization and its position with regard to the present situation in Northern Rhodesia and in the Central African Federation.

Mr. KAUNDA (United National Independence Party) explained that PAFMECA stood for the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and South Africa. It was part of the Pan-African Movement which had its headquarters at Accra and it was an administrative unit covering the following countries: Somalia, Ethiopia, Tanganyika and the Congo (Leopoldville), which were sovereign States, and Ruanda-Urundi, Uganda, Kenya, Zanzibar, Mozambique, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Angola, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and South West Africa. At the beginning of the year, delegates from all those countries had met at Addis Ababa and had elected him Chairman of the organization for the year 1962. The activities of PAFMECA and the fact that he had been able to accept the chairmanship showed how unfounded were certain allegations made against the African leaders of Northern Rhodesia. Because those leaders wanted to abolish

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Independence Party)

the present federation, they had been mistakenly regarded as isolationists. They were, however, the first to recognize the advantages of unity. They knew, for example, that in the contemporary world the major Powers were all States with some kind of federal system. The same would apply to the great Powers of the future. In Europe itself the leaders were at present discussing a political union. He and his colleagues considered, however, that any plan for some form of union or federation must be based primarily on the will of the people of the area concerned. It was therefore necessary to begin by establishing the principle "one man, one vote, one value" and then to organize a general referendum on the question. In that way the people themselves would make the decision and the organization thus founded would be a democratic one.

Mr. NSILO SWAI (Tanganyika) thanked Mr. Kaunda. He would reserve his observations on the constitutional situation in Northern Rhodesia until a later stage.

Mr. WODAJO (Ethiopia) recalled that the United Kingdom Government, in contrast to its attitude with regard to Southern Rhodesia, did not disclaim responsibility for the administration of Northern Rhodesia. That was clear from the fact that it had agreed to apply to Northern Rhodesia the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter and to supply information under Article 73 e, as also from the fact that Her Majesty was represented in Northern Rhodesia by a Governor whose assent was required for all laws enacted by the so-called legislature. Nevertheless, it might be questioned whether that responsibility was effectively exercised with regard to the people of Northern Rhodesia and whether, particularly in the field of defence, the United Kingdom Government did not seem to be overshadowed by the Federal and Territorial Governments, which had their own means of ensuring their defence.

He would therefore like to know to what extent the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government in the administration of the Territory was manifested to the ordinary people of Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. KAUNDA (United National Independence Party) pointed out that in Northern Rhodesia the ordinary man and woman aspired to immediate self-determination and national independence. Those aspirations brought them into conflict with the United Kingdom Government, which, although it had recognized

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through the voice of its Prime Minister the need for a rapid change in the country, was acting in an entirely opposite direction. There had been a gradual diminution of the right of intervention by the United Kingdom Government as, careless of the future, it had delegated more and more powers to Sir Roy Welensky. The more power the latter assumed, the less able was the United Kingdom to discharge its responsibilities to the people of Northern Rhodesia.

Sir Roy Welensky, with the support of the army, was now so powerful that it might well be asked whether he was going to exercise his full power and whether, if he took up arms, the United Kingdom would still be able to exercise sufficient influence to prevent him from plunging Northern Rhodesia into a blood bath.

It was the duty of the United Kingdom representative to assure the Committee that his country still had the power to intervene and that it was capable of exercising that power in practice.

The CHAIRMAN said that several other members of the Committee might perhaps wish to put questions to Mr. Kaunda at a later meeting, when they had studied the text of his statements and replies.

Mr. KAUNDA (United National Independence Party) said that he and his colleagues would be at the Chairman's disposal.

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, Sir Stewart Gore-Browne, Mr. T.L. Desai and Mr. A.N. Wina withdrew.

OTHER BUSINESS

The CHAIRMAN recalled that the Committee had approved a questionnaire which had been addressed to the Governments of the United Kingdom and Portugal. The Secretariat would like to have instructions on whether the questionnaire should be addressed to the Government of South Africa in connexion with South West Africa, since the Committee had decided to consider first the situation in African countries, and whether it should be addressed to Governments administering Territories in other parts of the world, for example, in Asia and the Pacific.

Mr. OBEREMKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) considered that the questionnaire should be sent to all Administering Powers without exception, in

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whatever region of the world the Territories they administered were situated. The Governments concerned could thus proceed immediately to collect the necessary information. With regard to the dates by which replies should be received, the Committee had already decided to leave it to the Chairman to fix those dates on the basis of the Committee's programme of work.

Mr. PLIMSOLL (Australia) said that no doubt all the Administering Powers had already taken certain steps in preparation for answering the questionnaire when they received it. He feared, however, that difficulties might arise if the Committee decided that the Chairman or the Secretariat should send questionnaires to all Administering Powers. It had not yet been clearly established what constituted a Non-Self-Governing Territory. There was obviously no dispute in the majority of cases, but opinions might differ regarding certain Territories. It would perhaps be useful to ensure that all Members of the United Nations were aware of the existence of the questionnaire and of the fact that they might be asked by the Committee to reply to it at an appropriate time, but his delegation considered that it would be preferable to wait and send the questionnaire at a time which the Committee considered appropriate for each of the Governments concerned, bearing in mind the date at which it intended to discuss a particular Territory. If the Committee decided to send the questionnaire to all Administering Powers immediately, it would automatically be taking a position on what was a Non-Self-Governing Territory and what was not, and he saw no point in broaching that subject prematurely.

The CHAIRMAN suggested that the Committee might defer its decision on the points which he had mentioned until the next meeting, in order to enable delegations to hold informal conversations in the meantime.

It was so decided.

Mr. OBERENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) recalled that the Committee had taken a decision in principle regarding the dissemination, by the United Nations Information Office, of information concerning the Committee, its membership, its terms of reference and its programme of work. As far as he knew, the practical steps taken in implementation of that decision had so far gone no

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further than an exchange of correspondence between various departments of the Secretariat. It seemed to the USSR delegation that the moment had come for the dissemination of such information in all Trust Territories, Non-Self-Governing Territories and other Territories which were still dependent. He therefore proposed that the secretariat of the Committee should be asked to draw up a draft special communication which could be submitted to the Committee by 23 April; the information in question could then be transmitted without delay to all the Territories and disseminated as widely as possible. The Committee's decision had been taken in February; the Committee could not afford to waste any more time and the question was simple enough to be decided immediately.

The CHAIRMAN recalled that at a previous meeting he had suggested that United Nations information channels should be used for the publicizing of the Committee's programme. The Under-Secretary for Public Information had informed the Committee Secretary that press releases would be drawn up whenever necessary, as the various stages were reached in the Committee's work. The Soviet Union representative apparently had in mind some kind of pamphlet or information bulletin drawn up by the Secretariat of the Committee. It was entirely open to the Committee to consider that suggestion.

Mr. WODAJO (Ethiopia) supported the Soviet Union representative's proposal. The Committee was an organ created by a decision of the General Assembly and entrusted with a task of exceptional importance. Its authority was derived from the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which had been adopted by an almost unanimous vote of the General Assembly. He felt that the various information media of the United Nations had not given the Committee's work the importance which it deserved; for example, the last number of the United Nations Review had only one paragraph on its activities, whereas it devoted a whole article to the activities of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. It was the duty of the United Nations to enlighten world public opinion and to keep the peoples whose problems the Committee was considering informed of its activities, particularly as, in some Territories, the authorities censored the information which should reach the people. There was, perhaps, no need for special measures but his delegation considered that the ordinary

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information media of the United Nations should be fully utilized and should give due prominence to the Committee's activities.

Mr. NATWAR SINGH (India) associated himself with the remarks made by the representatives of the Soviet Union and Ethiopia. He felt that the Committee was a unique and historic Committee and that the United Nations information services should give its activities the widest possible publicity, in order that the peoples concerned might know that it was studying problems which were of vital importance to them, and that all who were interested in such questions - the majority of the world's inhabitants - might be kept informed of what the Committee was doing.

Mr. TRAORE (Mali) supported the Soviet Union representative's proposal. The delegation of Mali had been disappointed to see that the United Nations publications had devoted only a few lines to the Committee's work and it was surprised to note how little importance seemed to be attached, within the United Nations to that work. He would like the Secretariat to be asked what could be done to remedy the situation.

The CHAIRMAN asked the Committee Secretary to explain the Secretariat's position in the matter.

Mr. CHACKO (Secretary of the Committee) said that the decision mentioned by the Soviet Union representative had been taken at the twentieth meeting of the Committee and that a copy of the verbatim record of that meeting had been transmitted to the Under-Secretary for Public Information by the Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. The Under-Secretary for Public Information had explained that his Office had been issuing press releases on the work of the Committee since its inauguration. Release DS/2403 of 23 March had referred to the work programme on which the Committee had agreed. Press releases reporting the Committee's deliberations were sent by air to all information centres and were made available to all press correspondents at Headquarters. In addition, the United Nations radio programmes had reported the Committee's work. The public would continue to be informed by means of press releases and broadcasts, of the future meetings of the Committee and of its programme of work as that was formulated and announced.

(Mr. Chacko, Secretary of the Committee)

If the Committee wished its secretariat to draw up a draft of a release or of some other publication, he would be glad if the Committee would indicate what its contents should be, in general terms.

The CHAIRMAN noted that it seemed to be the general view that adequate publicity should be given to the Committee's work and that the publicity now given was not altogether adequate. It seemed to be the wish of members that the Committee's secretariat should prepare a draft of a brief descriptive brochure on the work and activities of the Committee and should submit it to the Committee for consideration. He suggested that the secretariat of the Committee should be asked to submit such a draft communication early the following week.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.
