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**AGENDA ITEM 23**

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: reports of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (continued)

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA**

**REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (PART II)**  
[A/6041/ADD.1]

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon representatives who wish to explain their votes in advance.
2. Mr. JUARBE Y JUARBE (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to express my delegation's pleasure at your recovery.
3. We have before us the draft resolution which appears in document A/6041/Add.1, concerning a question which the United Kingdom representative himself, Lord Caradon, has described as the most serious matter now before the United Nations. In connexion with this question, some of my colleagues, including the United Kingdom representative, feel that the draft resolution now before us is not necessary because we adopted another resolution on Southern Rhodesia [resolution 2012 (XX)] a few days ago.
4. We think that it is pertinent to recall firstly that, although we did adopt a resolution, it was a provisional one.
5. Secondly, according to the United Kingdom representative himself, this is the most serious question now before us. We wonder whether, after adopting a provisional resolution, which calls for a substantive

resolution, it is not necessary, in dealing with a matter described as the most serious one now confronting the United Nations, to adopt the relevant substantive resolution.

6. This is not the whole story, however. We already know that the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia has declared a state of emergency; we already know that the United Kingdom Parliament is in permanent session owing to this worsening of the crisis in Southern Rhodesia. In addition, we have just been told that Mr. Smith will make a declaration within forty-eight hours. Since a state of emergency has been declared, what kind of declaration can this Assembly expect? The news that a state of emergency had been declared came as a great shock to us, because it was the general impression that this might be the first of a series of steps leading to the final goal of the illegal, racist, minority, virtually foreign régime of the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia.

7. For many years, the gravity of the situation has been stressed by many delegations, and particularly by those of the countries most directly concerned, the African countries. Their description of the situation as "explosive" was questioned, but today not even the administering Power itself questions the explosiveness of the present situation in Southern Rhodesia; it goes so far as to describe it as the most serious question before this Assembly. Several years ago we were told that because of its explosiveness, this situation constituted a threat to the peace and security of the region and of all Africa, and that the explosion and its aftermath could involve other Powers outside that Continent.

8. Yet attempts are still being made to contest the statement in operative paragraph 13 of the draft resolution that this situation threatens international peace and security. Why should it be contested? On what basis can it be contested, when the administering Power tells us here that this is the most serious and explosive question now before the General Assembly?

9. Another objection which has been raised to the draft resolution—for which Cuba will vote—is the reference to the use of force. We fully understand the concern of the small Powers with regard to the use of force, and we share that concern for we belong to that group. We are in favour of opposing the use of force as a matter of principle, and specifically the use of force to solve international disputes, but to oppose the use of force simply because force is used, without further consideration, is an argument which fails to convince us, for not even the Charter is unconditionally opposed to the use of force and even

establishes machinery for its use in specific cases. Cuba opposes the use of force to solve international disputes, and we could speak at length on that theme because we have considerable experience of the suffering caused by the use of force, of which we are the victims.

10. Our situation as victims of the use of force in connexion with international disputes is well known to this Assembly, and we shall not therefore take up its time by repeating on this occasion this sad story of international relations and of the failure to implement the Charter.

11. In this instance, we are not concerned with the use of force between nations, but as the Mauritanian representative has quite rightly pointed out, with the use of force by an administering Power to check illegal and unjustifiable action, the use of force by a Power to deal with its own nationals—the Southern Rhodesian settlers.

12. As has very rightly been pointed out, however, we are not merely trying to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence; that is not the main purpose of the draft resolution, but an incidental one. The main objective is the independence, the true independence, the unconditional and absolute independence of Southern Rhodesia. The United Nations is in duty bound to assist the African inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia, who belong there by right and are struggling against heavy odds in a colonial State, who have inherited all the shackles of colonialism, an economic, political and social system and a régime based on force created by colonialism; it is the duty of the United Nations to do everything necessary to enable these people to achieve total, absolute and immediate independence.

13. For these reasons, and on the basis of the arguments expounded, Cuba whole-heartedly, enthusiastically and unreservedly supports the draft resolution before us. We shall vote in favour of each of its paragraphs and for the resolution as a whole.

14. Mr. BOSCO (Italy) (translated from French): The Italian delegation is closely and anxiously following the course of events in Southern Rhodesia. It has had the opportunity of stating its point of view on the question of Rhodesia on many occasions. We have done so in our statements and by our vote in favour of the resolutions adopted by the Committee of Twenty-Four during its mission in Africa, and quite recently, on 12 October by our vote in favour of resolution 2012 (XX), which this Assembly adopted almost unanimously.

15. We believe that the problems of Southern Rhodesia must be solved by establishing the rule of the majority in the territory, so that the whole population can have its say on what it considers genuine independence to be, with full respect for the principles of democracy and the equality of citizens.

16. We also believe that these objectives can and must be realized by peaceful means. For that reason, we are deeply disturbed by the rumors which periodically come from the territory to the effect that the Salisbury authorities intend unilaterally to proclaim independence. That is not the kind of independence which the United Nations advocates. Such a step

would precipitate a tragedy and result in a régime which the Organization could never recognize. We believe that this point of view is shared by the majority of States Members of the United Nations and we have been proud to associate ourselves with the 107 delegations which addressed a solemn warning to the authorities in Southern Rhodesia at the meeting of 12 October [1357th meeting].

17. For the same reasons, we cannot but regret that we are unable to support unconditionally the draft resolution approved on 1 November by the Fourth Committee and submitted to the General Assembly for its adoption [A/6041/Add.1, para. 11]. Our reservations were expressed in our vote in favour of the amendments submitted to the Committee by the delegations of Mexico and Costa Rica and by our vote on certain paragraphs [*ibid.*, para. 9].

18. Our major objection relates to paragraph 11, under which the General Assembly "invites the United Kingdom Government to take all necessary measures, including armed force" to ensure respect for the principles of the Charter. In our opinion, without going into the question of the Security Council's competence, the use of force does not seem desirable at the very time when negotiations are in progress. The Italian delegation appreciated the efforts of the United Kingdom Government to prevent the unilateral declaration of independence by the authorities of Southern Rhodesia and to make amendments to the Constitution possible which would be acceptable to the majority of the population. We are sure that the United Kingdom Government will continue to carry out its obligations to the African majority of the territory; the statement of the United Kingdom representative [1367th meeting] strengthens our hope.

19. In addition, we believe that certain provisions of the resolution are not likely to strengthen the hand of the United Kingdom in the negotiations which have been initiated with the Salisbury authorities; we would have preferred the draft resolution itself—whose objectives and principles we endorse—to have been framed or worded in a more satisfactory manner.

20. Finally, I would like to stress that it is with deep regret that the Italian delegation, for reasons relating mainly to the wording of paragraph 11, must abstain in the vote on the draft resolution as a whole, and will vote against the words relating to the use of armed force.

21. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution submitted by the Fourth Committee [A/6041/Add.1, para. 11]. Since a separate vote has been requested on paragraph 9, on the words "including armed force", which appear in paragraph 11, on paragraph 11 as a whole, and on paragraph 13, I shall put those parts of the draft resolution to the vote in succession.

*Paragraph 9 was adopted by 82 votes to 3, with 17 abstentions.*

*The words "including armed force", in paragraph 11, was adopted by 68 votes to 34, with 4 abstentions.*

*Paragraph 11 as a whole was adopted by 72 votes to 25, with 10 abstentions.*

*Paragraph 13 was adopted by 76 votes to 14, with 14 abstentions.*

22. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall now put the draft resolution as a whole to the vote. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Nigeria, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger.

*Against:* Portugal, South Africa, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand.

*Abstaining:* Norway, Panama, Spain, Sweden, Austria, Brazil, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Mexico.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 82 votes to 9, with 18 abstentions.*

#### ADEN

#### REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/6089)

Mr. NATWAR SINGH (India), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, introduced the report of that Committee.

*In accordance with rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.*

23. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I should like to recall that in accordance with the decision just taken by the Assembly, statements will be limited to explanations of vote.

24. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): I have come to the rostrum not to explain my vote, as our views on this item were already expressed in the general debate. Nor did I come to speak on the resolution, for we have already done so in the Committee. I have asked for the floor, instead, to express the appreciation of the sponsors for the support and the consideration which this resolution received in the Committee, and to renew the appeal which my delegation made as the then Chairman of the Afro-Asian group, in introducing, with the delegations of Tanzania and Iraq, the draft resolution now before us.

25. I have come to appeal to representatives to pay heed to the voice of the brave people of South Arabia

and to cast their vote in support of the rights of the people of this territory to self-determination expressed through universal adult suffrage and majority rule.

26. As we have stated before, the main issue before us on the question of Aden is not whether independence will be granted, but whether such independence will be in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and resolution 1949 (XVIII), whether the power will be transferred to the people or to the privileged few. In the name of cherished democratic principles which are presently being put to a severe test in the territory, in the name of the struggle for liberation being waged by the people of Aden for national unity and self-determination, I commend this resolution to this body, and I appeal to you to give it your unreserved and overwhelming support.

27. As the representative of Cyprus, I wish to extend to the people of South Arabia brotherly wishes and the assurance that the Government and people of my country stand unreservedly beside them in their struggle for self-determination.

28. Finally, I take this opportunity to express to the representatives of Costa Rica, Iraq and Tanzania my deep appreciation for the kind words they have expressed to my delegation in the Committee and in the General Assembly.

29. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I wish to explain why my delegation will vote against the resolution, and I also wish to comment shortly on the questions which the resolution raises. I think that my country has a responsibility to do so, since we are so closely concerned.

30. Anyone who has carefully read the reports of the debates in the Fourth Committee on the resolution before us must have been struck by the contrast between the thorough, careful and convincing statements made on behalf of my delegation, on the one hand, and, on the other, by the mistrust and suspicion displayed in some of the other speeches. The second striking fact is that, in spite of that contrast, there is agreement in the declared aims of all those who have taken part in the debate in the Fourth Committee. All are agreed on the aims of early self-determination and full independence, and those are the aims which my Government has set and pursued.

31. We in the United Nations have to face many intractable problems in other parts of the world, some of which seem to defy all efforts at settlement. We have to deal with many crises and conflicts which arise from deep-seated animosities and opposing interests and long-festering disputes. But in this question of South Arabia, in spite of the depths of suspicion which the resolution before us reflects, certainly the most outstanding fact is that there is no such basic dispute here; there is no disagreement whatsoever, in fact, between the declared aims of policy which my Government is following and the aims of those who are apparently so eager to impede the effort we are making to carry them out. Those who preach early independence are preaching to the converted.

32. On 30 September, in this Assembly [1344th meeting], I summarized the aims of policy which my



Government has repeatedly made clear. First, it has been the policy of my Government to bring together a score of protected States, together with the colony of Aden, to form a single, viable, independent State in South Arabia, and remarkable progress has already been made in carrying out that policy. Second, the aim of bringing South Arabia to independence as a unified sovereign State not later than 1968 has been agreed and announced, and my Government has repeatedly confirmed that aim. Third, my Government continues to make every effort to achieve those purposes by consultation and co-operation with all concerned.

33. We certainly recognize that it is no easy task which we have set ourselves in association with the people of South Arabia. More than ten years ago, a conference was called to consider association among the varied States of South Arabia. Further discussions in 1958, led to the federation in the following year of the first group of six States under a treaty with the United Kingdom which recognized their desire to develop into an independent State and pledged British support to help in this purpose. That was the beginning, and the purpose has been persistently pursued in subsequent years. In 1961 and 1962, discussions between the Ministers of Aden and the Federation led to Aden's accession to the Federation in January 1963 by the free choice of Aden's elected representatives. The original six States were joined by six more, and today the total is seventeen, out of the twenty-one States of South Arabia.

34. At a conference in London in 1964, it was agreed that South Arabia should become independent not later than 1968, and that all outstanding problems should be settled at a series of further conferences. Another important step was taken when our Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Greenwood, visited Aden in October 1964 and a joint statement was made by the Federal and Aden Ministers, with his agreement and support, calling for a unitary State. In less than ten years, therefore, excellent progress had been made.

35. Since then, there have been repeated initiatives, including a proposal for a constitutional commission of impartial experts—a proposal rejected and frustrated by the then Chief Minister of Aden—and the meeting of a working party in London under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State, with the purpose of preparing for a full conference in December. But again the initiative was wrecked before they would even agree to discuss the agenda for the December conference, by the insistence of two of the Aden delegates on pre-conditions not acceptable to other delegates.

36. The task on which we are engaged, that of bringing together so many different States with different interests in different stages of development and welding them together into a single unified State with the colony of Aden, is one of the greatest difficulty, full of natural obstacles and inherent complications. But no one who studies the record of the past ten years can doubt the sincerity or the persistence of the British Government in striving to achieve, in consultation with all the people concerned, a free nation in which the rights of all can be preserved and all the member States can play their part.

37. The purposes for which we have constantly worked are the purposes of unity and co-operation, and speed too.

38. The declaration of our intention to grant independence by 1968 was an act of faith. At the same time, it was an assurance to all concerned that we were—and we remain—resolved not to be deflected from the purposes of self-determination and independence. In carrying out this task, we have been delayed and frustrated when, surely, we should have expected to receive the encouragement of the international community.

39. Firstly, there has been the dispute in the debates here about the base. We have said repeatedly that no base is morally or militarily defensible unless it has the support of the people of the country where it is situated. Surely with that principle clearly stated, this is the matter that should be rightly left to negotiation with the independent State of South Arabia.

40. Secondly, and much more serious, the purposes which we have stated have been delayed and prevented by a campaign of violence, employing the weapons of assassination and attacks on civilians, including women and children; a campaign encouraged and organized from outside South Arabia. This is what delays the advance which we all wish to see. We shall readily lift the measures that had to be taken to deal with violence when the violence itself ceases. All that we ask is that those responsible for violence take the first step towards a return to peaceful progress in normal conditions.

41. What attitude has the United Nations taken in this situation? One might at least have expected and understanding of our aim; we might have expected agreement with the processes of consultation; we might reasonably have expected, not obstruction, but encouragement, indeed, assistance. It is surely astonishing that the opposite has been the case. Indeed, at one stage it was seriously intended that the resolution of the United Nations should, in effect, endorse and support, not the processes of conciliation and consultation but the purposes of violence and bloodshed. It is at least satisfactory for everyone and for the reputation of the United Nations that, by the intervention of certain delegations to which full credit must be given, such a shocking proposition has been eliminated.

42. As to the states of South Arabia, I am bound to say that quite inadequate attention seems to have been paid to the views of those who have such an important stake in the success of the enterprise of unification on which we are embarked. Let me quote from the statement made in October by Sheikh Ali Atif al Kaladi on behalf of the South Arabian Federal Supreme Council representing the states of the Federation. I hope these words of determination, courage and strength will be duly noted. This is what he said:

"Let there be no doubt about the aims and aspiration of the Federal Government for the people of South Arabia. It is their aim, not only to achieve the united independence of the territory, but also to strengthen the Government itself, to improve its efficiency, to ensure that the people's voice shall

be fully heard in its councils, and that self-determination shall thereby be complete" [A/C.4/646].

43. Then the Federal Ministers, in their statement, go on to say:

"For more than two years, these things have been obstructed by persons more concerned with the purposes of foreigners than those of the people of South Arabia. The Federal Government will not, however, be deflected from their course of serving the interests of their people.

"Despite the obstruction with which they are still faced, they are determined to place before all the states of South Arabia their proposal for an improved, liberal constitution based on the principles of democracy and designed to guarantee full representation of the people's interests. They had engaged constitutional advisers to help in this almost immediately after the deliberate frustration of the working group which met in London in August 1965 and these are already at work. The Federal Government is determined to ensure that the revised constitution shall guarantee all human freedoms and rights and impartial justice for everyone, consistent with the guiding principles of the United Nations."

The statement of the Federal leaders continues with these grave words:

"You will be told that savage repression is being employed to deny the territory independence. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Federal Government have already secured the British Government's assurance that its demand for independence will be met not later than 1968. A great deal has been done to shake off the last vestiges of colonialism here. We have long sought, as the last step but one towards united independence, to end the anachronism of the colonial status of Aden State. In this we have been frustrated, not by the departing colonial Power, which understands the justice of our demand, but by unrepresentative politicians in Aden who have obstructed the advance to independence. They may try to give reasons for their attitude. They may not reveal the main reason: that they act according to the wishes of outsiders rather than the needs of their people.

"My Government"—that is, the Government of the Federation of South Arabia—"hope that the distinguished membership of the United Nations will recognize that the manner in which attempts have been made to disrupt the Federation's advance to secure its independence deserves condemnation and not condonation. More important, it hopes that the Members of the United Nations will align themselves with my Government in its rightful place, as a free and prosperous nation and in the Arab family, and as a free member of the world community living in amity and co-operation with all other States.

"With the help of God and the loyal support and co-operation of all true sons of the Arab South in every walk of life, we trust that the happy day for these things may soon come." [Ibid.]

44. Surely such an appeal, in such language, should not go unheeded in the United Nations. Surely the wishes

and the warning of these Arab leaders should not be swept aside.

45. The issue in South Arabia is a plain issue between conflict and consultation. And it seems sad to me that a draft resolution should be brought to this Assembly which must obstruct the processes of consultation and discourage those who seek to work by conference and co-operation.

46. The agreed aims of true self-determination and true independence are not in dispute. It is the sincere wish of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Arabia to solve their problems in brotherly co-operation. Surely even now, and in spite of this draft resolution, it is not too late to hope that violent intervention in the affairs of South Arabia will cease and the way will be open to advance along the course we have set, the course of bringing together all the people of South Arabia in peace and freedom.

47. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution submitted by the Fourth Committee [A/6089, para. 14]. A separate roll-call vote has been requested on paragraph 6. If there are no objections, I shall put that paragraph to the vote first.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Pakistan, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Pakistan, Panama, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria.

*Against:* Portugal, South Africa, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway.

*Abstaining:* Peru, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mexico, Nepal.

*Paragraph 6 was adopted by 64 votes to 22, with 25 abstentions.*

48. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution as a whole. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Singapore, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone.

*Against:* South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal.

*Abstaining:* Austria, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Norway, Sweden.

*The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 90 votes to 11, with 10 abstentions.*

49. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote.

50 Mr. ABU BAKAR (Singapore): In explanation of my vote on Aden, I refer to paragraph 6 of the resolution by which the Assembly considers that the maintenance of the military base in the Territory constitutes a major obstacle to the liberation of the people of the Territory from colonial domination and is prejudicial to the peace and security of the region, and that immediate removal of this base is therefore essential.

51. Our experience in our dealings with the British would not bear this out. As this Assembly is aware, we have already obtained our independence and the base in Singapore is still there. It is still there to safeguard our independence from foreign attack and from foreign domination. Moreover, immediate and complete removal of a foreign military base is likely to leave a vacuum, which, unless an alternative arrangement is made, will probably cause an even greater problem than the one it is designed to solve.

52. All of us dislike foreign military bases; all of us dislike even to appear unable to defend ourselves. But in these days, when conditions are not yet as stable as we would like, we must be very practical indeed. Aden is not the only Territory which has a military base. What must be taken into consideration is the reality of the situation, and unless—and until—an alternative arrangement can be made so that no vacuum will be left behind, with all the consequences this would entail, my view is that the base should

remain for the time being. Our view is that a base which has been established for so many years should not be hurriedly dismantled. However, it should certainly be controlled by the country in which the base is maintained as soon as this arrangement can be made. For the time being, nothing should be done to disturb the present arrangement or to cause a vacuum to take its place.

53. Mr. PRADITH (Laos) (translated from French): Laos abstained during the vote on paragraph 6 of the draft resolution because under the 1962 Geneva Agreements on the strict neutrality of Laos, which were signed by all the great Powers, we are not authorized to permit the establishment of foreign military bases on our territory, or to intervene in the domestic affairs of other States.

54. With regard to the military bases situated not only in Aden, but throughout the world, we believe that all militarist countries realize that they must remove those bases if, as they say, they are for freedom, equality and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, and if there are no subversive movements directed from abroad.

55. Laos fought for many years for its independence and neutrality. It is for that second reason that it felt it to be its duty to vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole. It will always vote for all draft resolutions on the decolonization of former colonial territories. Only in this way can the United Nations, as custodian of the Charter, best serve the principles of freedom, equality and self-determination; not by force or arms and subversion, but by peaceful and honourable negotiations.

56. Mr. BUSNIAK (Czechoslovakia) (translated from French): Mr. President, first of all I should like to say how pleased my delegation is that you have returned to conduct our debate with your customary skill.

57. The Czechoslovak delegation voted in favour of the resolution on Aden which the General Assembly has just adopted. We have asked to speak simply to make clear our position on one point, so as to avoid any misunderstanding now or in the future. As everyone knows, operative paragraph 5 of the original draft resolution [A/C.4/L.798 and Add.1-2], as submitted to the Fourth Committee by its sponsors, read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"....

"Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and to freedom from colonial rule and recognizes the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve the rights laid down in the Charter of the United Nations..."

Operative paragraph 10 of the same original text read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"....

"Appeals to all States to render all possible assistance to the people of the Territory in their struggle for freedom and independence."



58. As is well known, the Venezuelan delegation proposed, among other amendments, that the word "struggle" in operative paragraphs 5 and 10 should be replaced by the word "efforts". The sponsors accepted that proposal and eighty-three delegations, including the Czechoslovak delegation—and today ninety delegations, including the Czechoslovak delegation—voted in favour of the amended text.

59. In the Fourth Committee, the United Kingdom representative warmly welcomed that amendment, because in his view the word "efforts" did not include the idea of struggle, much less of armed struggle; my delegation voted in favour of the resolution both in the Fourth Committee and here today because—without wishing to engage in a semantic dispute—it interprets the words "efforts to attain freedom and independence" as by no means excluding the idea of struggle and hence, any form of struggle by colonial and dependent peoples in general and by the people of Aden and the Protectorates in particular.

60. The point of view of the Czechoslovak delegation, which has been expressed many times in the Assembly and other United Nations bodies, is that disputes should be settled by peaceful means, by negotiations between the parties concerned. However, we know full well from past experience and unfortunately also from present experience that colonialism seldom abandons its positions as a result of negotiations. It is for that reason that my delegation could not have supported a resolution which would have limited the right of colonial and dependent peoples to decide for themselves the particular form which their "efforts to attain freedom and independence"—to use the words of our resolution—should take.

61. In explaining its position, my delegation would like once more to assure the people of Aden and the Protectorates, who are struggling for real freedom and independence, of the support of the Czechoslovak people.

62. Mr. FAKHER-ED-DINE (Sudan): The delegation of the Sudan voted in favour of the draft resolution because we believe it derives its objectives from the lofty ideals of the Charter which we all hold in such high esteem. It reaffirms the inalienable rights of the people of Aden to self-determination and freedom from colonial rule. It recognizes the legitimacy of their efforts to achieve the rights laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

63. It calls upon the United Kingdom to abolish the state of emergency, to repeal the restrictive laws and to release political detainees—all of which are fundamental steps necessary for the free expression of the wishes of the people of Aden.

64. By this resolution, we have voted in favour of the removal of military bases in the territory, because it is our belief that the question of Aden is one of liberation and not of constitutional advancement.

65. Our solution, therefore, we believe, goes beyond the constitutional aspect to the colonial and military presence of Britain in the area. We therefore disagree

with the representatives who believe that the question of the base should be the subject of negotiation between the Government of Great Britain and the Government of independent Aden, because this base has been the take-off point of too many repressive measures imposed upon the people of the Territory. It has also been a threat to the independence of neighbouring countries.

66. The petitioners, among whom was the deposed Minister of Aden, have expressed their genuine desire for a peaceful solution in the spirit of this resolution, which we have just passed. They have so expressed themselves and we are confident that this resolution, passed by such a substantial majority of the Assembly, will fortify them in their resolve to achieve a peaceful, just and final settlement.

67. Mr. MARQUES-SERE (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): In order not to waste the Assembly's time, my delegation would refer on this occasion to the statement it made in the Fourth Committee [1548th meeting] in explanation of its vote when the draft resolution on Aden was adopted. For the reasons given at that time, my delegation maintained its position with regard to the problem in support of genuine self-determination and independence for the people of Aden, voted in favour of the resolution as a whole in the form in which it was finally approved, and abstained on operative paragraph 6. As in the Fourth Committee, it did not participate in the votes on the fifth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 11.

68. Mr. AZNAM (Malaysia): My delegation wishes to take this opportunity, Mr. President, to welcome you back to this rostrum.

69. The stand of my delegation on the issue of Aden and our appreciation for the aspirations of South Arabia are well known and any elaboration at this time would merely be repetitious.

70. With that in mind, my delegation gave thought to the draft resolution. However, the wording of operative paragraph 6 made it somewhat difficult for us to support. My delegation would have found it easier to support this particular paragraph had it been enunciated as in the Declaration of the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo in 1964, which reads, in particular:

"The Conference considers the maintenance or future establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops on the territories of other countries, against the expressed will of those countries, as a gross violation of the sovereignty of States, and as a threat to freedom and international peace."<sup>1/</sup>

71. I wish to emphasize the fact that had the phrase "against the express will of those countries" been included, my delegation would, without a doubt, have supported operative paragraph 6 of the resolution.

72. In view of our appreciation of the spirit of the resolution and our sympathy with the hopes and

<sup>1/</sup> Document A/5763, section VIII.

aspirations of the people of Aden, my delegation gave its support to the draft resolution as whole.

73. Mr. EL-KONY (United Arab Republic): Mr. President, my delegation is happy to see you back here.

74. In explaining my vote, I am not going to add much to the statement which my delegation made in the Fourth Committee. I just want to say that the people of South Arabia will, I believe, rejoice this evening when they learn of the adoption of this resolution. I am sure that they will be grateful, as well as all freedom-loving peoples, to the delegations of those States which supported them this evening. It is another action by the United Nations which will be greatly appreciated and hailed by all the world. It will certainly work to the credit of this Organization.

75. Finally, may I say that my delegation, as well as many others, hopes that the United Kingdom Government will henceforth heed this decision of this world Organization.

76. Mr. VIZCAINO LEAL (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): Since this is the first time that I have been present in the Assembly since your accident, allow me, Mr. President, to express our pleasure at your recovery.

77. My delegation would like now to explain why it voted against operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution: we carefully studied that paragraph after it was approved by the Committee, and we consider it unacceptable because it would limit the future State's right to negotiate, which is an essential element of its future sovereignty. In so doing, my delegation has acted in conformity with the policy of my Government, which has always favoured the independence and complete freedom of the colonial peoples. It is for that reason that we voted in favour of the resolution as a whole, with the exception I have mentioned.

78. Mr. GEGHMAN (Yemen): Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to welcome you back to the Chair.

79. My delegation is grateful for the overwhelming sympathy and support given to the resolution just adopted. The resolution as a whole will greatly encourage the freedom-fighters in occupied South Yemen and make them feel that the whole world is standing by them in their heroic struggle for the freedom of their country.

80. We accept the resolution and support it for the following reasons: (a) to show our co-operation with the United Nations, our good intentions and our desire to settle this problem peacefully; (b) to put to the test the United Kingdom Government's allegation that it wants to settle this problem in accordance with the wishes of the people of the Territory; (c) in so far as the colonial aspect of this problem is concerned, we are in full agreement with the United Nations views and resolutions. The people of occupied South Yemen are in complete agreement and have all declared their acceptance of United Nations resolutions and have repeatedly urged the United Kingdom to do so. It is now up to the United Kingdom Government to

prove that it is desirous of solving the problem peacefully. The course of action taken by the United Kingdom Government will certainly shape the course of events in the Territory. I appeal to the United Kingdom to declare its acceptance of this resolution and to start implementing it by immediately accepting a United Nations presence in the Territory, lifting the state of emergency, and abolishing all laws restricting public liberties. The only other alternative before the United Kingdom is the perpetuation of suffering, misery, destruction and bloodshed. This dangerous and inhuman course is beneficial to no one, including the United Kingdom. However, the United Kingdom must shoulder the full responsibility resulting from such a dangerous alternative should it choose to pursue it.

81. In so far as the reunification of the Yemen is concerned, I must repeat here what the petitioners said in the Fourth Committee. They said that they did not come to the United Nations to ask for reunification because they will arrange that for themselves.

82. The British know fully as well as the Yemenis themselves that Yemen is one. Occupied South Yemen, or what is known in the United Nations as Aden or Aden and the Aden Protectorates, is an integral part of the Yemen. Separation is the natural child of colonialism, as reunification will be the fruit of freedom, and the Yemenis will take care of reunification when they free themselves from all the shackles of all intruders.

83. While I still have the floor, I should like the indulgence of the President to make two or three more brief comments on the resolution just passed.

84. First, our people and the peoples in the neighbouring countries will continue to feel unsafe and insecure as long as the British military base continues to exist. Consequently, its immediate removal will help to promote peace and security and to consolidate freedom in the whole region. We must also be sure that no other bases are, or in future will be, constructed in the Territory and offshore islands.

85. Secondly, as we understand it, there must be a clear distinction between the terms "self-determination" and "independence". Self-determination must be genuine and must be free from any outside influence, and may or may not lead to independence. Independence could be true and genuine, but could also be false and forced.

86. Thirdly, our understanding of the word "efforts", which replaced the word "struggle" in the original draft resolution on Aden, is that this term, "efforts", includes among its meanings "struggle". This is also the understanding of the term by our people in the occupied South Yemen and, for that, they will spare no effort to free themselves from colonial rule and to shape their own destiny.

87. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We have thus completed the voting and the explanations of vote. I should like to take this opportunity to thank those representatives who have been kind enough to wish me good health. I can assure you that after a few more meetings like those we have held today, I shall have recovered from my leg injury without realizing it. For the moment, however, I must simply note that



we have concluded our consideration of the recommendations of the Fourth Committee on the question of Aden.

88. Before the meeting rises, I should like to inform the members of the Assembly that we shall start with agenda item 102, "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations", on the afternoon of Monday 8 November. In consultation with the delegations which requested that that item should be included in the agenda, I have

agreed that the discussion should take place continuously, during the mornings and afternoons of next week, from Monday afternoon onwards. I would ask those representatives who wish to speak on this question to be good enough to place their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible. I intend to close the list of speakers on this item at 5 p.m. on Tuesday 9 November.

*The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.*