# United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SEVENTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

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Chairman: Mr. Guillermo FLORES AVENDAÑO (Guatemala).

## Requests for hearings (continued)

### REQUESTS CONCERNING AGENDA ITEM 49 (INFOR-MATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRI-TORIES) (continued)\*

1. The CHAIRMAN announced that he had received a request for a hearing in connexion with agenda item 49, concerning information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. If there were no objections, the request would be circulated as a document and considered at a late date.

It was so decided.  $\frac{1}{2}$ 

## AGENDA ITEM 56

Question of Southern Rhodesia: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) (A/5238, chap. II; A/C.4/560, A/C.4/561, A/C.4/564, A/C.4/565) (continued)

### GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

2. Mr. BUDU-ACQUAH (Ghana) said that the explosive and dangerous nature of the situation in Southern Rhodesia had been further illustrated by the arrest of Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the President of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU). He recalled that the delegation of Ghana had twice been instrumental in producing evidence before the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly regarding conditions in Southern Rhodesia and that, following a study and report on the question of Southern Rhodesia by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/5124), the General Assembly had adopted resolution 1747 (XVI).



Monday, 22 October 1962, at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

3. Member States were morally obliged to implement General Assembly decisions and to fulfil their obligations under the Charter. His delegation could not understand how the United Kingdom Government, which had just granted independence to Jamaica and to Trinidad and Tobago, could entirely disregard the Africans in Southern Rhodesia. It seemed to forget the oft-repeated lesson of the past, which was that the exiles and political prisoners of today were tomorrow's statesmen, as the careers of such men as Nehru, Nkrumah, Bustamante, Makarios and Kenyatta had shown. The Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, representing 3 million Africans, had been banned and its leaders arrested. The African people, who were badly treated and lacked the most elementary amenities, aspired to independence, but the settler Government, condoned by the United Kingdom, was doing its utmost to thwart those aspirations, refused to implement the principle of "one man, one vote" and offered only fifteen seats in the Legislative Assembly to the African majority as against fifty to the white minority. Faced with the appalling example of South Africa, the Southern Rhodesian Africans would not allow themselves to be defeated. If the white settlers failed to understand that their own materialistic interests were not paramount. they might expect a bitter reaction from the Africans when the day of independence dawned.

4. By tolerating the present conditions in Southern Rhodesia, the United Kingdom was jeopardizing its reputation as a democratic and freedom-loving country. Powerful financial interests, stretching beyond Southern Rhodesian's frontiers, were known to be involved, but that was no reason why the United Kingdom should virtually flout the authority of the United Nations, leaving Southern Rhodesia to share the fate of the Congo (Leopoldville), Algeria and South Africa. As a member of the Commonwealth, the United Kingdom should follow the path of wisdom and justice and desist from such discreditable conduct.

5. Since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1747 (XVI) the Southern Rhodesian Government had enacted amendments intensifying repressive measures such as the Unlawful Organizations Act of 1959 and the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act of 1960, as a result of which more than 1,000 Africans had been arrested and imprisoned. The United Kingdom Government claimed, simply because the interests of the white minority were involved, that it was powerless to intervene. Yet instances of the United Kingdom revoking the constitutions of dependent territories were not lacking. For example, in 1933 the United Kingdom had suspended and revoked the Constitution of Malta after that island had enjoyed self-government for twelve years, and new elections had been banned; in British Guiana, a Constitution conferring self-government had been introduced in 1953 but suspended later that year, ostensibly on grounds of subversion; in Grenada, a similar Constitution had been introduced in 1960, only to be suspended subsequently on the ground that certain

<sup>\*</sup>Resumed from the 1339th meeting.

 $<sup>\</sup>underline{l}/$  The request was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/567 and Corr.1.

ministers had squandered public monies. The United Kingdom had also ordered a general election in the Gold Coast in 1956, when a small minority had sought to impose itself on the majority; at that time the Gold Coast had enjoyed a regime of internal self-government and had been in the same constitutional position as Southern Rhodesia. It seemed that whenever the interest of the United Kingdom conflicted with those of the nationalists, it was quite prepared to revoke constitutions, if necessary by force. There was a clear disparity between the treatment meted out to the territories referred to and that afforded to Southern Rhodesia.

6. He invited the older members of the Commonwealth, such as New Zealand, Australia, Canada, India and Pakistan, who had gone through the same process, to ask the United Kingdom Government to explain in clear terms what unique feature of the settler régime in Southern Rhodesia made it impossible for that Government to intervene.

7. The Africans in Southern Rhodesia had been accused of seeking independence by violent means. Such attempts to give the African population a bad name were mere pretexts advanced in order to justify continued colonization and oppression and the dispatch of troops. That practice was exemplified in recent events in Zanzibar. The United Kingdom Government should institute a committee of inquiry, with which the United Nations should be associated, in order to find out the truth. Although his Government advocated nonviolence, it realized that self-government with danger was preferable to servitude in tranquillity. In their struggle for independence, all the ex-colonial countries had at some time experienced violent eruptions in the face of colonialist intransigence. Such eruptions should be avoided, but the patience of the Southern Rhodesian Africans, who were fighting for freedom, could not be abused indefinitely.

8. The situation in Southern Rhodesia was one consequence of the attempt of certain Powers with financial interests, acting in collusion, to draw a sort of Mason and Dixon Line in that part of Africa, from Angola through Katanga to the South African Rand. That was a dangerous policy but it could not succeed. The situation in Southern Rhodesia was such that an urgent solution must be sought; his delegation would confer with other delegations on the form which it might take. In the meantime, it urged the United Kingdom, as the Administering Authority, to implement General Assembly resolution 1747 (XVI) without further delay.

9. Mr. WOLNIAK (Poland) observed that for the fourth time during the current year the United Nations was considering the question of Southern Rhodesia. The Polish delegation had followed the consideration of that very important problem from the beginning and had done its utmost to contribute to the efforts of the United Nations to find a general and peaceful solution.

10. What was taking place in Southern Rhodesia was a clash between the legitimate aspirations and interests of the over 3 million indigenous inhabitants and a small minority of privileged colonizers, supported by the metropolitan Power. The failure of the policy of the United Kingdom was clearly demonstrated by the deterioration of the situation in Southern Rhodesia, since the basic conflict sprang from the obstructions constantly placed by the colonial Power in the way of the aspirations of the African people. Thus there was on the one hand a small minority of settlers who claimed to have received self-government in 1923 and on the other the vast majority of Africans who were totally opposed to the so-called new Constitution and rightly maintained that Southern Rhodesia would not be self-governing as long as the African majority remained deprived of the franchise according to the principle "one man, one vote".

11. The General Assembly had already passed judgement on the question in resolution 1747 (XVI), which was based on the report (A/5124) 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, established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI). In examining the question of Southern Rhodesia the Special Committee had considered two aspects: firstly, whether or not Southern Rhodesia had attained a full measure of self-government; secondly, whether the Declaration on the granting of independence had been implemented with regard to that particular Territory.

12. With regard to the first question, the Special Committee had come to the conclusion that Southern Rhodesia was not a Territory enjoying a full measure of self-government within the meaning of the Charter and that it fell short of the "factors" listed in General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII) and the criteria laid down in the twelve principles embodied in resolution 1541 (XV). The status of Southern Rhodesia as a colony of the United Kingdom had been confirmed and thus efforts to deprive the United Nations of the right to concern itself with the future of the Territory had been rejected. Consequently the administering Power was under an obligation to implement the anticolonial Declaration in the Territory and to implement the appropriate recommendations of the United Nations in that respect.

13. The so-called new Constitution of December 1961 was but another attempt to create a legal fiction of self-government for the white inhabitants only. As in 1923, and again in 1953, when the Territory had become part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the African majority had not been consulted on the shaping of their political status. The so-called referendum, in which only 4,500 Africans out of over 3 million had taken part, could hardly be described as a representative expression of opinion. The main objective of the 1961 Constitution was evidently further to entrench the authority of the white settler minority Government and to paye the way for a racist State in Southern Rhodesia. All the leaders of the African nationalist movement strongly opposed the Constitution because it aimed at keeping the African majority in a permanent state of inferiority.

14. The Declaration of Rights in the 1961 Constitution was apparently intended to show that the responsibility for the protection of the rights and interests of the indigenous inhabitants, which was still in the hands of the administering Power, could be eventually abandoned. The Declaration of Rights, like the Constitution as a whole, neither affected nor changed, nor abrogated the numerous discriminatory laws in Southern Rhodesia; indeed, it reaffirmed the unequal position of the Africans in the social, economic, educational and political fields. The purpose of the present franchise system was clearly to give the overwhelming vote to the white settlers and to deny it to most of the Africans. That was why General Assembly resolution 1747 (XVI) found that the 1961 Constitution denied equal political rights to the vast majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia. It was for that reason that the General Assembly requested the Administering Authority to convene a constitutional conference with representatives of all political parties for the purpose of formulating a constitution for Southern Rhodesia, in place of the Constitution of 6 December 1961, which would ensure the rights of the majority of the people, on the basis of "one man, one vote". The General Assembly had also requested the Administering Authority to restore all rights of the non-European population and to remove all restrictions on the exercise of the freedom of political activity and all laws, ordinances and regulations based on racial discrimination. It had also urged the United Kingdom to ensure the immediate release of all political prisoners.

15. Several months had elapsed since those recommendations had been adopted and the United Kingdom had apparently chosen to ignore them. The statement made at the 1152nd plenary meeting by the United Kingdom representative had once again shown that there had been no change in the attitude of the administering Power. Instead of satisfying the legitimate political aspirations of the Africans, as it was bound to do under Chapter XI of the Charter, the United Kingdom had refrained from using its veto power. Hence the Royal assent had been given to the amendments to the Unlawful Organizations Act and the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, and the banning of ZAPU had been endorsed. According to the petitioners, 2,000 Africans had been imprisoned for political reasons since the banning of ZAPU, 900 had been arrested for alleged acts of violence and 200 African leaders of ZAPU, including its President, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, had been confined to remote regions of the country. The purpose of those increasingly repressive measures was undoubtedly to break the massive opposition to the new Constitution and coerce the Africans into accepting it. The situation in Southern Rhodesia had become more explosive than ever and was further deteriorating. It was clear from the statement made by the United Kingdom representative that the administering Power was still unwilling to exercise its constitutional powers and to reverse the trend which, if continued, could only lead to bloodshed.

16. The United Kingdom could not ignore that dangerous situation or avoid its responsibility, even in terms of the 1961 Constitution, according to which Southern Rhodesia was a colony. Nor could it be denied that under the 1923 Constitution, which was still in force, and even under the new Constitution, the United Kingdom Government retained all its powers. It was only logical that the United Kingdom should be held ultimately responsible for events in the Territory, since it had the right and obligation to intervene in the affairs of a colony, as it had already done in suspending the Constitutions of Malta and of British Guiana, for instance, and in other cases which had been cited by the representative of Ghana.

17. The advocates of white supremacy in Southern Rhodesia asserted that the process of the preparation of the people for independence and the establishment of an African majority government must take time, but their estimates of the period necessary for that training differed greatly: Sir Edgar Whitehead claimed that it would take some fifteen years, while others, perhaps more frank, and similarly fanatical-minded, expected and hoped that colonialism would continue to exist in that part of Africa for the next 200 years. 18. Many legalistic arguments had been advanced in connexion with Southern Rhodesia. As in other cases of colonialism, they were rooted in the economic greed and political supremacy of the European settlers. Economic exploitation had always been the principal goal of colonial policy, and that was especially true of Southern Rhodesia.

19. Much had been said about the co-operation of the authorities of South Africa, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Mozambique, Angola and Katanga in attempting to destroy the African liberation movement and to perpetuate their exploitation of the great wealth of that part of the African continent. That unholy alliance was backed by some 200 industrial corporations whose economy largely depended on cheap, migrant African labour. It was obvious that most of the difficulties encountered by Africans in Southern Rhodesia, as also by the United Nations, were caused by the stubbornness of the powerful gold, diamond and copper mining companies owned by United Kingdom, Western European and American industrialists. With the assistance of the administering Power and other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, military strength of Southern Rhodesia and the other partners in that unholy alliance was being built up. Arms were being distributed even to the European civilian population. The extremely tense situation in Southern Rhodesia could easily get out of hand and disastrous consequences might follow. Peace in Africa, if not in the whole world, was at stake.

20. At its present session the General Assembly had adopted resolution 1755 (XVII), which was designed to ease the tension in Southern Rhodesia and to lay the foundations for a peaceful settlement. His delegation hoped that the United Kingdom would comply with the request of the United Nations and secure the release of Mr. Joshua Nkomo and the other nationalist leaders and the lifting of the ban on ZAPU. Disquieting reports from the Territory and the information given by the petitioners had made it clear that the holding of a general election under the 1961 Constitution would further aggravate the situation and would serve no useful purpose. The Committee had been told by petitioners who represented the indigenous people in Southern Rhodesia, as also by some African delegations, that at attempt to hold the election would amount to warlike provocation. It was therefore imperative that the holding of the election should be stopped. The solution of the problem could be found only in faithful implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and in particular in compliance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1747 (XVI).

21. His delegation had been greatly impressed by the sincerity and wisdom shown by the petitioners representing the indigenous people of Southern Rhodesia, whose attitude had shown no trace of hatred for their white oppressors, despite the many reasons for it. That was further proof that an independent Southern Rhodesia with an African Government would ensure a harmonious society which the European settlers had no reason to fear.

22. The greatest degree of co-operation which the United Kingdom Government could offer to the United Nations in solving the problem would also serve the real interests of the United Kingdom. That opinion enjoyed wide support among the British people and, as was shown by a recent example which inspired hope, it reached the United Kingdom delegation at the United Nations.

23. The 1961 Constitution must be abrogated without delay and new arrangements negotiated with representatives of all the political parties in the Territory with a view to formulating a new constitution based on the principle of "one man, one vote". All the political and civil liberties of the indigenous inhabitants must be restored immediately in order to ensure the emergence of Southern Rhodesia as an independent African State at the earliest possible date. The United Nations should also request all its Members to deny any military assistance which might be used by the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and by the white-dominated Government of Southern Rhodesia for the suppression of the indigenous inhabitants in the country.

24. Pending the response of the United Kingdom Government to the request in General Assembly resolution 1755 (XVII), the item should remain on the agenda of the Fourth Committee. Furthermore, for practical reasons, supervision of the implementation of resolutions relating to Southern Rhodesia should be entrusted to the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI).

#### Mr. Nabavi (Iran), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

25. Mr. ZARUBA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that in Southern Rhodesia the colonialists were furnishing further proof, if such was needed, of the correctness of operative paragraph 1 of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. By oppressing entire peoples and fiercely resisting the march of time, they artificially created dangerous conflicts which were bound to affect world peace. Although attempts had been made in certain quarters to minimize the importance of events in Southern Rhodesia and to question the contention that they threatened peace in Africa and the world, his delegation fully subscribed to the assessment of the situation by the overwhelming majority of the Committee and endorsed its decision to give urgent priority to the consideration of the question of Southern Rhodesia.

26. For three quarters of a century, ever since the time when the British colonialists had fraudulently annexed that enormous territory, many millions of Africans had been living in colonial imprisonment. The very fact that their erstwhile free country had been given the name of a zealous racialist, Cecil Rhodes, was in itself a mockery of and a challenge to the freedom-loving peoples of Africa. After many decades of perfecting the methods of exploitation and oppression, the colonialists had turned Southern Rhodesia into a police State practising the theory of white supremacy. The country had been described as a policy State not only by the petitioners and other representatives of the African peoples who were better placed than anyone else to assess the régime of Sir Edgar Whitehead and Sir Roy Welensky, but also by politicians such as Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, the leader of the Labour Party in the United Kingdom. According to figures quoted in the August issue of The World Today, a periodical published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Southern Rhodesia's budget appropriations for the police in 1962-1962 were equal to those for African education. The police reserve consisted of 12,000 men in addition to 11,000 special constables. The Government of Southern Rhodesia could also rely on Federal forces. The so-called defence appropriations in 1961

had amounted to almost £8 million. The Federal army included an air force, an armoured battalion and five infantry battalions, to which should be added the nine infantry battalions and one artillery regiment of the Territorial army. All officers in the land forces and all air force personnel were white. The World Today rightly noted that the armed forces and the police, with all their ramifications, constituted an important factor of the European power entrenched in the Constitution.

27. It was inevitable that government in Southern Rhodesia should degenerate into an arbitrary and naked police régime, since Southern Rhodesia was a country where the Africans did not dare to claim the most elementary human rights, where over 200,000 white settlers had seized more than half the land while the more than 3 million Africans had been herded together in arid areas, where forced labour was exacted and where the Statute Book contained dozens of Acts which were the embodiment of crude lawlessness. Southern Rhodesia was a country where the police were entitled to arrest speakers at public meetings, where the Whites enjoyed compulsory free education whereas the Blacks did not since those in power held that it was easier and safer to enslave an illiterate people, and where even white women were taught to kill in case the oppressed people claimed their legitimate human rights. Those were facts and not the invention of socalled African extremists.

28. The United Kingdom representative had tried to prove to the Committee that the fact that his Government had no intention of reacting to decisions already taken or to be taken by the United Nations concerning Southern Rhodesia was due, firstly, to the latter's selfgoverning status and, secondly, to the tradition of noninterference in its legislative affairs. In point of fact that policy was designed to give a free hand to Sir Edgar Whitehead's régime and to prevent effective United Nations intervention. The United Kingdom representative's second argument did not redound to his country's credit since it was beyond doubt that on numerous occasions it had been essential from the point of view of both humane considerations and law that the United Kingdom should intervene and set aside oppressive and discriminatory legislation. In that connexion he would remind the United Kingdom representative of the statement made by Mr. Garfield Todd, at the 17th meeting of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI), that bills were submitted to the Rhodesian Parliament only after detailed discussion with and approval by representatives of Her Majesty's Government.

29. The purpose of the 1923 Constitution had been to give legal form to the rule of the white settler minority. It had not infringed the colonial interests of the Crown since power had been transferred into perfectly reliable hands.

30. The Federal Constitution of 1953 and the establishment of the artificial Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland had enabled the colonialists to gather into their hands enormous power over vast territories and the wealth and fate of millions of people. It had soon become clear that the establishment of the Federation had marked the emergence of a new military bloc in the south of Africa consisting of Portugal, the Federation and the Republic of South Africa, designed to launch a colonialist counter-attack against the people of Africa, since it had been shown that a colonial Power acting alone was powerless to resist the national liberation movement.

31. The establishment of the Federation had paved the way for the 1961 Constitution, which had been foisted upon the people of Southern Rhodesia against their will and fundamental interests. Under the new Constitution colonialism retained its most important prerogatives, while the fate of the Africans was being entrusted to cruel masters ready to defend their obsolete serf-owning régime by any means and to maintain it even for 200 years. While the representatives of Sir Edgar Whitehead's racialist Government who had come before the Committee under the mask of "independent" spokesmen of a mythical "multiracial" group had tried to present the 1961 Constitution as a great boon and a historic step forward, Africa and its true friends regarded it as an overseer's whip raised over the African people and as an iron cage for a freedomloving people.

32. The 1961 Constitution represented a change for the worse compared to the 1923 Constitution, since it concealed its true purpose of securing a racialist hegemony in order to mislead the people and make their political education more difficult. It had, however, appeared on the scene at a time when colonialism was in its death-throes, and the leaders of the people of Zimbabwe had placed themselves at the head of their fellow countrymen's brave struggle against the new military and political onslaught by the colonialists.

33. Despite the protestations of the United Kingdom representative, the Ukrainian delegation subscribed to the view that the essence of the Rhodesian tragedy should be sought in the interests of foreign capital. As far back as 1953, The New York Times had frankly admitted that the Federation had been established in order to attract United States capital into central Africa. British companies such as the British South Africa Company, the Anglo-American Corporation or the Rhodesian Selection Trust were solidly entrenched in the country and exerted great influence on the United Kingdom Government. According to the Süddeutsche Zeitung, the British South Africa Company had had profits amounting to £30 million in the five years ended in 1960. Even in lean years it could pay a 30 per cent dividend. In 1957, an average year, the British South Africa Company had earned more from the exploitation of natural resources than had been paid in wages to the 39,000 African miners. It was therefore hardly surprising that its directors were strongly opposed to African political progress. The same newspaper had given the names of forty-two Conservative Members of Parliament with private financial interests in Rhodesia who were exerting influence on the United Kingdom policy in the area. The interest of those circles also spread to Katanga, which explained the zealous support given by United Kingdom monopolies to Mr. Tshombe's claim to "independence".

34. The Ukrainian delegation shared the justified concern of the true friends of the people of Zimbabwe over the situation in their country. No one could claim that passions were being artificially fanned. The true facts were that attempts were being made to gag a great and brave people and bind it hand and foot. The colonialists labelled every African who spoke out in defence of freedom an extremist and Sir Edgar Whitehead had gone so far as to accuse the Africans of racialism. It should be recalled in that connexion that Sir Roy Welensky had said that he would use arms so that Africans should not succeed. In point of fact the true extremists were the white colonialists who presumed to stifle justice. It was they who fanned racial passions, deprived a long-suffering people of the last hope that their problem could be settled by peaceful means and forced them to embark upon the road of violence, suffering and sacrifice which had led the heroic Algerian people to freedom.

35. He regretted that the United Kingdom Government had failed to implement General Assembly resolution 1747 (XVI) and had turned a deafear to resolution 1755 (XVII).

36. It was imperative that the United Nations should take steps that would lead to a satisfactory and peaceful solution of the question of Southern Rhodesia. It must adopt urgent and really effective measures which would remove all discrimination and ensure that the people of Southern Rhodesia enjoyed all their rights. It was in duty bound to prevent the consequences which would inevitably follow from the activities of the colonialists, who must not be allowed to bar the road of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom. The Ukrainian delegation would support any effective steps designed to ensure that the long-suffering people of Southern Rhodesia attained freedom.

## Mr. Flores Avendaño (Guatemala) resumed the Chair.

37. Mr. THOM (United Kingdom) said that his delegation had not intended to intervene, but that remarks that had been made during the debate had convinced him that the facts of the constitutional relationship between the United Kingdom Government and that of Southern Rhodesia were still the subject of widespread misapprehension on the part of a number of delegations. The representatives of Ceylon, Burma and Ghana had used phrases such as "Administering Authority", which suggested that the United Kingdom Government had full powers over the day-to-day internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia. The point was that the situation in the Non-Self-Governing Territories on which information was transmitted by the United Kingdom Government under Article 73 e of the Charter differed from that in Southern Rhodesia simply because the constitutional relationship of the latter with the United Kingdom was quite different.

38. He would be glad to respond in a later interpolation to the invitation by the representative of Ghana to explain in full the nature of the relationship. He would also like to comment on two other points that had arisen. The representative of Burma had suggested that the United Kingdom Government had been responsible for bringing a group of five petitioners to New York to speak before the Committee. He had endeavoured to make it clear at an earlier meeting that that charge was groundless; indeed, his delegation had opposed the hearing of any petitioners on the subject of Southern Rhodesia.

39. The representative of Ghana had stated that the history of all the Non-Self-Governing Territories administered by the United Kingdom had been a history of the attainment of independence through violence, bloodshed and imprisonment of the national leaders. As any rational appraisal of the subject would show, that was a distortion of the United Kingdom's record and a travesty of the long years of achievement which had brought nation after nation to join the United Nations and the councils of the Commonwealth.

40. While it was true that the United Kingdom Government had sent troops to help the police forces of Zanzibar to restore order after there had been riots between various communities, it had done so only at the express request of the elected ministers of Zanzibar.

41. Mr. BUDU-ACQUAH (Ghana) said that he welcomed the United Kingdom representative's promise to make a statement on the constitutional position of Southern Rhodesia vis-à-vis the United Kingdom. That was what his delegation had wanted.

42. He denied having said that the process of British colonial administration had always been one of violence; he had merely sought to show that the arrest of the political leaders in Southern Rhodesia and the banning of political parties had followed the usual pattern of British colonial administration and that the United Kingdom Government had used certain flimsy pretexts to send troops to various places.

43. U TIN MAUNG (Burma) said that in his speech at the previous meeting he had chosen his words very carefully. He had stated that in the opinion of his delegation, and also in the opinion reflected in General Assembly resolution 1747 (XVI), the United Kingdom was the Administering Authority for Southern Rhodesia. He had stated that the United Kingdom had encouraged the multiracial petitioners to come to New York. He had not said that the United Kingdom had financed the petitioners' trip.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.