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**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1546th  
MEETING**

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CONTENTS

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: Southern Rhodesia (continued)*

*Draft report of the Fourth Committee (part II) . . . . . 171*

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: Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland (continued)*

*General debate (continued) . . . . . 171*

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: Aden (continued)*

*Consideration of draft resolution (A/C.4/L.798 and Add.1) (continued) . . . . . 173*

Requests for hearings (continued)

*Request concerning British Guiana (agenda item 23) . . . . . 175*

Chairman: Mr. Majid RAHNEMA (Iran).

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: Southern Rhodesia (continued) (A/5691; A/5800/Rev.1, chap. III; A/6000/Rev.1, chap. III; A/6044, A/6074, A/6078; A/C.4/L.799)

DRAFT REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE  
(PART II) (A/C.4/L.799)

1. Mr. NATWAR SINGH (India), Rapporteur, submitted part II of the draft report of the Fourth Committee on Southern Rhodesia (A/C.4/L.799).

2. The CHAIRMAN said that, if he heard no objections, he would take it that the Committee approved the draft report.

*It was so decided.*

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: Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland (continued) (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. VIII; A/5958; A/6000/Rev.1, chap. VII)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

3. Mr. CHILMIRAN (Iraq) said that, as a member 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, his delegation had participated in the discussions that had taken place in Africa on the question of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland and it welcomed the Secretary-General's report (A/5958), submitted in response to a resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 2 November 1964 (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. VIII, para. 365).

4. It was obvious that the independence of the Territories would be meaningless if they continued to be completely dependent upon the whims of the South African Government. For that reason, his delegation wished to express its full support of any measures that the United Nations and the specialized agencies concerned might consider necessary in order to ensure the economic viability of the Territories. His delegation stressed the importance of education and technical training, for which there was an obvious need in the Territories.

5. He strongly supported the Secretary-General's proposal for the establishment of a voluntary fund to supplement the assistance provided to the Territories by the administering Power and United Nations agencies (A/5958, para. 19), and he urged other delegations to do likewise.

6. Mr. LAIDI (Algeria) said that his delegation's position with regard to the Secretary-General's report on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland (A/5958) was based on certain essential principles, one of which related to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The administering Power should take all the necessary steps to give effect to that Declaration in the three Territories in order to prepare them

to attain complete independence as soon as possible and in the best possible conditions. The Algerian delegation laid particular emphasis on that point because it was aware of the stratagems and manoeuvres to which colonial Powers resorted in order to maintain a neo-colonialist presence after independence had been granted to a colony or protectorate. The United Kingdom was no exception to the rule, as it had shown on a number of occasions both in British Guiana and in the Territories now under consideration. Various petitioners had told the Special Committee that there had been gerrymandering in the elections for the purpose of putting people into office who would accept the continuation of a United Kingdom trusteeship behind a façade of freely granted independence. The African peoples had all experienced such manoeuvres and they would not allow the colonial Power to use that trick and would denounce any attempt to conceal the true state of affairs.

7. Algeria was concerned about the special problems inherent in the geographical situation of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, surrounded as they were by a neighbour with expansionist aims. The exploitation of more than 10 million South Africans by Mr. Verwoerd and his clique justified the Algerian delegation's anxiety. It was the Committee's duty not to allow Mr. Verwoerd to strengthen his racist régime by exploiting and oppressing the people of the three Territories.

8. Ever since it had assumed responsibility for the administration of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, the United Kingdom had done nothing for them, convinced as it had been that their only future lay in incorporation into South Africa. In fact, until 31 May 1961 the administration of the Territories had been placed under the control of the Commonwealth Relations Office, which had also been responsible for relations between the United Kingdom and South Africa, instead of the Colonial Office, which dealt with other United Kingdom colonies. Similarly, the British High Commissioner for Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, who had resided in South Africa, had at the same time been High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa. Since 31 May 1961, those duties had been carried out by the United Kingdom Ambassador to the new Republic. It had only been after South Africa had withdrawn from the Commonwealth that the administrative headquarters of Bechuanaland, then at Mafeking, in South African territory, had been transferred to Gaborone, within the Protectorate. Thus the United Kingdom had administered the three African Territories through the same bodies which had dealt with relations between the United Kingdom and South Africa. Moreover, when the Union of South Africa had been formed in 1910, the United Kingdom Government had authorized the inclusion in the Constitutional Law of South Africa of section 151,<sup>1/</sup> which had set out the conditions for a possible transfer of the three Territories to the Union of South Africa.

9. Convinced that incorporation was inevitable, the United Kingdom had left an administrative vacuum which had helped to intensify the dependence of the

three Territories vis-à-vis the Republic of South Africa, which, strengthening its hold over the Territories, had become the only market and source of supply for the Territories. It was not, however, for economic reasons alone that the Pretoria Government was seeking to annex them; the Territories constituted an important objective of the policy of separate development which was to lead to the creation of self-governing Bantu States. If those Territories, with their vast area and very few white inhabitants, were incorporated into South Africa, the total area of land reserved for Africans, which was at present somewhat less than 13 per cent of the area of the Republic of South Africa, would amount to 45 per cent. That considerable increase in land reserved for Africans would make the plan to have self-governing Bantu States somewhat more plausible and would have the great advantage of not affecting the vested interests of the 3 million foreigners who claimed almost nine-tenths of the area of the South African Republic.

10. The United Kingdom had allowed the Territories to become economically and administratively linked to South Africa. They were members of a South African customs union; they used South African currency and South Africa was to a large extent responsible for their communications, education and medical services. In view of that economic dependence, and in the absence of African and international opposition, the United Kingdom would certainly have allowed the extension of the policy of apartheid to the three Territories.

11. The United Kingdom, which was responsible for the present situation, should make every effort to reduce the economic dependence of the Territories on South Africa. To that end the United Kingdom should support the establishment of the economic development fund proposed by the Secretary-General. The Algerian delegation endorsed the proposal and urged all those who did not wish to allow South Africa to exploit the peoples of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland to support it.

12. The General Assembly should also shoulder its responsibilities and guarantee the territorial integrity of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. In that connexion, he recalled that the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting at Cairo in July 1964, in its first session, had adopted a resolution recommending that the United Nations should guarantee the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of the three Territories. His delegation now repeated that request, so that the danger of annexation by South Africa might be averted.

13. Those two measures—the establishment of an economic development fund and an international convention guaranteeing the territorial integrity, independence and complete sovereignty of the Territories—were the only peaceful means whereby the expansionist designs of Mr. Verwoerd could be frustrated.

14. Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia) said that his delegation welcomed the announcement by the United Kingdom of its intention to grant independence to Basutoland and Bechuanaland some time in 1966 and looked forward to Swaziland's attainment of independence as soon as possible. With regard to the Secretary-General's report (A/5958), he agreed that the Terri-

<sup>1/</sup> See *The Union Statutes, 1910-1947* (Durban, Butterworth and Co. (Africa) Ltd., 1950), vol. 3, p. 531.

tories were in urgent need of external assistance and that ways should be sought of ensuring their economic independence vis-à-vis South Africa, although a vast amount of capital would be needed in order to make them economically viable. South Africa's designs to annex the Territories, supported by many of the European settlers, who wished to preserve their privileges, had been successfully resisted. At the same time, South Africa might well attempt the economic strangulation of the Territories following their independence, and the United Kingdom had not given an assurance that it would continue its present development grants to the Territories after independence.

15. The major source of the income of the indigenous people continued to be the wages they earned as migrant labourers in South Africa. South Africa controlled the customs tariffs of the Territories and their imports and exports, and provided the administrative and managerial personnel. The administering Power had neglected the training of the indigenous people and, as stated by the Mission to Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland in the conclusions to its report (A/5958, annex), development in the economic and educational fields had been slow. A greater effort was needed in the sphere of education and training, coupled with an intensive programme to fill posts in the public services with qualified local people.

16. He supported the Secretary-General's proposal for a fund for assistance to the Territories. He trusted that any development programme would be closely supervised by the United Nations to ensure that it benefited those for whom it was intended; past experience had shown that economic development often benefited only the Europeans. For example, the Mission pointed out in its report that in Swaziland the principal recent economic developments had had little effect on the indigenous sector of the economy.

17. His delegation considered technical training a necessary first step towards raising the level of living of the people of the Territories, since grants for their development would mean little to them unless they participated directly in all sectors of the economy. The fund should also contribute towards the severing of economic ties with South Africa as far as possible. His delegation hoped that the General Assembly would adopt the recommendation of the Secretary-General so that the latter could proceed immediately to work out the necessary details for putting it into effect.

### 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: Aden (*continued*) (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. VI; A/6000/Rev.1, chap. VI; A/C.4/646; A/C.4/L.798 and Add.1)

#### CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTION A/C.4/L.798 AND ADD.1 (*continued*)

18. Mrs. ANDERSON (United States of America) said that it was clear that all sides were agreed on the

ultimate objective in South Arabia: self-determination and independence for the South Arabian people. The United States delegation had consistently made clear its sympathy with the aspirations of the people of South Arabia for independence and the United Kingdom Government itself had declared its intention to grant independence to the region by 1968, and sooner if possible. It was therefore regrettable that disagreements over methods should be delaying the achievement of the agreed and desirable objective to which she had referred. Some notable steps had been taken towards independence during recent years and months, and the United States delegation had hoped that the parties concerned, acting in a spirit of practical co-operation and moderation, might work out the remaining problems which separated them. Unfortunately, public order and safety in South Arabia had been deteriorating in recent months and there had been a succession of acts of terrorism which had inevitably slowed down efforts to establish the institutions necessary for freedom and sovereign independence. It was to be hoped that the period of disorder would soon come to an end and that all concerned would recognize that the aspirations of the people could best be achieved by peaceful means.

19. The Committee had performed a useful role in the attention which it had given to the situation in Aden and it could best advance matters by sober consideration of the practical steps that must be taken by the parties principally concerned with finding a solution to the problem. It would not be useful to encourage the adoption of unrealistic positions which could not be reconciled and might produce further delay.

20. While fully in sympathy with the objectives of the resolutions adopted on the subject by the United Nations, her delegation had not been able to agree with all the recommendations in them. Similarly, the United States delegation had concluded that it must vote against the draft resolution now under consideration (A/C.4/L.798 and Add.1). The United States thought that it would be only fair to take into consideration the reassurances of the administering Power and to recognize that efforts to reach a solution had been made; it also felt that the Committee should consider carefully the effect that its pronouncements would have on complex matters which were difficult to judge from the United Nations. It would be for the South Arabian people eventually to decide the type of régime they wished to establish, and other matters. The draft resolution should not pass over the question of terrorism in silence, for without dealing with that problem it would be difficult to make recommendations on the problems relating to the maintenance of order. In fact, the United States was concerned lest some of the operative paragraphs might be construed as an endorsement by the United Nations of violence, which was certainly not consonant with the United Nations Charter. Her delegation was also disturbed by the affirmation in the fifth preambular paragraph that the situation in Aden threatened peace and security, and she wished to state that her delegation did not consider that the situation constituted a threat to international peace and security within the meaning of Chapter VII of the Charter.

21. Mr. ESFANDIARY (Iran) said that his delegation had joined in sponsoring the draft resolution because of its desire to find a speedy solution to the problem in accordance with the wishes of the people of South Arabia. The proposals in the draft resolution reflected the sentiments of the people of South Arabia as well as those of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations. Moreover, in view of the deterioration of the situation and the breakdown of contact between the administering Power and the nationalist leaders, the draft resolution was a logical sequel to the resolutions already adopted by United Nations bodies, especially General Assembly resolution 1949 (XVIII). The main purpose of any resolution to be adopted must be the establishment of a provisional representative government in Aden and the Aden Protectorates. Prior to the establishment of such a government, however, the measures urged in operative paragraph 8 of the draft must be carried out in order to create conditions in which human rights and democratic freedoms could be exercised.

22. Although the draft resolution set out the basic principles on which a solution should be based, his delegation considered that certain supplementary measures were desirable. For example, steps might be taken to induce the parties to enter into a dialogue, on the basis of the common ground already existing between them. A helpful step might be to establish a committee of good offices, as his delegation had suggested at the 1537th meeting, to assist the parties in reaching a settlement. In that connexion, operative paragraph 13 of the draft resolution would give the Secretary-General a mandate to take such action as he might deem expedient to ensure the implementation of the resolution. The Secretary-General would be able to bring to bear his skill and experience and the prestige of his office and could play an important role in bringing about the establishment of a representative government—a measure which would provide the key to the solution of the problem.

23. He hoped that the draft resolution would receive wide support. He would welcome any comments on the supplementary measures which he had suggested.

24. Mr. Chiping H. C. KIANG (China) said that his delegation had followed the debate on the question of Aden carefully and had attached great importance to the statements of Mr. Mackawee at the 1528th meeting and of the United Kingdom representative at the 1532nd meeting, from which the Committee had learned the points at issue on the question of Aden. It was the duty of the Committee to assist the people of South Arabia and the administering Power in their efforts to achieve unity and independence, and the question could not be examined with objectivity unless the differences were fully understood. His delegation could not share the view that the gap between the aspirations of the South Arabian nationalists and the intentions of the United Kingdom could not be bridged. If the United Nations could help to break the vicious circle of riots and increased security measures, it would be easier to establish a favourable atmosphere in which all parties could work together to determine the future of the Territory, free from fear and outside interference, in complete freedom and in mutual trust. As the representatives of Ceylon and Saudi

Arabia had pointed out, it would be a disservice to South Arabia to do anything which would deepen the existing suspicion and distrust.

25. The statements of Mr. Mackawee and of the United Kingdom representative were in agreement on certain fundamental principles; in the final analysis the difference was one of approach and of method. For example, the administering Power had created the Federation of South Arabia in the interests of the unity of South Arabia, and Aden Colony had joined the Federation in 1962 by the free vote of its Legislative Council. Mr. Mackawee was not opposed to the principle of federation, and any difficulties regarding the implementation of that principle could easily be overcome by the people of South Arabia after the elections.

26. To ensure a favourable climate for general elections, it was essential that all leaders and political parties should be brought together to prepare a constitutional conference, and it was to be hoped that they would be allowed to play their part without any interference and would make a constructive contribution. He hoped the assurance given by the administering Power that it would not oppose some form of international presence in the Territory before and during the elections. He hoped that discussion of the United Kingdom military presence in South Arabia would not obscure the more important and immediate question of constitutional change leading to independence. Following independence, the people would be free to decide for themselves whether that foreign military presence would be in the national interests of South Arabia. He recalled that a newly independent State in East Africa had on one occasion had to request the renewed military presence of a former administering Power for reasons of national security.

27. His delegation had voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 1949 (XVIII) because of its conviction that the right of the people of South Arabia to self-determination must be reaffirmed, that peace and security in the area must be maintained in the sole interests of the people and that elections should be held before independence. The Chinese delegation fully supported the principles and purposes of the draft resolution now before the Committee and appreciated the motives of the sponsors. Nevertheless, while it felt that the objectives of the resolution reflected the desires of the people, it feared that some of the actions proposed might defeat those very objectives. It would therefore like to see several of the paragraphs in the draft resolution amended, in order to bring about a climate conducive to preparations for constitutional changes on the eve of the Territory's independence.

28. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania) said that some of the comments just made by the Chinese and United States representatives could not be allowed to go unanswered.

29. It was quite a mistake to draw a parallel between a call for military assistance by an independent State and the presence of a military base in the Territory of Aden. Furthermore, if the representative of China felt that the draft resolution reflected the desires

of the people, as stated through their leaders in the petitions, he should logically support it rather than calling for its amendment.

30. With regard to the statement of the United States representative, its condemnation of terrorism was one-sided. The United States representative seemed not to have understood that United Kingdom soldiers were responsible for many deaths in the Territory, including those of defenceless women and children. Like the representative of China, she should logically support the draft resolution, since she claimed to sympathize with the aspirations of the people of Aden.

31. Mr. GEGHMAN (Yemen) said that he would like to ask the representative of the United States, who had mentioned "notable steps towards independence" and an "agreed and desirable objective", to what steps she had been referring, with whom the objectives had been agreed and to whom they were desirable. She might perhaps be referring to the proposal for a Royal commission, which had been rejected by the people of South Arabia, or to the United Kingdom's refusal to allow the Sub-Committee on Aden to visit the Territory. She had also referred to what she

called terrorism; he wondered whether she would regard George Washington and his followers as terrorists.

32. Mrs. ANDERSON (United States of America) said that the questions asked by the representative of Yemen appeared to be purely rhetorical and therefore required no reply.

33. The CHAIRMAN announced that Malawi, Trinidad and Tobago, and Upper Volta had joined the list of sponsors of the draft resolution.

#### Requests for hearings (continued)

##### REQUEST CONCERNING BRITISH GUIANA (agenda item 23)

34. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that a request for a hearing concerning British Guiana had been received. He suggested that it should be circulated as a Committee document.

*It was so decided.<sup>2/</sup>*

The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.

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<sup>2/</sup> The request was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/655.