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*President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).*

Address by Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I invite His Excellency, Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, to address the General Assembly.
2. Mr. MOKTAR OULD DADDAH (President of Mauritania) (translated from French): Mr. President, I take great satisfaction in offering you my sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to the Presidency of this eighteenth session of the General Assembly. I am sure that with your great experience, which all who know you are happy to acknowledge, you will acquit yourself of your heavy task with wisdom and ability. Your election is yet another token of the important part played by the developing countries in the conduct of international affairs.
3. I should like also to congratulate the Secretary-General on the considerable work that he has accomplished since he took over that high office. We are convinced that his level-headedness, his sense of realism and his perseverance are decisive factors in the relaxation of international tension that we are now experiencing.
4. It is thus in an atmosphere of reduced tension and of hope that you have embarked upon the work of this eighteenth session which in many ways inspires a feeling of optimism and holds out prospects for a more serene international climate. Faithful to their appointment with history, the Members of this Assembly have once again devoted all their resources to the search for solutions designed to preserve peace and understanding between peoples. In the pursuit of this noble ideal, you have acquired the conviction that nothing can be built up without mutual trust and an exchange of views.
5. It is precisely within this Organization that your deliberations are proving of increasing assistance in

finding appropriate solutions to disputes between States and in advancing the rule of justice and law.

6. In order the better to promote our common aspirations, it would be wise to strengthen the role of our Organization by doing everything possible to correct its defects and to translate its vocation of universality into fact. It is important that this principle of universality, which is enshrined in the Charter and recognized by all, should be fulfilled by the admission of all the States in the world to this great United Nations family.

7. Since the San Francisco Conference, the map of the world has undergone a considerable change, and the increase in the number of independent States must necessarily be reflected in the structure and working methods of our Organization. In particular, Africa, which was represented by only three independent States when the United Nations was first established, at present comprises thirty-two such States and their number will soon be close to forty. These facts must be reflected in an increase in the number of seats allotted to our continent in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and, generally speaking, in all the specialized agencies.

8. Similarly, it is urgently necessary that more representatives of Africa should be appointed to positions of responsibility in the Secretariat, so that all States may have a fair share in the everyday life of our Organization. To refer once again to the Security Council, apart from the need for an increase in its membership, its main defect lies in the existence, and in particular the arbitrary use, of the veto which seriously hampers the work of the United Nations and is a good illustration of the omnipotence of the great Powers.

9. I referred just now to the new hopes to which the improvement in relations between the major nuclear Powers during the last few months could give rise. This is the case whenever their decisions denote a certain desire to avoid any fatal confrontation. It is certainly in this spirit that the Governments of the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom took the decision to suspend nuclear testing in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. This event cannot but receive our full support and earn our gratitude. That is why my Government, realizing the progress in the field of disarmament that the Moscow Treaty¹ represents, has not hesitated to sign it, in all three capitals, as a solemn pledge of its support of a step which is designed to preserve international peace and security.

10. In so doing we could not forget that treaties are no more than what men want them to be. We hope that the three original signatories of the Moscow Treaty, on whose shoulders, in the last resort, the responsibility for the maintenance of peace rests, will firmly

¹ Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed on 5 August 1963.

respect the decisions that have been taken, fulfil their undertakings in good faith and, with their confidence restored, extend the scope of this treaty to other fields. Indeed, the banning of nuclear tests of those three types is but a first stage in the salutary process towards general, complete and controlled disarmament. We do not despair of witnessing an agreement on the cessation of underground nuclear tests in the near future. In the light of this expectation, we think that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament will open up new vistas and suggest compromise solutions likely to lead to progress.

11. Although the armaments race represents a serious threat to peace, there is another threat which is even more insidious and intractable: I refer to colonialism in all its forms.

12. Three years ago, the General Assembly solemnly proclaimed the necessity of granting independence to colonial countries and peoples, and resolution 1514 (XV) is still fresh in all our memories. Nevertheless it must be admitted that today, on our continent and elsewhere, there are still millions of human beings who do not enjoy freedom and numbers of territories which are still under the domination of foreign authorities. Although the majority of mankind are firmly opposed to it, colonialism is not yet completely disarmed. Be that as it may, however, all the peoples who are bravely struggling for independence will triumph, for such is our common destiny, such is the dictate of contemporary history.

13. Whereas countries such as France, the United Kingdom and others, caught up in an irresistible historical process, have granted independence to most of their former colonial possessions, Portugal is apparently not prepared to grant the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands the right freely to choose their own destiny. My country, aware of the dramatic and courageous struggle being waged by the freedom fighters in the Portuguese colonies, has recognized the provisional Government headed by Mr. Roberto Holden and is sparing no efforts to assist the other liberation movements. Portugal must be brought to realize that by responding to appeals to reason it will be able to regain its rightful place and to contribute to the common victory of peace, which would also be a victory for the Portuguese people.

14. What can we say about the serious situation obtaining in South Africa, where the doctrine of apartheid, now made into a law, outrages the conscience of mankind? It is high time that the Powers that befriend the Pretoria Government induce the latter to abandon its policy of racial discrimination and to put the provisions of resolution 1881 (XVIII), which was unanimously adopted by our Assembly on 11 October 1963, into effect immediately.

15. We also appeal urgently to these same Powers which are South Africa's friends to convince that country of the need to comply rapidly with all the resolutions concerning the territory of South West Africa.

16. I must point out, at this juncture, that the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, faithful to the spirit and the letter of the decisions of the historic Addis Ababa Conference^{2/} maintains no relations of any kind with

either Portugal or South Africa. Our territorial waters and our air space are closed to all ships and aircraft flying the flags of those two countries.

17. I cannot fail to mention the situation at present obtaining in Southern Rhodesia, the more so since the United Kingdom Government has often given us cause to appreciate its realism and its desire to decolonize. It would be sad indeed if events in that territory were to mirror those occurring in South Africa. However urgent the situation may be, reason demands that a racist minority should not be allowed in the present circumstances to claim an independence the consequences of which would be prejudicial to all concerned. The United Kingdom should hold free and democratic elections based on universal suffrage in the territory and transfer the attributes of sovereignty only to the Government that emerges from the elections.

18. On the subject of the violation of human rights, how could I fail to refer to the painful case of the Palestine refugees? Year in and year out, our Organization turns its attention to this problem without any hope of finding a just and equitable solution and without showing any eagerness to take practical steps to secure the restoration of the rights that have been usurped and the return of these refugees, who are compelled to live as stateless people. It is urgently necessary that the United Nations, which must play a major part in solving this grave problem, should adopt a new approach to the Palestine question and place it once again in its proper perspective. It is incumbent upon the United Nations to take adequate steps to remedy this blatant injustice, in order that lasting peace may be restored and a greater degree of stability ensured in the Middle East. More than a million Palestine refugees are still suffering in wretched camps, in appalling living conditions; they can hardly be expected to waive their right to return and to accept the fait accompli.

19. Ever since my country has been in a position to express its views, it has consistently affirmed its support for African unity, which is one of our fundamental objectives and to the attainment of which our Mauritanian People's Party is pledged, as is clear from article 2 of its statutes.

20. African unity arouses a particular response amongst us because our country is built in its image. In the Islamic Republic of Mauritania—and this is something of which we are legitimately proud—we provide an example of men of various races and colours living together in harmony and engaged hand-in-hand, with the same enthusiasm, in building the Mauritanian nation. Although in our country we sometimes refer for simplicity's sake to Blacks, Whites, Moors, Toutcouleurs or Sarakollés, we think first and foremost in terms of Mauritaniens and Africans.

21. These features of my country, as also its geographical position, make it a natural link between white Africa and black Africa, whose cultures and races intermingle there in order the better to enrich it and symbolize an Africa united in its diversity.

22. That is why, speaking from this very rostrum two years ago, at the sixteenth session [1056th meeting], I said that some disgruntled spirits had sought to emphasize the transitory divisions between African brothers by trying to distort the meaning of certain political regroupings on our continent, and that the future would show whether or not they were right. How happy I am that time has given the lie to their prophecy!

^{2/} Summit Conference of Independent African States, 22-25 May 1963.

23. Continuing my statement, I added that my fondest hope was that in the months ahead we African leaders would be able to overcome the personal differences or struggles for influence, so that all roads might lead to Lagos, making it a decisive stage in building a united Africa. That wish has been more than fulfilled, since this very year those roads have led us to Addis Ababa, the capital of African unity and fraternity.

24. Assuredly, 25 May 1963 will remain a red-letter day in the history of Africa and of the world. It was on that day that the heads of thirty independent States laid the solid foundations of the Organization of African Unity, thereby affirming to the whole world their intention to organize effective solidarity, based on a common will to build together a better future in equality, freedom and mutual respect. That is why Addis Ababa is the practical expression of the spirit of unity.

25. My country is particularly proud to be one of the founding States of the Organization of African Unity. That organization is not a symptom of isolationism in our continent, as some press circles would suggest. On the contrary, the African States are more aware than ever of the ties of solidarity that link them to the States of the other continents, especially to those of the under-developed world.

26. This solidarity has its origin in the common struggle against under-development and for rapid economic emancipation. How is it possible to dream of peace and progress when three quarters of mankind are still living in a state bordering on destitution?

27. In the struggle for economic development, the United Nations has a vital part to play and can help to reverse the present trend towards the intensification of the difference between the incomes of the developed countries and those of the developing countries.

28. The poor countries cannot anticipate a harmonious development if their industrialization is too slow, if access to capital markets is made difficult for them and if their foreign trade pattern is sometimes unsuitable. The industrialized Powers must not selfishly hold aloof—an attitude which is incomprehensible at a time when there should be ever-increasing solidarity between all the countries of the world. Even in the context of regional economic associations, it would be highly dangerous to disregard this basic concept of solidarity which should enable our countries to meet the heavy demands of long-term growth. International trade can no longer tolerate patterns which are contrary to the interests of the developing States and do not make allowance for all the political changes that have occurred since the Second World War. If nothing is done about it, the constant deterioration in the terms of trade will broaden the gap, already too wide, between the rich and the poor countries. We hope that the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will lead to the establishment of new principles and sound rules for the economic organization of the international community.

29. May I be permitted to state once again how devoted my country is to the United Nations, whose Charter is our surest guide and determines our relations with all States. It is in this spirit that the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes, which

is the mainspring of peace, has been applied in our country in an exemplary manner which deserves to be duly stressed. For the first time in contemporary African history, a territorial dispute between two neighbouring and brotherly States, Mali and Mauritania, has been finally settled by negotiation, in a spirit of co-operation and mutual respect. This is a most fortunate precedent and one which we hope will be followed by other States with similar problems. It is because we have always believed in the virtues of a frank exchange of views that we hope that, as a result of negotiations undertaken in a friendly spirit, we shall be able to exercise our sovereignty over a vast part of our national territory which has not yet been liberated.

30. Faithful to its great decisions and to its friendships, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has only one ambition—and I take pleasure in repeating this—namely, to persist in its endeavours to further the establishment of fruitful relations with all the States of the world and the development and maintenance of international solidarity.

31. Indeed, we are firmly convinced that this solidarity is indispensable if the enormous task of economic and social development that the developing countries must face is to be successfully accomplished. Thus in the implementation of its own development plan, my country's Government has left a large place for contribution from abroad. In the context of a well-conceived international society, we very much hope that the volume of foreign investments in our country will increase. We are convinced that this would be profitable both to those who provide the capital and to ourselves.

32. In the same connexion, I should like to mention the great interest that we, like the other African States, attach to the recent establishment at Khartoum of the African Development Bank, of which we are a founding member. All the technical problems connected with its installation must be rapidly and appropriately solved so that this new institution may start functioning as soon as possible.

33. Mr. President, I hope that the international atmosphere in which you have begun your work will be maintained. The long road to peace seems to be shortening and new hopes are appearing on the horizon.

34. I am leaving here convinced that your deliberations will prove a source of guidance to all those who are fighting ardently and disinterestedly for the emergence of a better society.

35. Rest assured that this temple of peace will continue to be our best chance and our reason for having faith in a world inhabited by free and equal men, united in the great struggle against hunger, ignorance and disease.

36. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly I should like to thank His Excellency, the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, for the important statement he has just made.

The meeting was suspended at 3.30 p.m. and resumed at 4.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 75

Question of Southern Rhodesia: report 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

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/5564)

37. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before opening the discussion on agenda item 75 and calling upon the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, I wish to announce that the Chairman of the Fourth Committee has requested me to inform members of the Assembly that the Fourth Committee will meet immediately after the close of this meeting.

38. Mr. MARSH (Jamaica), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have the honour to present for the consideration of the General Assembly part I of the report of the Fourth Committee on the question of Southern Rhodesia [A/5564].

39. During the course of the general debate on this subject, it was decided as a matter of urgency to consider the draft resolution contained in paragraph 14 of the report. This draft resolution was adopted by the Committee at its 1440th meeting on 7 October 1963, by a vote of 85 in favour, 2 against, with 11 abstentions. Consideration of the question of Southern Rhodesia is still in progress, and, as the report itself implies, the result of the further deliberations on this subject will in due course be laid before the Assembly. I now recommend the report for the consideration of the Assembly.

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

40. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In view of the decision just adopted, Members of the Assembly will limit their statements, before or after the voting, to explanations of their vote.

41. Miss BROOKS (Liberia): I should like to make an explanation. I know that several times in the past when representatives have come to this rostrum to speak—and to speak on a draft resolution in the form of a debate—they have been told that they must confine themselves to an explanation of vote. I am not explaining my vote as such. I want to speak on the draft resolution as if it were being debated.

42. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I should like to explain to the representative of Liberia that, in accordance with rule 68 of the rules of procedure, once the Rapporteur has presented his report the President must ask the Assembly whether it wishes to discuss the report. If any representative objects to the report or proposes that it should be discussed, the President must immediately put that proposal to the vote, if it is supported by one third of the Members of the Assembly. As no such proposal has been made, any statement made with reference to the draft resolution recommended in the report must consist of an explanation of vote and may be presented either before or after the voting. The representative of Liberia may therefore state her views on the draft resolution in explaining her vote.

43. Miss BROOKS (Liberia): Thank you, Mr. President, for your explanation.

44. In requesting the adoption of the draft resolution on Southern Rhodesia, as contained in the report of

the Fourth Committee [A/5564, para. 14], the delegation of Liberia wishes to draw the attention of this august body to certain underlying principles.

45. To begin with, the second preambular paragraph of the draft resolution recalls, first, resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. We are aware that that resolution is on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The delegation of Liberia therefore wishes the Assembly to recognize that the United Kingdom's veto of the Security Council draft resolution^{3/}—which was similar if not identical to the present draft resolution, and which obtained a majority support but for its veto—constitutes a breach of the policy adopted by the United Kingdom Government during the mid-twentieth century of granting self-determination and independence to most of its colonial peoples and countries.

46. The second preambular paragraph also recalls resolution 1747 (XVI) of 28 June 1962. In that resolution the General Assembly declared that the British colony of Southern Rhodesia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory thereby confirming the arguments of those delegations which have upheld the principle that Southern Rhodesia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations. The pretext, therefore, of the United Kingdom Government to the effect that it cannot interfere in the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia is void, and its reference to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter is an attempt to misapply that provision of the Charter to the detriment of the vast majority of the African population of Southern Rhodesia.

47. Resolution 1760 (XVII) of 31 October 1962, referred to also in the second preambular paragraph of the draft resolution before the Assembly, requested the United Kingdom Government to take immediate steps to extend to the whole population of the colony of Southern Rhodesia, without discrimination, "... the full and unconditional exercise of their basic political rights, in particular the right to vote ...". Instead, the United Kingdom Government acquiesced in the adoption of a Constitution, the celebrated "1961 Constitution" which denied such rights. This Constitution on a discriminatory basis provided 15 seats in the Legislature for an African population of 3,695,000 as against 50 seats for a European population of only 223,000. This new Constitution also introduced a new electoral system based on the two roll pattern. Voting rights were extended to only 2,562 Africans, and 2,000 were removed from the general electorate to the "B roll" who could vote only if they were voting for 15 seats. In connexion with the 1961 Constitution, the General Assembly adopted a resolution [1760 (XVII)] requesting the United Kingdom Government not to bring into force the Constitution and to cancel the election under it. The appeal of the Assembly fell on deaf ears.

48. The second preambular paragraph of the draft resolution takes note of the resolution 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 [A/5446/Rev.1, chap. III, para. 282] in which the Special Committee drew the attention of the Security

^{3/} Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5425/Rev.1.

Council to the deterioration of the explosive situation which prevails in the Non-Self-Governing Territory of Southern Rhodesia.

49. A representative of the African majority population has confirmed before the Fourth Committee the brutality and the repressions being carried out against the mass of African population by the minority white settler Government: the denial of the right of assembly, the imprisonment of political leaders, the stringent rules which result in imprisonment of the Africans generally, in short, the denial of basic political or fundamental rights to a people in their own homeland, coupled with the policy of apartheid—a policy which the minority white settler Government now undertakes to perpetuate under a cloak of what it terms "development programme". And, I must here confirm the definition given to the word apartheid by the Foreign Minister of Nigeria before this Assembly on 11 October 1963 [1238th meeting] as "slavery", for it is slavery pure and simple.

50. If racial discrimination and/or the practices meted out to the African majority population in Southern Rhodesia by the minority white settler Government were being practised against the minority white settlers in that territory, my delegation is sure that these settlers would be the first to exclaim that the practice of racial discrimination is incompatible with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and should be condemned wherever it occurs.

51. It cannot be denied that the advent to power of the present Government in Southern Rhodesia came as a result of an undemocratic and discriminatory Constitution imposed on the population of Southern Rhodesia, and that the overwhelming majority of this population is opposed to it.

52. I come now to the question of the transfer of the powers and attributes of sovereignty, and the control and operation of military forces and arms, to and by the minority white settler Government of Southern Rhodesia and the request, as was contained in the Security Council draft resolution which was vetoed by the United Kingdom Government, and which is now embodied in operative paragraphs 1 and 2 the draft resolution before the Assembly.

53. The Assembly must recognize the dangerous state of affairs or existing explosive situation in Southern Rhodesia. This disquieting situation has created much concern in the world today and especially in the continent of Africa of which Southern Rhodesia is a part. The United Kingdom Government itself recognizes that the situation is not one for ease and contentment. An explosion of such a situation spells danger to the peace not only in Africa. It is inescapable that it would be danger for the world as a whole.

54. It was the concern for such a situation which led the Heads of State and Government of the independent African States at the Addis Ababa Conference to adopt a resolution inviting Britain "not to transfer the powers and attributes of sovereignty to foreign minority Governments imposed on African peoples by the use of force and under cover of racial legislation" and to pledge their support to legitimate measures which might be undertaken by the nationalists against the usurping of power by a racial white minority.

55. The minority white settler Government has requested the United Kingdom Government to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia while this undemo-

cratically constituted Government is in power. Again, it is reported that Mr. Winston Field has said, on behalf of his Government, that Southern Rhodesia will become independent regardless. It is clear, then, that there is no reduction of tension in Southern Rhodesia and that the Field Government intends, even by force and under cover of racial legislation, to impose its will on the vast African majority population of Southern Rhodesia.

56. In the draft resolution before the Assembly, we again request the United Kingdom Government to wait until the establishment of a government fully representative of all the inhabitants of the colony of Southern Rhodesia before transferring the powers and attributes of sovereignty. It is to such a representative government that the transfer should be made, for, if Her Majesty's Government were to undertake to do otherwise, that Government would be committing an act destined to ignite the fuse of an already existing explosive situation in Southern Rhodesia and to create a breach of international peace and security.

57. The reversion of strong armed forces to a government in a position of superior strength in regard to the African population must, under the circumstances, create great concern on the part of my delegation. The dogmatic attitude of the Field Government cannot be overlooked. It cannot be denied that a minority government, undemocratically constituted and determined to impose its will upon a vast majority, will not readily yield its position, being jealous of its privileges and advantages and obsessed by a fear of reprisals, although there is no basis for such fear.

58. The Assembly must therefore recognize that, if Her Majesty's Government has failed to act in the past, it is now in an even more favourable position to take concrete steps and to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly, since Southern Rhodesia, as a British colony, cannot attain independence without the consent of the British Government and Parliament.

59. Finally, on behalf of the Liberian delegation, I should like to appeal to Her Majesty's Government through the United Kingdom Government representatives in this Assembly—and I lay stress on the word "Her"—to consider the plea of the people of Africa and the distressed Africans of Southern Rhodesia, the mothers and daughters in particular, on the question of Southern Rhodesia. We ask no more than that the great traditions of democracy of the British Government, as carried out in Great Britain, be undertaken in Southern Rhodesia, so that the world will know that, when one speaks in Britain of fundamental freedoms or the principles of democracy, it is meant that these freedoms and these principles of democracy must touch the lives of all peoples wherever Britain rules, regardless of those who may wish to see it otherwise. Will this plea be heard? My delegation awaits the answer.

60. I commend the draft resolution to the Assembly for adoption.

61. Mr. VOLIO (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): The representative of Liberia has just told the Assembly how the African countries feel about the problem of Southern Rhodesia. On behalf of Costa Rica, a people of the Caribbean area, where multiracial societies exist, I should like to explain the interest of my delegation and my country in seeing the problem of Southern Rhodesia satisfactorily resolved, in keeping

with the tradition of democracy and respect for peoples which the United Kingdom has demonstrated.

62. We consider that it is not sufficient to support the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the new recommendations of the Fourth Committee, but that the co-operation of the United Kingdom is required to achieve the solution of this problem.

63. This morning the Assembly considered the problem of the earthquake in Yugoslavia, and delegations gave their approval to measures to meet the needs which have arisen there without asking what are Yugoslavia's politics. Afterwards there was a discussion of the ravages wrought by the hurricane in Haiti, Cuba and elsewhere in the Caribbean, and representatives of all nations came to this rostrum to express support and sympathy for the peoples concerned, without considering their political creed or the colour of their skin.

64. If that was the reaction to the problems created by nature, then how much more reason have the nations represented here to endeavour to solve problems between peoples, so that the tension in that part of Africa may not create problems of racial division that will be a source of anxiety for years and perhaps centuries to come, because the understanding required for their solution is lacking.

65. We are glad that the new African nations have given the minorities in their countries equal constitutional opportunities, equal rights and so forth, so that in a multiracial society constituted as a nation they may work for the common good and the progress of the people, for which the nation was founded. We trust that these same rights and this same situation may prevail for the benefit of all in Southern Rhodesia.

66. Costa Rica hopes that when Southern Rhodesia is represented here as a nation, it will be with the representation of all those that live there, and that when a new flag is raised before this building it will reflect the feelings of the inhabitants of that region, thus strengthening not only the region of Africa but the representation of the larger flag which covers us all—the blue flag of the United Nations.

67. My delegation accordingly supports the recommendation of the Fourth Committee [A/5564, para. 14] and urges the United Kingdom to maintain its stand in favour of the development of the peoples which have been under its administration and to accede to the requests of the General Assembly, the Security Council and now the draft resolution endorsed by many countries, in support of the rights of the inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia.

68. Mr. KAMBONA (Tanganyika): I am going to be very brief, but I thought that I should say a few words since we in Tanganyika take the Southern Rhodesian issue very seriously, considering that these people are very near to us and the solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia is a solution also to that of a great part of East Africa.

69. The Tanganyikan delegation is happy to see that the draft resolution contained in the report of the Fourth Committee [A/5564, para. 14] has been acted upon promptly by that Committee and now is before the plenary session. In the Fourth Committee this draft resolution received the maximal support of 85 votes in favour and only 2 against, with a few abstentions.

70. On Friday, 11 October 1963, the Assembly took action and registered its absolute condemnation of the ruthless oppression and slavery being perpetrated in South Africa by a minority group of European racialists determined to use all powers at their disposal to crush opposition to the wicked system of apartheid.

71. The draft resolution on Southern Rhodesia is aimed primarily at preventing the transfer of the attributes of sovereignty and of a powerful army and deadly weapons and aircraft to a similar group composed of a minority of European racist settlers whose Government is bent upon perpetuating its domination over the three millions of indigenous people who have been denied their human rights in their own country. An overwhelming or a unanimous vote for this draft resolution will go a long way to save this Organization and the world from a problem very similar to that of South Africa. The United Kingdom must be shown once more, and most clearly, that the world condemns the creation of any minority racist régimes, for indeed it is well known to us that the policy of the European settler régime of Southern Rhodesia is inspired more by South Africa than by any other country.

72. The deplorable use of the veto on a colonial issue by the United Kingdom, when already the United Kingdom has granted freedom to almost all its former colonies except those now in the southern part of Africa, is not understood by us, and therefore the attempt by the United Kingdom to entrust the minority settler government with the substantial powers of external affairs and defence ought to be objected to by all Members of this Organization, who know very well that the portfolios of external affairs and defence are always retained by the Administering Authority until the day of independence. The attempt to hand them over to the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia comes to us as a shock and a departure from modern British colonial practice. We trust that Britain will reconsider its position after this vote and will refrain from making the same mistake as that which was made in the case of South Africa, which was an unforgettable blunder.

73. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in its report [A/5564, para. 14]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad,

Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: France, Greece, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, Turkey, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada.

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland did not participate in the voting.

The draft resolution was adopted by 90 votes to 2, with 13 abstentions.

74. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of Ghana for an explanation of vote.

75. Mr. BUDU-ACQUAH (Ghana): The delegation of Ghana would like to draw the attention of this Assembly to rule 89 of the rules of procedure, "Method of voting". In the voting it was observed that the delegation of the United Kingdom answered: "Not participating". Rule 89 stipulates:

"The name of each Member shall be called in any roll-call and one of its representatives shall reply 'Yes', 'No' or 'Abstention'."

76. In view of the fact that during the debate in the Security Council on the question of Southern Rhodesia the delegation of the United Kingdom vetoed the draft resolution,^{4/} the delegation of Ghana would like to recall that non-participation by the United Kingdom Government in the voting is inconsistent with what took place in the Security Council.

77. I should like also to quote from The Economist of October 1963:

"Only two countries opposed the resolution on Southern Rhodesia which was carried last Monday by the United Nations Assembly's committee-of-the-whole on colonial matters; they were Portugal and South Africa. Britain, to which the resolution is addressed, formally declined to take part in the voting. The British stand was in rather odd contrast to that taken only three weeks earlier in the Security Council, when a British veto—the only contrary vote—was used to block a very similar resolution. Evidently the Government, grateful as it may be for support from Lisbon and Pretoria, does not want to get bracketed with them. In fact, however, resort to the technicality of non-participation in a vote does not prevent Britain from seeming to the great majority of Governments to have joined itself, in respect of southern African affairs, to the company of a rather gruesome twosome."

78. The delegation of Ghana would like to stand before the world to condemn hypocrisy and inconsistency. We should like also to point out that the voting in the General Assembly this afternoon has vindicated the stand taken by the Government of Ghana when we were accused in the Security Council of being the only Commonwealth country that was not in conformity with the dissolution of the Federation and the transfer of power to the various countries that formed the Federation. The voting this afternoon has shown that Ghana does not stand alone in the Commonwealth in denouncing the mechanics of the dissolution of the

Central African Federation. All the African-Asian members of the Commonwealth and Trinidad and Tobago have supported our cause. That belies the contention of the United Kingdom that all members of the Commonwealth except Ghana expressed satisfaction at the manner in which the dissolution of the Federation was being handled. The world has today called upon the United Kingdom to execute its duty in Southern Rhodesia to the indigenous inhabitants—the dead, the living and the unborn—whose elders entered into a treaty with Southern Rhodesia when they came under Cecil Rhodes, who in a very shrewd manner colonized the area. Therefore we hope, now that the whole world has condemned the United Kingdom for its attitude, that it will not fail in its duty.

79. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In view of the statement made by the representative of Ghana, I must point out to him that I gave him the floor in order that he might explain his vote. The representative of Ghana objected to the fact that, despite rule 89 of the rules of procedure, a delegation announced that it was not participating in the vote. I wish to point out that this is a practice which has been accepted in the Assembly on a number of occasions and that, as far as the counting of the vote is concerned, a delegation which declares that it is not participating in the vote is regarded as being absent.

80. We have now concluded agenda item 75.

Organization of work

81. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The next item on our agenda is item 80, but since the sponsor of the draft resolution on that subject would prefer the discussion to begin on 16 October—there is no plenary meeting tomorrow—we shall postpone the opening of the debate on item 80 until the morning meeting of the 16th.

82. Before adjourning the meeting, and since for reasons well known to all of us we have had to make some changes in the programme announced earlier, I shall read out the revised programme for the next few days in order to facilitate the work of delegations.

83. Tomorrow, 15 October, the 1963 United Nations Pledging Conference on the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund will be held in this Hall in the morning and the afternoon. Consequently, there will be no plenary meetings.

84. On 16 October we shall begin consideration of agenda item 80. The morning and afternoon meetings will be devoted to that item.

85. On 17 October we shall continue the discussion of agenda item 80 at the morning meeting, but at 11 a.m. we shall hear an address by the President of Cameroon. The Prime Minister of Ireland will address the Assembly at 3 p.m. and the meeting will adjourn at the conclusion of his statement.

86. At the morning meeting of 18 October, we shall proceed to the election of members of the Councils.

87. On 21 October in the afternoon there will be simultaneous meetings of the General Assembly and the Security Council to elect members of the International Court of Justice.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.

^{4/} Ibid.