

CANADIAN DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY (SIXTEENTH SESSION - RESUMED)

RELEASE ON DELIVERY

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Statement by W. H. Barton, Charge d'Affaires a.i., in Plenary Session of the General Assembly, on June 19, 1962.

Southern Rhodesia

Mr. President:

Canadian Government on the matter before us today, I should like to acknowledge the diligence and vigour with which the Special Committee of Seventeen has been carrying out the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly. It is a particular pleasure to my Delegation to recognize the service of the Chairman, Ambassador Jha, in view of his forthcoming appointment as High Commissioner for India in Canada.

I think that all members of this Assembly agree that the political situation in Southern Rhodesia is an extremely difficult one. At a time when the principles of democratic freedom have been adopted throughout most of Africa, a minority of 200,000 obviously cannot expect to exclude a majority of two and one-quarter million people indefinitely from participating in the political life of the country. Moreover, we do not believe that the present leaders of Southern Rhodesia intend to do so.

Even under the 1951 constitution, accepted by a two-to-one majority

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of the present electorate, it is anticipated that effective participation in the electoral process by a substantial majority of the population will be achieved within the next decade. The real issue is not whether Southern Rhodesia is moving in the right direction, but whether it is moving fast enough.

The Assembly has before it a report of the Seventeen Member Committee which expresses the view of the majority of that body that the trend of constitutional development is not satisfactory and advances a number of drastic recommendations which it believes should be given immediate effect.

The first question which the Committee considered in its discussion of Southern Rhodesia was whether or not the territory is self-governing. The British Government has pointed out, patiently and repeatedly, that Southern Rhodesia has been a self-governing colony since 1923 and that Britain cannot interfere in its internal affairs or legislate for it without the consent of the Southern Rhodesian Government. The Special committee, on the other hand, has concluded, and the Assembly will be asked to support its conclusion, that because the majority of the people are not yet included in the franchise, Southern Rhodesia has not attained a full measure of self-government.

It seems to my Delegation that the reality behind these two contradictory positions has an important bearing on the question of whether the Assembly can take any constructive action at this time. In the first place, since the present government of Southern Rhodesia has full control of its internal affairs, the Assembly must realize that the political changes which it desires can be brought about only with the cooperation of that government.

Secondly, it is not only pointless, but against the interests of this Assembly, for it to request Britain, as the Administering Power, to impose various constitutional changes on the Government of Southern Rhodesia, when Britain has no power to do so. The British Government can only exert influence on the Southern Rhodesian Government by persuasion and negotiation. It has no military forces stationed in the territory. Even if it had, can it seriously be imagined that military action could or would be taken against the Southern Rhodesian Government? And if it were, would the chaos, confusion and suffering resulting from such action really be in the interest of the people of Southern Rhodesia?

We believe that the transition to fully-representative government must be achieved peacefully. Any attempt to bring it about suddenly without the consent of the present government could only be made by force. Given the existing situation it would inevitably fail and would delay the transition for many more years.

Notwithstanding the situation in law and in fact, the majority of the Special Committee in its report, and the sponsors of the draft resolution in Document A/L.385 have implied that the United Kingdom Government is somehow capable of taking immediate steps to alter completely the constitution of Southern Rhodesia. This, of course, is untrue. Nor does the General Assembly by itself have the power to order the Southern Rhodesian Government to alter its constitution.

In these circumstances it is the view of my Delegation that the Assembly, in considering any proposed resolution on Southern Rhodesia, should be guided by two criteria:

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- 1. Will the action called for by the terms of the resolution improve the situation of all the peoples of Southern Rhodesia?
- 2. Can the action proposed in the resolution be put into effect?

I am sure it is evident from what I have said that in our opinion the resolution in Document A/L.385 does not fulfil either of these requirements.

What, then, can we do? We think that the most useful action that this Assembly might take at this time would be to support the present efforts of the British Government to bring about a solution to the political problems of the constituent territories of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which are closely inter-related.

The British Government, with the overwhelming support of the British people, has played an honourable and constructive role in bringing to full independence over 500 million people in the past fifteen years. The governments of all her former dependencies maintain close and friendly relations with her. With its fine record and experience in resolving difficult colonial problems the British Government merits the confidence of the Assembly in solving those which remain.

The United Kingdom is still responsible for 42 of the 55-odd non-self-governing territories in which the United Nations is interested, and its full cooperation is needed if this Assembly is to play a constructive part in their advance to independence. It would be most unfortunate if, by passing a resolution making impossible demands on the United Kingdom, the Assembly should jeopardize the basis of this cooperation.

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Rhodesia which are impossible of fulfilment and have little relation to the realities of the situation we need not be surprised if our action contributes to the building up of the dangerous situation which we all wish to avoid. It is the hope of the Canadian Government that action by the General Assembly will promote the achievement of a settlement and not add to the formidable problems of the peoples of Southern Rhodesia.

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CANADIAN DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SIXTEENTH SESSION - RESUMED

Statement by Senator A.J. Brooks, P.C., Q.C., Vice-Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, in the Fourth Committee on February 23, 1962.

Item 39 - Southern Rhodesia

Madame Chairman:

The request contained in draft resolution L.729 on Southern Rhodesia that the 17-member Special Committee should consider whether Southern Rhodesia has attained "a full measure of self-government" has serious implications for the future of territory concerned, implications which ought to be considered very carefully by this Committee before proceeding to a vote on the resolution.

Presumably, if the 17-member Special Committee should express the view that Southern Rhodesia was non-self-governing, this would in time be followed by a request that the administering power transmit to the United Nations information about its economic, social and educational conditions under Article 73(e) of the Charter. In this case, the nominal administering power, Britain, would simply not be in a position to supply such information, no matter how willing it might be to cooperate with the United Nations. Although not independent, Southern Rhodesia has had since 1923 such a large measure of self-government as to differentiate it from the "non-self-governing territories" with which the United Nations has normally been concerned under Chapter XI of the Charter. Before the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was formed in 1953 the elected Ministers of Southern Rhodesia were responsible for its economic, social and educational policies. Furthermore Southern Rhodesia had been

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granted full membership in several international organizations and was a contracting party to Gatt. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia had attended meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers held in London.

- 3. By the division of functions between Southern Rhodesia and the Federal Government when the Federation was formed, very substantial powers in internal matters, which had been exercised by Southern Rhodesia for thirty years, remained within the latter's authority. The United Kingdom has never, since the United Nations was founded, been in a position to transmit information on Southern Rhodesia's economic, social and educational policies. This was not questioned by the United Nations when the list of non-self-governing territories was drawn up in 1946. Finally, it is a plain fact that the United Kingdom and its representatives are not qualified or authorized to speak for Southern Rhodesia.
- 4. The adoption of this draft resolution will not change the constitutional situation. As the British Delegate has informed us, his Government could not, and cannot, give information which it does not receive and has no power to demand.
- 5. It is generally understood that the principal aim of the United Nations in discussing colonial territories is to bring the peoples concerned to full self-government and complete independence if that is their wish. No country has played a greater part in achieving this goal than Great Britain since the United Nations was founded.
- 6. We in Canada are convinced that the British Government is endeavouring to bring independence as soon as possible, and under the most favourable conditions for future peace and stability, to the remaining territories in Africa for which it is responsible.

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- 7. In the Federation this task is extremely difficult and any action proposed to this Assembly should be judged on the basis of whether it will facilitate the granting of independence to the people concerned. The British Government is at this moment engaged in very important negotiations to institute a new constitution for Northern Rhodesia and to plan the future relationship between Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia. My Delegation believes that nothing should be done here which might prejudice a successful outcome to these negotiations.
- 8. We have been told by the British delegate that his
 Government feels that on grounds of principle and fact it
 would be wrong for this Assembly to seek to give directions
 to the Special Committee on Colonialism as the draft resolution proposes. In view of the full cooperation which it has
 given to the United Nations in colonial matters, the Committee
 should give proper weight to the objections he has raised.
- 9. In addition to its unusual constitutional position, there are other reasons why Southern Rhodesia's special case should be considered with care and understanding by the United Nations. Its leaders appear to us to be making a genuine effort to establish a multi-racial state in Africa in which no man will be judged by the colour of his skin and in which merit alone will decide a man's position in society. Southern Rhodesia is unlike most of the African states which have recently become independent in that it contains a large white population not consisting of expatriates but of men and women who regard Southern Rhodesia as their native land. It is in their own interest to develop a full working partnership based on racial equality with the African majority.

- 10. We hope and believe that the changes brought about by the new constitution for Southern Rhodesia, linked with a widening of the franchise, will be bound in time to lead to an African majority. The new constitution has incorporated within it a Declaration of Fundamental Rights for every person in Southern Rhodesia based on the principle of racial equality and enforceable by the Courts. I understand that this Declaration is similar to those incorporated in the constitutions of Nigeria and Sierra Leone.
- 11. While some members of this Assembly obviously feel that the Southern Rhodesian Government is moving too slowly in granting political rights to the African population, it must be conceded that it is at least moving in the right direction. If Southern Rhodesia is able to establish a truly multiracial society its example could be of the greatest value in solving the remaining colonial problems in Africa with which the United Nations is concerned. Its progress toward this goal could be materially assisted by cooperation and understanding within the United Nations.
- 12. It is proper that the United Nations should follow with care and interest developments in the Federation of Rhodesia and Myasaland. However, in the view of my Delegation, any direct intervention by the United Nations at this stage would prejudice the success of efforts which are being made by Britain to bring these territories further along the road toward independence in a peaceful atmosphere and with the willing consent of all parties concerned. It is not an easy task.
- 13. It has been said in this debate that unless something is done and done quickly "to save" the situation in Southern Rhodesia, the United Nations may be faced with "another South

Africa". Will we help in some way to resolve the problems of Southern Rhodesia by adopting this resolution? I doubt it. Do we strengthen the hand of the United Kingdom? I do not think so. I believe that at this particular juncture this resolution is more likely to hinder, than to help, efforts to find a solution for Southern Rhodesian problems.

14. We therefore think that it would be inadvisable to bring the draft resolution on Southern Rhodesia to a vote. If, however, most members should decide on a vote on the draft resolution now, my delegation would vote against it in the belief that its passage would not be in the best interests of the people of Southern Rhodesia.

