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MEETING**

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Chairman: Mr. P. V. J. SOLOMON
(Trinidad and Tobago).

Requests for hearings

**REQUESTS CONCERNING NAMIBIA (AGENDA
ITEM 64) (*continued*) (A/C.4/709, ADD.2 AND 3)**

1. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that he had received two requests for hearings (A/C.4/709/Add.2 and 3) from Mr. Mburumba Kerina of the South West Africa National United Front (SWANUF).

2. In the absence of any objection, he would take it that the Committee decided to grant the hearings.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: 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: Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) * (A/7200/Rev.1, chap. VI; A/C.4/L.909)

**CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTION
A/C.4/L.909**

3. Mr. TURKSON (Ghana), introducing draft resolution A/C.4/L.909 on behalf of the forty-one sponsors, said that,

* Resumed from the 1772nd meeting.

in preparing the draft resolution, consideration had been given to the main trends that had found expression during the debate and to the urgent need to make constructive and logical proposals which would lead to a speedy settlement of the question of Southern Rhodesia.

4. Commenting in detail on the preambular paragraphs, he pointed out that the gravity of the situation was such as to demand the urgent attention of the United Nations. The problem of Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security, as the Security Council had determined in resolutions 232 (1966) and 253 (1968). The executions and the acts of repression perpetrated by the illegal racist minority against the African people, and the intervention of South African armed forces in the Territory, had further exacerbated the situation. In the light of the declarations made by official spokesmen of the *apartheid* régime in South Africa, it was to be feared that South Africa's intervention would be extended to other neighbouring sovereign States, especially Zambia and Tanzania.

5. In the last two preambular paragraphs, the primary responsibility of the United Kingdom to put an end to the illegal régime was once again stated and it was noted that the sanctions had not produced the desired results, a fact that justified the further measures recommended in the operative paragraphs.

6. He went on to enumerate the measures which the sponsors were proposing that the General Assembly and the Security Council should adopt. First, the sponsors had seen fit, in operative paragraph 1, to recall the basic position of Member States with regard to the question of Southern Rhodesia and to reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), as had been done in the earlier draft resolution adopted by the Committee, and later by the General Assembly, on 25 October, as resolution 2379 (XXIII). As was clear from Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations, the mission of the United Nations would not be accomplished until the aspirations of all the colonial peoples had been satisfied.

7. The recognition, in operative paragraph 2, of the responsibility of the United Kingdom for the deteriorating situation was tantamount to expressing the conviction that that country would be able to crush the rebellion if it would resort to force—a measure which was advocated in operative paragraph 4. He congratulated Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo on having offered to make their territory and air space available to the United Kingdom to enable that country to enforce its control of Southern Rhodesia.

8. Operative paragraph 5 noted the failure of the sanctions, which in order to succeed would have to be comprehensive, mandatory, strictly supervised by force and complied with by all, in particular by South Africa and Portugal.

9. Operative paragraph 6 pointed out that any independence without majority rule was contrary to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and it called upon the United Kingdom to enter immediately into consultations with the representatives of political parties favouring majority rule.

10. That statement of principle appeared also in the resolution adopted on 25 October. All were aware that South Africa and Portugal, in particular, had decided not to comply with the sanctions imposed by the Security Council in resolution 253 (1968). Operative paragraph 7 accordingly condemned that policy and paragraph 8 called upon all States to bring to an end the activities of financial, economic and other interests operated by their nationals in Southern Rhodesia. Paragraph 9 drew the attention of the Security Council to the urgent necessity of applying the measures envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter. It was quite clear that, to be effective, sanctions must produce swift results. The Security Council was therefore called upon to go beyond the provisions of resolution 253 (1968) and not merely to request all Member States to take all possible action under Article 41, but to decide that States must take such action. In other words, the sponsors were demanding the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions consisting of the complete interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic and other means of communication. In addition, because of their defiance of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council, it must be stated that South Africa and Portugal had contravened Article 25 of the Charter and operative paragraph 11 of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) and sanctions must be extended to those two countries. That was the object of sub-paragraph (b) of operative paragraph 9.

11. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, the illegal intervention of South Africa should be severely condemned and, as was requested in operative paragraph 10, the United Kingdom should ensure the immediate expulsion of all South African armed forces from Southern Rhodesia and prevent all armed assistance to the racist minority régime. The sponsors of the draft resolution would be failing in their duty if they did not condemn those acts, as had been done in the sixth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 1 of Security Council resolution 253 (1968).

12. Operative paragraph 11 expressed the same sentiments in condemning the detention, imprisonment and assassination of African nationalists, and paragraph 12 called upon the administering Power to ensure the immediate release of African nationalists in prison and to prevent further assassination of African nationalists in Southern Rhodesia. In paragraph 13, the United Kingdom was called upon to ensure the application of the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 concerning the treatment of prisoners of war.

13. In their time of sacrifice and travail, the people of Zimbabwe needed all the support of the international

community: it was in that spirit that, in operative paragraph 14 of the draft, all States were urged to render all moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe, either directly or through the Organization of African Unity. The Security Council had made a similar appeal in resolution 253 (1968).

14. In the last two paragraphs, the Special Committee was asked to keep the situation in the Territory under review and the Secretary-General was invited to report to the Special Committee on the extent of the implementation by Member States of the United Nations resolutions concerning Southern Rhodesia. The administering Power was also called upon to report to the Special Committee on its actions in implementation of the resolution.

15. In conclusion, he declared that the United Nations must take up the challenge and not allow southern Africa to become a haven for racists, colonialists and oppressors. That was the objective that the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/L.909 were seeking to attain, recognizing, as they did, the competence of the General Assembly to recommend the action to be taken to solve a problem as serious as that now before the Committee.

16. Mr. RAOUF (Iraq) pointed out that the text of the draft resolution was a great advance on the provisions adopted previously and that it took into account the developments in the situation since the adoption of the last General Assembly resolution on the question and of Security Council resolution 253 (1968).

17. Although the inhabitants of the Territory were the real fighters in the struggle in progress, it was the duty of Member States to support them in every possible way. It was therefore only right to remind the international community of its responsibilities in the matter. In such a context, the operative paragraphs of the draft resolution were of particular significance. His delegation urgently recommended the draft resolution to the attention of the Committee and hoped that it would be adopted by a large majority, since it certainly reflected the views of a great number of Member States.

18. Mr. FOUM (United Republic of Tanzania) said that, in his view, the importance of the draft resolution before the Committee must not be underestimated. As the representative of Ghana and the representative of Iraq had made clear, the draft resolution reflected the deep feelings not only of all the Afro-Asian States, but also of all the justice-loving and peace-loving peoples who were still subjected to the yoke of colonialism. It also reflected the profound solidarity which existed between the forces of progress.

19. All the members of the Committee were fully aware of the situation. They all knew what was happening in Southern Rhodesia and what the United Kingdom's responsibility was; they all knew that refusal to recognize the rights of the African peoples was the cause of the present situation, and those who were not backing the efforts of the United Nations to settle the problem knew what they were doing in undermining those efforts. In submitting draft resolution A/C.4/L.908 at the 1771st meeting, the Afro-Asian countries had tried to gain the support of all the members of the Committee for principles which, while they

might appear simple, were nevertheless of profound significance, since what they involved was, firstly, enforcing respect for the Charter, and secondly, preserving the dignity of a people and enabling it to become independent. Yet three permanent members of the Security Council had abstained from voting on that draft resolution, which meant, in effect, that they had refused to support the principle that independence could not be granted to Southern Rhodesia until such time as there was a government based on free elections by universal adult suffrage and on majority rule.

20. The United Kingdom had repeatedly stated that it accepted its responsibilities and had repeatedly proclaimed its intention of settling the problem. At the 1772nd meeting, however, the United Kingdom representative had stated that, if the General Assembly adopted the provisions of draft resolution A/C.4/L.908, it would be infringing the responsibilities of the British Parliament. Mr. Fourn confessed that he did not understand that argument; for, far from infringing on the sphere of competence of the British Parliament, the United Nations was trying to help it, even going so far as to give it a mandate to take military action. He was not sure that the United Kingdom was entirely sincere in asking the General Assembly to wait until the outcome of the negotiations currently in progress was known, and he feared that, if the General Assembly decided to take that course, the United Kingdom Government might later tell it that it had no right to intervene in its internal affairs. In his view, the United Kingdom Government was trying to lead the General Assembly into a blind alley.

21. The United Kingdom Government claimed that it was complying with all the provisions of Security Council resolution 253 (1968). Under paragraph 5 (b) of that resolution, the United Kingdom Government had committed itself to take all possible measures to prevent the entry into its territory of persons ordinarily resident in Southern Rhodesia; yet that had not prevented the United Kingdom Prime Minister from meeting Mr. Smith and receiving him on board a British ship, although Mr. Smith was unquestionably a resident of Southern Rhodesia.

22. Again, in the same resolution, the Security Council had called upon all States to discontinue all consular and trade representation in Southern Rhodesia; yet some permanent members of the Security Council, particularly the United States of America, were not complying with those provisions.

23. The measures taken by the Security Council on the proposal of the United Kingdom Government had failed miserably. There were many who believed that economic sanctions could solve the problem, but in order to do so, they must, in his view, be extended to include the whole of southern Africa and must be sternly backed up by force.

24. The only way of destroying the Smith régime and bringing the Zimbabwe people to independence was for the United Kingdom to use force. The logical consequence of not doing so would be the institution of *apartheid* in Rhodesia, in the same way as it had become established in South Africa and Namibia after the British had left.

25. He appealed to every member of the Committee to study draft resolution A/C.4/L.909 thoroughly, paragraph by paragraph, to understand the share of responsibility which his country bore for the implementation of the principles of the Charter, and to lend his support to the draft resolution.

26. Mr. KACOU (Ivory Coast) said that his delegation had, in the past, clearly stated its position on the question of Southern Rhodesia in various United Nations organs. In its view, the United Kingdom bore primary responsibility for the current situation. The United Kingdom had undertaken to crush the rebellion, and to that end it had asked the Security Council for sanctions. As had been seen, the sanctions had failed; Mr. Smith's régime had grown steadily stronger, while Mr. Wilson's Government shilly-shallied. Mr. Smith's ideas were well known; he had already stated that he would never agree to a majority government in Southern Rhodesia.

27. The United Kingdom could no longer pretend to believe in the effectiveness of the sanctions. Such an attitude would only encourage the Smith régime. He hoped that those countries which were in a position to influence the United Kingdom would urge it to agree to the measures proposed in the draft resolution.

28. He would like changes to be made in some of the wording used in the French text of the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.909). Operative paragraph 2 should read: *la responsabilité du Royaume-Uni, en tant que Puissance administrante*, and not *la responsabilité encourue par le Royaume-Uni, en tant que Puissance administrante*; in the same paragraph, it would be preferable to speak of *détérioration constante*, rather than *incessante*.

29. Mr. MAHJOUBI (Morocco) stated that his country had indicated its position on the question of Southern Rhodesia in the past, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly and the Fourth Committee. Morocco whole-heartedly supported the people of Zimbabwe, and his delegation wished to become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/L.909.

30. His delegation commended Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which had offered their assistance with a view to action against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

31. Mr. TEVOEDJRE (Dahomey) said that, in the view of his country, the United Kingdom was responsible for the situation in Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom, which in the past had shown what it could do, remained inactive in the case of Southern Rhodesia. That was truly an abdication of responsibility. Its representatives defended indefensible positions, and its Government sought to gain time and to appease the United Nations by means of delaying tactics.

32. He was also surprised at the attitude of some delegations which were in fact giving moral support to South Africa and Portugal in their defiance of world opinion. If violent clashes occurred in southern Africa, the United Kingdom would be responsible. Its attitude enabled

South Africa and Portugal to justify themselves. The United Kingdom was making itself an accomplice in crime, and its role would be condemned by history.

33. Dahomey wished not only to become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/L.909 but also to appeal to those countries which, by their ambiguous attitude, were supporting the United Kingdom, South Africa and Portugal. All Governments, including African Governments, which could bring influence to bear on the United Kingdom must urge it to change its attitudes.

34. The draft resolution before the Committee was now the minimum that could be done to settle the question of Southern Rhodesia.

35. The CHAIRMAN said that Morocco and Dahomey would be added to the list of sponsors of the draft resolution, as requested by their representatives. Kuwait and Chad, which had made a similar request to the Chair, would also be placed on the list of sponsors.

36. Mr. GATUGUTA (Kenya) said that his delegation was in favour of draft resolution A/C.4/L.909 because it believed that, in the grave situation in which the people of Zimbabwe found themselves, the sanctions that had been adopted against the illegal régime should be backed up by force; for the illegal régime could understand nothing but force, exactly like the fascist régimes of South Africa and Portugal, which constantly defied the General Assembly and the Security Council.

37. The United Kingdom, for its part, had not carried out its commitment. In the last paragraph of the White Paper on Rhodesia which it had recently issued,¹ the United Kingdom Government envisaged the formation by Mr. Smith of a coalition government with African participation. Yet the United Kingdom had, of course, undertaken to institute majority government. Kenya could not agree to any solution of the question of Southern Rhodesia which did not conform to a number of principles it had always upheld—transfer of powers to the African majority, refusal to grant independence without majority government, release of the leaders of the people of Zimbabwe, and repeal of legislation adopted by the illegal régime.

38. The CHAIRMAN noted that no other delegation wished to comment on draft resolution A/C.4/L.909 at the current meeting; consideration of it would be resumed at the following meeting.

AGENDA ITEM 65

Question of Territories under Portuguese administration: 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 (continued)

HEARING OF PETITIONERS (concluded) (A/C.4/711)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Miguel A. Murupa and Mr. Sharfudin M. Khan, representatives of the Mozam-

bique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), took places at the Committee table.

39. Mr. EL HADI (Sudan) said that he would like to thank the petitioners for the information they had given concerning the historic confrontation that was taking place between the people of Mozambique and the Portuguese colonialists. Mozambique was currently one of the centres of the struggle against the forces of regression; in that Territory, decolonization meant the use of violence, as had been the case elsewhere, because colonialism itself was violent. The liberation movement in Mozambique had been compelled to make that choice, inspired not by hatred, but by love of freedom, dignity and country. The information supplied by the petitioners had shown that the liberation movement, while continuing the struggle, was already engaged in establishing the social order which it intended should prevail in Mozambique in the future.

40. Colonized peoples had the right to demand freedom and justice; their right to do so was recognized in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Sudan supported their just demands.

41. Mr. SABEV (Bulgaria) thanked the representatives of FRELIMO for the information they had given the Committee and expressed once again his Government's support for the peoples of Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Angola in their struggle against colonialism. The films presented by the petitioners had revealed the situation in those Territories and had given a realistic picture of the war that Portugal was waging there. They had also provided specific evidence of the assistance provided by the members of NATO, without which Portugal would be incapable of maintaining its domination in Africa. The petitioners had brought out the fact that financial interests which invested capital in Mozambique were also contributing to the maintenance of colonialism and were impeding the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. The petitioners had also quite correctly drawn the Committee's attention to the co-operation which had been established between Portugal and South Africa. Their testimony had once again revealed the need for concerted United Nations action, more effective and better adapted to the realities of the situation. It was more than ever necessary to assist national liberation movements, particularly in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) and to appeal to all United Nations bodies, the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, within the framework of General Assembly resolution 2311 (XXII) and other pertinent resolutions, to assist those peoples who were fighting to free themselves of colonial domination. Such assistance was particularly important in the fields of education, medical services and nutrition. When the time came to consider the ways and means of assisting those Territories, the extremely useful information supplied by the representatives of FRELIMO would have to be taken into account.

42. Mr. OULD HACHEME (Mauritania), Mr. JERBI (Libya) and Mr. HUSEIN (Somalia) thanked the representatives of FRELIMO for the valuable information they had given the Committee and stated that their Governments

¹ Rhodesia: Report of the Discussions held on board H.M.S. Fearless, October, 1968 (London, H.M.S.O., Cmnd. 3793).

unreservedly supported the peoples of Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Angola in their struggle against colonialism.

43. Mr. MBEKEANI (Malawi) felt that the time had not yet come to congratulate FRELIMO because, in Mozambique, the sufferings were still immense and the losses of human life innumerable. Having a common frontier with that Territory, Malawi was in a good position to be aware of its problems.

44. He would like to know whether, in view of the fighting which was continuing, FRELIMO had tried to establish a dialogue with Portugal in order to put an end to the suffering of the people of Mozambique and, if not, what were the reasons for its attitude. He was certain that, when Mozambique achieved independence, there would be many foreigners who, having been settled in the country for many generations, would wish to remain there. That was a problem to which thought should be given at once.

45. Mr. KHAN (Mozambique Liberation Front) recalled that, in Portugal and even more so in the Portuguese colonies, there was no greater crime than to stir up controversy. Obviously, the members of FRELIMO had never had the slightest chance of obtaining a hearing in

Mozambique, as human beings should be able to do. To quote only one example, the Portuguese Minister of Defence had stated in a message to Portuguese troops leaving for Africa: "Do not forget that you are going to fight against savage beasts". The Portuguese Government had never considered the Africans as human beings, although between 1962 and 1964 FRELIMO had done its best to establish a dialogue with Portugal. In order to obtain a hearing the Mozambicans had had to flee their country. In Mozambique, any person suspected of sympathy for FRELIMO was thrown into prison or sent to a concentration camp. The people of Malawi in that respect had had better luck than the people of Mozambique, for they had been able to gain a hearing from the colonial Power. It was because Portugal refused to accord that right to the peoples of the Territories under their domination that FRELIMO had decided to send petitioners to the United Nations. Now, it could be seen that Portugal remained deaf also to United Nations appeals.

46. There was, therefore, no doubt that for the people of Mozambique the only solution was armed struggle.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.