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Chairman: Mr. George J. TOMEH (Syria).

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/6700/Rev.1, chap. III)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. CAINE (Liberia) said that in his delegation's view the United Nations was a symbol of the hope of the world—a hope for world peace and security, for world economic stability and for the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. That hope could not be achieved, however, if Member States evaded their responsibility. The history of the United Kingdom Government's position on Southern Rhodesia was a clear example of a Member State that was wilfully neglecting its responsibility and thus paralysing the efforts of the United Nations with regard to the question of Southern Rhodesia. Without the co-operation of its Members, especially those with primary responsibility, such as the United Kingdom and its allies, the United Nations decisions on Southern Rhodesia were meaningless.

2. The United Kingdom, as administering Power, had primary responsibility for bringing about the downfall of the illegal Smith régime. As the Liberian Secretary of State had pointed out at the 1587th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, despite the imposition by the Security Council of mandatory sanctions on certain Southern Rhodesian exports and imports, it had been reported that exports to Southern Rhodesia by certain countries had increased substantially during the first part of 1967, as had exports to South Africa, and it was well known that some

goods exported to South Africa were re-exported to Southern Rhodesia. Although the United Kingdom had imposed an oil blockade at Beira, it appeared that substantial quantities of oil were being delivered to Southern Rhodesia through Lourenço Marques. The United Kingdom seemed to be indirectly involved in the violation of the sanctions by certain countries. Encouraged by the ineffectiveness of the sanctions, the Salisbury régime had enacted legislation empowering the Minister of Internal Affairs to deprive certain persons of their citizenship and to reclassify along racial lines the citizens of some Commonwealth countries as aliens; the régime had also introduced such bills as the Tribal Trust Land Bill and the Tribal Courts Bill, which were aimed at placing all Africans under the direct control of chiefs who had been conditioned to accept racial discrimination, and depriving Africans of their rights under the Land Apportionment Act if they did not obey such chiefs. On 28 February 1967 the illegal régime had appointed a Commission to advise on a constitution best suited to the sovereign independent status of Southern Rhodesia. Recent events indicated that the Smith régime must be preparing to declare Southern Rhodesia a republic. The United Kingdom Government had virtually encouraged the Smith régime to rebel by assuring it that it would not intervene militarily, and the world was now witnessing the adoption of half-hearted measures supposedly designed to bring down the régime without the use of force. The rights and interests of 4 million Africans were being sacrificed on the altar of expediency while ineffectual acts designed to hoodwink the world were being proposed. Thus, almost two years after the United Nations had declared the Southern Rhodesian situation to be a threat to international peace and security, the régime was in as strong a position as ever and the United Nations had been made to appear powerless to take effective action.

3. In referring to the remarks of the Liberian Secretary of State, he had stressed the United Kingdom Government's responsibility in the matter of Southern Rhodesia because the General Assembly had requested that Government not to accept the 1961 Constitution, which had laid the basis for the illegal Smith régime and the subsequent unilateral declaration of independence.

4. Everyone was aware that the independent African States had exercised moderation in connexion with the Southern Rhodesian question and had accepted the United Kingdom Government's promises that it would bring down the illegal Smith régime within a matter of weeks. In May 1963, before the unilateral declaration of independence, the Summit Conference of Independent African States held at Addis Ababa had unani-

mously declared in a resolution that the forcible imposition by colonial Powers of settler rule to control the Governments and administrations of dependent territories was a flagrant violation of the inalienable rights of the legitimate inhabitants of the territories concerned. The Conference had invited the colonial Powers, in particular the United Kingdom Government with regard to Southern Rhodesia, not to transfer the powers and attributes of sovereignty to a foreign minority government imposed on African peoples by the use of force under the cover of racial legislation. Furthermore, it had declared that if power in Southern Rhodesia were usurped by a racial white minority government, States members of the Conference would lend their effective moral and practical support to any legitimate measures which the African nationalist leaders might devise for the purpose of recovering such power and restoring it to the African majority. African moderation on the question of Southern Rhodesia was now coming to an end. Africans could not be blamed if they considered that the only way to bring down the illegal Smith régime was by the use of force.

5. In his statement at the 1683rd meeting, the United Kingdom representative had said that a group set up by the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee was considering certain additional measures. If that meant that the United Kingdom Government intended to call for a second meeting of the Security Council for the imposition of additional mandatory sanctions, that manœuvre would not succeed. Member States and world public opinion knew that the sanctions were ineffective because the United Kingdom and other trading partners of Southern Rhodesia had chosen to bypass their enforcement. The United Kingdom representative's statement provided nothing of importance and that representative had not even commented on recent developments in Southern Rhodesia.

6. The Liberian delegation considered that the United Kingdom Government had a responsibility to the 4 million Africans of Southern Rhodesia and it joined in the appeal to that Government to take the necessary steps to bring about a peaceful change and majority rule in that troubled area.

7. Mr. MELLBIN (Denmark), speaking on a point of order, noted that the Liberian representative had said that exports to Southern Rhodesia by EFTA countries other than the United Kingdom had increased substantially during the second part of 1967. On behalf of the delegations of Finland, Sweden, Norway and his own, he wished to state that those countries had not only faithfully implemented Security Council resolution 232 (1966) but had complied with the voluntary sanctions called for in the relevant Security Council resolutions.

8. Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia) replied that he would be happy to supply the Danish representative with documents to substantiate the statement his delegation had made earlier.

9. Mr. MELLBIN (Denmark) pointed out that he had said nothing about the accuracy or inaccuracy of the Liberian delegation's remarks. He had merely stated a fact regarding the position of Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway and nothing could be adduced to show that the situation was otherwise.

10. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the situation in Southern Rhodesia, where 4 million Africans were subjected to racial repression, a situation which threatened the freedom and independence of other African nations, was a direct result of the colonial policy of imperialism. Even after the adoption of resolutions by the General Assembly and the Security Council denouncing such activities, powerful monopolies in the United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western countries continued to exploit the natural resources of the Territory. The Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States, the Republic of South Africa, Portugal and other NATO countries, which complied with the wishes of such monopolies, bore the full responsibility for the establishment of the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, which continued the policy of the British colonialists in oppressing the indigenous population. The creation of that régime was not the work of a few individual rebels, but formed part of an international conspiracy among the imperialist Powers against the African peoples.

11. The socialist revolution which had taken place in the USSR in 1917 had marked the beginning of the elimination of colonialism and had been followed by the rapid development of the national liberation movement; the colonialists had therefore been obliged to disguise their inhuman policies and employ new tactics. The ruling circles in the United Kingdom and the United States could easily have prevented the strengthening of colonial domination and the establishment of the Smith régime, if they had so wished, but so far no decisive steps had been taken. Even when the Security Council had been convened at the request of a number of African States, the United Kingdom and the United States, with the support of their NATO allies, had prevented the adoption of a proposal submitted by the African States. The subsequent convening of the Security Council at the request of the United Kingdom could only be described as a shameful farce, an imperialist manœuvre designed to conceal the fact that the coming to power of the so-called rebels in Southern Rhodesia served the interests of the imperialist monopolies. Furthermore, at the very time when the United Kingdom and United States delegations had, under pressure from public opinion in the socialist and other progressive States, voted in favour of economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, ruling circles in those countries had done everything possible to ensure that sanctions would not harm the racists in any way.

12. For that reason, the statement made by the United Kingdom representative at the 1683rd meeting deserved no detailed consideration. It was merely one of a series of evasive manœuvres. In fact, the United Kingdom was making continued attempts to act in collusion with the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia without consulting the representatives of the Zimbabwe people. In June-July 1967, an official mission headed by Lord Alport had visited Southern Rhodesia and for three weeks had carried on negotiations which, as reported in the Western Press and elsewhere, were designed to confirm the neo-colonial régime in Southern Rhodesia. Such attempts had been condemned by the General Assembly since

they precluded the immediate transfer of power to the indigenous population on the basis of "one man, one vote". The United Kingdom, the United States and other Western Powers had opposed the adoption of a decision along those lines; the United Kingdom position was that there should only be some undefined progress towards that end and it clearly wished to gain time to allow the racists to consolidate their position still further.

13. Other manoeuvres had been described by previous speakers and in United Nations documents, in particular the report of the Special Committee (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. III). The reasons for such manoeuvres and for the failure of the United Kingdom, supported by the United States and other NATO allies, to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in respect of Southern Rhodesia were the same reasons for which the United Kingdom, the United States of America and other colonial countries had opposed the national liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America. They were connected with a desire to strengthen and develop new forms of colonial domination, especially on the African continent, in the interests of the imperialist monopolies. The United Kingdom had considerable economic interests in Southern Rhodesia, where its investments amounted to approximately £200 million, and monopolies in the United States, the Republic of South Africa, the Federal Republic of Germany and other countries held strong positions. Those economic interests were preventing the effective application of economic sanctions as a means of ensuring the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. Ample evidence of that had been provided by the statements of the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania, Algeria, Kenya, India, Tunisia and Pakistan, as also in the report of the Special Committee, and similar information had been reported in the world Press, including the British Press. Those facts related to the general picture of economic development and foreign trade in Southern Rhodesia and showed that a general tendency towards economic growth had started there in 1966. According to the world Press, in the second quarter of 1967 the production index for the mining, processing and power industries—the key branches of industry—had risen to 119.4, compared with 115.7, which had been the highest quarterly figure for 1966. In foreign trade, the data provided by other speakers showed that the racists had been able to disregard the Security Council resolution with the help of the United Kingdom and the United States, which had hypocritically voted in favour of the resolution, and their main trading partners in Southern Africa, the Republic of South Africa and Portugal. Southern Rhodesia's basic exports, copper and asbestos, had hardly been reduced at all since the introduction of sanctions and its oil imports had reached such a level that it had a two-year reserve and was considering abolishing fuel rationing.

14. He fully agreed with those who considered that sanctions should be comprehensive if they were to be effective. South Africa and Portugal had stated openly that they would not comply with the Security Council resolution. He asked the United Kingdom representative whether it was not true that it was

British oil belonging to the British Petroleum Company which was reaching Southern Rhodesia and that the United Kingdom Government had a controlling interest in that company. The latter fact was well known and it was clear therefore that the United Kingdom Government could stop the company's deliveries of oil to Southern Rhodesia. Other companies, too, such as Royal Dutch Shell and Anglo-American were helping the racists. According to The Wall Street Journal of 9 October 1967, the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa had decided to increase its investments in nickel extraction in Southern Rhodesia to the level of \$28 million, which would ensure the production of 8,500 tons of nickel and an annual profit of \$17 million in hard currency for Southern Rhodesia. According to the same paper, that company had close links with the United Kingdom, yet the latter had done nothing to prevent those decisions being taken. In May 1967, the British firm Unilever had approved the decision of its subsidiary, Lever Brothers, in Southern Rhodesia to spend more than £130,000 to increase the production of foodstuffs and other consumer goods in the Territory, and a representative of the firm had admitted that the project would be of considerable assistance to the Smith régime. According to the Special Committee's report (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. III, para. 355) the Union Carbide Company of the United States of America was expanding its activities to the Republic of South Africa by establishing a new company, Union Carbide Southern Africa, to assume control of eight companies, including three Rhodesian chrome mines. Other United States companies, Caltex and Mobil Oil, were playing a considerable role in the re-export of oil from the Republic of South Africa to Southern Rhodesia. The Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and other NATO countries were expanding their trade relations with Southern Rhodesia. The Federal Republic of Germany's disregard of United Nations resolutions on Southern Rhodesia was in marked contrast to the attitude of the German Democratic Republic, to which the representative of Poland had drawn attention (1686th meeting). As the London Sunday Times of 27 August 1967 had reported, Rhodesia was able to ignore the United Nations sanctions with the tacit consent of large private companies which were under the jurisdiction of countries which had voted in favour of the sanctions. In that context, he drew attention to the recent statement, at the 1567th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that the United Kingdom would not contemplate an economic war with South Africa. Nothing could be clearer.

15. Protected by such immunity, the racists had embarked on a course of aggression against the Zimbabwe people. Thousands of patriots had been subjected to arrest and torture, thrown into prison or concentration camps, sometimes under a life sentence, or sentenced to death. That was the answer of the racist régime to the legitimate demands of the African population. Additional privileges had recently been granted to the white settlers and an official policy similar to that of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa had been proclaimed. The Zimbabwe people had to face a huge military and police appara-

tus established by the British colonialists, the budget for which had increased by £1.6 million in 1966-1967 (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. III, para. 127). Those forces were being used both to suppress the people's struggle for freedom and to carry out a hostile policy with regard to Zambia. They were assisted, moreover, by regular troops from the Republic of South Africa who joined in punitive operations against the African people. The creation of a racist State in Southern Rhodesia in political and military alliance with Portugal and the Republic of South Africa represented a serious threat to the newly independent neighbouring States in Africa.

16. In accordance with its position of principle, namely that of full support for the struggle against colonialism, the Soviet Union supported the demands of the Organization of African Unity and of all freedom-loving countries that effective measures should be taken to put an end to the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and to transfer power to the lawful representatives of the Zimbabwe people in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) and other United Nations resolutions. The United Kingdom and the United States should stop supporting the racist régime and the Republic of South Africa and Portugal, which defied the Security Council resolutions.

17. The General Assembly should state clearly that the responsibility for the maintenance in power of the racist régime lay with the United Kingdom, the United States and other countries which supported British policy with regard to Southern Rhodesia. It should condemn the Western Powers which supported United Nations resolutions, including Security Council 232 (1966), but continued to maintain economic and other relations with the racist régime. It should demand that the United Kingdom, the United States and other Western Powers should implement that resolution unconditionally, as also all other United Nations resolutions designed to obtain independence for the people of Zimbabwe. The USSR supported the proposals of the African countries that, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, appropriate effective steps should be taken against the Republic of South Africa and Portugal. It likewise supported the proposal made by Algeria (1684th meeting) that the United Kingdom should be asked to withdraw military units of the Republic of South Africa from Southern Rhodesia, and the proposals made by several delegations that moral and material support should be given to the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle, that international organizations and the specialized agencies should be asked to assist the national liberation forces in Southern Rhodesia and that steps should be taken within the United Nations to ensure that world public opinion was better informed on the situation in Southern Rhodesia and other parts of southern Africa and on the struggle of the African peoples for freedom and independence. He hoped that his delegation's views would be taken into account in preparing a draft resolution on Southern Rhodesia.

18. Mr. THIAM (Mali) said that his country considered Southern Rhodesia to be a United Kingdom colony and rejected the unilateral declaration of independence made by a group of racist settlers in 1965. The administering Power was the sole legal authority

in the Territory and should fulfil its obligations towards the people under Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter.

19. The statement made by the United Kingdom representative at the 1683rd meeting provided nothing new. It gave no indication of when the administering Power intended to restore legality in the Territory, suspend the 1961 Constitution which had been rejected by the people of Zimbabwe and allow them to exercise the right of self-determination on the basis of the principle "one man, one vote"; nor did it say how the rebellion was to be put down. Ian Smith was comfortably installed at Salisbury with the complicity of the United Kingdom Labour Government and the secret support of the imperialist States. It was clear that Ian Smith was the accredited representative of United Kingdom companies and the interests of international monopoly capital in Southern Rhodesia. Those interests were exerting pressure on the Governments of the western European countries and the United States to prevent the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Special Committee, the General Assembly and even the Security Council.

20. Chapter III of the Special Committee's report revealed that, in Southern Rhodesia, the Africans were subjected to discriminatory laws, a state of emergency remained in force, democrats of white race were thrown into prison, political parties such as the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) had been dissolved, the African leaders were subject to restriction orders, trade unions had been abolished and freedom of expression no longer existed. The illegality of the régime had been confirmed by the Southern Rhodesian judges. The police and armed forces were being continually strengthened. In that connexion, it would be recalled that the United Kingdom had used its veto to prevent a Security Council decision calling on it not to transfer the forces of the former Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to Southern Rhodesia and international opinion had condemned its attitude at that time. Certain imperialist States were now continuing to arm the Salisbury racists; heavy arms, aircraft and helicopters were being supplied to the Smith régime in defiance of Security Council resolution 232 (1966).

21. In the economic sphere, the Governments of capitalist countries had ignored United Nations resolutions. The United Kingdom refused to agree to comprehensive mandatory sanctions, arguing that selective sanctions would be sufficient. Moreover, it refused to recognize that it had any special responsibilities towards the Zimbabwe people. Limited sanctions could not be effective. Representatives would recall the farce of the *Joanna V*, whose cargo had been unloaded in South Africa and transported to Southern Rhodesia from there. Portugal, too, was supplying the Smith régime with fuel. Portugal and South Africa had systematically refused to co-operate in the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations.

22. The United Kingdom asked the Committee to have faith in sanctions; yet, in 1965 the United Kingdom had claimed that its measures would lead to the downfall of the Smith régime in a matter of weeks. Two years had passed since then and the volume of

Southern Rhodesia's trade with the imperialist States of western Europe and the United States was increasing.

23. According to chapter III of the report before the Committee, in 1966 the Smith régime had acquired control over about £10 to £13 million as a result of the blocking of payments of interest, dividends and profits to the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated in November 1966 that the United Kingdom Government had paid out £1,854,860 as guarantor of the service of loans to Southern Rhodesia. Thus the United Kingdom's complicity was clear. The fact was that companies such as the Rhodesia Tobacco Association, the Hippo Valley Estates and Lonrho, Ltd. operated with United Kingdom, South African and United States capital, and that the United Kingdom Government felt it could not afford to abandon them. Those companies continued to be an important source of revenue for the Smith régime. Other companies exploiting the natural wealth of Southern Rhodesia were the Anglo-American Corporation, the Southern Rhodesian Iron and Steel Corporation and the Wankie Colliery Company. The United Kingdom continued to allow the Smith régime to use the railways shared by Southern Rhodesia and Zambia. In that connexion, he paid a tribute to the great efforts made by the Zambian people to free itself from economic dependence.

24. It was clear from the report that, in spite of the Security Council's sanctions, foreign companies were still making enormous profits. Moreover, forceful measures by the United Kingdom against the Smith régime would place it in conflict with the racists of Pretoria and that would have adverse effects on United Kingdom trade.

25. A new and dangerous phase in the Southern Rhodesian affair was beginning with the intervention of the Pretoria racists in Southern Rhodesia. The people of Zimbabwe, tired of waiting for help from the United Kingdom and the United Nations, had decided to embark on an armed struggle. To cope with the attacks of the nationalists, the racist settlers had sought aid from South Africa, and a large South African force was now fighting in Southern Rhodesia. Instead of taking steps to prevent South African intervention in its colony, the United Kingdom had merely submitted a timid protest to Pretoria.

26. His delegation paid a tribute to the liberation movements and was convinced that they would be victorious since justice was on their side. They were not alone in their struggle. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting at Kinshasa, had decided to offer material assistance to the freedom fighters. Clearly only the use of force would bring Ian Smith's clique to recognize the right of the 4 million people of Zimbabwe to freedom.

27. The United Nations should reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to independence and freedom; it should condemn the negative attitude of Portugal and South Africa towards the Southern Rhodesian question; it should encourage the liberation movements to continue their struggle and should refer to earlier General Assembly resolutions recognizing the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples under foreign domination for liberation. His delegation ap-

pealed to all States to give moral and material support to the liberation movements.

28. The General Assembly should condemn colonialism and racial discrimination as crimes against humanity and compel South Africa to withdraw its troops from Southern Rhodesia. It should reaffirm the primary responsibility of the United Kingdom in Southern Rhodesia and ask it, as the administering Power, to use force to restore legality in the Territory and deny access to its colony to the mercenaries from Pretoria. Since the United Kingdom insisted on economic sanctions, the General Assembly should ask the Security Council to take action against the rebel colony under Chapter VII of the Charter. The capitalist concerns operating in Southern Rhodesia should be called upon to cease all activities until the Zimbabwe people had exercised their right to self-determination.

29. His delegation was concerned about the dangerous developments in the situation in Southern Rhodesia. Mali would not recognize any arrangements between Ian Smith and the United Kingdom Government which would harm the interests of the Zimbabwe people. It regarded the intervention of South African forces in Southern Rhodesia as a violation of the United Nations Charter and a permanent threat to neighbouring countries. Mali requested the administering Power to ensure that the situation in its colony did not endanger the sovereignty of Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania and other adjacent countries.

30. Mr. YADAVA (Nepal) said that critics of the United Kingdom Government had found in the question of Southern Rhodesia an example of a great betrayal—betrayal by the administering Power of the rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia. They contended that the unilateral declaration of independence had had the tacit blessing of the administering Power. That declaration had served the purposes of powerful foreign colonial and economic interests in helping to maintain white supremacy in southern Africa.

31. The United Kingdom had not approached the Southern Rhodesian problem with due seriousness. Having formerly denied the competence of the United Nations to deal with the question of Southern Rhodesia and tried to forestall any United Nations action aimed at preventing a declaration of independence, the United Kingdom was now trying to shift responsibility from its shoulders. It had proceeded from one half-hearted measure to another with a view to restoring legality. It should have taken immediate, firm action, including the use of force, to put down the rebels, but it had never been prepared to exert its authority against the rebel leadership and its vacillating attitude had allowed the rebels to consolidate their régime, in spite of world opinion and the decisions of the United Nations.

32. The selective sanctions imposed by the Security Council had not succeeded in forcing the régime to relinquish power or in crippling the economy. The report of the Special Committee showed that sanctions had had practically no impact on the Southern Rhodesian economy. Powerful foreign interests in Southern Rhodesia and in southern Africa generally were responsible for denying the large majority of the people the means of participation in the economic as well as

the political life of their country. Despite Article 25 of the United Nations Charter, major Western Powers, in collaboration with South Africa and Portugal, had continued to maintain trade relations with Southern Rhodesia and thus to defeat the purpose of Security Council resolution 232 (1966). The support of economic interests had also helped the Smith régime to move in the direction of apartheid as applied in South Africa.

33. It was high time for prompt and effective action to be taken to settle the question on the basis of the principle "one man, one vote" and to enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to exercise their right to independence. The United Kingdom Government should exert its material strength and its constitutional authority. The Security Council should impose comprehensive sanctions.

34. His delegation hoped that the administering Power would try to apply more purposefully its professed policy of transferring power to the people of Southern Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule and that all States Members of the United Nations would help to carry out the resolutions of United Nations bodies.

35. Mr. McCOMIE (Barbados) said that developments in Southern Rhodesia were in conflict with the basic concepts of self-determination, majority rule, human rights and peace and security, which the United Nations had an obligation to promote. Southern Rhodesia was a Non-Self-Governing Territory to which General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was applicable and it was the duty of the United Kingdom to grant independence to the Territory on the basis of majority rule. The unilateral declaration of independence by the Smith régime in 1965 had been condemned by the United Kingdom Government as an act of rebellion. Nevertheless, two years had elapsed and Ian Smith showed complete scorn for the United Kingdom's efforts to quell the rebellion. He was able to do so because the United Kingdom Government had stated that it would never use force to end the rebellion; indeed, there was a widespread belief that the United Kingdom Government would not hesitate to use the veto to frustrate forceful action by the United Nations.

36. Force was said to be the right arm of the law. The United Kingdom Government, however, had chosen the path of economic sanctions, but it was clear that it had miscalculated in thinking that economic sanctions would be effective. There was abundant evidence that Mr. Smith was receiving aid from foreign commercial interests with the overt or covert knowledge of their Governments.

37. Meanwhile, the people of Zimbabwe were suffering under an increasingly oppressive régime. The world could not wait until the people of Zimbabwe were exterminated before calling for action. As long as the Zimbabwe people were denied their right to self-determination, all independent countries shared responsibility.

38. His delegation was not convinced that the United Kingdom had the will to bring the problem of Southern Rhodesia to an honourable conclusion. The irresolution being shown by the United Kingdom was tarnishing its good record in the matter of decolonization.

39. The situation in Southern Rhodesia posed a serious threat to international peace and security. Interested parties had undertaken to give material assistance towards the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe from the Smith régime. They could not be criticized for so doing, but the danger was that other interested parties might become involved for selfish reasons and that the conflict might expand into a full-scale war. That would have serious consequences for international relations, since the ingredients were present for a race war.

40. The Southern Rhodesian tragedy also threatened the very existence of the United Nations. Millions of oppressed people looked to the United Nations to free them from the shackles of colonialism. The failure of the United Kingdom Government to put down the Smith rebellion had already done great harm to the Commonwealth and it was to be feared that the United Nations too would suffer severe damage if it showed itself to be impotent.

41. In his view, therefore, the Committee should recommend the General Assembly to take the following steps: (i) reaffirm the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government for putting an end to the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia by all effective measures, including the use of force; (ii) set a deadline by which the régime should be brought down; (iii) call on the United Kingdom Government to make an unequivocal statement of its intention to grant independence to the Zimbabwe people on the basis of majority rule as soon as the rebel régime was brought down; (iv) condemn certain States, particularly South Africa and Portugal, for giving support and assistance to the rebel régime in defiance of United Nations resolutions; (v) call upon States to take appropriate measures to prevent financial interests operated by their nationals from assisting the rebel régime in defiance of United Nations resolutions; (vi) make economic sanctions total and comprehensive; (vii) establish a fund, fed by voluntary contributions, to relieve any economic dislocation which might be caused to any Member of the United Nations by its strict compliance with economic sanctions.

42. His delegation wished to pay a special tribute to the Government and people of Zambia for the heroic sacrifices they were making in the struggle to bring down the Smith régime.

43. In conclusion, his delegation pledged its wholehearted support for the Zimbabwe people in their struggle for independence.

44. Mr. NEJEDLY (Czechoslovakia) said that the white racist régime in Southern Rhodesia had been in power for almost two years. The Security Council and General Assembly resolutions aimed at liquidating that régime and giving equal rights to the 4 million Africans in the country had not been implemented and the efforts of the anti-colonialist majority in the United Nations had so far been unsuccessful. Moreover, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese colonialists in Angola and Mozambique, supported by the neo-colonialists, were expanding their relations with a view to strengthening the colonialist racist bloc in southern Africa. Such a situation could only reduce the trust placed in the

United Nations by the peoples fighting for liberation and diminish its prestige in the world.

45. The main form of United Nations pressure on the Southern Rhodesian régime was to have been the imposition of selective mandatory sanctions, which the Security Council, in accordance with the recommendation of the United Kingdom, had called for in resolution 232 (1966). Ten months had elapsed since then. The sanctions, which were to have brought about the downfall of the racist minority régime and enabled the African majority to exercise its right to self-determination and independent development, had proved ineffective because of their limited nature and inconsistent application. The racist régime had become even stronger and was continuing to enact repressive measures against any opposition in the country.

46. There could be no doubt that with the enactment of the Preventive Detention Amendment Bill, which authorized the Government to imprison anyone without declaring a state of emergency, the country had become a police State. The statements made by petitioners during the Special Committee's meetings in Africa had shown that the number of prisoners in Southern Rhodesia far exceeded the figures given by the Smith régime. His delegation was particularly concerned at the fact that Ian Smith had adopted a policy of "separate development of the races", a policy which was clearly based on the system of apartheid practised by the Government of the South African Republic. In its resolution of 9 June 1967, adopted in Africa (see A/6700/Rev.1, chap. III, para. 609), the Special Committee had rightly condemned that policy as a crime against humanity. Yet the administering Power counselled patience. The General Assembly could not wait, for racism and segregation were being intensified in Southern Rhodesia and economic sanctions had had no apparent effect on the Southern Rhodesian economy. It was well known that the United Kingdom and other Western Governments had not broken off their trade relations with Southern Rhodesia, and that South Africa and Portugal, which from the outset had been opposed to any sanctions whatever, were openly flouting them. Trade statistics showed that in a number of instances economic relations had even been expanded. For example, Southern Rhodesian exports to the United States for the first five months of the current year had risen from \$3.8 million to \$4.2 million, compared with the corresponding period of the previous year. Exports from the Federal Republic of Germany to Southern Rhodesia for the first two months of the current year had grown by 62 per cent compared with the corresponding period of the previous year.

47. An analysis of the reasons for the inability of the United Nations to solve the Southern Rhodesian problem showed that the responsibility lay with the United Kingdom and those Governments of the military NATO bloc which were supporting the United Kingdom policy in the Territory in order to protect the interests of foreign monopolies. The position of the United Kingdom and the United States had been clearly demonstrated in the Security Council in December 1966, when those Powers and their allies had prevented the adoption of important amendments

proposed by Mali, Nigeria and Uganda^{1/} to the United Kingdom draft resolution on selective mandatory sanctions.

48. International monopolies were carrying out a whole gamut of complicated manoeuvres in an attempt to undermine the effectiveness of the sanctions taken against the Smith régime. For example, a number of subsidiary foreign firms had been established in Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola and South Africa in order to bypass sanctions. Chapter III of the Special Committee's report provided convincing evidence that Southern Rhodesia's natural resources were being sold to large international concerns in the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western countries. South Africa had become a trans-shipping point for goods from the West to Southern Rhodesia. The Portuguese colonialists were providing sufficient quantities of oil through the Mozambique port of Lourenço Marques.

49. The economic collaboration of the South African racists and Portuguese colonialists with the Smith régime was only one aspect, although an important one, of a wider collaboration based on a common ideology of colonialism, racism and anti-communism. The presence of South African tanks, motor vehicles and soldiers in Southern Rhodesia along the Zambian border clearly showed that it was not a question of a so-called limited police action but a concrete manifestation of aggression by united racist forces against the growing national liberation movement. The existence of such a union in southern Africa and its activities under the protection of international colonialist forces aggravated an already tense situation in Africa and seriously threatened international peace and security. If the United Nations efforts against the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia were to be successful, firm action against all strongholds of racism and colonialism in that part of the world was required. While it was true that the United Nations and each Member State had a responsibility to seek a solution to the Southern Rhodesian problem, the primary responsibility lay with the United Kingdom, as administering Power. It was well known that the United Kingdom had made the present situation in Southern Rhodesia possible through its inaction and compromising attitude. The United Kingdom had approved the racist 1961 Constitution and prepared the way for the unilateral declaration of independence. Instead of taking decisive action, it had held conversations with the rebels with a view to working out a so-called honourable settlement. He wondered how there could be any talk of an honourable settlement when the conversations were held with the racists and not with the genuine representatives of the people. It might be asked whether the interminable talks being held with Smith were designed to mislead public opinion, to gain time for the consolidation of the Smith régime and to prevent the application of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia from being transformed into a confrontation with South Africa, where the principal interests of the imperialist Powers were concentrated; and whether the United Kingdom

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-first Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1966, document S/7630/Rev.1.

planned to prolong the so-called independence of Southern Rhodesia and to give the racist and colonialist forces an opportunity to consolidate their position and become a permanent obstacle in the way of decolonization and the free development of the African continent. The United Nations must prevent the realization of any such plan. His delegation agreed with the majority of the delegations of African and Asian countries that the limited economic sanctions carried out so far had not had the desired effect. The Smith régime must be toppled by decisive action taken by the administering Power with the effective support of the United Nations. The United Kingdom could not ignore the appeal of African and other countries for more effective action, including enforcement measures, to bring about the immediate downfall of the illegal régime. The Czechoslovak delegation assured the Zimbabwe people of its full support in their just struggle to overthrow the racist Smith régime and to exercise their right to self-determination and genuine independence.

50. A number of constructive proposals had been made in the course of the debate. The views put forward by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania, Algeria, India and other delegations should be expressed in the form of a resolution which would constitute a plan of action for the further struggle against the colonialist and racist domination in Southern Rhodesia. The resolution, which would be aimed at achieving the immediate implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, would have his delegation's full support.

51. Mr. LUBEGA (Uganda) recalled that at the 1686th meeting he had suggested that a time-limit should be set for the removal of the Smith régime. A number of delegations had since approached him expressing in-

terest in the suggestion. He would consequently like to put certain specific questions to the United Kingdom delegation. First, he asked whether the United Kingdom Government would be ready to support comprehensive mandatory sanctions, to go into effect not later than 1 January 1968. Secondly, he asked whether the United Kingdom Government would agree to the fixing of a time-limit for sanctions to prove effective. Thirdly, he asked whether, if sanctions failed, the United Kingdom Government would be willing to use force.

52. Mr. LUARD (United Kingdom) said that he hoped to be able to reply to the points raised by the Ugandan and other delegations at the end of the debate.

53. Mr. KAEMBA (Zambia) thanked the representatives of Ethiopia, Mali and Barbados for their kind words regarding his Government and people. He also thanked the representatives of Poland and the United Republic of Tanzania for their remarks concerning Zambia. The people of Zambia would not compromise in the effort to bring independence to the Africans of Zimbabwe. The United Kingdom had ignored Zambia's appeal to it to use force at the time of the rebels' seizure of independence, and the measures adopted by the United Kingdom had failed, as Zambia had predicted. The survival of the rebellion after two years proved the insincerity of the United Kingdom. Indeed, the unilateral declaration of independence had been instigated by the United Kingdom Government. The United Kingdom had used brutal military measures in many of its former colonies and was still doing so in Aden. He hoped that the United Nations would not be taken in once again by United Kingdom hypocrisy and would be ready to take a decisive stand.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.