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

Organization of work

1. Mr. WEIDMAN (Canada) said that he hoped that the procedure regarding the organization of work which had been adopted at the 1766th meeting would serve not only to sharpen the focus on difficult problems but to make the Committee's work more efficient. Neither of those aims would be achieved, however, unless draft resolutions were submitted well before a vote was scheduled. The questions with which the Committee had to deal were complex ones and sufficient time was needed for delegations to give the draft resolutions the deep study they required and to consult their authorities before pronouncing on important problems. He asked the sponsors of any draft resolutions to bear those considerations in mind so that the Committee could accomplish its work with the greatest seriousness.

2. The CHAIRMAN said that the Canadian representative had anticipated him. He intended, at a subsequent meeting, to submit a draft time-table, which would deal also with draft resolutions.

3. Mr. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexico) said that his delegation fully supported the views expressed by the Canadian representative.

4. Mr. ESTRADA (Argentina) said that he was not sure how the Chairman's proposals concerning the organization of work, which had been adopted at the 1766th meeting, would work in practice. At the present stage, however, he supported the views expressed by the Canadian representative.

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)**

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

5. Mr. MERCADO (Philippines) said that the question of Southern Rhodesia remained one of the most difficult problems facing the United Nations in the field of decolonization. Despite all the efforts of the United Nations since 1962, the situation of the African majority had deteriorated, while the European minority had tightened its grip by introducing the inhuman practice of *apartheid* and by detaining the African nationalist leaders, five of whom had been assassinated earlier in the year. Mr. Ian Smith and his colleagues had been encouraged in their determination to challenge the authority of the United Kingdom both by the repeated assurances given by the United Kingdom Government that it would not use force and by the regal treatment that the United Kingdom had given to the leaders of the régime during talks, as also by the lack of co-operation shown by South Africa and Portugal in enforcing the mandatory economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council.

6. His delegation still considered that the quickest and most effective way of bringing down the illegal régime was the use of force by the United Kingdom and he hoped that the latter would reconsider its position on that point.

7. The Philippines, which had always supported the struggle of dependent peoples for self-determination and independence, had sponsored and supported all General Assembly resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia and in 1963, as a member of the Security Council, it had been one of the sponsors of a draft resolution which had been considered by that body. Following the adoption of Security Council resolution 232 (1966), President Marcos had issued Executive Order No. 126 enjoining absolute compliance and, following the adoption of Security Council resolution 253 (1968), all those concerned with its implementation had been instructed to observe its provisions strictly.

8. The success of sanctions depended on the compliance of all Member States, in particular South Africa and Portugal and he felt sure that, if the desired results were not achieved, the newly formed Sanctions Committee of the Security Council would be able to pinpoint the cause. Since the failure of mandatory sanctions would be a direct challenge to the effectiveness and usefulness of the Security Council, he had no doubt that that body would utilize to

the full the powers given to it under the Charter of the United Nations in order to enforce its decisions. As the two principal violators of the sanctions, South Africa and Portugal, were also responsible for the deterioration of the colonial situation in the whole of southern Africa, such action by the Security Council might also lead to the demolition of what the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization, had called “a solid wall of defiance in that part of the world” (A/7201/Add.1, para. 148).

9. As in the past, his delegation would join with others in any efforts to ensure that the people of Zimbabwe achieved majority rule and independence.

10. Mr. PREDESCU (Romania) welcomed the recent accession to independence of Equatorial Guinea and of Swaziland, and congratulated the latter on its entry into the United Nations.

11. The aspirations of peoples for self-determination and independence had become an irresistible force in the international arena and many new States were emerging from colonial domination to make a valuable contribution to the solution of the vital problems of mankind, in the interests of peace and general progress. Guided by the principles of respect for independence and national sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, the equality of rights of States and mutual benefit, which were the basis of normal relations between States, Romania expressed its solidarity with the national liberation movements in Africa, Asia and elsewhere and with the newly independent States in their struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism for the consolidation of their independence and for independent economic development and social progress. Romania consistently and vigorously supported the elimination of all forms of colonial domination, of pressure and interference in the affairs of other countries, and of exploitation of the national resources and labour of other nations.

12. It was in the light of those principles that Romania had supported the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and that it supported the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly concerning Southern Rhodesia and other territories still under colonial domination. As his Government had pointed out, in its reply dated 27 August 1968 to the Secretary-General concerning the implementation of resolution 2262 (XXII)¹ Romania condemned all the measures of political repression adopted by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia and supported the struggle of the Zimbabwe people for freedom and national independence. His Government did not recognize the illegal racist régime and maintained no relations of any kind with the Salisbury authorities. The Romanian Government was fully implementing the provisions of Security Council resolution 253 (1968).

13. Almost three years had elapsed since the so-called declaration of independence, yet, despite the efforts of the

¹See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1968*, document S/8786/Add.1.

international community and the resolutions of the United Nations and of international conferences such as the International Conference on Human Rights, the situation of the people of Zimbabwe was steadily deteriorating. Certain disturbing conclusions were clear from the reports of the Special Committee, the Security Council and the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia in 1968. First, the political situation had deteriorated progressively since December 1966 and the minority régime had begun to apply a policy of racial segregation and *apartheid*, similar to that practised in South Africa, by introducing a series of new laws; in addition, many Africans were being detained. Secondly, it was clear that the racist régime did not lack international support, despite the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions; the régime claimed that new investments had been forthcoming and that the volume of imports, which included imports of prohibited goods, had risen, and it was known that the large foreign companies continued to exploit the natural resources of the Territory. Thirdly, the main trading partners of Southern Rhodesia still refused to implement the United Nations resolutions and maintained close commercial ties with the régime. Fourthly, massive support had been given to the Smith régime by some countries; in particular, South Africa was providing considerable military assistance, both men and arms, to suppress the national liberation movement. Fifthly, the situation was deteriorating as a result also of the conciliatory attitude of the administering Power, which bore the responsibility for the situation and for taking the necessary steps to bring the régime to an end and thus enable the people of Zimbabwe to attain independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

14. The situation in Southern Rhodesia remained a threat to peace in southern Africa and the whole world. The people of Zimbabwe were doggedly resisting the racist policy of the minority régime and, despite the execution of some Southern Rhodesian patriots, the national liberation movement was gaining ground and becoming more organized. It was the duty of the international community and of the United Nations to make further efforts to put an end to the racist policy practised by the régime and to ensure that the administering Power carried out its obligations under the Charter with respect to the Territory so that the people of Zimbabwe could build a free life in accordance with their own wishes. Romania hoped that the legitimate struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for independence would be successful. His delegation was ready to support any measure adopted by the United Nations which would lead to a proper settlement of the situation in Southern Rhodesia in conformity with the aspirations of its people.

15. Mr. LIN (China) said that the disturbing situation in Southern Rhodesia was a test of the will of the United Nations and a challenge to its authority. His Government had not recognized, and did not intend to recognize, the illegal régime in Salisbury, and it condemned the policy of racial discrimination pursued by that régime in total disregard of the rights and freedoms of the majority of the people in Southern Rhodesia. In the Security Council, the Chinese delegation had voted in favour of resolutions 232 (1966) and 253 (1968) and had appealed to all Member States to take action with a view to carrying out the

provisions of those resolutions in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations. The Chinese Government had periodically reported to the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Security Council's resolutions. An embargo had been placed on Southern Rhodesian tobacco and China had no trade relations whatsoever with Southern Rhodesia.

16. His delegation appreciated the reluctance of the United Kingdom Government to take military action against the illegal régime and felt that it was infinitely better to settle the question by political and economic means. All practical means short of war should be used to put an end to the illegal régime, but if such means should prove ineffective the question of using force would have to be considered. His delegation considered, however, that it was the United Kingdom Government which must decide whether and when force should be used, since the United Kingdom would have to bear the main burden of any military action.

17. He urged all Member States to co-operate fully with the Security Council in the implementation of the comprehensive mandatory sanctions which were beginning to be applied and he hoped that no Member State would deliberately defy the Council's decisions.

18. The Members of the United Nations were in almost unanimous agreement that Southern Rhodesia must become a truly independent State and that its people must elect a government of their own choice and be free from all forms of discrimination. His delegation earnestly hoped that those objectives would be achieved sooner rather than later.

19. Mr. AKATANI (Japan) said that, since the General Assembly had last discussed the question of Southern Rhodesia, the Security Council had unanimously adopted resolution 253 (1968) calling for comprehensive sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. That decision had been prompted by the fact that selective sanctions had failed to bring the illegal régime to an end and that the latter had strengthened its policy of racial discrimination and executed political prisoners in defiance of warnings from the United Nations and from the United Kingdom Government. The Japanese Government had decided to take the necessary steps to implement Security Council resolution 253 (1968), including the amendment of the Export Trade Control Order to put a complete embargo on exports to and imports from Southern Rhodesia of all the commodities mentioned in the resolution, and two special ordinances prohibiting any payments to Southern Rhodesia without ministerial approval. Those and other administrative measures which had been enacted were described in detail in his Government's reply to the Secretary-General concerning the implementation of resolution 2262 (XXII).² Furthermore, Japan had been the first country to withdraw the remaining staff of its Consulate-General at Salisbury in response to operative paragraph 10 of Security Council resolution 253 (1968), the *Consul-General having already been recalled in November 1965.*

20. The decisions taken by the Security Council in resolutions 232 (1966) and 253 (1968) were mandatory, yet certain Member States deliberately ignored them despite their obligation under Article 25 of the Charter. Such an attitude undermined the very foundation of the United Nations and he called upon those States to be faithful to their obligation.

21. Several representatives had expressed the opinion that economic sanctions, even if they were comprehensive, would never be effective. His Government considered, however, that it would be premature to form any conclusion when only five months had elapsed since their introduction.

22. At the beginning of the debate on Southern Rhodesia, at the 1759th meeting, the United Kingdom representative had once again reaffirmed the six principles to which his Government remained fully committed. The responsibility of the administering Power was indeed grave and the United Kingdom Government should not relinquish its efforts until all its declared objectives had been achieved.

23. Mr. CAWEN (Finland) said that Southern Rhodesia presented one of the greatest challenges the United Nations had had to face in the field of decolonization. It had in fact become a test case of the Organization's ability to use the provisions of the Charter to solve a colonial problem by peaceful means. For the first time in history, the United Nations had resorted to mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII, the strongest peaceful enforcement action provided by the Charter. As he had pointed out at the previous session (1688th meeting), it was of vital importance for the effectiveness and prestige of the United Nations that the sanctions should produce the desired effect. He had also stated that, once the United Nations had embarked on the road of imposing mandatory sanctions, there was no retreat and that, if the sanctions so far imposed did not produce results, further and more effective economic measures would have to be considered.

24. In May 1968, the Security Council had unanimously decided to extend the sanctions and to make them almost total. Its adoption of resolution 253 (1968) made it even more imperative that the system of sanctions should not be permitted to fail. Such a failure would have a negative effect on the credibility of the peaceful enforcement measures provided by the Charter.

25. It was, of course, vital that all States should comply fully with the Security Council decision. Certain States, particularly South Africa and Portugal, had refused to do so, while others had, by various means, circumvented the application of sanctions and had thus failed to meet their Charter obligations. In addition, the information on commercial and other dealings with Southern Rhodesia requested in the resolution should be transmitted to the Secretary-General in order to facilitate the work of the Council Committee established under paragraph 20 of the resolution in examining the implementation of the resolution. Nearly half the States Members of the United Nations had so far failed to provide such information.

26. The Finnish Government had taken action to fulfil its obligations under Security Council resolution 253 (1968)

² *Ibid.*, document S/8786.

and had issued a decree which fully implemented the provisions of the resolution. It would study measures to extend assistance to Zambia in the spirit of operative paragraph 15 of the resolution.

27. It was too early to make any definite assessment of the effect of comprehensive sanctions on the economy of Southern Rhodesia. Extensive national legislation was required to bring them fully into force and, in most countries, that was a rather slow process. It was already clear, however, that sanctions had had a visible effect and that the implementation of the resolution had led to an increasing isolation of Southern Rhodesia. The pressure was bound to increase as the full weight of comprehensive sanctions was felt.

28. All that took time, however, and the question of Southern Rhodesia was of the utmost urgency. The African population could not be indefinitely held down by a small white minority using the most ruthless methods. Unless corrected in time, the situation in Southern Rhodesia was likely to result in violence and unrest.

29. The United Kingdom carried a grave responsibility for the future of the African population. Talks had recently taken place between the United Kingdom Prime Minister and leaders of the illegal régime. His delegation took it that the object of any such discussions could only be to explore the possibility of a rapid and unimpeded advance towards majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. It welcomed any peaceful step towards a solution that would restore to the people of Zimbabwe their inalienable right of self-determination.

30. Mr. KESZTHELYI (Hungary) said that developments in Southern Rhodesia marked a change for the worse. The Secretary-General had been fully justified in stating in the introduction to his annual report (A/7201/Add.1, para. 151) that the sanctions applied in varying degrees by Governments in response to the relevant United Nations resolutions had not brought about the improvement that had been hoped for. There was evidence not only that Southern Rhodesia's economy remained buoyant but that there had been a significant evasion of sanctions. South Africa and Portugal continued to sabotage the relevant resolutions, as did the United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and a number of other countries. Clearly, if such countries maintained and even strengthened their ties with South Africa and Portugal, they were giving indirect support to the illegal régime.

31. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, speaking about his country's trade relations with South Africa and Portugal, had made no secret of the fact that his Government had no intention whatsoever of abiding by the United Nations resolutions. The past and present records of the United Kingdom and the United States spoke almost as eloquently of the continuing intentions of their respective Governments.

32. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that the so-called Minister of Finance of Southern Rhodesia had been able to state that Southern Rhodesia's gross national output had grown, that industry had, on the whole, maintained its

production level throughout 1967, that the balance of payments was essentially sound and that those trends had continued in the first half of 1968. The so-called Minister of Commerce of Southern Rhodesia had been quoted as saying that, in 1968, there had been a record number of applications for new commercial enterprises.

33. The political picture in Southern Rhodesia had become darker. The régime had wilfully put to death a number of African patriots whose only "crime" had been to fight for the independence of their people. The legitimacy of their struggle had been recognized by the United Nations on more than one occasion in the form of resolutions. Thousands of persons were detained in concentration camps in the most inhuman conditions. Mr. Francis Nehwati, President of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, had informed the Special Committee, at its 585th meeting, that the Federal Republic of Germany had seconded some of its nationals to Southern Rhodesia to run the detention camps in which political activists were subjected to tortures similar to those suffered by victims of the Nazi régime.

34. Although General Assembly resolution 2262 (XXII) had specifically called upon the administering Power to ensure the immediate expulsion of all South African armed forces from the colony of Southern Rhodesia and to prevent all armed assistance to the rebel régime, the United Kingdom Government had made no attempt to do so. Moreover, it had been reported in the Press that South African combat troops in Southern Rhodesia would shortly be reinforced.

35. The further extension of the African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act, the adoption of the Municipal Amendment Act, 1964 and the drafting of the Property Owners (Residential Protection) Bill bore witness to intensified efforts on the part of the illegal régime to shape Southern Rhodesia more and more to the image of the system prevailing in South Africa.

36. In view of the ineffectiveness of sanctions and of the new and alarming political and military developments in Southern Rhodesia, it would have been logical to expect the United Kingdom Government to draw the necessary conclusions and move over to the field of action in accordance with its responsibilities for the colony of Southern Rhodesia. Unfortunately, there had been nothing new in the opening statement of the United Kingdom representative. The aims of the United Kingdom, summarized by the Commonwealth Secretary as "no force, no sell-out and no slamming of the door", had, as implemented to date, meant occasional formal protests against the illegal actions of the rebel "Government", no sell-out of the white settlers and no slamming of the door on fruitless dialogues with an illegal régime which was openly defying the great majority of the community of nations.

37. Anyone in the Committee could have predicted the outcome of the recent talks between Mr. Smith and the United Kingdom Prime Minister. Their only effect had been to bolster the position of the illegal régime and to allow it even more time to strengthen its hold on the non-white population. The United Kingdom Government could not pass its responsibilities on to the United Nations. For

sixteen years, that Government had refused to transmit information on Southern Rhodesia under Article 73 of the Charter. It had, for a number of years, denied the competence of the United Nations even to discuss the question of Southern Rhodesia or to make recommendations thereon. After the unilateral declaration of independence by the minority régime in 1965, however, it had actually sought a United Nations debate on the item. His delegation fully agreed with the Chairman of the Special Committee (A/7200/Rev.1, chap. VI, para. 28) that the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government could not be too strongly emphasized, that that Government was responsible for the turn that events had taken in recent years and that it was its responsibility to bring down the minority régime and to take all possible steps without delay to enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to achieve freedom and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

38. The exclusive responsibility of the United Kingdom Government for settling the question of Southern Rhodesia did not prevent the General Assembly from discharging its own moral responsibility towards the people of Zimbabwe. One of the tasks of the General Assembly was to mobilize world public opinion to bring pressure to bear upon the United Kingdom Government and make it comply with the United Nations resolutions. That purpose could best be achieved by a specifically worded draft resolution which would call not upon "all States" in general but upon those directly responsible for the grave situation in Southern Rhodesia. The public information organs of the United Nations should make special efforts to give wide publicity to the predicament of the Zimbabwe people and to their struggle for liberation. A publication could be prepared exposing the activities of the unholy alliance that was causing so much damage to peace and security in Africa and in the world.

39. His delegation pledged its full co-operation to all those who were striving to bring the Committee's deliberations to a successful conclusion.

40. Mr. GAMIL (Yemen) said that the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia would shortly be celebrating the third anniversary of its unilateral declaration of independence. For three years, the international community had been concerned about the fate of the millions of Africans in that Territory; the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee had all appealed to the administering Power to take urgent steps to save the Africans before it was too late. It was perhaps already too late. The report of the Special Committee stated that developments in Southern Rhodesia since 1966 had revealed a progressive deterioration in the political situation. Racial segregation was being progressively enforced and there was increasing co-operation with South Africa and Mozambique, as had been evidenced by the use of South African military and police forces in operations against the African freedom fighters.

41. Despite that deterioration in the situation, the administering Power had revealed no serious intention of

overthrowing the illegal régime but had, instead, asked the United Nations for help, in an attempt to deceive world opinion. In the past the magic word had been selective sanctions. They had failed miserably and the illegal régime was as prosperous as ever. There were two obvious reasons for the failure: the continued trade of the United Kingdom with Southern Rhodesia, and the unholy alliance of South Africa, Portugal and the illegal régime supported by a conspiracy of interest among certain monopolies.

42. The United Kingdom representative had told the Committee that his Government's aim was to ensure that the illegal régime was brought to an end and the Territory placed securely on the road to majority rule. That could possibly be done if the United Kingdom used the right method to achieve it but, in fact, the régime was daily becoming stronger. The recent second stage of talks about talks had failed but there were indications in the final communiqué that still more talks would be held. The United Kingdom's position remained as negative as before and the only effect of the talks had been to bestow a halo of legality on the Smith régime. It appeared that the United Kingdom was interested in one aspect of the situation only, that of ensuring the safety of its huge capital investment in Southern Rhodesia. The fate and the welfare of the millions of Africans in Southern Rhodesia came a bad second to that consideration.

43. The results of past inaction on the part of the United Kingdom were still threatening international peace and security. Twenty years previously, the United Kingdom had passively allowed a group of European terrorists to intrude into the Middle East. That minority had several times endangered world peace and security by its flouting of international law and morality. There was grave danger of a similar situation developing in southern Africa. The very survival of the Zimbabwe people depended on a decision to be made in London and no such decision appeared to be contemplated. The only possible conclusion was that the United Kingdom was not serious in its handling of the problem of Southern Rhodesia. *The New York Times* was perhaps correct in stating that the United Kingdom Prime Minister had begun talks with the leader of the illegal régime for domestic political reasons.

44. The previous year, the administering Power had reported to the Committee that sanctions were working, albeit slowly. At the current session, the United Kingdom representative had made no reference to the sanctions, which had been a total failure. He had, however, presented the Committee with a package of vague principles including that of "unimpeded progress towards majority rule". The word "progress" was of great significance. It reflected the colonial mentality and approach towards the Southern Rhodesian problem and implied a new strategy of prolonging the talks with the effect of blocking any action by the world community.

45. The United Kingdom had many times used naked force to suppress freedom fighters, provided they were not "kith and kin". Its reluctance to use force in Southern Rhodesia was significant. His delegation agreed with the overwhelming majority in the Committee that there could

be no solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia without strict and complete sanctions against the illegal régime and its partners, Portugal and South Africa, and that force would have to be used either by the administering Power or by the United Nations.

46. All Member States should pay greater attention to the new and dangerous phase of colonialism through the

settlement of minorities, as evidenced in both the Middle East and southern Africa.

47. The Yemen would extend full support to the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe until they had achieved freedom and independence.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.