



Chairman: Mr. Zdeněk ČERNÍK  
(Czechoslovakia).

*In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Ibrahim (Sudan), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 66

Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/8650, A/8663, A/8664, A/8723/Add.1, A/8759 and Add.1, A/C.4/752)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. MR. ARTEAGA (Venezuela) said that Venezuela had always advocated full and genuine independence for Southern Rhodesia, to be achieved through consultation of the entire adult population, on the basis of universal suffrage and majority rule, and it had always categorically condemned the unilateral declaration of independence by the illegal minority racist régime in Southern Rhodesia.

2. The problem of Southern Rhodesia was a clear-cut case of total disregard for the principle of the dignity of the human person, and of the suffering and oppression of a nation. It also cast doubt on the effectiveness of the United Nations, in view of the attitude adopted by some of its Members.

3. There was no doubt that the task of remedying that deplorable situation lay mainly with the Security Council which, in recent years, had imposed sanctions on the illegal Smith régime. The sanctions had been ineffectual, not only because some countries had failed to apply them, but also because they were not forceful enough to secure the desired results. The application of the sanctions was being impeded by the interests and aims of certain Powers, but the United Nations would continue its efforts to put an end to the shameful situation in Southern Rhodesia.

4. The people of Zimbabwe had firmly rejected the proposals for a settlement between the United Kingdom Government and the illegal Smith régime; they were unacceptable because they did not conform to the principle that there could be no independence without majority rule.

5. It was clear that responsibility for the situation in Southern Rhodesia lay primarily with the United Kingdom which, as administering Power, was required to take the necessary measures to overthrow the illegal régime; however, any measures that were taken must

entail consultation of the entire Zimbabwe people and majority rule.

6. Venezuela wished to express its gratification at the decision taken by the International Olympic Committee in refusing to allow participation in the XXth Olympic Games at Munich by the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia. It would be recalled that the previous year Venezuela had supported the two consensuses adopted on that subject by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,<sup>1</sup> and General Assembly resolution 2796 (XXVI). He was happy to state that the Venezuelan athletes had manifested their solidarity with the African athletes and taken part in the activities that had ultimately resulted in the expulsion of the Rhodesian team from the Olympics. The Venezuelan sportsmen had not acted under pressure from the Government but had been motivated by the conviction that racism was a crime against humanity.

7. The Venezuelan delegation, faithful to its anti-colonialist and anti-racist traditions, would continue energetically to support all measures designed to put an end to the illegal minority racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

8. Mr. PETRELLA (Argentina) said that the Argentine Republic had always supported and complied with the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on Southern Rhodesia, believing that principles of universal import were at stake.

9. Within the limits of its possibilities, Argentina had made a considerable contribution to the work of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) in the belief that, without precluding other procedures, it represented the only machinery suitable for bringing pressure to bear on the Smith régime so that it would renounce its intransigent attitude.

10. The policy of the United Kingdom in the matter could be criticized from various points of view, but in other respects it reflected a genuine concern on the part of that country to achieve a peaceful solution. That could be seen from the organization, application and execution of the test of acceptability. Argentina, which had had no hesitation in expressing doubts about

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1)*, chap. VI, para. 41.

the limitations of the venture, nevertheless believed that the results had been very positive since the people of Zimbabwe had been able for the first time to express a political opinion and, more important still, aim a telling blow at the illegal régime by democratic and peaceful methods. The Pearce Commission had subsequently served as an effective instrument whereby the people of Zimbabwe could express their genuine desire to be rid of minority rule as soon as possible.

11. He expressed appreciation to Mr. Aryubi of Afghanistan, Rapporteur of the Special Committee, for the useful report he had prepared, and particularly for chapter VIII, which dealt with Southern Rhodesia (A/8723/Add.1).

12. That chapter clearly showed ample reasons why current developments in Southern Rhodesia should give increasing cause for concern. The removal of whole populations and their replacement by people from other areas could only be designed to make it impossible to exercise the right of self-determination recognized in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The matter should be given special consideration with a view to reaffirming the principle that attention must be paid to cases in which existing populations were moved from one place to another by foreign settlers.

13. The absence of the United Kingdom delegation from the meetings at which the Special Committee had considered the question of Southern Rhodesia was to be regretted. Although the decision to withdraw from the Special Committee was the exclusive responsibility of that country, its absence severely hampered the work of that Committee on that particular subject and made it much more difficult to draw up concrete recommendations. Accordingly, the Argentine delegation believed that it was the duty of all members to make a concerted effort to ensure that discussion of the question was reopened in the United Nations, and also that it was the duty of those who were anxious to do away with the last bastions of colonialism not to isolate themselves from those who could assist in the attainment of that objective.

14. As long as there was no compromising over principles, there was no danger of losing sight of the final goal. Flexibility could be employed with respect to the means of attaining that goal, provided that it met with genuine co-operation, or succeeded in making the position of those who opposed the liquidation of colonialism more untenable.

15. Mr. GARCÍA (Ecuador) said that the Fourth Committee should condemn the illegal, and even immoral régime of the racist minority in Salisbury, every year, because some countries were ignoring Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council, and persisted in believing that a solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia could be achieved through the so-called settlement proposals, negotiated exclusively between the United Kingdom Government and the Smith régime.

16. He recalled the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 27 April 1972, contained in paragraph 23 of chapter VIII of its report (see A/8723/Add.1), and said that although it was highly significant in content, it was distressing to find that in spite of the various reaffirmations and condemnations no genuine progress was being made towards a solution of the problem of Southern Rhodesia. The reason why the Governments of some countries ignored all the appeals, declarations and resolutions of the United Nations lay in the vested interests of imperialism and colonialism which still persisted.

17. The only positive factor to be noted in the matter of Southern Rhodesia was the decision taken by the International Olympic Committee to expel the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia from the XXth Olympic Games at Munich, in compliance with decisions and requests by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

18. He recalled the statement by the Permanent Representative of his country in the Fourth Committee (1980th meeting) to the effect that Ecuador had maintained in the past and still firmly maintained that the Territories under Portuguese administration were Non-Self-Governing Territories subject to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and that accordingly the national liberation movements deserved universal support since they represented the only source of assistance for the people who were becoming desperate over the continued denial of their rights. Furthermore, his Government would always support any decisions adopted with a view to securing the total liberation of the people of Zimbabwe and to putting an end to the illegal régime in Salisbury.

19. His delegation wished to point out that the problem of Southern Rhodesia was compounded of two totally unacceptable elements: first, the *de facto* power wielded by a white minority over the people of Zimbabwe, within a territory entrusted to the administration of the United Kingdom and, secondly, the policy of discrimination practised by that minority. The Ecuadorian delegation was also prepared to support any draft resolution designed to provide the only possible solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia: the prompt implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) to the territory and people of Zimbabwe.

#### HEARING OF PETITIONERS

20. The CHAIRMAN recalled that, at the previous meeting, the Committee had decided to grant the request for a hearing from the Reverend Michael Scott, representative of the International League for the Rights of Man.

*At the invitation of the Chairman, the Reverend Michael Scott, representative of the International League for the Rights of Man (A/C.4/752) took a place at the Committee table.*

21. The Reverend Michael SCOTT (International League for the Rights of Man) observed that for many

years he had been appearing before the Committee on behalf of persons who were still in detention or in prison, such as the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and others.

22. The dilemma confronting the United Nations, and in fact the whole civilized world, regarding Southern Rhodesia, was that in that country a minority racial group, a white population no larger than that of an average-sized town in Great Britain or Europe, was defying every attempt by the world Organization—set up to ensure peace and oppose tyranny—to resolve that problem by constitutional and peaceful means. Thus far, every attempt in that direction had failed, the use of force having been ruled out by the nominal administering Power, which held a veto in the Security Council.

23. While the seven years of sanctions had had some effect in impeding the growth of Rhodesia's economy, that period had also witnessed a marked improvement in the economic and strategic position of South Africa, which had greatly increased its trade not only with Rhodesia but with other countries in Africa and Europe to a point where it had now become the most powerful industrial complex in the southern hemisphere. It seemed necessary to refer to that aspect of the problem because it had aroused and was still arousing fears even greater than those occasioned by the failure of sanctions against Rhodesia. Concurrently, South Africa had built up its military power, despite all resolutions designed to avoid such a development, owing to the collusion of certain States, and some Western Powers had come to regard South Africa, situated as it was at the meeting point of two oceans, as an integral part of the Western defence system, a supplier of important industrial and strategic material to the Western Powers, a guardian of vital trade routes, an exceptionally profitable field of investment for transnational corporations and a potential counterweight to the growth of African independence movements.

24. Those were some of the underlying realities which alarmed those who, for the past 25 years, had been looking to the United Nations to deliver the world from the menace of white racism in Africa. South Africa's trade with neighbouring African States had been steadily increasing, and even though the United Kingdom's trade with Rhodesia was said to have declined while that of other countries had increased, it was known from an authoritative source that South Africa's trade with the United Kingdom had increased, and that the United Kingdom had used the veto to avoid any slowing down in the growth of that trade. Within the customs union, in 1964 South Africa had provided 90 per cent of the imports of Namibia and Lesotho, 83 per cent of Swaziland's and 50 per cent of Botswana's. But it had supplied only 27 per cent of Rhodesia's imports and 20 per cent of Zambia's. Elsewhere, the corresponding figures had been lower: South Africa had provided only 3.8 per cent of Malawi's imports, 1.7 per cent of Angola's and 15 per cent of Mozambique's.

25. Five years later, South Africa's penetration of those markets had increased considerably. In 1970,

Malawi had taken 11 per cent of its imports from there, and South Africa had become that country's third largest supplier. Botswana's imports from South Africa had risen to 65 per cent by 1968. Angola had offered the greatest opportunities for expansion, and the South African Foreign Trade Organization had run a campaign to publicize those opportunities, particularly for exports of machinery, chemicals, and automobile components. By 1970, South Africa had become the source of 4 per cent of Angola's imports. Although that was still a very low share, it represented an advance for South Africa, which had progressed from being Angola's tenth largest supplier to being the seventh. No other country's exports had risen so fast

26. The expansion of South Africa into the Rhodesian market was probably the most outstanding of all, thanks partly to the imposition of sanctions on Southern Rhodesia by the rest of the world. The Economist Intelligence Unit estimated that in 1969, between 80 and 85 per cent of Rhodesia's imports came from South Africa.

27. The figures which he had given were taken from the book by Ruth First, *The South African Connection: Western Investment in Apartheid*.<sup>2</sup>

28. The United States had also greatly increased its investment in and trade with South Africa, as had recently been pointed out to the United Nations by the American Committee on Africa. Thus, to many people it had come to seem that the protracted proceedings of the United Nations over the years, as well as the expensive litigation instituted by voluntary organizations and the decisions of the International Court of Justice were being used as a smoke-screen to divert attention from the alarming realities that needed to be confronted.

29. It seemed to many people in the United Kingdom and Europe that, before there could be any genuine dialogue between South Africa and other States of Africa and the rest of the world, there had to be a genuine dialogue about the role and aims of industry in Europe, Africa and the undeveloped world generally. What was the shape of the future to be? Was the world moving towards a more balanced economy in which the great and currently increasing gap between rich and poor would narrow, or were millions of people to be dispossessed of their lands and rights and have imposed on them gigantic schemes of industrial development, with the importation of white skilled manpower and local labour, as in the case of the great hydroelectric and irrigation projects of Cabora Bassa and the Cunene River? Should not industry and science perhaps lean towards the development, education and physical, moral and spiritual emancipation of the people of Africa?

30. Until the peoples and organizations of the world—not only the United Nations but industrial and business organizations and the great trade union movements of the developed world—came to grips with the

<sup>2</sup> London, M. Temple Smith, Ltd., 1972.

problem of the aim and role of industry, it seemed futile for South Africa to be calling for a dialogue with neighbouring African States over which its economic influence was, incidentally, rapidly extending. That was why, before that process of expansion and growth had advanced and it was too late to avoid the integration of South Africa into the Western defence system, the United Nations must help to bring about a free and frank dialogue on that subject. There were proposals to hold a conference of experts in Oslo, and a draft resolution had already been submitted (A/L.679 and Corr.1) to the General Assembly on that matter; in addition, other research projects regarding the legal and economic position of transnational corporations were being contemplated. However, before considering in detail the question of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, it would be appropriate to take into account the fears of African peoples about what had been happening inside and outside the United Nations and to study that question in connexion with the more general problems confronting the underdeveloped countries. The problem of Southern Rhodesia formed part of a larger problem, and the question of sanctions could not be considered realistically in isolation from the general question of the future development of world industry.

31. A co-ordinated research project was being undertaken on that topic by the Institute for the Study of International Organization of the University of Sussex in England, the Graduate School of International Studies of the University of Denver, the Free University of Berlin and the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies at Uppsala. Work on the project was quite far advanced, although the South African Government was now placing obstacles in the way of the surveys that some researchers were carrying out on the spot. It was to be hoped that the United Nations could give its full co-operation to those projects, as well as to the proposed Oslo conference and to the activities that were being carried out by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). The aim was to secure the whole truth about *apartheid*, not only by ascertaining the details of labour organization, labour legislation and practices of racial discrimination as they affected all sections of the population, but also by studying the problem in the more general context of overseas investment and the general considerations of military strategy. Africa would be reaching maturity in a complex world of conflicting ideologies. For that reason, the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its assistance to the peoples of Africa in developing that continent were to be welcomed. The results not only would be tangible technical aid, as in the development of communications in East Africa, but also greater realism in the way in which the United Nations dealt with African problems. China's possible presence in the United Nations Council for Namibia would also be important for southern Africa.

32. Reverting to the subject of sanctions, he said that the Africa Bureau in the United Kingdom, to which he belonged, had published, over several months, two

informational volumes on the way in which the United Nations sanctions programme was being violated by major industrial and business concerns in various countries, some of which were Members of the Organization. Those publications contained a great number of recommendations for more effective action against those who were seeking to frustrate sanctions and to destroy the rule of law which the United Nations was trying to establish.

33. The two volumes in question, which would be made available to the Secretariat for consultation by interested delegations, had been produced with the aid of a grant from the Rowntree Trust and were intended to strengthen the efforts of the United Nations and gain for it the support of the public and of voluntary organizations. It must surely be clear by now, after six or seven years of efforts to solve the problem of Southern Rhodesia, that it was not merely a problem of a handful of white people defying the world Organization. It was a problem of the shape of the future of industrial development in Africa. Was that development to be achieved through a balanced and rational growth related to humanity's social needs and long-term future development or was it to be achieved by expropriation and ruthless exploitation of the human and vast material resources of Africa which, however, would not last forever? After 25 years of debate, some of the mines in Africa had already been exhausted. Was the development of Africa to be attained by means of gigantic superimposed plans which presupposed neo-colonialism from outside Africa, displacement of peoples and communities, as in South Africa, and the extraction and removal of Africa's mineral and natural resources for the benefit of an already overdeveloped world or was it to be the construction of a new kind of civilization adapted to the needs and growth, in social and economic terms, of the local communities? Was Africa to be a happy hunting ground for the voracious transnational companies, which owed obedience to no national or international laws or labour codes, but ruled only by laws of their own making, or by those of countries such as South Africa, which showed no respect for labour codes or human rights conventions?

34. It was possible that the United Nations constituted the only hope for civilized man to exercise some control over those lawless monster conglomerates. In any event, whether it was a question of recourse to law by States or non-governmental organizations or to other economic and political measures, the testing time had come for the United Nations and for Africa. It might be that, as in the case of Namibia so far, test cases brought before the International Court of Justice or metropolitan courts would prove to be inadequate to enable it to become an instrument of international justice. But the politicians of the world must begin to face the full consequences of failure in that vast area of Africa. The implications of failure were more grave and more profound than those politicians were prepared to recognize. Many of them had not been able to face or comprehend the question, partly because their own best interests were involved and partly because they, like the British leaders, were



pragmatic politicians for whom it was an occupational disease to be short-sighted and see no further than the aims of their party. They also lacked any first-hand experience or understanding of the human consequences of the problems with which they dealt.

35. What happened when whole peoples were dispossessed of their lands and possessions and their means of livelihood? The poor and the wretched of the earth were not by nature fierce, warlike or depraved. It was only when they were driven by resentment at injustice and at the loss of their rights and possessions that they turned to the destruction of the things that had deprived them of their lands and means of livelihood.

36. The United Nations had decided to discuss the problem of terrorism (agenda item 92). It would be noted that when people were deprived of their land and homes, sooner or later they began to offer a resistance which might at first seem ineffectual and unorganized but eventually gave rise to a guerrilla-type war, such as that now being waged in Zimbabwe and nearby Portuguese Territories, or to acts of violence, air piracy, kidnapping or other acts which were described as terrorism because they endangered guilty and innocent alike. He wondered how many of the politicians who were so quick to denounce such terrorism and to devise new anti-terrorist legislation had considered to what extent their own incompetence and inhumanity were responsible for that rapidly gathering storm in the under-developed areas of the world. When the agents of developed States engaged in terrorizing innocent people in distant lands, their actions were just as barbarous as those of agents of the same States when they tortured defenceless prisoners in gaols or forcibly detained persons who dared to make political protests.

37. After six years of ineffectual measures, the United Nations now had to find ways and means of resolving the problem of Southern Rhodesia and of devising some form of international law and order to prevent the whole situation in southern Africa from degenerating into something that neither the United Nations nor the great Powers would be able to control and from which a tragedy worse than that in Viet-Nam might develop.

38. Unfortunately, military leaders were often no less short-sighted than political leaders. There were few among the experts and strategists of southern Africa who had given any thought to the future consequences of the system which they were striving so hard to perpetuate and maintain. Their system of separate development and their deprivation of the people of any means of redress either by law or politics was an open invitation to military leaders of the future resistance movements to retaliate with racial warfare, utilizing the weapons which science was forever devising. White South Africans were not the only people capable of producing organo-phosphorus products and carbonates. Indeed, the South Africans were more efficient at disposing of their so-called "redundant natives" in industrial areas than they were at disposing of their own industrial wastes, which were often left to accumulate in close proximity to drinking water

reservoirs. The white people in Africa should realize that their illusions of supremacy did not render them invulnerable.

39. The failure of the United Nations sanctions programme would threaten not only the future pattern of development in southern Africa but also the future of the United Nations and man's attempt to resolve conflict situations by peaceful and constitutional means. It was no coincidence that the United Nations was dealing with the problem of the growth of anarchy, air piracy and terrorism at a time when it was confronted with the problem of Southern Rhodesia and the sanctions crisis. What difference was there between a group of unscrupulous white industrialists, farmers and mercenaries who had forcibly taken possession of the lands of African people and reduced them to the position of helots in their own country by imposing illegal emergency measures, and those who hijacked aircraft and blew up electric pylons?

40. If one considered the position of the great Powers within whose jurisdiction the defiance of international order was taking place, one would see that while the United Kingdom had been diligent in reporting on and counteracting breaches of sanctions within its legal framework, it had failed to devise the necessary measures for dealing with those corporations which, either through their subsidiaries or through collusion with South Africa and Portugal, were challenging the United Nations. He had some diagrams which he would make available to the Secretariat. They illustrated the close connexion South Africa and Southern Rhodesia had with certain British industrial corporations and finance houses and gave an idea of the enormous influence which those enterprises exerted on British policy-making. Some of the corporations most likely to profit from a settlement with Southern Rhodesia were Rio Tinto Zinc, Charter Consolidated, Turner and Newall, Imperial Tobacco, LONRHO and British Leyland Motor Corporation. Mining companies, too, had much to gain and, at a crucial point in the negotiations with Southern Rhodesia, the Anglo American Corporation had advanced a loan of 10 millions to Rhodesia. Those mining companies had channelled urgently needed foreign exchange to Southern Rhodesia and had thus weakened the effects of the sanctions imposed. At the time of the unilateral declaration of independence, British mining companies had had to sever their links with their Rhodesian subsidiaries and, consequently, British shareholders in those companies had ceased to benefit from the profits of the Rhodesian operations. The Rhodesian subsidiaries had been able to continue operations beyond the reach of prosecution in the United Kingdom and, as a result, many had thriven and accumulated profits inside Southern Rhodesia. A settlement with Southern Rhodesia would enable those subsidiaries to return their assets to their parent companies and their profits to British shareholders.

41. In anticipation of a settlement following the visit of the Pearce Commission to Rhodesia, a group of British businessmen had visited the Territory with the support of the United Kingdom Government. They were a sales team from the British Aircraft Corporation

who were intent on making a deal of 4.5 million. At about the same time that the Pearce Commission was due to arrive in Salisbury, the Department of Trade and Industry felt that the sanctions programme would not be such an enduring obstacle as to warrant postponement of the mission. At that same time, the publication *Investors Chronicle* clearly and frankly noted that it was industry, particularly the mining industry, that was sustaining the Smith régime against all the attempts of the British Government and the United Nations to frustrate its policy of independence without majority rule. On 3 December 1971, that publication stated that one of the saviours of the Rhodesian economy, since the unilateral declaration of independence, had been the country's mining industry, which had scarcely been affected by the sanctions; the boom in base metal prices in the years immediately following the unilateral declaration of independence was a vital bulwark at a time when tobacco sales were rapidly declining. That analysis presupposed that metals produced in Rhodesia had been regularly exported despite the sanctions, and there was every reason to believe that such was the case. Both Anglo American and Rio Tinto Zinc had opened nickel mines during the period following the unilateral declaration of independence, and Johannesburg Consolidated announced its intention to do the same. It might be mentioned that, while Anglo American was primarily a South African company, its Rhodesian subsidiary was 33.5 per cent owned by a British company. Charter Consolidated, whose biggest private shareholder was Evelyn de Rothschild, brother of Edmund de Rothschild, director of Prime Minister Heath's famous policy "think tank".

42. He then quoted the American writer, Sean Gerarsi, in the following words:

"In early 1970 President Nixon took a step which could eventually lead the United States into another major military intervention in the third world. The President decided at that time to strengthen United States ties with the white régimes of southern Africa. This decision marks an important change in our policy towards Africa. We are now openly supporting the racist régimes we have strongly condemned in the past. And our support is being offered at the very moment that African liberation movements are beginning to achieve real success in their struggle against those régimes. The Governments of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal apparently expect this new commitment to be extended as the situation in southern Africa becomes more difficult for them. As an informed British observer noted recently, for the first time in almost a decade the South Africans are starting to believe that both the British and American Governments are likely to be on their side in the event of a major racial confrontation in southern Africa."

43. For those reasons, he felt it was worth calling attention to the recommendations of the Sanctions Committee of the Commonwealth Secretariat which he then quoted in the following words:

"The Commonwealth Sanctions Committee today completed its review of developments following pub-

lication of the report of the Pearce Commission on Rhodesian Opinion. It welcomed the British Government's acceptance of the findings of the Pearce Commission and the decision to continue to maintain the sanctions policy. The Committee considered that the findings of the Pearce Commission vindicated the need for upholding the principles laid down by successive meetings of Commonwealth Heads of Government regarding the settlement of the Rhodesian question; these include the principle that the basis of a settlement must be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. In this regard, they noted the opinion expressed by the British Foreign Secretary that in any future negotiations the initiative must come from the different races in Rhodesia acting in concert. The Committee stressed the need for all Member States of the United Nations and its specialized agencies to show greater determination and political will to support—by positive action—the implementation of the sanctions policy. The Committee viewed with gravity the violation by some Member States of the mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia agreed upon by the Security Council. In reiterating its view that it was incumbent on Member States to comply with the Security Council mandatory sanctions, the Committee discussed again the lifting by the United States of the ban on the import of Rhodesian chrome. While expressing appreciation of the support which the United States had hitherto given to the enforcement of the sanctions policy as a whole, it noted that the removal by legislation of the ban against Rhodesian chrome was a serious violation of the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council."

44. The Commonwealth Sanctions Committee had made a number of recommendations which had been referred to member Governments of the Commonwealth. Some of those recommendations were: that the United Nations Secretary-General might be urged and empowered to appoint teams of qualified inspectors and technical experts to undertake, where appropriate, investigations of the authenticity and accuracy of certificates of origin, and technical examination by chemical and other means of mineral and vegetable products including asbestos, chrome and tobacco suspected of being of Rhodesian origin; that Member States of the United Nations should undertake to afford facilities to United Nations experts in the performance of those tasks; that Member States should undertake to discourage, as appropriate, their national carriers and insurers of goods from carrying or insuring any cargoes coming from or destined for Rhodesia whether directly or via South Africa or the Portuguese Territories; that Member States should undertake to examine more closely all goods in transit through their respective territories which are suspected of emanating from or destined for Rhodesia, with a view to taking, as appropriate, action described below; that prosecutions or other specific measures such as boycotts, seizure of goods, or withdrawal of import and export licences, should be taken against persons and companies involved in illegal transactions of the kind referred to and information about all prosecutions and measures should be furnished promptly to the United

Nations; that appropriate sessions of the Security Council Sanctions Committee should be open to the public to allow for maximum publicity; that countries trading with Rhodesia should be invited to explain why they were committing breaches of sanctions and that maximum publicity should be given to breaches by South Africa, Portugal or other countries.

45. He concluded by reiterating the importance of ensuring the effectiveness of the United Nations sanctions programme, and he recalled the words spoken by an African Head of State, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, when he told the Security Council at Addis Ababa: "Throughout history it has been the inaction of those who could have acted, the indifference of those who should have known better, the silence of the voice of justice when it mattered most, that has made it possible for evil to triumph."<sup>3</sup>

*The Reverend Michael Scott withdrew.*

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year*, 1627th meeting.

46. Mr. URANOVICZ (Hungary), supported by Mr. OGOLA (Uganda), Mrs. JIMÉNEZ (Cuba) and Mr. BENYAHIA (Algeria), proposed that the statement made by the Reverend Michael Scott be included *in extenso* in the record.

47. Mr. RIFAI (Secretary of the Committee) said that the cost would be \$100 per page.

48. The CHAIRMAN said that if he heard no objection he would take it that the Hungarian proposal was adopted.

*It was so decided.*<sup>4</sup>

*The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.*

<sup>4</sup> See paras. 21 to 45, above.