

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION

Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1683rd
MEETING**

Wednesday, 4 October 1967,
at 3.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

Statement by the Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories

1. Mr. DJERMAKOYE (Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories) assured the Committee that it could count on his full co-operation and that of the Secretariat in its efforts.
2. The Fourth Committee's work would be of particular importance at the current session. Little progress had been made in the field of decolonization during the past year; as the Secretary-General had pointed out in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization (A/6701/Add.1, para. 120), seven years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, many Territories remained under colonial rule, and dependent peoples in large areas of southern Africa continued to be denied political rights. As a national of an African country, he could not but feel deep distress at the sufferings which millions of human beings under foreign rule still endured. It was a frightening anachronism that, in the twentieth century, so many human beings were denied their basic rights, including the right to determine their own future. At a time when there was a growing trend towards international co-operation, it was regrettable that certain Powers were still reluctant to change their relations with the peoples under their administration. Yet there were examples to prove that co-operation between former administering Powers and their erstwhile colonies was possible. He therefore appealed to the administering Powers to hasten the process of decolonization so that an era of justice and peace on the basis of equality among men and nations could at last be ushered in.
3. Mr. ADUKO (Ivory Coast), supported by Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. FALL (Sene-

gal) and Mr. TEVOEDJRE (Dahomey), proposed that the complete text of the Under-Secretary's statement should be circulated as a Committee document.

It was so decided.^{1/}

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 (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. III)

GENERAL DEBATE

4. Mr. ESFANDIARY (Iran), Rapporteur of the Special Committee, introduced chapter III of that Committee's report, relating to Southern Rhodesia, and drew particular attention to the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 9 June 1967 (A/6700/Rev.1, chap. III, para. 609).
5. Mr. LUARD (United Kingdom) said that he thought that almost every delegation present would agree that the item under discussion was the most important that the Committee would have to discuss during the session. Moreover, it was a matter in regard to which the aims of the United Kingdom and the other Members of the United Nations were at one. All Member States shared an obligation to ensure that all the inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia were enabled to live in freedom and independence, free from racial discrimination, under a Government of their own choice. Their common aim was to bring the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia to an end at the earliest possible moment and to ensure that the country was set firmly and irrevocably on the road to majority rule. The United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had assured the General Assembly at its 1567th plenary meeting of the United Kingdom's determination to see the matter through to an honourable conclusion. It was because of that determination that it had brought the question of Southern Rhodesia before the Security Council and sought the imposition of mandatory sanctions against the rebellious régime. At heavy cost to itself the United Kingdom had carried out its obligations under the Security Council's resolutions to the full; indeed, it had gone far beyond what was demanded by those resolutions and beyond what other Governments were so far accomplishing.
6. The success of sanctions depended on the support of all Member States. Every effort should therefore

^{1/} The complete text of the statement made by the Under-Secretary was circulated as document A/C.4/689.

be made to ensure full compliance by all Members with the measures called for by the Security Council. The Members which had complied—and they were the overwhelming majority—were entitled to ask that others should do the same. The provision by States of the trade statistics which the Secretary-General had requested in exercise of his responsibilities under Security Council resolution 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966, and a study of those statistics, would assist in the important task of deciding how sanctions could be made still more effective. His delegation hoped that the States which had not yet provided the necessary figures would do so as soon as possible. The problem of tightening the sanctions imposed and closing loopholes had been given close attention by his Government recently. The Commonwealth Sanctions Committee had held a meeting on the subject during the previous week and certain additional measures were now under consideration by a group set up by that Committee, including representatives of Zambia, Kenya and other Commonwealth countries. There were a number of possible steps that could be taken to intensify sanctions further and prevent evasion of those already imposed.

7. His delegation considered that the strengthening of the sanctions imposed was the most important immediate task. The sanctions decided on by the Security Council were undoubtedly already having a severe effect in Southern Rhodesia, and even prior to that resolution the voluntary sanctions applied by the United Kingdom and certain other States had had an appreciable effect. As was made clear in the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report (A/6701/Add.1, para. 123), the limited evidence so far received showed that there had been a significant decline in trade between Southern Rhodesia and many of its trading partners in most of the commodities listed in the Security Council resolution, although there had been continuing traffic in certain important commodities. There was increasingly clear evidence that the mandatory sanctions imposed in December 1966, although they had been in force for some nine months only and had been applied by many countries for an even shorter period, were having a marked impact on the Southern Rhodesian economy.

8. Considerable publicity had been given recently to statements by Mr. Wrathall, a member of the illegal régime. Those statements were fabrications and had been fully rebutted by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs on 27 September 1967. Whereas Mr. Wrathall had claimed that in the first seven months of 1967 United Kingdom exports to Rhodesia had amounted to £5.9 million sterling, the fact was that they had amounted to only £623,000, of which £253,000 had been for spare parts for the maintenance of common services shared with Zambia and Malawi, £142,000 for medicines and drugs, £46,000 for "cultural supplies"—mainly books—and £182,000 for parcel post exports. Even if, as was suggested, there had been leakages through South Africa, the additional cost, including South African import duties and middleman's charges, would have been an added burden for Southern Rhodesia. Statements such as those of Mr. Wrathall were designed to boost confidence within Southern Rhodesia and to hide the true facts from the world. The United Kingdom Government's information was that any leaks

in the sanctions were due not to the actions of United Kingdom traders but to those of certain other exporting countries. The United Kingdom was seeking ways of remedying the situation. Primary responsibility, however, naturally rested with the Governments of the countries concerned.

9. With regard to the effects of sanctions, the major part of Southern Rhodesia's 1966 tobacco crop had remained unsold. The régime had consequently been obliged to limit the tobacco target for the following year to less than half the 1964 crop. The situation was known to be causing discontent among tobacco farmers. Of the other major industries, the sugar industry was facing bankruptcy, the railways were working at a heavy loss and three motor assembly plants had had to be placed on a purely care-and-maintenance basis. The attempted diversification of industry could have had little effect on the balance of payments. Even the figures published by the illegal régime itself indicated an over-all balance-of-payments deficit in 1966, and for the current year, for which the régime had avoided publishing any figures, the situation would undoubtedly be more serious. With the further decrease in exports, the régime was having to cut down still more on imports, with a consequent depressing effect on internal economic activity. An idea of the extent of the cost of stockpiling, which the régime had chosen to cover by short-term borrowing rather than by taxation, could be gained from the fact that the régime's borrowing by means of Treasury bills had risen by £30 million during 1966.

10. His delegation could not therefore accept the view that mandatory sanctions had failed. More time was needed for the effects to be fully visible, but early success in the Security Council's policy of sanctions depended on full co-operation by Governments and his delegation deeply deplored the failure of some to comply fully with the Security Council's resolutions.

11. His delegation did not question the sincerity of those who felt that the United Kingdom Government should use force against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, but it could not share that view. The United Kingdom did not believe in the use of violence as a means of achieving political ends and it considered that the use of force against the Southern Rhodesian régime could bring measureless misery, not least to those whom it was meant to benefit. His delegation would, however, listen carefully to the views of other speakers.

12. He hoped that it would be borne in mind in the debate that the question of Southern Rhodesia was on the Security Council's agenda and that measures decided upon by the Council were in the course of implementation. Any action in the General Assembly must support and not conflict with the action taken by the Council, particularly in the light of Article 12 of the United Nations Charter.

13. The members of the Committee undoubtedly wished to see the Security Council's measures succeed. The determination of all that they should succeed should be made clear to the illegal régime; confusion

and inconsistency could only give encouragement to that régime. His delegation attached great importance to the influence of public opinion and believed that a unanimous call from the Committee for full support for the measures taken by the Security Council would help to convince the illegal régime of the hopelessness of

its cause. The Committee should not belittle the effort which had been undertaken by the Security Council or predict its failure and thus undermine the measures to which all were committed.

The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.