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

Statement concerning documentation

1. Mr. RAOELINA (Madagascar) said that his delegation had only just received the text of the statement made at the 1683rd meeting, on 4 October 1967, by the Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/C.4/689) and the French version of the summary record of the same meeting, giving the summary of the statement by the administering Power. The latter document was indeed dated 9 October. He would like to appeal to the Office of Conference Services to arrange for the summary records of the Committee's meetings to be circulated in all working languages on the day following the meeting concerned, in order to assist the Committee in its work.

2. The CHAIRMAN said that the Malagasy representative's remarks would be conveyed to the Under-Secretary for Conference Services.

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)

3. Mr. BOUATTOURA (Algeria) said that, with the forthcoming accession of Aden to independence, the international community would no longer be con-

fronted with colonial problems of the traditional type, but would be faced instead with the problem of colonization by settlement. That fact would force the United Nations to reconsider its approach to decolonization.

4. When the Smith régime had unilaterally declared the independence of Southern Rhodesia, 11 November 1965, it might have been expected that the United Kingdom Government would take steps to put an end to that régime. The use of force, however, had been ruled out from the start by the United Kingdom Government, which had advocated economic sanctions, even though the known fact that South Africa and Portugal would not support such measures would clearly render them useless. The United Kingdom Government had shown itself concerned above all to preserve its economic relations with South Africa, and, in the Security Council, the United Kingdom and other States had opposed any condemnation of the Pretoria and Lisbon Governments and thus allowed them to continue supporting Southern Rhodesia. When economic sanctions had proved ineffective, the United Kingdom Government had attempted negotiation with the Smith régime, but with no success. Instead of drawing the necessary conclusions from Mr. Smith's intransigence, the United Kingdom continued to rule out the use of force, and the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had stated at the 1567th plenary meeting of the General Assembly that an economic war with South Africa could not be contemplated. The Algerian delegation fully agreed, however, with his statement that the pursuit of certain policies could become an invitation to terrorism.

5. Meanwhile, the Smith régime was consolidating its position and pursuing increasingly radical policies similar to those of South Africa; it was also strengthening its relations with Pretoria and Lisbon. The people of Zimbabwe were losing patience and had begun to resort to violent action. The trend to violence could have been avoided if the Western States, among others, and particularly the United Kingdom, had exerted more decisive pressure on Salisbury, Pretoria and Lisbon. Unfortunately, however, they had not shown themselves eager for a settlement which might harm their interests. Yet the policy of economic sanctions not only led to consolidation in Southern Rhodesia but also to the strengthening of ties within the colonialist bloc in southern Africa, which was showing increased determination to resist all progress in the region. The people of Zimbabwe had come to realize that time was on the side of the racists, since a victory for the Smith régime in the present phase might perpetuate colonialism throughout southern Africa. In such circumstances, no one could blame the people of Zimbabwe for rising up against the Salisbury régime.

6. With regard to the effectiveness of economic sanctions, the Secretary-General had observed in paragraph 124 of the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization (A/6701/Add.1) that apparently sanctions had not so far caused the illegal authorities in Southern Rhodesia insuperable difficulties and that the policies of South Africa and Portugal had strengthened the régime and fortified it in its defiance of the international community. According to the trade statistics published by South Africa in January 1967, exports to Southern Rhodesia had increased substantially. With regard to the United Kingdom, the Southern Rhodesian régime's "Minister of Finance" had stated that, in 1966, imports from the United Kingdom had amounted to £4.6 million. In the first four months of 1967, moreover, Southern Rhodesia's imports from various countries had increased over the same period in the previous year in proportions ranging from 38 per cent to more than 100 per cent.

7. The United Kingdom representative had invoked Article 12 of the United Nations Charter in order to keep the discussion of the problem confined to the question of economic sanctions. It was hardly reasonable, however, to expect the Members of the United Nations to support a policy which had clearly failed. New developments in the situation must be taken into account. One such development was the decision of the liberation movements, in co-ordination with other nationalist movements, to enter the phase of armed struggle. South Africa had sent troops into Southern Rhodesia to help the Smith régime, and the United Kingdom Government, despite its claims that Southern Rhodesia was still constitutionally under its authority, had not seriously resisted that move. The United Kingdom delegation had not even mentioned the problem in its statement at the previous meeting. The people of Zimbabwe were not alone, however; the African States were ready to give them all necessary aid in the continuation of their struggle. At its fourth ordinary session, held recently at Kinshasa, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity had expressed its determination to support the struggle of the people of Southern Rhodesia by every means.

8. The United Nations, basing itself on the Charter principle that all people had the right to self-determination, should declare its support for the people of Southern Rhodesia in their struggle. If South Africa could intervene in Southern Rhodesia, it could do the same in Zambia, for example. The newly independent States in the region should be helped to maintain their security and escape the harmful influence of the Pretoria Government. As for those who made themselves accomplices of the racist régimes, history would not forgive them.

9. His delegation was more convinced than ever that only the use of force would bring the Smith régime to an end. The United Nations should solemnly recognize the lawfulness of the struggle for liberation in Southern Rhodesia and the need for moral and material assistance to the liberation movements. An appeal should be launched to all States to provide material assistance to the nationalist movements. The United Nations should condemn the armed intervention of South Africa in Southern Rhodesia, which

was an act of defiance of the international community and the Security Council, and should ask the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to ensure the immediate withdrawal of South African forces from Southern Rhodesia.

10. In conclusion, he would welcome a clear answer from the United Kingdom representative to the following questions. First, what proposals had the United Kingdom to offer with a view to a solution in keeping with the principles of the United Nations? Secondly, what was the extent of the United Kingdom's authority over Southern Rhodesia in law and in fact? Thirdly, had the defence agreements concluded between Southern Rhodesia and South Africa been recognized, tacitly or otherwise, by the United Kingdom? Fourthly, could the policy of sanctions, taking into account the attitude of South Africa and Portugal, lead to the removal of the Salisbury régime in the near future? Fifthly, since the United Kingdom recognized that "the success of sanctions depended on the support of all Member States" (1683rd meeting), could it agree to and support effective control measures and, if necessary, international penalties for violators? Sixthly, since the United Kingdom wished the General Assembly to envisage action which would support and not conflict with the action taken by the Security Council, was it ready to support recommendations on the part of the Committee to make the Security Council policies more consistent and more effective? Lastly, would the United Kingdom contemplate measures by the Security Council in the event of non-compliance with sanctions?

11. Mr. COLERIDGE-TAYLOR (Sierra Leone) said that all the worst elements of colonialism were crystallized in the Southern Rhodesian problem. It was now the general view that the Southern Rhodesian rebellion must be crushed immediately. His delegation regarded that proposition as a categorical imperative which needed no justification. The problem was to decide on the most effective way of eliminating the rebellious régime so that the task of creating a truly independent Zimbabwe ruled by the African majority could begin. The illegality of the rebellion of the Smith régime had been conclusively established by the administering Power, in Acts of Parliament, by the General Assembly and by the Security Council. More important than legal considerations, however, were the humanitarian aspects of the question. The policy of apartheid had now been embraced by the illegal minority régime in Salisbury. Imitating the South African Government, the régime had passed the Tribal Trust Land Act, which, taken in conjunction with the Land Apportionment Act, was designed to restrict the indigenous Africans both in their movements and in their development. Through the Land Apportionment Act and a series of legislative and repressive measures the Africans were kept in an inferior position so that they would continue to serve as a source of cheap labour. They were discriminated against in employment and working conditions. The Technical College at Luveve, which had been designed to train Africans, had been closed and no apprenticeship was available to Africans. Even those who were trained abroad could not find employment. It appeared that, even where qualifications were equal, the white worker was paid twice as much as the African. The

average wage of Europeans was £1,700 per annum while the average wage of Africans was £140 per annum.

12. In education, the régime spent on each African child less than 10 per cent of what it spent on each white child. The latter had free and compulsory education in ultra-modern schools, while African children had to pay fees for education of poorer quality. The régime was even eliminating the assistance given by missionaries towards African education.

13. In addition, the racist régime had embarked upon atrocious repressive measures in order to destroy the morale of the indigenous people. As the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had been informed during its visit to Africa, detainees were herded together in camps with no sanitation facilities and no contact with the outside world. The clergy were not allowed to visit them, and their wives and families were not informed of their whereabouts. Electric shocks appeared to be among the most gentle of the tortures used. Meanwhile, the special service patrolled the African residential areas to arrest anyone loitering or listening to foreign broadcasts. All able-bodied Whites were armed and encouraged to shoot any African suspected of being a guerrilla.

14. It was thus clear that the liquidation of the régime in Southern Rhodesia was an urgent necessity. With regard to the means of bringing that about, the United Kingdom representative had expressed the view that the strengthening of the sanctions that had been imposed was the most important immediate task. He had brought forward statistical evidence to show that selective sanctions were producing results and would become fully effective if given sufficient time. The delegation of Sierra Leone agreed that sanctions must be not only strengthened but extended. That was indeed an immediate task because, contrary to the United Kingdom's arguments, it seemed likely that time would work in favour of the Smith régime. It should be recalled that, in 1965, the United Kingdom had predicted the collapse of Southern Rhodesia in a matter of weeks. The lessons of history should not be ignored.

15. The United Kingdom representatives had also stressed that the success of sanctions depended on the support of all Member States. His delegation agreed, but went further. It had always maintained that it was futile to attempt to deal with a rebellion merely by the imposition of economic sanctions, especially when a neighbouring country was a known supporter of the rebellion. As long as Southern Rhodesia retained good relations with South Africa and Portugal, there was little prospect of success even for full economic sanctions. Consequently, the United Kingdom should use force to deal with the situation. Earlier in the present year, after Lord Alport had returned from Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom

Prime Minister had reported to Parliament that Mr. Smith did not appear ready for talks, the United Kingdom Government should have resorted to force as a necessary means to resolve the issue. That chance had been missed, but it was not too late. His delegation was not opposed to economic sanctions, but, since selective mandatory sanctions appeared to have failed, the question was what other measures should be adopted to liquidate the Smith rebellion. It was known that consideration was being given to the extension of sanctions to include travel and communications. His Government would support such measures, but though the isolation of Southern Rhodesia through total economic sanctions might be necessary, it did not think that that would be sufficient; only the use of force could effectively solve the problem. It was therefore the duty of the Committee to recommend action under Article 42 of the Charter if the United Kingdom could not take suitable action.

16. The crushing of the rebellion was not an end in itself. After the return to legality the United Nations must embark on the task of implementing General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Meanwhile, the freedom fighters in Southern Rhodesia had resorted to guerilla warfare, and no one should be surprised if they received help from African and other countries. It was Portugal and South Africa which should be condemned for continuing to support the illegal racist régime.

17. On the question of refugees, his delegation joined the Special Committee in appealing to the specialized agencies and other international organizations to render every possible aid and assistance to refugees from Zimbabwe.

18. Finally, now that Mr. Smith, by his irresponsibility, had eliminated himself as a potential ruler even of a legally constituted Southern Rhodesia, the delegation of Sierra Leone urged that talks should be initiated between the administering Power and the nationalist leaders to draw up a constitution which would lead the people of Zimbabwe to independence in accordance with the principle of "one man, one vote".

#### Requests for hearings

#### REQUEST CONCERNING SOUTHERN RHODESIA (AGENDA ITEM 23)

19. The CHAIRMAN said that he had received a request for a hearing concerning Southern Rhodesia from Dr. Robert John, President of the International Council for Rhodesia. If there was no objection, the request would be circulated as a Committee document.

*It was so decided.*<sup>1/</sup>

*The meeting rose at 4.10 p.m.*

<sup>1/</sup> The request was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/691.