

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION

Official Records



**1710th
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 7 November 1968
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

| | Page |
|--|------|
| Statement by the President | 1 |
| Agenda item 97: Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations | 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 (continued) Southern Rhodesia Report of the Fourth Committee (Part II) | 1 |

President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES (Guatemala).

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I am very glad to be back in the United Nations and to resume my duties as President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly.

2. I should like to take this opportunity to say how deeply grateful I am for all the expressions of concern and sympathy that I have received, particularly those of the Secretary-General, the General Assembly, the delegations of Member States, other colleagues and friends, and the press.

3. I am particularly grateful to the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly, who have so ably presided over the plenary meetings during my absence. It is really heartening to realize that, although an emergency situation may not be provided for in detail in the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, the concern of the Members of the Assembly for the problems of mankind has been so great that the Assembly has carried on its work successfully.

4. As some of you probably know, a few weeks before the opening of the General Assembly I began to suffer from headaches, which became so much more severe and more frequent that I was obliged to seek medical advice. After a number of examinations carried out by a group of doctors at the Lennox Hill hospital in New York City, it was found that I had a tumour on the right frontal lobe. The tumour was removed, fortunately with complete success, on 22 October. I have had the good fortune to make a rapid and fully satisfactory recovery.

5. I am glad to be able to inform the Members of the General Assembly that as from today I shall resume my responsibilities as President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 97

**Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary
of the United Nations**

6. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): This item was included in today's agenda in the hopes that the General Assembly would be able to examine it expeditiously, that is at this stage of the discussion.

7. The Members of the General Assembly know that in the explanatory memorandum requesting the inclusion of this item in the agenda the sponsors suggested that the President of the General Assembly should establish

"a small Committee which could be a sub-committee of the General Committee to report to the Assembly by 15 December 1968 on the measures to be taken for the appropriate celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations" [A/7225, para. 2].

8. Should the General Assembly agree to set up the Committee for the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, it would be my intention to announce the composition of this Committee early next week. It is also my intention to ask delegations which are not members of the Committee to submit to it any suggestions they may have regarding the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations with the solemnity which we all desire.

9. If there are no objections, I shall take it that I may consider that the General Assembly agrees to this proposal.

It was so decided.

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 (continued)*

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

**REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (PART II)
(A/7290/ADD.1)**

10. Mr. AGGREY-ORLEANS (Ghana), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: On Friday, 25 October 1968 [1707th meeting], I had occasion to present on behalf of the Fourth

*Resumed from the 1708th meeting.

Committee the first part of that Committee's report [A/7290] on the question of Southern Rhodesia. I emphasized then the urgent need for the international community to show foresight and vigilance by reaffirming its basic position on the establishment of peace in Southern Rhodesia. The adoption of the resolution [2379 (XXIII)] contained in that report showed the desire of this Assembly to see the restoration of peace and legality in Southern Rhodesia in conditions which would enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence in conformity with the provisions and objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

11. This second report [A/7290/Add.1] complements the first. The debate in the Fourth Committee on the question of Southern Rhodesia not only reflected the growing anxiety of Member States over the deteriorating situation in the Territory, but also demonstrated the unrelenting determination of almost all to redouble our efforts to replace the relics of colonialism and oppression by national independence and freedom. There was a general recognition that the crisis in Southern Rhodesia was heavy with significance in the light of the deteriorating and explosive situation in southern Africa.

12. All those who participated in the debate recognized and affirmed the primary responsibility of the administering Power for arresting the deteriorating situation. Grave concern was expressed over the deteriorating situation in the Territory: human rights were being jeopardized, repressive measures against Africans were being intensified, and executions of African nationalists were now being resorted to. In the face of that situation, there was a call for stronger measures to put an immediate end to the illegal régime. Of course, some disagreement had been expressed regarding some of the means recommended for bringing about a speedy solution to the problem. This, however, did not constitute a deadlock, and the majority of members, after assessing the present state of affairs in the Territory of Southern Rhodesia, has decided to commend for adoption the draft resolution contained in the present report to the General Assembly [ibid., para. 7].

13. The draft resolution has taken into consideration the events of the past and present and possible future developments. The majority of the members of the Committee believe that if the United Nations is to play a significant role in resolving the problem of Southern Rhodesia, there is an objective need for the international community to face the problem with courage and to apply measures which can produce effective and speedy results. That is the purpose of the draft resolution contained in the report which I have the honour to present to the General Assembly for adoption.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.

14. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Before we proceed to the voting, I call upon representatives who wish to explain their vote.

15. Mr. DOBLES (Costa Rica) (*translated from Spanish*): Mr. President, allow me on behalf of my delegation and

personally to congratulate you on the success of your surgical operation and on your fortunate recovery which has enabled you once more to preside over the debates of this Assembly in the same admirable manner as in the past.

16. The matter before us today is one of the most important to be dealt with by the General Assembly. The situation in Southern Rhodesia causes my delegation great concern, because basic principles of the United Nations Charter concerning fundamental human rights and freedoms are being violated there and because, in addition, the authority of the United Nations is being flouted, to the detriment of the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to direct its destiny in full freedom and independence.

17. My country voted in the Fourth Committee for the draft resolution [A/7290/Add.1, para. 7] which is before us today. It did so in the conviction that it would thereby be helping to reaffirm the will of the General Assembly and of the Security Council in the matter of Southern Rhodesia and in this way to achieve a solution of this serious problem.

18. In giving its support once again to the international community's effort to put an end to the illegal racist Smith régime my delegation is acting consistently with Costa Rica's record in the area of self-determination and the fight against all forms of racial discriminations.

19. I am glad to say that my delegation can back its words with deeds. My country has no relations of any kind with the odious régime in power in Rhodesia and does not wish to have any until the people of Zimbabwe recovers all its rights. And it shares the view of the overwhelming majority of Member States that the sanctions imposed by the Security Council are the appropriate means for obliging the racist minority in Rhodesia to fulfil its obligations to the people of Zimbabwe and to the international community, and it does so because sanctions are a measure laid down in the United Nations Charter and because Costa Rica has demonstrated that it is prepared to make sacrifices in order to help put the principles and purposes of the United Nations into effect, and in particular those relating to human rights.

20. For example, in the case of *apartheid* my country broke off trade relations with the Republic of South Africa despite the fact that when it did so the balance of trade was in Costa Rica's favour. My delegation is well aware, of course, that Costa Rica's trade with South Africa did not amount to much and that the breach had very little effect on South Africa; but the gesture at least helped to strengthen the world-wide crusade to eradicate the cruel system of *apartheid*.

21. With the same intention, that is, that our words should be backed by deeds and that the aims of the United Nations should thereby be achieved, Costa Rica ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination many months ago. And yesterday the Legislative Assembly of my country unanimously ratified the International Covenants on economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights, together with the optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, being the first country to ratify them.

22. Yesterday, too, the Legislative Assembly unanimously approved an Act penalizing as an offence racial discrimination in recreation centres, hotels and similar places. And it did so in compliance with the Convention, the Covenants and other United Nations instruments, including, of course, the Charter itself.

23. As regards the draft resolution before us, my delegation will vote in favour of it while making the reservation that, as it explained in the Fourth Committee, the wording of paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 does not satisfactorily reflect my delegation's view.

24. My country trusts that the adoption of this draft resolution will increase the pressure on Mr. Smith's illegal régime, which is an affront to the international community and a cause of serious alarm to it.

25. Mr. CASTILLO ARRIOLA (Guatemala) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of the Republic of Guatemala wishes to express its best wishes and congratulations to you on your restoration to health and hopes that it will be complete and final as soon as possible; at the same time we wish to express our great pleasure at your resumption of your duties as President of the General Assembly at its present session, a post your election to which was a great honour to yourself and to our country.

26. With regard to the draft resolution before the General Assembly contained in the report of the Fourth Committee [A/7290/Add.1, para. 7] submitted by the Rapporteur, though my delegation explained its views and reservations in that Committee at some length, it wishes to do so briefly and concisely at this meeting of the General Assembly, and in the first place to state that it will vote in favour of this draft resolution.

27. As is well known, Guatemala has formed a common front with all the countries which have been fighting since the foundation of the United Nations for strict compliance with the provisions and purposes of the Charter concerning decolonization and the liberation of peoples subjected to colonialism. Hence we have always helped to ensure the effective and proper application of resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, which is the best legal instrument adopted by the General Assembly to achieve this aim because the application of and compliance with that resolution have clearly reduced colonialism to its final stage before its total eradication from the modern world, with the exception of such distressing cases as that of Southern Rhodesia, which in themselves constitute a challenge and a threat to peace, law and freedom.

28. We know that this arbitrary and illegal situation established against the African people by a repressive, discriminatory and criminal régime constitutes a dangerous situation which threatens the peace of the continent and that the intervention of forces of other Member States extraneous to Rhodesia is endangering the peace of the continent and the sovereignty and integrity of the independent States neighbouring on Rhodesia.

29. We are aware, too, that destruction of the illegal Smith régime is the responsibility of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, which is also in duty bound to replace

that régime with a government constituted by democratic and constitutional processes, in which the people of Zimbabwe is given the opportunity to participate as a majority, as it is legitimately entitled to do.

30. The administering Power, however much it intended to do so, has obviously not succeeded in fulfilling its responsibilities, perhaps because the procedures used so far have not been appropriate to the circumstances. But we believe that the administering Power has not been inactive in seeking solutions. My delegation cannot, therefore, support the charge, brought against the United Kingdom in the draft resolution considered and approved by the Fourth Committee, that it has failed to solve this problem because it has been inactive and has refused to apply other measures.

31. Nor does my delegation share the view that the sole effective means to solve the Rhodesian problem is the use of force by the administering Power. We therefore entered an express reservation in the Fourth Committee to operative paragraphs 2 and 3 which deal with this matter and we are doing so again in explaining our vote.

32. The Security Council in its resolution 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968 stated that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security and consequently decided on sanctions against the illegal minority régime headed by Mr. Ian Smith.

33. The Security Council accepted jurisdiction in this case and we sincerely believe that the General Assembly should confine itself to calling the Council's attention to the evident fact that these sanctions have not been effective enough, especially because of the manifest reluctance on the part of some Member States to carry them out, and that their scope should therefore be expanded and that a decision be taken on the provisions essential for ensuring their application.

34. We firmly believe that this is the basic part of the draft resolution and that it is perhaps weakened in the resolution itself by the inclusion of a lengthy statement of political considerations.

35. Lastly, my delegation wishes to place formally on record its profound conviction that the people of Zimbabwe has the fullest and most legitimate right to fight for its freedom and independence against those who have usurped power. It has our moral support, but we believe that any intervention other than that of the people of Zimbabwe itself should come either from the administering Power or from the Security Council and that by intervening other States will only give a pretext for abusive and open intervention by some Member States in favour of the illegal régime governing Rhodesia in defiance of the instructions of the Security Council.

36. My Government rejects and condemns any kind of intervention by one State in the affairs of another, and therefore, for the reasons I have stated, enters a reservation with regard to operative paragraph 14 of the draft resolution.

37. The delegation of Guatemala offers its moral support to the people of Zimbabwe and in view of the fact that the

draft resolution approved by the Fourth Committee is based on the thinking and purposes of the Charter and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) will, with the reservations it has expressed, vote in favour of this draft resolution in the plenary meeting.

38. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the draft resolution contained in the report of the Fourth Committee [A/7290/Add.1, para. 7]. A vote by roll call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Morocco, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia.

Against: Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Luxembourg.

Abstaining: Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Spain, Sweden, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Malawi.

The draft resolution was adopted by 86 votes to 9, with 19 abstentions [resolution 2383 (XXIII)].

39. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I shall now call on representatives who have asked to speak in explanation of their vote after the voting.

40. Mr. ARAUJO-GRAU (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation and personally, I am glad to congratulate you most sincerely on your recovery.

41. My delegation voted in the Fourth Committee for the text of the draft resolution which has just been adopted since it was in agreement with its general purposes and wishes to be consistent with the position which it had taken towards this serious problem in previous years. But after the draft resolution had been approved by the Committee, the General Assembly honoured my country by electing it a member of the Security Council.

42. As the Assembly knows, the resolution refers to the need to broaden the scope of the sanctions imposed on Southern Rhodesia and to take measures against two Member States of our Organization. It is for the Security Council to decide on such matters. My delegation was therefore compelled to abstain from voting in order to preserve the impartiality required of it in considering this topic in the Security Council.

43. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (*translated from Spanish*): I have asked to speak to explain my delegation's vote. But before doing so I should be omitting to perform an agreeable duty if I did not express to you, Mr. President, our pleasure at your recovery. In addition, we are glad to see you once again performing the important functions entrusted to you by the General Assembly in recognition of your talents, political wisdom and diplomatic tact.

44. The Republic of Paraguay has not accepted and does not accept as valid the unilateral declaration of independence by Southern Rhodesia. It considers that the Ian Smith régime is illegal and therefore has not recognized it, does not recognize it and has no relations of any sort with it. Paraguay's general position with regard to Southern Rhodesia is therefore consistent with that of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations and it has exerted its efforts both in the past and in the present towards bringing closer the time when the Zimbabwe people may become master of its own sovereign destinies through the real and unrestricted exercise of its right to self-determination.

45. This is the spirit in which my delegation considered the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee, which the Assembly has just converted into a final resolution. Though we endorse the general spirit on which its text is based, we are compelled to note that there are certain elements in it which raise serious legal questions relating to the exercise of powers and faculties accorded by the Charter to the various organs constituting the United Nations. Furthermore, some of its provisions may be interpreted as prejudging the action of the Security Council, of which my country is a member, and which now has before it the item with which the General Assembly is at present dealing. The most recent of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council, with my delegation's concurring vote, is resolution 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968. The Committee of the Security Council set up under operative paragraph 20 of that resolution began its work very recently and so the tasks it has to consider are barely in the initial stage.

46. Lastly, we are thinking of the provisions of Article 12 of the Charter, paragraph 1 of which states:

"While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or consideration the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests."

For all these reasons my country decided to abstain when the draft resolution just adopted by the General Assembly was put to the vote.

47. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I have been asked to announce that on Monday, 11 November, the General Assembly will begin to consider in plenary meeting item 93 of the agenda entitled "Restoration of the lawful

rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations".

The meeting rose at 4.5 p.m.