

These sanctions, as I said the other day in the House, have not been effective. We learned this morning that, if progress is not made in the next few days in the discussions between Salisbury and London (and I can see very little likelihood at the present time of any progress on that front—the Secretary of State at the request of the Governor, before the final break occurs in the sense that for Commonwealth Relations is going to Salisbury today to see the Governor, discussions are cut off), there will then be recourse to the United Nations.

Progress may be made in these discussions, but I have not very much optimism in this respect. We will see whether Mr. Bowden, when he returns to London, brings with him some information which will make unnecessary recourse to the United Nations. But I think . . . that it is likely the matter will be brought before the United Nations Security Council in the first instance by the United Kingdom Government. The United Kingdom Government has been discussing with other members of the Commonwealth procedures that should be adopted with regard to the resolutions which may be brought forward. The United Kingdom is committed to this course because of the meeting we had in London last September. At that meeting we agreed that, if progress had not been made by (I think it was) the end of November, and if the Commonwealth members supported the United Kingdom in the steps that would be taken, sanctions and resolutions would be brought forward under Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter.

Chapter 7, Part 1, under which the United Kingdom would presumably be operating, provides for obligatory economic sanctions. Under that section of the United Nations Charter, this action could be taken. There is, of course, a very great difference between the kind of sanctions put into effect last year and the sanctions which would be put into effect if the Security Council agreed to make them obligatory on all United Nations members This course could not be effective unless those sanctions were extended to South Africa. I know this is a very great difficulty, and I suppose the United Kingdom knows even better that it is a very great difficulty.

I would only point out that, if the United Nations and all its members were sincere in their desire to put into effect selective obligatory sanctions and took the necessary steps to carry them out, it would be possible, by selecting certain key exports from Rhodesia, to do very great and perhaps crippling damage to the economy of that country, because it would be possible to police these sanctions in a way that was not possible in respect of the present sanctions. There are only five or six commodities which are of critical importance to Rhodesian exports. It would not be easy to export those commodities through South Africa, to members of the United Nations who were putting sanctions into effect, without the importing countries knowing that they came originally from Rhodesia, because in most cases they would know the commodities were not South African at all in their origin.

It is a question of whether the United Nations wishes to take this step