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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 12th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. Dolguchits (Byelorussian Soviet  
Socialist Republic)

later: Mr. Boya (Benin)

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OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued)

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each Committee.

The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 93: QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA: 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), (A/33/23/Add.1, A/33/61, A/33/63, A/33/118, A/33/151, A/33/206, A/33/279, A/33/291; A/C.4/33/2).

1. The CHAIRMAN, on behalf of the Committee, welcomed the representatives of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, Mr. Edgar Tekere and Mr. Callistus Ndlovu.

2. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Tekere (Patriotic Front) took a place at the Committee table.

3. Mr. TEKERE (Patriotic Front)\* suggested that, in order to avoid repetition of what had already been said in previous statements, members of the Committee should refer to the statements made in August in the Committee of 24 by the representative of the United Kingdom Government and by the representatives of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. On 27 September, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. David Owen, had dwelt at length on the question of Zimbabwe during the general debate in the General Assembly (A/33/PV.10). He had drawn attention to the number of deaths and to the suffering of the people of Zimbabwe as a result of their armed struggle for liberation and independence; he had accused the Patriotic Front of being responsible for some of the deaths suffered by the people of Zimbabwe, the same people without whose support the liberation struggle would never have prospered and would collapse immediately; he had referred to the adverse effects of the struggle on the economy, not only of Zimbabwe, but also of the whole of southern Africa, had spoken of the danger of foreign intervention in Zimbabwe and the threat which the conflict represented for the security of Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique, had denied that the United Kingdom had ever been a "metropolitan Power" and that it had ever administered Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), although he had accepted the United Kingdom's responsibilities, and had stated that the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States would continue to strive for a negotiated settlement "in the context of the Anglo-American proposals" of 1 September 1977.

4. Although he had accepted the United Kingdom's responsibility with regard to the granting of independence to the people of Zimbabwe, he had also made it clear that its role was to be that of a referee whose job was to suggest settlement formulae and help to bring the parties to the negotiating table. That stand was a clear refusal to accept the United Kingdom's full responsibility and duty to decolonize. The Committee must understand that the United Kingdom's attitude constituted a direct refusal to accept the Patriotic Front's stand that meaningful negotiations could only be held directly between the United Kingdom, on one hand, and the Patriotic Front, on the other. The United Kingdom's attitude was

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\* The full text of the statement made by Mr. Tekere, representative of the Patriotic Front, will be issued separately.

(Mr. Tekere, Patriotic Front)

in line with the statements made by the Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, in October 1965, that in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence, his Government would not consider sending troops to the colony to put down the rebellion, but that it would bear that possibility in mind in order to restore law and order if it was endangered by the liberation forces.

5. The Patriotic Front had had no part at all in the drafting of the Anglo-American proposals. Nevertheless, it had accepted them as a basis for negotiations, thus, at the Dar es Salaam conference, a significant measure of agreement had been achieved after various concessions had been made. The meeting of all parties which was to have followed at the end of April had not been held because the Salisbury régime had refused to attend and the authors of the proposals had indicated that they would not attend if the Salisbury régime did not participate in the meeting. In July it had been reported that the Salisbury régime had finally agreed to attend a meeting of all parties, but that meeting had not taken place either and no explanation had been offered. On 19 August the Patriotic Front had learned that direct talks were being held between Mr. Smith and ZAPU with a view to getting the Patriotic Front as a whole to join the illegal Salisbury régime under the agreement of 3 March. On 9 September, it had been made clear that direct talks should be initiated between the Salisbury régime and the Patriotic Front and that the United Kingdom would act only as a mediator and not as a party to the negotiations. At the same time, the Anglo American representatives had presented two options, A and B, and later, on 20 October had added a third option C.

6. Under option B, there would be no elections in Zimbabwe until after independence. That surprising proposal which was clearly contrary to the agreement reached at the Geneva Conference, represented nothing new since there would not have been any elections in any case. In the first place, none of the partners of the Salisbury régime wanted a real election because they would not be elected; secondly, the people of Zimbabwe would not agree to participate in an election organized by those against whom they were fighting; and, thirdly, the election would be impossible to organize in a country which was in a state of war.

7. Just before the Washington meeting between the leaders of the Salisbury régime and the State Department, Mr. Smith had announced that he would be willing to participate in a conference attended by all parties provided that there were no preconditions, yet at the same time the three options, A, B and C, had been presented. The Patriotic Front had indicated very clearly that only the liberation forces could ensure the transition to independence and secure it. It would be suicidal for the people of Zimbabwe to rely for their independence on the forces against which they had been fighting for so long. However, the three latest Anglo-American proposals ignored that fundamental requirement and proposed a fusion of the liberation forces and the forces of the Smith-Muzorewa-Sithole-Chirau régime in a proportion weighted in favour of the latter. At all events, the Patriotic Front was not prepared to attend a conference for which no preconditions were established, since the fundamental condition was that the Salisbury régime must be completely dismantled. It should be remembered in that respect, that one of the first areas of agreement had been that the Smith army would be dismantled and that the Zimbabwe army would be based on the liberation forces.

(Mr. Tekere, Patriotic Front)

8. It should also be pointed out that there had never been any natural or legal justification for the involvement of the United States Government. Yet that Government was constantly trying to intervene in a matter which did not strictly concern it, and it had violated the sanctions imposed by the United Nations by playing host to the Smith gang. Smith had rightly been boasting of the de facto recognition he had obtained from the United States, while, at the very same time, his forces were attacking Zambia, causing much injury and loss of life. Those circumstances constituted more than sufficient grounds for depriving the United States Government of the privilege it had been allowed in assisting the United Kingdom to resolve a problem which was purely a United Kingdom one.

9. All that he had said clearly reflected the intransigence and duplicity of the United Kingdom in the matter of decolonization. The United Kingdom must understand that the people of Zimbabwe were fighting a struggle for the rebirth of their nation and the recovery of their country. However, they were willing to enter into negotiations with the United Kingdom on the basis of a genuine transfer of political power to the majority.

10. In conclusion, he expressed the gratitude of the Patriotic Front to the international community, the United Nations agencies, OAU and all progressive and socialist countries without whose assistance the burden of its struggle would have been very difficult to bear. Despite repression, torture and mass murder, the people of Zimbabwe would not deviate from the course they had set themselves to struggle to the end against their enemy; they regarded that not only as their revolutionary duty but also as their international obligation.

11. Mr. Tekere withdrew.

12. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Ndlovu (Patriotic Front) took a place at the Committee table.

13. Mr. NDLOVU (Patriotic Front)\* said that the annual reports of the United Kingdom to the Committee were a boring and ritual repetition of that country's ineffectiveness and indecisiveness with regard to its role in the decolonization of Southern Rhodesia. The muted message was, simply, that the United Kingdom had run out of options on Zimbabwe.

14. After the Bingham Report on the violation of economic sanctions against the Southern Rhodesian régime by United Kingdom companies with the connivance of successive United Kingdom Governments, the credibility of the United Kingdom Government as a decolonizer of Southern Rhodesia had fallen apart.

15. The problems of Zimbabwe were being discussed at the current session against a background of increasing terrorism and violence against the civilian population of Zimbabwe and the neighbouring countries of Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana. Following his visit to the United States, Mr. Smith now believed that he could defy international opinion with impunity. Although his visit to the United States had

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(Mr. Ndlovu, Patriotic Front)

been a total farce, and as such a fiasco, it had given the régime and its racist supporters a false psychological boost. Mr. Smith now believed that he could afford to resist any pressures from the progressive world to hand over power to the Zimbabwean majority. It was reported that, at their secret meetings, Mr. Smith and his allies in Congress had agreed on a strategy that would enable the conservative Congressmen who supported the Southern Rhodesian régime to put through Congress a bill that would lift sanctions against that régime. The chief elements of that strategy were that:

(a) The Smith régime must declare its willingness to attend the proposed all-party conference although, at the same time, it must do everything to sabotage such a conference,

(b) The régime must do away with petty racial discrimination in order to emphasize its biracial nature,

(c) Military incursions into the neighbouring countries of Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana must be stepped up, with African members of the biracial régime accepting more responsibility for such incursions as a way of giving the war the appearance of a conflict among blacks and also of giving those black puppets a false sense of responsibility and importance.

16. When Mr. Smith and his black henchmen had arrived in the United States, they had at first sounded totally opposed to the all-party conference. It was not until they had met members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that Mr. Smith and his chief stooge, Sithole, had begun to say that they were willing to attend that conference. It was reported that, when they had met the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, they had been reminded that, at its latest debate on sanctions, the United States Congress had resolved, among other things, that if the Southern Rhodesian régime engaged in serious negotiations with the Patriotic Front, the United States would be obliged to lift economic sanctions against the régime. Given that assurance, Mr. Smith now believed that what he must do was support the proposal for an all-party conference, but make sure that when such a conference failed (as he knew it would, because he had no intention of conceding anything to the Patriotic Front), its failure would be blamed on the Patriotic Front. In fact, the plan to transfer to the Patriotic Front the blame for obstructing moves towards a negotiated settlement was so central to Southern Rhodesian strategy that, while Smith was in the United States, the Smith régime had not hesitated to attack refugee camps in Zambia as a way of hardening the attitude of the Patriotic Front against the all-party conference. As Joshua Nkomo had said, the all-party conference was dead and buried. That was his movement's final position. The Patriotic Front would now negotiate with the racist régime on the battlefield.

17. In its latest attacks on refugees in Zambia and Mozambique, the Smith régime had again revealed the extent of its military dependence on the NATO countries. French helicopters and United States spotter aircraft had been used in the latest raids into Zambia, and there had been evidence of increased Israeli support for the Southern Rhodesian régime. There were also American mercenaries in the Southern Rhodesian army.

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(Mr. Ndlovu, Patriotic Front)

18. Although the news media of the Western countries claimed that the objective of the recent Rhodesian raids into Zambia had been to prevent guerrilla incursions, he contended that in those raids the illegal régime had been pursuing basically a threefold objective:

- (i) to avenge the attack which had brought down an Air Rhodesia aircraft, killing 48 whites, including 10 South African military officers;
- (ii) to boost the sagging morale of Rhodesian settlers,
- (iii) to harden the attitude of the Patriotic Front against the all-party conference.

19. The claims by the Western press that the chief objective of the raids had been to prevent massive guerrilla incursions into Southern Rhodesia were belied by the fact that, in practice, most of the targets selected had not been military. In a raid against a refugee camp 12 miles from Lusaka, Rhodesian forces had used napalm, killing 226 refugees and injuring a further 629 people, and had destroyed every structure on the ground. A girls' camp to the north-west of Lusaka had been attacked by an airborne commando unit which had killed 110 girls, 80 of whom had been lined up and executed by a firing squad of Rhodesian mercenaries.

20. In his statement at the current session, the United Kingdom representative had stated that his Government hoped that all the parties would recognize that negotiation was the only way to bring an early end to the war. That statement implied, that in his view, the problem in Zimbabwe was simply one of ending the war, and it cast the United Kingdom in the role of an impartial referee with no authority over either side. The Patriotic Front rejected the implication that the United Kingdom had no power over its colonists in Zimbabwe. The United Kingdom could not claim legal authority over the country and, at the same time, claim that it had no power to do anything about its racist colonists, who until now had been sustained by the United Kingdom and its allies. The liberation movement believed, indeed knew, that as soon as the white minority in Zimbabwe was on the verge of defeat, British troops would be sent into the country on the pretext of carrying out an evacuation scheme. If the Smith régime had been made up of blacks from the outset in 1965, British troops would have intervened hours after the unilateral declaration of independence. Governments which could impose economic sanctions immediately against Uganda could not deny that they were racists when they found all sorts of pretexts for their own blatant violation of economic sanctions against an illegal régime like that of Ian Smith.

21. In the absence of a British resolve to provide decisive leadership in any negotiations, the all-party conference would degenerate into a farce. Accordingly, it would make little sense for the liberation movement to attend the conference when it was absolutely convinced that, if an all-party conference were to be convened at

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(Mr. Ndlovu, Patriotic Front)

the present time, Mr. Smith would negotiate only on the basis of his so-called internal settlement. The bombing of refugee camps in Zambia and Mozambique, like all the atrocities which the régime continued to commit against Africans, should be proof that the régime meant war to the finish or until the total surrender of the liberation movements. Nothing short of the endorsement by the Patriotic Front of the agreement of 3 March could make the so-called all-party conference a success. Thus, the people of Zimbabwe had really no choice but to continue the war until they had won a complete victory. They knew that there would be more human suffering and that the present economy of Southern Rhodesia would be destroyed, but they also knew that such sacrifices were inevitable.

22. Notwithstanding its incursions into Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana, the Smith régime would have to defeat the liberation forces, which currently controlled 85 per cent of the country, if it was to win the war.

23. He appealed to members of the international community to step up their support for the struggling people of Zimbabwe, under the dynamic leadership of the Patriotic Front. The United Nations, through its specialized agencies, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the socialist countries and other progressive third world countries, continued to support the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. Although the Western countries talked about the need to find a negotiated settlement, by and large their function so far had been to sustain the Southern Rhodesian régime. South Africa held the keys to any acceptable settlement in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Although the Western countries claimed that they had reached a compromise solution with South Africa on Namibia, South Africa had already indicated that it would go ahead with its own version of an internal settlement in Namibia. The South African and Southern Rhodesian régimes were working together more closely than ever, and had co-ordinated their strategies against the liberation movement. There were great similarities between South Africa's massacre of Namibian refugees in Angola and Southern Rhodesia's recent attacks on refugee camps in Zambia. In both cases, the attacks had been made when the racist régimes had agreed with the West to negotiate with the liberation movements. The Western countries had been trying to transform South Africa from an international pariah into a respectable member of the international community. Yet, in spite of all their efforts, South Africa had not changed. The election of Mr. P. W. Botha as Prime Minister of South Africa was testimony to the fact that fascism was incapable of reforming itself.

24. He therefore urged the Committee to condemn South Africa for intervening in Zimbabwe. South Africa had once claimed that it had withdrawn its troops from Zimbabwe, but in 1975 all it had done had been to withdraw its uniform, not its troops. It continued to serve as an intermediary between Southern Rhodesia and the outside world. It supplied the Southern Rhodesian régime with weapons which it obtained from certain NATO countries. When one traded with South Africa one also traded with Southern Rhodesia.

25. Mr. NEYTCHIEV (Bulgaria) said that the situation prevailing in southern Africa consisted, on the one hand, of the intensifying struggle of the Namibian, Zimbabwean

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(Mr. Neytchev, Bulgaria)

and South African peoples for the immediate and unconditional elimination of the system of racial discrimination and, on the other, of the overt encouragement given by certain Western States to the process of preserving and consolidating the status quo on a new colonialist basis. The struggle waged by the people of Zimbabwe for self-determination and independence was not merely a regional problem, for the refusal by the Salisbury régime to satisfy the legitimate demands of the Zimbabwean people had helped to create a tangible threat to international peace and security.

26. The situation in Zimbabwe was worsening as a result of Ian Smith's attempts to solve the problem of the transfer of power with the help of a bunch of collaborationists and traitors. The attempts to add a touch of democracy to the régime, with the co-operation of the so-called 'moderate' leaders, demonstrated the true intentions of the colonialists and neo-colonialists: namely, to form a Government which, on the one hand, would guarantee the preservation and even expansion of the political, economic and social superiority of the white minority and, on the other, would for appearances' sake put up a façade in the form of participation by representatives of the African population in the country's administration. His delegation was profoundly convinced that Ian Smith's efforts during his visit to the United States had been directed to precisely that end; for, behind the façade of loud words one could discern the prosaic aims of certain Western States - namely, their recognition of the internal settlement of the Zimbabwe problem and the steps being taken to lift the sanctions against the Smith régime.

27. The most recent acts of aggression against Mozambique and Zambia fully corroborated the fears of the African States as expressed in document A/33/291-S/12886. While Ian Smith had been delivering milk-and-water speeches, the Southern Rhodesian armed forces had been sowing death and destruction in Zambia, leaving hundreds of innocent victims. The Smith régime had arrogated to itself the right to defy the norms of international law and to violate the borders of a sovereign State, as the Nazis had done 40 years before; and the same fate that had met the attempts of Fascist Germany to change history through brute strength also awaited the Fascist and racist régime in Salisbury.

28. The incursion by Southern Rhodesian commandos into Zambia made it necessary to bring up once again the question of the mercenaries who were, for all practical purposes, the backbone of the Southern Rhodesian Army. According to available data, Southern Rhodesia currently had some 15,355 mercenaries from the United Kingdom, the United States, South Africa, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Portugal and Israel. That figure did not include the mercenaries from Belgium and other Western countries who made up cruel and efficient detachments of commandos that had, during the most recent raid into Zambia, slaughtered more than 1,400 innocent people seeking refuge there. It was not enough that the legislation of certain countries, such as the United States, the United Kingdom and Belgium, contained provisions prohibiting participation by their nationals in the armies of other States; that legislation should be implemented fully so that all mercenaries disappeared from the international scene.

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(Mr. Neytchev, Bulgaria)

29. The most recent developments unambiguously showed that only the essence of the so-called Anglo-American plan for the solution of the Southern Rhodesian problem remained, namely, the attempt to find a settlement which would preserve the existing situation behind a façade of democracy and participation by the indigenous population in the administration of the country. Preparations were also under way to impose the principle of "one man, one vote", which, in practice, would prevent the African population, representing more than 95 per cent of the total population, from determining its own destiny since it would not accede to any real power in the administration of the country but would remain subject to the oppressive machinery of the racist régime, which would carry on unchanged. It seemed, however, that there was a discordant note in the racists' plans because, despite all the State machinery and the local collaborationists, they had not succeeded in ensuring victory for themselves in the forthcoming elections; that would explain Ian Smith's statement that the programme he had agreed on in March 1978 with the three black nationalist leaders had been delayed for purely mechanical reasons.

30. The only way to solve the Southern Rhodesian problem was by the total and unconditional transfer of power to the Patriotic Front, the true representatives of the majority. The establishment of a puppet parliament and government by the Salisbury clique was an attempt to exclude the Patriotic Front from the process of making decisions on the future of the country and to side-step the condemnation of the world community and the sanctions imposed by the United Nations. Those intentions seemed the more absurd in the light of the ever-increasing international support being given to the Patriotic Front, as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe, by international public opinion - support which had been reconfirmed in the course of the current year in the statements and documents of international organizations, at the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and in other international forums.

31. In the circumstances, there was cause to wonder why attempts were being made to give the Salisbury régime a new face. The answer stemmed from the neo-colonialist strategists' belief that it would thus be possible for certain Western States to exclude the representatives of the Patriotic Front from the talks on the determination of the country's future. The current campaign to legitimize the racist régime in one form or another confirmed that view, as did the attempts to torpedo the struggle of the Zimbabwean people, to disunite the anti-colonialist front of the front-line African States and to secure the recognition of the rebaptized Smith régime by certain African States which were totally dependent on former colonial Powers.

32. While the People's Republic of Bulgaria did not support the Anglo-American plan for Southern Rhodesia, his delegation felt it must point out that, of late, a rather odd situation had arisen in connexion with its implementation. The United Kingdom and the United States had adopted a basically positive attitude towards Ian Smith's schemes for the internal solution of the problem and had in practice begun to repudiate their former proposals. At the same time, they had intensified their pressure on the Patriotic Front, trying to involve it in underhand dealings with Ian Smith for solving the problem on a neo-colonialist basis.

33. His delegation fully shared the concern of the African States that the manoeuvres of the racist régime were aggravating the situation in Southern Rhodesia,

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(Mr. Neytchev, Bulgaria)

and that the immediate elimination of the régime would represent a first step along the road to a just solution of the problem. The Salisbury régime continued to exist simply because certain States Members of the United Nations did not respect the decisions adopted by the Security Council or observe the sanctions it had imposed. His delegation emphasized once again the need for the sanctions imposed by the United Nations against the Southern Rhodesian régime to be strictly observed and trusted that the Fourth Committee would adopt the decisions required to support the just and lawful demands of the African States and the Patriotic Front.

34. The preceding year had been characterized by an intensification of the struggle by the dependent countries - supported by democratic and progressive forces throughout the world - for self-determination and national independence and against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. The decisions adopted at the special session of the General Assembly devoted to Namibia, at the International Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and in other representative forums had revealed which forces were striving to preserve colonial domination at all costs, slow down the process of liberation in Africa and undermine the progressive régimes in that region. The Government and people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supported the struggle for national liberation and would continue to render assistance to the newly liberated countries for their independent and democratic development. As the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party had said during a visit to a number of African countries, the People's Republic of Bulgaria stood for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) down to the last detail, the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism and racism in southern Africa and the right of the people of Zimbabwe to determine freely their own destiny.

35. Mr. SCHLEGEL (German Democratic Republic) said that the policy of the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia had for years been a source of conflict and tension and currently posed an increasingly dangerous threat to the peoples of that region, to the African continent and to international peace and security. Now, as before, the illegal minority opposed the just and irrevocable demand for the unconditional transfer of power to the African majority represented by the Patriotic Front. As in the past, the brutal oppression of the people of Zimbabwe and its national liberation movement was accompanied by repeated acts of aggression against the neighbouring States of Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia.

36. In spite of the untiring efforts of the Patriotic Front, the front-line States, the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, no decisive progress had been made towards independence and self-determination for Zimbabwe. The reasons for that were well known: the Smith régime continued to benefit from foreign capital and the activities of transnational corporations and to receive support from imperialist States which not only had continued their illegal collaboration with the racists, but had extended it, as illustrated by the growing supplies of oil to Southern Rhodesia. The rich natural resources of the country, the high profits obtained by the relentless racist exploitation of the African people, and military and strategic interests were the reasons why imperialism sought to ensure its continued influence.

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(Mr. Schlegel, German Democratic Republic)

37. The Smith régime was working feverishly to consolidate its domination and to continue its detestable policy. The true purposes of the so-called "internal settlement" concluded between Smith and the quislings, Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau, were transparent: to impose a neo-colonialist régime on the country by leaving power in the hands of the racists and by excluding the Patriotic Front, the only internationally recognized legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe. That settlement had ignored not only the will of the majority of the population, but also the pertinent decisions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, and the demands of the front-line States. In the resolutions of the Committee of 24, and in Security Council resolution 423 (1978), it had been rightly rejected as being illegal and unacceptable.

38. On 6 September 1978, the Minister of the Interior of Southern Rhodesia had been obliged to admit officially that the "internal settlement" had failed. The transfer of power to an African puppet Government, which had been planned for 31 December 1978, could not be effected. The Smith régime was seeking to counter the successful liberation struggle, which had spread through the whole country, with intensified terrorism. After having lost control over large parts of the country, the régime had imposed martial law, hundreds of patriots had been the victims of mass arrests and had been subjected to cruel torture. That the racists were in a critical situation was obvious from the fact that Africans, too, were now being forced to serve in the Smith army.

39. News of barbarous acts of aggression committed by Southern Rhodesia against Mozambique and Zambia proved that the racists had not hesitated to escalate the situation and were seeking to make the war international, in order to provoke direct imperialist intervention. His Government strongly condemned that policy of oppression and aggression and declared its solidarity with Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana, which were the victims of that policy and which had pledged support for the people of Zimbabwe.

40. It was significant that precisely those Western countries that opposed the observance of sanctions or the adoption of other measures were those that posed as the saviours of the situation and, by paying lip service to the concept of African majority rule, sought to legalize the illegal régime. By presenting new proposals of a devious nature from time to time, they wished to gain time and split the liberation movement.

41. The policy of the imperialist circles in favour of the racists had found a negative climax in the invitation extended to Smith and his puppets to visit the United States. The German Democratic Republic was in agreement with the African States which had declared that the visit would merely serve to provide solace to the Smith régime and certainly undermine further efforts of the international community to isolate that illegal régime. The manoeuvres of imperialism were analogous in Namibia: there, too, the people were to be deprived of the fruits of their struggle, while a free hand was to be given to the racists, and a neo-colonialist puppet régime was to be installed.

42. Events in recent weeks had demonstrated that a just solution for Southern

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(Mr. Schlegel, German Democratic Republic)

Rhodesia could not be achieved by endlessly negotiating with the racists, but only by the speedy liquidation of the illegal minority régime and by the transfer of full power to the African people and its legitimate representative, the Patriotic Front, in accordance with the demands of the overwhelming majority of the people of Zimbabwe and all other African peoples. In that context, the statements made by the leaders of the Patriotic Front were extremely important, in that it reaffirmed their determination to continue and intensify the struggle, in spite of imperialist intrigues and intervention.

43. His Government favoured the strict fulfilment of the demands of the Patriotic Front and of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries, and deemed it necessary that a complete and effective boycott against the Southern Rhodesian régime should be enforced, including the implementation of all the measures laid down in the Charter and, in particular, the imposition of a binding embargo on oil supplies. The elimination of the remnants of colonialism, racism and apartheid should no longer be delayed; consequently his Government would in the future, grant full support to the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and the Patriotic Front.

44. Mr. Boya (Benin) took the Chair.

45. Mr. SRIFU (Ethiopia) said that if the history of the Smith régime was examined, the representatives of exploitation and domination would invariably be seen to have been manipulating events in order to create and maintain a neo-colonial situation in Zimbabwe. For instance, immediately after Smith had declared his sham independence in November 1965, the United Kingdom had announced that it would not resort to the legitimate use of coercive measures to restore legality to Zimbabwe. There was no doubt that the Government of the United Kingdom had previously given assurances to Smith that it would abstain from the use of force, thus encouraging him to opt for the path of illegality.

46. In that context, the imposition of sanctions against the white settlers in Zimbabwe had been acceptable to the Western countries only because of the possibility of covertly and effectively violating them through the South African nexus. As subsequent events had shown, the main violators of sanctions had been the countries of the West; such violations had ranged from overt challenge, in the case of the Byrd Amendment in the United States, to the covert supply of petroleum and petroleum products by the United Kingdom, as exposed in the Bingham Report.

47. The African countries did not expect that the Western Powers would easily relinquish their position of privilege in southern Africa in favour of justice and freedom. However, they had expected that they would recognize the bankruptcy of their policy and the futility of their attempts to halt the tide of liberation in southern Africa. It was a matter of regret that not only had they persisted in their imperialist designs, but they had also embarked on new tactics aimed at gaining a modicum of acceptability for, and eventual attainment of, their sinister goals. In that regard, it was evident that the Anglo-American proposals on Zimbabwe

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(Mr. Srifu, Ethiopia)

and the consequent diplomatic activity had failed to promote the peaceful and speedy decolonization of Zimbabwe. Events had proven them right in their assertion that the Anglo-American proposals were aimed, not at resolving the problem but, on the contrary, at giving a new lease of life to the minority régime by sowing the seeds of division and discord in the liberation movement, by fostering misunderstandings between the African front-line States and by disorienting the international community.

48. The defection of some religious leaders and tribal chiefs from the ranks of the liberation movement had led the West to believe that the struggle for independence had been sufficiently weakened to allow it to lose much of its enthusiasm for its own proposals. The appearance of a few black faces in the councils of the illegal régime had also convinced the West that the régime had acquired enough legitimacy to allow Smith and his cohorts to visit the United States. Furthermore, some influential Western circles were giving serious consideration to the lifting of economic sanctions.

49. He asked what, in those circumstances, the responsible members of the international community could do to arrest and reverse those developments; for how long the people of Zimbabwe were going to remain subjected to political domination, racial discrimination and economic exploitation, and for how much longer Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana should suffer for their just stand against colonialism and racism, while the United Kingdom refused to discharge its responsibility to the people of Zimbabwe and to the international community.

50. Many had called for full and strict implementation of the measures already in force against the illegal régime; many others had called for the widening of the scope of the sanctions to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter; others had proposed that economic sanctions should be applied against South Africa. His delegation, while supporting all those calls and proposals as possible measures, felt that the history of the League of Nations sanctions against Fascist Italy when it had invaded Ethiopia in 1935, and the experience gained from the United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia, were ample proof that sanctions could only succeed when they were universally accepted and complied with.

51. His delegation was sceptical about the probability of strict and universal compliance with the sanctions, and was inclined to believe that a more viable and speedy solution to the problem of Zimbabwe would be to adopt the measures envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter and to collaborate with the Patriotic Front, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe.

52. Mr. YUMJAV (Mongolia) said that the racist régimes in southern Africa, by refusing to provide the Zimbabwean people with the opportunity to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, had created a situation which seriously endangered international peace and security. The Salisbury régime was trying to impose a neo-colonialist solution on the people of Zimbabwe.

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(Mr. Yumjav, Mongolia)

One of the latest manoeuvres had been the agreement of 3 March 1978 on a so-called internal settlement of the Rhodesian problem. That had been designed not only to preserve its privileges, but also to exclude the Patriotic Front from any decision-making process affecting the country's destiny. That was why the agreement signed by Smith and his collaborators had been immediately rejected by world public opinion and, in particular, by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries. His country had welcomed Security Council resolution 423 (1978), which had declared as illegal and unacceptable any internal settlement under the auspices of the illegal régime and had called upon all States not to accord any recognition to such settlement.

53. As far as the so-called Anglo-American Plan was concerned, his delegation fully shared the views expressed in the recent statement by the President of Mozambique, already circulated as an official General Assembly document (A/C.4/33/2).

54. His delegation wished to express its special concern over the increasing military expenditures of Southern Rhodesia which, as shown in the Special Committee's report (A/33/23 (Part IV)) had increased its current defence budget by almost 75 per cent and was now spending daily more than \$US 1 million on its military operations. It was common knowledge that South Africa and certain NATO countries were playing a key role in the build-up of a large military-industrial complex in Southern Rhodesia. Such a militarization and the continued supply of sophisticated weapons to that régime were encouraging the racists to undertake further acts of aggression against neighbouring African States. Recently, Rhodesian forces had made barbarous attacks on refugee camps in Mozambique and Zambia which had resulted in the loss of many lives and material resources. The Salisbury régime was thereby trying to internationalize the problem of Zimbabwe and intimidate the front-line States so that they would refrain from supporting the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe.

55. Despite the sanctions imposed by the Security Council against the illegal Smith régime, certain Western countries that were members of NATO were openly violating them. Similarly, a campaign had been launched in the United States to repeal the Security Council sanctions. The reception accorded Smith by the United States Government constituted in itself a direct violation of the provisions of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) and was contrary to the United Nations Charter. In that connexion, his delegation expressed its support of the joint statement of the African Group and of Security Council resolution 437 (1978) of 10 October 1978.

56. His country's position on the question of Southern Rhodesia was well known. Like all other progressive forces in the world, it considered that the only solution to the question of Rhodesia lay in the immediate transfer of all power to the people of Zimbabwe, led by their legitimate representative, the Patriotic Front. To that end, every possible pressure and influence had to be exerted on the racists, using every available means. His country demanded especially the strict observance and tightening of the Security Council's sanctions against the illegal régime and the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the other United Nations bodies. Moreover, the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia should be extended to South Africa,

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(Mr. Yumjav, Mongolia)

so that any loop-holes could be effectively avoided. In conclusion, he stressed once again that his Government and people had been and continued to be on the side of the Zimbabwean people, who were struggling against colonialism and racism, and that they fully supported their national liberation movement, the Patriotic Front.

57. Mr. ROBINSON (Guyana) said the complex issues on the Committee's agenda required that it exert every effort to formulate proposals aimed at the speedy realization of independence for the territories whose peoples were still languishing under the yoke of colonialism. Indeed, the situation in Southern Rhodesia, as in East Timor, Belize and Western Sahara, among others, demanded the Committee's continued vigilance. In that context, one must not lose sight of the ultimate objective: the attainment of genuine independence in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV).

58. After 13 years, the racist minority régime in Salisbury was still clinging to power. Smith and his racist clique continued to defy the will of the international community, and continued their acts of repression, torture and murder against the people of Zimbabwe. The Security Council had already declared as illegal, null and void the so-called internal settlement resulting from the Salisbury Agreement of 3 March 1978, and the Special Committee of 24 had adopted a similar decision. For its part, his delegation had never entertained any illusions about the nature of the farce concocted in Salisbury, whose only purpose was to seek to guarantee the perpetuation of white minority rule in Zimbabwe.

59. There were recognized factors contributing to Smith's ability to maintain his illegal régime in power in Zimbabwe, and they fell into perspective in the context of the geopolitical situation obtaining in southern Africa. Colonialism had suffered a serious setback with the fall of the Portuguese empire in southern Africa, when the freedom fighters of FRELIMO and MPLA had cleansed Mozambique and Angola of their imperialist occupiers. But imperialism in southern Africa had changed its tactics and was seeking to sustain its presence in that region by reinforcing the racist minority régimes clinging to power in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The support and succour that the racist régimes in Salisbury and Pretoria continued to receive from their allies and collaborators had strengthened the resolve of Smith and Botha to perpetuate their illegal presence in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Of no less importance were the activities of those foreign interests which gave priority to military and strategic considerations in the area rather than to the fulfilment of the aspirations of the people of southern Africa who were struggling to recover their freedom. Those who had aided and had continued to aid Smith and his clique so as to retain power in Zimbabwe must be aware that they would be responsible for the course of events that would inevitably uproot his régime and restore legality and freedom in Zimbabwe. It was paradoxical that those who claimed to have formulated plans for a peaceful settlement in Zimbabwe continued to be involved in activities which helped to buttress Smith's régime, allowing him to continue his acts of intimidation and repression within Zimbabwe, and his acts of aggression against the neighbouring African States of Zambia, Mozambique, and Botswana. For some time, delegations both within and without the membership of the Security Council Sanctions Committee had been proposing that the provisions of Article 41 of the Charter should be applied in their entirety against the illegal Salisbury régime. The international community had recently been made aware just how ineffective the provisions of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) had been.

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(Mr. Robinson, Guyana)

60. It was curious that over the years Smith had only demonstrated a willingness to negotiate when the forces of liberation were pressing upon him. That was when he resorted to his manoeuvres and sought to gain time until the rainy season favourable to guerrilla activity was over; he then reverted to his policy of repression. What was of even greater concern was the fact that whenever the circumstances became unfavourable to Smith as a result of the intensification of the armed struggle, initiatives were taken - normally referred to as "delicate negotiations" - in order to frustrate positive action by the United Nations in that field and to buy breathing space for him to strengthen his military forces.

61. The current status of the Anglo-American proposals was a matter for individual interpretation. The willingness of the Patriotic Front to accept them as a basis for a negotiated settlement, although with some reservations, was paralleled only by Smith's insistence that any proposal should contain clauses which ensured the retention of privilege and power by the white minority. That had been a fundamental factor which had guided Smith's activities since his illegal seizure of power in 1965 and it was therefore naive to believe that he would hand over power peacefully. Attempts to negotiate with Smith within the framework of a search for a peaceful settlement had been as exhaustive as they had been fruitless. His willingness to attend an all-party conference could not be taken seriously, since it was a manoeuvre to buy more time for himself and his clique. His unholy alliance with a group of traitors, Sithole, Muzorewa and Chirau, carried within itself the seeds of its own destruction; aware that it was rapidly disintegrating, Smith was making contingency plans so that he might escape being ensnared in his own scheme. The international community must recognize those manoeuvres for what they were and take appropriate measures lest the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe, fighting under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, be frustrated.

62. His delegation paid tribute to the front-line States of Africa, whose peoples had made the supreme sacrifice in demonstrating their solidarity with their brothers and sisters fighting for freedom in Zimbabwe. The international community must not allow their sacrifices and those of the liberation movement to be made in vain. It was necessary to increase the moral, diplomatic and material support provided to those fighting under the banner of the Patriotic Front to rid Zimbabwe of Smith and his clique and to usher in a period of legality, peace and freedom in the territory. In addition, translating words into action, it was necessary to contribute to the mechanisms established by the United Nations to render assistance to the African States which had sacrificed so much for the cause of freedom, thus matching verbal commitment with tangible assistance. The rhetorical condemnation of the illegal Salisbury régime, so often voiced in the United Nations, had frequently masked the contradictions inherent in the conduct of those who continued to support the illegal Smith régime. For its part, the Government of Guyana would continue to accord all possible assistance to the liberation movement in Zimbabwe until the final goal of genuine independence was achieved.

63. Mr. GARCIA ALMEIDA (Cuba) said that despite the discussions which had taken place in the Committee for more than a decade, the hypocrisy and arrogance of certain countries which provided economic, political and military support to Southern Rhodesia, either directly or covertly, was becoming more and more blatant. In the

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(Mr. Garcia Almeida, Cuba)

meantime, the people of Zimbabwe were shedding their blood, the division between Africans was being encouraged and the seeds of civil war were being sown.

64. Despite all the efforts made, it had not been possible to prevent the transnational corporations from maintaining trade relations with Rhodesia, in strict contrast with the suspicious observance of the economic blockade against Cuba. The resolutions adopted by the United Nations and the Security Council were not only ignored but also flagrantly violated, as in the case of the lifting of the economic embargo by the Congress of the United States and the visa issued to Mr. Smith to enter its territory. The Fascist régime was thus encouraged to maintain its positions of force and to commit acts of aggression such as those carried out on 19 October 1978 against Zambia and Mozambique.

65. The dilatory Anglo-American proposals and the illegal internal settlement in Salisbury only served to postpone the possibility of reaching a negotiated solution and left the Patriotic Front with no alternative but to intensify the armed struggle. Only the Front could represent its people with regard to any proposal for a political settlement and only the Front had the right to choose conditions that guaranteed independence and a government representative of the majority.

66. Cuba was not opposed to a peaceful settlement of the struggle of the peoples of Africa, provided that it was just and that the legitimate representatives of the peoples accepted it. However, Cuba had drawn attention to the fact that primary responsibility for the failure to achieve a peaceful settlement rested with the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States, which pretended to seek peace while maintaining their repressive and reactionary structures intact.

67. The efforts which the colonialists had traditionally made to install neo-colonialist systems had met with resounding defeats in the 1970s, in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. That example was currently spurring the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe.

68. In Cuba, earlier generations had fought against colonialism; the current generations were doing likewise and no one knew how much longer it would be necessary for future generations to fight to free themselves from the consequences of exploitation which were currently embodied in a military base imposed against the will of the people and in the economic blockade which had lasted more than 20 years. Cuba was certain that the heroic and firm decision of the people of Zimbabwe would lead them to ultimate victory, despite the increase in intrigues and pressures by some countries; it was of the utmost importance to maintain the unity of the fighting forces and Cuba would support any peaceful initiative accepted by the Patriotic Front, although it was convinced that only intensification of the armed struggle and the solidarity of the entire international community would cause the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia to yield. So long as the imperialists left no option other than armed struggle, the Patriotic Front could count on the resolute co-operation of Cuba.

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69. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola) said the illegal racist Smith régime remained in power because of the complicity of a number of States Members of the United Nations which helped it to evade the sanctions and obtain the financial and economic resources necessary for its survival; that assistance had also enabled the régime to retain control in the Territory of Southern Rhodesia by military means and terrorist tactics. In 1977, there had been in Southern Rhodesia 203 concentration camps, called "protected villages", with a total population of over 580,000. The majority of the population in the north-eastern corner of the Territory was under surveillance and control. In the so-called "protected villages", the sanitary conditions were deplorable and the rigid enforcement of curfew had disrupted the economic and social life of the residents. Early in 1978, the racist régime had warned the population in one of the concentration camps near the eastern border that adult curfew violators would be shot and that even children would be shot if they ventured from the camp, even during the day. The latest repressive measure of the régime had consisted in the proclamation of martial law in an area in which nearly half of the 7 million inhabitants of the country lived, thus making it possible to detain them indefinitely without bringing them to trial.

70. Although it was not possible to verify the data provided by the illegal régime, it should be noted that in July 1977, the Minister for Finance of the régime had reported a surplus of 186 million Rhodesian dollars in the balance of payments. That surplus could only have been the result of trade carried on by the illegal régime by means of sanctions violations. It had been shown that 30 transnational oil companies and their subsidiaries had been involved in a conspiracy to supply the illegal Smith régime with oil through bogus companies registered in South Africa. That showed clearly that the sanctions could not be effective unless there were similar sanctions against the Pretoria régime. It should also be pointed out that the Bingham Report gave proof of the culpability of the United Kingdom Government in the matter.

71. Chrome exports constituted another source of financing for the Smith régime. The Byrd amendment had enabled it to obtain much-needed foreign exchange and as soon as the United States Congress had repealed the amendment in March 1977, the Salisbury régime had begun to seek new ways of exporting chrome in violation of the sanctions, which had not proved difficult for it to do in view of the desperate need of the technologically advanced capitalist societies for chrome; the easiest method had consisted in using South African papers.

72. France, Italy and other countries had constantly claimed that car kits from Renault, Alfa Romeo, Datsun and other manufacturers were consigned to South Africa; however, companies in Europe and the United States could invest in Southern Rhodesia through their subsidiaries in South Africa and the illegal régime had encouraged foreign companies to register in Southern Rhodesia and thereby technically become Southern Rhodesian companies, thus releasing themselves from the control of the parent companies. Most of the activity by transnational corporations in the Territory was in mining and it was reported that 80 per cent of Southern Rhodesia's mining sector was controlled by foreigners. Firms in that sector included Lonrho, Rio Tinto Zinc and Falcon Mines Ltd., all three from the United Kingdom.

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(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

73. South Africa and Southern Rhodesia had signed an agreement which allowed South African mining companies to recruit African labour in Southern Rhodesia. The agreement stipulated that the companies would remit 60 per cent of the wages of the workers in foreign currency to the illegal régime. That showed that the organization of labour in Southern Rhodesia served to exploit the majority of the inhabitants, was remunerative to the whites and profitable to the unholy alliance of imperialist interests. In order to pay for the struggle against the Patriotic Front, the racist régime had increased sales taxes, a repressive form of taxation under which blacks would pay proportionately more than whites, by nearly 10 per cent.

74. The illegal régime had continued to recruit white mercenaries, and it was estimated that there were about 1,000 foreigners in the Southern Rhodesian army and police, drawn from Australia, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Greece, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States. In June 1975, the activities of a United States recruitment agency in Boulder, Colorado, had been reported and, according to a 1978 news dispatch, 100 former members of the French Foreign Legion were fighting in Southern Rhodesia, while another article reported that most of the recruitment was being done at Lyons.

75. The farcical interim government in Salisbury was said to have abolished all statutory racial discrimination, but had approved a system that preserved the privileges enjoyed by the white minority and had established economic and cultural requirements that effectively limited the access of Southern Rhodesia's majority inhabitants to the housing, education and medical care being used by that minority. The Minister of Education and Health of the illegal régime had admitted that racial restrictions had been replaced by monetary discrimination and countless loop-holes in the new laws still left racial discrimination a fact of every day life.

76. Africa had observed with disappointment and anguish the permission granted to Ian Smith to visit the United States. He had been able to declare that his recent trip had amounted to a de facto recognition of his government and had referred to the prominent attention accorded to him by the United States Secretary of State. That visit had so emboldened the racist régime that, even while Smith had been in the United States and had been professing to talk peace, massive attacks had been carried out against the People's Republic of Mozambique and Zambia. Like South Africa, Smith had adopted a tactic of appearing to accept a Western peace plan while attacking the liberation movement and invading neighbouring countries. Already talk was heard of the so-called "option B", which was nothing more than maintaining the current situation but dressing it up to look as if the racist junta had accepted genuine majority rule. That seemed to be a repetition of what the Pretoria régime was doing in Namibia, with the same Western parties involved.

77. Unless the situation in Zimbabwe and Namibia was resolved and the majority inhabitants were allowed freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, all southern Africa might be annihilated. In any case, the inhabitants of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, would one day win their freedom, if not at the negotiating table, then on the battlefield. That

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(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

pattern had already been successful in other parts of southern Africa and there was no reason to give up hope that SWAPO and the people of Namibia and the Patriotic Front and the people of Zimbabwe would finally attain their freedom.

78. Mr. MURATA (Japan) said that the Japanese Government had rejected the Unilateral Declaration of Independence proclaimed in 1965 by the illegal régime in Salisbury and had therefore withheld recognition of that régime. The situation produced by the Unilateral Declaration, which was unlawful in procedure and abnormal in practice, must be terminated at the earliest possible date, primarily by the efforts of the United Kingdom as the administering Power, with the support of the international community. Unfortunately, the efforts undertaken since 1965 to resolve the problem through negotiation had yielded very little result.

79. In 1976, initiatives taken by the United States had generated the important momentum that had resulted in September 1977 in what were known as the Anglo-American proposals, which had offered the hope that they might bring about new progress towards the settlement of the problem. Contrary to expectations, however, the illegal racist régime had rejected the course of peaceful and democratic transition to majority rule and independence and had promulgated a so-called "internal agreement" in March 1978. Since then, there had been a rapid deterioration in the situation in Southern Rhodesia and a rise in brutality and bloodshed both inside and outside the country. The Government and people of Japan wished particularly to condemn the repeated armed violations of the territorial integrity of the front-line African States, which had recently culminated in invasions of Mozambique and Zambia.

80. His delegation reiterated its firm position that the shameful situation in Southern Rhodesia should be terminated immediately and a government representative of the majority be established by peaceful means. It was only through negotiations in which all interested parties - and, particularly, all political groups in Southern Rhodesia - were involved that a way could be found to a just and lasting settlement of the conflict in Southern Rhodesia and to an internationally acceptable form of independence for the people of Zimbabwe. In that connexion, his delegation solemnly requested that the leaders in Salisbury should accede to the demands of the world community.

81. In the meantime, the international community should vigorously maintain its sanctions against the illegal régime and continue its unreserved support of the just cause of the oppressed people of Zimbabwe.

82. Japan had faithfully adhered to the sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia by Security Council resolution 253 (1966) and had taken a number of steps to implement them. In April 1976, in order to implement faithfully Security Council resolution 388 (1976), the Japanese Government had decided to extend sanctions against Southern Rhodesia to insurance, trade names and franchising agreements. In August 1976, at the request of the Sanctions Committee and with a view to prohibiting or discouraging exchanges with Southern Rhodesia in sports, the authorities concerned

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(Mr. Murata, Japan)

had called upon Japanese sports organizations to refrain from attending events held in Southern Rhodesia. In August 1977, the Government of Japan had instituted measures to ensure that chrome originating from Southern Rhodesia should not enter Japan. In January 1978, having learned that some Japanese tourist agents were planning package tours which included a visit to Southern Rhodesia, the authorities concerned had made them cancel the visit.

83. The Government of Japan was ready to make every conceivable effort to co-operate fully with the United Nations in joint activities to bring about a just and lasting solution of the Rhodesian problem.

84. His delegation believed that the best hope for success lay in the simultaneous application of pressure both inside and outside Southern Rhodesia. In that connexion, the Japanese Government had provided humanitarian and educational assistance to the oppressed people of southern Africa and their liberation movements, including those of Zimbabwe, through its annual contributions to the United Nations funds for southern Africa, and intended to increase those contributions substantially.

85. The people of Zimbabwe had suffered the scourge of oppression for far too long and deserved a solution which would enable them to live pleasant and productive lives in a just and democratic society. The Japanese people sincerely wished that the various liberation movements of Zimbabwe would unite in pursuit of their common objectives, namely the early attainment of genuine independence and majority rule in southern Africa.

86. Mr. KOUYATE (Guinea), supported by Mr. HACHEME (Benin), proposed that the statements by the representatives of the Patriotic Front should be published separately as an official document.

87. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that the financial implications would be the same as usual and said that, in the absence of any objection, he would take it that the Committee approved that proposal.

88. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.