



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 19th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. DOLGUCHITS (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic)

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AGENDA ITEM 93: QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 93: QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA (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/33/355; A/C.4/33/2)

1. Mr. MARTYNEENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that, although the United Nations had been discussing the question of Southern Rhodesia for nearly two decades, the question remained unresolved and continued to be one of the most urgent issues in international life. The criminal policy of the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia was daily increasing international tension and the danger of a military conflict not only in southern Africa but elsewhere. The continuing misdeeds of the white minority régime in Salisbury against the indigenous population of Zimbabwe and the numerous acts of aggression committed against neighbouring independent African States were thus a cause for concern among all who cherished international peace and security and the freedom and independence of peoples.
2. The Smith régime was flagrantly violating the most elementary human rights of the indigenous population of Zimbabwe and pursuing a policy of genocide comparable to that of Hitlerite fascism during the Second World War. The inhuman policy of the Smith régime differed from the classical type of genocide only in that it was applied to the majority of the population.
3. The indigenous population of Zimbabwe was being subjected to merciless exploitation. In 1976 the income of white workers in agriculture and the timber industry was reported to be more than 30 times that of the African workers and the gap between the wages of whites and Africans in industry and in urban areas was not much less. The miserable living conditions of the African workers, the epidemic illnesses and virtual lack of elementary medical care, the impossibility of obtaining even elementary education, as well as low wages were the lot of the African population of Southern Rhodesia.
4. The Smith régime was trying to present matters in an entirely different light. That had been the reason for the so-called free general elections held in Southern Rhodesia the previous year. Counting on "loyal" and "reasonable" Africans among the tribal leaders, Smith was seeking to deceive world public opinion and to create the impression that he was abandoning the policy of racial discrimination by setting up a so-called interracial government designed to undermine the national liberation movement of the people of Zimbabwe.
5. The Smith régime continued to defy the international community. It was able to do so not because of its own strength but because of the broad systematic support which it received from the imperialist monopolies and a number of Western countries, primarily the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. That support took many forms, including vast capital investments in the economy of Southern

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(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

Rhodesia, extensive trade ties with Western partners, and military aid. The support provided to Southern Rhodesia was part of a plan to maintain Southern Rhodesia and South Africa as military, economic and ideological bridgeheads against the liberation struggle in southern Africa. That had been demonstrated by the events in Angola and was being confirmed daily by the armed attacks of the racist Rhodesian troops against Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. Official proof of that situation was to be found in the world press and in official United Nations documents which contained data on the financial, trade and military ties between Southern Rhodesia and NATO members such as the United Kingdom, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany.

6. In addition to military and material support, the Western Powers were providing diplomatic support to the racist régime. The widely proclaimed Anglo-American proposals for a peaceful settlement to the problem were nothing more than another attempt to gain time to consolidate the illegal occupation of Zimbabwe and to perpetuate colonialism in that country. It was highly significant that following his visit to the United States, Smith had declared that it had constituted de facto recognition of his régime. The so-called internal settlement excluded the Patriotic Front from the negotiations and ignored the interests of the front-line States.

7. It could therefore be said with full justification that the aim of the policy of the Western Powers was to impede the struggle of the peoples to achieve liberation, to prevent a solution to the problem of the elimination of the remnants of colonial oppression, and to maintain the economic domination of the monopolies. Furthermore, it was in direct conflict with all United Nations decisions and recommendations relating to the liberation of the remaining colonial Territories and the elimination of racism and apartheid.

8. His Government firmly advocated the speedy transfer of power in Zimbabwe to the genuine representatives of the people of that country, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. Its policy in that regard was based on the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which had been adopted at the initiative of the Soviet Union in 1960. His delegation called for full compliance with that Declaration. It believed that only the consistent implementation of United Nations resolutions on Southern Rhodesia could ensure a peaceful settlement in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. The activities of those States and circles which continued to support the white racist minority in Salisbury should be exposed and condemned at the current session of the General Assembly.

9. Mrs. OSODE (Liberia) said that the Smith régime stood universally condemned. Only concrete action would bring Ian Smith to his senses and force him to desist from manipulating events and oppressing the people of Zimbabwe.

10. The position taken by the United Kingdom and the United States on the question of Southern Rhodesia placed them in a conspicuous spot to pursue vigorously the measures provided for in the Anglo-American proposals. Her Government believed

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(Mrs. Osode, Liberia)

that the last hope for a peaceful solution of the crisis lay in the proposal for an all-party conference, involving the Patriotic Front and other political factions of Zimbabwe, aimed at reaching an acceptable formula for independence on the basis of the Anglo-American formula.

11. Her delegation was concerned about Ian Smith's intention of using certain Zimbabweans in his so-called internal settlement scheme with a view to political assassination. The continued lack of confidence in the Smith régime had brought additional men under arms into the Territory. That had alarmed many Zimbabweans and whites, both inside and outside the Territory, who regarded them as loyal to individual black leaders and as plotters who might thwart the so-called elections. If that fear became a reality, their reaction would be justifiable in view of the staggering progress made so far. The patience of the oppressed people of Zimbabwe was by no means without limits. Her delegation strongly appealed to them to present a unified front in any action which they might take.

12. Ian Smith spoke of an all-party conference to resolve the issue, while his régime continued to intensify the border conflict with neighbouring independent African States and to slaughter innocent persons even within the Territory and with the assistance of racist South Africa. Such actions in no way contributed towards a peaceful settlement.

13. To gain public support for his so-called internal settlement, Smith had visited the United States in October 1978. Implicit in that visit was the view that, if the Patriotic Front did not participate in the talks expected to be convened by the United States, that country would be in honour bound to support the interim biracial Government and remove economic sanctions. After listening to the statement by the United States representative at the Committee's 18th meeting, her delegation believed that that view could be dispelled and it held the United States to its word that it would make sincere efforts to achieve a settlement acceptable to all the bodies concerned. In the meantime, her Government was strongly convinced that stringent mandatory sanctions should be vigilantly enforced by all States, notably South Africa, and by companies operating under their jurisdiction.

14. If public opinion was to be persuaded by the international community's pronouncements in support of justice, peace, freedom, liberty and independence for all peoples, then a sense of responsibility to the people of Zimbabwe must characterize such pronouncements, even if it meant a resort to force. For its part, Liberia would continue to consolidate its efforts to bring about the attainment of those objectives, whether by peaceful means or through intensified armed struggle.

15. In conclusion, she said that since Southern Rhodesia continued to be under the administration of the United Kingdom it was, in the final analysis, that country which would feature prominently in the annals of history as having taken a decisive stance or a nonchalant position in the achievement of independence for the people of Zimbabwe. She trusted that the United Kingdom, which had given independence to so many of its Territories, would do the same for Zimbabwe and would not succumb to the whims of Ian Smith, who continued to be intransigent and to defy all United Nations decisions, as well as the authority of the Security Council.

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16. Miss VALERE (Trinidad and Tobago) said that over the past few months the world had witnessed what could only be viewed as the systematic slaughter of a people, the black majority of Zimbabwe, by a racist white minority régime intent on denying the blacks their inherent right to self-determination and independence.

17. A brief look at the history of Southern Rhodesia would reveal that during the entire period of its colonization, the interests of the country's black majority had been subordinated to those of the white minority and that the efforts of the indigenous population to alter the status quo by fair and legitimate means had been thwarted by the racist minority, which had categorically refused to accept or to negotiate any such change. To the racist white minority, black majority rule had been, and still was, inconceivable; the result had been the unilateral declaration of independence.

18. As a result of the continued intransigence of a rebellious racist minority, the world was today faced with an escalating war which had the potential of reaching crisis proportions if urgent action was not taken by the international community. Instead of creating an atmosphere conducive to negotiation, the régime had resorted to the use of varied and reprehensible measures designed solely to consolidate its position on the African continent. The so-called internal settlement was nothing more than a sham arrangement, not even vaguely likely to bring about majority rule. Her delegation therefore supported Security Council resolution 423 (1978), which declared as illegal and unacceptable any internal settlement under the auspices of the illegal régime and called upon all States not to accord any recognition to such a settlement.

19. The illegal racist minority régime was also increasing the militarization of the Territory, using every available method to strengthen its armed forces, including the recruitment of white mercenaries and the drafting of young Zimbabweans. The imposition of martial law and the persistent acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign African States were concomitant with the régime's policy of increased militarization.

20. Within the past two weeks, under the new martial law decree, Smith's security forces had been given full reign to do everything deemed necessary to deal with the fighting forces of the Patriotic Front. The result had been the staging of a major attack against several of the Patriotic Front's camps in Zambia. During the onslaught, in which napalm bombs had been used, over 2,000 civilians had been killed, including innocent women and children. The decree had been issued even while the leader of the régime had been giving his promise that he would attend the proposed all-party conference for the purpose of negotiating with the leaders of the liberation movement. She doubted whether that was the action of a man desirous of having any meaningful discussion on the question of a peaceful transition to majority rule and genuine independence. In her delegation's view, Smith's promise to attend such a conference was only another stalling device designed to buy time to strengthen his régime's position of domination in the Territory.

21. In a systematic attempt to deny the black majority their basic human rights, the régime had been party to continued acts of the most inhumane forms of brutality, for which it must bear criminal responsibility. Nevertheless, her

(Miss Valere, Trinidad and Tobago)

delegation still hoped that a solution to the problem would be found through serious negotiations, which should be conducted on the strict understanding that any settlement would include the total eradication of the unjust system symbolized by the Smith régime. That stipulation was important in order to block any arrangement which might further entrench the privileges enjoyed by the racist minority in all spheres of life and was the pre-condition for a smooth transition to genuine majority rule and independence for the 6.7 million Zimbabweans.

22. Her delegation viewed the intensification of economic sanctions as the most effective method of isolating and bringing the régime to heel. Ways must be found to plug the loopholes which permitted circumvention of those sanctions. Such action must be taken immediately in order to avoid a deterioration of the situation which could turn southern Africa and perhaps the whole continent into a battleground, with the attendant implications for international peace and security.

23. The daily deterioration of the situation in Southern Rhodesia must be attributed to the support received by the racist régime. With the passage of time that support took new forms. For instance, the Bingham Report was a shocking but not surprising revelation of the methods used by several oil companies, in collusion with South Africa, to circumvent the oil embargo which, had it been faithfully observed, would have long since led to the demise of the régime. The chapter of the report of the Special Committee relating to Southern Rhodesia (A/33/23/Add.1) contained other disclosures of a similar nature.

24. The Government and people of Trinidad and Tobago reaffirmed their support for all efforts to eradicate such dehumanizing practices as apartheid and racial discrimination. It therefore condemned the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia for its incursions into the sovereign territory of neighbouring African States, supported the principle of self-determination for all peoples, and appreciated the valiant struggle being waged by the Patriotic Front, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe, to achieve self-determination and genuine independence.

25. Mr. LOUNIS (Algeria) said that although the Security Council had reacted promptly and vigorously to the assumption of power by the illegal white racist minority in Southern Rhodesia in 1965, it was deplorable that some countries, while voting in favour of United Nations resolutions, still continued to help that régime to survive.

26. Before adopting yet another resolution, the United Nations should first consider exactly what line of action should be taken against the racist rebels in Southern Rhodesia and the South African leaders from whom they derived their inspiration. The régime's economic and other difficulties were caused not only by the extensive emigration that had taken place but also by the successes of the national liberation forces under the Patriotic Front.

27. Responsibility for the fact that the racist régime had not yet fallen lay with

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(Mr. Lounis, Algeria)

those countries, such as South Africa, which broke the economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations, and with certain Western countries which continued to turn a blind eye to such violations for sordid economic motives. If the people of Zimbabwe really found the depletion of their natural resources by foreign interests beneficial to them, as was contended, they would not have persisted in the national liberation struggle. The specious arguments put forward by some countries, which had been refuted outright by the ILO, could not disguise the intentions behind a global strategy that was designed to deprive the people of Zimbabwe of the full enjoyment of the immense riches of their country, and prevent them from adding their voice to those of the free African countries which were calling for the establishment of a new international economic order.

28. For some time, the merits of various proposals forming part of a plan for peaceful negotiated settlement had been proclaimed. If that had any merit, it was that it had served to remind the international community of an anomaly: the refusal of the United Kingdom to negotiate directly with the true representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. It was for the people of Zimbabwe and their Patriotic Front alone to assess the merits of the plan. They would be able to detect any loopholes, such as the danger of legitimizing the illegal racist entity by negotiating with it. The patience shown towards Ian Smith gave reason to doubt the determination of the authors of the plan to hasten his downfall and restore the legitimate rights of the people of Zimbabwe. The Patriotic Front had never been blind to the implications of the plan, and had therefore continued to intensify its armed struggle against Smith's army, which mainly consisted of mercenaries recruited in certain Western countries. Neither the confinement of inhabitants to "protected villages" nor the extension of martial law could alter the inexorable course of the national liberation struggle. History should have taught Smith that such measures would not redound to his advantage.

29. The African countries and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) had always called for effective and adequate action against Smith and, at the last OAU Conference of Heads of State and Government, held at Khartoum, had adopted a resolution appealing to all States to continue to support the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and strictly to apply the mandatory sanctions against the minority racist régime. Unfortunately, the United Kingdom which, as administering Power, was accountable for the misdeeds of the rebel régime and other countries, were unwilling to take proper action. Ian Smith's recent visit to the United States in search of endorsement had provided further proof of the collusion between certain Western circles and the usurpers in southern Africa. Far from making him see reason, those who had permitted the visit had only encouraged him in his policy of tyranny. His reception had emboldened him and caused him to forget the failure of the so-called internal settlement, which had been condemned by the entire international community.

30. The repeated acts of aggression against Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana committed by Smith's mercenaries, using weapons obtained from certain Western countries, were intended to divert world attention from the present situation in the rebel British colony, to force the front-line countries to discontinue all assistance to the Patriotic Front and renounce all solidarity with the thousands of refugees from Zimbabwe, and to give the national liberation struggle in Zimbabwe the dimensions of an international conflict. Such criminal acts of aggression

(Mr. Lounis, Algeria)

should not go unpunished. The time had come for determined and well thought-out action, and for strict compliance with the principles and purposes of the Charter. The international community should make resolute use of the legal instruments at its disposal, and particularly Article 41 of the Charter, to put an end to the sufferings of millions of human beings. It was eminently desirable that the independence of the people of Zimbabwe should be achieved with the help of the United Nations rather than without it. It was high time that the Organization assumed its full responsibilities by strictly implementing the global mandatory sanctions against the rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia. The Algerian delegation was convinced that the people of Zimbabwe would ultimately triumph.

31. Mr. MICHEL (Haiti) said that during the 13 years since the white racist settlers had decided to declare their independence from the United Kingdom in order to perpetuate their racist colonial rule in Zimbabwe, the inhabitants of that territory had suffered the fiercest repression in the history of colonialism. Apart from the unprovoked acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African countries, the mere presence of the illegal régime created a situation which threatened international peace and security.

32. Ian Smith had resorted to all kinds of tactics to distract the attention of the international community and lead it to believe that he was willing to reach a negotiated settlement of the Southern Rhodesian problem. The so-called internal settlement was merely a manoeuvre designed to mislead the international community while he maintained the basic principle of white supremacy underlying his régime. Consequently, the entire international community must reject the unnatural alliance of a racist minority and a handful of stateless persons in the pay of colonialism and of foreign economic interests.

33. In the circumstances, the people of Zimbabwe had no choice but to resort to armed struggle. They had not deliberately chosen violence and confrontation, but had been forced into that situation by colonialism, which was the embodiment of violence in all its forms.

34. In such a situation, where the very life of a people was at stake, the international community must immediately demand the implementation of the sanctions provided for in the relevant articles of the Charter and in numerous United Nations resolutions, and extend all possible assistance to the Patriotic Front until the territory was completely liberated.

35. His delegation wished to express its consternation and concern at Ian Smith's recent visit to Washington, at a particularly inopportune moment, when the international community was trying by all possible means to force him to bow to the will of the majority.

36. His delegation reiterated its unreserved support for the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, and appealed to the leaders of that movement to unite and avoid discord at all costs. Only unity would enable them to get the better of colonialism, racism and apartheid.

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37. Mr. KOUYATÉ (Guinea) said that his delegation saw great historical significance in the fact that the international community was considering the tragic problem of Southern Rhodesia on the anniversary of the proclamation of the Charter of Socialization in the Republic of Guinea, on 8 November 1964, by the Democratic Party of Guinea, which had always been in the vanguard of the African struggle waged after the Second World War against colonialism, foreign domination and exploitation, racism and racial discrimination, not only in Africa but throughout the world. The time had definitely come for the international community to take decisive and vigorous action against Ian Smith, who was obstinately persisting in his efforts to dominate and exploit the African population of Zimbabwe, and against those countries whose multinational corporations were striving to perpetuate his illegal, racist and fascist régime.

38. The yearning of mankind for freedom was a basic motive force in the world. Freedom was indivisible, and it was not the prerogative of one race, people or religion. Since 1965 his Government had been greatly concerned by the tragedy of the people of Zimbabwe. Guinea had severed diplomatic relations with Southern Rhodesia, in keeping with the relevant decision of the Organization of African Unity, and had subsequently given the freedom fighters every assistance. Ian Smith's recent visit to the United States had been a bizarre episode which had been condemned by the African Group. His delegation wished to draw particular attention to the transparent manoeuvre of the Smith régime to break the resistance of international public opinion by appealing to the Government of Guinea, on 6 March 1978, to support the so-called internal settlement. In his reply, dated 11 March 1978, the President of the Republic of Guinea had stated that, in the view of his Government, the proposed agreement represented a betrayal of the people of Zimbabwe. The army, police, judiciary, public services and budget would remain in the hands of the racist minority, which would thus be in a position to maintain the system of colonialist exploitation. Furthermore, the distribution of parliamentary seats would be heavily weighted in favour of the white minority. The Executive Council, consisting of Ian Smith and his black accomplices, would have full powers. The ministers would be white colonists and black figureheads. The Government of Guinea would not help to impose such a settlement on the people of Zimbabwe, or secure its endorsement by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. The people of Zimbabwe could not countenance racist and fascist domination by white settlers. The right of the people to sovereignty, national independence and responsibility was inalienable. The time had come for the people of Zimbabwe to require the Smith clique to dismantle its entire machinery for domination. Mr. Sithole's agreement of 3 March 1978 with Ian Smith was a stab in the back not only to the people of Zimbabwe but to all the peoples of Africa. It was because of the encouragement afforded by that agreement that Ian Smith had unleashed his armed forces against Zambia and Mozambique. Guinea would request all member States of the Organization of African Unity and Members of the United Nations to fight against the Salisbury agreement by all possible means and to give their full support to Zimbabwe in its struggle for an African victory and for the triumph of justice over racist colonialism. His Government stood beside the people of Zimbabwe, whose victory was certain, and would oppose any complicity with the colonial fascist régime of Ian Smith.

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(Mr. Kouyaté, Guinea)

39. His delegation therefore asked that Member States including, in particular, the United Kingdom should respect the Charter of the United Nations and ensure the full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The United Kingdom had colonized Rhodesia in the first instance and was therefore fully responsible for the prevailing situation. It could not be permitted, on any pretext, to evade its responsibilities.

40. Mr. BROWN (United Kingdom) said that, without answering some of the more surprising allegations made concerning the policy of his Government - for instance, the reference to its unwillingness to negotiate with the Patriotic Front - he wished to deal specifically with some of the points made during the discussion.

41. There had been criticism of the so-called Option B, one of the alternative bases for the transition to independence which his Government had circulated to the parties concerned and to the Governments of the front-line States, on the ground that it abandoned the principle of elections before independence. The United Kingdom Government had always been guided by clear and fundamental principles, the key principle of which - the fifth principle - was that any settlement should be acceptable to the people of Southern Rhodesia as a whole. The United Kingdom and United States Governments still believed that the best way to satisfy that principle was to hold free and fair elections before authority was transferred to an independent Government of Zimbabwe. That was why the Anglo-American proposals had fixed a transition period of six months, starting with the transfer of power by the illegal régime and ending with elections and independence. During those six months, the constitution of Zimbabwe would be worked out in detail (if it had not been agreed before the start of the transition), everything necessary for the holding of elections would be done and the parties themselves would have time to state their respective cases to the electorate. That was still the solution which his Government preferred and which was provided for in two of the alternatives circulated to the parties.

42. During consultations with the parties, however, some had suggested that six months was too long to wait for independence while others had maintained that it was too short to mount a proper electoral campaign. Option B had therefore been suggested; under that scheme, Zimbabwe could become independent within three months of the start of the transition, subject to a referendum of all the people in which they would be asked whether they wished to go forward to independence on that basis or not. If a majority voted for independence on that basis, the transitional constitution would remain temporarily in force until it was superseded, after a general election for a national assembly, by the constitution of an independent Zimbabwe. On the other hand, if the majority of voters did not support the proposal for independence on that basis, Southern Rhodesia would continue its dependent status under the transitional constitution until elections were held, no later than six months after the referendum. Although that was not the solution the United Kingdom Government preferred, it was one which it would be prepared to implement if the parties themselves expressed a preference for it. Moreover, it was clearly in conformity with the fifth principle he had mentioned.

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(Mr. Brown, United Kingdom)

43. He was glad to be able to state categorically that the charge that Southern Rhodesian attacks on Zambian territory had been carried out with modern British weapons was totally unfounded. Any weapons of British manufacture possessed by the Southern Rhodesian forces had been supplied before the illegal declaration of independence.

44. There had also been insinuations that the United Kingdom was indifferent to the plight of Zambia and had done nothing to help that country in resisting the incursions on her territory and airspace carried out by the illegal régime. On the contrary, the United Kingdom Government had agreed to provide the Zambian Government with military assistance to improve Zambia's defensive capability, particularly its air defence. It would be supplying Zambia with certain ground equipment and spares and had offered to provide the necessary training in the United Kingdom for personnel from the Zambian defence forces. That support was offered as a measure of solidarity with a fellow Commonwealth country which had had to make great sacrifices in the struggle to enforce sanctions.

45. He knew of no basis for the charges made by a few delegations that the Western Powers were planning a massive military effort to rescue their so-called accomplices in Southern Rhodesia. It would be a great pity if anything said in the Fourth Committee were to give Mr. Smith reason to believe - however vainly - that he might have been right after all to hope for an eleventh-hour intervention in his favour. On the contrary, the United Kingdom had repeatedly made it clear that there was not and never would be any question of United Kingdom military intervention in Southern Rhodesia in support of the illegal régime.

46. With regard to the references to the Bingham Report, he said that the debate on that report in the United Kingdom Parliament had begun the previous day. He thought the Committee would agree that his Government had acted properly in commissioning and publishing the report and in providing for public debate of the information uncovered. That action demonstrated his Government's continuing concern to ensure the full implementation of sanctions and its determination to investigate and publicize any reports of evasion.

47. Despite the firm pledges given in his delegation's opening statement, it had been claimed that the United Kingdom had abandoned the Anglo-American proposals. It remained the view of his Government that a settlement based on those proposals offered the best and perhaps the only hope of achieving an early transition to independence and majority rule for Zimbabwe. Since September 1977 the original proposals had been supplemented and modified in the light of consultations with the parties, but they had not been supplanted. Their implementation would entail the acceptance of new and heavy responsibilities by his Government, but it was ready to discharge them if others were prepared to play their part.

48. In conclusion, he quoted a statement made by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom in the House of Commons the previous day to the effect that the United Kingdom would continue to work with the United States, its European partners, its African and Commonwealth friends and the United Nations to bring the influence of the international community to bear.

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(Mr. Brown, United Kingdom)

It would convene an all-party conference as soon as there appeared to be a chance of success and would seek to narrow differences and widen areas of agreement. Above all, it would stand by the fifth principle, which had been endorsed by successive Governments and was embodied in the broad framework of the proposals recently put forward by the United Kingdom and United States Governments to all parties.

49. Mr. RAMIN (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that it had been strange to hear the representative of the Ba'athist régime of Iraq speak as the champion of justice, freedom and human dignity, in view of the way his Government had treated ethnic groups such as the Kurds, the Assyrians and the Jews. The Iraqi statement had been abundant in the usual imaginary fabrications and accusations concerning ties and co-operation between Israel and the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. He wished to remind the Committee that the day after the unilateral declaration of independence, the Government of Israel had issued an official statement condemning it as a violation of the fundamental rights of the overwhelming majority of the population and stating that it would not recognize the illegal régime and was taking immediate steps to prohibit all ties with it, including economic relations. That position continued to govern Israel's policy on the question of Southern Rhodesia in every respect.

50. Miss KONIE (Zambia), replying to the representative of the United Kingdom, said that that country was clearly responsible for its colony of Southern Rhodesia and therefore for the recent aggressive acts committed by the Ian Smith régime against Zambia. As long as Ian Smith remained in power, the United Kingdom must accept responsibility for the murders taking place in Zimbabwe, in Zambia and in other neighbouring countries.

51. Her Government had appreciated the military assistance which it had received from the United Kingdom. The mass media had, however, blown the issue out of all proportion to the facts. As a former British colony, Zambia had inherited British military equipment which had subsequently lacked spare parts. It was logical that the United Kingdom should have afforded assistance in that regard.

52. It was essential to remove the illegal Smith régime and her delegation believed that the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, had a duty to spearhead an honest and concerted effort to find a solution to the problem.

53. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola) said that the representative of Greece had implied the previous day that an earlier statement which he himself had made regarding the presence of Greek nationals in the Southern Rhodesian police force had been based on vague and unfounded reports. The source of his information had in fact been the final report on the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa, which had been submitted to the Commission on Human Rights by the Special Rapporteur (E/CN.4/Sub.2/383/Rev.1). In keeping with the principles which had always guided his Government, Angola had striven to aid the just struggle for the independence and freedom of colonial peoples, not only in southern Africa, but throughout the third world.

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54. Mr. AL-SHAWI (Iraq), replying to the representative of Israel, said that the Ba'ath was a socialist party régime in Iraq whereas the régime under discussion by the Committee was totally racist in character and derived its power solely from the white minority. Furthermore, the attitude of the Zionist entity had been clearly demonstrated in the position which it had adopted on the question of the economic activities of foreign multinational corporations.

55. Mr. MACRIDIS (Greece), replying to the representative of Angola, said that the report to which he had referred had indicated that the laws of most States forbade their nationals to serve in the armies and police forces of foreign Powers. It was in that context that he himself had referred to the penal code of Greece.

56. Mr. RAMIN (Israel) said that the representative of Iraq had referred to Israel's record, but he should clearly have examined the facts more closely. The record showed the position of Israel very clearly and the practical steps which had been taken by his Government.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.