

59. Mr. KLIMAS (Poland) said that, although there had recently been some progress in the struggle against colonialism, with the latest victories achieved by the national liberation movements and the liquidation of the Portuguese colonial system, the situation in Southern Rhodesia unfortunately remained unchanged. The important statement made a few days previously (2139th meeting) by the representative of the African National Council of Zimbabwe, Mr. Michael Mawema, bore out that assessment. The people of Zimbabwe were not only deprived of their political rights in their own country, but were also subjected to a system of repression established by the illegal régime of white racists, who made the laws. Imprisonment, arbitrary detention, acts of brutality by the police, the execution of freedom fighters, and constant denial of basic human rights—such, in brief, was that system of repression. All those things were going on despite a long series of General Assembly resolutions and Security Council resolutions and decisions aimed at achieving the country's independence on the basis of African majority rule.

60. The parties responsible for the fact that the infamous Salisbury régime could remain in power despite all those measures were certain States Members of the United Nations, which were named in chapter IX of the report of the Special Committee (A/10023/Add.2). Through their persistent failure to implement the mandatory sanctions, through their policies and their economic interests dedicated to the exploitation of the country's resources, they had created conditions conducive to the survival of the illegal régime. Some States even permitted their nationals to enlist as mercenaries in the Rhodesian army. South Africa was a noteworthy example of such activities; its direct military support for, and economic co-operation with, the Smith régime strengthened the latter both militarily and economically. In that context, it should also be mentioned that the administering Power had failed in its obligations by not resolving to take firm action.

61. During the past year there had been attempts to settle the problem through negotiations. The goodwill shown both by the national liberation forces of Zimbabwe and by the Presidents of neighbouring African States had not been welcomed by the illegal régime, which had once more shown its true colours. It intended to delay any progress towards majority rule and was trying to sow disorder and disunity in the African National Council of Zimbabwe in order to advance its colonial interests. In those circumstances, it was to be feared that recourse to armed struggle would be inevitable; the Smith régime and the foreign Powers supporting it would then be responsible for whatever might happen.

62. His Government's position on the problem of Southern Rhodesia was well known. Poland had from the outset applied all the sanctions that had been adopted against the Salisbury régime and had constantly assisted the just cause of the liberation movements in Africa. He reiterated once again his country's complete solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. His delegation noted with satisfaction, from the discussions in the Committee, that there was clearly a feeling in favour of strict observance and even intensification of the sanctions against the Salisbury régime. The United Nations should do everything possible to ensure that its Members complied with the provisions of the Charter and the decisions of the Organization. Certain Member States should cease their co-operation with the illegal régime, and the administering Power must fulfil its obligations and act with greater firmness to put an end to that régime. His delegation endorsed the recommendations in the latest resolution adopted by the Special Committee (*ibid.*, para. 16) and was prepared to second and support any proposals for transferring power to the people of Zimbabwe and eliminating racism in Southern Rhodesia once for all.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

2142nd meeting

Wednesday, 8 October 1975, at 3.15 p.m.

Chairman: Mrs. Famah JOKA-BANGURA (Sierra Leone).

A/C.4/SR.2142

AGENDA ITEM 89

Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/9998-S/11598, A/10023/Add.2, A/10050-S/11638, A/C.4/788)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

I. Mr. DIAKITE (Mali) said that, in the 10 years since a handful of white racists led by Ian Smith had unilaterally declared independence in Southern Rhodesia, violence against the African Majority of the Territory had escalated. However, despite intensified repression, the people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the national liberation movement, the African National Council of Zimbabwe,

continued the struggle for independence and freedom. The victories won by the African nationalists were forcing the Smith régime to increase its military budget each year. Despite its military arsenal and the support it enjoyed from South Africa and from transnational enterprises, the rebel régime in Salisbury was seriously threatened by the African nationalists and had recourse to increasingly repressive measures against the indigenous population. In 1973, it had introduced capital punishment for collaboration with African nationalists. In view of the total failure of such methods, Ian Smith, following the example of his South African ally, Vorster, had embarked on a policy of transferring the indigenous people from their homes and resettling them in so-called "protected areas", which were

similar to the "bantustans" in South Africa. At the same time, an intense world-wide campaign had been launched with a view to attracting more than one million white immigrants to Southern Rhodesia. His delegation condemned all such actions.

2. The Security Council regarded the situation in Southern Rhodesia as a threat to international peace and security and, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, had adopted several resolutions on the question. The economic, political and other sanctions imposed against the racist minority régime in those resolutions had not had the expected impact, first, because the administering Power had not faced up to its responsibilities and crushed the rebellion of the Smith régime, secondly, because the transnational corporations had continued their activities in Southern Rhodesia, often with the complicity of their Governments, and thirdly, because some States Members of the United Nations which claimed to have international responsibilities had not seen fit to apply all the sanctions imposed against the rebel régime.

3. The political situation in southern Africa had, however, changed considerably with Mozambique's accession to independence, which had further isolated the minority régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Ian Smith was now pretending to be willing to hold talks with African nationalists, but the failure of the talks held at the Victoria Falls bridge on 25 August 1975 proved yet again that the white racists of Southern Rhodesia would find it hard to accept majority rule. The people of Zimbabwe, on the other hand, had no alternative but to intensify their armed struggle until victory was gained. That view, which was supported by the African National Council, had been put forward in the 1969 Lusaka Manifesto¹ and had been confirmed in the Dar es Salaam Declaration, adopted by the Council of Ministers of OAU at its ninth extraordinary session, held from 7 to 10 April 1975.

4. His delegation had noted with interest the statement by the representative of the administering Power (2134th meeting), which had again recognized that there could be no solution to the Rhodesian crisis as long as the principle of majority rule was not applied. For such a statement to have some substance, however, the administering Power must take practical action, since, despite repeated statements by the United Kingdom over the past 10 years, Ian Smith was consolidating his régime by oppressing the black majority. The United Nations must accept its responsibilities and assist the just cause of the people of Zimbabwe. States Members must strictly apply the sanctions adopted against the minority Smith régime and his delegation once again appealed to the United States Government to take all necessary measures to end the importation of Rhodesian chrome and nickel.

5. He drew the attention of the international community to the situation of the countries bordering on Southern Rhodesia, whose economies had been closely linked with the Southern Rhodesian economy during the colonial era and were now seriously affected by their courageous

decision to apply sanctions against the rebel colony. A programme of assistance to such countries should be developed in accordance with Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter of the United Nations.

6. Mr. NAGAI (Japan) said that his Government had consistently rejected the unilateral declaration of independence by the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and had strongly opposed the repressive measures it had taken against the African majority in defiance of the legitimate right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence. His Government was convinced that the early establishment of a constitutional democratic Government on the basis of majority rule and the full guarantee of the fundamental rights of the people of Zimbabwe would constitute a just and lasting solution to the long-standing problem. It was regrettable that the Smith régime had defied the just demands of the African majority in Southern Rhodesia and had consistently rejected negotiations with the representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. There were, however, signs of progress. The agreement reached at Lusaka on 11 December 1974 between the liberation movements and the illegal régime, although not fully implemented, had formed the basis for the creation of the favourable conditions which had later enabled the leaders of the African National Council of Zimbabwe to hold two meetings with Mr. Ian Smith to discuss possible arrangements for a constitutional conference. That in turn had led to the Victoria Falls meeting between Mr. Smith and the leaders of the Council. His Government welcomed such developments, since it considered that the international community should exert its utmost efforts to seek a solution by peaceful means. He regretted that negotiations had been broken off, but expressed the hope that the parties directly concerned would redouble their efforts to resume negotiations as soon as possible with a view to reaching an acceptable settlement. Meanwhile, his delegation paid a tribute to the Government leaders of Botswana, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia and to the Prime Minister of South Africa for their assistance in making arrangements for the talks. His delegation hoped that the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, would make more strenuous efforts to bring the parties back to the talks. His delegation also welcomed the assurances given to the Committee at its 2139th meeting by the representative of the African National Council to the effect that the Council would be willing to reopen negotiations with Ian Smith in a more meaningful situation. In that connexion, his delegation urged the leaders of the Council to preserve their unity as the most effective way to realize the just demands of the people of Zimbabwe.

7. It was clear that pressure on the Smith régime from the international community had been largely responsible for its acceptance of the meeting with the Council in August 1975, and his delegation appealed to all Members of the United Nations to intensify action to isolate the minority régime. It also appealed to the Smith régime to intensify its efforts to find an early solution which would satisfy the legitimate demands of the people of Zimbabwe in conformity with the wishes of the international community.

8. Meanwhile, the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia should be strictly enforced. He had noted with

¹ Manifesto on Southern Africa; for the text, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

satisfaction the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique to the General Assembly at its 2375th plenary meeting, in which he had urged a complete boycott against Southern Rhodesia. In view of the close commercial relationship between Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia, the importance of the statement was obvious. Japan had faithfully enforced sanctions in full compliance with United Nations resolutions, and would continue to do so. Furthermore, it would continue to join other nations in an effort to put an end to the domination of Southern Rhodesia by the illegal minority régime.

9. Mr. HRČKA (Czechoslovakia) said it was a paradox that, at a time when the world was tackling such global questions as peace and security and international co-operation, the people of Zimbabwe were still struggling for their basic rights. The anachronistic survival of colonialism and racism in southern Africa not only threatened the vital interests and security of the people of that region, but also impeded development in the world as a whole. The question was therefore becoming increasingly urgent.

10. The victories of the national liberation struggle in most parts of Africa, including the elimination of Portuguese colonialism, had created new conditions for the eradication of colonialism and racism from southern Africa. Those new developments had dealt a telling blow to the strategy of the racist régimes and had restricted their room for manoeuvre. As a result, they had been forced to make concessions. Recent events showed, however, that the colonialist and racist forces in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, together with imperialist circles, were preparing tactical measures in order to avert the collapse of their position of privilege.

11. There could be no illusions with regard to the tactical devices employed by the minority régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria. The reactionary, anti-social and aggressive nature of those régimes would clearly continue unchanged. However, the principal means for achieving final victory—namely, unity and the definition of the right tactical objectives—also remained unchanged. What was required was unity in the context of the national liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, as well as in the context of the African continent and of progressive democratic forces in the world at large. In that connexion, he referred to the recent statement made by the representative of the African National Council at the 2139th meeting to the effect that the struggle in Zimbabwe was no longer merely a struggle against British colonialism and imperialism but a struggle against international capitalism and its dehumanizing, discriminatory and oppressive designs. World capitalism had manifested great unity of action and used devious tactics in the defence of its interests and all those who consciously or unconsciously disrupted the unity of action of the progressive anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces became themselves allies of the international forces of reaction, namely, colonialism and racism.

12. Developments in Southern Rhodesia did not yet indicate that the minority régime would be ready to accept the legitimate conditions laid down by the African National Council for a transition to majority rule. On the contrary, the régime was finding new forms of racial discrimination, such as a policy of community development along the lines

of South Africa's policy of "bantustanization", whereby the régime sought to create the impression that it was solving the social and economic problems of the indigenous population, whereas, in practice, it was merely distributing barren, unwanted land.

13. Although it had been reported that South African police units had been withdrawn from Southern Rhodesia, it was clear that the minority régime was proceeding to increase its military strength, including its mercenary forces. It continued to receive substantial aid from several States, in particular certain States members of NATO. Documents of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) on the question of Southern Rhodesia, as well as documents of the relevant organs of OAU and 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 furnished indisputable evidence of the interest of certain enterprises of a few States in economic and other activities in Southern Rhodesia. It was common knowledge that several States which generally drew attention to the importance of sanctions against the racist régime had enormous capital investments in Southern Rhodesia and sought to use the Security Council Committee to mask their real intentions. Those who assisted the Smith régime in maintaining the abnormal situation in the Territory simultaneously called for a peaceful solution to the problem. Accordingly, they must bear responsibility for the consequences of their actions.

14. There was no doubt that, faced with international isolation, the racist régimes would have been compelled to give way under pressure from the national liberation movement and world public opinion, which supported the legitimate claims of the African National Council. The international community must intensify its efforts to ensure that the partners of the Smith régime, particularly South Africa, stopped giving it assistance and support. The Security Council should extend the sanctions against the minority régime and take the necessary action against the chief violators of sanctions. Appropriate measures should be taken in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, particularly against South Africa, which grossly neglected its responsibilities as a Member State by refusing to implement United Nations decisions concerning colonialism and racism and was also the principal violator of the sanctions against the Smith régime.

15. The basic issue in the problem of Southern Rhodesia was the satisfaction of the just demands of the people of Zimbabwe for self-determination, independence and freedom. Czechoslovakia supported the claims of the African National Council and the views of the African and non-aligned countries that guaranteed conditions must be created in Southern Rhodesia without delay, and with the active participation of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, for the free transfer of power to the majority on the basis of the principle of one man, one vote. Majority rule could not be established in that Territory, nor could any settlement concerning the future of the Territory be achieved without the full participation of the Council as the legitimate representative of the people.

16. If self-determination and independence were to be achieved, it was essential for all Member States that wished

to contribute to a constructive solution to help to strengthen the position of the national liberation forces in Southern Rhodesia and ensure that their legitimate demands were met. Otherwise, there could be no peaceful solution to the problem.

17. Czechoslovakia fully supported the national liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and maintained no relations whatsoever with the Smith régime. It was ready to support effective action by the United Nations to ensure the speedy attainment of independence by Zimbabwe. He assured the people of the Territory, through the representatives of the liberation movement, of his country's support and assistance in their struggle.

18. Mr. BENUZZI (Italy), speaking on behalf of the States members of the European Economic Community, said that they shared the deep concern of the rest of the international community at the anachronism of a minority régime which enforced its will on an overwhelming majority in Southern Rhodesia. Their objective remained the achievement of a solution acceptable to the African majority of that country.

19. Despite the failure to achieve a final settlement, there had been some hopeful signs of progress in the past year, including the Lusaka declaration of 7 December 1974, which had seen the emergence of a unified African National Council, and the meeting between Mr. Ian Smith and the leaders of the Council at Victoria Falls on 25 August 1975. He welcomed the efforts of the four African Heads of State whose common endeavours had made such a dialogue possible and, while deploring the continuing support of the Prime Minister of South Africa for the Salisbury régime, said that his contribution should be noted. If, however, further progress was to be made by peaceful means, the world community must maintain and intensify pressure on the Salisbury régime. The States members of the European Economic Community had given their full support to the Security Council resolutions relating to the application of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. They realized that the effects of sanctions would only be felt in Salisbury when they were universally and scrupulously applied and were studying ways and means of applying them even more effectively.

20. In view of the increased isolation of the Salisbury régime and the unanimity with which African national leaders were calling for majority rule, the Salisbury régime should realize, sooner rather than later, that a minority could not claim to impose itself on the overwhelming majority. The States members of the European Economic Community appealed to the white population of Southern Rhodesia to hold frank and sincere talks with the black majority.

21. Mr. GLAYEL (Syrian Arab Republic) said it was regrettable that some peoples were still suffering exploitation and injustice under imperialistic régimes and that there were still lands occupied by military forces which were forcibly resettling the indigenous peoples. His country had closely followed events in Southern Rhodesia since the white minority had unilaterally and illegally declared

independence 10 years earlier. His Government had shown its interest in the subjected peoples of the world by espousing their cause, because the tragedy of Palestine had followed a similar pattern: a white minority and a capitalist Power had declared independence without the consent of the indigenous population. The resolutions adopted by the United Nations were an attempt to restore power to the indigenous population in Southern Rhodesia and put an end to the illegal and repressive régime, in order to bring about conditions which would enable the people of Zimbabwe to achieve self-determination and independence. However, the resolutions of the United Nations had been repeated at every session of the General Assembly and had remained a dead letter. The Smith régime flouted the international community and, by its example, incited others to violate the Charter of the United Nations. His delegation appealed to all Member States to comply with Security Council resolution 253 (1968) and with General Assembly resolution 3328 (XXIX). If all Member States had implemented the sanctions imposed by the Security Council, the Smith régime could not have survived. However, everyone was aware that there were some countries which had no respect for human rights and that certain Western Powers, together with South Africa, were trying to attract more economic assistance to Southern Rhodesia in order to bolster the régime. References to South African assistance to Southern Rhodesia had been included in the resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its 1008th meeting (see A/10023/Add.1, para. 16), while the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, contained in document A/AC.115/L.411, described recent developments in the relations between Israel and South Africa, which explained the argument of some States Members that if South Africa was expelled from the United Nations, it would shortly be the turn of Israel.

22. Force and armed struggle were the only remaining means of ousting the oppressors, and his delegation supported the right of the people of Zimbabwe to fight against repression. The white racist minority must suffer the consequences of its policies. He appealed to all Member States to support the just cause of the people of Zimbabwe for self-determination. It was incumbent upon the United Kingdom Government to adopt measures to put an end to the Smith régime and to hand over power to the legal majority in the country. The United Nations should play a more important and effective role and ensure that it was not manipulated by a small group of countries. Economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia should be expanded and sanctions should be applied to those countries which violated United Nations resolutions calling for sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. In conclusion, he reiterated his country's support for all national liberation movements.

Mr. Aram (Iraq), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

23. Mrs. DE RIBADENEIRA (Ecuador) said that her Government's response to General Assembly resolution 2024 (XX), in which the Assembly had condemned the unilateral declaration of independence by the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia, had been the immediate promulgation of a decree instituting a trade embargo and other measures against that country. Since then, Ecuador had repeatedly condemned that illegal and oppressive régime and had refused to recognize any change in the status of the

Territory that was not based on the will of the majority, which must decide the destiny of Southern Rhodesia. Her country therefore sympathized with the legitimate struggle of the liberation movements of the oppressed peoples, whose sufferings equalled those of the peoples of Latin America over a century and a half earlier in their struggle for independence. She welcomed the fact that the liberation movements in Southern Rhodesia had overcome their differences by merging to form the African National Council of Zimbabwe, a decision which would very favourably influence the liberation struggle.

24. Her delegation strongly condemned the violations of the human rights of the people of Zimbabwe by the racist régime, in open defiance of world public opinion and of existing international commitments.

25. The ineffectiveness of the efforts made thus far to find a peaceful solution was due to the reluctant attitude of several Member States, whose economic interests were clearly linked with the illegal régime. The strict observance of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council would go far towards solving the critical situation in the Territory, since the régime itself had admitted that the vigilant application of sanctions would bring about its economic decline.

26. Her delegation had particularly welcomed the recent statement by the representative of the United Kingdom (2134th meeting), in which he had reiterated his Government's decision to accept no solution to the constitutional problem in Southern Rhodesia that did not meet with the approval of the African majority. The United Kingdom should accordingly seek the most effective means of meeting its obligations as the administering Power at the earliest possible date; it was inadmissible that for so many years a Territory should have been ruled by a Government representing the interests of only 5 per cent of the population.

27. There had, however, been some favourable developments over the past year. The attainment of independence by Mozambique had increased the isolation of the illegal régime, which had been obliged to speed up the completion of the railway lines linking the Territory with South Africa, and, under increasing pressure, Smith had been forced to admit publicly to the grave economic and political situation of the régime.

28. It was to be hoped that the discussions between the interested parties would be resumed as soon as possible with a view to reaching a settlement. At the 2376th plenary meeting, her delegation had emphasized the importance of continued efforts to convene a constitutional conference which could lead to a negotiated and orderly transition to majority rule.

29. In conclusion, she emphasized the fact that the situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security and thus impeded progress towards lasting détente throughout the world.

30. Mr. ROBINSON (Guyana) said that the odious policies of racism, terrorism and oppression practised by the Smith clique continued to frustrate the will of the oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe.

31. Guyana was firmly committed to the elimination of racism and colonialism and would continue to give tangible support to the liberation movements until the people of Zimbabwe, and of southern Africa as a whole, could exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Recent victories against colonialism in Africa should give greater impetus to the onslaught against colonialism but the final victories had not yet been won.

32. His Government would also continue to give its fullest support to the principles of the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 and the Dar es Salaam Declaration of 1975. As his country's Minister for Foreign Affairs had stated at the 2370th plenary meeting, Guyana supported the new moves and contacts in southern Africa designed to augment the use of force and the threat of force as instruments of redress for the grievances of the majority. That double strategy had been endorsed by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975.

33. Referring to recent unified international efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe, he said that his Government supported the policy of those African States which had been initiating and encouraging negotiations, and whose record of support for the oppressed peoples in southern Africa could not be challenged. As a result of their proximity to areas under racist minority domination, Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique had necessarily borne great sacrifices, both human and material, and would continue to do so, in their support of the oppressed peoples. His delegation wished to acknowledge the gains to be derived from contacts with the régime in Southern Rhodesia for the purpose of national liberation, although caution must be exercised lest that purpose be thwarted by the racists. It could not, however, support contacts for the purpose of co-operation with the régime.

34. His delegation hoped that current efforts would produce a peaceful settlement. Success, however, whether achieved through negotiation or armed conflict, depended largely upon the unity of effort of the people of Zimbabwe. An emergent Zimbabwe would inherit problems which would test its political institutions and its cultural cohesion and accommodations must be made in order to strengthen the unity symbolized by the African National Council. For the people of Zimbabwe, the hour was critical. They must not allow the divisive tactics of the racists to succeed and thereby postpone African majority rule.

35. Mr. PFIRTER (Argentina) expressed appreciation of the work carried out during the current year on the question of Southern Rhodesia by the Special Committee, chapter IX of whose report (A/10023/Add.2) showed that there were some new elements in the situation which might guide the future work of the United Nations. In recent months, the African heads of State had shown some willingness to negotiate with the Smith régime and it was to be hoped that that spirit would prevail so that an acceptable solution could shortly be found by peaceful means. In that connexion, he welcomed the Dar es Salaam Declaration.

36. The achievement of independence by Mozambique was significant for southern Africa, since it would help to

make United Nations sanctions more effective; the new State should receive support in its efforts to prevent violations of sanctions. He expressed appreciation for the efforts made by the United Kingdom, as administering Power of the Territory, to train the future governing classes of the people of Zimbabwe.

37. His delegation felt that the Committee should promote negotiations on Southern Rhodesia between the parties directly concerned and that the sanctions machinery established by Security Council resolution 253 (1968) should be applied more effectively. While it respected the opinion of those who wished to expand the scope of sanctions, his delegation considered that that approach would not necessarily bring immediate pressure to bear on the illegal régime, but might even be counter-productive. The methods currently used by the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia seemed to be ineffective and he pointed out that its function was not only to determine alleged violations of sanctions, but to adopt recommendations so that recalcitrant States should once and for all agree to comply with the spirit and the letter of the pertinent United Nations resolutions. His Government, by Decree-law No. 19846, had incorporated into its domestic legislation the contents of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) and had thus severed all contacts with the illegal régime. In a note dated 15 July 1974, addressed to IATA, Argentina had denounced its agreement with Air Rhodesia. The Secretary-General of the United Nations had been informed of that action on 24 February 1975, and therefore the reference to Aerolíneas Argentinas in table 11 of the annex to chapter IX of the Special Committee's report (*ibid.*) should be deleted. Furthermore, on 28 September 1972, the then Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina had made a statement to the Security Council at its 1664th meeting to dispel any doubts concerning his Government's determination to comply with the sanctions and his Government replied most promptly to any request for information received from the Security Council Committee regarding sanctions. In fact, his Government had replied in writing on 25 August 1975 to an inquiry dated 6 August on a minor matter concerning the possible participation of an Argentine hockey umpire in a tournament to be held in Rhodesia. The reply had been deemed so satisfactory that the Committee had declared the case closed.

38. The determination of the Argentine Government to comply with United Nations resolutions concerning sanctions against Southern Rhodesia had sometimes meant the loss of certain advantages, but that had been necessary for Argentina to side with Africa in its just struggle for independence and for the genuine implementation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

39. Mr. KAMARA (Senegal) said that one of the challenges facing the international community was the unresolved situation in Zimbabwe, which had been before the United Nations for approximately 13 years. Since the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965 by the white minority Government, various resolutions had been adopted and measures had been taken by the international community and other organizations with a view to finding a satisfactory solution to the problem. The Zimbabwean

liberation movements had been formed in 1963 and, three years later, had begun the armed struggle for the independence of their country. The situation thus far had been characterized, on the one hand, by the determination of the people of Zimbabwe and all peace-loving peoples to achieve majority rule by peaceful means as soon as possible, and on the other hand, by repeated manoeuvres, delaying tactics and acts of violence on the part of the illegal régime and those States which, overtly or covertly, supported its policy. After adopting several resolutions, the United Nations had imposed economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and had called on Member States to apply them.

40. Although the scope of the sanctions had been deemed unsatisfactory by most Member States, some of the great Powers had either violated them or failed to apply them fully. Through trade and other relations with Southern Rhodesia, they had enabled the régime to continue to defy the will of the large majority of States Members of the United Nations. That had been confirmed by the representative of the administering Power at the 2134th meeting, when he had stated that the United Kingdom had made considerable economic sacrifices by cutting off all the very substantial trade which it had had with Southern Rhodesia prior to 1965, and that if all States Members of the United Nations had done the same, the Smith régime would already have been in grave difficulties.

41. If sanctions were to be effective, they should not only be scrupulously applied, but should be extended to areas of vital interest to the illegal régime. The United Nations should also seriously consider forms of pressure that would bring down that régime. Because of its historic responsibilities, the United Kingdom should, of course, either through the United Nations or by itself, exercise its rights in Southern Rhodesia, which was a Territory still legally dependent on it. The States Members of the United Nations expected the United Kingdom to implement the resolutions requesting it to make the necessary arrangements for the convening of a constitutional conference regarding the future of Southern Rhodesia.

42. The African proposals for the attainment of majority rule had been put forward by OAU in documents such as the 1969 Lusaka Manifesto, the Mogadiscio Declaration, adopted at the eleventh ordinary session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held at Mogadiscio in June 1974, and the Dar es Salaam Declaration. The collapse of Portuguese colonialism had paved the way for the emergence of new States and the accession to international sovereignty of yet another African territory. The long and courageous struggle of the freedom fighters of the former Portuguese Territories, which had been supported by all peace-loving countries throughout the world, had brought about the new situation which, one year earlier, had been unthinkable. The freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, too, were intensifying their activities and showing a more combative spirit.

43. The meeting at Victoria Falls in August 1975, which some had termed historic, was nothing more than a logical result of the Lusaka Agreement in December 1974; in other words, it represented an acknowledgement of the new alignment of forces in the region. In that connexion, a tribute should be paid to the initiative of the heads of State

of Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique.

44. While some Zimbabwean leaders had been released from prison and the South African police forces had been withdrawn from Southern Rhodesia, the representative of the African National Council, speaking at the 2139th meeting, had provided the information that 500 mercenaries, United States citizens, had joined the Southern Rhodesian army. All States Members of the United Nations should therefore maintain and increase their pressure on the régime; assistance to the liberation movement, the African National Council, must be increased; those countries which helped Southern Rhodesia to evade the sanctions should be denounced; a special assistance programme for Mozambique should be established with a view to enabling the Government of that country to apply the sanctions against the illegal régime; and the African States, through OAU, should seek to implement the Dar es Salaam Declaration on southern Africa.

45. All those who desired a rapid solution in southern Africa should intensify their efforts and thus save the world from the death and destruction that an armed struggle would entail. It would be unrealistic to ignore the obstacles in the path of those who sought peace, obstacles such as the attitude of Ian Smith and the dissension in the ranks of the liberation movement. It was essential for freedom fighters to maintain their unity if they were to be effective in their negotiations with their common adversary and successful in an armed struggle for the liberation of their Territory if that should prove to be necessary.

46. His delegation strongly supported both parts of the resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its 1008th meeting (*ibid.*, para. 16) and hoped that the sanctions would be made mandatory and that adequate machinery would be provided for their effective control and implementation.

Mrs. Joka-Bangura (Sierra Leone) resumed the Chair.

47. Mr. EVUNA OWONO (Equatorial Guinea) said that his Government was dismayed that the situation in Zimbabwe, brought about by a white racist minority to the detriment of the legitimate interests of the indigenous population, had not changed in 10 years. The continued illegal occupation of Zimbabwe was an insult to the United Nations and represented a blatant disregard of human values. The illegal régime was arrogantly defying the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and flagrantly violating the most fundamental human rights of the population of Zimbabwe. The time had come for the international community to fulfil its responsibilities and take decisive and concerted action to put an end to that deplorable situation, which threatened not only the integrity and well-being of the population of the Territory, but also peace and security in the region.

48. It was obvious that the illegal régime of Ian Smith was offering no concessions to the establishment of majority rule in Zimbabwe, as it had been invited to do on several occasions by OAU, the United Nations and the people of Zimbabwe through the African National Council of Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the régime was pursuing a policy of

delaying and diversionary tactics, occasionally agreeing to negotiations with the liberation movements, which led to no positive results, the few agreements reached not being respected by the régime. Mr. Smith had stated that there would never be majority rule in Southern Rhodesia in his time and the illegal régime had taken measures to perpetuate its domination by creating so-called "protected villages", using repressive measures against African political leaders, and establishing constitutionally discriminatory laws.

49. His delegation believed that the illegal racist régime remained in power because of the support it received from South Africa and other Western States Members of the United Nations. South Africa's presence in Zimbabwe helped to maintain the illegal régime and put to the test the efforts of the United Nations and the liberation movements. It was well known that the alliance between Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia had ensured the latter of political and economic stability. However, with the collapse of Portuguese colonialism, Southern Rhodesia's economy and political security did not have the same guarantees. The United Nations should therefore strengthen its position with a view to weakening the economy by extending sanctions and obtaining their full and effective application by all Members of the United Nations.

50. Unfortunately, despite several appeals by the United Nations to Members to sever relations with South Africa and the illegal régime of Ian Smith, many States, directly or indirectly, continued to maintain economic and other relations with those régimes.

51. His delegation wished to express its solidarity with the fraternal Republic of Zambia, which had played a very important role in applying economic sanctions against the Rhodesian régime, thereby imperilling its own economic position. That example should serve as a model for States that cherished peace and freedom.

52. In order to fulfil its obligations to implement the Security Council resolutions imposing economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, the new State of Mozambique needed international assistance to ensure that the loss of income derived from Southern Rhodesian exports would not place it in an unfavourable position. His delegation hoped that Mozambique would apply the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and thus help to bring about major changes in the situation for the benefit of the indigenous population of Zimbabwe.

53. Foreign economic interests in Southern Rhodesia continued to be a fundamental obstacle to the exercise of power by the African majority. The international communities should respect the resolutions adopted by the United Nations by discontinuing economic and other activities that endangered the exercise of the fundamental rights of the people of Zimbabwe.

54. Despite the attempts to negotiate with the illegal régime, the outlook was not optimistic. To the Government of Ian Smith, the only purpose of negotiations was to gain time in order to ensure the continued entrenchment of the régime. The liberation movements should therefore intensify their activities, since his delegation did not believe that

a round-table discussion could make Mr. Smith change his policies. The Government of Equatorial Guinea had always preferred negotiation to confrontation. Unfortunately, in the case of Southern Rhodesia, there was no alternative for the liberation movement but armed struggle.

55. The Republic of Equatorial Guinea was always prepared, within its means, to offer its modest contribution to the liberation movements struggling for the emancipation of their peoples.

56. His Government believed, first, that the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, bore the major responsibility for the situation and should ensure that the people of Zimbabwe were able to exercise their political and social rights as soon as possible; secondly, that there could be no acceptable solution to the situation in Rhodesia without the guarantee of majority rule; thirdly, that, before any agreement or negotiation, the illegal régime must immediately release all political prisoners in Zimbabwe and guarantee freedom of movement, association and expression to the population; fourthly, that the United Nations should extend the scope of the sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia and that its Members should apply them fully; fifthly, that the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and other countries should be requested to invalidate all licenses granted to companies maintaining economic relations with Southern Rhodesia and to sever all other relations which might be of economic or political benefit to the illegal régime; sixthly, that South Africa should withdraw its forces from Southern Rhodesia; seventhly, that the Governments of Zambia, Mozambique and other countries in the region should be granted international assistance in order to permit them to apply effectively the sanctions imposed against the Southern Rhodesian and South African régimes; and, lastly, that the international community should provide assistance to the liberation movement of Zimbabwe, the African National Council, in order to permit it to intensify its armed struggle against the illegal régime.

57. He wished to express his Government's sincere appreciation of the work done by the Special Committee, whose report had ensured the success of the Fourth Committee's work.

58. Mr. VARCHAVER (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) said he wished to draw attention to several ominous but largely unpublished features of the situation in Southern Rhodesia, the representative of which UNESCO had presented to the Special Committee at its meeting in Lisbon in June 1975. The observations had been drawn from a comprehensive UNESCO report on the effects of Southern Rhodesian policy on education, science, culture and information, to be published shortly as a companion volume to two earlier studies on *apartheid* and Portuguese colonialism.

59. The concern of UNESCO with colonialism stemmed from the fact that its particular areas of competence were all vital building blocks of human rights and peace. They were also major social phenomena and, as such, were obviously affected by political decisions.

60. On the question of censorship in Southern Rhodesia, he noted that books banned by the régime included all works of black protest and books by two widely respected anthropologists. Other cases of censorship were the suppression of a Catholic newspaper, which served both as a source of information about political events and as a vehicle for African cultural expression, and the continuous pressure exerted on the Mambo Press, which had published many African works and issued recordings of African music. Furthermore, in rural areas, the district commissioner was also the chairman of the censorship board. As a result of such censorship, as well as the selective release of films, the discriminatory provision of recreational facilities, and the segregation of housing, Africans were by and large denied access to the culture of the modern technological world. The situation was compounded by their poverty, the restrictions placed upon their freedom of movement, the rate of illiteracy and the lack of adequate library services.

61. In Southern Rhodesia, there were different administrative structures for black education and for white education. Each was financed separately, and 11 times as much was spent on a white schoolchild as on a black child. Education was compulsory for white children, but optional for blacks. As in the case of South Africa, the financial burden of African education was being increasingly passed on to the Africans themselves. The policy of community development, like the policy of "bantustanization" in South Africa, shifted the cost of education, health services and roads in African rural areas on to the already impoverished population of those areas.

62. In view of the régime's claims to maintain traditional African culture, it should be pointed out that the present so-called "traditional culture" had nothing to do with the original Zimbabwe culture, which had been broken by military conquest and settler occupation and all their disruptive consequences. Moreover, the traditional African religion had been under constant surveillance since its part in the nineteenth-century uprisings. The current tribal chiefs did not represent continuity from the pre-settler period; they were paid servants and informers of the central régime, who had lost their status and, above all, the right to allocate land.

63. African culture had not disappeared: since the white conquest of Zimbabwe, a resistance culture had survived and had built on the past. It had selected elements of traditional culture in the long and continuing struggle for freedom. As the late Amílcar Cabral had stressed in a study prepared for UNESCO in July 1972 and summarized in *The UNESCO Courier* of November 1973, the struggle for liberation was above all an act of culture.

64. In conclusion, he said that his observations reflected a very small part of the multidisciplinary programme undertaken by UNESCO for the realization of human rights in southern Africa, the purpose of which was threefold: to provide aid in training and education through OAU to the refugees from colonialism and *apartheid*; to assist the liberation movements in analysing the social structures and cultures of the areas as tools for the current struggle and for future reconstruction; and to make known to the world at large how matters stood in southern Africa.

65. Mr. VON UTHMANN (Federal Republic of Germany), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that his delegation had been surprised to hear the Tanzanian representative allege, at the previous meeting, that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany tolerated the recruitment of mercenaries for Southern Rhodesia. That allegation was unfounded. Under article 109 *h* of his country's Penal Code, the recruitment or the attempt to recruit citizens of the Federal Republic for a foreign army was a criminal offence punishable by no less than three months' imprisonment.

66. In January 1975, a national of the Federal Republic had placed an advertisement in a local newspaper for 300 "safari participants" for Southern Rhodesia. Four days later he had been arrested and taken into custody on suspicion of recruiting for a foreign armed service. Investigations had confirmed that he had been seeking soldiers for the Southern Rhodesian army in violation of article 109 *h* of the Penal Code and on 19 May 1975 he had been convicted by a criminal court at Munich and sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment.

67. His delegation, far from concealing the matter from the United Nations, had kept the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia informed of the conviction in a note dated 10 July 1975. Since the Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations was the current Chairman of that Committee, he would suggest that he request the Secretariat to submit the note to him.

68. Mr. MWASAKAFYUKA (United Republic of Tanzania) said that his delegation did not wish to reply in substance to the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany at that time but would merely give notice that, at the appropriate time, it would reply in detail to the statement of the representative of a Government which, from all the evidence available, was insensitive to the plight of Africans in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The reply would reveal that Government's collaboration with the racist régimes of Smith and Vorster and its involvement in Namibia. His delegation would present hard facts and figures showing that the Federal Republic of Germany was an enemy of the African cause. A 1975 issue of the magazine *Shooting Times* stated that mercenaries were paid SR 1,000 or \$US 1,400 per month and were stationed at the King George VI Barracks at Salisbury.

69. Mr. VON UTHMANN (Federal Republic of Germany) said that his delegation was sorry to note that, instead of substantiating the allegations made earlier, the Tanzanian representative had added new unfounded allegations. Allegations without immediate proof only poisoned the atmosphere without helping the oppressed peoples of southern Africa. The Tanzanian representative should therefore submit hard facts to the Committee or to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, which would study them carefully and do its utmost to put an end to all illegal acts.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

2143rd meeting

Thursday, 9 October 1975, at 10.55 a.m.

Chairman: Mrs. Famah JOKA-BANGURA (Sierra Leone).

A/C.4/SR.2143

AGENDA ITEM 89

Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/9998-S/11598, A/10023/Add.2, A/10050-S/11638, A/C.4/788)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. AL-WALI (Iraq) said that at a time of the liberation of peoples and their accession to independence, racist régimes that used military and technological power to impose their rule must disappear. In Southern Rhodesia, 5 per cent of the population, with the help of the great world monopolies, were exploiting the African inhabitants and denying them the right to self-determination notwithstanding the condemnation of the international community, the United Nations and the efforts exerted by the United Kingdom.

2. There had been little progress since the unilateral declaration of independence a decade ago: Ian Smith had not kept his promises, the United Kingdom had not

fulfilled its obligations as administering Power and many countries had not applied the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. He deplored the fact that the United States Congress had not repealed the Byrd Amendment, which authorized the import of Rhodesian products into the United States.

3. Mozambique's recent accession to independence would accelerate the process of the liberation of Zimbabwe, but Mozambique had to be helped to resolve its economic difficulties. Iraq, for its part, was prepared to provide such assistance.

4. His delegation supported and endorsed the unification of the liberation movements and thought that the establishment of a united front under the aegis of the African National Council was a very positive step forward. In the past two years, Iraq had participated in the work 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 and the