

was interested only in the perpetuation of white racist domination in Zimbabwe, recommended that the United Nations should take more effective steps to ensure the transfer of power to the Africans.

19. His Government therefore proposed that a round-table conference of Rhodesian whites, Zimbabwe Africans and the United Kingdom administration should be held, under the auspices of the United Nations, to work out an equitable settlement. The terms of that settlement should set out a programme for the establishment of a common electoral roll and the attainment of African majority rule which was acceptable to the Rhodesian Africans. It should guarantee freedom of movement and organization to the African majority, under international supervision. Any settlement proposals must be based on the following objectives: the immediate release of the imprisoned African leaders and their full participation in negotiations regarding the future of Zimbabwe; the attainment of African majority rule; the annulment of discriminatory legislation in recognition of the African right to equality and eventual self-determination and sovereignty; and the withdrawal of the remaining South African military and police units.

20. In conclusion, he said that Kenya supported 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, which stated that Africa's objective in Zimbabwe was independence on the basis of majority rule and that Africa would lend its unqualified support to the freedom fighters led by the African National Council,

whether that independence was achieved by peaceful or by violent means.

21. The CHAIRMAN suggested that the list of speakers in the general debate on the item should be closed at 6 p.m. on Tuesday, 30 September.

*It was so decided.*

#### *Organization of work*

22. The CHAIRMAN said that, if she heard no objection, she would take it that the Committee approved the time-table set out in document A/C.4/785 for the consideration of the agenda items allocated to the Committee.

*It was so decided.*

#### *Requests for hearings*

23. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that she had received a request for a hearing concerning Namibia. If she heard no objection, she would take it that the Committee wished the relevant parts of the communication to be circulated as a Committee document.

*It was so decided.<sup>1</sup>*

*The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.*

<sup>1</sup> The request was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/784/Add.1.

## 2135th meeting

Wednesday, 1 October 1975, at 10.45 a.m.

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

A/C.4/SR.2135

*In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Quartin Santos (Portugal), Rapporteur, took the Chair.*

### AGENDA ITEM 89

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

#### GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. ALI (Bangladesh) said that his delegation deplored the lack of progress in Zimbabwe, for which the illegal racist régime, with assistance from South Africa and from some Western interests, was to blame. A number of relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples remained unimplemented. The question had also been dealt with 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, the communiqué issued by the

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting,<sup>1</sup> held at Kingston from 29 April to 6 May, and the Political Declaration adopted at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975 (see A/10217 and Corr.1, paras. 1-95), which had condemned the racist régime and reaffirmed support of positive action.

2. The heads of State of some African countries had made laudable efforts in co-operation with the African National Council of Zimbabwe to promote a negotiated settlement. Unfortunately, the recent contacts between the Council and the Smith régime had borne little fruit.

3. It was inconceivable that an inhuman and illegal minority régime should be able to flout world public opinion and continue to repress the overwhelming majority of the people of Zimbabwe simply because of the colour of

<sup>1</sup> Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Kingston, Jamaica, Final Communiqué, Cmnd. 6066 (London, HM Stationery Office, 1975).

their skin. In so doing, it was working against the long-term interests of even the minority community which it represented.

4. Most of the so-called bastions of colonialism had now fallen. At long last, Portugal had regained its conscience and had been expediting the process of decolonization, as could be seen from the welcome presence of the representatives of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe in the United Nations. Angola, too, would soon join the ranks of sovereign nations. Surrounded by independent countries, the anachronistic régime in Zimbabwe could not last long.

5. It was most unfortunate that there had been hardly any movement towards majority rule in Zimbabwe. The United Nations must keep the situation under constant review and try to find constructive ways to bring an end to the illegal régime, either by peaceful means or, if that was not possible, by supporting the armed struggle for freedom. His delegation fully supported the recommendations of the Special Committee contained in the resolution adopted at its 1008th meeting (see A/10023/Add.2, para. 16).

6. He reiterated his Government's unequivocal support of the right of the people of Zimbabwe to full independence under majority rule, which, it was to be hoped, would be achieved peacefully. Bangladesh, which had itself achieved independence through a liberation struggle, endorsed the right of all peoples to obtain freedom by any means, including armed struggle. It held the firm view that there could be no independence before majority rule was established in Zimbabwe. It unequivocally condemned the repression and cold-blooded murder of Africans and the measures designed to establish *apartheid* in the Territory. His delegation was pleased to learn that all South African armed forces had been withdrawn from Zimbabwe. It also welcomed the various steps which had been taken by the United Kingdom: he hoped that, as the administering Power, the United Kingdom could put its good intentions into practice and expedite a settlement. Bangladesh fully supported the demand of the African National Council for the convening of a constitutional conference, preferably under United Nations auspices, as early as possible.

7. Sanctions must be scrupulously observed, and their scope should be enlarged in order to have maximum impact. With strict and universal enforcement of sanctions, the régime might already have been overthrown. Some States, especially South Africa, were still co-operating with the régime in thwarting sanctions. The Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia might, if necessary, be given wider powers in order to prevent violations by giving prior warning of illegal cargo movements. An effective monitoring system was needed for the purpose of obtaining information on Zimbabwe's current exports and imports, including information regarding sources, routes and destinations. Such information must be given world-wide and sustained publicity with a view to deterring any form of external co-operation with the régime. In addition, Mozambique required assistance to enable it to apply full and effective sanctions.

8. The tragic dissension among the leaders of the African National Council could not but help the illegal régime and

it was to be hoped that they would settle their differences and present a united front. To that end, good offices and mediation should continue to be offered and accepted.

9. Mr. AL-SAID (Oman) noted that the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia had been purposely designed to strengthen and perpetuate minority rule. Indeed, it was founded upon racism, a phenomenon that had been reinforced by both internal and external forces. The situation was aggravated by public statements expressing firm opposition to majority rule, which the régime believed would mean a total betrayal of its main objective and which it therefore regarded as totally unacceptable. The situation was rendered even more complex by the economic co-operation of external interests.

10. Internally, the régime had skilfully taken advantage of the rift between those fighting for liberation. It should, however, also realize that, given the recent developments in Mozambique, it could not cope with the freedom fighters, especially those from the north-east. In addition, South Africa had clearly indicated that it would withdraw its support if Southern Rhodesia failed to appease the African nationalists, who, for their part, were increasingly determined to struggle to the very end.

11. In addition to the weakening position of the Smith régime—which must fall sooner or later—the heads of State of the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana and the Prime Minister of South Africa had made persistent efforts to find a peaceful solution through constitutional talks between the opposing parties. The breakdown of those talks, which had occurred as a direct consequence of Mr. Smith's refusal to negotiate on certain issues, made it extremely doubtful whether his régime was indeed seriously interested in finding a peaceful solution.

12. Mr. Smith was running a grave risk of eventual mob rule, since, without an orderly transition towards majority rule, the situation would rapidly disintegrate. Unless he agreed to a peaceful settlement, which should develop from a continuation of the constitutional talks, he would be betraying the interests of the minority which he claimed to represent. It was essential for the United Kingdom, with the full support and co-ordination of the United Nations, to exert pressure on the Smith régime to permit democratic change in Southern Rhodesia.

13. Furthermore, it was the duty of the United Nations to give moral and economic support, where necessary, to those independent States—Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and Malawi—which, mainly because of their geographical proximity to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, were genuinely interested in an early settlement of the question. The United Nations should appoint a special committee to work closely with representatives of those countries in devising strategies to close the rift between those fighting for liberation, to bring about a resumption of the constitutional talks, and, should those talks fail, to assist those African States in offering military and economic aid to the freedom fighters.

14. The efforts of those five States were to be commended; credit should also be given to Mr. Vorster who, regardless of his own crude policies, had continually warned

Mr. Smith that the failure to reach an early settlement would immerse Southern Rhodesia in a blood bath. It must also be made clear to Mr. Vorster and Mr. Smith that their willingness to co-operate with the four African Heads of State who had been conferring with them was highly desirable in order to ensure a peaceful settlement in Southern Rhodesia and, indirectly, to save South Africa from an inevitable interracial war.

#### *Requests for hearings*

15. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee had before it three requests for a hearing, one concerning Brunei, from Mr. Zaini Haji Ahmad of the Peoples Party of Brunei (A/C.4/783), and two concerning Namibia, from the Reverend G. Michael Scott of the International League for the Rights of Man (A/C.4/784) and from representatives of anti-apartheid political parties and groups in Namibia (A/C.4/784/Add.1).

16. If he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee agreed to grant those requests.

*It was so decided.*

17. The CHAIRMAN also informed the Committee that he had received a request from the Secretary-General of the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y de Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) for a hearing concerning the question of Spanish Sahara.

18. He suggested that, in accordance with the usual practice, the communication should be circulated as a Committee document and be considered at a subsequent meeting.

19. Mr. ZAIMI (Morocco) expressed his delegation's formal reservations with regard to a possible hearing of representatives of that so-called movement. It did not represent the population of Western Sahara, nor was it recognized by OAU as a liberation movement. He pointed out that it was the Committee's practice to accord hearings only to those movements that were so recognized. Both OAU and the Lima Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries had refused to permit representatives of that pseudo-movement to participate in their meetings.

20. The CHAIRMAN assured the representative of Morocco that his reservations would be reflected in the summary record of the meeting. He was not suggesting that the Committee should take a decision forthwith on the request for a hearing, but simply that the document containing the request should be circulated as a Committee document and considered at a subsequent meeting. If there was no objection, he would take it that the Committee agreed to that procedure.

*It was so decided.<sup>2</sup>*

*The meeting rose at 11.25 a.m.*

<sup>2</sup> The request was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/787.

## 2136th meeting

Thursday, 2 October 1975, at 11 a.m.

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

A/C.4/SR.2136

### AGENDA ITEM 89

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

#### *GENERAL DEBATE (continued)*

1. Mr. KAMANA (Zambia) expressed his delegation's pleasure at seeing the representatives of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe in their rightful place in the United Nations. Their contribution to the work of the Committee would be of great value, and Mozambique, in particular, which was a neighbour of the countries of southern Africa still under racist minority rule, would no doubt make an invaluable contribution to the United Nations goal of the total liberation of the African continent. His delegation attached great importance to the total eradication of colonialism, minority rule and racism, evils which were more prevalent in southern Africa than anywhere else in the world.

2. The United Nations had, in various ways, supported the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for self-determination

and independence and, in a rare act, had imposed economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in an effort to exert pressure on the minority racist rebel régime of Ian Smith and bring it into submission. However, that régime still existed and had become more reactionary as it determinedly sought to preserve the *status quo*. Racism, oppression and exploitation of the black majority were now the order of the day in Southern Rhodesia, although the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa should serve to indicate to all that it was only a matter of time before the rest of southern Africa would be free. More than ever before, the situation in southern Africa was ripe for all forms of struggle, and the only question to be asked was whether the change that was bound to come would be achieved through a peaceful transfer of power or as a result of the defeat of the white minority racist régimes on the battlefield.

3. In Southern Rhodesia, serious efforts had been made to avert an armed struggle, which would take a heavy toll of human and material resources: the release of the African nationalist leaders had been secured, and the other liberation movements had agreed to merge with the African