

2137th meeting

Thursday, 2 October 1975, at 3.20 p.m.

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

A/C.4/SR.2137

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. AHMED (Egypt) said that his country fully supported the recommendations that appeared in chapter IX of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/10023/Add.2). The resolutions adopted by the United Nations condemning the Smith régime and imposing sanctions on it had not produced the expected results. As for the responsibility incumbent on the United Kingdom Government, the General Assembly, in its resolution 3297 (XXIX), had called upon that Government to bring about the conditions necessary to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise freely and fully their right to self-determination and independence. At its 2134th meeting, the Committee had listened with interest to the statement by the representative of the United Kingdom. The Government of Egypt hoped that the United Kingdom would adopt the measures necessary to fulfil its political and moral obligations towards the people of Zimbabwe. As for those States Members of the United Nations which, despite the many resolutions adopted, continued to co-operate with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, thus seriously reducing the effectiveness of sanctions against that illegal régime, their attitude had been strongly condemned by the General Assembly in its resolution 2398 (XXIX). In the same resolution, the Assembly had also requested that the sanctions against the racist régime of Salisbury should be extended in conformity with Article 41 of the Charter. It should be pointed out that the position of some permanent members of the Security Council, in opposing the draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned countries in which it was proposed that the scope of sanctions against the Smith régime should be extended, was contrary to the obligations of the great Powers to maintain international peace and security. The attitude of the Southern Rhodesian régime, which refused to establish majority rule, ran counter to the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe and was a challenge to the will of the international community. It also explained the failure of the initiative taken by some African leaders with a view to achieving a peaceful and just solution. The situation was further exacerbated by the complicity of the racist Government of South Africa. There was thus no hope for a rapid solution to the existing situation unless the United Nations adopted new resolutions and took a sterner attitude. His Government hoped that that would happen during the current session.

2. The presence of Mozambique in the United Nations was an important factor, and one that should be taken into

account when considering the implementation of stronger measures against the Smith régime. The recommendation formulated by the Special Committee during the session held at Lisbon the previous June (*ibid.*, para. 16) to the effect that a specific programme of assistance, on a bilateral or a multilateral basis, should be initiated to enable the Government of Mozambique to apply fully and effectively sanctions against the Smith régime, was one which should be put into practice immediately. Egypt reiterated its full and unreserved support for the people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the African National Council, in their struggle for self-determination and independence. Similarly, it reaffirmed its commitment to implement all the resolutions of the United Nations in that respect and, in particular, the resolution and the Declaration adopted by the Council of Ministers of OAU at its ninth extraordinary session, held at Dar es Salaam from 7 to 10 April 1975 and approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at its twelfth ordinary session, held at Kampala from 28 July to 1 August 1975. Egypt took an interest in the current situation in Zimbabwe and in other African countries under colonial and racist domination, first as an African country and, fundamentally, because the racist régimes of South Africa and Zimbabwe and that of Israel were co-operating closely with a view to overthrowing the forces of liberation in Africa, in both the northern and the southern parts of the continent.

3. Egypt appealed to those States Members of the United Nations which continued to maintain relations with the racist régime in Salisbury to implement immediately the relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly General Assembly resolutions 3297 (XXIX), 3298 (XXIX) and 3300 (XXIX). He associated himself with the remarks made by the delegation of Kenya at the 2134th meeting concerning the recommendation to hold a round-table conference, in order to achieve the implementation of objectives mentioned by the representative of that country, and he was ready to be a sponsor of any draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly during the current session with a view to ensuring that the people of Zimbabwe realized their aspirations for freedom and self-determination.

4. Mr. YUSSUF (Afghanistan) said that the current situation in Zimbabwe was both disappointing and a matter for concern. The fundamental rights and freedoms of more than 5 million Africans in the Territory were being constantly violated, and their inalienable right to self-determination was being continuously denied. The illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia had intensified its oppressive activities and the African masses under its administration were being systematically intimidated.

5. The achievement of unity and solidarity among the liberation movements, which had emerged to form the

African National Council of Zimbabwe, was the first step towards expanding the struggle for the complete liberation of Zimbabwe. In order for the leaders of the Council to attain their objectives, it was essential that they should preserve a united front during the current critical period and that there should be no opposition or disunity among the members.

6. Referring to the statement on the question of Southern Rhodesia by the representative of the United Kingdom at the 2134th meeting, he reminded the Government of the United Kingdom of its responsibility as the administering Power to take the necessary action to bring down the illegal racist minority régime in Zimbabwe and establish a Government based on the aspirations of the majority of the people.

7. One peaceful means of settling the problem could be a constitutional conference, which would open the door for negotiations on the independence of the Territory and would be acceptable to the leaders of the African National Council. The illegal manoeuvres used to deny the people of Zimbabwe their right to self-determination and independence could not be allowed to continue indefinitely. Colonial and alien domination, *apartheid* and the occupation of the territory of other States by force were a threat to world peace and security.

8. Afghanistan considered that sanctions against Southern Rhodesia should be comprehensive and mandatory and should be scrupulously implemented. OAU could assist the United Nations in the supervision of the economic sanctions imposed on Southern Rhodesia. The new State of Mozambique could also play an important part in applying sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. If certain States had not violated the sanctions by the Security Council, the illegal régime could not have survived in the Territory until then.

9. In conclusion, he reaffirmed the strong support of the Government and people of Afghanistan for the legitimate struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for self-determination and independence.

10. Mr. GADGIL (India), after reviewing the background to the question of Southern Rhodesia, which had been on the agenda of the General Assembly since the seventeenth session, in 1962, said that the change of Government in Portugal in April 1974 had deprived the illegal régime in Zimbabwe of one of its staunchest supporters. The illegal régime could no longer count on automatic support from Mozambique. His delegation appreciated the difficulties currently faced by Mozambique with regard to the question of Rhodesian products that had to use transit facilities through Mozambique and it would support any move enabling Mozambique to apply fully and effectively the sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. In his delegation's opinion, the Security Council should immediately, in accordance with Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter of the United Nations, initiate a specific programme of bilateral and multilateral assistance to Mozambique.

11. His delegation was not, however, convinced that the illegal régime could be brought down even if Mozambique

applied fully and effectively the sanctions imposed by the Security Council, since South Africa, given the nature of its policies, was not likely to apply such sanctions. From the working paper prepared by the Secretariat and annexed to chapter IX the report of the Special Committee (A/10023/Add.2), it was clear that the illegal régime had been working at a feverish pace to expand its rail links with South Africa so that it could utilize the ports of that country for its international trade. It was also clear from the report that, despite the sanctions, Southern Rhodesia's balance-of-payments position had improved. He further pointed out that the House of Representatives of the United States had failed to repeal the Byrd Amendment.

12. Violation of the mandatory sanctions by some countries did not, however, mean that the international community at large was not observing them. Statements made in the Committee had confirmed that the sanctions imposed by the Security Council were being observed by the majority of States Members of the United Nations. India had no political, economic, financial, cultural or any other kind of relations with Ian Smith's illegal régime and, in fact, had closed its Mission at Salisbury in 1965. Following the unilateral declaration of independence, India had severed trade relations with Southern Rhodesia and had excluded that country from the list of Commonwealth countries for the purpose of Indian exchange control, and the Reserve Bank of India had withdrawn remittance facilities from Southern Rhodesia. Passports issued by the illegal régime were not recognized by India and parcel post service between India and Southern Rhodesia had been discontinued. India had prohibited its ships or foreign ships chartered by Indian shipping companies from carrying goods originating in or destined for Southern Rhodesia.

13. The Government of India, which was doing its utmost to extend full moral and material support to the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for liberation, was convinced that a white settler minority of 270,000 persons could not continue indefinitely to rule over nearly 6 million black people of Zimbabwe. It fully agreed that the principle of one man, one vote must apply in the case of Zimbabwe and that majority rule must be established in the Territory.

14. He referred to the statement on the item made by the representative of the United Kingdom at the 2134th meeting and paid a tribute to the efforts made by the Presidents of Botswana, the United Republic of Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia during the past year to find a solution to the question of Southern Rhodesia. He expressed the hope that the merger of the liberation movements of Zimbabwe into an enlarged African National Council would not be merely a temporary measure and that the liberation movements would overcome their differences.

15. Another positive development had been the release of the leaders who had been incarcerated for a number of years. Despite those developments, the talks between the leaders of Zimbabwe and the illegal minority régime had not led to a solution; nor had any hope been held out of the possibility of finding an appropriate solution in the foreseeable future. His delegation therefore believed that the *de jure* administering Power, namely, the United Kingdom, should take steps to convene a constitutional

conference to enable the leaders of the Zimbabwe people to agree on a suitable formula whereby the people could exercise their right to self-determination. India believed that the General Assembly should set a time limit for that purpose, since the matter had been discussed in the United Nations for more than a decade and it was high time that a solution was found. His delegation would support any proposal aimed at finding a just solution to the problem. The alternative would be a bloody racial war, which could spill over the borders of Zimbabwe and create a major upheaval in southern Africa.

16. Mr. PIERCE (Jamaica) said that, despite claims that recent developments gave grounds for some hope in Southern Rhodesia, the fact remained that, almost 10 years after the illegal régime had unilaterally declared independence, the end seemed no closer than it had in 1965.

17. In 1966, the United Kingdom had stated at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference, held at Lagos, that the illegal régime would collapse in a matter of weeks if the United Kingdom was left to deal with the problem; however, now the international community was being told that the United Kingdom had a legal responsibility but no power to control events in Southern Rhodesia. Efforts were being made to persuade Mr. Smith to hold talks with the leaders of the African majority. The United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. Callaghan, had stated that the Southern Rhodesian problem could be finally settled only by a constitutional conference and that the leaders of the African National Council must gain the confidence of the European population so that they could look forward to a secure future for Southern Rhodesia. The fact was that, if the Government of the United Kingdom had used its authority and complied with Security Council resolution 217 (1965), which called upon that Power to put down the illegal régime, the Committee would not be discussing the matter 10 years later.

18. One had only to read the testimony given by the representative of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa in his statement before the Special Committee at its 1996th meeting, held at Lisbon on 16 June 1975, to be aware of the methods being employed by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. Those repressive policies were not aimed solely at the régime's political opponents, but at the African population as a whole. Chapter IX of the report of the Special Committee provided further information on the activities of the illegal régime.

19. With respect to economic matters, his declaration noted that, despite what had been said to the contrary, Southern Rhodesia had had a favourable balance of trade every year, except 1968 and 1971, since its unilateral declaration of independence and that that had been achieved despite the application of economic sanctions by the United Nations. In that respect, his delegation expressed its deep disappointment at the fact that the United States House of Representatives had recently voted not to repeal the Byrd Amendment, which allowed the importation of chrome and other materials from Southern Rhodesia. That amendment provided Southern Rhodesia with much-needed foreign exchange and with moral and psychological support.

20. The Special Committee, at its 998th meeting, on 9 May 1975, had consulted with the leaders of the African National Council of Zimbabwe and had concluded that the objective of those leaders was independence on the basis of majority rule—to be achieved in the very near future. While the leaders were prepared to hold a constitutional conference with the illegal régime, the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole had pointed out that in Zimbabwe there was a generation growing up that would regard armed struggle as the only means of achieving their birthright as long as the problem remained unresolved. That Council of Ministers of OAU, had pointed out in its Dar es Salaam Declaration that Africa's objective in Zimbabwe was independence on the basis of majority rule, which could be achieved either peacefully or by violent means and that, either way, Africa would support the freedom fighters led by the African National Council (*ibid.*, annex, para. 99). The heads of Government of the Commonwealth countries, meeting at Kingston in May 1975, had, in their final communiqué, clearly recognized the dual approach to the problem (*ibid.*, para. 102). The question was merely when and by what means independence on the basis of majority rule would be achieved.

21. What steps could be taken to achieve the goals desired? His delegation believed that the ineffectiveness of United Nations initiatives with regard to Southern Rhodesia stemmed basically from a lack of political will on the part of certain Member States. One way of attacking the problem was to apply fully the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia adopted by the Security Council. According to United Nations documents, including the seventh report of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia,¹ Southern Rhodesian exports had increased from \$474 million in 1972 to \$640 million in 1973 and imports had risen from \$404 million to \$480 million in the same period. Apart from the effects of the Byrd Amendment, which had increased Southern Rhodesian exports to the United States from \$115,000 in 1970 to \$25,700,000 in 1973, several countries had been cited as having violated the sanctions. In that connexion, he wished to pay a tribute to Zambia for having made sacrifices in order to comply with the sanctions.

22. Sanctions had also been violated with respect to air travel to and from Southern Rhodesia. He drew attention to chapter IX of the report of the Special Committee, in particular table 11 (*ibid.*, annex), which indicated the international airlines that had interline agreements with Air Rhodesia as of April 1974, and pointed out that Air Jamaica had informed IATA that, with effect from 29 June 1974, it had withdrawn from the multilateral interline traffic agreements in so far as Air Rhodesia was concerned.

23. Governments could offer support to peoples and countries involved in the struggle. The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, held recently at Kingston, had emphasized the importance of assisting an independent Mozambique in applying sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, since the great bulk of Southern Rhodesia's exports

¹ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Special Supplement No. 2, vols. I and II.

and imports depended on Mozambique's transit facilities, and had unanimously agreed to provide immediate financial assistance to the new Government of Mozambique (*ibid.*, para. 159). The meeting had also endorsed the recommendation that Commonwealth Governments represented at the United Nations should establish a programme of assistance for Mozambique, under Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter (*ibid.*, para. 160).

24. He hoped that the difficulties being experienced by the African leaders in Zimbabwe in maintaining a united front

against the Smith régime would be only temporary. He noted that Mr. Nkomo had accepted the presidency of the African National Council and expressed the hope that other leaders would support the common cause. While Jamaica firmly opposed outside interference in the affairs of the liberation movements—and the Committee had a patent example before it—it was necessary to be prepared to offer the support required in order to preserve the unity of the movement.

The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.

2138th meeting

Friday, 3 October 1975, at 10.50 a.m.

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

A/C.4/SR.2138

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. BADI (Libyan Arab Republic) said that the continued existence of the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia could be attributed to the failure of the United Kingdom Government to discharge its responsibilities towards the African people of Zimbabwe. He warned the African countries of the manoeuvres of the imperialist and colonialist countries, which, as the accomplices of Zionism in occupied Palestine, wished the Zionist State to serve their interests. The situation in the Arab world was being repeated in the heart of Africa.
2. From the information supplied by the administering Power, it would appear that the Smith régime was experiencing tremendous difficulties and could not hold out much longer. That information did not, however, reflect the actual situation; the United Kingdom was continuing to deceive public opinion by suggesting that the régime would soon be overthrown.
3. United Nations resolutions on Southern Rhodesia would continue to be ineffective until Member States implemented them. His delegation therefore called upon all Member States to fulfil their responsibilities with regard to the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. In addition, sanctions should also be imposed against any countries which maintained relations with the Smith régime.
4. His delegation also urged the United Nations and all Member States to support the African National Council of Zimbabwe. The fact that aid was given to the Salisbury régime by the racist régime of South Africa and by the aggressive forces in occupied Palestine was an affront to the people of Zimbabwe and to all the peace-loving peoples of the third world.
5. The sanctions would provide a satisfactory means of bringing down the Smith régime and other racist régimes, provided that they were seriously applied by all States. With the forthcoming attainment of independence by Angola, the sanctions would become even more effective.
6. His delegation warned the people of Zimbabwe against the manoeuvres of the Smith régime, which were designed to create the impression that it was seeking a solution through dialogue while its true objective was to sow dissent among them. They should realize that the only language that the colonialists understood was the language of armed struggle. Accordingly, his country would, to the extent possible, assist the liberation movements of Zimbabwe in their struggle.
7. Mr. YOUSAFZAI (Pakistan) said that the main reason why the Security Council resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia had achieved no positive result was the non-co-operation of certain countries and of certain foreign economic and other interests, which exploited the natural and human resources of Zimbabwe. Their deep-seated involvement in the affairs of the colonial people of the Territory constituted a major obstacle to the realization of the people's aspirations regarding their own future, and allowed the evil colonial rule to persist in that area. His delegation therefore entirely agreed with the Chairman's observations in her statement at the 2133rd meeting to the effect that the international community must make every effort to safeguard the sovereignty of the peoples over their own resources, and that Governments should be requested to take steps to terminate activities by nationals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction which were detrimental to the true interests of the people of colonial Territories.
8. The United Nations had taken further steps towards the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe when it had declared that the unilateral declaration of independence, the referendum proceedings and the constitution itself were not binding on the people of Zimbabwe, and when, at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, it had invited the representatives of the people of Zimbabwe to