

including armed struggle. Furthermore, it joined all right-thinking people of the world in condemning racist policies and persecution of the Africans by the Smith régime. It called upon the international community to make a strong appeal to the administering Power to take all necessary measures to convene a constitutional conference comprising the acknowledged leaders of the Zimbabwe people; to compel South Africa to remove all its forces operating illegally against the African people in Zimbabwe; to discontinue provision of facilities for the further migration of white people to Zimbabwe until the attainment of majority rule; to enforce scrupulously all sanctions; and to give wide and continuing publicity to the atrocities perpetrated against the African population and the infringement of sanctions by individuals, groups and nations. Bangladesh looked forward to the day when the people of Zimbabwe, as a free and sovereign nation, would establish a system of government which would be not merely democratic and multiracial but progressive and anti-racial.

72. Mr. CHIBANDA (Zambia) said that the problem of Southern Rhodesia had been created by British imperialism. The United Kingdom had occupied Zimbabwe by force and had full political and legal responsibility for that country. Since 1965, it had passively watched the massacre and exploitation of the African majority by the white settlers. The United Nations should insist that the British Government convene a constitutional conference to ensure transfer of power to the authentic institutions of the African people, namely, ZANU and ZAPU. If the United Kingdom did not do so, the international community should give war material and other forms of practical assistance to the liberation forces.

His delegation hoped that 1974 would go down in history as the year when the United Nations finally adopted practical measures in accordance with the purposes and principles laid down in its Charter. His delegation did not overlook the role which sanctions could play, but had always been sceptical about their efficiency, since certain Western countries supported the Smith régime. If they were to be effective, sanctions should be comprehensive and mandatory and should be supervised by the Security Council in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter. That entailed unreserved application of the provisions of Article 41.

73. His delegation was disappointed with the statement by the United Kingdom representative at the 2092nd meeting, which had not contained reference to the sufferings of Zambia and the violations of its territorial integrity by Rhodesian rebel forces and their South African collaborators. To date, those violations had caused the deaths of more than 20 Zambians, and had maimed numerous innocent victims. Furthermore, mercenaries were being trained to attack Zambia. By the end of 1975, the cost of the closure of frontiers to his country would be \$US 291 million. The world community had provided assistance amounting to \$US 63 million but the situation had been aggravated by the world economic crisis. Nevertheless, his country would not waver in its economic struggle against the Smith régime and would continue strict observance of the sanctions imposed by the United Nations. It would also continue to support the just cause of the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe and was convinced that their struggle would be crowned with success.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

2097th meeting

Thursday, 24 October 1974, at 3.15 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2097

AGENDA ITEM 67

Question of Southern Rhodesia (continued) (A/9623/Add.2, A/9809, A/C.4/777)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. FERNÁNDEZ ESCALANTE (Argentina) said that, thanks to the work of the Fourth Committee, more than 30 nations had, over the years, been admitted to the United Nations. It was hoped that the Committee would continue to be successful in the future and would also be able to find a solution to the problem of Zimbabwe.

2. At the preceding session, Argentina had voted in favour of General Assembly resolutions 3115 (XXVIII) and 3116 (XXVIII), dealing with the question of Southern Rhodesia. His country scrupulously observed the resolutions adopted by United Nations bodies and had not recognized the Smith régime; nor did it have diplomatic or any other type of relations with the régime. He hoped that the sanctions imposed on Southern Rhodesia and the change in Portuguese policy would help to bring about a satisfactory solution to the question of that Territory.

3. When, some time previously, an Argentine vessel had, unknown to the authorities of his country, violated the rules of the United Nations, the Argentine Government had severely punished the shipping company, an act that the Se-

curity Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968)—the Sanctions Committee—had taken note of officially.¹ Argentina hoped that all Governments in the international community would adopt a similar attitude.

4. Argentina's position was consistent with its status as a non-aligned country and its third world ideology. Argentina believed that respect for human beings must also imply complete respect of their sovereignty, their internal affairs and their freedom. It believed that the time had now come to end the unjust situation obtaining in Zimbabwe and it firmly endorsed the strong criticisms voiced in the Committee.

5. Mr. AL-SAID (Oman) said that, although the headlines during the past year had dealt with the more hopeful situation in Mozambique and Angola, that should not divert the attention of the international community from the difficult situation of the African people of Zimbabwe and their liberation struggle under the banner of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

6. With the change in the situation in neighbouring territories and the escalation of the war of liberation waged by ZANU, the illegal régime of Ian Smith had seen that its days were numbered. It was for that reason that the racist régime, with the backing of South Africa, had escalated its oppres-

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Special Supplement No. 2 (S/10229 and Add.1 and 2)*, document S/10229, annex I.

sion of the people of Zimbabwe. The racist paranoia of the cliques in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Palestine was of such fanaticism as to increase their desperation, inhumanity and depravity. If the problem were allowed to continue much longer there would be ever-increasing bloodshed.

7. It had been indicated in the Committee that the sanctions against the régime in Salisbury had not been fully effective. One might well wonder whether those sanctions could be effective as long as the Rhodesian régime had the economic, political and military support of South Africa. It would seem obvious that the time had come to widen the sanctions to include those countries and régimes, especially South Africa, that had not fully observed the United Nations resolutions.

8. Oman had always observed the sanctions imposed by the United Nations against the régime in Salisbury. Furthermore, it condemned the policy of any country, friend or foe, that defied the sanctions, which were not only an expression of the moral indignation of the world community, but also one of the few occasions on which the international community had taken concrete action against a régime that defied morality and international law.

9. Since the previous session of the General Assembly, the League of Arab States, of which Oman was a member, had decided to impose an oil embargo on those States and régimes that had blatantly defied the United Nations sanctions. The Arab nations believed that to the extent that Arab oil should not be used to harm Arabs, it should not be used, either, to oppress their brothers in Africa.

10. Mr. MANGAL (Afghanistan) said that, despite the efforts of the United Nations, much still remained to be done with respect to the restoration of fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of Zimbabwe.

11. The recent developments in Portugal had given cause for more optimism; however, the racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia was currently continuing to deny self-determination and independence to the people of Zimbabwe. The repression was becoming more widespread and, among many deplorable measures, there was the transfer of Africans, against their will, to so-called "protected areas".

12. The Government of the United Kingdom, which had the primary responsibility of putting an end to the situation, had alleged that it was impossible for it to exercise its authority. The United Kingdom could not remain indifferent to the situation in Southern Rhodesia, where a racist minority ruled the African majority and exploited the Territory's natural resources, which belonged to the indigenous population.

13. The Security Council had repeatedly affirmed that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security. Unfortunately, the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia had so far been ineffective, owing to violations by certain States, particularly South Africa. In order to be effective, the sanctions had to be comprehensive and mandatory and their application had to be effectively supervised. Violations of enforcement measures taken by the United Nations indicated that certain Member States were not fulfilling their obligations under the Charter.

14. Afghanistan reiterated its firm support of the legitimate struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and its conviction that the future of that people could be only negotiated with the full participation of their authentic representatives. Similarly, it affirmed that any future settlement should be based on majority rule and the free will of the people.

15. Mrs. MOLLAEVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the statements by the representatives of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and ZANU had been very illustrative. The struggle of progressive forces, which had the support of the socialist countries, was destroying the last bastions of colonialism.

16. The United Nations had been dealing with the problem of Southern Rhodesia for many years and the measures it had voted on and adopted would already have led to the independence of Rhodesia if all Member States had complied with them in good faith.

17. In its resolutions 3115 (XXVIII) and 3116 (XXVIII), the General Assembly had confirmed the basic principles of a solution to the Rhodesian problem: it had reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure by all the means at their disposal the enjoyment of that right. It had also reiterated the principle that there should be no independence before majority rule and that any settlement relating to the future of the Territory must be worked out with the participation of the representatives of the national liberation movements.

18. Despite the exhortations in General Assembly resolution 3116 (XXVIII) and Security Council resolution 333 (1973) for the strengthening of the sanctions, there had been no positive changes in the situation in Southern Rhodesia. Information received indicated that the Ian Smith régime was resorting to terror to fight against the national liberation movements and to maintain, at whatever cost, the domination of the white minority. The entire Rhodesian police force had been mobilized for the fight, the duration of military service had been extended and the relevant expenditure had increased significantly.

19. However, despite the policy of terror, the position of the racists was becoming increasingly precarious and their isolation was increasing at the national and international level. With the fall of the Fascist régime of Portugal, they had lost a loyal ally and one of the first measures of the new Portuguese Government had been to demand that Southern Rhodesia should end its periodic punitive incursions into the territory of Mozambique.

20. Both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia had provided refuge to the Fascist leaders that had fled Angola and Mozambique, with the intention of obtaining the participation of those leaders in the fight against the national liberation movements. Neither the military and economic co-operation of the racist régimes nor the support of the international reactionaries could in the end, however, weaken the position of those movements. White immigration had been drastically reduced, while the racist régime refused to recognize the course of events, clearly demonstrated by the developments in Mozambique. As a result of the farcical elections for a "white Parliament" on 30 July 1974, held without the participation of Africans, Smith had stated that he was not prepared to grant concessions to the indigenous population.

21. Her delegation considered that the United Kingdom was responsible for the existence of the white minority régime, since it had permitted the racist group to seize power and had refused to take counter-measures. The negotiations between emissaries from London and representatives of the Smith régime had strengthened the hand of the latter, as Smith himself had admitted. In the Security Council, the United Kingdom had blocked the adoption of measures against the rebels.

22. The behaviour of the United Kingdom and other countries, particularly some members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), was designed to maintain their strategic and economic interests in southern Africa. If everyone had enforced the sanctions against Rhodesia, the régime would be in a difficult situation; however, according to reports from various sources, many Western countries, their enterprises and banks, were violating them. As the representative of ZAPU had stated at the 2093rd meeting, the racist régime was bent on exploiting the Territory economically in the service of the international monopolies. In view of the

behaviour of certain Western countries sanctions must be strictly applied under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, and no State had the right to violate them.

23. The Soviet Union had complied and would continue to comply with the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions concerning Rhodesia and considered that more effective measures must be adopted and that diplomatic, consular and other relations with Rhodesia must be severed. The opposition of the Zimbabwe people was growing and the blows were increasingly frequent. President Podgorny and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Kosygin, had sent cables to the eleventh Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held at Mogadiscio in June 1974, proclaiming the solidarity of the Soviet Union with the peoples struggling for independence. The Soviet Union had been a sponsor of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and had co-operated in its implementation by giving unconditional assistance to the movements fighting for their national and social liberation. In the light of all those facts, her delegation considered unacceptable the statement by one of the speakers casting doubt on the Soviet Union's clear position of support and friendship in the matter of the national liberation movements and the African countries. The representatives of ZANU and ZAPU had acknowledged in the Committee the assistance they received from the Soviet Union. The solidarity of the socialist countries was a prerequisite for the success of the liberation struggles. Her country was seeking the final liquidation of colonialism and racism and her delegation was ready to co-operate in preparing effective measures to eliminate the illegal racist Rhodesian régime and facilitate the transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe.

24. Mr. SINDAYIGAYA (Burundi) said that the action taken by the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement on 25 April 1974 represented a victory of the Portuguese people over fascism and the beginning of a new era in that country's policy with respect to the Territories under its domination. Guinea-Bissau had already acceded to independence and Mozambique would do so on 25 June 1975. His delegation was confident that Portugal would also grant independence to Angola, the Cape Verde islands and São Tomé and Príncipe and hoped that other States with expansionist aims would learn a useful lesson from Portuguese colonial history.

25. He strongly deplored the failure of all attempts to solve the problem of Southern Rhodesia, where the Zimbabwe people were deprived of their fundamental rights and subjected to terrible measures of oppression which included, *inter alia*, the execution of civilians, destruction of villages and the expulsion of the Africans from specific lands. His delegation had been disappointed by the statement made at the 2092nd meeting by the representative of the United Kingdom, the administering Power, for, whereas it had hoped to hear a programme of action designed to provide a solution acceptable to the majority of the Zimbabwe people, it had heard only a statement of impotence, tempered somewhat by the acknowledgement that no solution could be considered just and equitable if it did not fully meet the aspirations of the majority of the Zimbabwe people. The United Kingdom Government must assume its responsibilities and create a political climate that would permit the opening of a dialogue. The United Kingdom Government must act without delay in order to return to the people of Zimbabwe the exercise of their most fundamental rights. The whole of mankind must rise up against the racist régimes of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, which, assisted by their allies, persistently violated the human values which were the essence of the United Nations.

26. The Smith régime would not have been able to survive the economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council if

various States had not violated them. He congratulated those States which, like Burundi, had observed the sanctions despite the economic sacrifices that that involved for them, and he strongly deplored the fact that certain Member States had not only failed to apply the sanctions but had lent their support to Rhodesia. In view of that negative attitude, his Government had no choice but to assist, by every means at its disposal, the national liberation movements which were recognized by OAU and which legitimately watched over the destiny of the Zimbabwe people. Moreover, his delegation felt that sanctions would have a tangible effect only if they were extended to South Africa also.

27. In conclusion, he associated himself with those delegations which had demanded that the United Kingdom Government should do all in its power to ensure the immediate, unconditional liberation of all political prisoners held by the illegal régime.

28. Mr. KLIMAS (Poland) recalled that 12 years of debate on the question of Southern Rhodesia had produced a long series of resolutions which, for the most part, had remained without effect. In Southern Rhodesia the situation continued to deteriorate. The testimony presented by the representatives of ZANU AND ZAPU (2093rd meeting) and the African National Council of Zimbabwe and the International League for the Rights of Man (2092nd meeting), as well as chapter VIII 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/9623/Add.2) had revealed the increasingly repressive measures applied by the Smith régime against the civilian population. He welcomed those testimonies and expressed his profound satisfaction at the presence of the legitimate representatives of the people of Zimbabwe.

29. It was not the fault of the United Nations that its resolutions had not produced the desired results, but that of certain Member States which did not implement the sanctions and whose policy of protecting their economic interests had enabled the illegal Smith régime to remain in power. Two other factors that had contributed to the prolongation of the situation were, first, the fact that the administering Power had shirked its responsibilities in not firmly opposing the Smith régime and, secondly, that certain Member States did not implement the mandatory sanctions. South Africa, which continued to support the illegal régime militarily and economically, was the most flagrant example. Other Member States, for their part, allowed their nationals to enlist as mercenaries in the Rhodesian army. Finally, the attitude of the Government of the host country, which permitted the importation of certain minerals from Southern Rhodesia was to be deplored.

30. Inside Rhodesia, the Smith régime was intensifying its policy of racial segregation by imposing *apartheid* and was increasing its repression of the population of Zimbabwe. Outside the country, the Security Council had long since recognized the racist régime as a threat to international peace and security. Besides, as a result of the intensification of the liberation struggle, the Smith régime had adopted a more aggressive attitude towards its neighbours, Zambia, Angola and Mozambique, instigating racial conflicts in those neighbouring countries in order to stem the decolonization process; that, in itself, was a grave threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those countries.

31. Consequently, it was legitimate to wonder whether it was not logical and just that the oppressed people of Zimbabwe should, through their liberation movements, adopt an increasingly firm and resolute attitude in order to achieve self-determination and independence by every means at its disposal, including armed struggle. The freedom fighters had the growing support of the African people, were increasingly better trained and equipped and had the moral and material

support of many countries. The people and Government of Poland, for their part, had always supported the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and had provided material assistance; Poland had also implemented all the sanctions adopted against the Salisbury régime. In that connexion it was encouraging to note that the tendency to strengthen sanctions had spread and that some States had taken legislative and executive measures to implement the relevant United Nations decisions.

32. His delegation fully supported the recommendations made in the two resolutions adopted by the Special Committee (*ibid.*, paras. 14 and 15). Nevertheless, it would point out in that connexion that, although the mechanism existed whereby the situation could be resolved by peaceful means as well as the sanctions system, no progress would be made so long as certain States, which quite rightly stated that they preferred a peaceful solution, did not adopt a positive attitude vis-à-vis their obligations under the Charter and the provisions of the Security Council. Consequently, an appeal should be made to those States to comply effectively and faithfully with their responsibilities. Otherwise, the struggle of the Zimbabwe people, whom his delegation wished to congratulate on their courage and strength, would continue to grow in intensity.

33. Mr. KARINGI (Kenya) stated that his delegation had always maintained that timely action on the part of the United Kingdom Government would have effectively averted the present situation in Southern Rhodesia. Military intervention was not unheard of for the United Kingdom, as could be seen from the history of the 13 colonies in what was now the United States, the military actions in Cyprus and Kenya and, more recently, the cowardly intervention in Anguila. Yet, in the case of Southern Rhodesia, successive Governments of the United Kingdom had failed to take action to quell the rebellion. It could be wondered whether the whole affair was not a collusion between the racist rebels and the United Kingdom. Instead of taking decisive action, the United Kingdom Government had resorted to the United Nations to resolve a problem of its own creation. The Kenyan representative had already stated at the 2257th plenary meeting that the United Kingdom remained the administering Power and must exercise that power. The mandatory sanctions had failed and, as the representatives of ZANU and ZAPU had pointed out, they had failed because the Rhodesian economy had been sustained by the NATO allies and some other so-called friends of Africa who still retained investments in Rhodesia and by the giant multinational corporations which were draining the natural resources of Southern Rhodesia. In addition, the mandatory sanctions of the United Nations had been deliberately and openly defied by some Member States, which were importing chrome and other minerals and had set up vehicle assembly plants in Southern Rhodesia. Consequently, an appeal must be made to the international community to enforce rigorously the mandatory sanctions, which should be extended to South Africa. The recent construction of a railway line providing an outlet for goods from Southern Rhodesia through South Africa was another example of the attitude of some States, and merited unreserved condemnation.

34. Statements, no matter how strongly worded, were not enough. What was needed was more action and fewer words. His delegation would continue to give support to the liberation movements. The intensification of the armed struggle was the only option available for the total liberation of Zimbabwe, and indeed of the whole of southern Africa. Accordingly, all countries which provided arms to the rebel régime should be urged to refrain from doing so. In that regard, his delegation was distressed by reports that Jordan, a friendly State, had sold arms to Southern Rhodesia. In its view, it was essential to clear the good name of Jordan by making public

the name of the dealer who had furnished the arms to Southern Rhodesia and all the circumstances surrounding the case. If the sale or transfer of British tanks to Southern Rhodesia through Jordan had taken place without the knowledge of the Government of Jordan, could the same not happen in the case of a transfer of arms from Jordan to its direct enemies?

35. Another matter which caused deep concern to his delegation was the plight of the African population in Southern Rhodesia. Rape, murder and torture by the white racists, as well as the detention of political prisoners in inhuman conditions were a denial of fundamental human rights which should be condemned. The forcible eviction of the African population to camps reminiscent of Nazi concentration camps was also a serious threat to peace and security in southern Africa. The recently reported case of the abduction of Mr. Dubé in an independent African State (see A/9809) was a threat to the territorial integrity of that country and underlined the vulnerability of the independent States of Botswana, Swaziland, Zambia and Lesotho in the face of the unholy alliance of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The presence of South African police in Southern Rhodesia substantiated those fears. The United Nations must take action to guarantee the security and territorial integrity of those States.

36. His delegation was also concerned about the situation of the nationals of Zimbabwe who had become stateless as a result of the United Kingdom Government's immigration policy, which denied them entry into the United Kingdom on grounds of race. It was ironic that the United Kingdom should allow entry to the white people who had rebelled against the Crown and, at the same time, refuse entry to those who had been displaced by that same rebellion. The double standard exemplified by that discriminatory conduct was also a further reason for serious concern.

37. The United Kingdom, upon which responsibility for Southern Rhodesia still devolved, should take the initiative by convening under the auspices of the United Nations a constitutional conference in which all interested parties would participate. Such a conference, which would be preceded by a general amnesty including the unconditional release of political detainees, should seek to establish a system which would guarantee majority rule. Only in that way could a just and lasting solution to the problem be guaranteed.

38. Mr. TAKASUGI (Japan) noted that the recent changes in the situation in the Portuguese Territories in southern Africa had greatly improved the prospects for reaching an early solution to the question of Southern Rhodesia. Nevertheless, his delegation noted with great regret that no progress towards a political settlement had been made since the previous session of the General Assembly, as was shown by the continually deteriorating situation described by the representatives of the African National Council (2092nd meeting) and of ZAPU and ZANU (2093rd meeting).

39. His delegation deeply deplored the refusal of the racist minority régime to comply with the just demands of the African majority in Southern Rhodesia and reiterated the basic position of the Japanese Government, which was that it hoped that the abnormal situation could be rectified at an early date by peaceful means, through a dialogue between the parties directly concerned. In view of the denial of their rights and the adoption of repressive measures by the Smith régime, the people of Zimbabwe had been compelled to embark on an armed struggle as the last resort available to them to recover their fundamental rights and human dignity.

40. His delegation was firmly convinced that the early establishment of a constitutional government on the basis of majority rule, which guaranteed the legitimate political, social and economic rights of the people of Zimbabwe, would bring about a just and lasting solution, putting an end to the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia.

41. The international community should assist with renewed determination in the creation of favourable conditions for the early convening of a national constitutional conference, with the full participation of the genuine representatives of the African people of Zimbabwe, which would work out a settlement for the future of the Territory. His delegation hoped that the United Kingdom, as administering Power, would redouble its efforts to facilitate the early convening of such a conference and would use all available means to achieve a constitutional settlement acceptable to the African majority. It was also to be hoped that the minority régime in Salisbury would take constructive measures to bring about racial harmony and stability, based on equality, freedom and justice.

42. He expressed his delegation's belief that simultaneous and unremitting pressure from inside as well as outside Southern Rhodesia to bring about a just and satisfactory settlement constituted the best hope for an early success.

43. His Government had undertaken to comply fully with the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia called for by the Security Council in its resolution 232 (1966) and would co-operate with the Council in fully enforcing them. With that end in view, it had already taken the necessary legal and administrative measures in 1968. In reply to certain press reports, he wished to state that his Government strictly enforced the sanctions and maintained neither trade nor any other relations with the minority régime in Salisbury. Japan would not allow any of its nationals or any corporate bodies under its jurisdiction to evade sanctions by surreptitious and complex manoeuvres. Accordingly, it had recently warned all Japanese exporters that the embargo against Southern Rhodesia prohibited exports destined ultimately for that Territory, even when consigned to third countries, and that any violation of that prohibition would give rise to appropriate administrative and criminal action.

44. In addition, his Government was endeavouring to strengthen the measures intended to prevent imports of Southern Rhodesian goods in the guise of goods originating in neighbouring areas.

45. Mr. ELIASEN (Denmark) said that while substantial and encouraging changes had occurred in the Territories under Portuguese domination in recent months, the situation in Southern Rhodesia seemed to be going from bad to worse, as was shown by the suspension of the talks between the African National Council and the Smith régime, the unsatisfactory proposals for a constitutional settlement put forward by the Smith régime in May 1974, which had been rejected by the overwhelming majority of the African population, and the so-called parliamentary election of 30 July, which had only confirmed the stalemate in the Territory. The continuing repressive measures against Southern Rhodesian citizens were also symptomatic of the deteriorating situation.

46. Consequently, it was more important than ever to intensify external pressure on the illegal régime and to ensure that all Members of the United Nations scrupulously observed the sanctions imposed by the Security Council, in order to bring about the complete isolation of the Smith régime. His Government was making constant efforts to rectify shortcomings in, and avoid violations of, the legislation implementing those sanctions. Such violations were punishable by confiscation and heavy fines. He called upon all States Members of the United Nations to take similar measures.

47. Even though the sanctions were not being strictly and universally enforced, the future of the Salisbury régime was not promising. Its isolation was growing and its subjugated population could find encouragement in the recent progress achieved by some neighbouring Territories towards self-determination. His Government was ready to support all efforts to accelerate a just and peaceful solution. He saw some

grounds for hope in the statement by the representative of the United Kingdom at the 2092nd meeting, reaffirming that the United Kingdom Government would accept no solution which did not have the support of the African majority and indicating that a constitutional conference might be held earlier than had been expected.

48. Mr. BOOTHE (Jamaica) said that the illegal Smith régime was, by its very existence, a contravention of the instruments and tenets of international law, and its continued defiance of the collective will called into question the function and capability of the United Nations.

49. His delegation was convinced that the United Nations remained the principal means, at the international level, of influencing the development of events in Southern Rhodesia. The ineffectiveness of United Nations initiatives on Southern Rhodesia stemmed basically from the demonstrable lack of political will on the part of a number of Member States of the Organization. In the first place, a certain State which was a member of the Security Council had continued to import valuable mineral resources from Southern Rhodesia, in flagrant violation of the relevant Security Council resolutions and in contravention of Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations; the purchase of chrome and nickel from Zimbabwe also helped to increase the foreign reserves of the illegal régime. Secondly, there was the military involvement of South African forces in Southern Rhodesia in support of the illegal régime in Salisbury; his Government called for the immediate expulsion of South African forces from the Territory. Thirdly, the sale of arms to the Smith régime by States Members of the United Nations continued; that was all the more deplorable since a considerable proportion of those arms could be used by the Smith régime to deny the people of Zimbabwe their fundamental rights and freedoms. Fourthly, his delegation echoed the appeal made by the representatives of the liberation movements of Zimbabwe that States should prevent representatives of the illegal régime from recruiting immigrants for Southern Rhodesia; a decline in the immigration rate, coupled with the current outflow of white settlers from the Territory, could only rebound to the benefit of the people of Zimbabwe. His delegation called upon the United Kingdom to carry out its legal and moral obligations to the people of Zimbabwe and to take all effective measures, using all the means available to it, to terminate the illegal Smith régime, as it was required to do in its capacity as administering Power. Recent events in the Territories under Portuguese administration had set the stage for the dissolution of colonialism and the end of the domination of black peoples and their Territories by white Powers in Africa. Those events were of the greatest significance for the Territory of Zimbabwe.

50. The downfall of the illegal Smith régime could be achieved on two fronts, economic and political. On the economic level, only limited and not always reliable information was available, yet it appeared that the Rhodesian economy was suffering. Every avenue of approach should be utilized in order to maximize that suffering to the point where the Salisbury régime would no longer be economically viable. To that end, efforts should be made to paralyse the communication links used by Rhodesia to export the primary commodities which earned the bulk of its foreign exchange. According to the report of the Special Committee for the year 1973, Rhodesia Railways carried over 80 per cent of the country's import, export and transit traffic and, as a result of the loss of Zambian transit traffic because of the closing of the border between Zambia and Rhodesia, Rhodesia Railways would lose about £8 million to £9 million annually of its total revenue.²

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/9023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex, paras. 237 and 240.*

51. His delegation was particularly happy to note that FRELIMO had given every indication that it intended to impose sanctions against Rhodesia; it was self-evident that the severing of the rail links with Beira and Lourenço Marques would be a serious blow to the illegal régime.

52. His delegation also noted with particular satisfaction that the Government of Botswana was carefully monitoring the consignments passing along the rail line through its territory, and he hoped that it would monitor such consignments even more carefully in order to reduce the traffic along other lines. The illegal régime was making desperate efforts to complete a direct rail link between Rhodesia and South Africa. He urged all States to desist from rendering any assistance that could be used to improve or expand the direct communication links between Rhodesia and South Africa or the South African ports. South Africa had vast economic resources which would enable it to undertake the improvements necessary to increase the trade flow with Rhodesia, but whether it would do so depended on whether there existed in South Africa a political will comparable to its economic capacity to provide the Smith régime with the assistance it had requested. That would be determined largely by the extent to which South Africa was preoccupied with the problem of Namibia. It was therefore essential to exert the maximum pressure on South Africa in respect of Namibia, with a view to promoting the goals of the international community in Zimbabwe.

53. Turning to the political aspect of the question, he repeated that, in the opinion of his Government, the United Kingdom was alone responsible for administering the Territory and bore a moral and legal obligation to the people of Zimbabwe. He urged the United Kingdom to discharge its responsibilities in that area.

54. His delegation was willing to act in concert with other like-minded delegations in doing everything possible at the current session of the General Assembly to promote the independence of the people of Zimbabwe.

55. He condemned the abduction of Mr. Ethan Dubé of ZAPU, in Francistown, Botswana, and urged the United Kingdom to take all necessary measures to have Mr. Dubé released.

56. Mr. ROUX-LÓPEZ (Mexico) said it was clear that very meagre results had been achieved from the implementation of United Nations resolutions on Southern Rhodesia. The racist régime, instead of disappearing, was still surviving, thanks to the tacit acquiescence of the administering Power and the economic support of States Members of the United Nations in flagrant violation of Article 25 of the Charter.

57. The information provided both orally and in writing to the Committee showed clearly that the future of Zimbabwe as a free and sovereign nation was not in doubt, thanks to the heroic struggle of the national liberation movements.

58. He believed that there were two fundamental principles involved in the question of Southern Rhodesia, namely, the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence, and the primary and direct responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom, as administering Power, of putting an end to the critical situation in that Territory, which, as had been repeatedly affirmed by the Security Council, constituted a threat to international peace and security.

59. Proceeding from those basic principles, his delegation noted once again that, first, the United Kingdom was not complying with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee, and was refusing to convene as a matter of priority a national constitutional conference; secondly, the measures that had been taken had not put an end to the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, mainly

because of the continued and increasing collaboration of certain States, in particular South Africa, in violation of Article 25 of the Charter; thirdly, the Government of the United States of America permitted the importation from Southern Rhodesia of chrome, nickel and other minerals regarded as strategic materials, in violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions; fourthly, the policy of the administering Power of maintaining the *status quo*, under the pretext of allowing the different parties in Southern Rhodesia to work out a settlement for themselves which could resolve the problems within the Territory, had not only not led to concrete results but had kept the representatives of the national liberation movements on the fringe of the negotiations.

60. The decision of the new Portuguese Government to grant independence to Mozambique was the only positive development which had occurred recently. Since approximately 80 per cent of Southern Rhodesian trade passed through Mozambique, the changes that had taken place in that Territory would have particularly significant consequences. That would not, however, resolve the whole problem of Southern Rhodesia, since the latter would still be able to use its frontier with South Africa to continue to evade sanctions, although that procedure would be costly.

61. It was his view that a settlement of the Southern Rhodesian problem could be achieved on the following bases: first, the Security Council should apply to South Africa the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, including a total boycott; secondly, the administering Power should convene as soon as possible a national constitutional conference at which the genuine representatives of the people of Zimbabwe, including the national liberation movements, would be able to work out a settlement which could then be submitted to the people for endorsement; and thirdly, if the administering Power prevented the convening of such a conference, a committee of the Security Council, under its control, should complete arrangements for the conference under the same conditions.

62. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that a satisfactory solution to the problem of Zimbabwe would be found in the very near future.

63. Mr. PITA ASTUDILLO (Cuba) said that, in chapter VIII of its report (A/9623/Add.2), the Special Committee was submitting for consideration by the Fourth Committee decisions it had taken to accelerate the process of decolonization in Southern Rhodesia. However, not all efforts were directed towards attaining those objectives. The United Kingdom had claimed that it could not exercise legal jurisdiction over the illegal régime and was thus unable to discharge its mandate as administering Power. By not demonstrating a determination to find a solution to those serious problems, the United Kingdom was, by omission, consolidating the obstacles that prevented the speedy transfer of power to the African majority in Zimbabwe.

64. The illegal Smith régime was continuing its hateful policy of racial discrimination and oppression, thanks to the military and economic assistance of its colonialist allies. Despite world-wide condemnation, Salisbury was perfecting its machinery of repression, increasing its military budget, forcing the African population into so-called "protected villages" and carrying out punitive operations against Zimbabwean African nationalists who were resident in neighbouring States. The latest of such commando operations, reported in document A/9809, had been condemned in the Committee, and his delegation would support any measure the Committee decided to adopt with regard to such serious events, which were an attempt to infringe on the territorial integrity of a sovereign State in violation of the principles of the Charter.

65. It was impossible not to condemn the shameful behaviour of some capitalist countries, such as the United

States of America, which were still trading with the illegal Southern Rhodesian régime in flagrant violation of the provisions of the Security Council resolutions. It was time for the United Nations to put a stop to the policies of the racist régime and to violations of United Nations resolutions by other States by adopting new measures designed to enforce compliance with previous decisions.

66. His delegation was always willing to contribute as much as was necessary to the effective application of sanctions. However, he had no doubt that, apart from the efforts made by the international community, the final and real independence of the African people of Zimbabwe lay in the hands of those who made up the ranks of the national liberation movements of the country. Accordingly, he believed there was an indisputable obligation to give every kind of assistance to those movements, which were strongly opposing repression by the minority régime.

67. Neither Africa, nor Asia, nor Latin America could ever be free continents while remnants of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism continued to survive.

68. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana) said that for nine years the rebel régime of Ian Smith had represented a threat to the moral and constitutional authority of the United Nations. The question of Southern Rhodesia was more than mere denial of the right of self-determination and independence to the majority of the people of that Territory; the illegal régime was continuing to institute measures aimed at strengthening its position and was importing the monstrous crime of *apartheid* into Zimbabwe. The white minority rebellion was aided by the failure of some Member States to enforce strictly the sanctions imposed by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia. According to the report of the Special Committee, nationals of at least 32 different countries had been involved in possible violations of sanctions and the situation had deteriorated since 1966 (*ibid.*, annex, para. 198). It was regrettable that permanent members of the Security Council, the body with major responsibility for upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter, were among those who were violating the sanctions, thus frustrating the will of the Organization, encouraging the illegal Smith régime and doing serious harm to the cause of self-determination and independence for the people of Zimbabwe. The conduct of the white minority in Salisbury was particularly incongruous in the context of the recent course of history. The African liberation movements were increasingly active. As a result of their efforts, progressive forces in Portugal had toppled the Fascist dictatorship, Guinea-Bissau had been admitted to membership in the United Nations, an agreement had been signed guaranteeing the independence of Mozambique, and the right of the peoples of Angola and São Tomé and Príncipe to self-determination and independence had been recognized. In Zimbabwe, the liberation movements had achieved unprecedented successes, as demonstrated by the increased military budget of the régime, the mass exodus of whites and the calling up of reserve units. No force could block the course of freedom. His delegation regretted that the administering Power had not yet been able to restore legality to the Territory. There had been no new initiatives since the rejection by the African majority of the proposals for a settlement agreed upon between the United Kingdom and the illegal régime.³ He felt that now was a most propitious time for the administering Power to match its words with firm and positive action, and he sincerely hoped that the Government of the United Kingdom would take full advantage of the unique opportunity presented to it. In that connexion, his delegation thought that the convening of a constitutional conference was a *sine qua non* for a just

³ *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10405.

solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia. Any agreement reached at such a conference could, as on past occasions, include safeguards for minority interests. In the meantime, his delegation recognized the right of the oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe to fight for their independence by all means available to them. His Government gave financial assistance to the liberation movements, and it urged members of the international community, the specialized agencies and other institutions to continue and intensify their moral, political, material and financial support of the liberation movements.

69. The CHAIRMAN announced that several speakers who were not on the list wished to make statements on the item under consideration. If he heard no objection, he would give them the floor at the appropriate time.

70. Mr. GENDA (Hungary) said that through the efforts of the national liberation movements, with the support of progressive forces throughout the world, the struggle to put an end to the colonial system had entered its final stage. Consequently, the United Nations should intensify its efforts and add to the measures it had already adopted, namely General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the programme of action for the full implementation of that Declaration, and Security Council resolution 277 (1970), which stated that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security. It was regrettable that those and other resolutions had not achieved the desired results. There were several reasons for that fact: first of all, the Government of the United Kingdom, as administering Power, had done almost nothing to implement the resolutions or bring down the illegal régime and enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise in full their right to self-determination and independence. Secondly, the administering Power had turned a blind eye to the racist Smith régime's policy of segregation and oppression and its continued terrorist, Fascist activities. In Southern Rhodesia, patriots were imprisoned in concentration camps; biological, chemical and incendiary weapons were used against the people, and close collaboration had been established with the racist régime in South Africa, whose armed support for the Smith régime constituted a threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring African States. Yet, the administering Power refused to expel the interventionist South African forces from the Territory. Thirdly, some Western Governments, particularly in countries belonging to NATO, were providing support to the illegal, racist minority régime, thus enabling it to continue its Fascist policies. Those countries maintained economic and trade relations with the illegal régimes in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Security Council's resolutions, and they supported the illegal régime in its efforts to suppress resistance and the national liberation movements. Nevertheless, it was obvious that the forces of international imperialism were suffering a severe defeat. His delegation, together with an overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations, strongly condemned the Fascist Smith régime and its imperialist collaborators. All progressive forces in the world supported the people of Zimbabwe in their freedom struggle. His country would endorse all measures aimed at intensifying the moral and material support for the national liberation movements and putting an end to the illegal, racist minority régime of Ian Smith.

71. Mr. GHAZZAWI (Jordan), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said that, in his statement to the Committee at the 2094th meeting, the Permanent Representative of Jordan to the United Nations had explained in detail the position of the Jordanian Government regarding certain press reports alleging the sale of arms by Jordan to South Africa. Arab brothers and African friends had recognized that report for

what it was, namely, a smear campaign to undermine Arab-African solidarity. Jordan would under no circumstances knowingly permit the sale of its obsolete arms or equipment to any régime whose policy was hostile to Africa's struggle for freedom and independence. It could not do otherwise, since in recent years, like the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, it, too, had been a victim of alien occupation. In order to dispel all possible doubt in friendly circles, his Government had launched an investigation of the matter; it had also tightened its supervision of procedures for disposing of obsolete equipment and now demanded a user's certificate from purchasers. It had communicated its views in that regard to OAU, through the League of Arab States, and to the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on *Apartheid*.⁴

72. As his country's representative had said at the earlier meeting, it was necessary to co-operate in a spirit of mutual confidence in order to avoid damaging the common cause through suspicion. It was important to be wary of press reports and not take them at face value. For example, on 11 September 1974 the newspaper *The Christian Science Monitor* had published a dispatch from its correspondent in the capital of an African State alleging that various products manufactured in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were on display in supermarkets there. Needless to say, that

⁴ A/AC.115/L.393.

report—like the article which had appeared in the 14 September issue of *The Guardian* regarding Jordan's alleged sale of arms to Southern Rhodesia—represented yet another attempt to create doubts, since no African State would knowingly permit the import of goods from the racist régimes.

73. Mr. KARINGI (Kenya) thanked the representative of Jordan for his explanation. However, until such time as the United Nations was in possession of all the facts, the question would remain open and would continue to be of the utmost importance. He therefore hoped that Jordan would expedite its investigation of the matter.

74. Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana) said that he wished to clarify the Jamaican representative's reference to the railway line which passed through Botswana. Although it did not own the line in question, his country had taken measures to ensure that Rhodesia did not use it to evade the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. His Government had recently decided to purchase the line.

75. Mr. BOOTHE (Jamaica), referring to the clarification by the representative of Botswana, said that his delegation had never had the slightest doubt concerning the situation with regard to the railway line; it had merely presented the information which it had received.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.

2098th meeting

Friday, 25 October 1974, at 10.50 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2098

AGENDA ITEM 67

Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/9623/Add.2, A/9809, A/C.4/777)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. ZABARAH (Yemen) said that almost nine years had elapsed since the unilateral declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia. The situation in that Territory, the African population of which was subjected to various forms of oppression, in contempt of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, was a challenge to the international community.

2. As was shown by the statements of the representatives of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) at the 2093rd meeting, the crimes committed by the Smith clique were manifold and the repression was being intensified. Yet there seemed to be little chance of achieving an early settlement, according to the statement made at the 2092nd meeting by the representative of the United Kingdom, the administering Power.

3. In view of the flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter, strong measures were required, and his country, like other States, considered that the provisions of many resolutions adopted by both the General Assembly and the Security Council must be strictly applied, in particular Security Council resolution 253 (1968) imposing economic sanctions against the illegal régime. The economic boycott was one of the means which should make it possible to bring the Smith régime to reason. The national liberation movements must be

encouraged in their struggle for independence and all States should provide them with substantial moral and material assistance. His delegation was convinced that force could never prevent a people from freeing itself from oppression. The violation of human rights could not be tolerated, especially in the twentieth century, and all peoples still subjected to colonial domination must be encouraged to rise in rebellion and free themselves. It was the duty of the United Nations to extend a helping hand to them and to participate actively in the elimination of the last bastions of colonialism.

4. His delegation wished to congratulate the Territories which would soon become independent, and expressed the hope that the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe would rapidly achieve victory.

5. Mr. LESSING (German Democratic Republic), noting that almost nine years had elapsed since the unilateral declaration of independence, briefly reviewed the history of the conquest of Southern Rhodesia, which was named after the illustrious Cecil Rhodes, who at that time had been Prime Minister of Cape Province. The greed of the conquerors continued to prevail among the white settlers of the racist régime, which was a political absurdity since Southern Rhodesia was a State without being a nation.

6. As was apparent from chapter VIII 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/9623/Add.2) and the statements of the representatives of ZAPU and ZANU at the 2093rd meeting, the racist régime was intensifying its oppression, strengthening its military and police forces and