

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-THIRD SESSION

Official Records *



UN/SA COLLECTION

FOURTH COMMITTEE

14th meeting

held on

Thursday, 2 November 1978

at 3 p.m.

New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 14th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. DOLGUCHITS (Byelorussian Soviet
Socialist Republic)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 93: QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA: 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 (continued)

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

* This record is subject to correction. Corrections should be incorporated in a copy of the record and should be sent *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, room A-3550.

Corrections will be issued shortly after the end of the session, in a separate fascicle for each Committee.

Distr. GENERAL

A/C.4/33/SR.14

9 November 1978

ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: SPANISH

The meeting was called to order at 3 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 93: QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA: 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 (continued) (A/33/231/Add.1, A/33/61, A/33/63, A/33/118, A/33/151, A/33/206, A/33/279, A/33/291; A/C.4/33/2)

1. Mr. PRAKASH (India) said that the people of India had felt closely involved in every aspect of the struggle against apartheid, racism and racial discrimination in southern Africa ever since the end of the nineteenth century, when Mahatma Gandhi had first launched his non-violent struggle against those evils in South Africa.
2. The debate on the question of Southern Rhodesia at the current session seemed to be marked by a sense of despair. The statement made by the representative of the administering Power did not hold out much hope for an early and peaceful transition to genuine independence and majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. His delegation supported all efforts to secure a just solution of the problem of Zimbabwe, including negotiations between the parties concerned. In that context, it recognized that the United Kingdom-United States proposals presented to the United Nations on 1 September 1977 did constitute a basis for negotiations. The Patriotic Front - the national liberation movement of Zimbabwe - had consistently demonstrated its willingness to participate in such negotiations and even to attend an all-party conference within the framework of those proposals. The negotiations towards that end had, however, been consistently stalled by the continued intransigence of the illegal Smith régime. It seemed clear that unless the necessary pressure was brought to bear on that régime by the originators of the proposals and by those Western countries which had the necessary leverage, the racist minority group would persist in its refusal to compromise.
3. His delegation rejected any attempts to legitimize the so-called internal settlement contained in the Salisbury agreement of 3 March 1978. That agreement, which the Security Council had rejected as illegal in its resolution 423 (1978), was clearly a mere extension of the illegal Smith régime. The Salisbury régime must relinquish power to a truly representative transitional government, after which the process of free elections could be initiated.
4. The statements made in the debate by the representatives of the Patriotic Front showed how, despite their willingness to negotiate, they had been frustrated at every turn by the complete intransigence of the illegal minority régime. Within the region, the illegal régime had been resorting increasingly to aggression against neighbouring countries, such as Zambia and Mozambique, which had consistently and at great sacrifice supported the liberation movement of the people of Southern Rhodesia. Such raids, the latest of which had taken place no more than two weeks earlier, involved a clear infringement of the sovereignty of the front-line States and were an affront to the international community. His Government had vehemently condemned the raids into Zambia and Mozambique, which were unmistakably aimed at undermining the efforts to achieve a peaceful and negotiated solution of the problem of Zimbabwe. Those raids had taken place at a time when Ian Smith and his gang

/...

(Mr. Prakash, India)

had been in Washington. India regretted the decision by the United States administration to give Ian Smith a visa, in contravention of the Security Council's mandatory sanctions.

5. The United Nations had responded to Smith's unilateral declaration of independence by adopting comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, which were specified in Security Council resolution 253 (1968) and subsequent Council resolutions. The Security Council Committee on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia had compiled valuable information indicating that there was widespread evasion of sanctions by multinational companies based in Western countries. The Bingham report proved beyond reasonable doubt that if it had not been for the sanctions-busting activities carried out by oil companies in the United Kingdom, with the active assistance of French oil companies, the illegal Smith régime would have been brought to its knees within months of the adoption of mandatory economic sanctions. It was clear that the Smith régime was surviving only through the connivance of foreign economic interests. Security Council sanctions had also been rendered ineffective by the massive and undisguised support provided to the Smith régime by the racist minority régime of South Africa. His delegation whole-heartedly supported the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa, as a means not only of terminating the illegal rule of Ian Smith and South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia but also of bringing to an end the hated practice of apartheid in South Africa itself.

6. It was time for the United Nations and the Security Council to review existing sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, with a view to tightening and extending them in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter. Even pending the adoption of sanctions against South Africa, his delegation urged the adoption of measures to extend the application of sanctions legislation, in order to close all loop-holes which allowed the continued supply of oil to Southern Rhodesia. That could be done by extending the application of sanctions legislation to the South African subsidiaries of Western oil companies. The international community could demand guarantees from the South African Government that petroleum products imported into South Africa or manufactured from crude oil supplied to South Africa would not, in any circumstances, be exported to Southern Rhodesia, but such guarantees, from the South African Government would be worthless, and the only alternative would be the imposition of a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa itself.

7. Mr. RAMANDRAIARISOA (Madagascar) recalled that the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity had repeatedly declared that the racist Salisbury régime was illegal and that the Patriotic Front was the sole representative of the people of Zimbabwe.

8. After carefully examining the statement made at the Committee's 10th meeting of the current session by the representative of the administering Power, his delegation felt that that statement contained no positive elements which would make it possible to achieve without further delay the objectives set out in the decisions and resolutions of the international community.

/...

(Mr. Ramandraiarisoa, Madagascar)

9. His delegation wished to reaffirm its position regarding several issues to which it attached particular importance and which appeared to raise doubts and reservations in the minds of certain delegations. Those issues were the struggle being waged by the people of Zimbabwe and the role which the United Nations could play in the process of Zimbabwe's decolonization.

10. Regarding the struggle being waged by the people of Zimbabwe, the United Kingdom should try to understand clearly what role it must play and should fulfil its obligations honestly. On the pretext of trying to create a so-called democratic and multiracial society - a society in which not even the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia believed, for they were already emigrating to other countries - the administering Power was in fact merely trying to create, with the complicity of South Africa and its allies, a bastion of imperialism and neo-colonialism in the region. Everyone was aware that such foreign complicity with the Smith régime only served to strengthen its position still further, to the detriment of the people of Zimbabwe.

11. The attempts to lift the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, the overt manoeuvres involving petroleum, the hiring of mercenaries in Western countries to keep the régime in power and, most recently, the authorization granted by the United States Government to Ian Smith to enter that country were clear proof that some States Members of the United Nations were in collusion with the racist régime. It was because of that complicity that, after exhausting all possible forms of negotiation, the people of Zimbabwe had, as a last resort, decided on armed struggle. His Government would give that people its whole-hearted moral, diplomatic and material support. It was to be hoped that all nations would give increased support to the liberation movement of the people of Zimbabwe.

12. With regard to the role which could be played by the United Nations, he emphasized the principle that freedom was not negotiable and said that the United Kingdom-United States proposals were no more than half-measures aimed at preserving the direct or indirect domination of imperialism and neo-colonialism over the future of Zimbabwe. The proposals did not meet the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe or conform to the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions. At one point in his statement, the representative of the Patriotic Front had said that Zimbabwe's objective was not to elect a president, but to destroy colonialism and its institutions, secure total and genuine independence and democratize all the institutions and the life-style of Zimbabwe. It had been for those reasons that the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, in one of the resolutions they had approved in 1978, had rejected and condemned the Salisbury internal settlement and the puppet government established under that agreement. The Heads of State and Government had also expressed support for the armed struggle of the Patriotic Front.

13. His delegation believed that the decolonization of Southern Rhodesia should form part of a strategy elaborated by the United Nations for the total liberation of southern Africa and for the maintenance of peace and security in that region in particular, and in the world in general. The United Nations must reaffirm its authority by insisting more firmly on the strict and immediate implementation of its resolutions and refusing to be relegated to a secondary or marginal role, incompatible with its function as the main centre for negotiations and the settlement of international problems.

/...

14. Mr. AL-ELFI (Democratic Yemen) said that, since the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965, the international community had stood by helplessly watching the injustices suffered by the people of Zimbabwe and had been unable to restrain Ian Smith's illegal racist régime in its policy of detentions, killings, trampling over human rights, racial discrimination and apartheid.

15. Chapter V 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/33/23 (Part IV)) showed that the racist régime was spending \$US 1 million a day on military operations and was continuing to recruit mercenaries to repress the people of Zimbabwe. There were repeated acts of aggression against the neighbouring African countries of Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana, and the populations of those countries were suffering from the effects of the destructive raids carried out by the Smith régime.

16. It was common knowledge that the racist and Zionist régimes were trying to retain their entrenched positions and perpetuate their domination and the illegal exploitation of the people's resources. Democratic Yemen condemned the Smith régime's manoeuvres to keep the racist minority in power and declared that the internal settlement was illegal and unacceptable.

17. It was hardly necessary to stress the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination in accordance with the United Nations Charter and with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Moreover, the racist régime, in connivance with other régimes, could not have remained in power without the help of the capitalist countries which were continuing their exploitation. Just as imperialism, by establishing Israel in the heart of the Arab world, had created a hotbed of aggression, the racist régimes in southern Africa were endangering the security of the entire continent.

18. Ian Smith's visit to the United States had been no more than a farce which violated the international boycott imposed on the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. After receiving Ian Smith at the highest level, the United States, which wished to disguise its true intentions, was now trying to release Smith from his past obligations. In practical terms, there was no disagreement between the Southern Rhodesian régime and the United States with regard to holding a broader conference.

19. The visible intentions of the United States Government could be summarized as follows: First, it wished to impose its conditions on the solution of the problem of Southern Rhodesia, under the pretext of playing a peace-making role. That would clearly involve a compromise between the plan put forward by the United States and that of the revolutionaries, but the latter knew perfectly well that the objective of the United States was to protect its interests in the region. Second, the United States wished to create a buffer zone between the racist régime and its opponents in broad geographical areas of Africa. The guarantees offered to the racists of southern Africa were designed to consolidate the presence of the United States and enable it to form close alliances. Third, the United States was trying to undermine African unity and weaken the cause of the national liberation movements. When the Patriotic Front had declared its determination to pursue its legitimate liberation struggle, it had clearly defined its principal enemy.

/...

(Mr. Al-Elfi, Democratic Yemen)

20. The Socialist Party of Democratic Yemen supported all the national liberation movements of the world and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that were fighting for peace and progress. It condemned colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and interference in the internal affairs of the States on the part of the imperialist countries. National liberation was indivisible, and liberation movements, whether in Palestine, Zimbabwe or southern Africa, were all equally confronting imperialism.

21. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Democratic Yemen had said in the General Assembly, the only way to liquidate the colonial racist régimes in Africa was to intensify the armed struggle until the peoples attained the sovereignty and independence to which they aspired. That posed a challenge to the international community, which must firmly support the just struggle of the African peoples and extend to them all material and moral support. His delegation saluted the struggle of the nationalists in Namibia and Zimbabwe and extended its full support to the legitimate representative of those peoples, SWAPO and the Patriotic Front.

22. The Government of the United Kingdom, in its capacity as the administering Power, must assume its full responsibility and help put an end to the explosive situation in the region. Democratic Yemen condemned the coalition of the United Kingdom and certain petroleum companies of that country which, as could be seen from the Bingham report, were violating sanctions and contributing to the consolidation of the régime, it urged that the sanctions should be broadened, in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter.

23. No matter what support the régime received, the advance of history could not be stemmed, and the people of Zimbabwe would not relax its efforts until final victory, supported by all the peoples of the world which cherished peace, freedom and socialism.

24. Mr. NICINSKY (Poland) said it was regrettable that, despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the world community was still facing the problem of Southern Rhodesia. The racist minority régime of Ian Smith continued to cling to power and to deprive the people of Zimbabwe of their fundamental rights to self-determination and independence.

25. The current situation was characterized by two opposite trends: on the one hand, growing resistance by the Zimbabwean people against the Smith régime, as manifested by the intensification of the national liberation struggle led by forces of the Patriotic Front; on the other hand, attempts by the Smith régime, frightened by that development, to create the impression that it was ready to terminate its illegal rule, while at the same time it was stepping up repression. As indicated in the recent report of the Special Committee (A/33/23/Add.1), during 1977 the illegal régime had intensified its policy of systematic torture of innocent African civilians and had forced them to live in so-called "protected villages", which were de facto concentration camps. In order to suppress the mounting opposition of the people of Zimbabwe, the Smith régime had taken further steps to strengthen its military forces, using for that purpose a large number of mercenaries recruited in some Western countries. According to the Special Committee's report

/...

(Mr. Nicinsky, Poland)

(A/33/23 (Part IV)), the annual appropriations for the régime's armed forces and police had increased from 22,220 Southern Rhodesian dollars in 1964/65 to 197,468 Southern Rhodesian dollars in 1977/78, a ninefold increase.

26. Those facts revealed the real intentions of the Smith régime and illustrated clearly the real meaning of the "internal settlement" engineered a few months earlier in order to deceive world public opinion and weaken international pressure on the racist régime.

27. Of particular concern were Southern Rhodesia's repeated acts of aggression against independent neighbouring African States, in spite of the many United Nations resolutions condemning such acts of provocation against sovereign nations. Only a few weeks earlier, the People's Republic of Mozambique had been a victim of such aggression. More recently, the Republic of Zambia had been a victim.

28. How could a handful of racists keep its grip over a nation of more than 6 million people and create a serious threat to the peace and security of the entire region? That would certainly have been impossible, were it not for the continuous support extended to the Smith régime by colonialist forces and Western capital channelled through the transnational corporations.

29. His delegation felt that only a solution which complied fully with the position of the Patriotic Front, recognized by the Organization of African Unity as the sole liberation movement of Zimbabwe, could really guarantee the interests of that nation. A solution should not deprive the people of the fruits of their liberation struggle and should secure an unconditional transfer of power to the Patriotic Front, with due regard for the right of the people of Zimbabwe to choose their own way of development.

30. Those views were reflected in the joint Polish-Nigerian declaration signed at Warsaw on 9 June 1978 on the occasion of the visit to Poland by the Head of State of Nigeria, Lieutenant-General Olusegun Obasanjo. The Polish delegation was convinced that at the current crucial moment in the struggle for a free and independent Zimbabwe, it would be a grave mistake to take any steps that would weaken the international pressure on the Smith régime. On the contrary, the situation called for intensification of existing measures, which would bring about complete and effective isolation of the régime. Accordingly, it was necessary to strengthen the existing sanctions, broaden their scope to include other measures envisaged in Article 41 of the Charter and prevent the recruitment of foreign mercenaries for the racist régime's forces.

31. Mr. NAOURI (Jordan) noted that throughout history mankind had witnessed various forms of subjection of man by man. The twentieth century had known the most aberrant form of oppression, the establishment of racist régimes such as those existing in southern Africa, where Africans had been enslaved in their own territory by foreigners, who were subjugating them, exploiting them by force and plundering their natural resources. Southern Rhodesia and its ally, South Africa, were acting

/...

(Mr. Naouri, Jordan)

contrary to the values and ideals to which mankind aspired in respect of human rights, freedom and human dignity. The advances of science had taken twentieth-century man to the moon and outer space, but had not enabled him to wipe out the injustice and inequality which still persisted on earth.

32. There was no need to describe in detail the dismal living conditions prevailing in Zimbabwe, inasmuch as the report of the Patriotic Front had adequately illustrated the situation. Since the item had been brought before the United Nations, a number of resolutions had been adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, without any substantial progress being made. Jordan urged that all existing resolutions should be fully implemented.

33. Jordan supported the legitimate struggle of the Zimbabwean people to recover their inalienable right to self-determination and rid themselves of the yoke of racism. His delegation vehemently condemned the repressive measures by the Smith régime and its vicious aggression against neighbouring countries, such as the recent acts of aggression against Zambia and Mozambique. Such actions would not weaken the people's determination to attain independence and destroy the racist régime. It was incumbent on the international community to help the liberation movements to withstand the aggression and the economic and all types of pressure to which they were being subjected.

34. Mr. VLASCEANU (Romania) said that during the past year no progress had been made towards a solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia, despite the contacts which had continued to take place with some African countries and with the interested parties, primarily on the initiative of the administering Power, in connexion with the Anglo-American proposals transmitted to the Security Council (S/12393 and S/12395) concerning the transfer of power in Rhodesia. The critical situation required new efforts and resolute action at the level of the Organization and at the level of Member States, since the deliberate hindrance of the decolonization process in southern Africa prolonged the oppression and exploitation of the peoples of the region and increased the danger posed by the policies perpetrated by the racist and occupation régimes in the area to international peace and security.

35. The Salisbury régime had become more and more isolated internally and internationally and was suffering serious setbacks at the hands of the liberation forces. Under those circumstances, the régime was stepping up repressive measures against the African population of Southern Rhodesia, slaughtering hundreds of freedom fighters, recruiting mercenaries, adopting legislative and organizational measures to consolidate and perpetuate racist rule in the Territory and consolidating its police and military machinery. At the same time, it was attempting to acquire a semblance of legitimacy inside the country. However, those attempts had been rejected with indignation by the authentic representatives of the people of Zimbabwe, by the African States and by the international community as a whole. The Salisbury régime had attempted to obtain international recognition and secure the lifting of the economic sanctions imposed on Southern Rhodesia. Such efforts were doomed to failure, for the racist régime would not enjoy any type of international legitimacy, since it had been rejected by the majority of the population of the Territory.

/...

(Mr. Vlasceanu, Romania)

36. The illegal régime had recently perpetrated acts of aggression against Mozambique and Zambia: but those acts were just links in the chain of provocations and military incursions against the neighbouring States, and showed that the régime was a fierce enemy of the free African peoples. Such acts of aggression drew attention to the reactionary and dangerous character of the racist minority régime, as did the fact that the régime was a permanent source of tension, adversely affecting understanding, co-operation and stability in the world. The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania had stressed that such acts of aggression against Zambia, Mozambique and other independent African States revealed not the force but the weakness of the racist régime, and represented a desperate attempt to prevent the problems of the region from being settled in accordance with the legitimate wishes of its peoples. Romania strongly condemned those actions and was convinced that they would serve only to intensify the struggle of the national liberation forces.

37. When considering the means by which the United Nations could support the just struggle of the Zimbabwean people at the current stage, it was particularly important to bear in mind that the racist régime was becoming more and more aggressive both within the country and towards the neighbouring independent States. It was also quite obvious that the régime maintained its domination, despite the economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council, only owing to the support received from the foreign economic interests operating in the area and, above all, to the massive assistance supplied by South Africa.

38. The utilization by the Security Council of the means provided by the Charter, and the strengthening, consolidation, extension and strict observance of the economic sanctions represented necessary steps in the effort to eliminate the illegal régime and settle the conflict in a manner conducive to the consolidation of peace and security in that part of Africa and throughout the world.

39. Romania had no relations whatsoever with the illegal régime and scrupulously observed the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. It acted resolutely to bring about the complete and definitive eradication of the legacy of colonialism, the imperialist policy of domination and oppression, and neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid. It considered that any interference in the internal affairs of other peoples, and any attempt to strengthen foreign domination, including attempts made through colonialist and racist régimes, spurred rival attempts to maintain or redivide the spheres of influence in the world.

40. Romania granted multilateral political, diplomatic, moral and material help to the people of Zimbabwe and their national liberation movement. It fully supported the right of the oppressed peoples and their liberation movements to combine their means of struggle, believing that unity between the movements was essential to victory in the struggle by those peoples for independence and respect for their right to determine their own future. It therefore recognized the right of the Zimbabwean people and their liberation movement to use all means at their disposal, including armed struggle, and to receive the necessary assistance. The

/...

(Mr. Vlasceanu, Romania)

United Nations should play a more active role in the decolonization process and any initiative aimed at the settlement of the Rhodesian problem must be able to count on the approval and support of the United Nations. His delegation supported the requests addressed to the Committee by the representatives of the Patriotic Front and was ready to co-operate with other delegations in order to work out any effective measures required by the current situation in Southern Rhodesia.

41. Mr. SEKYI (Ghana) observed that the question of Rhodesia reappeared year after year on the agenda of the General Assembly as regularly as one of the celestial bodies. Regrettably, the situation prevailing in Rhodesia was a man-made phenomenon which became more serious year by year. Impossible as it might seem, the sufferings of the innocent were increasing, for the racist régime was giving petty public employees licence to torture people in order to suppress nationalism, and the mutilated corpses of guerrillas and, in many cases, African civilians who had no connexion with the guerrillas, were put on public display or shown in photographs so as to dissuade those who might co-operate with the guerrillas. Almost the entire population of the north-eastern sector was confined to "protected villages", which were really concentration camps riddled with malnutrition and disease. The region under martial law was widening every month. The courts martial had absolute power, and death sentences were irrevocable. Africans were conscripted into bearing arms against their kith and kin in order to defend bastions of privilege from which they were excluded. The incursions into neighbouring countries were largely directed against women, children and unarmed men. Although all such acts of barbarism received less attention in the press than the retaliation they often provoked, the mere fact that they occurred was a sign and admission of impending defeat as were also the flagging economy and the exodus of the racists.

42. Above the whole chaotic situation there was the so-called "internal settlement", an ingenious arrangement allowing Smith to take any governmental measures, since the supreme authority, the Executive Council, which contained three more members, who were black, had to take its decisions by consensus. In theory, any of the members of the Council could exercise the right of veto, but in practice only Smith's will counted. The reason was that the full machinery of racist rule was embodied in the basic structures. The Ministerial Council comprised 18 ministers, two for each portfolio, of whom one was nominated by Smith and the other by the three black members of the Executive Council. Below the ministerial level, the structures and personnel remained as they had been before. The new black ministers therefore had very little influence over a structure used to obeying white men. Moreover, they had no majority with which to overrule the white ministers. It could be seen, therefore, that power remained in the hands of the white minority and Smith had the supreme right of veto.

43. One of the principal functions of the so-called Executive Council, where Smith wielded his power, was to fill in the details of the constitutional agreement of Rhodesia, a constitutional framework which gave the whites 28 seats in a parliament of 100 for a minimum period of 10 years. Every detail of that constitutional framework would come under Smith's scrutiny, including the composition of the commission without whose recommendation the proposed

/...

(Mr. Sekyi, Ghana)

constitution could not be amended, even after 10 years. Until then at least, the armed forces, police and public services would be beyond the control of the majority, under the domination of the whites, but the elections would be held under their supervision. It was not surprising, then, that truly nationalist groups like the Patriot Front utterly rejected the settlement.

44. The Government of Ghana had condemned the internal settlement as a racist bid for respectability and recognition through a strategem which would preclude the majority of the inhabitants of Zimbabwe from exercising real and stable power in their own country.

45. The power of the racist structures was based on their grip over the defence and internal security forces, the true attributes of sovereignty and levels of power. The cardinal aim of the racist strategy had been and would continue to be to retain that grip. In the Security Council, even before the Unilateral Declaration of Independence, his delegation had expressed regret that the administering Power had handed the instruments of aggression, oppression and torture to a gang of racists. Moreover, it had emphasized that all the attempts to settle the Rhodesia problem by diplomatic means had failed for precisely that reason, which, it appeared, would also be the downfall of the Anglo-American proposal. Regrettably, the racist régime had stated it was not ready to give up its grip on the defence forces, but until it did there could not be any lasting settlement.

46. Pressure should accompany and support negotiation, not merely substitute for it. The struggle would and should continue as a legitimate form of pressure. The General Assembly should reaffirm its support for the armed struggle: it was to be hoped that it would do so unanimously. The losses of life were lamentable, but if sanctions had been applied more effectively in the past, the armed struggle would not have acquired such importance as the only form of pressure against the intransigent resistance of the racists. The sanctions must be applied strictly, and penalties must be imposed on the parent companies whose African subsidiaries breached the sanctions. Most important of all, the yawning gap in the cordon, through which sanctions were violated with the active co-operation of certain States Members of the United Nations, as the Bingham report had shown, must be closed. Since the end of the Portuguese empire, the sanctions had undoubtedly been violated through the ports of the apartheid régime. Consequently, sanctions should also be applied to the Pretoria régime, which was practically the only source or channel for the supply of fuel, lubricants, merchandise, investments, military equipment and military personnel to the Smith régime. The embargo on oil supplies would not seriously affect the economy of South Africa, which was only marginally dependent on oil imports, but would paralyse road and air transport, immobilizing the military arm of the apartheid régime and its Rhodesian surrogate, forcing both régimes to capitulate. Those who believed that an oil embargo could not be applied to South Africa should read the conclusions of the excellent study carried out by Mr. Bailey and Mr. Rivers. Those who argued that sanctions against South Africa could bring the negotiations to a halt should recall that Smith had not refused to negotiate when sanctions were imposed and Boita, too, would not

/...

(Mr. Sekyi, Ghana)

refuse, although in any case the negotiations were of little importance since the embargo would force the régimes to capitulate. His delegation emphatically repeated its call for sanctions under Article 41 of the Charter, beginning, as a minimum, with a mandatory embargo on oil supplies to the apartheid régime.

47. Mr. CHOU Nan (China) said that the people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, had in the past year made progress that had carried the struggle for independence and national liberation into a new phase. However, the Smith régime was fighting with increasing desperation as it edged towards destruction. Working hand in glove with the South African racist régime and using counter-revolutionary tactics, alternating political deception with military repression, it was attempting to maintain its precarious rule. The so-called "internal settlement" was a downright political fraud, designed to perpetuate its enslavement of the people of Zimbabwe. That agreement had been categorically rejected by the people of Zimbabwe and strongly condemned by the peoples and countries of Africa and many others throughout the world.

48. The racist authorities of Southern Rhodesia had stepped up their barbaric repression, and, recently, within a span of less than a month, they had attacked Mozambique and Zambia, grossly violating the independence and sovereignty of those countries.

49. The two super-Powers, each driven by the strategic need to contend for world hegemony, were intensifying their rivalry in the entire southern African region. One of them, to preserve its enormous vested interests in that region, was actively supporting the racist régime and, in defiance of the opposition of many African countries and in direct violation of the relevant Security Council resolutions, had openly decided to issue visas to the head of the racist régime, Smith, and others. The other super-Power, styling itself the "natural ally" of the African people, was hastily carrying out an infiltration and expansion plan in Zimbabwe and throughout southern Africa. Under the signboard of "support for the national liberation movements" it was doing its utmost to sow discord, employ double-dealing methods, and stir up conflicts among the African countries and the national liberation organizations. It undermined the unity and struggle of the Zimbabwean people, using them to further its designs for world hegemony, in order to bring the entire region of southern Africa, rich in resources and strategically important, into its own sphere of influence.

50. However, it was, after all, the peoples of Zimbabwe and southern Africa who would decide the future of Zimbabwe and the whole of southern Africa. As had been recently pointed out by a leader of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, armed struggle was the only means of attaining Zimbabwe's national independence. In a resolution adopted at the fifteenth session of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held in 1978, the Smith régime had been strongly condemned for its so-called "internal settlement". The resolution had also reiterated OAU's support for the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe.

/...

(Mr. Chou Nan, China)

51. The Chinese Government and people had consistently supported the just struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania against racism, colonialism and hegemonism, and for national independence and liberation. At its current session, the General Assembly should strongly condemn the illegal rule of the racist régime and resolutely support the people of Zimbabwe. The United Nations must carry out its responsibility to end colonial and racist rule in southern Africa.

52. Mr. KATHAYAT (Nepal) said that, since its unilateral declaration of independence, the racist minority régime had oppressed the people of Zimbabwe, following a policy of racial discrimination, exploitation and infringement of rights. For their part, the people of Zimbabwe had intensified their just struggle for liberation, forcing the minority régime to resort to various manoeuvres to sustain its illegal domination. In fact, the "internal settlement" announced in March 1978 was nothing but an attempt by Smith to preserve white supremacy, which was why the Security Council, in its resolution 423 (1978), had declared it illegal and unacceptable to the world community.

53. It was lamentable that some States had not been able to comply with General Assembly and Security Council resolutions calling for strict observance of economic sanctions against the Ian Smith régime. His country had always supported United Nations measures to eliminate the illegal régime and establish majority rule, and it held the view that, if the régime still refused to submit to the will of the people of Zimbabwe, there would be no alternative but to take further steps for its total isolation from the world community.

54. For a negotiated settlement of the problem of Southern Rhodesia, no one could disagree on the necessity of starting talks that included all the parties concerned. In that respect, the authors of the Anglo-American proposals bore the greatest responsibility for compelling the illegal régime to attend an all-party conference. His delegation hoped that the efforts of the United Kingdom and the United States of America would not fail.

55. In view of the intensified liberation struggle and the growing violence in the Territory, as well as the continued aggression by the minority régime against neighbouring countries, it was urgent that the international community should resolve to take the strongest possible measures to deal a final blow to the Smith régime and to assist the struggling people of Zimbabwe to achieve their right to self-determination and independence.

56. Mr. GAZDIK (Hungary) said that the source of the increased tension in southern Africa, especially in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, was the growing aggressiveness of the racist régimes against the black population and the neighbouring independent African States. The racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury were linked together not only by their obsession to maintain the white minority in power, but also by their economic, social and ideological goals, and by the fact that they represented the last outposts of colonialism and racism.

(Mr. Gazdik, Hungary)

57. In the case of the Smith régime, the victories of the patriotic forces and the mounting pressure of the international community were taking effect; its white-supremacy power-structure had been shaken by the widespread opposition of the black population, by economic sluggishness, and by the growing number of whites who were leaving the country. Given those circumstances, the countries that had some influence on the Salisbury régime had permitted it to gain strength, rather than applying more pressure and sanctions. A series of confidential meetings of various kinds had been held with the declared purpose of creating conditions for the transfer of power to the majority. None the less, the only result of that diplomatic campaign had been Smith's announcement, on 3 March 1978, of an internal settlement patterned on apartheid, with the result that neither were the sufferings of Zimbabwe lessened nor was the prestige of the United Nations enhanced.

58. The truth was that Smith was determined to reject any proposal leading to a transfer of power to the Zimbabwean people. Hence it was difficult to understand the purpose of his visit to the United States, which had been described as a "unique opportunity" to continue the discussions and to try to convince Smith and his colleagues of the necessity of accepting majority rule. Smith, on the other hand, had considered the invitation to visit the United States as a boost for his policy. In that respect, it should be pointed out that the incursion by Rhodesian troops into Mozambique and Zambia had coincided with the visit.

59. The cardinal element underlying the recent diplomatic activity was the intention to safeguard the huge economic interests of the transnational corporations of the leading Western countries, which resorted to new political initiatives aimed at saving the essence of the racist régime that guaranteed them the plunder of resources belonging to the people of Zimbabwe. The economic interests of the transnational corporations explained why the economic sanctions had not been carried out and why the Western countries were not willing to apply them against South Africa. In that connexion the U.S. News and World Report of 30 October 1978 had noted that there were sound economic and security reasons for opposing sanctions: according to some Western experts, sanctions would endanger the West's supply of high-grade chrome needed for production of stainless steel and space-age metals. It had pointed out that, while South Africa and Rhodesia produced 89 per cent of the world's chrome requirements, the United States mined none.

60. In spite of the militarization and escalating repression of the Smith régime, his delegation was confident that the Zimbabwean people, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, would succeed in liberating their motherland from the illegal rule of the racists. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic had said in the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly, the Hungarian people was convinced that no manoeuvring could prevent the victory of the Patriotic Front, and would assist the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for liberation from colonial bondage and the domination of the white minority. A just and lasting solution to the problem of Rhodesia would require the ending of the illegal racist minority régime and the elimination of its machinery of oppression and repression especially its armed and security forces, and the transfer of power from the minority to the Patriotic Front, the legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe.

61. His delegation also condemned once again all the manoeuvres of the illegal régime, including the so-called internal settlement. It believed that the international community must take effective measures to prevent the Smith régime from recruiting mercenaries and must, above all, impose and apply sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and its main ally, South Africa. If the United Nations failed to take any steps, because of the opposition of some of its Western Member States, the situation in southern Africa would deteriorate further, with ominous consequences for international peace and security.

62. Mr. GHAZALI (Malaysia) said that his delegation had observed with concern that, so far, all measures to put an end to the illegal Smith régime and bring about black majority rule in Zimbabwe had proved futile. Economic sanctions had also failed to bring about the desired results. Clearly, that failure was due to the fact that certain countries were collaborating with the illegal régime, thus bolstering it and enabling it to defy the world with greater impunity.

63. There had been very little diminution of the role of foreign economic and other interests in the economy of Rhodesia. Unless the countries concerned severed such links, the régime would continue its illegal existence, frustrating all attempts by the United Nations to achieve majority rule.

64. The principal aider and abettor of the illegal Smith régime was South Africa, which continued to defy numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It was evident that South African forces were providing reinforcements to Southern Rhodesian troops, thus helping the illegal régime to perpetuate its acts of aggression against neighbouring African States, namely Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. In particular, the recent armed aggression by Rhodesian troops against Zambia was a matter of grave concern to his delegation.

65. Earlier in the year, Smith had engaged in another deceptive manipulation to confuse international opinion on the situation in Southern Rhodesia. On 3 March 1978, he had forced through the so-called Salisbury Agreement, which was supposed to bring about an internal solution of the problem. That "internal settlement" was none other than a treacherous design to retain power and to sabotage all attempts by the United Nations to bring about a peaceful and democratic transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe. His delegation shared the views of Mr. Joshua Nkomo of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, as expressed in August 1978 before the Special Committee of 24, to the effect that the fundamental purpose of the Salisbury Agreement was to retain and consolidate civil, military, economic and political power in the hands of the minority. The international community should join forces in resolutely rejecting and condemning that agreement, and should support Security Council resolution 423 (1978), which declared as illegal and unacceptable any internal settlement under the auspices of the illegal régime.

66. It was clear that at the present time the Anglo-American proposals offered the best prospects for a peaceful solution of the problem since they could serve as a useful basis for further negotiation. His delegation urged the United States and the United Kingdom, with United Nations assistance, to continue their efforts

/...

(Mr. Ghazali, Malaysia)

to hold discussions within the framework of the proposals with all the parties concerned, with a view to bringing about a free and independent Zimbabwe under majority rule.

67. Malaysia recognized the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence and supported the struggle being waged by the liberation movement to achieve that goal.

68. Mr. AURANGZEB (Pakistan) said that, year after year, the Smith régime had flouted the efforts of the United Nations on behalf of the independence of Zimbabwe and majority rule. Those resolutions and decisions of the United Nations had remained ineffective because of the lack of political will on the part of those States which, despite their solemn undertakings in the United Nations, continued to collaborate with the illegal racist régime. Strict enforcement of the existing sanctions against the Salisbury régime was an important element in the collective effort of the international community to promote a settlement of the conflict in Zimbabwe. His delegation had listened with interest to the proposal of the Reverend Michael Scott that the United Nations should conduct its own investigation into the violation of sanctions and publish its findings. The way in which the various countries were circumventing the sanctions came to light only occasionally, through the publication of documents such as the Bingham report and the book by J. Jardim, Sanctions Double-cross.

69. Pakistan welcomed the United Kingdom-United States initiative for seeking a peaceful settlement, but considered that the paramount necessity at the present time was for speedy action towards majority rule in Zimbabwe. The United Kingdom Government, as the administering Power, had the primary responsibility in that regard.

70. Pakistan deplored the fact that so little progress had been made and that the illegal Salisbury régime continued to perpetrate acts of brutality against unarmed African civilians. It was high time for the United Nations to contemplate adopting all the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, including the use of force, to bring about the racist régime's compliance with the will of the international community and to transfer all power to the people of Zimbabwe. The international community must make every effort to contribute to the overthrow of the repressive and inhuman Smith régime, to put an end to the colonization of Zimbabwe, and to enable its people, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, to obtain their independence. Pending the achievement of that goal, the international community must continue to provide material and effective assistance to the Patriotic Front.

71. Pakistan advocated the imposition of all measures, including if necessary the use of force in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, to bring down the Smith régime. Accordingly, it had supported and sponsored various resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia which had been adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. In pursuance of those resolutions, Pakistan has severed all relations with Southern Rhodesia, had imposed an embargo on flights between Pakistan and Rhodesia and had prohibited the entry into Pakistani ports of all

/...

(Mr. Aurangzeb, Pakistan)

ships carrying cargo to or from Rhodesia. All telecommunications and postal links with that country had also been severed.

72. His delegation wished to join other speakers in condemning the systematic acts of aggression by the Smith régime against the front-line African States, and declared its full support for and solidarity with those countries. The international community must take effective measures to prevent the repetition of such acts of aggression and render every possible assistance to those countries in defending their territorial integrity and independence.

73. Mr. FATTAH (Egypt) pointed out that, when the Anglo-American proposals had been formulated, the international community had hoped that both countries would bring sufficient pressure to bear on the Smith régime to compel it to accept and implement the provisions thereof, since they included positive elements which might have led to negotiations on a suitable formula which would include the necessary guarantees for the legitimate rights of the black majority and the peaceful transfer of power to the true representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. The Patriotic Front had accepted the proposals, despite the fact that they contained certain negative aspects, thereby demonstrating their good faith and giving concrete proof that as far as the Front was concerned, the armed struggle was not an end in itself but merely a means of realizing the legitimate aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. Smith, realizing the precariousness of his situation, had pretended to accept the proposals, while at the same time initiating intrigue to ensure his survival: he had gone ahead with the "internal settlement" which had been rejected by the people of Zimbabwe, the Patriotic Front and the entire international community. For its part, the Security Council had adopted resolution 423 (1978) condemning the "internal settlement".

74. The deteriorating economic situation and terror had caused the whites to begin emigrating in ever-increasing numbers, at a rate of almost 1,500 persons per month. Smith had resorted to desperate measures to save his régime and strengthen the armed forces; he had introduced conscription for young blacks and recruited white mercenaries through their efficient international network. Those mercenaries were committing barbaric acts against the civilian population and organizing themselves into specialized paramilitary units that competed with one another in murdering and committing barbaric acts of aggression. In addition, neighbouring countries were invaded and subjected to aggression, and recent attacks against Mozambique and Zambia had produced numerous casualties and extensive material destruction.

75. At the international level, the Smith régime made every effort to gain time and break out of its isolation. The recent visit to the United States had been aimed at influencing public opinion and rallying support at a time when certain people in the United States and the United Kingdom were advocating the abolition of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in the interests of achieving a negotiated peaceful settlement.

76. It would appear that the Smith régime was not aware that its end was near and that it did not know how to read the lessons of history. The international community must close ranks against that régime at the current delicate stage of

/...

(Mr. Fattah, Egypt)

events, which would determine the future of Zimbabwe and the region, either through the establishment of an independent State governed by a black majority, or through a bloody explosion that would have repercussions beyond Rhodesia's frontiers, drowning southern Africa in blood.

77. The following steps should be taken forthwith. Firstly, the United States and the United Kingdom should continue their efforts and not be deterred by the difficulties, since they had a direct responsibility in the situation and could bring pressure to bear on Smith to implement the Anglo-American proposals with a view to installing a majority Government. Secondly, it was essential to promote universal implementation of the sanctions imposed by the United Nations, condemn all violations thereof and oppose all attempts to abolish those sanctions. His delegation urged all countries, and particularly the United Kingdom Government, to adopt the necessary measures to prevent British oil companies from continuing to supply the racist régime. Thirdly, the sanctions should be expanded to include all the measures laid down in Article 41 of the Charter, and the Security Council should be urgently requested to adopt a resolution in that respect. Fourthly, the Security Council should be requested to impose an oil embargo against South Africa, whose collaboration in supplying oil to southern Rhodesia was one of the key factors in ensuring the survival of the régime. Fifth, all States concerned should be requested to adopt urgent measures to prevent the illegal minority régime from recruiting their citizens as mercenaries for the Rhodesian army. Sixth, the international community should provide all necessary assistance to the African peoples to enable them to withstand the aggression of the racist régime and cope with the heavy human and material losses resulting from that aggression. Seventh, the popular national liberation movements should be consolidated under the leadership of the Popular Front, and any settlement in which those movements did not participate should be rejected, since they were the legitimate representatives of the people of Zimbabwe.

78. His country had always supported, and would continue to support, the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Popular Front. His delegation was firmly convinced that it was possible to achieve a peaceful settlement. The Anglo-American proposals constituted a sound basis for negotiations aimed at restoring the legitimate rights of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence. His delegation was also convinced that the sincere efforts of the United Nations and all peoples in support of the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia would help them to victory.

79. Mr. CAWEN (Finland) said that the current situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a serious and growing threat to international peace and security. Over the years, the illegal Smith régime had continued to frustrate the numerous attempts to achieve a negotiated settlement. In recent weeks, the Rhodesian armed forces had attacked Mozambique and Zambia. It was now clearer than ever that the only means of putting an end to the violence and bloodshed was through a negotiated peaceful settlement which was acceptable to all parties. The internal settlement between Smith and certain African groups had rightly been rejected by many Africans in Zimbabwe and by the entire international community. There was no doubt that it had been a failure.

/...

80. His country had always believed that there should be a place for all Rhodesians, Africans as well as white, in an independent Zimbabwe. His delegation welcomed the Anglo-American proposals as a serious attempt to bring about a negotiated settlement, acceptable to all parties, which provided for independence through the application of the principle of universal suffrage and provide an independent judiciary and a bill of rights. However, the Anglo-American efforts to bring all parties to the negotiating table had so far been unsuccessful. Meanwhile, thousands of lives had been lost. His delegation hoped that all the parties concerned would finally agree to hold talks.

81. In the light of the present situation in Zimbabwe, the Security Council sanctions must be maintained and every loop-hole must be closed. It was obvious that the South African Government bore the main responsibility for the ineffectiveness of the sanctions. There was an urgent need to prevent oil and oil supplies from reaching the illegal régime through South Africa. Member States should re-examine their sanctions legislation in order to extend its application to subsidiaries of multinational corporations under their jurisdiction.

82. His Government condemned the recent armed attacks by Southern Rhodesia against neighbouring countries. It was the responsibility of the international community to give moral, diplomatic and economic assistance to the peoples and Governments of those front-line States which had had to bear a disproportionately large share of the liberation struggle. The international community must also provide humanitarian assistance to the Zimbabwean people struggling for their liberation.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

83. The CHAIRMAN suggested that the Committee should amend the decision it had adopted at its tenth meeting and extend the deadline for the submission of draft proposals on agenda item 93. If he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee wished to adopt that suggestion.

84. It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.