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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 31st MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MAMPUYA (Zaire)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 92: 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)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 92: 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/32/23/Add.1, A/32/57, A/32/61, A/32/63, A/32/92, A/32/98, A/32/109/Rev.1, A/32/115, A/32/235, A/32/259, A/32/266; S/12393 and S/12395)

1. Mr. HUSSAIN (Sri Lanka) said that the economic sanctions imposed on Southern Rhodesia after the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965 had proved to be not effective enough to topple the illegal régime. Furthermore, there was resistance on the part of some Governments to the imposition of really effective sanctions and Security Council resolutions on the subject tended to be formulated in such a way as to be virtually without force. His delegation was aware of the difficulties which some Governments faced with regard to sanctions, apparently as a result of the fact that parent companies were unable to control the illegitimate activities of their subsidiaries. Those same Governments also seemed to be unable to control the parent companies themselves, although they appeared to be quite expert at exercising sophisticated methods of control over their peoples when it seemed necessary. The inability of those Governments to control certain economic activities which helped Smith to maintain his illegal régime suggested that Karl Marx might have been right when he had said that the governments of capitalist countries were no more than the executive committees of the bourgeoisie.

2. He noted that the question of support for the armed struggle of the liberation movements had become increasingly controversial. It was important to avoid facile conclusions and ill-considered abstentions on narrow grounds. Clearly, no one in his right mind would advocate violence without adequate justification. It was a historic fact that peoples and civilizations, even those like his own which stressed non-violence, had had to resort to armed struggle in order to survive and repel invasions by foreigners. Even though delegations might express strong disapproval of armed struggle and might abstain on certain resolutions on the ground that they gave approval to armed struggle, the people concerned would fight on regardless.

3. Some had argued that armed struggle in Southern Rhodesia jeopardized the success of negotiations for a settlement. It appeared, however, that Smith had declared the Anglo-American proposals for a settlement to be a failure and that he wished to impose his own kind of settlement, while ignoring the Patriotic Front. Just because the United Kingdom and the United States had formulated a plan and were engaged in negotiations with Smith, those who had felt compelled to resort to armed struggle should not be expected to lay down their arms. Armed struggle was, in fact, a kind of negotiation, especially when dealing with a racist like Smith who could not understand any language except force. The recourse to force was part of the Western tradition of political thought, as indicated by the phrase ultima ratio, which could be defined as the final argument, meaning, in particular, force. It might be argued that force, as a final argument, could be justified

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(Mr. Hussain, Sri Lanka)

only if all else had failed. Smith had maintained his illegal régime for over 12 years and the negotiations which had taken place to date were widely regarded as farcical. The black Rhodesians could therefore surely not be blamed for resorting to the final argument, which in no way precluded negotiations but forced Smith to negotiate in earnest.

4. It could also not be said that support for armed struggle was inconsistent with respect for the United Nations Charter. The Charter was not a pacifist document and could in no way be interpreted as requiring the disapproval of the use of armed struggle by the liberation movements. He noted that the liberation movements were now receiving support from only a portion of the international community, with the consequence that when those liberation movements came into power they would naturally feel under an obligation to those who had given them active support. The remedy was not to deplore armed struggle but for the entire international community to give active support to the armed struggle of liberation movements, such as the Patriotic Front. Out of concern for the future position of certain countries in Africa, those countries which had not yet done so should express their support for the armed struggle of the Patriotic Front, and should also provide it with arms. His delegation recognized, however, that that would not occur and suggested therefore that the countries in question should at least refrain from expressing sanctimonious disapproval of armed struggle and from abstaining on certain paragraphs of resolutions because those paragraphs expressed support for armed struggle.

5. On the question of the representation of the Rhodesian people, he noted that it had been said that the Patriotic Front had no political presence within Southern Rhodesia. However, since it appeared that the Smith régime would not even allow the Patriotic Front to function within Southern Rhodesia, there appeared to be no basis for implying that it had no support within the Territory. On the contrary, the African countries feel that the Patriotic Front had the widest support within Southern Rhodesia. His delegation did not wish to prejudge the issue of who constituted the authentic representatives of the Rhodesian people; that was a matter for determination by the people themselves. Clearly, the illegal Smith régime had made it impossible for them to express their views through the normally accepted procedure of free elections. The international community should therefore accept the views of the African countries on the matter, particularly those of the front-line States. The African countries were more concerned about the true interests of the Rhodesian people than were those outside Africa, which tended to pursue their own interests. What was really important at the present time was to attempt to forge a cohesiveness, if not unity, among the different groups which claimed to be representing the Rhodesian people. It was important to realize that no Government in the world and no group claiming representative status had unanimous support. The irrational equivocation with regard to liberation movements on the part of some States suggested that the notorious imperialist tactic of "divide and rule" had been replaced by a new tactic of "divide and delay".

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(Mr. Hussain, Sri Lanka)

6. To those who accepted Smith's good faith in negotiations, he suggested that they should bear in mind that Smith was first of all a racist and that, while he might be honourable in dealing with certain Governments to the extent that their interests coincided with his own, he could hardly be expected to be honourable in his dealings with representatives of the black Rhodesians. Any negotiations with Smith had therefore better be undertaken on the basis of distrust.

7. As for the nature of the future régime to be established in Southern Rhodesia, there was little doubt that eventually the will of the Rhodesian people would assert itself triumphantly, whatever might happen during a transitional period. The future of Southern Rhodesia would be determined by the people and not by outsiders.

8. The problems of southern Africa were of special importance in that colonialism was a far less important dimension there than racism. If it had not been for racism, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia would have long since gained their independence and majority rule would have prevailed in southern Africa. His delegation hoped that, despite signs to the contrary, racism was in the process of diminishing throughout the world. It was convinced that the international civilization of the future would never be realized in any worth-while sense without a notable contribution from the black peoples in Africa and other places. Those peoples had an intimate knowledge of one aspect of man's inhumanity to man and therefore their own contribution to the international civilization of the future would have a distinctive quality. There would be no civilized future for mankind unless the black peoples were allowed to emerge from racist oppression and make their own contribution to a future international civilization. For that reason, the issue of racism in its international dimension was the crux of the southern Africa problem and fully deserved the attention of the Fourth Committee and of the General Assembly.

9. Mr. KHALEF (Iraq) said that the people of Zimbabwe, like the Arab people of Palestine, had suffered from racist settler imperialism at the hands of the United Kingdom. According to the provisions of the Charter, especially Chapter XI, it was a sacred trust of the administering Power to promote the well-being of the people of a Non-Self-Governing Territory and to ensure their social, political and economic advancement so as to enable them to become masters of their own destiny. History showed that that sacred trust had been betrayed, with the result that white settlers had been imported and had been permitted to enslave, exploit and humiliate the people of Zimbabwe. The discriminatory laws on land ownership enacted in Southern Rhodesia could be compared to the measures taken to confiscate land in Palestine and give it to alien settlers.

10. The people of Zimbabwe had sought assistance to regain, through peaceful means, their usurped dignity, honour and land and the United Nations and progressive States had reacted favourably to their appeals. Furthermore, the national liberation movement in Zimbabwe had expressed a sincere desire to find a peaceful solution and had even engaged in negotiations with Smith. The hypocritical methods of the obstinate occupying forces had, however, frustrated that desire; while claiming to be seeking a peaceful solution, Smith had attacked national unity, as well as neighbouring countries. In that connexion, a valid comparison could be drawn with the attacks by Zionist forces in southern Lebanon.

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(Mr. Khalef, Iraq)

11. The vicious racist régime was now seeking to gain time through manoeuvres and the national liberation movement was therefore forced to resort to armed struggle to overthrow it. In that struggle the movement enjoyed the support of the international community in general, and Iraq, in particular.

12. The important question was how Smith could have withstood for so long the sanctions imposed by the Security Council and the numerous United Nations resolutions seeking to isolate his régime. The clear answer could be seen in the continuing flow of Western investment, arms and oil shipments through South Africa in support of Smith's régime. Without such assistance, Smith could clearly not wage aggression against the African front-line States.

13. The people of Zimbabwe and their national liberation movement were now at a crucial stage, since certain imperialist circles which were essentially hostile to liberation struggles were making glittering promises while viciously attempting to undermine the liberation movement. His delegation was, however, convinced that the future was on the side of the militant struggling peoples and the people of Zimbabwe would achieve victory by maintaining extreme vigilance, consolidating their national liberation movement and escalating the armed struggle.

14. Mr. KOLBY (Norway) said that the situation in Southern Rhodesia had entered a new and crucial phase. His delegation believed that a peaceful transition to independence and majority rule was still possible but could not be achieved without a continued commitment on the part of all concerned to create a new nation, a free Zimbabwe, based on one man, one vote, and with the full participation of all interested parties. His Government fully shared the view which had been expressed in the Maputo Declaration in Support of Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia that the international community should endeavour to intensify efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement so that the illegal racist minority régime could be brought to a speedy end. His Government therefore welcomed the Anglo-American proposals which it felt constituted a good basis for further negotiations. It was significant that that view was shared also by the front-line States, whose support was crucial for any future settlement in Zimbabwe.

15. A negotiated settlement in Southern Rhodesia would be greatly expedited if it were based on the broad support of the United Nations. His Government therefore welcomed the appointment by the Secretary-General of a Special Representative as requested in Security Council resolution 415 (1977). His country, together with all the other Nordic countries, declared its willingness to assist, within the framework of the United Nations, in the implementation of a solution involving a peaceful transition to independence. Such a solution required the co-operation of all the parties concerned in the present struggle.

16. Recent reports from Southern Rhodesia seemed to indicate that the white minority régime was moving towards the acceptance of the principle of majority rule based on adult suffrage. Unless all the parties concerned were allowed to participate freely in the shaping of a democratically elected Government, not

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(Mr. Kolby, Norway)

only would a peaceful transition to independence be gravely endangered but also the effective and peaceful enjoyment of independence itself.

17. The South African Government played a crucial role with regard to Southern Rhodesia and bore the main responsibility for the fact that the sanctions imposed by the Security Council against the Smith régime were not fully effective. His Government shared the view that, upon action by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, Member States should re-examine their sanctions legislation and enforcement measures with a view to extending their application to subsidiaries of their corporate entities which might be established in South Africa, so as to prohibit the sale or export of petroleum and petroleum products by them, directly or indirectly, to Southern Rhodesia. The Security Council should at the same time consider whether an oil embargo against South Africa was appropriate as long as South Africa continued to supply oil to Southern Rhodesia. The question of the imposition and extension of sanctions in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter should also be studied.

18. His Government had always supported the people of Zimbabwe, both morally and financially, in their struggle for human dignity and independence. Norwegian financial support had been offered directly to all liberation movements in Southern Rhodesia for humanitarian purposes only and on a non-discriminatory basis. Financial support had also been channelled through the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In the view of his Government, increased support should be given to the African neighbours of the minority régimes, which had had to bear an disproportionately large share of the burden in the liberation struggle. His Government strongly condemned the recent armed attacks by Southern Rhodesian forces against a neighbouring country, Mozambique, which could only complicate the process of bringing peace to southern Africa.

19. Mr. SZUMA Chun (China) said that in the past year the people of Zimbabwe had made great progress towards liberation through a relentless armed struggle which had dealt increasingly heavy blows to the Smith régime. The liberation forces were united in their struggle against the last bastions of racism in Africa. The Smith régime was besieged by all Africans and now found itself in an extremely isolated and precarious situation. Nevertheless, it would never abandon its power voluntarily, and, with the co-operation of the Vorster régime in South Africa and the support of the imperialists and colonialists, it was intensifying its resistance to the national liberation struggle of the Zimbabwe people. Mr. Smith was not only stepping up military measures, including the use of mercenaries and other forms of oppression, but was also committing acts of armed aggression against Mozambique and Botswana, which were allies of the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle. He also engaged in deceptive political manoeuvres in the form of ingenuous promises of sham elections aimed solely at undermining the unity of the Zimbabwe people and preserving his own criminal and racist rule. Indeed, Smith's recent armed invasion of Mozambique was a clear attempt to intimidate the Zimbabwe national liberation forces and to exert pressure on Mozambique not to support them. That manoeuvre could be of no avail, however, and only revealed the fraudulent nature of his proposal for a so-called internal settlement.

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(Mr. Szuma Chun, China)

20. Another important element in the situation in southern Africa was the increasing competition between the super-Powers for power there and for control over the area's resources. The recently devised so-called peace programme of one of the super-Powers had inevitably left the situation unchanged because it aimed only to preserve colonialism rather than to support the aspirations of the broad masses of the people of Zimbabwe. The other super-Power, the ostensible ally of the national liberation forces in southern Africa, was even more sinister. It was mainly interested in the resources of the area and it undermined rather than supported the national liberation struggle by attempting to sow discord. Moreover, it sought to use military aid as a tool to penetrate Zimbabwe and replace the existing régime there.

21. The counterrevolutionary tactics of Smith and the super-Powers were doomed, however. The people of Zimbabwe had learned that Smith and his cohorts would never offer them freedom; only they themselves, through determined armed struggle, could achieve liberation. Until the enemy laid down its arms, that armed struggle must be intensified rather than weakened. It must combine the struggle against colonialism and racism with the struggle against super-Power hegemonism. It was a struggle which enjoyed the sympathy of the peoples of Africa and revolutionary peoples everywhere. The Organization of African Unity had recognized its legitimacy and had pledged its support - that was a tremendous encouragement.

22. The Chinese Government and people continued to pursue a Maoist foreign policy and supported the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for independence and national liberation and against colonialism, racism and hegemonism. His delegation hoped that the General Assembly would renew its condemnation of the Smith régime and tighten its sanctions, and that it would also renew its support for the continuation of the liberation struggle by every available means. There could be no doubt that the people of Zimbabwe would win their independence.

23. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden) said that an internationally accepted solution to the present situation in Southern Rhodesia must lead to the establishment of a free and genuinely independent State of Zimbabwe with a social and economic system created in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of the majority of its people. There were a number of preconditions for such a solution. One was that the principle of no independence before majority rule must be strictly observed. Another was that any lasting solution must be worked out with the full participation of the people of Zimbabwe, represented by their national liberation movement, which included all the progressive forces engaged in the struggle. A solution must be based on the surrender of power by the illegal régime. A Government representing the majority of the people must be established through elections which truly reflected the wishes of the people, in other words, elections open to everyone, both those living within Southern Rhodesia and those living outside its borders. The illegal régime's army and police must be effectively neutralized and the national liberation movements that had been banned from political participation must be given the time and opportunity to do the political campaigning necessary to prepare for the elections. The elections must be free and fair, based on universal adult suffrage without franchise

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(Mr. Thunborg, Sweden)

restrictions. Should the elections or the negotiations for a settlement exclude some of the people of Zimbabwe, there could be no true acceptance of the elected Government by all the people and the result would be continued civil strife and instability in southern Africa.

24. Sweden supported efforts to reach such a solution. It supported the national liberation movement of Zimbabwe and recognized that that movement, having seen its attempts at settlement through peaceful means countered by brutal oppression, had seen no alternative but to take up arms against its oppressor. The liberation struggle had been a decisive factor in forcing the Smith régime to participate in negotiations.

25. While the Smith régime had recently announced that it was prepared to accept elections in Southern Rhodesia based on adult suffrage and was currently engaged in talks with some Zimbabwean leaders, Sweden found it very difficult to trust the good intentions of a régime that oppressed and persecuted the black majority and repeatedly committed acts of aggression against neighbouring countries, especially in the light of the most recent attacks against Mozambique. Those acts of aggression, which the international community had condemned, were yet another reason for increasing international pressure against the Salisbury régime, especially through the expansion of sanctions and the cutting off of the supply of oil reaching Southern Rhodesia from South Africa.

26. Unless a settlement was reached soon there was great risk of an escalating crisis and further bloodshed. It was imperative, therefore, that the international community and the national liberation movement should unite their efforts to make the illegal majority régime surrender its power to the black majority of Zimbabwe.

27. Mr. WEYTCHEV (Bulgaria) said that, although the growth of détente had accelerated the process of eliminating the last vestiges of colonialism, racism and apartheid, the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa continued to challenge mankind and to be a threat to peace everywhere in their attempts, through force and violence, to deter the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe from exercising their legitimate rights to self-determination and independence. The régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia not only practised terror at home; they also committed numerous acts of barbaric aggression abroad. Southern Rhodesian troops, for example, had recently staged an incursion into the territory of Mozambique, spreading death and destruction. Such aggression, terror and violence, as well as Ian Smith's persistent refusal to hand over power to the majority, were possible because certain Western States, contrary to their own political declarations, continued to provide generous financial, economic, political, diplomatic and even military aid to Southern Rhodesia. It was therefore essential for all States not only to comply strictly with the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia but also to make them effective by imposing similar sanctions against South Africa, which was Southern Rhodesia's principal supplier. The many powerful United States, British and other Western companies and banks which operated in South Africa were active in Southern Rhodesia, too.

28. With respect to sanctions, his delegation fully endorsed the view expressed in the fifth paragraph of the communiqué issued by the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries (A/32/98), as well as the view expressed in the sixth paragraph that the negotiations which had been set in train for the transfer of

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(Mr. Neytchev, Bulgaria)

power to the black majority of Zimbabwe were clearly being used by Ian Smith to gain time for the consolidation of his illegal occupation of Zimbabwe. Smith's promise of one man, one vote was merely a pretext for undermining the unity of the patriotic forces of the Zimbabwe people. The only road to a just, democratic and complete solution of the problem was the transfer of power to the true representatives of the Zimbabwean people, namely, the Patriotic Front.

29. His country would continue to render every assistance within its means to peoples fighting for their freedom, independence and social progress.

30. Mr. FRITZSCHE (German Democratic Republic) said that his delegation most vigorously condemned the recent serious aggression by the illegal Southern Rhodesian minority régime against sovereign neighbouring States, in particular the People's Republic of Mozambique. His country sided firmly with those peoples which were fighting against colonialism, apartheid and imperialist aggression and would always support them in their self-sacrificing struggle. Noting that it was an open secret that the racist régime was hiring imperialist mercenaries for its acts of aggression and terror, he reiterated the position of the United Nations and OAU condemning the recruitment and use of mercenaries.

31. By its open military aggression and ferocious oppression of the people of Zimbabwe the Smith clique increasingly jeopardized the security of free African States. The peoples of Africa, however, would not be diverted from their consistent support for the just struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa and their national liberation movements. The illegal white régime in Southern Rhodesia contemptuously disregarded the clear decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and its attitude was an affront to all peoples which advocated peace, progress and social development.

32. The Smith régime resorted to murder and terror in an attempt to break the growing resistance against its brutal policies of exploitation and oppression. However, the national liberation movement, the Patriotic Front, which was supported by OAU, was fighting with determination and growing success to implement the most basic rights of the people of Zimbabwe and to establish a free Zimbabwe. His delegation assured the struggling people of Zimbabwe of its active solidarity.

33. The illegal régime was, however, feverishly arming itself in order to break the desire of the oppressed people of Zimbabwe for freedom and to be able to commit aggression against neighbouring countries. The reports of the Security Council Committee on sanctions, the Special Committee of 24 and other relevant United Nations organs showed quite clearly that the Smith régime could afford to ignore United Nations decisions thanks to the support, both open and covert, which it received from racist and imperialist forces. It was the influential forces of international monopoly capital which, in the interests of maintaining their political and economic position and in the interests of gaining enormous profits, gave support to the illegal Smith régime. In that connexion, he referred to the recent action by certain Western Powers which had blocked the adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive sanctions against the South African régime and the expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia under Article 41 of the Charter. Such manoeuvres could only encourage the illegal minority régimes of southern Africa to continue their policies of terror and aggression.

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(Mr. Fritzsche, German Democratic Republic)

34. Neo-colonialist circles were attempting to halt the armed liberation struggle in order to gain time to prepare puppets and eliminate the patriotic forces. While condemning Smith verbally, they attempted to maintain old colonialist structures of power. Furthermore, the recent announcements by Smith regarding his efforts to achieve a so-called internal settlement with the help of bribed "quislings" was merely another scheme designed to mislead world public opinion and gain time. The demands of the national liberation movement of Zimbabwe were clear and unmistakable: the destruction of colonialism and its institutions, the attainment of genuine independence, and the democratization not only of the vote but of all institutions and of the way of life in Zimbabwe.

35. Only on the basis of the consistent implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant decisions of the United Nations could a solution be achieved which would once and for all eliminate all remnants of colonialism and apartheid and the hotbeds of war in southern Africa and allow the people of Zimbabwe to choose their own course in peace and in accordance with their own interests. The people of Zimbabwe and all progressive and peace-loving forces would not be misled by neo-colonialist manoeuvres. The racist régimes in Salisbury and Pretoria must not be given more time; specific deadlines should be fixed for terminating the so-called initiatives of the Western States. His delegation hoped that the Committee would adopt resolutions calling for clear measures to isolate the racist régimes effectively and to support the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to achieve self-determination and independence.

36. Mr. EREDICS (Hungary) said that aggressive racism was one of the last vestiges of colonialism. The spheres of action of racist policy, however, were limited and the minority apartheid régimes, which were based on the most extreme forms of the capitalist division of labour and enjoyed the support of international imperialism, were now confined to the southern part of the African continent.

37. The minority apartheid régime of Vorster, for instance, had resorted in recent days to fraudulent elections in an attempt to shore up its position in the face of the challenge presented by the laws of history and human progress in general. Vorster's police State kept Namibia under illegal occupation and held sway over the country's indigenous population by maintaining a bloody reign of terror.

38. For 12 years, Ian Smith had maintained his illegal minority rule in Southern Rhodesia on the basis of the apartheid Constitution arbitrarily adopted in 1961 and the discriminatory elections of 1962, in complete disregard of international legal practice. The illegal régime, whose constant acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States aroused condemnation on the part of world public opinion, constituted a threat to international peace and security. Aware of that fact, as early as 1962, the United Nations, in resolution 1747 (XVI), had condemned the situation in Southern Rhodesia and, under Chapter XI of the Charter, had declared the people of that country to be non-self-governing. That resolution had called for the nullification of the apartheid Constitution of 1961, the

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(Mr. Eredics, Hungary)

immediate attainment of majority rule, the restoration of the rights of the indigenous population and the release of all political prisoners.

39. In spite of international efforts, the Smith régime had even dissolved the Legislative Assembly in April 1965, and in May of that year had held elections excluding the entire indigenous population. That critical situation had been condemned by the General Assembly in resolution 2012 (XX), which had called for measures that could still have prevented the unilateral declaration of independence. Aided by international imperialism, on 11 November 1965, Ian Smith had unilaterally declared Southern Rhodesia to be an independent State by invoking the illegal 1961 Constitution. The General Assembly had responded to that step forthwith by adopting resolution 2024 (XX), which condemned Ian Smith's rebellion and called for it to be ended. However, instead of preventing Ian Smith from strengthening his arbitrary rule, international imperialism had helped him to do so with the support of military and police forces from the racist Republic of South Africa.

40. The apartheid régime of Ian Smith was constantly intensifying its tyrannical exploitation of the indigenous population. Moreover, the mercenary troops of Southern Rhodesia committed repeated acts of terrorism and launched attacks against the civilian population of the neighbouring independent States of Africa. The illegal Salisbury régime had created such a serious situation in Southern Rhodesia that it had become a real source of international tension.

41. It was therefore not by chance that the illegal Smith régime had become embarrassing even to its imperialist supporters. Consequently, to mislead world public opinion and to divide the indigenous population of Zimbabwe, the imperialists had recently proclaimed the need to seek a negotiated settlement of the problem of Southern Rhodesia by peaceful means. Ian Smith himself had gone so far as to give the impression that he was ready to enter into talks about the establishment of a multiracial government or even about the implementation of the principle of one man, one vote. However, those manoeuvres were nothing more than attempts to gain time in order to promote the temporary political and economic consolidation of the white minority settler régime and the modernization of its military force and to defend the economic interests of international imperialism, which was eager to maintain its hold on southern Africa as a source of vital raw materials and high profits for its capitalist monopolies and, not least, as an area of great importance to its global strategy.

42. The patriotic forces of Zimbabwe, however, had soon recognized those manoeuvres. They were, of course, open to a negotiated settlement and had demonstrated their readiness to seek ways and means of reaching a peaceful solution. In that regard, he referred to the events of the latter part of 1976 and stressed that the Geneva Conference had ended in failure because of the reluctance of international imperialism to seek a just, legal and final solution.

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(Mr. Eredics, Hungary)

43. The experience of the years of struggle for liberation and the dissipation of the false illusions raised by the West about the possibility of a peaceful transfer of power had made it clear to the people of Zimbabwe and its Patriotic Front that, on the one hand, Smith refused to surrender power to the indigenous population in a voluntary and peaceful manner and that, on the other hand, a genuine transfer ran counter to the economic, social, political and strategic interests of the imperialist Powers in Southern Rhodesia. It was precisely for that reason that they were prepared to accept an arduous armed struggle and to fight until final victory was won. The position of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe was also shared by the majority of countries that had participated in the twenty-ninth session of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa of the Organization of African Unity.

44. In conclusion, he said that his Government joined the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community, as well as other progressive forces in the world, in pledging full support for the hard struggle being waged by the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe for the attainment of national independence and the free exercise by the people of Zimbabwe of their right to self-determination.

45. Mr. RASON (Madagascar) said that, in view of the diversity of opinions expressed with regard to the decolonization of Southern Rhodesia and in the light of recent events, his delegation considered it necessary to put forward its position on certain questions which seemed to give rise to some doubts and reservations on the part of a number of delegations, namely the armed struggle waged by the people of Zimbabwe, the responsibility of the administering Power concerning the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the role of the United Nations in the decolonization process in Zimbabwe.

46. The principle of the liberation struggle implied, in particular, the responsibility of the peoples fighting to liberate their country, which involved full freedom of choice of strategy. The ultimate goal of that struggle, namely freedom, should be regarded as non-negotiable. Efforts had been made by the liberation movement for years to arrive at a negotiated settlement on the basis of majority rule. Those efforts had been supported by the Organization of African Unity and by neighbouring front-line States, but they had been rejected by Ian Smith and his allies. In the face of the intransigence of Smith and the failure of the administering Power to assume its responsibilities, the freedom fighters had chosen the course of war.

47. In the armed struggle waged against the rebel régime, the people of Zimbabwe had come to understand that national independence and freedom could not be won without the constant participation of the entire local population. The nationalist forces had sworn to continue the armed struggle until the establishment of a popular government in Zimbabwe. The objective was to overthrow a system in which a minority enjoyed political, economic and social power at the expense of the majority. Consequently, that struggle came within the framework of the total liberation of the African continent. The Government and people of his country would therefore continue to support the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against colonialism, racism and imperialism. They were convinced that, under the leadership

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(Mr. Rason, Madagascar)

of the Patriotic Front, the Zimbabwean people would strengthen their unity and achieve national liberation.

48. The intensification of the liberation struggle, with the support of Africa and the international community, had created a new situation in the Territory: the illegal régime had been driven into a defensive position. Refusing to accept the fact that his days were numbered, Smith intensified his inhuman practices of repression against the African population. It was significant that repeated acts of aggression against Mozambique and Zambia were continuing to be committed at the very time when the forces of oppression were agreeing to negotiate on the principle of universal suffrage. However, the procedures of that suffrage seemed to be in contradiction with the principle of the immediate transfer of power to the authentic representatives of the militant and revolutionary people of Zimbabwe. That was an irrefutable demonstration of Smith's determination to oppose by force the right of the African majority to decide its own destiny. In announcing that he was prepared to conclude an arrangement with certain individuals in Zimbabwe, Smith was merely seeking to foment a civil war.

49. The responsibility for the current serious situation in Zimbabwe lay primarily with the United Kingdom. As administering Power, the United Kingdom should understand its role clearly and fulfil its obligations honestly. It should not seek to shift its responsibility to another country, although it could call upon its allies to support the measures which it advocated. The participation of the United States in the so-called Anglo-American "proposals" could only internationalize the conflict and make it more complex. The United States had no constitutional responsibility in Zimbabwe and it was not for it to preside over negotiations concerning the decolonization of the Territory. The United Kingdom should implement the Declaration in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) by transferring power to the Zimbabwean people through the Patriotic Front without restriction. His delegation failed to understand why the administering Power, in submitting the so-called Anglo-American settlement plan, rather than recognizing the existence of the nationalist armed forces and negotiating directly with the Patriotic Front, had taken it upon itself to propose a transitional system which entirely violated the fundamental principles of the Declaration. The United Kingdom's move sought to put down the popular revolution in Zimbabwe and to maintain in the region a new bastion of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

50. It was important for the international community to be aware of those elements in order to judge the situation. It must be recognized that, at the present stage, the United Nations was not as active as it should be. The decisions and resolutions taken so far had not had the desired effect because they had not been scrupulously respected by all Members. At the recent International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, attention had been drawn to the refusal of South Africa to apply the mandatory sanctions imposed on Southern Rhodesia and to the fact that certain Western countries continued to disregard the sanctions. In that regard, the decisions taken by the Governments of Mozambique and Zambia to close their frontiers with Zimbabwe constituted a major contribution to the support of the liberation struggle of the Zimbabwe people and to the isolation of the illegal minority régime.

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(Mr. Rason, Madagascar)

51. The United Nations should therefore take the necessary measures to compel Smith and his allies to comply with its decisions. The international community had a duty to isolate the rebel régime totally and to provide the moral, political and national support which the people of Zimbabwe needed to liberate their country. By expanding the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia with a view to including all the measures provided under Article 41 of the Charter, the United Nations should accept the African proposals for economic sanctions against South Africa.

52. In conclusion, his delegation reaffirmed its total support for the armed struggle waged by the Zimbabwe people under the leadership of the revolutionary representatives of the Patriotic Front. It reiterated its conviction that the administering Power bore an important share of responsibility in the decolonization process of Zimbabwe and should apply the sacred principles of the right to independence by transferring power immediately to the authentic representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. His delegation was convinced that the United Nations, by acting strictly in conformity with its own purposes, would make a constructive contribution to the speedy settlement of the question of Zimbabwe.

53. Mr. ROBINSON (Guyana) said that the Fourth Committee's responsibility with respect to decolonization, which was also shared by the administering Powers, meant, in the case of Zimbabwe, the removal of Ian Smith, the dismantling of his régime's apparatus of racism and repression and the transfer of power to the majority in Zimbabwe. The time had come for the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe further to intensify their armed struggle, which was their vital weapon in the struggle for liberation and freedom. There was, of course, also talk of a negotiated settlement. The most recent initiatives in that connexion had rightly been identified by the non-aligned countries as a scheme by Ian Smith to gain time for the consolidation of his illegal occupation of Zimbabwe which would destroy all hope for a negotiated settlement, leaving no alternative but resort to military force and intensification of the armed struggle (A/32/98). The Heads of Government of the Commonwealth, meeting in London in June 1977, had also expressed doubts about the prospects of their success and stated that a negotiated settlement must entail the removal of the Smith régime and the dismantling of its apparatus of repression. His own delegation fully agreed with the position expressed by the front-line States in Maputo in September 1977 that the Anglo-American proposals had many negative elements and left many questions unanswered, but that they formed a sufficient basis for further negotiations between the parties concerned. It was hard to believe that Mr. Smith would ever hand over power peacefully, since his actions continued to belie his words. The Government and people of Guyana would therefore continue to give diplomatic, moral and material support to the liberation of Zimbabwe and the realization of the final goal of freedom and independence.

54. Mr. NGUYEN NGOL HOAN (Viet Nam) said that for more than 10 years the people of Zimbabwe had continued to intensify their struggle to overthrow the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and to free themselves from the colonial yoke.

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(Mr. Nguyen Ngol Hoan, Viet Nam)

In that liberation struggle, the people of Zimbabwe, currently under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, had been able to mobilize their forces and to gain the sympathy and support of the entire world.

55. The illegal régime should have been overthrown long since to make way for a majority Government which would be free and sovereign and meet the legitimate aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. That was also the goal sought by all the resolutions and actions taken by the United Nations.

56. That the Ian Smith clique had been able to maintain itself in power so far was due solely to the support and protection it received from the imperialists. It was true that the imperialists had not dared to declare their support publicly for fear of being condemned by the peoples of the entire world. They had even gone so far as to state that they condemned the illegal Smith régime. However, their behaviour towards that régime during the past 12 years had clearly revealed their true position.

57. The imperialist countries, in particular the United Kingdom and the United States, continued to violate the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly which ran counter to the interests of their multinational societies. It was well known that United Kingdom and United States oil companies supplied Southern Rhodesia with petroleum, and that the United States imported large quantities of strategic materials from Southern Rhodesia. Furthermore, through the South African racist régime, the imperialists provided military assistance to Salisbury and used that régime to undertake activities aimed at undermining the independence and sovereignty of other countries in southern Africa. Thus, the armed forces of Ian Smith had since 1976 launched repeated armed attacks against the front-line countries, in particular Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana.

58. Quite recently, Rhodesian armed forces had crossed the frontier and attacked the civilian population in Mozambique, causing hundreds of casualties, including women and children. His delegation strongly condemned those crimes committed by the Salisbury régime against Mozambique. It called on the Ian Smith clique to cease immediately any act of aggression against Mozambique and other countries in southern Africa and urged the international community to assist the Zimbabwean refugees in Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and the United Republic of Tanzania and to grant the Government and people of Mozambique all necessary assistance in order to help that country to liquidate as quickly as possible the consequences of the heinous aggression committed against it by Southern Rhodesia.

59. If the United Kingdom had really wished to put an end to the colonial régime in Southern Rhodesia and to return Zimbabwe to its true masters, the people of Zimbabwe, it could have done so long since. The only possible explanation for its failure to do so was the deliberate and obstinate desire of the imperialists to preserve their colonial interests in Southern Rhodesia.

60. The fact that the imperialists had in recent months proposed "plans" to

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(Mr. Nguyen Ngol Hoan, Viet Nam)

settle the problem of Southern Rhodesia through negotiations was in no way a demonstration of their goodwill. The spokesman for the Patriotic Front had rightly stated that it was the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, and especially the armed struggle, which had compelled the enemy to accept the principle of majority rule and to put forward peace proposals. However, the enemy had not yet acknowledged defeat and was merely seeking to prevent the total collapse of its colonial régime in Southern Rhodesia. The history of national liberation struggles showed that the enemies of independence and the freedom of peoples never withdrew of their own free will from a country under their yoke.

61. His delegation shared the view of the representative of the Patriotic Front that the United States had no role to play in the settlement of the situation in Zimbabwe. The Patriotic Front and the people of Zimbabwe were right to mistrust the intentions of that major imperialist Power whose aggression against Viet Nam in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s had constituted a dangerous precedent.

62. In conclusion, he reaffirmed that the Government and people of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam unreservedly supported the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe until final victory was won, and strongly endorsed the position of the Patriotic Front concerning a negotiated solution to the current crisis in Zimbabwe.

63. Mr. ESFANDIARY (Iran) said that the Security Council and the General Assembly had over the past decade adopted resolutions aimed at putting an end to a serious situation which had resulted in flagrant and continuous violations of the fundamental human rights of the African people of Zimbabwe. The administering Power had in its own right, together with its allies, been trying to correct an anomaly born of its colonial rule.

64. The people of Zimbabwe themselves, assisted by the front-line States, which in turn had suffered greatly in economic and human terms from aggression committed by the Smith régime, were engaged in a difficult struggle to liberate their Territory from racial oppression and to achieve their right to self-determination and independence. The racist minority régime continued to deprive the people of Zimbabwe of their inalienable rights. However, there were some developments which seemed to indicate that the racist régime was buckling under pressure, for instance, the recent announcement by Ian Smith calling for a settlement based on adult suffrage. Smith had apparently concluded that the only ray of hope for the white minority was a peaceful settlement with the future legitimate rulers of the country.

65. His delegation believed that that move, however uncertain, should be carefully considered before any final decision was taken. The people of Zimbabwe should, of course, remain vigilant in their dealings with the Smith régime. It should be made clear to Ian Smith that he was not in a position to set terms and conditions and that his proposal should embrace all the political forces in Zimbabwe.

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(Mr. Esfandiary, Iran)

66. His delegation regretted that the joint Anglo-American initiative had not succeeded, but regarded it as a positive step towards achieving the goal of a peaceful settlement. He hoped that the joint effort could still prove useful in subsequent developments relating to Southern Rhodesia.

67. He cautioned all the political forces both inside and outside Zimbabwe to remain united. It would be a matter for great disappointment, at a time when victory was near, if the political forces which were playing such an important role were not united.

68. The political movements in Zimbabwe should forget their rivalries for the time being and embark on building a national front so that they could confront the Smith régime in a constructive manner, particularly at the current time when that régime had made a sensible offer. Once a settlement was achieved on the basis of majority rule, all the various movements could participate in free nation-wide elections and resolve their differences in a democratic manner.

69. Referring to the statement made by a petitioner concerning the shipment of Iranian oil to Southern Rhodesia through other parties, he said that, since the Iranian Government had always regarded oil as a commodity and not as a political weapon, it had not taken part in the oil embargo of 1973. Nevertheless, in compliance with the decisions of the Security Council, the Iranian Government had sought and obtained firm assurances from all countries to which Iranian oil was exported that it would not find its way to Southern Rhodesia. The Iranian Government had no control over the final destination of Iranian oil marketed by international oil companies.

70. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria) said that the situation in Zimbabwe remained one of the most serious problems threatening international peace and security and was a source of profound concern to the entire world community. Current developments had hardly been encouraging.

71. The International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo in May 1977, had served once again to demonstrate world solidarity with the legitimate cause of those struggling for freedom and independence in southern Africa. The Conference had been rightly termed a landmark in the history of the liberation struggle in southern Africa, and there could be no doubt concerning the unanimity with which the community of nations demanded an end to the illegitimate rule of a white minority. There could also be no doubt that, in order to achieve the goal sought, there was a need to continue to exert pressure on the illegal Smith régime, inter alia by fully implementing the sanctions imposed by the Security Council, and to support those who were courageously struggling for their rights and for a better future for all the inhabitants of Zimbabwe as well as those of the front-line States which were bearing the brunt of the conflict. That was a position which his country had taken and continued to take.

72. His Government and social organizations in his country had established

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(Mr. Jankowitsch, Austria)

contacts with representatives of national liberation movements and had supported them in their efforts. His Government had also, with the assistance of United Nations programmes for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, sought to help to train young Zimbabweans. In that connexion, the Vienna Diplomatic Academy was providing training for future diplomats of an independent and free Zimbabwe.

73. His Government had been shocked and dismayed by the continuing violence and oppression to which the Smith régime had been resorting and by the acts of aggression it had been committing against neighbouring States, most recently the raids against Mozambique. Such actions could not fail to lead to an escalation of violence and increase the perils of confrontation which the United Nations had been founded to prevent and eliminate.

74. It was with that in mind that his delegation expressed its conviction that no stone must be left unturned to bring about a negotiated settlement of that tragic problem. To that end, it seemed imperative that the necessary diplomatic, political and other pressures on Smith must be maintained and intensified.

75. The unity of those struggling for freedom and independence and of their supporters appeared to be another essential prerequisite for the success of any such efforts. The role of the front-line States, which shared the burden and the responsibility, could not be over-estimated. Finally, the United Nations itself should play an active and constructive part.

76. His delegation welcomed the renewed efforts made by the United Kingdom, together with the United States, in elaborating proposals for a settlement of the problem of Southern Rhodesia. It believed that those proposals could constitute a valid basis for discussion. His delegation also welcomed the recent appointment by the Security Council of a special representative of the Secretary-General. It was to be hoped that the momentum gained in the efforts towards a negotiated peaceful settlement would not be lost and that all concerned would continue to co-operate in the appropriate manner.

77. Questions and doubts had been raised about the degree to which Smith could be trusted. Such trust would certainly seem essential if any negotiated settlement was to succeed. His delegation could not answer those questions, although it recognized their legitimacy. However, it continued to believe that nothing should be left untried which might, without further undue delay, bring about majority rule and independence for Zimbabwe in a peaceful and negotiated manner.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.