

UN LIBRARY  
DEC 13 1976  
DIPLO. COLLECTION



FOURTH COMMITTEE  
43rd meeting  
held on  
Thursday, 9 December 1976  
at 10.30 a.m.  
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 43rd MEETING

Chairman: Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway)

CONTENTS

- AGENDA ITEM 86: QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA (continued)  
AGENDA ITEM 85: QUESTION OF NAMIBIA (continued)

\* 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 LX-2332.

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

76-91726

Distr. GENERAL  
A/C.4/31/SR.43  
13 December 1976

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

/...

The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 86: QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA (A/31/23/Add.1-2, A/31/61, A/31/62, A/31/66, A/31/71, A/31/77, A/31/155, A/31/197, A/31/237, A/31/258, A/31/274)  
(continued)

1. Mr. KAMANA (Zambia) said that the United Nations had an important role to play in the liberation of Southern Rhodesia and that its efforts, which were greatly appreciated, had always been a source of encouragement to the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for freedom and independence.
2. The situation in southern Africa had reached a crucial stage and the balance of power was now tipped in favour of the liberation forces in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, and thus in favour of all independent African States and the progressive and peace-loving world as a whole. The forces of racism and colonialism were on the defensive, and were doing all they could to resist the advance of freedom and independence.
3. The question of Southern Rhodesia was important because its solution would contribute to the attainment of freedom for millions of people and would help to narrow the frontiers of colonialist and racial oppression. The persistence of the status quo was a threat not only to southern Africa but also to the rest of Africa and to the world as a whole.
4. The people of Zimbabwe had intensified their armed struggle and were now better equipped and more determined than ever to liberate themselves, in the face of the intransigence of the Smith régime. The Lusaka Manifesto and the Dar-es-Salaam and Mogadiscio Declarations on southern Africa had warned the white minority in southern Africa and its supporters that the patience of the oppressed people of Zimbabwe was not inexhaustible.
5. The Smith régime was becoming increasingly demoralized and panic-stricken, and its reaction to the successes of the freedom-fighters was being manifested at two levels. Within Southern Rhodesia, it had unleashed a reign of terror against the innocent and defenceless people of that country, forcibly removing them from their homes to concentration camps which were euphemistically called protected villages. Thousands of people were being arrested, imprisoned and tortured without having committed any offence. Smith and his cohorts were torchbearers of nazism and fascism which had plagued Europe and continued to offend the conscience of peace- and freedom-loving peoples throughout the world.
6. The defeats which the Smith régime was suffering at the hands of the freedom-fighters within Zimbabwe had led it to look for a scapegoat outside the borders of that country. Its acts of aggression against the Republic of Botswana, the People's Republic of Mozambique and his own country bore witness to its desperation and showed that it was attempting to plunge the whole of southern Africa into a wider conflict.
7. It was the success of the armed liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe that had led to the current Geneva Conference, and that Conference must in fact be

/...

(Mr. Kamana, Zambia)

seen as an extension of the struggle in Zimbabwe. The United Kingdom, as the colonial authority for Southern Rhodesia, must assume certain responsibilities in bringing about majority rule and independence. His delegation welcomed the United Kingdom's readiness to play a more direct role in the process of transition, but felt that having done so that country should now urgently spell out the nature and scope of its participation in the transitional phase towards the independence of Zimbabwe. It would help matters a great deal if the United Kingdom adopted an unambivalent and unequivocal position in that regard.

8. His country hoped that the United Kingdom would be guided solely by the expectations and proposals of the Zimbabwe nationalists. The Geneva Conference was really between the United Kingdom, as the colonial Power, and the people of Zimbabwe. Smith and his clique were rebels. The United Kingdom should not even give the appearance of appeasing the Smith régime. It must be on the side of the liberation movement, for Ian Smith's so-called delegation spoke only for a handful of die-hard white racists, while the liberation movement was the authentic representative of the people of Zimbabwe and was committed to protecting the legitimate interests of all the people of Zimbabwe without discrimination as to race.

9. His country wished to warn the Smith régime and its supporters that any delay in reaching a settlement at Geneva would lead to its decisive defeat on the battlefield. Many countries were prepared to support the liberation movement if it wished to carry the armed struggle to its logical conclusion.

10. The task of the international community was clear. While the Geneva talks continued there could be no relaxation of pressure against the illegal régime in Salisbury. Indeed, the pressure should be intensified, and there should be more concrete assistance to the liberation movement. The over-all level of sanctions should be increased and there should be no loop-holes in that area. The time for rhetoric was over and history had shown that battles were not won by spectators but by those who joined in the fray.

11. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) paid a tribute to the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and to the active solidarity shown them by the peoples of Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana.

12. Ever since 1888, when the British had first colonized Southern Rhodesia, the people of Zimbabwe had been subject to the harshest of colonialist régimes. The crimes perpetrated against the indigenous population had been endless, yet the people of Zimbabwe had often reacted courageously and shown their determination to rid themselves of the British overlords, who sought raw materials to keep the wheels of capitalist industry turning.

13. Since the establishment of the illegal racist minority régime on 11 November 1965, several tragic events had been witnessed in Southern Rhodesia. As the administering Power, the United Kingdom had deliberately refused to overthrow the Smith régime by force and institute a majority rule and thus help the people of Zimbabwe to achieve self-determination. Economic sanctions had finally been made general and compulsory in May 1968, after countries had failed to apply them on a voluntary basis. Various negotiations had been conducted with a view to finding a

/...

(Mr. Houngavou, Benin)

peaceful solution to the problem of independence. The United Kingdom and its imperialist Western allies, in their greed for raw materials from third world countries, were entirely to blame for the fact that the Smith régime was still in power and had been able to defy the international community with impunity.

14. His delegation denounced the collaboration between certain Western Powers and the Smith régime, which showed the hypocrisy of those Powers, for the Security Council resolution on compulsory generalized economic sanctions against the Smith régime had been adopted unanimously. The United States had openly violated those sanctions by continuing to import chrome, nickel and other vital raw materials from Rhodesia. Indeed, United States imports of Rhodesian products had risen in value from \$115,000 in 1970 to \$25,670,000 in 1973. Sanctions had also been violated by the provision of direct air links between Southern Rhodesia and major cities in the West.

15. The only genuine and courageous action in the whole history of sanctions against the Smith régime had been the decision by Mozambique to apply sanctions in full, as a result of which it had been the object of military attacks by Southern Rhodesia. Mozambique's action had further alarmed the Salisbury clique, which realized that its days were numbered.

16. However, the Smith régime was not giving in easily. There had been a mass influx of groups of individuals from Western countries who had come to help the Smith régime maintain its hold on Southern Rhodesia. In the past month mercenaries had been recruited, mainly from New Zealand, to fight against the liberation forces. A series of conferences and negotiations had been held for the sole purpose of gaining time for the illegal régime. The freedom-fighters who had gone to Geneva were giving all parties, and particularly the administering Power, a chance to prove their sincerity by helping to achieve a solution which satisfied the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. The people of Zimbabwe, who had never missed an opportunity to seek a peaceful settlement, must remain on their guard. The recent statement in the Committee by the United Kingdom representative, openly describing the difficulties which would arise during the transitional period preceding independence, proved that only by continued armed struggle would the people of Zimbabwe recover their inalienable national rights. The international community, and the African countries in particular, must therefore remain vigilant and continue to help the oppressed people of Zimbabwe. His country was in favour of extending sanctions in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter, and hoped that the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe would continue throughout the course of negotiations. It was dangerous to think that a people could win its fundamental rights by peaceful means. The Geneva talks must not prevent armed struggle or any measures which the international community saw fit to take to help the people of Zimbabwe gain their independence and live in peace.

17. Mr. ROBINSON (Guyana) welcomed the delegation of the People's Republic of Angola to the Fourth Committee. His delegation was confident that it would play a meaningful role and contribute substantially to the work of the Committee.

18. Eleven years had elapsed since Ian Smith and his racist clique had seized power in Zimbabwe. For the Africans in that Territory, those years had been years

/...

(Mr. Robinson, Guyana)

of bitterness, repression, and struggle to regain their freedom. The Smith régime had stayed in power through a reign of terror, of oppression, of torture, and racial discrimination and injustice against the black majority in Zimbabwe, which had been paralleled only by the Vorster régime in South Africa. The Smith régime had displayed its contempt for the United Nations and the Assembly's resolutions, and for the modest and reasonable proposals for African majority rule put forward by the Zimbabwe nationalists and supported by the leaders of the five front-line African States.

19. It was essential that the international community should remain fully cognizant of the background to the issue of Southern Rhodesia, for it was only by an understanding of the past and an analysis of the present that it could seek to initiate such action as would assist in determining the future of the people of Zimbabwe. The scenario of national liberation was fundamentally changing and the victories of the liberation movements in Mozambique and Angola had caused the frontiers of racism and oppression in southern Africa to recede. But that was not enough; the scourge of racism must be completely wiped from the face of the earth.

20. The tidal wave of liberation which was sweeping across southern Africa was making its effects felt in Zimbabwe and the Geneva Conference had no doubt come about as a result of the determination of the people of Zimbabwe to win independence and majority rule, and as a result of the catalytic effects of the just armed struggle waged by the freedom-fighters of Zimbabwe. It was to the credit of the people of Zimbabwe that they had agreed to go to Geneva for negotiations towards an independence which they should have enjoyed long ago.

21. Two important points were central to the issue of independence for Zimbabwe. Firstly, independence for Zimbabwe presupposed unqualified majority rule, and secondly, any transfer of power effected in Zimbabwe must be a transfer of power to the legitimate national representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. His delegation was reassured by the fact that the United Kingdom Government had recognized the validity of those two principles. His delegation had listened attentively to the statement on the issue by the United Kingdom representative and accorded it the understanding it merited. He merely wished to say that the United Kingdom must unequivocally recognize its responsibility to assume its acknowledged residual powers in a manner satisfactory to the nationalists of Zimbabwe.

22. The Smith régime need be given no credit for coming to the conference table, for it had been obliged to do so by the pressures of war and the relentless logic of history. There could be no restraining the onward march of the overwhelming black majority in Zimbabwe, whose legitimate desire was to hold the reigns of political and economic power in its own country.

23. Ian Smith had twice reneged on the promises he had made to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in 1966 and 1968, in the course of the talks on board the HMS Tiger and HMS Fearless. The Minister of Foreign Affairs and Justice of Guyana had stated in the general debate at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly that it was perhaps asking too much that the United States Secretary of State should succeed where other "fearless tigers" had failed ignominiously. In so far as the Anglo-American proposals were said to stem from a desire to prevent racial war in southern Africa, the Foreign Minister had not impugned the motives of the architects of those proposals, but merely questioned their judgement. /...

(Mr. Robinson, Guyana)

24. His delegation had closely followed the proceedings in Geneva and had witnessed the readiness to negotiate displayed by the Zimbabwe nationalists and the arrogance and intransigence displayed by Ian Smith and his henchmen. Even as he sat at the conference table in Geneva, Ian Smith had continued to direct the brutal acts of his security forces in Salisbury and had even intensified the so-called "hot pursuit" excursions of his military forces. For all those reasons, his delegation wondered whether such a man could be entrusted with the responsibility for law and order.

25. His delegation remained convinced that any failure at Geneva would be the result of Smith's intransigence. In that event, the only option left open would be the intensification of the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, which would have the overwhelming support of the international community. While the doors to negotiation should always be open, the oppressed people of Zimbabwe were the best judges of the situation, and the United Nations must be guided by their final decision.

26. The Government and people of Guyana would continue to afford the people of Zimbabwe every diplomatic, moral and material assistance in their struggle, until black majority rule and independence were achieved in Zimbabwe.

27. Mr. MARMULAKU (Yugoslavia) noted that the situation in southern Africa was changing radically in favour of the forces which were fighting for freedom, independence and self-determination. As a direct consequence of the intensified arms struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and their liberation movements against the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith, that régime had finally been compelled to accept, in principle, majority rule. However, it emerged clearly from the negotiations in Geneva that Ian Smith had not changed his basic position, which was the preservation of the colonialist and racist situation in Zimbabwe. It was characteristic of the racist régimes in southern Africa that while, on the one hand, they were expressing their readiness to negotiate, on the other hand they were intensifying the terror and brutality directed against the oppressed peoples of those territories. The Smith régime had, on several occasions during the summer and the negotiations at Geneva, violated the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Mozambique by bombing liberation movement camps in that country.

28. It was well known that the illegal Smith racist régime was staying in power with the help of South Africa and important interests in the West. In that connexion, his delegation noted with regret that the United States had failed to repeal the Byrd amendment on the import of chromium from South Rhodesia. The illegal minority régime in Zimbabwe could not have remained in power for 11 years if it had not been given such support in violation of the Security Council's sanctions and resolution 253 (1968). His delegation wished to believe that the United Kingdom would fulfil its obligations as the administering Power and exert increasing pressure on the Smith régime. He noted that, while the liberation movements of Zimbabwe, the front-line States and the whole of Africa had shown much patience and readiness to negotiate, they had also manifested their firm determination to fight for freedom, independence and the right to self-determination.

/...

(Mr. Marmulaku, Yugoslavia)

29. The action taken by the Government of Mozambique in closing its border with Rhodesia and applying the Security Council sanctions was a very important and courageous one, which had been welcomed by the whole international community and the United Nations. That decision had severely affected the socio-economic life of that young African country, whose economy had been given a one-sided orientation by the colonial exploiters and had been developed as an appendage to the colonial economies. He noted, furthermore, that the Colombo Conference of Non-Aligned Countries had welcomed Mozambique's action and had called on the international community to increase its assistance to the Government and people of Mozambique, to enable them to make good the losses suffered as a result of their courageous decision. The Yugoslav Government and peoples maintained their traditional and unflinching support - in the form of political action and concrete material assistance - for the struggle of peoples under the colonial yoke to achieve independence.

30. His delegation believed that the United Nations and the international community should lend full political support and material assistance to the liberation movements of Zimbabwe and take all necessary steps to ensure the application by all States of the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council.

31. While his delegation basically supported the negotiations now taking place at Geneva for the transfer of power to the majority in Zimbabwe, it considered that those negotiations could not be a substitute for the right of the people of Zimbabwe to engage in their struggle for their legitimate rights. The date for the transfer of power should be fixed and should be binding on all parties. Furthermore, the United Nations should be fully informed of the course of the negotiations, which were of great concern to the Organization, since they dealt with an item on the agenda of both the General Assembly and the Special Committee of 24, namely the decolonization of Southern Rhodesia and the realization of the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination.

32. Mr. UNNIKRISSHMAN (India) noted that the question of Southern Rhodesia had been on the General Assembly agenda since 1962 and that the Smith white minority Government, which had been aided, armed and abetted by the South African racist régime, had been a bastion of strength for the apartheid State system, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. It had remained a close ally of Portuguese imperialism in Africa, implementing a policy of white supremacy, subjugation and plunder. However, the forces of democratization and the national liberation struggle had swept away Portuguese imperialism. It was his delegation's firm conviction that neither a Smith nor a Vorster could stop the tidal wave of history. The victory of the Angolan patriots and the firm support extended to the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe by the front-line States of Africa in particular, and the non-aligned and socialist camp in general, was making a remarkable impact on the situation.

33. The Smith régime had survived and prospered despite numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions condemning its illegal status. That survival was due to the active support of South Africa and multinational corporations. Western mining, oil and tourist enterprises continued to pursue trade with Southern Rhodesia. On the other hand Mozambique, a country ravaged by a brutal colonial

/...

(Mr. Unnikrishnan, India)

Power, with no indigenous industry and with one of the lowest per capita incomes in the world, had stood heroically by the people of Zimbabwe, in implementing the United Nations sanctions. That exceptionally courageous decision on the part of the Government and people of Mozambique deserved the highest praise of the international community and, in that connexion, his delegation urged that the United Nations should immediately initiate a specific programme of bilateral and multilateral assistance to that country for losses sustained as a result of its action. India, for its part, had long since severed all trade and financial links with Southern Rhodesia and continued to extend all political, material and moral support to the brave freedom-fighters of Zimbabwe in their struggle for national liberation.

34. His delegation welcomed the initiatives of the United Kingdom Government in convening the Conference at Geneva and was of the view that the United Kingdom, as the de jure administering Power, should do all it could to ensure the transfer of power to a majority Government which would truly represent the people of Zimbabwe. The Geneva talks presented a challenge and an opportunity of major importance, as the struggle to achieve independence had come to a decisive stage, at which there was a real danger of bloody, racial war in Zimbabwe. An historic moment had been reached in the final liberation of Africa from the last vestiges of colonialism, racism and minority rule.

35. Mr. SHAHI (Nepal) said that the United Nations had been faced, for more than a decade, with the problem of decolonization in Southern Rhodesia, where the people had been denied their inalienable right of self-determination and independence by the illegal minority racist régime. The heroic people of Zimbabwe, in spite of their suffering under the atrocities of the illegal régime, had been waging an intense liberation struggle which was bound to bear fruit.

36. Rapid developments in southern Africa during 1976 had changed the situation in Zimbabwe. The courageous steps taken by the People's Republic of Mozambique in closing its borders with Southern Rhodesia and applying full sanctions in accordance with United Nations decisions had dealt a severe blow to the rebel régime of Ian Smith. His delegation wished to pay a tribute to the Government and people of Mozambique for their great sacrifice in fulfilling their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. He urged the international community to heed the appeals made by the Security Council in its resolution 386 (1976) and to render assistance to Mozambique by all means available.

37. He noted that, faced with the threat of international sanctions and the intensified operations of freedom-fighters, the Ian Smith régime had had no alternative but to accept majority rule in principle. His delegation welcomed that recent positive development and expressed its appreciation to those who had taken constructive initiatives to bring about that change.

38. His delegation had consistently emphasized the responsibility of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power of the Territory, to put an end to the illegal régime and facilitate the transfer of power to the majority in Zimbabwe. Although the initiative taken by the United Kingdom Government in convening the Geneva

/...



(Mr. Shahi, Nepal)

Conference and bringing all the parties concerned together for negotiations had been a constructive step, his delegation strongly believed that the administering Power's responsibility would not be fully discharged until power was transferred to the majority in Zimbabwe at the earliest possible time.

39. His country had continuously and unequivocally supported the liberation movements in Zimbabwe and welcomed the unification of other liberation movements with ANC. Unity among the leaders of the liberation movements was vital not only for the success of the present negotiations but also for the future of the people of Zimbabwe.

40. Mr. KOBAYASHI (Japan) said that his country had always held the view that the abnormal situation that had been created in Southern Rhodesia as a result of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence should be brought to an end by peaceful means. Any solution to the problem would necessarily have to lead to the establishment, as soon as possible, of a democratic government based on the principle of majority rule. There had been some encouraging developments recently, and his delegation welcomed the administering Power's statement concerning the progress being made in the negotiations currently taking place at Geneva. Those recent encouraging developments were due primarily to the perseverance of the people of Zimbabwe in their indefatigable struggle against the illegal minority régime of Salisbury and the sacrifices agreed upon by the international community for the purpose of isolating the illegal régime by applying strict sanctions against it. Furthermore, his delegation wished to express its appreciation for the commendable efforts made by the United States to help bring about a solution to the problem. The neighbouring African States, the nationalist leaders of Zimbabwe and the administering Power had also made valuable contributions towards such a solution.

41. Although the details of the progress in the negotiations at Geneva were not fully known, his delegation felt that the talks were now at a delicate but encouraging stage. It firmly believed that States Members of the United Nations which were genuinely anxious for a speedy and peaceful solution to the problem should avoid taking measures that might jeopardize the course of the negotiations. However, his delegation agreed with the representative of the United Kingdom that sanctions against the illegal régime should be maintained until the final goal had been achieved. Japan, for its part, had observed and continued to observe the sanctions imposed under the relevant United Nations resolutions. His delegation was also prepared to support any extension of those sanctions, if such measures should be deemed necessary and useful.

42. Mr. WU Miao-fa (China) said that the current situation in Zimbabwe, like that in the whole of southern Africa, was excellent. During the past year, with the support and solidarity of the entire African people and the people of the rest of the world, the people of Zimbabwe had continued to win new victories in their armed struggle, dealing heavy blows at the Smith racist régime. Finding itself in unprecedented isolation, the Smith racist régime was stepping up its counterrevolutionary dual tactics in a death-bed struggle to prolong its

/...

(Mr. Wu Miao-fa, China)

precarious existence. On the one hand, it had greatly increased its military budget, prolonged the service of its military personnel and intensified its suppression of the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. On the other hand, it had hypocritically professed its readiness to bring about "reconciliation" and had advertised the "achievement of majority rule" through negotiations, as though the ferocious Smith racist régime would lay down its butcher's knife and become a buddha overnight. But after all, sham was sham. Smith's so-called reconciliation proposal, in which he had gone so far as to make the unreasonable demand, as a precondition for negotiation, that the Zimbabwe liberation organizations should cease their armed struggle immediately upon the establishment of the interim government, and in which he obstinately insisted that the ministerial posts of defence, security and justice must go to the white racists. It was not difficult to perceive that the real aim of the so-called "reconciliation" advertised by Smith was none other than to force the Zimbabwe freedom-fighters to lay down their arms while allowing the racists to raise their butcher's knives to ensure the continued suppression and persecution of the Zimbabwe people. That was nothing new, but only another pernicious scheme designed to benumb the fighting will of the Zimbabwe people, split and disintegrate the Zimbabwe liberation movement and sustain reactionary racist rule. While talking profusely about "reconciliation", the Smith racist régime had not long ago sent large numbers of troops for a massive invasion of Mozambique. That was further evidence of its obdurate hostility against the Zimbabwe and African people. It was no wonder that the Smith fraud of "reconciliation" was meeting with the unanimous condemnation and firm resistance of the Zimbabwe freedom-fighters and the broad masses of the people of Africa and the rest of the world.

43. In their struggles against the Smith racist régime, the Zimbabwe people had come to realize that the independence and liberation of their country could be won only by relying mainly on their own unremitting struggles. The revolutionary people should, in all circumstances, use revolutionary dual tactics to deal with counterrevolutionary dual tactics. Armed struggle was the basic means of overthrowing colonial and racist rule and achieving national liberation, and negotiations must be based on fighting. Until the enemy laid down its arms, armed struggle could only be strengthened, not weakened. Even if some agreements had been reached through negotiations, they existed only on paper, and unflagging and pertinacious struggles were required to turn paper agreements into reality.

44. The struggle of the Zimbabwe people was at an important juncture. Social imperialism and imperialism were trying by every possible means to steer the struggle of the Zimbabwe people into their own courses. Motivated by their strategic needs in the struggle for world hegemony, the two super-Powers were locked in a fierce contest in southern Africa. One super-Power supported the racist régimes for the purpose of maintaining its own enormous vested interests. The other super-Power, flaunting the banner of "opposing racism" and "supporting the national liberation movement", and styling itself the "natural ally" of the African people, resorted to even more sinister and pernicious means, in a deliberate attempt to split the national liberation organizations and undermine the unity of African countries so as to expand its spheres of influence in southern Africa and strengthen its position of rivalry with the other super-Power for world hegemony. Therefore, while carrying on the struggle against the Smith racist régime, the people of Zimbabwe had the arduous task of fighting against infiltration,

/...

(Mr. Wu Miao-fa, China)

expansion, intervention and subversion by the super-Powers, and particularly that super-Power which flaunted the banner of "supporting the national liberation movement".

45. The Zimbabwe people's struggle for national liberation was an important component of the struggle of the numerous third world countries and peoples against imperialism, colonialism, racism, zionism, and hegemonism. In recent years, the numerous third world countries and peoples had given powerful support to the struggles of the Zimbabwe people. The 1976 summit conferences of the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Countries had again reaffirmed resolute support for the just struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. The Chinese Government and people had always unswervingly supported the Zimbabwe people in their just struggle for national liberation and independence. They were firmly convinced that, as long as the people of Zimbabwe sincerely appreciated the interests of the struggle against racism, colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism, strengthened their unity, heightened their vigilance, relied on their own strength, persevered in the armed struggle and prevented the tiger from entering the back door while repulsing the wolf from the front gate, they would overcome the difficulties and hazards and win the great victory of national liberation.

46. Mr. NIYUNGEKO (Burundi) extended his delegation's warm congratulations to the sister delegation of the People's Republic of Angola, which some had sought to prevent from participating in the work of the Committee. He also congratulated the Special Committee of 24 on the detailed and objective report it had submitted and recommended its adoption.

47. Southern Rhodesia, a British colony, had been declared independent in 1965 at the wish of an ambitious inveterate racist. That so-called independence had never been recognized by the international community, which had rightly considered the Territory still to be a colony, albeit rebellious, under the responsibility of the United Kingdom. At a time when the nationalist movements - the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) - had already been in action, Ian Smith, seeking to forestall the freedom-fighters, had proclaimed the independence of Southern Rhodesia on 11 November 1965. He had believed he had legitimized his position and thus won the right to repress all nationalists as opponents of his régime.

48. For 11 years, the entire world had been powerless in the face of that defiance. Those who had the power to thwart it had not done so. His delegation did not believe that they would have reacted in that way if, instead of Smith or even at the time of Smith, the two nationalist movements had also proclaimed independence. The General Assembly and the Security Council had adopted several resolutions, some of which provided for sanctions against the rebel Smith régime. Unfortunately, some Member States continued to violate those sanctions which, if they had been scrupulously applied, would already have dealt severe blows to the régime of the renegade Ian Smith. In that connexion, the Fourth Committee must recommend to the General Assembly that it renew its call upon all Governments which so far had not done so "to take stringent enforcement measures to ensure strict compliance by all individuals, associations and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction with the sanctions imposed by the Security Council and to prohibit any form of collaboration by them with the illegal régime" (resolution 3397 (XXX), para. 4 (a)).

/...

(Mr. Niyungeko, Burundi)

49. His delegation wished to reiterate Burundi's congratulations to and support of the People's Republic of Mozambique for its courageous decision taken on 3 March 1975 to close all its borders with the British colony of Southern Rhodesia with a view to supporting the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

50. On 24 September 1976, the problem of Zimbabwe had taken a new turn. The public acceptance on that date, by the racist leader of the white minority, of the accession of blacks to power in a Government in which they would be the majority had more or less changed the approach to the problem. In that connexion, his delegation had taken careful note of the statement made by the representative of the United Kingdom at the 41st meeting of the Committee and it welcomed all the attitudes and pressures which had influenced the racist Smith to accept the principle of majority rule. In particular, his delegation wished to draw attention to the actions taken by the Heads of State of the front-line States, namely, the United Republic of Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and Angola who, by the firm position which they had taken and their unconditional support for the liberation struggle, had greatly helped to shake the morale of Ian Smith and his supporters. In that connexion, congratulations should also be extended to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, for the role he had played.

50a. Today, the eyes of the entire world were turned towards Geneva where, since 28 October 1976, the conference on the future of Southern Rhodesia had been taking place. His delegation sincerely hoped that an acceptable solution would be found and it welcomed the fact that, at the present stage of the talks, discussions were being held on the structure of the interim Government that would lead Zimbabwe to independence, which should be achieved by 1 March 1978. In the meantime, it must be reaffirmed that there would be no independence without the establishment of majority rule in Zimbabwe, and that the sanctions imposed on the rebel colony must be continued until power was in the hands of the majority. The Smith régime must be required to cease its hounding and killing of nationalists and allow them to move about freely and pursue their political activities publicly.

51. At the current stage of the negotiations, the United Kingdom, which had assured the Committee that it supported no particular group, must warn Smith and his delegation that they must regard themselves as mere delegates and that they could make no more demands than could the nationalist delegations, otherwise the Conference might fail. His delegation also welcomed the official statement made by the United Kingdom in the Committee to the effect that the Smith delegation had no veto at the Geneva Conference. After all, he was a leader of a racist minority. The majority party was the African National Council of Zimbabwe, which was neither racist nor tribalist. Another duty of the United Kingdom, as the Power with responsibility for Southern Rhodesia, was to undertake to assist the future independent State, Zimbabwe, to overcome the difficulties with which it would be faced. That was a moral debt which his delegation believed should be paid.

/...

(Mr. Niyungeko, Burundi)

52. In conclusion, he wished to state the official position of Burundi, as stated at the 14th meeting of the General Assembly by the head of his delegation: the more the rebel Government of the renegade Ian Smith stubbornly refused to hand over power to the black majority, the more severe would be Burundi's condemnation and the more determined and unconditional its support of the freedom fighters of the ANC of Zimbabwe (A/31/PV.14, p. 78-80).

53. Mr. SENII (Ghana) said that the breakdown of the talks between Mr. Joshua Nkomo and Ian Smith early in 1976 had demonstrated in a very final way the futility of mere dialogue with rebels if it was not backed by armed strength. Consequently, instead of the unequal and useless dialogue of the armed versus the unarmed, the struggle had now rightly intensified on the battlefield. That struggle was legitimate, and it was the duty of the United Nations to support it in full.

54. The visit by the Ad Hoc Group of the Special Committee of 24 to Africa had, among other things, shed useful light on the internal situation in Southern Rhodesia, a situation characterized by the increasing brutality of the rebels against the African nationals of Zimbabwe. The loathsome details of that brutality must surely impress upon all a most compelling sense of the urgency with which the régime of the rebels must be liquidated. Any delay would prolong the sufferings of a defenceless population at the mercy of a brutal and racist régime which was hardly restrained by the still ineffective sanctions while, on the other hand, it was armed with every weapon of attack, oppression and torture.

55. As a result of recent developments, the issue now seemed to hinge largely on the outcome of the negotiations in progress at Geneva. Those were undoubtedly developments in the right direction, and his delegation certainly hoped that all went well in that forum. It did not believe, however, that the General Assembly should allow itself to be lulled into any false optimism or to forget its duty to remain carefully and conscientiously seized of the situation, as a colonial situation of the worst type, posing a continual danger to international peace and security and calling urgently for the speedy relief of human suffering. The General Assembly should actively seek the successful outcome of the Geneva talks while remaining in a state of readiness to continue the pressure on the racist régime if those talks should fail to produce the right results.

56. The path of negotiation in Geneva would not be smooth. It was well known that the Kissinger-Smith proposals, at least as announced by Ian Smith, turned upon the successful establishment of an interim government which, in turn, depended upon the answer to an intractable question, namely, who would control the levers and instruments of internal power, the attributes of sovereignty and the crucial portfolios of defence and security during the transition. To leave those in racist hands would be to legalize a situation of stalemate in which the racists could build up their economic and military strength and eventually slide back into illegality if they so chose, renewing their rebellion with much greater powers of attack and oppression than ever before. On that subject, the so-called Minister of Transport and Power in the rebel régime, speaking in the context of

/...

(Mr. Sekhi, Ghana)

the Kissinger proposals, had said that the régime had been told that there would be no possibility of British troops going to Southern Rhodesia because of their obligations to NATO and Northern Ireland. He had gone on to state that the fund which was to be established, a portion of which would be injected into the Southern Rhodesian economy in order to bring it up to its potential, could be used to purchase weapons and so on. The so-called Minister had also stated that Southern Rhodesia desperately needed more sophisticated weapons of war and that there would be no objection to its recruiting from other English-speaking countries. He had claimed that it had also been indicated to him that, if the régime believed it necessary to have deeper penetration into Mozambique once Southern Rhodesia was a legal entity, then criticism from other countries would not apply.

57. It was clear that the racists had never had any intention of giving up those special powers which had always made the difference between Southern Rhodesia and those other Territories, where decolonization had followed the smooth progression from internal self-government, without the control of defence and external affairs, to full independence. In 1963, the Government of Ghana had clearly seen the danger of handing those levers of power from the Central African Federation back to the racist minority government of Southern Rhodesia. Ghana had told the Security Council that any such transfer would create a situation fraught with danger to international peace and security. It was well known that the Security Council had been prevented from forbidding the transfer of armed forces and police to the minority régime only by the solitary veto of the administering Power. Ever since that veto, which had established the United Kingdom's inescapable responsibility for the resulting situation, the minority régime had clung tightly to the control of those instruments of power and had refused on all occasions to hand them back.

58. It was quite clear that unless those powers were given up, no interim government could safely be expected to lead to independence. It was equally clear that Ian Smith would not give up power unless some way was found of removing it from his clutches, either by negotiation or by pressure or both. The Government of Ghana had taken the position that if the administering Power, despite its legal and moral responsibility, still did not undertake to do that and would not assume those powers itself, then sanctions and the armed struggle must continue and must be supported until there was a truly irreversible transfer of power to the majority. The position of the Government of Ghana had been made quite clear in its statement on the Anglo-American proposals for majority rule in Zimbabwe (A/31/258). That position had been further elucidated and amplified by the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs of Ghana in his statement at the 20th meeting of the General Assembly (A/31/PV.20, pp. 91-92).

59. It should be recognized that matters had been brought to the present stage of negotiation more as a result of armed struggle than as a result of sanctions which, even through mandatory, had been ineffective and feebly applied. The United Nations should pledge its full support to the armed struggle even though the actual protagonists were outside the Organization. Sanctions, however, were the primary and peculiar responsibility of the United Nations, which should now make them truly mandatory and comprehensive. His delegation noted and appreciated the

/...

(Mr. Sekhi, Ghana)

efforts of the administering Power to help in closing the loopholes in the application of sanctions within their present scope, which was itself limited and inadequate. That scope had, however, of late been widened by the selfless decision of the Government of Mozambique to apply total sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

60. The ring of sanctions was, however, broken by South Africa, which was today perhaps the sole or the principal supplier of decisive armaments to the rebel racist régime. That was done in defiance of the mandatory injunction of the Security Council and thus, South Africa, in addition to its defiance of the Security Council and the General Assembly over Namibia, openly and constantly violated its obligations under Chapter II of the Charter and made itself liable to expulsion from the United Nations. An extension of the mandatory arms embargo to South Africa itself would close the circle of sanctions imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter and, quite apart from its relevance to the Namibian situation, would be a significant contribution to resolving the impasse in Geneva. The South African sabotage of the arms embargo against Southern Rhodesia could be effectively countered only by applying a mandatory arms embargo to South Africa itself, and such a measure would go a long way towards loosening the hold of the racists on the levers of power. His delegation wished to advocate, with respect to both Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, that the matter should be taken up urgently with a view to recommending such measures to the Security Council. It also wished to remind the permanent members of the Security Council that might be inclined to cast the veto again that, in doing so, they would be responsible for a double sabotage, namely, of the effective measures to be taken in order to terminate Vorster's aggression in Namibia and of those already decreed under Chapter VII of the Charter for the suppression of Smith's rebellion in Southern Rhodesia. His delegation sincerely hoped that those members would desist from using that veto power.

61. Mr. MONTEMAYOR CANTU (Mexico) welcomed the delegation of Angola, which had finally taken its rightful place in the United Nations.

62. While it was difficult to contribute anything new on the subject of Southern Rhodesia, and even though official information on the current state of the problem was lacking, his delegation wished to express the political will of the Mexican Government and people by reiterating their support for the cause of the people of Zimbabwe. His delegation also reaffirmed its support of the basic guidelines established in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations: (a) the United Kingdom had the responsibility, as administering Power, to put an end to the critical situation in Southern Rhodesia which, as the Security Council had repeatedly affirmed, was a threat to international peace and security; (b) a constitutional conference should be held and attended by the authentic nationalist representatives of the people of Zimbabwe, and the United Nations should participate in the process of the transfer of power; (c) the principle of majority rule should be reaffirmed.

63. In any decolonization process, it was essential to maintain a proper balance between the parties concerned and it was inconceivable that one party, merely

/...

(Mr. Montemayor Cantu, Mexico)

because it held de facto political and economic power, should stand to gain by its rebellious acts, even in exchange for the restitution of the rights taken away from the other party. The racist minority in Salisbury was clinging to privileges which no other community enjoyed and which were the cause of radical social injustice.

64. Decolonization was a process based on two fundamental premises: the struggle of people for their freedom and co-ordinating action by the United Nations. Any decolonization effort must be carried out under the auspices of the United Nations. The Charter and the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council contained provisions to that effect. It was for that reason that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had been drafted and adopted.

65. In the present case, there was cause for anxiety over the lack of unity among the liberation movements, whose only concern at present should be the independence of the Territory under majority rule with a view to the establishment of a single community: the free community of Zimbabwe.

66. Mr. SALADO VILLACIN (Cuba) said that the discussion on the question of Southern Rhodesia was taking place in the context of a rapidly changing situation in southern Africa: there were growing hopes for self-determination and total independence on the part of the peoples subjected to colonial and racist domination.

67. The international community was resolved to make a decisive contribution to the final eradication of colonialism from that region of Africa and to achieve the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

68. Although favourable conditions now existed for the elimination of the racist minority régimes in Zimbabwe and Namibia, and the door was even open for the achievement of a peaceful transfer of power to an African majority government, his delegation wished to make some comments on the changes that had taken place. What was clear was that the downfall of colonialism in southern Africa would be the result of the victories achieved by the national liberation movements. The illegal racist régime of Ian Smith was seated at the conference table in Geneva not because there was a "wise man" or "superman" of imperialist diplomacy who had caused it to change its mind. The change was due to the resounding victories of FRELIMO in Mozambique, MPLA in Angola, and PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, to the advances of SWAPO in Namibia, the intensification of the struggle of the people of Azania and the final and decisive thrust of the liberation movement in Zimbabwe. With the support of the international community, and particularly the inspiring initiatives and efforts of the front-line States of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, backed by the Organization of African Unity, the desperate attempts of the illegal minority in Southern Rhodesia to maintain any form of domination over the people of Zimbabwe would fail. However much the imperialists attempted to negotiate solutions with the racists, it was inevitable that the principle that there could be no independence in Zimbabwe without the establishment of majority rule and that

/...



(Mr. Salado Villacin, Cuba)

any arrangements regarding the future must be worked out with the full participation of the liberation movement, ANC (Zimbabwe) would be reaffirmed.

69. His delegation fully endorsed the contents of the Political Declaration of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries with respect to Zimbabwe. That Declaration expressed firm support for the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle, using all means at their disposal including armed struggle to achieve majority rule. It also called upon all peace-loving and freedom-loving countries to give political, moral, material and diplomatic assistance to the people of Zimbabwe to enable them to achieve their right to self-determination and independence.

70. The Smith régime, powerless and near defeat, had committed a desperate act of aggression against the Republic of Mozambique, using modern weapons whose source was known to all and had begun to recruit mercenaries. It was therefore of the utmost importance that international action should be taken against the illegal régime, which must be totally isolated in all spheres. The mandatory sanctions in force should be applied and extended to other sectors, such as communications. Pressure should be exerted and Smith must bow to the demands of the African nationalists or suffer a crushing defeat at the hands of the patriots. There was no other alternative.

71. As for the discussions in Geneva, it was quite clear that the African nationalists had gone there to claim their rights from the administering Power, and the success of the discussions ultimately depended on the United Kingdom's fulfilling its obligations and transferring power to a majority Government.

72. In conclusion, his delegation wished to express its support for the brave decision taken in March 1976 by the Government of Mozambique to close its borders with Southern Rhodesia and to fully apply the sanctions against the illegal régime in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations resolutions. It also fully supported the suggestion that Mozambique should be given every assistance to enable it to offset the adverse effects it had suffered as a result of the measures it had taken.

AGENDA ITEM 85: QUESTION OF NAMIBIA (A/C.4/31/L.29, L.30, L.31, L.32, L.33, L.34, L.35, L.36, L.37, L.38, L.39, L.40) (continued)

73. The CHAIRMAN drew attention to document A/C.4/31/L.40 containing a statement by the Secretary-General on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution in document A/C.4/31/L.37.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.