

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1994th  
MEETING**

Friday, 3 November 1972,  
at 3.25 p.m.

NEW YORK

Chairman: Mr. Zdeněk ČERNÍK  
(Czechoslovakia).

AGENDA ITEM 66

Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/8650,  
A/8663, A/8664, A/8723/Add.1, A/8759 and Add.1)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. GUELEV (Bulgaria) noted with concern that the situation in Southern Rhodesia had deteriorated still further since the preceding session. The repression of the people of Zimbabwe had been intensified; the United Kingdom Government's proposals for a settlement had been categorically rejected by the indigenous population and the administering Power's last attempt to compromise with the illegal Smith régime had been a complete failure. At the same time, Portugal, South Africa and some of their allies openly violated the sanctions imposed by the Security Council and stubbornly refused to co-operate with the United Nations. Furthermore, the United Kingdom, making use of its veto at the Security Council meeting of September 1972, had once again stood in the way of an equitable settlement of that difficult problem, which the United Nations had been trying to solve for the last seven years.

2. The United Nations had a direct responsibility in the matter and the General Assembly had taken the wise decision to make a thorough examination under agenda item 22, in plenary meetings at the present session, of all the problems of decolonization. It had been particularly disturbing to note that so far the efforts of the international community had not succeeded in breaking the deadlock of the situation in southern Africa, where millions of human beings were denied the most elementary human rights. The discussion, as also the ample documentation submitted on the subject, had shown clearly that the problem of Southern Rhodesia could not be dissociated from the other problems of southern Africa, namely the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination and in South Africa. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had arrived at that conclusion and it had devoted its time to considering the problems as a whole and studying their close interdependence. The reports of the Special Committee, the discussions in the General Assembly and the discussion in the Security Council scarcely a month earlier had all served to show beyond any doubt that the present impasse, the

depressingly slow pace of the process of decolonization and the failure of all the efforts of the United Nations concerning Southern Rhodesia, the Territories under Portuguese domination and Namibia were all due solely to the fact that the colonialist and racist Powers flouted all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, simply because they could count on the support of certain Member States, their principal allies and trading partners.

3. As far as Southern Rhodesia was concerned, certain permanent members of the Security Council, including the United Kingdom, which was mainly responsible for the situation, had recently refused once again to co-operate with the United Nations, on the pretext that a period of calm and serene reflection was necessary for all and that the Southern Rhodesians, both Africans and Europeans, should choose the path of compromise, which would be the only way of making progress; or again, that the population of Southern Rhodesia must be given time to reflect. Such an attitude was inconceivable and it would be interesting to know just how much time they were prepared to give for reflection, and to which population.

4. The crashing failure of the so-called settlement proposals of the United Kingdom Government showed that any settlement concerning the future of Southern Rhodesia had to be worked out with the full participation of the Zimbabwe people through their representatives, namely the leaders of the national liberation movements. His delegation had listened with great interest to the statements in which those representatives had reaffirmed before the Committee (1988th meeting) the determination of the Zimbabwe people to continue and intensify their armed struggle against the oppressors until they achieved final victory. In view of that heroic attitude on the part of the Zimbabwe people, it was incumbent on the United Nations, not only to condemn the Ian Smith régime and to denounce the manoeuvres of the administering Power and the active complicity of Portugal, South Africa and their allies, but to take more severe and more effective action to ensure respect for the Charter of the United Nations, General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions of the Assembly and the Security Council. It was also necessary to strengthen the sanctions against the Southern Rhodesian régime and to extend them to Portugal and South Africa, and at the same time to give the people of Zimbabwe, through their national liberation movements, all the moral and material assistance they needed in order to exercise their inalienable right to freedom and independence.

5. It was the duty of the United Nations to frustrate the designs of the colonialist and imperialist forces

which, with the help of the great monopolies, were trying to create a new industrial, military and paramilitary complex in South Africa. The activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination were among the most disquieting aspects of imperialism in southern Africa and it was essential that the United Nations should insist upon respect for its decisions, especially at a time when so many efforts were being made within the framework of the Second United Nations Development Decade to solve the problems of under-development. In that respect, the statement by the Reverend Michael Scott (1990th meeting) deserved detailed study by the Committee and by all the relevant United Nations bodies.

6. Far from wanting to come to terms with the racist régime and its dictatorship, the Zimbabwe people were asking for the necessary conditions to be brought about to ensure the development of a democratic process through their real representatives. The United Nations, which had recognized the legitimacy of their liberation struggle, should give them all the necessary material and moral assistance by adopting a more resolute line of action, in conformity with the principles it had proclaimed and with the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, in order to shatter the collusion of colonialism and imperialism in Southern Rhodesia through concerted action by all peace-loving countries. His delegation would support any initiative calculated to hasten the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe.

7. Mr. DOLZHINTSEREN (Mongolia) said that his delegation attached special significance to the question of Southern Rhodesia, where 5 million people of Zimbabwe were still deprived of their most elementary rights and where the worsening situation was a threat to peace in Africa and to the whole world.

8. Following in the footsteps of the fascist régime of Pretoria, the Ian Smith clique was systematically extending the obnoxious policy of *apartheid* to that country by tightening the grip of the racist minority and stepping up the repression of the indigenous people. Moreover, serving as a bridgehead for the Lisbon-Pretoria-Salisbury axis, it was sending troops to join the Portuguese forces in their war against the freedom fighters in Mozambique.

9. It was a matter of regret that the United Kingdom Government, which bore the primary responsibility for the situation, had failed to take any decisive action to replace the racist minority régime by majority rule. Worse still, it was seeking manoeuvres that would lead to the recognition of the Salisbury régime. A clear-cut example of that was the so-called proposals for a settlement reached between Douglas-Home and Smith behind the backs of the people of Zimbabwe and categorically rejected by the latter. It was also regrettable that the United Kingdom delegation had once again used its veto power in September 1972 to prevent the adoption by the Security Council of a draft resolution<sup>1</sup> which included such concrete suggestions

as the convening of a national constitutional conference in Southern Rhodesia, the release of all political prisoners, and so forth. At the same time, another Western Power, the United States of America, in violation of its international obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council, had imported chrome ore from Southern Rhodesia despite the fact that it had 2.2 million tons of excess in its strategic stockpile. The reason for the synchronized activities of those two Western Powers lay in the financial and economic interests of their big monopolies, which were well anchored in Southern Rhodesia and made tremendous profits there. The fact that the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia had survived despite all the efforts made by the United Nations and despite world public opinion was due primarily to the activities and investments of those big monopolies, with the encouragement of their Governments. According to the British newspaper *Financial Times*, the capital invested by foreign monopolies, in particular by those of the United Kingdom and the United States, accounted for 80 per cent of the whole capital invested in the economy of Southern Rhodesia.

10. His delegation considered that the United Nations should concentrate its efforts on that aspect of the situation, so that the Powers concerned would not only cease to support the Ian Smith régime but would adopt the necessary administrative and legislative measures to halt the economic activities of their monopolies in Southern Rhodesia. At the same time, in order to isolate the régime completely, the economic sanctions should be extended to bring about the severance of all relations with the illegal Salisbury régime, including radio, telephonic and telegraphic communications. The economic sanctions should also be extended to South Africa and Portugal.

11. It was, of course, above all by their heroic struggle that the people of Zimbabwe would attain their right to self-determination and independence. His delegation thought that the establishment of a joint military command under the leadership of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was an important step towards the consolidation of the unity of the Zimbabwe people in their struggle for freedom and independence and that the United Nations should provide the national liberation movements with all the necessary assistance.

12. In that spirit, his delegation fully endorsed the conclusions and recommendations made by the Special Committee in its report (A/8723/Add.1), in particular those which rejected any attempt to negotiate with the illegal racist régime on the basis of independence before majority rule and which requested all States to extend moral and material assistance to the people of Zimbabwe through the national liberation movements. As far as his country's position was concerned, he repeated what the Mongolian Minister for Foreign Affairs had said in the General Assembly (2043rd plenary meeting), namely, that the people and Government of the Mongolian People's Republic expressed

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972*, document S/10805/Rev.1.

their solidarity and consistent support to the people of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia and Zimbabwe. His delegation was prepared to support any decisions of the Committee that would help to bring about the attainment by the people of Zimbabwe of self-determination and independence.

13. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait) said that his delegation deplored the situation which persisted in Southern Rhodesia despite all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations since the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. Unrepresentative elections had been held; there had been attempts to impose constitutional arrangements that were humiliating and that were not the expression of the will of the people; there had been commissions that had not talked with the real leaders, who had often been in preventive arrest. Those violations of human rights must be remedied by democratic means. The majority of the population could not be excluded from the governmental process or from economic life. Independence must be based on both universal suffrage and majority rule. No transfer of power from the United Kingdom could be acceptable until the majority of the people were assured of those fundamental rights.

14. The Ian Smith régime was seeking international respectability while enforcing its *apartheid* system at home. It should not be allowed to take advantage of the military needs of alliances hungry to exploit Southern Rhodesia's strategic geographical position and natural resources in order to consolidate its *apartheid* policy and colonialist régime. Decolonization was an ineluctable process and the United Nations must help the Africans emerging from colonial rule to create their own institutions without outside interference.

15. Kuwait had put into effect a total boycott of the racist rebel Government of Southern Rhodesia. It had broken off all diplomatic, economic and commercial relations with that Government. Its boycott included maritime and air transport and the export of petroleum and petroleum products. The Government of Kuwait scrupulously upheld General Assembly resolution 2796 (XXVI) and had requested the Security Council to take additional steps to bring about the compliance of all Member States with its decisions and those of the General Assembly on Southern Rhodesia.

16. Mr. ANDERSON (Jamaica) congratulated the Special Committee on its report (A/8723/Add.1), which proposed positive and imaginative steps to end colonization in Africa and the present situation in Southern Rhodesia. However, the response of the administering Power, which put obstacles in the way of moderate and reasonable attempts at a solution, was discouraging. Far from seeking to put an end to the inhuman and barbarous acts of a usurper who, in the name of "provincialization", evicted human beings from their homes and deprived them of their land, the United Kingdom was working out a scheme to legitimize and perpetuate that tyranny and used its veto in the United Nations to forestall any constructive draft resolutions. The repressive forces of southern Africa—the racist

Government of South Africa, Portuguese colonialists and the illegal régime in Salisbury—whose desire was to make of southern Africa a bastion of white supremacy and oppression of the African people, were actively collaborating in that policy.

17. Fortunately, the United Nations continued to oppose that conspiracy: a Security Council draft resolution, which had been vetoed by the United Kingdom<sup>1</sup>, the report of the Special Committee and the convening of meetings of that Committee in Africa were cases in point. The sanctions which the Security Council had decided to maintain were naturally among the most important measures adopted by the United Nations. Their undeniable effect on the economic development of Southern Rhodesia made it necessary to tighten them. They were of course only one element of a larger strategy, but it was a vital element and his delegation invited Member States to study and support the suggestions of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee which had recently met in London and to extend those sanctions to the areas of maximum vulnerability for the illegal régime. The vital consideration was that the more economically, politically and militarily powerful Member States should co-operate and decide to respect the spirit of the Charter of the Organization of which they were founding Members; they should cease to trade with Portugal and South Africa and, through them, with Southern Rhodesia, thus sabotaging the sanctions.

18. According to the report of the Special Committee (*ibid.*, annex, para. 95), \$220 million worth of goods exported by Southern Rhodesia had reached world markets via South Africa and Mozambique and only 5 per cent of Southern Rhodesia's imports had been reported as such in the trade statistics of exporting countries. Unless the major Powers wished the sincerity of their commitment to the cause of freedom in Zimbabwe to be doubted, they must heed the Special Committee's call for an embargo against Portugal and South Africa, since any action against those countries automatically affected Southern Rhodesia, and must fully apply Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations against Southern Rhodesia.

19. It was significant that the illegal Smith régime was even persecuting the African National Council, a peaceful and in no way subversive organization. In those circumstances, the intensification of armed resistance could not be condemned, despite the tragedy it would entail, and it was encouraging to note that ZANU and ZAPU had taken steps to unite in armed opposition to the illegal régime.

20. His delegation would always resist attempts to grant respectability to a régime which trampled on the rights of the African people in Southern Rhodesia; that was why it had opposed the participation of Southern Rhodesia in the recent Olympic Games.

21. The Governments of all Member States of the United Nations should mobilize public opinion in favour of the fight against racial injustice and barbarism in Southern Rhodesia: they would thus encourage the

Governments which at present were allowing private interests to carry out activities inimical to the people of that Territory to join the struggle against white oppression in Southern Rhodesia. His delegation welcomed the United Nations initiatives to accomplish that mobilization: the draft resolutions which had been submitted to the General Assembly in connexion with agenda item 22 and which had been adopted on the previous evening, concerning the organization of an international conference at Oslo (resolution 2910 (XXVII)), observing a week of solidarity with colonial peoples (resolution 2911 (XXVII)) and the dissemination of information on decolonization (resolution 2909 (XXVII)). Separate acts, however, would be futile if they were not integrated into a coherent strategy, the principal elements of which would be: the mobilization of world public opinion behind the struggle for freedom in southern Africa; the denial of international respectability to the illegal Smith régime; the effective implementation and extension of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia; the imposition of sanctions against Portugal and South Africa; the use of force by the United Kingdom Government against the Smith régime; the intensification of the campaign of the liberation movements in Southern Rhodesia; and increased activity by the African National Council.

22. Finally, it was necessary to state once more that any solution must include the participation of the real representatives of the people of Zimbabwe and must be accepted by them. Independence could be based only on majority rule. The United Nations had a special responsibility as the repository of international morality and must discharge that responsibility with conviction and energy.

23. Mr. MULWA (Kenya) said that, in order to prevent any misunderstanding concerning the reference to Botswana which had been made at the 1991st meeting, he wished to explain that the intention of his delegation had been to show that it was possible to mount an effective blockade against Southern Rhodesia by locking the only routes through which goods from South Africa and Portugal reached the rebels. It was known that Southern Rhodesia had no direct link with South Africa and that trade between the two countries went either through Botswana or through Lourenço Marques, so that it was clear that a blockade aimed at those routes would certainly affect Southern Rhodesia. The fact that one of those routes passed through Botswana did not mean that that country was sympathetic with Smith's racist régime. Far from it: Kenya knew that Botswana joined with other African countries and the world at large in condemning

Smith's views and conduct and appreciated that it was in the same dilemma as Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania owing to its geographical proximity to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. There had therefore been no ulterior motive in his delegation's earlier statement.

24. Mr. SETSHWAELO (Botswana) thanked the representative of Kenya for his explanation. His delegation had not misunderstood the intention behind the reference which had been made to his country; it might, however, have given rise to doubt in the minds of other delegations, which the Kenya representative's statement would have helped to dispel.

25. Mr. AL-SHARAFI (Yemen) regretted that, year after year, the United Nations was concerned with the problem of Southern Rhodesia and adopted decisions which had no effect because they were not heeded by certain Powers Members of the Organization. The United Kingdom, which was the Government primarily responsible in the case, had demonstrated its unwillingness to take any effective action to solve the problem or to allow the United Nations, through the Security Council, to organize effective measures against the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom Government could have acted effectively from the very beginning and thus have eradicated a cause of unrest that endangered world peace.

26. It should have acted as the French Government had done against General Salan and his supporters when they had tried to initiate a secessionist movement in Algeria in 1961. General de Gaulle had not entered into negotiations with the French rebels in order to reach a peaceful settlement; on the contrary, he had used force against them and had saved the world from a tragic situation which could have had distressing consequences. The United Kingdom too, should have used force against the secessionists in order to frustrate their schemes and to restore the usurped rights of the majority. Nevertheless, it was not too late for action by the United Kingdom and the world community. Since they possessed the necessary legal and moral bases, they should take the requisite steps forthwith, not only against the Smith minority régime but also against all its economic and military supporters throughout the world who intended to continue to oppress the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), not to mention the case of Palestine.

*The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.*