

in order to promote world peace. He therefore supported the Fourth Committee's efforts to combat colonialism and welcomed the fact that representatives of the colonial Territories in Africa had been permitted to participate as observers in the discussion on matters affecting them.

50. His delegation was concerned at the deterioration of the situation in Zimbabwe, including the continued oppression of its people by the illegal Smith régime and the establishment of the so-called "tribal trust lands", which would create an *apartheid* State. He deplored the failure of the United Kingdom to take effective steps to put an end to the minority régime. It was essential that the authentic representatives of the people should participate in working out Zimbabwe's future in accordance with the wishes of the majority.

51. In order to bring the full force of world public opinion to bear on the Smith régime, the sanctions called for in

Security Council resolutions 253 (1968) and 333 (1973) should be strictly applied. His Government had always co-operated with the United Nations in that matter; there was no trade between Thailand and Southern Rhodesia. Unfortunately, however, a number of countries had persistently refused to comply with the resolutions, thereby rendering sanctions less effective and increasing world tension. Efforts must be made to persuade such States to change their attitude.

52. The Thai delegation supported the Special Committee's recommendation that the attention of the Security Council should be drawn to the dangerous situation which had developed in Zimbabwe (see A/9023/Add.1, para. 22).

*The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.*

## 2043rd meeting

Monday, 22 October 1973, at 3.15 p.m.

*Chairman:* Mr. Leonardo DIAZ GONZALEZ (Venezuela).

A/C.4/SR.2043

### AGENDA ITEM 72

#### Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/9023/Add.1, A/9061)

#### GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. MORALES (Costa Rica) said that he agreed with the preceding speakers that the people of Zimbabwe must obtain their legitimate rights. Their case, however, was one that was likely to diminish confidence in the United Nations, for they would never obtain their rights so long as some Member States failed to comply with the resolutions adopted by the Organization.

2. The crimes committed by the minority régime were beyond description and the world was well aware of all the blood that was being shed. At the same time, the economic resources of the Territory were being exhausted. There was therefore reason to think that perhaps, when the chrome and nickel had given out, the administering Power and the United States purchasers would decide that the people of Zimbabwe were ready for liberation.

3. His delegation appealed to the United Kingdom, as administering Power, to respect the resolutions of the Security Council and to put an end once and for all to the racist minority which disregarded the wishes of the people of Zimbabwe.

4. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia) welcomed the representatives of the liberation movements of the people of Zimbabwe. The terror unleashed by the Smith minority

régime, which denied the people of Zimbabwe their fundamental rights, constituted a serious threat to the peace and security of Africa. The Smith régime, availing itself of the benevolence of the administering Power, was applying the policy of *apartheid* in all fields and had even established Bantustans to prevent the Africans from participating in the life of their own country, just as was the case in South Africa. It was obvious that in so doing the racist régime was trying to split the indigenous population and to sow the seeds of inter-tribal hatred.

5. As was pointed out in General Assembly resolution 2945 (XXVII), it was the duty of the United Kingdom, as administering Power, to establish majority rule in Zimbabwe. It was clear that neither the so-called "declaration of independence" by the racist régime nor the adoption of the so-called "Constitution" in 1969 relieved the administering Power of its responsibility for the Territory of Southern Rhodesia, in accordance with Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter. The administering Power could have prevented the course that events had taken if it had adopted firm measures against the illegal minority régime. From the very beginning, however, the administering Power had tried to settle the question through negotiations with the racist régime, a course which had brought no benefit to 96 per cent of the population of Zimbabwe. In promising a just solution, the administering Power had tried to create a smoke-screen behind which it had sought to reach a compromise acceptable to the British monopolies, the interests of the racist minority and the capital of certain other imperialist States.

6. In reality, the administering Power had helped the Smith régime to consolidate its position and, by negotiating with it, had given it *de facto* recognition. It was enough to

recall the results of the Pearce Commission,<sup>1</sup> which could have surprised no one, since they had only confirmed what had already been known. In chapter VII of its report (A/9023/Add.1), the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples emphasized that the people of Zimbabwe had rejected the proposals and that acceptance of them would have amounted to signing a political death warrant for the African majority.

7. Nevertheless, the “No” of the people of Zimbabwe had represented an expression of their political maturity and a confirmation of the fact that they were resolved to take the fate of their country into their own hands. In that respect the Pearce Commission had reached an indisputable finding: namely, that any attempt to settle the question before the establishment of majority rule would be doomed in advance to failure. For its part, the administering Power, which had declared that its policy with respect to the Smith régime would be based on the findings of the Pearce Commission, had given no evidence whatever—nearly a year and a half later—of any intention to close that tragic chapter of the history of the Zimbabwe people.

8. In such circumstances, the Smith régime had passed from threats to acts of aggression against some of the neighbouring States and had violated the territorial integrity of Zambia by closing its borders with that State and imposing an economic blockade on it. The reason that had induced the Southern Rhodesian racists to take such action lay, first and foremost, in their internal political difficulties and their inability to halt the advance of the liberation movements. The provocations of the Smith régime against Zambia had resulted in a wave of sympathy on the part of the African States and their friends.

9. On the question of future developments, the African people had already given their answer by their opposition, which was supported by all the progressive peoples of the world, including the socialist States. Czechoslovakia, for its part, maintained that any attempt to decide the future of Southern Rhodesia must be based on the freely expressed wishes of the African people, represented by the foremost organizations of the national liberation movements. The administering Power should adopt all the necessary measures to transfer power to the genuine representatives of the people of Zimbabwe, on the basis of universal adult suffrage and in accordance with the principle of one man, one vote.

10. As far as the United Nations was concerned, it should spare no effort to ensure the implementation of the resolutions and decisions of its principal organs, including the application of the sanctions imposed against the Smith régime. Czechoslovakia maintained no relations of any kind with that régime and was prepared to support all proposals to increase the effectiveness of the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and to extend them to include South Africa and Portugal. It would also support any measure designed to secure respect for the legitimate rights of the people of Zimbabwe.

<sup>1</sup> See *Rhodesia: Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce*, Cmnd. 4964 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).

11. Mr. SHUKE (Albania) said that the existing situation in Southern Rhodesia was clear proof of the methods and manoeuvres applied by imperialism and neo-colonialism to prolong the life of the odious colonial system as long as possible. That situation showed the danger that the Smith white racist régime and the support given to it by international imperialism represented for the peace and security of Africa.

12. The endless atrocities committed by that régime had been confirmed on many occasions, and recently by the representatives of the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe (2038th and 2039th meetings). Those atrocities included the so-called programme of “provincialization”, so similar to the Bantustan system of South Africa, which showed clearly that the essence of the Smith policy remained that of racial discrimination and segregation. The Smith régime, in close alliance with the Government of South Africa and the Portuguese colonialists, and having the ample support of the imperialist Powers, was trying by every means to stifle the national liberation movements and to undermine the independence of the freedom-loving African States, as was proved by the recent provocations against Zambia, which presented a challenge to all the peoples of Africa. His delegation congratulated the people and Government of Zambia, who had resolutely resisted the provocations of the Smith régime.

13. It was obvious that that régime would not have been able to remain in power for a single day had it not been for the total support of the imperialist Powers, and first and foremost the United Kingdom. Time had proved the hypocrisy of the position of the United Kingdom Government: the so-called economic sanctions, as also the “proposals for a settlement” agreed upon between the Government of the United Kingdom and the illegal régime in 1971,<sup>2</sup> had served to consolidate and legalize the racist régime, an outcome of British colonialism. For the same motives, the United Kingdom was now trying to work out a compromise with the Zimbabwe people, which simply meant trying to continue to deprive those people of their fundamental rights.

14. The United States of America, flagrantly violating the resolutions of the Security Council concerning the sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia, was still maintaining trade relations with the racist régime, to the great profit of United States monopolies. It was not by chance that the United States openly supported the racist régimes of southern Africa and the Portuguese colonialists, for it was the main defender of colonialism and neo-colonialism. It was the United States that was supporting Israel in its armed aggression against the Arab peoples, that maintained in power the reactionary régimes of Phnom Penh and Saigon and that pursued a policy of hegemony and expansion.

15. His delegation strongly condemned the racist régime of Salisbury and the imperialist Powers that supported it. It firmly supported the just cause of the Zimbabwe people in their struggle against the colonial yoke and considered that it was only through that struggle that the illegal régime could

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10405.

be brought to an end. It was the duty of the United Nations and its Member States to afford assistance to the people of Zimbabwe and to impose new sanctions against the Smith régime and its allies. Albania would always be on the side of those who were struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and would support any decisions that could help the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for freedom and independence.

16. Mr. HAIDER (Pakistan) said that Pakistan had always supported the just aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. In his opinion, the current situation in Southern Rhodesia could be analysed at four levels. The first was that of the primary responsibility of the United Kingdom Government which had failed to use its authority to restrain the Smith régime. The 1971 "proposals for a settlement" reflected a complete lack of comprehension of the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe and were based on the principles underlying the United Kingdom parliamentary reform bill that had been rejected 141 years earlier.

17. The second aspect to be taken into account was that of the measures adopted by the illegal régime, which was increasingly intensifying its oppression. It was sufficient to recall that three freedom fighters had been executed the previous week-end.

18. The third aspect was the economic and political support which the régime received from abroad. A look at the available figures showed that the economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia had failed because certain States were not applying them. The world should therefore be told which were the nations that maintained trade relations with Southern Rhodesia. It was regrettable that a country which had fought a long and painful civil war had not fully applied the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Pakistan, for its part, had no relations whatsoever with Southern Rhodesia and had severed telecommunications and postal links with that country.

19. The final important aspect was the plan of action of the liberation movements. It was obvious that the situation had become worse over the years. While, therefore, the international community must continue to press the United Kingdom to exercise its responsibility and take action against the régime, it must also enforce an effective system of sanctions and support the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence. Some speakers had expressed the view that no solution should be based on force; yet force was already being used to perpetuate an illegal situation. It was therefore difficult to deny the victims of the oppression the possibility of resorting to force. The international community must give all possible assistance to the liberation movements and thus, perhaps, the illegal régime would in time understand that the price which it had to pay to continue its policy of discrimination and repression was too high.

20. Mr. ARAIM (Iraq) said that the representative of the United Kingdom should abide by the wish of the majority of the members of the Committee and make a statement on the situation in Southern Rhodesia. His argument that there was no change in the situation was unacceptable: even the mass media in the United Kingdom acknowledged that the

armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe was becoming more vigorous day after day.

21. The Arab world had faced a similar situation in Palestine, where the United Kingdom had played the same role. At that time, the United Kingdom Government had conspired with the Zionists against the people of Palestine; that conspiracy was recorded in the Balfour Declaration and in all the acts committed by the United Kingdom to help the Zionist usurpers to establish their racial domination over the Arab people of Palestine. The present circumstances, however, were not what they had been in 1948. The non-aligned countries were co-operating to render all assistance to the peoples who were struggling for independence and freedom. World public opinion was no longer deceived by imperialist, colonialist and Zionist propaganda.

22. The Government of the United Kingdom had the undeniable responsibility to take effective steps to terminate the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and, as the administering Power, it must enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. General Assembly resolutions 2945 (XXVII) and 2946 (XXVII) and the resolution adopted at the 911th meeting of the Special Committee (see A/9023/Add.1, para. 21) reaffirmed the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

23. The Government of Iraq condemned the policies of Portugal and South Africa, which were aimed at perpetuating the racial domination of the people of Zimbabwe by the Ian Smith régime. Those two collaborators of Ian Smith should be made to withdraw all their troops from Southern Rhodesia.

24. There was an undeniable link between the racist régime of Ian Smith and the multinational corporations dedicated to the exploitation of the natural resources of Southern Rhodesia. Many western countries, including the United States of America, were not abiding by the resolutions concerning the boycott of the illegal régime of Ian Smith because their corporations were benefiting from the existence of that régime. The Government of Iraq reaffirmed its decision to boycott all trade transactions with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. At the current session of the General Assembly (2134th plenary meeting), the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq had expressed the unreserved support of Iraq for the struggle of the African peoples for freedom and independence and the preservation of their natural wealth and he had called upon the United Nations to exert all its efforts to assist that just struggle.

25. The United Nations had not succeeded in solving the problem of the people of Zimbabwe because the relevant resolutions were not complied with. The racist régime did not permit the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their legitimate rights and was trying to deceive world public opinion by claiming that the indigenous population was happy with the present situation. The African people, however, would be satisfied only when they were able to exercise their sovereign rights.

26. He wished to emphasize that mere condemnation of the situation was not enough. If the administering Power maintained its negative attitude, the Security Council should take effective steps to implement the provisions of the resolutions adopted by the Organization. The illegal régime of Ian Smith constituted a threat to peace and security in the area, since it was waging a war of aggression not only against the people of Zimbabwe but also against independent African States. The actions of that régime against Zambia were well known to all. The Government of Iraq supported the Government of Zambia and all African States struggling against the racial and colonial policies of the Ian Smith régime.

27. Mr. PLEUGER (Federal Republic of Germany) said that his Government had been concerned with the problem of Southern Rhodesia long before becoming a Member of the United Nations and had taken appropriate action. The organic law of the Federal Republic of Germany stipulated in its first article that the dignity of man was inviolable and that to respect and protect it was the duty of all State authority. The Federal Republic of Germany therefore totally rejected all kinds of racial discrimination and colonial rule, and that naturally applied to the illegal régime in Salisbury. The Federal Republic of Germany supported all peaceful efforts aimed at liberating the oppressed majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia from racial discrimination and at granting them their inalienable right to self-determination.

28. The Federal Republic of Germany had in the past welcomed the independence of the African nations and had actively co-operated with them in order to enhance their development and to contribute to strengthening their political, social and economic independence. The Federal Republic of Germany had been one of the first countries to come to the assistance of Zambia when its borders with Southern Rhodesia had been closed.

29. The Federal Republic of Germany had always considered Southern Rhodesia to be a territory subject to the British Crown and it had termed the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965 illegal. For those reasons, it maintained no relations with the Ian Smith régime. Although it had not been a member of the United Nations when Southern Rhodesia had declared itself a republic, the Federal Republic of Germany had applied the sanctions imposed by the Security Council in resolution 253 (1968) and had taken the necessary legal and administrative steps to ensure compliance with the sanctions, establishing heavy fines for their violation. Consequently, trade between the Federal Republic of Germany and Southern Rhodesia had practically come to an end. Unfortunately, there had been attempts to circumvent the sanctions. The Federal Republic of Germany had scrupulously investigated each case and, where there had been sufficient evidence, those responsible had been punished.

30. In order to keep the German public informed of the United Nations sanctions policy, the Federal Republic of Germany had published, in the official government gazette, Security Council resolution 333 (1973), together with the Government's foreign trade regulation regarding sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

31. Despite the action taken by the United Nations, the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia were still denied their basic right of self-determination. That situation caused grave concern to the Federal Government, which had also taken note of the views expressed on the matter at the Conference of Commonwealth Heads of Government, held from 2 to 10 August at Ottawa. The Federal Government shared those views and reaffirmed its pledge to co-operate in that respect with the Government of the United Kingdom and with the United Nations, particularly in the Fourth Committee and in the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968), otherwise known as the Sanctions Committee.

32. He recalled that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany had said in his statement to the General Assembly (2119th plenary meeting) that, as long as human rights continued to be trampled underfoot, the international community would be bound by Article 1 of the United Nations Charter to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

33. Mr. YUSUF (Nigeria) said that his delegation viewed with great concern the explosive situation in southern Africa, and particularly in the Territory of Zimbabwe, resulting from the fascist and racist practices of the illegal Ian Smith régime, abetted and supported by Portugal and South Africa. The Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury axis was an unholy alliance formed to stifle the legitimate aspirations of the oppressed people of southern Africa and to intimidate the independent neighbouring nations.

34. The statements made at the 2038th and 2039th meetings by the representatives of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and by the Reverend Canaan Banana of the African National Council showed clearly that the situation in Zimbabwe had not changed since the United Kingdom Government's celebrated "test of acceptability" applied by the Pearce Commission, a test that had been denounced by the Africans.<sup>1</sup> The United Kingdom—the champion of democracy and justice—remained inactive with respect to Zimbabwe. The African National Council, an organization under the leadership of Bishop Muzorewa, had requested the convening of a constitutional conference at which all shades of political opinion in the Territory would be represented, in order to solve the Zimbabwe problem. It was hard to see why the United Kingdom, which had always followed that practice in transferring power to indigenous peoples, did not do so in the current instance.

35. When the so-called "proposals for a settlement" had been announced, the Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria had issued a statement denouncing the "proposals" and urging first, that the United Nations should intervene in Zimbabwe; second, that a constitution should be introduced immediately, providing for majority rule under the supervision of a United Nations commission; third, that massive international aid should be provided for economic reconstruction of the African population in Zimbabwe; and fourth, that the United Nations should guarantee the territorial integrity of the new independent Zimbabwe. Nigeria had not changed its position: it considered that the United Kingdom Government was responsible for any atrocities committed in Zimbabwe and that it should

demonstrate its political maturity by putting an end to the rebel Ian Smith régime and enabling the people of Zimbabwe to fulfil their legitimate aspirations.

36. It was a well-known fact that South Africa maintained troops in Zimbabwe to help the illegal régime of Ian Smith in its aggression against the African population. His delegation considered that to be a case of flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the United Kingdom Government, which should take appropriate action to secure the withdrawal of South African troops from the territory of Zimbabwe.

37. It was distressing to note the intransigence and lack of co-operation shown by the United Kingdom delegation in the Committee in refusing to meet the wishes of the majority, an attitude from which it might be concluded that the United Kingdom Government was not prepared to fulfil its responsibilities towards Zimbabwe. The United Kingdom had promptly quelled a rebellion in Anguilla by force simply because the Anguillan people were not of the same race; on the other hand, it regarded its kith and kin in Zimbabwe as sacred. The cause of 5.5 million Africans was sacrificed for the sake of a white population of only 500,000.

38. After the Pearce Commission, it might have been thought that the rebel clique of Ian Smith would try to reconcile the various shades of political opinion in Zimbabwe, but in fact the minority régime had passed new and stringent laws restricting fundamental freedoms such as freedom of movement, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly and freedom of speech. Seeing themselves abandoned by the United Kingdom, the Zimbabwe people had no alternative but to take up arms to liberate their homeland. Noting the successes achieved by the freedom fighters, the rebel régime had passed further legislation, including the inhumane “pass laws” similar to those in force in South Africa and other laws enabling it to impose collective fines on areas which harboured freedom fighters.

39. Nigeria viewed with great concern the continued violation by some Western Powers of the sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia. Portugal and South Africa were clearly the main culprits, since they made their ports available to the Southern Rhodesian régime and imported goods from the Territory. That was understandable, in that Portugal and South Africa were the real renegades of the United Nations, defying its authority and flouting the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The “unkindest cut of all”, however, had been the decision of the United States to join in that criminal activity, openly violating the sanctions by importing chrome and nickel from the rebel Territory. It was immoral for a permanent member of the Security Council to flout an important decision taken by that organ. His delegation, appealed to the United States and to all permanent members of the Security Council to comply with the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

40. His delegation wished the General Assembly to call on the administering Power to take urgent action to secure the release of all political prisoners, to summon a constitutional conference of all shades of political opinion in the Territory to discuss its future constitution, and to secure the

withdrawal of South African forces from Zimbabwe. At the same time, United Nations sanctions should be strengthened and expanded to include South Africa and Portugal.

41. Mr. BOUAZZA (Morocco) thanked the Special Committee for the section of the Special Committee’s report contained in document A/9023/Add.1, which provided extensive information regarding the current situation in Zimbabwe.

42. Eight years after its rebellion against the United Kingdom, the illegal racist minority régime continued to perpetrate criminal acts of collective punishment against the people of Zimbabwe. The situation continued to deteriorate, but the policies of the racist régime were strenuously opposed by the people of Zimbabwe, who had demonstrated their maturity by rejecting the “proposals for a settlement” during the Pearce Commission’s visit to Southern Rhodesia.

43. The mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia were not applied by all countries—South Africa and Portugal were particular offenders. The General Assembly, in its resolution 2946 (XXVII), had drawn the attention of the Security Council to the need to expand the sanctions to include those two countries and had urged the United Kingdom Government to take appropriate action to bring down the rebel régime. It did not appear, however, that the United Kingdom wished to fulfil its responsibilities. Its representative in the Fourth Committee had not even consented to report on the situation, despite the provisions of Article 73 e of the Charter and paragraph 8 of General Assembly resolution 2945 (XXVII), which called upon the Government of the United Kingdom to report to the Special Committee and to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

44. The peoples under colonial rule knew that they must achieve freedom through their own efforts and that they could rely on the moral, political and material support of freedom-loving and justice-loving peoples. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) in May 1973, at Addis Ababa, had reaffirmed its complete and unconditional support for the people of Zimbabwe, and the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in September 1973 had expressed its solidarity with peoples struggling for their emancipation. Moreover, the holding in April 1973, at Oslo, of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa had been an unprecedented expression of the international community’s concern and support for the peoples struggling against colonialism and *apartheid*. Thus the cause of liberation was making steady progress and neither repressive measures directed against the oppressed peoples nor attacks by minority régimes on independent African States would prevent the peoples under the colonial yoke from achieving freedom.

45. His delegation reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence, and the legitimacy of their struggle for the exercise of that right.

46. As the administering Power for Southern Rhodesia, the United Kingdom should take action to put an end to

the illegal régime of the racist minority and to fulfil its responsibility, enabling the people of Zimbabwe freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

47. He urged the Powers that were obstructing the implementation of United Nations decisions to revise their position and to act in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

48. Miss COKER (Sierra Leone) thanked the representatives of the liberation movements and the Reverend Canaan Banana, of the African National Council, for the information provided to the Committee at the 2038th and 2039th meetings, which showed that the situation in Southern Rhodesia had deteriorated and had reached an explosive stage.

49. The failure of the United Kingdom Government to implement the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2945 (XXVII) and other resolutions on Southern Rhodesia was directly responsible for the present regrettable developments in that Territory. The intensification of repressive measures, the establishment of the so-called semi-autonomous regional authorities, a clear replica of the Bantustans of South Africa, and the breakdown of law and order in Southern Rhodesia, were the direct results of the intransigent attitude of the United Kingdom Government and its refusal to discharge its responsibilities as administering Power.

50. Furthermore, the collaboration between South Africa and the Smith régime and the continued violation of sanctions by certain Governments, especially the United States Government, had bolstered the arrogance of the white minority régime. It was unfortunate that the United Kingdom Government, which, as administering Power, had been responsible for the independence of so many States should, in the case of Southern Rhodesia, adopt delaying and obstructionist tactics which assisted the minority régime to perpetuate its colonialist and racist domination of the African population and which had made it lose the respect and loyalty of a large number of the Commonwealth members and even of the States Members of the United Nations.

51. Her delegation called on the United Kingdom Government to implement the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2945 (XXVII). Otherwise it would support those speakers who had called for an extension of sanctions to the Governments of South Africa and Portugal. Finally, her delegation appealed to the world community to extend all possible moral and material assistance to the liberation movements of Zimbabwe in their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights.

52. Mr. CISSÉ (Mali) said that, in spite of the result of the consultation with the people of Zimbabwe undertaken by the Pearce Commission, the administering Power, which had taken the initiative in conducting that consultation, had once more evaded its responsibilities in Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom had done nothing to suppress the rebellion of the racist régime and to create favourable conditions for the establishment in the Territory of a true democracy which would permit the coex-

istence of the various communities; on the contrary, the position of Ian Smith had been strengthened.

53. The problem of Southern Rhodesia was not merely a contest between the people of Zimbabwe and the rebels of Salisbury; it was a constitutional struggle, which involved the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government as the administering Power entrusted, under the Charter of the United Nations, with the task of leading the peoples of Southern Rhodesia to self-determination and independence. The United Nations could not remain indifferent to such grave violations of the basic principles of the Charter and, for that reason, in paragraph 4 of resolution 217 (1965), the Security Council had called on the United Kingdom Government to quell the rebellion of the racist minority. It was regrettable to observe that the administering Power had not yet complied with that appeal and that it had employed only dilatory measures which clearly could not deter the Salisbury rebels. The duplicity of the administering Power was confirmation of the statement made by his delegation in April 1973 at the 909th meeting of the Special Committee to the effect that the United Kingdom Government preferred to sacrifice the legitimate interests of the people of Zimbabwe to the overweening ambitions of a handful of racists.

54. It was not therefore surprising that a régime born of illegality and nurtured on racial hatred committed the atrocities about which the Committee had already been informed and was progressively and methodically integrating Southern Rhodesia into the *apartheid* bloc.

55. The sanctions imposed by the international community to suppress the rebel régime had been violated by some Member States either openly or by means of indirect trade and the use of false certificates of origin. Exports and imports by Southern Rhodesia continued to grow and were far larger than they had been before the embargo had been established. Intoxicated by that apparent success, the Salisbury régime had decreed an illegal blockade against Zambia. The Mali Government offered its full support to Zambia and considered that, in view of the new challenge by the Smith clique, the moment had come for the United Nations to take energetic measures to make its decisions respected.

56. According to the information given at the 2038th and 2039th meetings by the representatives of ZANU and ZAPU and the Reverend Canaan Banana, the Salisbury régime was continuing to strengthen its military and economic ties with the racist police régime of Pretoria and the colonial fascist administration of Lisbon. The military strategy of the Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury axis was based on co-operation between the armies and paramilitary forces, with a view to improving the co-ordination of their activities against the nationalists, freedom fighters and independent African States which supported the liberation movements in southern Africa.

57. Foreign economic interests, which found in Southern Rhodesia an ideal country for the expansion of their operations, continued to be a serious obstacle to the application of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in that Territory. Their activities had helped to enslave the people of Zimbabwe still further, to strengthen the illegal

Smith régime and to precipitate the tragic situation in which the country currently found itself.

58. The arrogance and insanity of the illegal régime contrasted with the heroic struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. The United Nations should use every means at its disposal to support the national liberation movement in its struggle for the triumph of democracy, which it was pursuing with such determination in the sacred cause of liberty.

59. Mr. MONTANER (Chile) welcomed the representatives of the liberation movements of Zimbabwe and expressed his country's support for the just cause to which they had pledged themselves.

60. He reaffirmed that it was the standard practice of the Chilean Government to condemn all forms of neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. From the outset, his delegation had followed an unchanging policy on the subject and had played an effective part in the task of decolonization undertaken by the United Nations. Accordingly, it recognized the full rights of the people of Zimbabwe to independence and self-determination and to the enjoyment of the fundamental rights which they were being denied. Furthermore, it categorically condemned the continuation in power of a racist minority headed by Ian Smith, which, in an arbitrary and illegal manner, prevented the African people from exercising all its rights.

61. The Chilean Government therefore recognized the liberation movements as the true spokesmen of that heroic people and supported their struggle against a minority régime based on terror and repression.

62. The continuation of the situation made it clear that the sanctions imposed by the Security Council required strengthening. In that matter, the permanent members of the Security Council bore the main responsibility. The leading industrial countries, whose nationals, sometimes with full official backing, violated the sanctions imposed by the Security Council, should also fulfil their responsibilities.

63. While many countries paid no heed to the Security Council resolutions, others showed by their example the true solidarity which should be extended to the people of Zimbabwe. An example was Zambia, the Government of which had decided, at enormous sacrifice, to reroute the greater part of its international trade with the object of assisting its sister nation. His delegation expressed its deep solidarity with the noble people of Zambia and their Government, which had shouldered an immense responsibility and had been the victims of cruel and unjust attacks.

64. His delegation regretted that the administering Power had not taken steps to eliminate the hotbed of illegality and racism which dominated the region. It considered that it was essential, before entering into negotiations about the future of the people of Zimbabwe, to establish majority rule, since the right to decide the nation's future lay with the people and with the majority.

65. The report of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa (A/9061) contained a number of impor-

tant recommendations which would certainly be adopted by the General Assembly and for which the Chilean delegation would vote. Other recommendations, on the other hand, required further study and some aspects of them would require legislative approval of each State.

66. His delegation reaffirmed its support for the work of the Special Committee, in which Chile had actively participated and in which it would continue to follow an anti-colonialist policy in harmony with the permanent principles on which its foreign policy was based.

67. Mr. ORR (Jamaica) welcomed the representatives of the liberation movements, who had contributed so much to the work of the Committee.

68. In his view, the United Nations could do much to resolve the problem of Southern Rhodesia, although he recognized that the primary responsibility rested with the administering Power. Regrettably, by its tolerant attitude towards the Smith régime, the United Kingdom had allowed the situation to become increasingly worse. The responsibility also lay with some Members of the United Nations, which refused to respect the decisions of the Organization. The situation was therefore growing more alarming: it was enough to point out that the evil system of *apartheid* was already being applied in Southern Rhodesia and that it was only a question of time before Zimbabwe became another South Africa.

69. The sanctions had now reached a stalemate and the United Kingdom did not wish to resort to force to overthrow the Smith régime. It had adopted the approach that it was for the Southern Rhodesians themselves to solve the problem. The United Kingdom Government, however, could not abdicate its legal and moral responsibilities towards the people of Southern Rhodesia.

70. As was generally known, the people of Zimbabwe had rejected the proposals transmitted by the Pearce Commission, which had been clearly unacceptable since they did not provide for the establishment of majority rule before independence. As the United Kingdom Government knew, there were two choices: change by evolution or change by force. The United Kingdom must consider that it could no longer hope that the situation in Southern Rhodesia would change except by force.

71. Previous speakers had made various proposals to the effect that Smith should release all political detainees, that South African troops should leave Southern Rhodesia, that the United Kingdom should withdraw the "proposals for a settlement" and immediately convene a constitutional conference, and that the United Kingdom should clarify its position with regard to Southern Rhodesia.

72. His delegation fully supported those proposals and urged the United Kingdom to take more effective action against the régime, since the situation was getting steadily worse and it would be increasingly difficult to find a just and lasting solution.

73. With regard to the problem of sanctions, his delegation had never believed that the application of sanctions alone would be sufficient to bring down the Smith régime. The

fact was that the United Nations could not count on all its Members complying strictly with the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. For example, Portugal and South Africa were facilitating the export and import of goods by Southern Rhodesia. Other Members of the United Nations, while they supported resolutions designed to remove the Smith régime, refused to put them into peactice for political or economic considerations.

74. It was time, therefore, for States to show clearly their position with regard to the application of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and the use of military force by the United Kingdom to bring down the illegal minority régime. For its part, the Government of Jamaica had always supported, and would continue to support, the application of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, as well as any effective measures to protect the Africans. In that connexion, he paid tribute to all those countries which, as a result of observing the sanctions, were currently experiencing economic difficulties, for example Zambia. He also thought that the sanctions must be comprehensive in order to isolate Southern Rhodesia and disrupt its economy.

75. Lastly, he addressed an appeal to the United States, which, by continuing to import chrome and other minerals from Southern Rhodesia, was encouraging the Smith régime to continue to defy world public opinion and contributing to the enforcement of the brutal policies of *apartheid*.

*Mrs. Joka-Bangura (Sierra Leone), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

76. Mr. FAHNBULLEH (Liberia) observed that almost a decade had elapsed since a group of fascists had unilaterally declared independence. From the beginning, the administering Power had asserted that it would put an end to the rebellion, but it had not done so and, in his view, the situation would persist until a crisis that had assumed major proportions had been surmounted.

77. At the 2038th and 2039th meetings, the Committee had heard the representatives of the liberation movements who had reported atrocities perpetrated by the illegal régime under the impassive eye of the administering Power, which continued to regard Southern Rhodesia as its personal affair when in fact Ian Smith's conduct indicated the contrary.

78. For many peoples of the world, there was nothing new in what was happening in Southern Rhodesia. Yet, despite the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations, Southern Rhodesia continued to be a burning issue and a constant threat to peace and security. In the circumstances, he wondered whether the United Nations was really a peace-keeping body. Something should be done to ensure that those resolutions were implemented, otherwise it would be clear that the United Nations was not fulfilling the purpose for which it had been created and it would lose its prestige. He thought that the General Assembly should consider what it could do to ensure that all its decisions relating to Southern Rhodesia were put into effect.

79. The United Nations was at present witnessing a tragic war that would go down in the history of the Organization

as one of its failures. That failure was the result of the refusal of the great Powers to heed the voice of reason and the voice of the majority of the people of the small nations. The war in the Middle East was the result of the view of those Powers that the world could only change in the way they willed it. In the same way the problem of Southern Rhodesia was the consequence of the disintegration of the British Empire. In that connexion, he pointed out that never in history had there been such a small nation which had caused so many problems.

80. He appealed to the Powers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to abandon their economic diplomacy in the interests of world peace. The subject peoples were not interested in receiving the massive aid mentioned by the United Kingdom representative during the debate in the General Assembly (2128th plenary meeting); they were interested in a partnership between equals, not between master and slave.

81. The closing of the frontier between Southern Rhodesia and Zambia, coupled with the initiation of a new phase in the activities of the guerrillas, had given rise in Southern Rhodesia to a situation which was critical yet fluid and one which the international community must exploit in order to bring down the illegal minority régime of Ian Smith by increasing the effectiveness of sanctions. The Smith régime at present exercised an uneasy control over the Territory as a result of the diplomatic isolation to which the international community had relegated it, the high cost it paid for economic survival, the strong internal and external opposition it faced, and the dissatisfaction in Smith's own party over the continued refusal of world public opinion to accept the régime. Although sanctions were not totally satisfactory, they had at least resulted in those tangible achievements. It was essential that the sanctions be made mandatory in order to deal a final blow to the régime of Ian Smith. The latter would not then be able to count on the subsidies required to maintain its agricultural programme, it would not be able to meet the high costs necessary to reroute Southern Rhodesian trade through South Africa, and it would lack the necessary foreign exchange to remain in power.

82. From time to time the United Nations received reports about the presence of South African troops in Southern Rhodesia. South Africa usually denied those reports, stating that its soldiers only penetrated into Southern Rhodesian territory when they were in pursuit of guerrillas. He himself believed that that could not occur without the knowledge of the United Kingdom.

83. His delegation still felt that the United Kingdom wished to bring down the illegal régime and put into practice the principle of one man, one vote, before Southern Rhodesia could be established as an independent State. His delegation therefore wondered whether the United Kingdom would accept a recommendation that a United Nations observer team be placed in the five areas on the border between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia in order to verify the reports on the presence of South African troops. He also wondered whether South Africa would accept that suggestion, if only to prove the good intentions which it had repeatedly declared to the Committee. At the



2039th meeting, the representative of ZANU had raised the question of restrictions on passports for inhabitants of Zimbabwe. In view of the fact that the United Kingdom still owed a duty to the Africans in Southern Rhodesia, his delegation requested it to provide detailed information on the situation relating to passport restrictions so that the Committee could ascertain whether the administering Power was guilty of applying a double standard in relation to the European population and the indigenous population of Zimbabwe. He hoped that the representative of the United Kingdom would reply to that question when he participated in the debate on the item.

### *Requests for hearings (concluded)*

84. The CHAIRMAN drew attention to the request for a hearing that had been received from Mr. Veive N. Mbaeva of the South West Africa National United Front (SWANUF), regarding the question of Namibia (A/C.4/761/Add.3). If there were no objections, she would take it that the Committee decided to grant the request.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.*

## 2044th meeting

Tuesday, 23 October 1973, at 10.55 a.m.

*Chairman:* Mr. Leonardo DIAZ GONZALEZ (Venezuela).

A/C.4/SR.2044

### AGENDA ITEM 72

#### Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/9023/Add.1, A/9061)

#### GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. KIKIĆ (Yugoslavia) said that the situation in the Territory was characterized by the continued and intensified oppression of the people of Zimbabwe by the illegal Fascist régime. That oppression took on forms with which the whole world was familiar and the illegal régime was intensifying its policy of *apartheid* from day to day, especially through the establishment of "tribal trust lands". Mention should also be made of the continued presence of South African armed forces in Southern Rhodesia, which aggravated the situation of the people of Zimbabwe and threatened the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring African States, as in the case of Zambia, thus endangering regional and international peace and security.

2. In the circumstances, it was disturbing to note that the United Kingdom Government was taking no effective measures to put an end to the unlawful situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia and to discharge its responsibilities as administering Power by enabling the people of Zimbabwe to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence. His delegation wished to draw attention to the fact that any attempt to negotiate the future of the people of Zimbabwe with the illegal racist minority régime on the basis of independence before majority rule would violate the rights of the people of the Territory and would be contrary to the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Any settlement must be worked out with the participation of the authentic representatives of the people of Zimbabwe and the leaders of the liberation movements.

3. The United Kingdom Government should not transfer or accord to the illegal régime in Salisbury any of the

powers or attributes of sovereignty. It had an obligation to bring about the conditions necessary to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise freely and fully their right to self-determination and independence, including the unconditional release of political prisoners, the repeal of repressive and discriminatory legislation, the removal of all restrictions on political activity, and the establishment of democratic freedoms and equality of political rights.

4. The United Nations, for its part, should contribute to the solution of the problem, first of all by ensuring the full implementation of international sanctions, a matter which was unfortunately a cause for concern and pessimism. The discrepancies between the quantities of certain commodities imported from South Africa, Mozambique and Angola and the quantities which those countries reported that they had exported clearly indicated that there was flagrant and widespread violation of the sanctions. South Africa and Portugal were not the only ones responsible, since other countries, in particular certain major industrial Powers such as the United States, continued to import chrome and nickel from Southern Rhodesia despite the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the obligations of States under Article 25 of the United Nations Charter. The situation was regrettable and it was to be hoped that all Governments which had not yet done so would take more stringent measures to ensure strict compliance by all individuals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction with the sanctions imposed by the Security Council and to put an end to any form of collaboration with the illegal régime.

5. In view of the persistent refusal of Portugal and South Africa to apply the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council, his delegation believed that the sanctions should be extended to cover those two States.

6. He thanked the representatives of the liberation movements for their contribution to the work of the Committee and assured them of his delegation's full support. As history