

where it had remained for 12 days, during the month of May; the Mission had not yet submitted its report. The opinion of the International Court of Justice on the matter was also still outstanding.

26. Spain's responsibilities as administering Power had increased enormously in the Territory; Spain wished to put an end to its colonial presence as soon as possible and to enable the Saharan people to exercise self-determination. He asked that a debate should be held to give speedy consideration to the situation as soon as the relevant documentation, namely the report of the Visiting Mission and the opinion of the Court, was available. He reiterated Spain's desire to be able to put an end to its presence in the Sahara, but stated that it was not attempting to accelerate developments.

27. The CHAIRMAN promised that the question of Spanish Sahara would be given due consideration.

### Requests for hearings

28. She asked members who wished to participate in the debate on agenda item 89 to inscribe their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible, and not later than noon on Friday, 26 September.

29. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that two communications had been received containing requests for a hearing concerning Brunei and Namibia. She suggested that the communications should be circulated as documents of the Committee.

*It was so decided.*<sup>1</sup>

*The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.*

<sup>1</sup> The requests were subsequently circulated as documents A/C.4/783 and A/C.4/784.

## 2134th meeting

Tuesday, 30 September 1975, at 10.45 a.m.

*Chairman:* Mrs. Famah JOKA-BANGURA (Sierra Leone).

A/C.4/SR.2134

### Statement by Mr. Amer Salih Araim (Iraq), Vice-Chairman

1. Mr. ARAIM (Iraq) said he regretted that he had not been present at the preceding meeting, when the officers of the Committee had been elected, and explained that, as representative of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, he had been in Moscow attending the twelfth session of the Council of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, which had demonstrated full support for colonial peoples. He thanked the Czechoslovak and Indonesian representatives for nominating him as one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Committee and pledged his delegation's support for its work. While the decolonization movement was achieving success, there were still areas in Africa, Asia and Latin America where colonialists were trying to preserve the *status quo*. The United Nations should continue to assist colonial peoples, especially in Namibia and Zimbabwe, which needed the support of world public opinion in their struggle to achieve self-determination and independence.

### AGENDA ITEM 89

Question of Southern Rhodesia  
(A/9998-S/11598, A/10023/Add.2, A/10050-S/11538)

### GENERAL DEBATE

2. Mr. LASSE (Trinidad and Tobago) (Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of

Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples) introduced chapter IX of the report of the Special Committee, covering its work during 1975 relating to Southern Rhodesia (A/10023/Add.2), which was submitted pursuant to paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 3328 (XXIX). The Special Committee had examined in depth developments relating to Southern Rhodesia during the year, in the light of relevant General Assembly resolutions and Security Council resolutions and decisions. In particular, the Special Committee had held a special meeting at Headquarters on 9 May 1975, at which the leaders of the African National Council of Zimbabwe had given an account of the struggle by the united people of Zimbabwe for independence and had reiterated their determination to secure majority rule in their country. A representative of the Zimbabwe national liberation movement had participated as an observer in subsequent substantive consideration of the item by the Special Committee.

3. Turning to the text of the resolution on the subject adopted by the Special Committee (*ibid.*, para. 16), he drew attention to paragraphs 2, 4, 5 and 6 in section A, dealing with general aspects of the question, and to paragraphs 1, 4, 5 and 6 in section B, relating to the sanctions imposed on the illegal régime. He hoped that the recommendations of the Special Committee would be endorsed by the Fourth Committee.

4. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom) said that he wished to begin by re-emphasizing that the United Kingdom Government was pledged to accept no solution to the Rhodesian constitutional problem which was not acceptable to the African majority. Much had been achieved since

the Committee had last considered the question, chiefly owing to the untiring efforts of the Presidents of Botswana, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, in conjunction with the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa. Much, however, still remained to be done.

5. At the 1004th meeting of the Special Committee, held at Lisbon on 14 June 1975, the United Kingdom delegation had made a full statement on the situation in Southern Rhodesia, but it might be helpful to review recent events. It was clear that the change of Government in Portugal and the progress of decolonization in the former Portuguese Territories in southern Africa would have profound effects on the evolution of the situation in Southern Rhodesia; in particular, the accession to independence of Mozambique, by increasing the isolation of the Salisbury régime, had made it unlikely that Mr. Smith could continue to refuse to engage in meaningful negotiations for a settlement. Such had proved to be the case in December 1974, when the illegal régime had released the leaders of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) to attend talks at Lusaka. Those talks had resulted in an agreement to merge the various independence movements into an enlarged African National Council, while Mr. Smith himself had announced that a constitutional conference would take place "without pre-conditions", that African leaders, released from detention and restriction, would be allowed to engage in normal activities and that all terrorist activities would cease immediately. The situation had seemed to be promising, since Mr. Smith had never before admitted the claims to leadership of those he had kept in detention for over 10 years and, for the first time since the unilateral declaration of independence, the leaders of the main African political movements in Southern Rhodesia had formed a united front to advance their common interests. That promise, however, had not been fulfilled; there had, for instance, been disputes over the interpretation of the Lusaka agreement and no substantive negotiations regarding a constitutional settlement had taken place between the illegal régime and the African National Council. The latter had had doubts about the practicability of holding discussions with Mr. Smith inside Southern Rhodesia, while Mr. Smith had refused to attend a conference outside the country and continued to express his opposition to the idea of majority rule. Nevertheless, those who had helped to bring about the Lusaka agreement had continued their efforts at mediation, with the full support of the United Kingdom Government.

6. The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, held at Kingston from 29 April to 6 May 1975, had given fresh impetus to those efforts, but, since progress had remained disappointingly slow, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs had been sent to southern Africa. He had had useful discussions at Pretoria, with South African Ministers, and at Salisbury, where he had met both Mr. Smith and the leaders of the African National Council, as well as representatives of other shades of political opinion in Rhodesia. Although no solution had been found to the deadlock over the venue for constitutional talks, the United Kingdom had formed the opinion that both sides desired to enter into negotiations.

7. Further efforts by the Presidents of Botswana, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia and by

the Prime Minister of South Africa had brought about the historic meeting on 25 August 1975 at the Victoria Falls bridge at which, in the presence of Mr. Vorster and President Kaunda, Mr. Smith and the leaders of the united African National Council had faced each other across the negotiating table for the first time, with the understanding that there would be subsequent discussions in committees within Southern Rhodesia and that, in course of negotiations, the African leaders in Southern Rhodesia would be free to consult with their colleagues outside the country. It had also been announced in August 1975 that the last South African police units had been withdrawn from Southern Rhodesia—a step for which the United Kingdom and other Governments had long been pressing.

8. Although the Victoria Falls meeting had eventually broken down, much had been achieved in that the parties had reached agreement on the major part of a declaration of intent to negotiate a settlement, laying down in detail the procedure and time-table to be followed during the subsequent steps in negotiation. There had been failure to agree on only one article, namely the African National Council's justifiable insistence that its representatives in exile should be granted legal immunity to attend meetings inside Southern Rhodesia. However, after the breakdown of the talks, Mr. Smith had made statements which had cast doubt on the seriousness of his intention to reach agreement with the Council and there had, in addition, been indications of a rift in the solidarity of members of the Council.

9. As the Power ultimately responsible for granting legal independence to Southern Rhodesia, the United Kingdom had throughout the period under review sought to maintain the closest contact with the Presidents of Botswana, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia and with the Government of South Africa in their efforts with regard to Southern Rhodesia. In that connexion, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs had already made an extensive tour of southern Africa in January 1975, after which he had renewed the Government's commitment to give maximum support to the efforts being made to find an acceptable solution. It had been in pursuit of that commitment that the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs had subsequently visited southern Africa, and further discussions in London and Pretoria had established the framework for the Victoria Falls meeting.

10. In addition to its political activities, the United Kingdom had considerably expanded its assistance to Rhodesian African students with a view to preparing them for posts of responsibility when majority rule was achieved. In the past two years, the Government had quadrupled its assistance to Rhodesian Africans studying in the United Kingdom and in 1975 it had provided 90 new awards for students in third countries and 70 awards for students at the University of Rhodesia—a multiracial institution which had maintained its independence and academic standards since the unilateral declaration of independence.

11. The United Kingdom Government continued to regard the enforcement of the United Nations mandatory sanctions as the principal means of exerting international pressure on the minority régime to reach a settlement

acceptable to the African majority. The United Kingdom had made a considerable economic sacrifice by cutting off all the very substantial trade it had had with Southern Rhodesia prior to 1965. If all the States Members of the United Nations had done the same, Mr. Smith's régime would have already been in grave difficulties. For that reason, the United Kingdom felt that it would be more useful to apply the existing trade sanctions properly than to invent new sanctions, which would be hard to enforce and would have a doubtful impact on the economy of Southern Rhodesia. It might be appropriate to examine that economy, although the figures he would quote should be treated with reserve, since the United Kingdom Government had no representatives inside Southern Rhodesia and its information was taken from published sources, many of which were under the control of the illegal régime.

12. In 1974, helped by the recovery in agriculture following the drought in 1973 and by the high prices for most agricultural commodities, the Rhodesian economy had expanded by 7.5 per cent as compared with 6 per cent in 1973. Agricultural production had risen by 31.3 per cent and, although the volume of mineral production had remained static, its value had increased by 21.6 per cent. Money supply had increased by 21 per cent, in line with the growth in gross domestic product.

13. Nevertheless, by the end of 1974, domestic inflation had doubled and, as the terms of trade had turned against Southern Rhodesia, the surplus on merchandise account had fallen from \$R 83 million to \$R 52 million. The deficit on balance-of-payments current and capital transactions had risen from \$R 17.4 million in 1973 to \$R 79 million. Foreign currency allocations had been reduced and there had been a sharp decrease in building plans approved during the year, a decrease that was attributed by the Rhodesians to declining net immigration.

14. The budget in July 1975 had revealed a deficit on budget account in 1974 of \$R 16 million, and a "temporary" 10 per cent surcharge on personal and company taxes imposed in the 1974 budget had been continued. The budget statement had drawn attention to the fact that expenditure on imports had risen by 42 per cent, whereas export earnings had increased by only 26 per cent. Attention had also been drawn to an increase of 29 per cent in the net outflow of invisibles and to the rising rate of inflation, which had stood at 8.6 per cent for the first six months of 1975. No details on investment programmes had been provided, the reason given being increased sanctions surveillance. The defence appropriation had been increased by 23 per cent, from \$R 46 million to \$R 57 million. Additional security spending had been reflected in an increase of \$R 4.3 million in the estimates of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and an increase in the allocations for roads and road traffic from \$R 3.4 million to \$R 27.7 million, out of which \$R 7.75 million had been specifically earmarked for special road and bridge works in border areas. Increased demands for military service were also bound to effect the economy adversely.

15. The régime itself had admitted that improved sanctions surveillance had made a significant contribution to the worsening of the economic situation. The international community should therefore make it clear that sanctions

would continue and would be strictly applied. There were still, however, those who professed to support sanctions but did little or nothing to prevent their nationals from breaking them. The United Kingdom Government had submitted about 200 reports to the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia, but very few had resulted in action being taken against offenders. He called on all members of the United Nations to continue to support the work of the Security Council Committee and, in that connexion, he expressed regret that the Byrd Amendment had not been repealed.

16. With regard to the future prospects for Southern Rhodesia, there were two dangers which those who desired to secure a peaceful settlement must endeavour to avert. The first danger was that Mr. Smith and his supporters would assume that disunity among their opponents would give them an opportunity to deny the latter the just and moderate political demands which were the birthright of every human being. The second danger, which was perhaps the more serious, was that Rhodesian Africans would play into Mr. Smith's hands by failing to rebuild the unity they had established at Lusaka. The African Presidents had called on the African National Council to be realistic in facing the situation and the United Kingdom Government urgently endorsed that appeal. A real chance of victory by negotiation might be lost and the alternative—a war of liberation—would be neither quicker nor easier. It would be useful for the international community to appeal to the leaders of the Council to sink their differences and reunite. The Committee might wish to consider making such a recommendation to the General Assembly. It was not too late to surmount the current difficulties and return to the path that had been partly mapped out in the talks at Victoria Falls. Both sides should be urged to reflect while there was still time to avoid disaster. The international community, in applauding the efforts of the four Presidents concerned and of the Government of South Africa, should appeal to them to continue their endeavours to bring the parties back to the negotiating table. In that, they would have the full support and co-operation of the United Kingdom Government and, he hoped, of the Committee, too.

17. Mr. MAGETO (Kenya) congratulated the Chairman on her election and welcomed the new Members of the United Nations—Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and Cape Verde—to whom Kenya pledged its co-operation in the difficult tasks which lay ahead of them.

18. The rebel Ian Smith had clearly demonstrated that he was not interested in a peaceful settlement of the problem he himself had created in 1965 with the unilateral declaration of independence. He continued to defy the African call for a solution based on the promise of majority rule and he sought, by taking advantage of the temporary difficulties facing the African National Council and by threatening to consult non-representative individuals and institutions related to the discredited "chieftain" system, to escape the unpleasant necessity of negotiating for majority rule with the rightful owners of the land. Time, however, was not on his side: the Africans in Zimbabwe had now been left with no alternative but to intensify the struggle for freedom. Kenya, which had little doubt that Ian Smith

was interested only in the perpetuation of white racist domination in Zimbabwe, recommended that the United Nations should take more effective steps to ensure the transfer of power to the Africans.

19. His Government therefore proposed that a round-table conference of Rhodesian whites, Zimbabwe Africans and the United Kingdom administration should be held, under the auspices of the United Nations, to work out an equitable settlement. The terms of that settlement should set out a programme for the establishment of a common electoral roll and the attainment of African majority rule which was acceptable to the Rhodesian Africans. It should guarantee freedom of movement and organization to the African majority, under international supervision. Any settlement proposals must be based on the following objectives: the immediate release of the imprisoned African leaders and their full participation in negotiations regarding the future of Zimbabwe; the attainment of African majority rule; the annulment of discriminatory legislation in recognition of the African right to equality and eventual self-determination and sovereignty; and the withdrawal of the remaining South African military and police units.

20. In conclusion, he said that Kenya supported the Dar es Salaam Declaration, adopted by the Council of Ministers of OAU at its ninth extraordinary session, held from 7 to 10 April 1975, which stated that Africa's objective in Zimbabwe was independence on the basis of majority rule and that Africa would lend its unqualified support to the freedom fighters led by the African National Council,

whether that independence was achieved by peaceful or by violent means.

21. The CHAIRMAN suggested that the list of speakers in the general debate on the item should be closed at 6 p.m. on Tuesday, 30 September.

*It was so decided.*

#### *Organization of work*

22. The CHAIRMAN said that, if she heard no objection, she would take it that the Committee approved the time-table set out in document A/C.4/785 for the consideration of the agenda items allocated to the Committee.

*It was so decided.*

#### *Requests for hearings*

23. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that she had received a request for a hearing concerning Namibia. If she heard no objection, she would take it that the Committee wished the relevant parts of the communication to be circulated as a Committee document.

*It was so decided.<sup>1</sup>*

*The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.*

<sup>1</sup> The request was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/784/Add.1.

## 2135th meeting

Wednesday, 1 October 1975, at 10.45 a.m.

*Chairman:* Mrs. Famah JOKA-BANGURA (Sierra Leone).

A/C.4/SR.2135

*In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Quartin Santos (Portugal), Rapporteur, took the Chair.*

### AGENDA ITEM 89

Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*)  
(A/9998-S/11598, A/10023/Add.2, A/10050-S/11638)

#### GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. ALI (Bangladesh) said that his delegation deplored the lack of progress in Zimbabwe, for which the illegal racist régime, with assistance from South Africa and from some Western interests, was to blame. A number of relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples remained unimplemented. The question had also been dealt with in the Dar es Salaam Declaration, adopted by the Council of Ministers of OAU at its ninth extraordinary session, held from 7 to 10 April 1975, the communiqué issued by the

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting,<sup>1</sup> held at Kingston from 29 April to 6 May, and the Political Declaration adopted at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975 (see A/10217 and Corr.1, paras. 1-95), which had condemned the racist régime and reaffirmed support of positive action.

2. The heads of State of some African countries had made laudable efforts in co-operation with the African National Council of Zimbabwe to promote a negotiated settlement. Unfortunately, the recent contacts between the Council and the Smith régime had borne little fruit.

3. It was inconceivable that an inhuman and illegal minority régime should be able to flout world public opinion and continue to repress the overwhelming majority of the people of Zimbabwe simply because of the colour of

<sup>1</sup> Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Kingston, Jamaica, Final Communiqué, Cmnd. 6066 (London, HM Stationery Office, 1975).