

55. That was an opportunity for the United Kingdom Government to show its goodwill towards the population of Southern Rhodesia and persuade the international community that the way to peace lay in denying the Smith régime the means of economic survival by offering to the Government and people of Mozambique the financial and technical co-operation necessary to effectively tighten the sanctions imposed upon the illegal régime. It was ironical that some members of the United States Senate were still fighting the Civil War so far from their native shores. It was prejudice, bigotry and deceit that would lend substantial support to any economy so singularly fashioned as to perpetuate the agony and torture of the people of Zimbabwe, whose only crime seemed to be that men of their colour dared to be free.

56. His delegation would join with those who admonished the leaders in the fight for freedom to sink whatever differences might exist, whether political or ideological, and present a united front for the cause of their own patrimony. The children of the African diaspora, including the people of Barbados, well knew the insidious consequences of the colonialist policy of "divide and rule" and pleaded that the cause of generations yet unborn should not be sacrificed through the divisiveness of short-sighted opportunism.

57. His delegation was ready to join in any draft resolution that sought an honourable and peaceful end to that tragedy of human conflict.

*The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.*

## 2141st meeting

Wednesday, 8 October 1975, at 10.50 a.m.

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

A/C.4/SR.2141

### AGENDA ITEM 89

Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/9998-S/11598, A/10023/Add.2, A/10050-S/11638, A/C.4/788)

#### GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. OULD MOKHTAR (Mauritania) said that, since the unilateral declaration of independence, the Members of the United Nations had continually reaffirmed their condemnation of the rebel régime of Ian Smith. That régime continued to defy the international community, with its doctrine based on racism, colonialism and the exploitation of the people of Zimbabwe, and there was no reason to expect that attitude of the illegal régime to change in the near future. For instance, it had not yet been possible to hold a constitutional conference to solve the problem of Zimbabwe, under the logical conditions stipulated by the African National Council, in particular that the conference should be held under the auspices of the United Nations. The rebel minority in Southern Rhodesia had no intention of co-operating to ensure that the constitutional conference was held in an atmosphere of democracy, since it rejected any idea of majority rule. Despite the difficulties which arose in its path, the Council would continue to demonstrate a desire for dialogue, without abandoning armed struggle, which was the only language the colonialists could understand.

2. The sanctions imposed by the United Nations and the specialized agencies had not been observed by some countries, which considered them a serious obstacle to their economic interests in the region, and it was for that reason that the illegal régime of Ian Smith still maintained constant relations with its allies, which offered it co-operation and assistance.

3. His delegation was prepared to take an active part in the search for a solution capable of remedying, once and for all, a situation that could have grave consequences unless it was ended in the immediate future. Mauritania reaffirmed its full support for the people of Zimbabwe, who were struggling untiringly for their dignity and independence, and it supported the recommendations contained in chapter IX of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/10023/Add.2) to the effect that any solution must have the aim of establishing majority rule, since without democracy no solution was possible.

4. Mr. DE ROSENZWEIG DIAZ (Mexico) outlined the history of the colonization of Rhodesia, which had begun in 1888, and observed that, in 1961, Southern Rhodesia had adopted a new constitution, under which the administering Power, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, had been deprived of the special powers it had previously ascribed to itself in order to protect the interests of the indigenous population. The General Assembly in its resolution 1747 (XVI) had affirmed that Southern Rhodesia was a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter, and had called for the convening of a constitutional conference, which would, on the basis of the principles underlying the policy of the United Nations, ensure the rights of the majority of the people of Zimbabwe until the Territory obtained its independence.

5. The régime of Ian Smith had unilaterally proclaimed the independence of the Territory in 1965, and at that point the United Kingdom Government, which until then had maintained the position that the question of Rhodesia was an internal matter, had declared that the unilateral

declaration of independence constituted an attempt to create an illegal régime in Africa based on the law of the minority and had admitted that it was a matter of world-wide concern. The Security Council had adopted important measures with regard to Southern Rhodesia, all condemning the criminal attitude of the racist régime of Ian Smith. Among the most important of those measures, mention might be made of the imposition of sanctions, but it should be pointed out that the effectiveness of the system of sanctions and their strict and faithful application depended fundamentally on goodwill, particularly on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council. The difficulties experienced in applying the sanctions were also due to the fact that, although the sanctions had been approved at the government level, the internal legal system of various countries permitted widespread violation of the sanctions by private corporations, in particular transnational corporations, whose interests were exclusively commercial.

6. With regard to the inclusion of the Mexican company Aeronaves de México in the list of international airlines which in April 1974 had had valid interline agreements with Air Rhodesia, contained in chapter IX of the report of the Special Committee (*ibid.*, annex, table 11), his delegation stated that, according to an investigation carried out by the Mexican authorities, Aeronaves de México had not violated the sanctions imposed against the illegal régime of Ian Smith. The problem was that Aeronaves de México was a member of IATA and had been admitted to that organization by a unanimous vote of its members before the Security Council had imposed sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. His delegation also wished to inform the Fourth Committee that consideration was already being given in Mexico to the possibility of a statement being made to IATA to the effect that Mexico did not agree to Air Rhodesia being a member of IATA.

7. The sanctions system had changed the economic structure of Southern Rhodesia and had compelled the régime in Salisbury to take costly measures to acquire new ports in order to maintain its international trade. However, without determined and strict compliance with the measures adopted by the Security Council on the part of the members of the Security Council themselves, those measures could not be expected to bring about the downfall of the rebel régime of Ian Smith. On the other hand, Zambia, for example, had been seriously affected in its economic development, despite the support it had received from the international community. In addition, there was the case of Mozambique, which, perhaps to a greater degree, would be adversely affected at a time when maximum efforts were required to consolidate its recent accession to independence.

8. In the political sphere, the disunity among the liberation movements was also a reflection of the support and sympathy they received from foreign Powers and represented a form of ideological colonialism that it was also important to combat. He emphasized that the essential factor was the determination of the people of Zimbabwe to struggle to gain their independence. It was therefore important that the African National Council should form a common front with the sole aim of obtaining the sovereignty of the country.

9. He repeated that the process of decolonization was irreversible and that it was solely a question of time before decolonization was achieved; the process could be simultaneously one of negotiation and one of armed struggle, but action must be continuous and faithful to the principles established in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, which were sources of international law and were based on ethics that were concerned with the well-being of the majority and respect for man, whatever his race, which could not allow a racist minority to dictate its will to the majority of the indigenous people of Zimbabwe. Those were the principles that guided Mexico's policy and would determine its position during the consideration of the item. In conclusion, he quoted the words spoken by the President of Mexico, Mr. Echeverría Alvarez, at the 2377th plenary meeting of the General Assembly:

"We rejoice at the triumph of the liberation movements in Africa and Asia. The new countries that have emerged into independent life after prolonged struggles in which they successfully confronted forces far superior to their own have demonstrated once again that man will resist, overcome and, in the end, destroy all despotism.

"We hereby confirm our repudiation of *apartheid*, of the illegal occupation by South Africa of the Territory of Namibia, and of the fact that the great majority of the population of Rhodesia is prevented from exercising its political rights."

10. Mr. SLAOUI (Morocco) said that Zimbabwe was a United Kingdom colony that had been transformed into a racist bastion by the minority régime of Ian Smith, which, confident that the United Kingdom Government would not oppose its rebellion with force, had unilaterally declared the independence of Southern Rhodesia in 1965. The United Kingdom Government and the international community had condemned the minority régime, and the former had taken some measures which it had believed could bring down the illegal régime. In view of the ineffectiveness of those measures, the United Kingdom Government had entered in the "proposals for a settlement" agreed between the Government of the United Kingdom and the illegal régime,<sup>1</sup> which had been drawn up behind the backs of the people of Zimbabwe.

11. The people of Zimbabwe were still subjected to the forces of repression of the illegal minority régime of Ian Smith and its racist allies in South Africa. The régime of Ian Smith justified its repressive measures by the support given by the civilian African population to the freedom fighters and the liberation movements, which had found themselves compelled to take up arms against the racist régime. In the face of the successes achieved by the freedom fighters, the oppressive régime was avenging itself on the unarmed civilian population, whose only crime was its solidarity with the liberation movements. His delegation considered that the United Kingdom Government, which was still responsible for the situation prevailing in its colony, could not remain passive in the face of that situation; it was

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971, document S/10405.*

incumbent upon that Government to assume its responsibilities, especially in co-operation with the Special Committee in its search for ways to enable the people of Zimbabwe to regain their freedom and independence.

12. The Zimbabwe liberation movements had shown great political maturity by uniting within the African National Council and agreeing to engage in a dialogue to settle the Zimbabwe problem. The Zimbabwe national movement had decided to discuss with the Ian Smith régime the idea of holding a constitutional conference, provided that certain basic conditions were fulfilled, including the release of political detainees and persons subjected to restrictions, the halting of all political trials, the revocation of the death sentences of so-called political criminals and the elimination of all restrictions on the movement of nationalist leaders within Zimbabwe. However, since the racist régime had not kept its promises, the Council had no alternative but to continue the armed struggle.

13. His delegation considered that the United Kingdom Government, which recognized that any political settlement in Rhodesia would have to be based on the wishes of the majority of the population, should take the initiative of convening a constitutional conference, which would be attended by the real political leaders of Zimbabwe and the leaders of the liberation movements recognized by OAU. The purpose of that conference should be to formulate proposals for the political future of the Territory, which would be submitted to the population as a whole for its approval. To that end, the United Kingdom Government should in advance create a favourable climate that would enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right to self-determination and independence freely and fully. There was no doubt that the free exercise of that right by the people of Zimbabwe and free consultation for that purpose should be preceded by the release of all political detainees and the abolition of all repressive or discriminatory measures.

14. OAU had actively supported the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for freedom. At the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held at Rabat in June 1972, it had been agreed, on the proposal of the King of Morocco, to give absolute priority to the liberation of the African continent. The heads of State and Government had solemnly undertaken to increase substantially their assistance to the African movements that were fighting colonialism and racism. That undertaking had been reaffirmed recently, at the twelfth ordinary session of the OAU Assembly, held at Kampala from 28 July to 1 August 1975.

15. In conclusion, his delegation appealed to the United Kingdom to be resolute in taking steps that would rapidly lead the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence.

16. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania) said that the problem had never been whether there should be talks between Ian Smith and the African people of Zimbabwe; it had always been whether Ian Smith would agree to talk to the African people of Zimbabwe in order to realize the objective of majority rule in that Territory. The past 11 months had demonstrated that that was not the case.

17. Of course, Ian Smith wanted peace in Zimbabwe, but he wanted peace without majority rule, just as Vorster wanted peace in Zimbabwe in order to secure peace in the Republic of South Africa. Africa, on the other hand, wanted majority rule in Zimbabwe as the only condition for peace. Ian Smith and Vorster were enemies of Africa and would have liked to maintain the *status quo* which had existed before the overthrow of the Caetano Fascist and colonial régime, in order to perpetuate their domination of the African people. However, the independence of Mozambique had drastically affected the strategy of Vorster, who for once had decided to separate his interests from those of Ian Smith. He thought that if there had to be majority rule in Rhodesia he would prefer an African Government favourable to him. As to Ian Smith, he had not changed his opposition to majority rule, as had been made clear during the meeting held at the Victoria Falls bridge on 25 August 1975.

18. It was therefore evident that the talks had not succeeded. Consequently, the time had come to de-escalate the talking and intensify the struggle by other means. The racists in Rhodesia were forcing the African people to opt for an armed struggle. The United Republic of Tanzania, for its part, would render full support to that struggle in accordance with 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, whose central argument was that if the talks failed the armed struggle would be resumed and intensified.

19. For all those reasons, his delegation considered that the United Kingdom proposal that all parties concerned should continue the negotiations was devoid of any significance. The United Kingdom should know that appealing to Smith was tantamount to appealing to the deaf. What was essential was concrete measures to strengthen the African National Council militarily and politically, so that, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique had said at the 2375th plenary meeting, the Smith régime would be compelled to accept a government of the majority represented by the Zimbabwe African National Council.

20. The United Kingdom Government was responsible for the situation in Rhodesia, since it remained the legal authority over that territory. That Government currently had a new opportunity to prove its sincerity by strengthening the Council. The differences within the Council should not serve as an excuse for that Government's inaction.

21. During the past 11 months an effort had been made to achieve majority rule through talks and negotiations, but Ian Smith had responded with vacillations and betrayals. Consequently, the only course left open was that of force, and he wished to remind the Committee that the Dar es Salaam Declaration had already been adopted by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975. It would be appropriate for the Committee and the General Assembly in plenary session likewise to endorse the Declaration.

22. The armed struggle in Zimbabwe would be waged and won by the people of Zimbabwe themselves. It would not

be an easy struggle, for many lives would be lost and there would be destruction and suffering, but that would be the price that the people of Zimbabwe had paid for their freedom. That suffering could be reduced or even avoided however, if the international community did more than pay lip-service to the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. His country believed that if political and economic pressures had been applied to Ian Smith and Vorster during the past 11 months, Smith would have negotiated seriously with the African National Council's representatives. Yet while the Council had been seeking to engage in negotiations with Smith, the United States had been importing greater and greater quantities of so-called strategic materials, including chrome, from Rhodesia, while at the same time the Federal Republic of Germany had allowed and was still allowing the recruitment of mercenaries to go to Zimbabwe to help the forces of Ian Smith. Those actions shed a clear light on the alleged commitment of those countries to the liberation of Zimbabwe.

23. With regard to sanctions, he considered that they were necessary components of the over-all struggle against the régime and that, if strictly applied, they would fulfil their function. In that connexion, it was difficult to understand the statement of the United Kingdom representative at the 2134th meeting to the effect that there was no need to expand the sanctions, since that statement was contrary to the letter and spirit of the communiqué, on 6 May 1975,<sup>2</sup> which clearly called for the enforcement of the current sanctions and the expansion of their scope. He emphasized the importance of full implementation of the current sanctions by all Member States, and agreed with the statement of the United Kingdom representative that, if all Member States had applied the sanctions, the Ian Smith régime in Rhodesia would already have been in grave difficulties.

24. The talks held had been aimed only at achieving majority rule in Zimbabwe and giving Ian Smith a chance to declare his acceptance of majority rule, thereby avoiding war. The talks had never been aimed at facilitating relations with the white racist régimes in southern Africa, and consequently the word "détente" was absolutely irrelevant to those talks. The white régimes in southern Africa knew that there was and could be no détente between them and the Africans, and that one day justice would triumph.

25. Mr. HOLGER (Chile) said that, in relation to the problem of Southern Rhodesia, the alternatives open to the parties had not yet been clearly defined. His delegation agreed with OAU regarding support for the negotiations aimed at seeking an understanding with the Smith régime and noted that OAU had consistently shown the necessary firmness in offering to support an armed struggle if negotiations failed.

26. The current situation was very fluid, because the negotiations seemed to have failed and because armed struggle did not yet seem to be the only viable course. His delegation agreed with the United Kingdom representative's statement at the 2134th meeting that there were two dangers: that Smith would assume that disunity among his

opponents would give him an opportunity to defer the transfer of power to the majority, and that the Africans of Zimbabwe would play into Smith's hand by failing to rebuild the unity they had established at Lusaka in December 1974.

27. His delegation recognized the illegal nature of the Smith régime, the responsibility of the United Kingdom as the administering Power, the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence, the full authority of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council, the principle that there should be no independence before majority rule in Zimbabwe, and the need for the Security Council to begin a concrete programme of assistance to Mozambique.

28. His Government had complied strictly with the mandatory sanctions in all the sectors covered because it wished to contribute to the efforts of the international community to ensure the fulfilment of the aspirations of the Zimbabwe people towards independence, peace and prosperity.

29. Mr. PAQUI (Dahomey) said that, since a white minority had taken power in Salisbury believing that it could impose its will on the overwhelming black majority of Zimbabwe, various resolutions and decisions had been adopted and numerous measures had been taken with a view to ending the situation. If, despite so much effort, the Smith régime was continuing to flout the international community, that was due not only to the internal dissensions of the liberation movements—as was being suggested—but also, primarily, to the support and acquiescence given to the Smith and Vorster régimes by the Western Powers, particularly the administering Power, which bore full responsibility in the matter and should therefore be called on to fulfil its obligations towards the black people of Zimbabwe and the entire world community.

30. Nevertheless, the Revolutionary Military Government of Dahomey could not in all honesty minimize the harmful role played in that connexion by dissension within the liberation movements. It appreciated the valuable contribution made by the African Governments of neighbouring countries in trying to unite the views and activities of the various movements in order to advance their victory over the racists. But it must be recognized that, to judge by the information received, the differences of opinion were growing worse. Accordingly, his delegation solemnly urged the African patriots to put aside their rivalries and be guided only by the supreme goal, namely, the liberation of Zimbabwe and majority rule.

31. It was high time for the problem of Southern Rhodesia to be settled once and for all, since it could lead to exasperation and bloody confrontations. Africa was not racist, but it would not recoil from anything if it found itself compelled to resort to force in order to liberate Zimbabwe, and South Africa too, from the domination of a tiny white minority. He therefore wished to call to their senses both the administering Power and the reactionaries of the minority régimes and urge them to learn the lessons of history, which showed that neither the support of the great Powers nor military supremacy could overcome the legitimate aspirations of peoples determined to free themselves from colonialism and imperialism.

<sup>2</sup> Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Kingston, Jamaica, Final Communiqué, Cmnd. 6066 (London, HM Stationery Office, 1975).



32. His delegation hoped that, the so-called question of Southern Rhodesia would soon be no more than a distant memory for the members of the Committee. All that was needed to bring that about was the political will that should govern the future actions of the administering Power and the white minority régime.

33. Mr. KAWESA (Uganda) said that the independence of Zimbabwe under majority rule could not be a matter for compromise. As the Dar es Salaam Declaration stated, independence could be achieved either peacefully or by violent means. The choice rested with the white minority, who represented only 5 per cent of the population of Zimbabwe. The remaining 95 per cent did not have that power, so they could not effect a peaceful settlement. The Smith régime, through public statements and repressive actions, had demonstrated to the whole world that it was not prepared for a peaceful settlement.

34. African nationalists in Zimbabwe were confronted by an enemy whose actions were based on fear, deceit and treachery, and who must be destroyed. His delegation urged Zimbabwe nationalists, under the united front of the African National Council, to be prepared to resume the armed struggle immediately. Uganda would continue to support them both materially and morally, and all peace-loving peoples should do the same.

35. The United Kingdom could not wash its hands of the Rhodesia issue, nor evade its responsibilities for seeing to it that Zimbabwe attained its independence in accordance with Article 73 of the United Nations Charter.

36. South African racists were hopeful of diverting the struggle in their own country and in Namibia by involving themselves in Rhodesian affairs. South African police had been sent to Rhodesia to oppress and terrorize the African population. Imperialism was desperately afraid of revolution. His delegation felt that there was no way out for those who indulged in imperialist excesses and that they would be caught up in the revolutionary tide induced by their own actions. South Africa must withdraw all its troops from Zimbabwe immediately, and those Western Powers which were helping South Africa's imperialist policies must stop their dangerous game. There could not be peace in that part of the world unless majority rule was achieved in Zimbabwe.

37. Mr. DEMIROK (Turkey) said that the question of Southern Rhodesia continued to be one of the main preoccupations of the Committee, whose members had an obligation to secure the well-being of the people of Zimbabwe. The various resolutions adopted in the past had not helped to improve the situation in Southern Rhodesia, and new ways must be found for solving the problem and bringing about majority rule.

38. His Government, which had followed with keen interest the developments of the past year, considered that the merger of the liberation movements to form the African National Council of Zimbabwe was an important event for the liberation of the Territory. It welcomed the devoted efforts of the Presidents of Botswana, the United Republic of Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia, in co-operation with the Council to promote a solution through negotiations.

39. His delegation also welcomed various steps that the Government of the United Kingdom had been taking and hoped that, as the administering Power, it would make more effective efforts to bring about a settlement of the long-standing constitutional problem involved. It was regrettable that the recent talks had broken down so quickly because of the refusal of the Smith régime to grant the just demand of the African National Council that its representatives in exile should be granted legal immunity to attend meetings in Rhodesia. It seemed that the Smith régime was only interested in the perpetuation of its intolerable racist domination.

40. As for the sanctions, they had so far proved to be ineffective. Developments called for concerted international action with a view to imposing maximum isolation on the illegal régime. He wished to place on record once more that Turkey had consistently complied with the United Nations resolutions concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia and had no relations of any kind with the illegal régime.

41. He reiterated his delegation's conviction that a just and lasting settlement of the problem of Southern Rhodesia could only be based on the principle that there should be no independence before majority rule and that any settlement relating to the future of the Territory must be worked out with the full participation of the African National Council, the sole authentic representative of the true aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe.

42. Mr. CAMPBELL (Australia) said he believed that the debate on the question of Southern Rhodesia had been initiated helpfully by the constructive and conciliatory statement of the representative of the United Kingdom (2134th meeting). He also commended the clear statement just made by the Tanzanian representative, with whom he agreed on the substantive issues.

43. His delegation wished to repeat its view that the United Kingdom's responsibility as the administering Power was now a formal one only. That was by no means to claim that the United Kingdom did not have a role to play. The representative of the United Kingdom had called in the Committee for the encouragement of African leaders in their efforts to bring the Rhodesian parties back to the negotiating table, and had pledged his Government's co-operation. In that spirit, it must be recognized that, while the United Kingdom Government was the sole legal authority for Southern Rhodesia, the restraints imposed by the existing situation were such that its legal powers could not properly be exercised. His delegation hoped that the draft resolution to be adopted by the Committee would reflect that political reality and would move away from sterile recriminations.

44. As its Minister for Foreign Affairs had stated in the General Assembly at its 2357th plenary meeting, Australia hoped that a constitutional conference might be convened with the declared objective of a negotiated transition to majority rule. The régime in Southern Rhodesia must realize that the existing unacceptable and dangerous situation imposed the necessity of negotiations on that basis. The welcome announcement by the Government of South Africa that its forces in Southern Rhodesia would be withdrawn was a further indication that acceptance of the

inevitable by the Smith régime could not be far away. By agreeing to transfer power to the people of Zimbabwe, it would compensate in some small degree for the misery and the difficulties which it had caused from the outset.

45. At the 1004th meeting of the Special Committee, held at Lisbon on 14 June 1975, his delegation had emphasized its concern for the application to Southern Rhodesia of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The objectives of the liberation movement were precisely the rights proclaimed in article 19 (the right to freedom of opinion and expression), article 20 (the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association) and article 21 (the right to take part in the government of one's country and the right to equal access to public service). Article 21 also stated that the will of the people should be the basis of the authority of government and that that will should be expressed in periodic and genuine elections with universal and equal suffrage in free voting procedures.

46. It was clear that the most basic of those rights were denied to the majority of the Zimbabwe people. Already in 1975 there had been several monstrous examples of suppression. Suppression could provide a permanent solution in Southern Rhodesia only if it was the white minority that was to be suppressed—in other words, as the representative of the African National Council had said, if the minority settled on suicide.

47. The requirements of the United Nations in relation to Southern Rhodesia were basic and must be boldly pursued. That approach was embodied in the position of the Security Council had in the mandatory sanctions; it reflected the basic fact that it was the fundamental application of human rights, and not merely some political adjustment, that was involved in Southern Rhodesia and that the objectives of true independence and majority rule were not negotiable.

48. With regard to the sanctions, his delegation regretted that the United States House of Representatives had failed to repeal the Byrd Amendment. Unfortunately, breaches of sanctions were mutually reinforcing and the continued operation of the Byrd Amendment would have a compounding effect. Conversely, the numerous infringements by a number of other countries and regional groups had undoubtedly contributed to the formation of opinion in the United States legislature.

49. On the other hand, his delegation had noted with admiration the decision of the People's Republic of Mozambique to assume all its responsibilities with regard to sanctions, and it applauded the Government and people of Zambia for their great and selfless contribution in support of sanctions. Australia renewed its pledge scrupulously to observe existing and future sanctions.

50. His delegation recognized the African National Council as the legitimate spokesman of African opinion in Zimbabwe and felt that everything possible should be done to promote and encourage unity of purpose among the people of Zimbabwe and between their leaders.

51. Despite the difficulties, it was clear that independence with majority rule was near. Accordingly, there was a

growing need to look to the future requirements of the government structure that the people of Zimbabwe would wish to establish for themselves. The Australian Government proposed to offer a contribution of about \$100,000 towards the training of future leaders of Zimbabwe under the relevant Commonwealth programmes.

52. In his delegation's view, the inevitable collapse of the rebel régime had never been so evident as it was now. One could only hope that the régime would soon agree to a peaceful solution and that in the near future all would be able to contribute more constructively than previously to the renaissance of Zimbabwe as a great nation of Africa.

53. Mr. CHRISTOPHOROU (Cyprus) said that nearly 10 years had passed since the unilateral declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia. Throughout that time, the illegal régime had consistently refused to agree to majority rule. The example of courage and realism of the new Portuguese Government should serve as a lesson for the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia.

54. His delegation deplored the lack of progress with regard to the situation in Zimbabwe, despite the efforts made by the African countries, in co-operation with the African National Council of Zimbabwe, to promote a settlement through negotiations.

55. His delegation fully supported the recommendations of the Special Committee on the item (see A/10023/Add.2, para. 16) and believed that the United Nations would find ways to force the illegal régime to desist from its obstinacy. It reaffirmed the principle of independence on the basis of majority rule, the "one man, one vote" principle, and the principle that any settlement relating to the future of the Territory must be worked out with the full participation of the African National Council of Zimbabwe. As immediate measures, the régime should release all political prisoners and a constitutional conference in which the true representatives of the people could participate should be convened.

56. His delegation agreed that the scope of sanctions should be widened to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter. Sanctions should be strict and universal. Cyprus wished to reiterate that it fully respected the sanctions and had no relations of any kind with the illegal régime.

57. Despite the destruction that had befallen its own country as a result of the foreign invasion of 1974, the Government of Cyprus was among those which had assisted, within their limited potential, the cause of the people of Zimbabwe; such assistance included the offer of scholarships to Rhodesian Africans through the relevant United Nations and Commonwealth programmes.

58. As its President had said in the General Assembly at the 2378th plenary meeting, Cyprus would consistently support all initiatives aimed at eradicating racial discrimination and *apartheid*, bringing peace with justice in southern Africa, promoting liberation causes, protecting human rights, advancing the observance of international law and strengthening the United Nations as an instrument for security and peace in the world.

59. Mr. KLIMAS (Poland) said that, although there had recently been some progress in the struggle against colonialism, with the latest victories achieved by the national liberation movements and the liquidation of the Portuguese colonial system, the situation in Southern Rhodesia unfortunately remained unchanged. The important statement made a few days previously (2139th meeting) by the representative of the African National Council of Zimbabwe, Mr. Michael Mawema, bore out that assessment. The people of Zimbabwe were not only deprived of their political rights in their own country, but were also subjected to a system of repression established by the illegal régime of white racists, who made the laws. Imprisonment, arbitrary detention, acts of brutality by the police, the execution of freedom fighters, and constant denial of basic human rights—such, in brief, was that system of repression. All those things were going on despite a long series of General Assembly resolutions and Security Council resolutions and decisions aimed at achieving the country's independence on the basis of African majority rule.

60. The parties responsible for the fact that the infamous Salisbury régime could remain in power despite all those measures were certain States Members of the United Nations, which were named in chapter IX of the report of the Special Committee (A/10023/Add.2). Through their persistent failure to implement the mandatory sanctions, through their policies and their economic interests dedicated to the exploitation of the country's resources, they had created conditions conducive to the survival of the illegal régime. Some States even permitted their nationals to enlist as mercenaries in the Rhodesian army. South Africa was a noteworthy example of such activities; its direct military support for, and economic co-operation with, the Smith régime strengthened the latter both militarily and economically. In that context, it should also be mentioned that the administering Power had failed in its obligations by not resolving to take firm action.

61. During the past year there had been attempts to settle the problem through negotiations. The goodwill shown both by the national liberation forces of Zimbabwe and by the Presidents of neighbouring African States had not been welcomed by the illegal régime, which had once more shown its true colours. It intended to delay any progress towards majority rule and was trying to sow disorder and disunity in the African National Council of Zimbabwe in order to advance its colonial interests. In those circumstances, it was to be feared that recourse to armed struggle would be inevitable; the Smith régime and the foreign Powers supporting it would then be responsible for whatever might happen.

62. His Government's position on the problem of Southern Rhodesia was well known. Poland had from the outset applied all the sanctions that had been adopted against the Salisbury régime and had constantly assisted the just cause of the liberation movements in Africa. He reiterated once again his country's complete solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. His delegation noted with satisfaction, from the discussions in the Committee, that there was clearly a feeling in favour of strict observance and even intensification of the sanctions against the Salisbury régime. The United Nations should do everything possible to ensure that its Members complied with the provisions of the Charter and the decisions of the Organization. Certain Member States should cease their co-operation with the illegal régime, and the administering Power must fulfil its obligations and act with greater firmness to put an end to that régime. His delegation endorsed the recommendations in the latest resolution adopted by the Special Committee (*ibid.*, para. 16) and was prepared to second and support any proposals for transferring power to the people of Zimbabwe and eliminating racism in Southern Rhodesia once for all.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*

## 2142nd meeting

Wednesday, 8 October 1975, at 3.15 p.m.

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

A/C.4/SR.2142

### AGENDA ITEM 89

**Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/9998-S/11598, A/10023/Add.2, A/10050-S/11638, A/C.4/788)**

#### GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

I. Mr. DIAKITE (Mali) said that, in the 10 years since a handful of white racists led by Ian Smith had unilaterally declared independence in Southern Rhodesia, violence against the African Majority of the Territory had escalated. However, despite intensified repression, the people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the national liberation movement, the African National Council of Zimbabwe,

continued the struggle for independence and freedom. The victories won by the African nationalists were forcing the Smith régime to increase its military budget each year. Despite its military arsenal and the support it enjoyed from South Africa and from transnational enterprises, the rebel régime in Salisbury was seriously threatened by the African nationalists and had recourse to increasingly repressive measures against the indigenous population. In 1973, it had introduced capital punishment for collaboration with African nationalists. In view of the total failure of such methods, Ian Smith, following the example of his South African ally, Vorster, had embarked on a policy of transferring the indigenous people from their homes and resettling them in so-called "protected areas", which were