

Zimbabwe problem, the people and Government of the Somali Democratic Republic would give unqualified support, both morally and materially, to the liberation movements and the people of Zimbabwe. His delegation urged the Committee to take effective measures to exert utmost pressure on the Governments concerned to put an

end to the illegal racist régime in Zimbabwe, and to create the necessary atmosphere for the establishment of immediate majority rule and independence for the people of Zimbabwe.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

2144th meeting

Thursday, 9 October 1975, at 3.15 p.m.

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

A/C.4/SR.2144 and Corr.1

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. BAUDOIN (Canada) said that the situation in Southern Rhodesia was perhaps more serious than ever before. Important changes had taken place and were still taking place in southern Africa, and to the west, the east and the north, the Africans who made up the vast majority in Southern Rhodesia saw their neighbours, friends and brothers free and independent, having regained their human dignity and fully enjoying their fundamental human rights. They were now more than ever determined to obtain those elementary rights for themselves, and the manner in which that problem was solved was of great importance for the future of humanity.

2. The efforts undertaken by the Presidents of Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique deserved high praise and, while it was true that only the Rhodesians could solve the basic problems of the Territory, it was also true that it was only the leaders of neighbouring countries who could create favourable conditions and prepare the scene for a settlement. Canada therefore fully supported the efforts of the four Presidents and also those of the Prime Minister of South Africa, regardless of his motives.

3. The Smith régime had so far done nothing to indicate a willingness to arrive at a settlement. Despite several meetings since 1965, first with the United Kingdom and currently with the Africans of Southern Rhodesia, Ian Smith had never shown himself ready to negotiate seriously or to grant any real concession, even though the opportunity had never been better for him to display good faith. It was to be hoped that he would understand that it was in his real interest to enter into discussions in good faith because, with or without him, majority rule would come.

4. The formation in December 1974 of the unified African National Council had been encouraging; for the first time since the nineteenth century, the white minority in power in Southern Rhodesia had been faced with a single adversary. Canada was therefore concerned at the recent

differences within the Council and hoped that internal rivalries would not divert the Africans of Southern Rhodesia from their real goal.

5. Among the favourite expressions of the Smith régime were "the preservation of civilization" and "civilized rule". It was therefore important to state unambiguously that the true civilized world rejected both the vocabulary and the policies of the rebel régime. The international community should use all the means at its disposal to persuade Ian Smith that he would not succeed in getting it to accept his concept of "civilization".

6. Although the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia had not succeeded in bringing about the downfall of the illegal Government, they had at least helped to show the extent of the international community's disapproval of the Smith régime. The success or failure of the sanctions as coercive measures depended on two factors: first, States should accept and be prepared to apply the sanctions, and, second, the sanctions should be realistic and adapted to the economy which they were intended to disrupt. Countries that did not wish, or which openly refused, to apply mandatory sanctions should be exposed to international opprobrium.

7. His delegation wished to draw attention to the list of international airlines reported to have had interline agreements with Air Rhodesia in April 1974, given in table 11 in the annex to 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), which included Air Canada and Canadian Pacific Air. On 13 May 1974, the Secretary-General, on behalf of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia, had brought the matter to the attention of the Canadian Government, which, on 11 September 1974, had informed the Secretary-General that inquiries had shown that all the Canadian airlines involved, namely, Transair Ltd., Nordair Ltd., Canadian Pacific Air and Air Canada, had terminated their interline ticketing and agency agreements with Air Rhodesia.¹ Paragraph 147 of the annex to chapter IX of

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Special Supplement No. 2, annex V, para. 31.*

the Special Committee's report noted that IATA had nullified its multilateral interline traffic agreements with Air Rhodesia and that the impact of that decision had not yet been fully assessed, and it appeared to his delegation that the document should also reflect the concrete measures taken by the Canadian carriers and others, if any. In any event, the Secretary-General's note to the Canadian authorities and the latter's reply showed that the activities of the Security Council Committee could have positive results when Governments received information on which they could take the necessary action, and he felt that the Secretariat should report the measures taken by Governments in reply to requests made by the Security Council Committee.

8. Special consideration should be given to countries which might be unable to impose sanctions because of the serious difficulties that would result for their economies. One such case was Zambia, which, following the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965, and again in 1972, had received emergency assistance from several countries, including Canada. It was for such reasons that Canada continued to expand its programme of bilateral co-operation in the region. Mozambique was another example. At their most recent meeting, held at Kingston from 29 April to 6 May 1975, the heads of Government of Commonwealth countries, including the Prime Minister of Canada, had expressly undertaken to provide special assistance to Mozambique in order to enable it to apply the sanctions. It was, however, for Mozambique to decide what measures it would take and to agree with the Security Council on a programme of co-operation under Article 50 of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to ensure that it was not penalized for scrupulously applying the sanctions.

9. It should be remembered that the Southern Rhodesian economy had expanded considerably since 1968 and he wondered whether it was not time for the Security Council or its Committee to revise the decisions adopted in Council resolution 253 (1968). Perhaps, too, consideration should be given to imposing sanctions in other sectors, and to exploring the possibilities of making United Nations action more effective than it had been so far.

10. Canada contributed to various education and humanitarian assistance programmes on behalf of the oppressed people of Southern Rhodesia and believed that the international community should continue its assistance in order to prepare them to assume their responsibilities when majority rule was attained.

11. The situation was being slowly but surely resolved. A peaceful solution should be sought, since armed confrontation would not bring about a valid and durable solution. To that end, the international community should continue to exert pressure on the Smith régime, otherwise, the Africans of Southern Rhodesia would have no alternative but to resort to violence.

12. Mr. MALINGA (Swaziland) said that, as a former British colony, his country was familiar with the behaviour of a settler minority, which became restless whenever a Territory was moving towards independence. Such a minority wished to control the resources it had exploited during

the colonial period and became desperate when the protection of the metropolitan Power was no longer available. The behaviour of the settler minority in Southern Rhodesia since the unilateral declaration of independence showed that it saw itself as the protector of Western interests.

13. Lord Caradon had once stated that, when the United Kingdom had decided to abandon its colonies, it had done so because the tide of freedom had been stronger than the United Kingdom, which had preferred to row with the tide rather than against it. In attempting to go against the tide, the whites of Zimbabwe had adopted the myth that the Africans were not ready for independence and would not be ready during their lifetime. They had predicted chaos in the event of majority rule and had sought to perpetuate the *status quo*. Fortunately, the international community did not agree with them. The difficulty now was to change the mental attitude of the whites who felt that black rule was a threat to their existence.

14. Ian Smith was attempting to obtain international endorsement of white domination. He was not interested in yielding power to the blacks but was attempting to legitimize suppression of the blacks. He had entered into negotiations, knowing that his intransigence would lead to a breakdown of the talks, because the myth of white invincibility had been destroyed by the success of the blacks in the former Portuguese Territories. Smith was attempting to divide the blacks in the hope of exhausting their patience so that they would take up arms and thus give him an excuse to invite South African troops back into Zimbabwe. He had appealed to the extreme right-wing white elements in South Africa and there were now reports that he had obtained mercenaries.

15. The time for self-delusion was past. The Africans now knew who they were and what they wanted and the whites should therefore share power with them and educate their people to the reality of the situation while there was still time. Those whites who feared for their security should understand that the tide could not be stemmed by modern technology and that their only security lay in understanding that Africans were capable of holding the reins of power.

16. His delegation appealed to the leaders of the people of Zimbabwe not to allow fear to cause them to shed innocent blood. In the interest of all the people of Zimbabwe, their first priority should be to obtain independence.

17. His delegation was concerned at the United Kingdom's unwillingness to extend the sanctions. As the administering Power, the United Kingdom should use its influence to bring down the régime. As had already been said, if the Western Powers had not supported Smith, his Government would have long since fallen. Those Western Powers were violating the sanctions because they wished to return to the former situation in which blacks had provided a source of cheap labour.

18. It had been reported that the new media in the United Kingdom were clearing the ground to legitimize the Smith régime. For example, *The Guardian*, referring to the disunity among the leaders of the people of Zimbabwe and

to the situation in Angola and that which had obtained in the former Belgian Congo, had stated that, if a similar situation was likely to arise in Southern Rhodesia, the United Kingdom should build on what was already there, even if it meant recognizing Ian Smith in order to obtain concessions. His delegation wished to warn outsiders and opportunists that backing one faction against another would bring suffering to the people of Zimbabwe.

19. Swaziland supported the efforts of those Presidents who, 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, had attempted to find a solution, and associated itself with the appeal for financial aid to Mozambique and Zambia.

Mr. Araim (Iraq), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

20. Mr. KHAN (Mozambique) said that, after listening to the debate, his delegation was left with the feeling that the illegal régime of Ian Smith was attempting to use the same manoeuvres as the Portuguese colonialists had done in his own country. If that were the case, then Ian Smith would be solely responsible for whatever happened in Zimbabwe. In the face of a systematic refusal by the racist régime to accept a peaceful solution, the people of Zimbabwe would have no alternative but to wage an armed struggle in order to regain their fundamental rights and restore peace and justice. The only course open to the United Nations was to condemn and denounce the illegal régime and call for a complete boycott of Southern Rhodesia; to recognize the African National Council as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe and encourage it to pursue the struggle by all the means at its disposal; and, if necessary, to legitimize the armed struggle to bring Ian Smith's régime to terms.

21. The President of Mozambique had expressed his country's complete solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle against domination by the minority régime. Mozambique supported the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe as the only means of winning their fundamental rights of independence, freedom and human dignity. That position was not inconsistent with the position taken by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations.

22. With respect to those who attempted to rationalize their collusion with the racist minority régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia by pretending to argue that there had been a change in those countries, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique had stated (2375th plenary meeting) that such arguments were manoeuvres calculated to perpetuate white supremacy over the people of southern Africa. There could be no real change as long as the Smith régime continued its illegal domination and maintained an intransigent attitude towards the liberation movement, the African National Council, which was the authentic representative of the people of Zimbabwe. In their repression of the Zimbabwe people, the régime's forces did not hesitate to violate Mozambique's frontiers, thus forcing an armed confrontation.

23. The people of Mozambique were confident that all peace-loving peoples would give the necessary support to

the combat imposed on the Zimbabwe people, by the minority racist régime, which must be compelled to accept a government of the majority represented by the African National Council. Mozambique, which was ready to assume full responsibility in accordance with its international duties, appealed to all Members of the United Nations to join in a complete boycott of Southern Rhodesia.

24. The so-called negotiations between the leaders of the Council and Ian Smith should not be regarded as negotiations between two friendly parties, but as negotiations between two enemies, since there was no reason to believe that Ian Smith had changed his attitude towards the people of Zimbabwe. He still regarded the leaders of the Council as "terrorists" and had stated that there would be no change in Southern Rhodesia during his lifetime. In the light of such statements, he should be held responsible for whatever happened in Zimbabwe.

25. Mrs. SKOTTSBERG-ÅHMAN (Sweden) said that the situation in Southern Rhodesia was now in a state of flux. Through an interplay of developments both inside and outside the country, the stage had been set for crucial decisions concerning the future of Zimbabwe. If followed through, those developments could spell the beginning of the end for the illegal régime and thus pave the way for a free Zimbabwe under African majority rule. But if the first real opportunity for a peaceful settlement were to be missed, even greater tragedy than it had already experienced would befall the land of Zimbabwe.

26. Reviewing the recent attempts to reach a settlement, she noted that the changing situation resulting from the rapid decolonization of the former Portuguese Territories had triggered intense diplomatic activities centred on efforts to bring about negotiations between the Smith régime and the liberation movements. She paid a tribute to the Presidents of Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique for their efforts to that end. She also noted with satisfaction the active role assumed by the United Kingdom Government. Unfortunately, the agreement reached at the talks held at Lusaka in November and December 1974 had never been properly implemented; Mr. Smith showed little inclination to facilitate substantive negotiations concerning a constitutional settlement, and had rejected the principle of majority rule. However, he had publicly admitted that, both politically and economically, the régime was going through a most exacting stage.

27. The extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of OAU at Dar es Salaam had acknowledged that independence on the basis of majority rule could be achieved either peacefully or by violent means, but that, either way, Africa would lend its unqualified support to the freedom fighters (see A/10023/Add.2, annex, para. 99).

28. Her Government welcomed the initiative taken at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, held at Kingston from 29 April to 6 May 1975, at which the Commonwealth leaders, who had agreed on the need to provide independent Mozambique with financial assistance to enable it to apply sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. In the bilateral Swedish assistance to Mozambique, that particular aspect had been taken into consideration.

29. Further intense diplomatic efforts had been made in order to bring about the Victoria Falls meeting between the representatives of the African National Council and Ian Smith, and the draft declaration prepared at that meeting represented considerable progress: for the first time some real basis for serious negotiations seemed to have been laid. It was all the more distressing that that achievement should have been frustrated at the last moment by Mr. Smith's obdurate stand. His action could not but cast renewed doubt on the honesty of his intentions. That turn of events had been further aggravated by the recent signs of a widening rift within the African National Council which could have serious consequences for the forces of liberty in Zimbabwe.

30. It was the duty of the United Nations to make further attempts to hasten the peaceful transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe so as to avoid a bloody confrontation which could endanger the peace and stability of Africa. Furthermore, in order to restore the unity of the liberation movement, the United Nations should issue a unanimous and urgent appeal to the national leaders not to allow differences to arise within their own ranks.

31. The Committee for its part, should try to match that appeal for unity by itself adopting a common approach. It should do its best to work out a resolution that would bring maximum pressure to bear on the illegal régime.

32. The situation in Southern Rhodesia itself did not appear to be a favourable one from the point of view of the illegal régime. The steeply rising appropriations for the military establishment were clear evidence of the régime's growing insecurity. Concentration on defence and security was putting an added strain on the economy, which was beginning to feel the effect of the sanctions. Increasing white emigration and dwindling European immigration reflected a growing lack of confidence in the régime. Nor should the erosive effect of international isolation be underrated.

33. To those factors should be added Mr. Smith's recent strikingly erratic behaviour as well as some of his public pronouncements, suggesting the reactions of a desperate man. The United Nations must ensure that the politically and economically exacting stage to which Mr. Smith referred was made even more exacting.

34. Economic sanctions must be even more strictly applied and more efficiently supervised. The main saboteur of the sanctions was, of course, still South Africa. If, however, South Africa seriously wanted to press Mr. Smith into a settlement with the Zimbabwe nationalists, the most effective way of exerting that pressure would be for South Africa to accept at once its obligation to apply the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

35. All Member States must scrupulously apply the mandatory sanctions and South Africa must be completely isolated in its illegal attitude. Her delegation deplored the failure to have the Byrd Amendment repealed. As a result, the Smith régime might receive an undeserved boost. Yet she was somewhat encouraged from the statement made by the United States representative at the previous meeting.

36. Her Government had repeatedly emphasized the need for an extension of the scope of the sanctions to encompass all measures envisaged in Article 41 of the Charter. As a member of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968), Sweden was taking an active part in efforts to identify further possible areas of extended and intensified pressure against the illegal régime.

37. In conclusion, she said that United Nations action, or inaction, was of greater importance now that it had been in a long time. Her delegation was unable to believe that, once the process towards a negotiated settlement had in fact begun, the clock could be turned back. The road ahead would be a long and difficult one. Yet unrelenting pressure was the only way to bring home to Mr. Smith the fact that time was fast running out. He could not continue to toy with the future of the people of Southern Rhodesia, black and white alike.

Mrs. Joka-Bangura (Sierra Leone) resumed the Chair.

38. Mr. SALADO VILLACIN (Cuba) said that the people of Zimbabwe, who had been waging a bloody battle for nearly a century against oppressive racist minorities, had also had to contend with an international imperialist conspiracy that had helped to bolster the minority régime. That conspiracy had been dealt a telling blow by the downfall of the Portuguese Fascist empire, which, together with South Africa, had constituted the most despicable and reactionary alliance known.

39. Nevertheless, the conspiracy continued, led by the Vorster Government and supported by the United States and other violators of the sanctions against the Smith régime. The patriots of Zimbabwe had faced the alternative of seeking a peaceful transfer of power to the majority, and great efforts had been made in that direction in order to avert further suffering. Unfortunately, the Smith régime had not responded to the gesture made by the national liberation movement, and those efforts had been frustrated. To all appearances, the racists were resolved to prolong the situation even further. Nevertheless, despite the obstinacy and arrogance of Mr. Smith, the situation in southern Africa favoured the cause of the people of Zimbabwe.

40. The time had come for the adoption of practical measures. Member States must not be permitted to shirk their responsibilities with regard to the application of the sanctions. Their action—especially that of South Africa, the United States and other capitalist countries—must be vigorously condemned. In addition, the United Kingdom must be compelled to fulfil its responsibilities as the administering Power. It was the duty of Member States to provide the national liberation movement of Zimbabwe with all the moral and material assistance needed in the struggle.

41. In conclusion, his delegation expressed its firm solidarity with the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, the success of which required the following measures: strict observance of the sanctions and the severance of all relations with the Salisbury régime; support for the principle of independence only on the basis of majority rule, which could be attained either by peaceful or violent means, as decided by the liberation movement; and an

increase in the material and moral assistance furnished to the liberation movement both for the purpose of armed struggle and for holding genuine negotiations through a constitutional settlement permitting the immediate transfer of power to the African majority, should the people themselves so desire.

42. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the past year had seen many achievements in the struggle to eliminate colonialism and to realize the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The admission of three new Member States to the Organization was a very welcome development, although the failure on the part of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam to gain admission was very regrettable. As a result of the victory of the democratic revolution in Portugal and the successful struggle of the African peoples against their overlords, yet another colonial empire had crumbled.

43. Many United Nations resolutions designed to bring about the freedom and independence of Zimbabwe had not been implemented, owing to the action of certain Governments, particularly that of the Salisbury racist régime. As Mr. Smith himself had recently stated, that régime would continue its policy. The international community must not remain indifferent to such statements. New means were needed to force that régime to abandon its senseless policy of oppression. Many Western countries, especially NATO countries, continued to trade and collaborate with the Salisbury régime. The sanctions must be extended and strictly implemented.

44. The policy pursued by the racist régime constituted a threat to peace and a source of tension in that part of the world. His delegation condemned that policy, and sought the full implementation of United Nations resolutions against Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, which were strictly observed by the USSR. Consideration should also be given to extending the sanctions to include other measures envisaged in Article 41 of the Charter. In prescribing future action, the Committee might well base itself on the resolutions adopted by the Special Committee, the Council of Ministers of OAU at its ninth extraordinary session, held at Dar es Salaam from 7 to 10 April 1975, and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975.

45. The General Assembly should condemn the use of mercenaries against the people of Zimbabwe, and should appeal to all States to adopt effective measures to prevent it.

46. The USSR, as a matter of principle, actively supported the national liberation movement and the just demands of the people of Zimbabwe, and wished to assure the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe and elsewhere that it would continue to stand by their side. As Mr. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had noted in his message to the Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization at its twelfth session recently held in Moscow, the Soviet Union, together with all forces that stood for peace and freedom,

would seek to ensure that all peoples enjoyed the conditions necessary for a peaceful life, free development and the achievement of national aspirations. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union steadfastly stood by the side of those who opposed imperialist aggression, national oppression, neo-colonialism, racism and social injustice.

47. Mr. KUDIWU (Zaire) associated himself with the views of previous speakers, which had voiced the aspirations of the majority of the people of Zimbabwe. As the President of Zaire had stated in his speech to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session (2140th plenary meeting), it was Zaire's imperative political duty to make a material and military contribution to all neighbouring countries still subjected to colonialism of any sort. He was sure that the African National Council, representing the great mass movement of the Zimbabwe people, was well aware that those words of the President of Zaire had been constantly translated into deeds.

48. Some people seemed to believe that in its condemnation of the racist policy of Ian Smith and of *apartheid*, Zaire was in favour of hurling the white minority into the sea. That was quite untrue. As the Commissioner of State for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation of Zaire had stated at the 2355th plenary meeting on 22 September 1975, all that Zaire asked of the racists was that they should respect the principle of government by the majority, which would take into account the interests of all inhabitants, black and white, of the region.

49. It was lamentable that the exponents of racism blindly refused to avail themselves of the proffered opportunity to solve the constitutional problem in Zimbabwe by peaceful means and failed to heed the example of South-East Asia, where the Viet-Nameese and Cambodian peoples had gained such an unexpectedly early victory.

50. Ian Smith, encouraged by his mentor, Mr. Vorster, no doubt believed in the invincibility of the military equipment, which was the main item in the Southern Rhodesian and South African budgets. No force, however, could stay the irreversible trend of history. Ian Smith should consider the example of the new Portugal, which had listened to the voice of reason after half a century of dictatorship that had defied international opinion and betrayed the real aspirations of the gallant Portuguese people.

51. His delegation was convinced that the only solution to the Southern Rhodesian problem was the restoration of true democracy which implied that power should be restored to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe. Ian Smith should know that the time for procrastination was past and should undertake serious negotiations with the legitimate representatives of the Zimbabwe people. It was the only way to ensure the safety of lives and property.

52. Zaire paid tribute to the leaders of the reconstituted African National Council for the courage and political maturity they had shown. It also paid tribute to the heads of State of Botswana, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia for their efforts to bring about an understanding. His delegation was convinced that Smith would not trifle for ever with independent militant Africa. On 20 May 1975 the President of Zaire had said in his

speech at a symposium held at Kinshasa in connexion with International Women's Year that, as long as Smith persisted in maintaining the rule of the white minority over the black majority, the task of independent Africans was to assist their brothers in Zimbabwe to overcome the Southern Rhodesian colonialists by force.

53. Mrs. MARCUS (Denmark) said that the past year had seen some significant moves in the search for a solution to the constitutional problem of Southern Rhodesia, but they had not produced the desired results. The progress achieved in the decolonization of the former Portuguese Territories in Africa and the efforts made by the presidents of countries bordering on Southern Rhodesia had helped to keep the momentum in the developing situation in Southern Rhodesia. She welcomed the merger of the other liberation movements into the African National Council and the withdrawal from the Territory of the remaining South African police forces. She regretted, however, that the Victoria Falls talks had not touched upon matters of substance, that Mr. Ian Smith had gone back upon his earlier expressed intention of finding common ground with the African National Council, and that the illegal régime continued its repressive policies against the African majority in Zimbabwe, depriving the people of their rights as equal citizens. Her Government condemned the arbitrary arrests and the continued detention of political leaders and called for the immediate release of all political prisoners in Southern Rhodesia. She associated herself with earlier speakers who had appealed to all parties directly involved in, and concerned about, the future of the Territory to make continuous efforts to find a solution without bloodshed. She appealed to the members of the Council to strengthen the unity that was essential for the African partner in future negotiations with the illegal régime in Salisbury, and called on that régime to stop its repressive policies.

54. She appealed to all Members of the United Nations to enforce strictly the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia imposed by the Security Council, as her own country had done. Any violation of the relevant Danish legislation implementing the decisions of the Security Council imposing sanctions was punishable by confiscation and fines. She urged all States Members of the United Nations to take similar measures. Since it realized that the newly independent State of Mozambique would be severely affected by the full implementation of sanctions, her Government was prepared to shape its assistance to Mozambique with a view to lessening those difficulties. While it was important to bear in mind the long-term goal of ensuring freedom and a prosperous future for the oppressed people of Zimbabwe, it was also necessary to meet their daily needs in the humanitarian and educational fields. Her Government had for many years made increasing contributions, both bilaterally and through the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, for relief and assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation also in Southern Rhodesia and their families. Her country's contribution to the Educational and Training Programme for the financial year 1975/76 amounted to \$150,000 and its contribution to the Trust Fund amounted to \$110,000.

55. The isolation of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia should be increased to make it realize that there was no acceptable alternative to genuine negotiations aimed at finding a just solution to the Southern Rhodesian problem. The General Assembly and the Committee could most effectively exert pressure on the illegal régime by adopting a unanimous resolution, and her delegation therefore once again advocated a consensus text concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia which could be endorsed by all Member States.

56. Mr. TALEB-BENDIAB (Algeria) said that chapter IX of the Special Committee's report (A/10023/Add.2) did not indicate any significant change for the better in the policy of the illegal régime in Salisbury, which continued to defy the international community by maintaining its colonialist and racist exploitation of the Territory. The minority régime could not have consolidated its position without the complicity of the imperialists and the United Kingdom had to bear a heavy share of the responsibility. It was hard to concede that a great country like the United Kingdom, with the unanimous support of the Security Council, could not subdue a minority group of 200,000 whites. His delegation was disposed to think that the United Kingdom's attitude towards Southern Rhodesia was similar to its attitude towards Palestine: in both countries it had promoted the settlement of people practising similar segregationist systems, with the result that the situation in Southern Rhodesia, like that in Palestine, constituted a threat to international peace and security.

57. The United Kingdom authorities had made several attempts to find a solution to the Southern Rhodesian problem. Those attempts, however, had achieved no positive results because the authorities in London had been unrealistic enough to think that the Africans could be persuaded to agree to a settlement the implementation of which would depend entirely on the white leaders in Southern Rhodesia and which would postpone indefinitely the attainment of their legitimate rights. It was high time that the United Kingdom discharged its responsibilities as administering Power and took the necessary measures to lead the people of Zimbabwe to independence with full respect for the rights of those primarily concerned, namely the Africans of Southern Rhodesia. Such measures should be accompanied by the strict and full implementation of economic sanctions. The United Kingdom had rightly associated all Member States in the implementation of economic sanctions. It had to be acknowledged, however, that some Powers, and not minor Powers, were continuing to violate the sanctions, thereby helping the illegal régime in Salisbury to maintain its domination. That attitude must be unreservedly condemned.

58. All attempts to perpetuate the domination of the white minority in Southern Rhodesia would only strengthen the resolve of the people of Zimbabwe to shake off the colonialist yoke. Similarly, the failure to reach a peaceful solution for the accession to power of the majority would inevitably lead the people to intensify the armed struggle, which was the only alternative. After the victory of the liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, it was understandable that the illegal minority régime in Salisbury had become concerned and, in concert with the racist authorities in Pretoria, had orchestrated a

policy of dialogue aimed at maintaining the interests of the white minority in Southern Rhodesia and gaining a respite in which to pursue its policy. That manoeuvre was doomed to failure in view of the determination of the people of Zimbabwe to regain their independence and the support of the non-aligned countries for the African National Council, which had been reaffirmed at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of those countries, held at Lima in August 1975.

59. Algeria, faithful to the principles of justice and liberty, would spare no effort to give effective aid to the genuine representatives of Zimbabwe and it reaffirmed its full support for the struggle that the people of Zimbabwe were waging to recover their independence and sovereignty.

60. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia) said that he deplored the plight of the peoples in Africa and elsewhere still subjected to racism. Despite repeated United Nations resolutions, the international community had failed to bring down the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, where millions were suffering from racial oppression. That failure was due partly to the fact that the administering Power had not lived up to its responsibilities and had not taken firm action against the violators of human rights in Southern Rhodesia, and partly to the fact that the sanctions imposed by the Security Council had not been fully applied by some Member States. Ian Smith had therefore been encouraged in his stubborn attitude. As the legal authority responsible for the Territory, the Government of the United Kingdom must without delay take appropriate action to fulfil its political and moral obligations towards the people of Zimbabwe. He expressed appreciation for the statement made by the United Kingdom representative at the 2134th meeting on recent developments in the situation, although he was not convinced that progress had been made on the fundamental issues involved. He welcomed the efforts made by well-meaning people and noted with satisfaction the statement that the United Kingdom would not agree to any solution to the constitutional problem in Southern Rhodesia that was not acceptable to the African minority.

61. He reminded the Committee that the General Assembly condemned those who violated sanctions, thereby reducing their effectiveness. He urged all Member States to respect the decisions of the international community, to which after all they lent their support. In his delegation's view, sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia should be extended. He regretted that the attempts made in recent months to reach a peaceful settlement in Southern Rhodesia had failed and that the United States House of Representatives had failed to repeal the Byrd Amendment.

62. It was clear from the statement made by the representative of the African National Council at the 2139th meeting that Ian Smith was still opposed to majority rule. He therefore supported the struggle of the liberation forces in the region and welcomed such developments as the liberation of the former Portuguese Territories, which had deprived the Salisbury régime of the support of Mozambique. From the recent attempt by the Prime Minister of South Africa to arrange negotiations between Ian Smith and the African nationalists, it would seem that he, too, realized that the victory of the people of Zimbabwe was

inevitable and that concessions might have to be made. He should, however, also realize that the people of Zimbabwe would not bargain away their opposition to *apartheid*, or trade the rights of South Africa for any ambiguous concessions he might be prepared to offer. While supporting any move designed to achieve a peaceful settlement to the Southern Rhodesia problem, his delegation agreed with the representative of the Council that, if the Smith régime did not accept majority rule, then the only alternative was to intensify the armed struggle. The international community must give material and moral support to the freedom fighters, and also to those countries bordering on Southern Rhodesia whose economies were severely affected by their strict adherence to Security Council resolutions.

63. Mr. DE LATAILLADE (France), referring to paragraph 154 of the annex to chapter IX of the Special Committee's report (*ibid.*), in which it was stated that his country had violated Security Council sanctions, said he wished to point out that France had never been the subject of investigations by the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) and had never had an opportunity to make known its point of view concerning the contents of the report before publication. He therefore wished to express his delegation's strongest reservations concerning the substances of the report. In his country, the sanctions imposed by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia were strictly applied. Customs legislation had been reinforced to take account of United Nations decisions, and customs officials had been alerted to the need to monitor particularly carefully the origin of products imported from some countries bordering on Southern Rhodesia. Since his Government, like others, desired majority rule in Southern Rhodesia, it was well aware of the need to implement sanctions fully and it acted accordingly.

64. Mr. KOUAME (Ivory Coast), referring to the statement made by the representative of the United Kingdom at the 2134th meeting, said that he would like to ask the United Kingdom representative what specific action had been taken by his Government to promote the convening of a constitutional conference for Southern Rhodesia and the formulation of a constitution so that the people of Zimbabwe could achieve majority rule and resolve the Southern Rhodesian problem.

65. Mr. THOMAS (United Kingdom) replied that the activities undertaken by his Government had been described by his country's Permanent Representative to the United Nations at the meeting in question (see 2134th meeting, paras. 9-11).

66. In a closing statement on the question, he said that the outstanding impression left by the debate was that the international community was unanimous in its underlying attitude towards Southern Rhodesia, despite differences of approach. He could not accept the allegations of earlier speakers that his Government had somehow failed to take seriously its special responsibility for Southern Rhodesia. His Government had done everything possible to carry out its solemn undertakings to put an end to the illegal situation. In reply to the statement made by the representative of Swaziland, he said that, despite what any newspapers might say, there was no legal recognition of the

Smith régime by his Government. He had been glad to note that many delegations had recognized that his Government had indeed made honest efforts to promote a peaceful settlement on a basis acceptable to all the people of Southern Rhodesia. His delegation had been particularly interested in the statements made during the debate by the representatives of Botswana (2143rd meeting), the United Republic of Tanzania (2141st meeting) and Zambia (2136th meeting) and by the representative of Mozambique at the current meeting, in view of the part they had played in promoting the negotiations at Victoria Falls. Since his Government had long sought to find a solution which would avoid bloodshed, it remained firmly of the view that the door should not be shut on the option of achieving a settlement by negotiation. He therefore could not agree with earlier speakers who had concluded that the only possible way forward was by armed struggle.

67. His Government would do everything it could to maintain pressure on the Smith régime and would continue to help the oppressed people of Southern Rhodesia, primarily through educational assistance. It was carefully considering the proposals put forward for the extension of sanctions. His delegation had noted the view that the United Kingdom Government should convene a constitutional conference as soon as possible. Many had argued that time was running out for Salisbury and he assured the Committee that his Government would do everything possible to make that a reality. He must, however, reiterate his delegation's view that it would be a mistake to abandon attempts to obtain a negotiated settlement.

68. Mr. MAWEMA (Observer, African National Council of Zimbabwe) paid a tribute to those representatives who had expressed solidarity with the cause of his organization. There seemed, however, to be a conspiracy of silence among Member States, since United Nations resolutions had been allowed to lapse. It was an open secret that many leading countries, including Japan, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, engaged in trade with Southern Rhodesia, yet they had all spoken in support of the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe. He drew the attention of the United States representative to the fact that the African National Council had made allegations to the State Department in July 1975 concerning the presence of United States mercenaries in Southern Rhodesia. The Council would welcome a negotiated settlement which would avoid bloodshed, but the conspiracy of silence in the United Nations was in no way helpful to its cause and the only alternative left to it was armed struggle.

69. Mr. NAGAI (Japan), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said that the statement just made by the representative of the African National Council was inaccurate. His Government strictly enforced Security Council sanctions and had no relations of any kind with the illegal Salisbury régime. His Government was determined not to allow Japanese nationals or bodies corporate to evade sanctions by any manoeuvres. If goods originating in Japan found their way to Southern Rhodesia, or vice versa, that was entirely contrary to the desires of the Government and people of Japan. His Government worked in full co-operation with other nations to oppose the evasion of sanctions. It had recently issued a caution on exports, warning all

Japanese exporters that the embargo against Southern Rhodesia prohibited the exportation of products ultimately destined for Southern Rhodesia, even though they were consigned to third countries, and that violations would incur disciplinary action and criminal punishment. His Government had renewed its warning to the export authorities to prevent exports from Japan from reaching Southern Rhodesia through re-exportation or trans-shipment, or through agents. In addition, his Government was trying to strengthen the measures taken to prevent the importation of Southern Rhodesia goods disguised as goods from neighbouring countries. He assured the Committee, and the representative of the Council in particular, that his Government strictly enforced the sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia.

Requests for hearings

70. The CHAIRMAN drew attention to a request for a hearing concerning the questions of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia (A/C.4/788) received from Mr. Romesh Chandra, Secretary-General of the World Peace Council.

71. Mr. WU Miao-fa (China) said that his delegation wished to make the following observations concerning the request by representatives of the World Peace Council to address the Committee.

72. The revolutionary people throughout the world were concerned and grieved about the civil war in Angola. In that connexion, OAU had formed a mediation committee which was working for the elimination of differences and the promotion of unity among the three liberation movements of Angola. All countries and people which really supported the just struggle for national liberation rejoiced over those efforts and earnestly hoped that they would succeed. Yet the Bureau of the World Peace Council, under the instigation of a super-Power flaunting the banner of socialism, had adopted a so-called resolution on the situation in Angola. Instead of trying to eliminate the differences and promoting unity among the three organizations, that resolution openly resorted to the sinister tactics of supporting one while attacking another. Such an attitude ran diametrically counter to the relevant resolutions and efforts of OAU and was contrary to the fundamental interests of the Angolan people and the strong desire of peoples throughout the world who loved justice. The resolution could only encourage that super-Power, which was doing its utmost to expand the civil war in Angola, and provided further evidence of the fact that the World Peace Council had long been a docile tool of the super-Power.

73. His delegation therefore had serious reservations regarding the request of the World Peace Council to address the Committee, and wished its position of principle to be reflected in the summary record.

74. The CHAIRMAN assured the Chinese delegation that his statement would be reflected in the summary record of the meeting.

75. Mr. GENDA (Hungary) supported the request of the World Peace Council that its delegation be allowed to participate in the Committee's general debate on the questions of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. It was

common knowledge that the World Peace Council, in co-operation with the Fourth Committee, had for years been waging a heroic struggle for world peace and the elimination of colonialism. His delegation was convinced that the participation of the representatives of the World Peace Council in the Committee's work would make a decisive contribution to it.

76. The CHAIRMAN said that, if she heard no objection she would take it that the Committee agreed to grant the request of the World Peace Council.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.

2145th meeting

Monday, 13 October 1975, at 3.20 p.m.

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

A/C.4/SR.2145

AGENDA ITEMS 87 AND 89

Question of Namibia (A/9998-S/11598, A/10023/Add.3, A/10024 (vol. I), A/10050-S/11638, A/10229, A/C.4/784 and Add.1 and 2, A/C.4/788)

Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/9998-S/11598, A/10023/Add.2, A/10050-S/11638, A/C.4/778)

HEARING OF PETITIONERS

1. The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that it had decided at the preceding meeting to grant a request for a hearing received from the World Peace Council concerning the questions of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia (A/C.4/788).

At the request of the Chairman, Mr. Romesh Chandra, Mrs. Purabi Mukherji and Mr. Carlton B. Goodlett, representatives of the World Peace Council, took places at the Committee table.

2. Mr. CHANDRA (World Peace Council) said that his organization was particularly proud of the very close relations it had with the Chairman's country and that it had held conferences in each of the countries represented by the two Vice-Chairmen and the Rapporteur of the Committee, namely, Costa Rica, Iraq and Portugal. He commended the Committee on having given priority to the question of Zimbabwe, whose struggle was in the forefront of the struggle of the peoples of the world to build a future free from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Throughout the period of struggle, the World Peace Council (WPC) had supported the liberation movements recognized by OAU and by the United Nations and had unconditionally supported the resolutions and decisions adopted by both those bodies with regard to Zimbabwe. He expressed his organization's full solidarity with the African National Council of Zimbabwe and said that WPC was proud of the fact that Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the President of the Council, had been a leading official of WPC for many years.

3. WPC could be described as a general assembly of the peoples, just as the United Nations was a general assembly of Governments. Its endeavour had been to arouse public opinion to further the aims of the United Nations.

Violations of United Nations decisions by a small group of States could not continue if the people in those countries, who supported the aims of WPC and of the United Nations, were informed of those violations and compelled their Governments to abide by international decisions. WPC had supported the work 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, and would continue to do so. It had also initiated the movement of solidarity in most countries of the world with the liberation movements of the former Portuguese Territories.

4. WPC had recently held a session of its leadership in Guinea-Bissau to deal specifically with the problems of African liberation, and at that session it had reached the following conclusions: it had called for world-wide solidarity with the African National Council and for moral and material support for that organization as the sole authentic representative of the people of Zimbabwe; it had expressed full support for the stand taken by OAU in regard to Zimbabwe; it had noted the continuing repression and murder of African patriots carried out by the illegal white régime in Zimbabwe and condemned the sabotage of all agreements solemnly entered into by the Smith régime; and it had once again proclaimed full support for the struggle led by the Council, which must be waged by the people of Zimbabwe with all the means at their disposal so that they might achieve the rights granted to them under the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

5. WPC had called on the United Kingdom Government to take effective measures to ensure that the people of Zimbabwe achieved their independence in accordance with the aspirations of the majority of the population. It had also called for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees and the restoration of fundamental human rights to the population, including the immediate closing of the concentration camps in Zimbabwe known as "protected villages", and had demanded that the entry of foreign immigrants and mercenaries and the illegal execution of freedom fighters should be stopped.

6. The illegal Smith régime continued its violations of United Nations resolutions because of the support it