

principles of the United Nations, which opposed bloodshed and the use of violent means. The Members of the United Nations must place the principles of the Organization above their own national interests. Otherwise the human race might disappear.

44. In his view, civil disobedience would be one method of peaceful resistance in Southern Rhodesia, and he suggested that a United Nations fund could be established for the purpose of providing assistance to the sectors of the population that participated in civil disobedience; the first contribution to that fund could be the sum of £5 million sterling, which the United Kingdom had offered some years earlier, in a proposal submitted to the Security Council,<sup>1</sup> in the event of the two parties beginning talks.

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

45. He could offer other possibilities for a solution, but he would leave them until his next statement on the item, since the hour was late and perhaps the meeting should rise, out of consideration for the interpreters.

46. The General Assembly alone could make recommendations, and he advised the representatives of the liberation movements to exchange ideas with the representatives of the United Kingdom since he was convinced that the United Kingdom Government was determined to find a solution to the question of Southern Rhodesia.

47. The Arabs had once been great but they had subsequently lost their empire. It was to be hoped that Ian Smith would learn that lesson from history.

48. The CHAIRMAN announced that the list of speakers would be closed on Friday, 18 October, at 1 p.m., and he appealed to members to adhere to the order of speakers on the list.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*

## 2094th meeting

Monday, 21 October 1974, at 10.50 a.m.

*Chairman:* Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2094

### AGENDA ITEM 67

#### Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/9623/Add.2)

#### GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. MORETON (United Kingdom) said that as soon as the representatives of his Government in Botswana had heard about the abduction of Mr. Dubé from that country, they had discussed the matter with members of the Office of the President of Botswana, who had informed them that Mr. Dubé had been kidnapped and taken to Rhodesia on Sunday 13 October 1974. His Government did not know all the circumstances of that deplorable incident, but it took a very serious view of the matter, as it had done when four Africans from Southern Rhodesia had been similarly abducted from Francistown in Botswana in April 1974.

2. His Government had no evidence yet as to the exact circumstances of the abduction, but the facts seemed clear. It strongly condemned the abduction of Mr. Dubé and had protested to the Ian Smith régime; it would do all it could to secure Mr. Dubé's release. He emphasized, however, that his Government could not accept any responsibility for the actions of an illegal régime which was in rebellion.

3. Should any further information become available, he would make another statement at the appropriate moment.

4. The CHAIRMAN said he had received a letter from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations, who was currently acting as chairman of the African group of States, drawing attention to the incident. That letter would be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly.<sup>1</sup>

5. Mr. SHARAF (Jordan) welcomed the new States of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau.

6. The fact that Guinea-Bissau had taken its seat in the United Nations was particularly significant for the work of the

Committee. Throughout the world, and particularly in Africa, the area of colonial domination and control was shrinking every year. The time would soon come when the whole of Africa would be liberated from the remnants of colonial and racial domination. Mozambique and Angola were on the way to early liberation. The people of Zimbabwe would surely achieve their freedom, although their course had been a more complex one and the forces obstructing their liberation were entrenched and formidable. Chapter VIII of the report of Southern Rhodesia prepared by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, concerning Southern Rhodesia (A/9623/Add.2), documented the struggle and the obstacles. The statements made at the preceding meeting by the representatives of the liberation movements, namely the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), illustrated the determination of the people of Zimbabwe to persevere in their national struggle for freedom and self-determination. The ultimate success of the people of Zimbabwe was, logically and historically, inevitable. No régime based on racial superiority and domination or on colonial occupation could last and survive, as was proved by the recent history of Africa and, before that, of the Middle East. The liquidation of the recent foreign aggressive occupation of a certain territory in the Middle East was again merely a matter of time. The struggle for national liberation and independence was indivisible, just as the suppressive and colonial establishment was indivisible.

7. When the minority régime of Southern Rhodesia had illegally declared its "independence" in November 1965, Jordan had condemned that act. Since then, it had witnessed both the growing metamorphosis of that régime into a ruthless repressive force in Africa and the rise of national resistance. The Jordanian people followed with enthusiasm the efforts and sacrifices of the African people of Zimbabwe and identified themselves fully with them. His Government had supported all efforts by the United Nations to correct the anomalous situation in Southern Rhodesia and had enacted legisla-

<sup>1</sup> A/C.4/777.

tion to enforce the embargo imposed by the United Nations. Needless to say, Jordan had supported every resolution submitted to the United Nations condemning the repressive policies and activities of the racist régime and initiating steps to contain and defeat that régime.

8. At a time when reports had appeared in the press concerning alleged sales of arms and equipment to South Africa by Jordan, his delegation wished particularly to reaffirm his country's position. His Government was deeply distressed at the possibility that such distorted reports might gain some credibility in friendly circles, particularly among the Africans in Zimbabwe and southern Africa. As soon as that mischievous and hostile report had been published, his Government had issued successive statements, one of which had been addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* on 23 September 1974.<sup>2</sup> In that communication, his Government had declared that in no circumstances would it knowingly permit the infiltration of obsolete or any other kind of arms and equipment into South Africa, Southern Rhodesia or any other country whose régime was openly hostile to Africa's struggle for freedom, dignity and independence. It had learned with distress of certain reports that a number of international dealers who had bought obsolete military equipment, which Jordan had disposed of through international bidding, had failed to ensure that none of that equipment would reach South Africa. His Government was carrying out an investigation of the matter. It pledged that henceforth it would strengthen its control over the disposal of its obsolete equipment, so that it could in no way harm Africa's heroic struggle and undermine Jordan's fundamental and abiding support for that struggle. His Government had decided to require governmental and users' certificates for any obsolete arms it might dispose of in the future. That measure would augment the current legislation enforcing the embargo imposed by the United Nations.

9. His Government would make every effort to trace and block any loop-holes that might have existed in the routine disposal of used equipment. Like many other countries which enthusiastically supported the struggle of the people of South Africa, Jordan was trying to maintain and improve the enforcement of the embargo and sanctions, although that was not a simple and easily manageable process. It was the duty of all countries to co-operate, in friendship and goodwill and with mutual confidence, so that no wedge, born of suspicion, could be driven into the ranks of the international community, to the detriment of the common cause.

10. Mr. SIDIK (Indonesia) expressed his appreciation of the statements by the representative of the administering Power, namely the United Kingdom, by the Reverend Cnaan Banana and the Reverend Michael Scott (2092nd meeting) and by the representatives of ZAPU and ZANU (2093rd meeting). The extensive information contained in those statements supplemented that given in the working paper prepared by the Secretariat and annexed to chapter VIII of the report of the Special Committee (*ibid.*) and it would certainly assist the Committee in its work.

11. Although the situation in other parts of southern Africa had improved during the past year, his delegation had been most disappointed to notice that no significant progress had been made during the same period in advancing the process of decolonization in Southern Rhodesia. Indeed, according to the statements made in the Committee and the information contained in chapter VIII of the report of the Special Committee, the situation in Southern Rhodesia had continued to deteriorate. The detention of several of the representatives of the African National Council of Zimbabwe demonstrated the regrettable fact that at that time the Ian Smith régime had no intention of entering into negotiations in good faith with the

representatives of the black majority of Rhodesians, no matter who they might be.

12. At the same time, the situation in the Portuguese Territories and the armed struggle of the freedom fighters had been a source of great concern to the Ian Smith régime, as was shown by the large proportion of the territorial budget of Southern Rhodesia which was devoted to military expenditure and related police costs. As the United Kingdom representative had pointed out, increases in those two items would amount to \$R12.5 million for 1974. Those expenditures, which placed a strain on the economy of the Territory, had greatly contributed to the isolation of the Ian Smith régime and the weakening of the Southern Rhodesian economy.

13. Unfortunately, that sense of isolation had driven the Ian Smith régime to increasingly desperate and severe measures in an effort to shore up its position in the Territory rather than to negotiations. Thus, the repressive measures against the civilian population had increased. Such actions reflected the desperation felt by the régime and its determination to prevent democratic representation of the black majority on a one-man-one-vote basis. Indeed, in an interview with William F. Buckley Jr. at Salisbury on 15 March 1974, Ian Smith had made it clear that in so far as parliamentary representation of blacks was concerned, the most that could be envisaged was a situation in which blacks and whites would each hold 50 seats. Such proposals obviously did not reflect the realities of life in Southern Rhodesia, where the ratio of blacks to whites was 20 to 1. Such "parity" could never be accepted by anyone who sought true representation of the interests of the Territory's black majority. The elections held in June 1974, in which expansion of black representation in the white-controlled Assembly had been effectively forestalled, proved that the Ian Smith régime was determined to continue with such manoeuvres. In view of the intransigent attitude of the Ian Smith régime and of its continued defiance of the will of the international community, as expressed in General Assembly resolution 3116 (XXVIII), rigorous and complete enforcement of the sanctions already imposed by the United Nations was called for. It was regrettable that it should be necessary to call for enforcement of the sanctions seven years later; however, as a number of representatives had pointed out, the sanctions were not being enforced as they must be if racism and colonialism were to be eradicated from Southern Rhodesia.

14. There had never been any official political, economic or cultural relations between Indonesia and Southern Rhodesia. Moreover, his Government had promulgated a regulation which forbade Indonesians to engage in trade with Southern Rhodesia in any capacity. Indonesia was zealous in its enforcement of that regulation, and he joined other representatives in calling upon all members of the international community to respect the sanctions rigorously. If that was done, the Ian Smith régime would not be able to resist for long and would soon be forced either to negotiate on reasonable terms with the representatives of the people or to succumb before the valiant efforts of the freedom fighters. His delegation would naturally prefer that a peaceful solution should be found, if possible. The people of the Territory had already suffered much, and additional suffering and bloodshed could only make it more difficult for the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory to obtain their inalienable rights. His delegation hoped that a peaceful solution would be brought about through strict adherence to the sanctions by all members of the international community; it recognized, however, that those measures might not suffice in themselves and was therefore prepared to support whatever actions might be necessary to ensure that the majority of the people were in a position to exercise fully their right to self-determination and independence.

15. As part of the effort to ensure the exercise of that right, his delegation wished to suggest that consultations between

<sup>2</sup> A/AC.115/L.393.

the African National Council and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), both of which sought to ensure the elimination of colonialism and racism in Southern Rhodesia and the exercise by the people of the Territory of their inalienable rights, should be undertaken in order that the liberation forces might present a united front to the forces of colonialism.

16. His delegation hoped that the coming year would see the effective enforcement of sanctions against the Ian Smith régime and the strengthening of the liberation movements in the Territory itself. If the international community supported those efforts, significant advances towards the decolonization of Southern Rhodesia could be made.

17. Mr. SIMITXHIU (Albania) expressed his delegation's indignation at the criminal acts committed in Southern Rhodesia by the racist clique of Ian Smith, which was pursuing and had even intensified its policy of racial discrimination against the indigenous population.

18. A handful of racists, following a Nazi-fascist ideology, were continuing to deny the overwhelming majority of the African population of Zimbabwe freedom, independence and the right to culture and justice and subjecting it to the most cruel kind of domination, using arbitrary arrest and imprisonment and executions without trial, setting up "protected villages", pursuing a scorched-earth policy and promulgating inhuman laws. At the same time, the Smith régime had launched a "campaign for colonization" of Southern Rhodesia through the immigration of a million persons—often adventurers and other dangerous elements—which ran completely counter to the national interests of the Zimbabwe people. Those measures were aimed at the mass extermination of the indigenous population and were tantamount to genocide.

19. The Albanian people, like all freedom-loving peoples, unreservedly condemned the fascist character of the Smith régime and supported the Zimbabwe people in its struggle for freedom and independence. There could be no understanding with a racist and colonialist régime such as that of Ian Smith. An oppressed and massacred people could not be asked to halt its struggle and behave peacefully towards those who had been oppressing and exploiting it barbarously and mercilessly for years. Where there was oppression, there was resistance. The Zimbabwe people knew that freedom was won and defended only by determined struggle; for that reason its struggle for freedom and independence was a just, one which would end in victory, no matter what might befall, and his delegation was convinced that Southern Rhodesia would regain its independence and freedom.

20. The racist Smith régime was a creation of the colonialist policy of the United Kingdom, and had become a dangerous instrument in the hands of the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists and consistently served their policy of exploitation. It constituted a grave danger to security and peace throughout Africa and a direct threat to Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Angola. Southern Rhodesia was, in fact, engaging in acts of provocation at its frontiers and interfering in the internal affairs of neighbouring countries, and in those actions it was being supported by South Africa.

21. The current Southern Rhodesian Government would have the world believe that it was endeavouring to make its régime more flexible and democratic, but the fact was that, frightened by the successful struggle of the Zimbabwe people, it was taking measures to harden its position, as was proved by the increase in its military budget and the modernization of its armed forces.

22. A heavy responsibility rested with the United Kingdom, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. Far from boycotting and isolating the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia, those countries were giving it political, economic

and military assistance. Without that assistance the minority régime would have collapsed long ago. The strategic raw materials needed for the war machine of international imperialism, on the one hand, and the long-term strategic plans of the neo-colonialist policies, on the other hand, explained the indissoluble relations between the imperialist Powers and the racist Smith régime. There was good reason for the charges of hypocrisy made against the ambiguous attitude of countries which supported the measures against the racist régime with words but actually protected it with deeds.

23. The Albanian people followed with special sympathy the liberation struggle of the Zimbabwe people and would continue to stand by it in its struggle to win complete independence. The international community should quarantine the Smith régime and all other racist régimes; the United Nations should severely condemn the States supporting the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia and enabling it to maintain itself in power and should make them live up to their responsibilities.

24. Mr. SOOMRO (Pakistan) said that for almost nine years the white minority in Southern Rhodesia had been carrying out a policy of oppression against Africans, holding hundreds of them in barbed wire camps, imprisoning them, depriving them of every freedom, evacuating whole villages and subjecting them to an intensified racial segregation. The situation in Southern Rhodesia had even affected the peace and security of neighbouring independent African States. In the face of that situation the United Kingdom as administering Power could only send missions which recommended consultations between the black and white populations of Southern Rhodesia. Negotiations between the two parties, however, always broke down owing to the negative attitude of the minority régime.

25. One of the most effective actions taken by the United Nations had been the imposition of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Unfortunately, those sanctions were not strictly observed and the violators, headed by South Africa, were helping Southern Rhodesia to withstand the impact of sanctions.

26. In such a situation it was natural that the African people should have taken it upon themselves to get rid of the minority régime imposed on them. The national liberation movements of Zimbabwe, through their determined struggle, had had notable successes and would have achieved their goal if the illegal régime had not received support from its sympathizers. The situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia called for action by the international community. The primary responsibility rested of course on the administering power, as had been shown by the admirable example of Portugal, when, in a similar situation, it had put down the rebellion of the white minority in Mozambique. The administering Power was under an obligation to take effective measures to terminate the illegal racist minority régime and in no circumstances to accord it any of the powers or attributes of sovereignty. The administering Power must ensure that the country attained independence under a democratic system of government in accordance with the aspirations of the majority of the population. The right of the Rhodesian people to self-determination and independence and the principle of no independence before majority rule were non-negotiable basic constituents of any future settlement of the Rhodesian question. The administering Power could take a step in that direction by convening a national constitutional conference of the genuine representatives of the people of Zimbabwe to work out a plan for the future of the territory, for subsequent endorsement by the people through free and democratic processes.

27. The world community could help in the furtherance of that objective by extending material and moral support to the liberation movements in the territory and by strictly observ-

ing the sanctions instituted by the United Nations against the illegal régime. His delegation believed that sanctions should not only be maintained and effectively supervised against Rhodesia but should be extended to South Africa as well.

28. Pakistan had condemned the unilateral declaration of independence and had refused to recognize the illegal minority racist régime in Southern Rhodesia. In pursuance of the calls made by the various organs of the United Nations, it had broken off all relations and communications with Southern Rhodesia and had imposed a total ban on trade with that country. His delegation was ready to endorse any other measures, including the use of force, to topple the Smith régime and ensure the exercise by the people of Zimbabwe of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence on the basis of majority rule.

29. Mr. TANIMOUNE (Niger) said that since the unilateral declaration of independence in November 1965 none of the attempts to re-establish legality in Southern Rhodesia had produced the desired effect and one wondered how the minority régime in Salisbury had been able to defy international opinion for so long.

30. The representative of the administering Power, in his statement at the 2092nd meeting, had not added anything new and could only acknowledge his country's inability to cope with the situation. It would seem that certain States, which considered themselves to be charged with a mission of peace in the world, were applying a skilfully prepared strategy of supporting sanctions in their speeches and then getting around them, in the hope of eluding the vigilance of those Member States which were resolutely engaged in the struggle against oppression and injustice.

31. His delegation had considered with due attention chapter VIII of the report of the Special Committee (A/9623/Add.2), and the annex to it, containing a working paper prepared by the Secretariat and offered its sincere congratulations to the bodies concerned for the way in which they had discharged their difficult task and for their diligence in providing the Committee with all relevant facts.

32. The statements by the representatives of the various political groupings in the Territory revealed facts that seemed barely credible, at the 2092nd and 2093rd meetings. The courageous spokesmen of a people at bay in its own country had turned to the United Nations in their search for the most effective means of regaining their human dignity. In the face of the fanatical determination of the nationalists to regain their usurped rights at the price of their own blood, the repressive apparatus of the minority régime, with the massive support of its hangers-on and the connivance of a number of accomplice States, had begun a vast operation of genocide. It was enough to mention the summary executions, the ravaging of whole villages, the thousands of families brutally torn from their land and thrown into concentration camps, and the closed schools—all barbarous acts which showed that the racist régime was at its last gasp because its cause was foredoomed to failure.

33. The most appalling feature of the whole situation was the total absence of any reaction on the part of certain States, which, in other circumstances, were always setting themselves up as spokesmen for good Christian morality and the higher virtues of Western civilization. It became clear that in fact any feeling of human dignity and honour was sacrificed on the altar of banking accounts and sordid short-term interests. His delegation had listened to formal accusations brought against certain States, which were some of the largest and which enjoyed the right of veto in the Security Council or were members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The shameful machinations of another State, which was itself implicated in an imperialist war against thousands of Palestine patriots, had aroused great indignation in the

Moslem world and in the even wider circle of the third world. The United Nations had a duty to denounce all those blood-thirsty States and condemn them in forthright terms. It was high time to unmask them and put an end to their dangerous game.

34. In the face of such a coalition, it was more than ever necessary for the United Nations to increase its moral and material aid. It was time to take an unequivocal stand in support of the armed struggle which the nationalists were heroically waging, since it was clear that the so-called sanctions policy was nothing but a ruse to gain time. In his delegation's view the Rhodesian crisis could be settled only in accordance with the following principles: first, a constitutional round table should be convened immediately, under the aegis of the Security Council, and all political movements in the Territory should be invited to attend; and secondly, a provisional international peace-keeping force should be set up to preclude any racial confrontation, so that during the transition period any settlers unable to adjust could leave the country freely and in peace.

35. His delegation's contribution was modest but realistic. He hoped that the minority racist régime would show a greater sense of responsibility in the interest of coming generations, for the determination of a people fighting for a just cause was invincible, as had been proved many times in history.

36. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait) said that the situation in Rhodesia was one of those rare but tragic cases in which the various factors of colonialism, economic subjugation, minority rebellion and the trampling under foot of the rights of the majority were all mingled. Thus, the conflict was not only between the alien settlers and the black indigenous population, but also between the white rebels and the international community as represented, among others, by the Fourth Committee, through which the world's indignation and opposition was expressed and whose action had certainly contributed to the success that had been achieved in the Territories under Portuguese administration.

37. His delegation emphasized the importance of continuing the application of sanctions against Rhodesia in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions, which, having been adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations were of a mandatory nature. Any violation of sanctions amounted to bolstering the economy of the white régime at the expense of the suffering majority. Those countries which violated sanctions for reasons of economic expediency were doing a great service to the illegal régime and, by co-operating with South Africa, were encouraging the rebellion of the white minority in Rhodesia. There was no difference between Pretoria and Salisbury. In both cases the white minority ruled over the black majority, which was deprived of its basic human rights and subjected to the most heinous measures of discrimination. The only distinction was that the Smith régime had promulgated its laws at a time when almost all the countries of Africa and Asia had been liberated.

38. The alliance between South Africa and Rhodesia could be broken only if the Governments of Europe and the United States could transcend their narrow national interests for the benefit of humanity.

39. His delegation had been one of the first to advocate the imposition of sanctions on South Africa. As regards sanctions against Rhodesia, it would like to see the machinery strengthened so as to prevent any possible leakage. The existing machinery was commendable but depended entirely on the goodwill of Member States and that was its weak point.

40. The United Kingdom's responsibility in Rhodesia was unquestionable; its colonial record had not always been praiseworthy and its attitude to Rhodesia could be compared with its attitude to Palestine. The United Kingdom represen-

tatives had given an assurance that the imposition of sanctions would bring about the downfall of the Smith régime. That had not happened and it was clear that that aim could be achieved only by force, but the United Kingdom could not bring itself, for racial reasons, to adopt that solution.

41. By hanging back, the United Kingdom had done a service to the rebels and a disservice to the black majority which was struggling for emancipation—so much so that the existing situation in Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security.

42. The situation inside Rhodesia was deteriorating. Africans were subjected to the most barbaric measures of repression and humiliation as the white rebel régime sought to maintain a reserve of cheap manpower to combat the effect of sanctions, to live in comfort and luxury, and to acquire foreign currency with which to maintain its supremacy.

43. His delegation was convinced that the only way out was the intensification of internal resistance. Experience showed that no nation had ever won independence by self-denial and docility. Only bloodshed, resistance and sacrifice would accomplish those ends.

44. Of the 300,000 whites in Southern Rhodesia, 140,000 were of British nationality. Only 38,000 had no country of origin to which they could return. The nervousness of the whites in Southern Rhodesia after the victory of the liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola was entirely understandable. No time had ever been more propitious to the liberation movements in Southern Rhodesia, in view of the withdrawal of the forces of Portuguese colonialism.

45. Words in the Committee provided moral and political encouragement, but action was far more effective. The liberation movements had resorted to armed struggle because they had found that no alternative had been offered for the application of the principle of self-determination. Armed struggle was a necessity in Africa, as it was in Palestine. The liberation movements in the Portuguese Territories had liberated man from subjugation. The liberation movements in Southern Rhodesia would liberate mankind from servitude.

*Mr. Sidik (Indonesia), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

46. Mr. JAZZAR (Syrian Arab Republic) said that the people of Zimbabwe should be able to exercise their right to self-determination, that the economic sanctions adopted by the Security Council should be strictly applied to Southern Rhodesia and extended to South Africa, and that the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, should fully assume its responsibilities.

47. The provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights clearly defined the fundamental principles based on equity and mutual respect which should govern human relations. However, in Southern Rhodesia, freedom and dignity depended on the colour of a person's skin. It was scarcely necessary to remind the Committee that the question of Southern Rhodesia had been under discussion in the United Nations for over 10 years and that a number of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council were being totally ignored by the Salisbury racists, whose defiance had been reflected in the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965 and the proclamation of a republic in 1970. Chapter VIII of the report of the Special Committee did not indicate that any change had taken place in the policy of the minority Government and the information available tended to prove that Ian Smith planned to continue to defy the international community and disregard the resolutions of the United Nations. The handful of white settlers who were in power would clearly have been unable to maintain their hold without the assistance of Western imperialism.

48. It was obvious that the people of Zimbabwe would only accept a solution which would enable them to exercise all their rights, in particular, their right to self-determination. Yet the South African Government and certain Western States continued their shameless exploitation of the Territory, despite the economic sanctions, and the administering Power had taken no practical steps to settle the problem. Recourse to armed struggle was therefore the only means whereby the people of Zimbabwe could resist racist violence, free themselves from oppression and bring about the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations and a peaceful solution to the situation. However, it was only with the sincere co-operation of all Member States that those goals could be attained.

49. His delegation was concerned to note that certain European States, which were permanent members of the Security Council, continued to increase their investments in, and their economic ties with, Southern Rhodesia and to import raw materials from that country. The Smith clique exploited the natural wealth of the Territory, whereas it was the people of Zimbabwe who should be the sole beneficiaries of that wealth. It was important to ensure the legal protection of their rights in that regard.

50. The challenge presented by that situation seriously undermined the prestige of the United Nations and the juridical and democratic principles which it defended and which various Western countries claimed to support strongly. If that was truly the case, those countries should assume the responsibilities incumbent on them and abandon their hypocritical attitude, which was unworthy of them. His country considered it its duty to remind those States of the errors they had committed by co-operating with the illegal régime.

51. With regard to certain accusations made by press agencies concerning the sale by auction of weapons to the Salisbury Government through the Jordanian Government, he said that the position of the Arab States with respect to colonialism and racial discrimination was too familiar to require repetition. The communication of the Jordanian Government, reaffirming its support for decolonization,<sup>3</sup> should suffice to dispel any misunderstanding.

52. In conclusion, he said that the Syrian Arab Republic had always been among those which had supported the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and respected the provisions of the Charter. The Arab people, who were compelled to struggle against another form of mercenary colonialism that was raging in Palestine in the heart of the Arab world, were particularly understanding of the situation of the people of Zimbabwe. It was high time that the international community assumed its responsibilities by removing the Smith régime. In that regard, the United Kingdom must create a political climate which would enable the population to express its aspirations and demand that the Smith régime release political prisoners forthwith and repeal the repressive legislation. All possible support should be given to the people of Zimbabwe through ZAPU and ZANU. The Syrian Arab Republic wished to take the opportunity to remind its brothers in Zimbabwe that it would support them and assist them to the best of its ability until victory had been won.

53. Mr. EVUNA OWONO (Equatorial Guinea) observed that almost nine years had elapsed since the unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority in Southern Rhodesia and that that unprecedented event in the history of decolonization had aroused no reaction on the part of the United Kingdom, which had thus failed in its obligations as administering Power.

54. Equatorial Guinea, which had endorsed the fundamental principles of the United Nations—justice and equity—

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

believed that Africa should belong to the Africans; it would therefore be just, logical and natural that the people of Zimbabwe should govern themselves, and any solution based on negotiations between the illegal régime and the people of Zimbabwe, thereby ascribing certain rights to the illegal régime, would be unacceptable.

55. Colonialism was an anachronism and, what was more, when it deprived entire populations of their most fundamental rights it was tantamount to genocide. The only valid negotiations which could be undertaken between a colony and the metropolitan country must relate to the procedures for the free exercise of sovereignty.

56. With regard to the question of the possible participation of the white minority in the administration of Zimbabwe, his delegation considered that such participation was inadmissible. It was astounded at the attitude of the United Kingdom—champion of democracy and justice—which permitted 6 million Africans to be reduced to slavery in order to satisfy the interests of a minority of 250,000 people. If the United Kingdom Government felt that it could not fight the illegal régime with weapons, it could nevertheless provide various forms of assistance to the liberation movements ZANU, ZAPU and the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI), which were justly based in the United Kingdom and were currently encountering veiled opposition from that Government. It was quite obvious that the attitude of the administering Power explained why the illegal régime had been able to remain in power thus far; that attitude also encouraged various members of NATO to violate the economic sanctions with impunity.

57. Furthermore, the immigration to Southern Rhodesia of white settlers who bolstered the military forces of the rebel régime presented a serious threat to southern Africa and an obstacle to the liberation movements. The United Nations should redouble its efforts to reduce such immigration. If the States bordering on Zimbabwe truly wished to assist the liberation movements of Zimbabwe, they should also strive towards that objective.

58. The attitude taken by certain Members of the United Nations, completely disregarding many United Nations resolutions imposing economic sanctions on the rebel régime, was a matter of great concern to his delegation since those sanctions were the most effective means of overthrowing the Smith régime. The presence of South African police and army units in Southern Rhodesia was another form of support for the régime, enabling it to continue its attacks not only against the people of Zimbabwe but also against neighbouring States.

59. He reaffirmed his Government's firm resolve to combat colonialism and imperialism, which were synonymous with injustice and exploitation. His Government considered that the struggle of the liberation movements was a legitimate struggle; the liberation movements could rely on strong support from his Government in the form of both material and moral assistance until a decisive victory had been won.

60. His Government would not spare itself in its efforts to enable the people of Zimbabwe to live in justice at last. He appealed to all progressive forces throughout the world to support the courageous people of Zimbabwe in their just cause.

61. Mr. ESCOBAR (Colombia) agreed completely with the analysis of the question of Southern Rhodesia made at the previous meeting by the representative of Saudi Arabia, who had dealt with its social aspect—the problem of race and class distinctions—its economic aspect and its political aspect, and had said that a solution was to be sought, not in war, brutal violence, bloodthirsty hatred or criminal passion, but through peaceful means in so far as they were feasible and viable. He did not believe that the United Nations could invite the Un-

ited Kingdom to wage a war in Southern Rhodesia to overthrow the rebel minority régime. He did not think that it could deny its own principles out of a desire to facilitate the accession to independence of those people who were suffering. Nor did he think that it could have recourse to violence or recommend violence as an effective means of ensuring freedom. He did feel, however, that the United Nations should do its best to ensure the creation of conditions favourable to the attainment of its objectives within the context of its ideals of right and justice.

62. Colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination were remnants of the past. New ideas, modern concepts and technological progress were transforming societies and were leading them to reject their own mistakes.

63. Recent events in Portugal and the Portuguese Territories demonstrated the onward march of history. Only recently, the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly had been strongly condemning Portugal for its attitude to its overseas Territories, and now they were congratulating it on its new policy of progressive decolonization. He hoped that the United Kingdom, too, would change its policies and collaborate effectively with the United Nations with a view to speeding up a settlement of the problem of Southern Rhodesia.

64. Referring to the suggestion regarding the creation of an international fund for the liberation of Southern Rhodesia, he said that the proposal should be studied, as should the suggestion that the United Nations establish a joint fund for training people in southern Africa with a view to the accession to independence of those Territories which were now subjected to the tyranny of minorities or to illegal occupation by other States.

65. He urged the United Kingdom Government to create the necessary conditions for the organization of a conference, at which representatives of the peoples of Zimbabwe and the various national liberation movements which had some authority would consider agreements that could be submitted to the people in a referendum, and to establish a transitional government as had been done in Mozambique.

66. His country once again advocated the release of all political prisoners and called for respect for human rights, particularly freedom of expression. The United Nations should try to promote the reign of justice, make sure that the possibilities for the progress and development of the whole community were kept open, and seek a *modus vivendi* that would not prejudice the viability or economic stability of the country.

67. The illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia should abandon its uncompromising attitude, and the United Kingdom should make it take a more reasonable approach. Once normal conditions were restored, the international community should promote the progress of the people of Zimbabwe and their economic and social development, so that they could overcome their problems and heal their wounds.

68. His delegation was concerned because the recommendations of the various Committees and even of the General Assembly itself had not been implemented, even when they could have been. Since the functioning of the United Nations was clearly inadequate in certain respects, the time had come to consider reviewing the Charter, which should be revised to bring its provisions into line with the new circumstances.

69. At the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly (1768th plenary meeting), the then President of the Republic of Colombia, Mr. Alfonso López Michelsen, had stressed that the San Francisco Charter had been drafted and adopted to deal with a geopolitical situation which had since been surpassed, and he had requested that it should be revised. At the beginning of the current session of the General Assembly



(2233rd plenary meeting), the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria and President of the General Assembly, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, had also spoken in that vein. A few days previously, during the general debate (2251st plenary meeting), the Permanent Representative of Colombia to the United Nations had said that the Charter, which was a product of the post-war era, based on archaic concepts of sovereignty unrelated to the question of natural resources, had been guiding the United Nations since 1946, and that it was time for the 138 States Members of the United Nations to amend it and make it more dynamic. The President of the Organization of African Unity, the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic, General Mohamed Said Barre, had presented the same argument in the General Assembly (2262nd plenary meeting). All

those facts indicated that a consensus on the question was close. That was exactly what his delegation wished. No organ of the General Assembly could disregard those expressions of concern.

70. Mr. MUKONO (Zimbabwe African National Union) said that the statement made by the United Kingdom representative at the 2092nd meeting corresponded with what he himself had said to the Committee at the 2093rd meeting. He stressed that the United Kingdom should not meddle in the affairs of Zimbabwe nor confuse the world and that ZANU was resolved to deliver independence to the rightful owners of Zimbabwe—the Africans.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*

## 2095th meeting

Tuesday, 22 October 1974, at 10.50 a.m.

*Chairman:* Mr. Buyantyn DASHTSEREN (Mongolia).

A/C.4/SR.2095

### *Tribute to the memory of Mr. Shadhel Taqa, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq*

1. The CHAIRMAN expressed the deep sorrow felt by the members of the Committee at the death of Mr. Shadhel Taqa, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq, and requested the representative of that country to convey the most sincere condolences of the Committee to the Iraqi Government and to Mr. Taqa's family.

*On the proposal of the Chairman, the members of the Committee observed a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Mr. Shadhel Taqa, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq.*

2. Mr. ARAIM (Iraq) thanked the Committee for the expression of sympathy on the death of one who had contributed much to the struggle for decolonization. He assured the Committee that he would convey its condolences to the Iraqi Government and to the family of the deceased.

### AGENDA ITEM 67

#### Question of Southern Rhodesia (*continued*) (A/9623/Add.2, A/9809, A/C.4/777)

#### GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

3. Mr. HARKETT (Morocco) congratulated Portugal on its constructive attitude towards the Territories under its administration; that attitude had permitted Guinea-Bissau to gain its independence, an achievement in which it would soon be followed by Mozambique and the other Portuguese Territories. He also commended Portugal on having had the determination and the courage to stifle the attempted rebellion in Lourenço Marques.

4. His delegation would have liked consideration of item 67, namely the question of Southern Rhodesia, to have begun in the same atmosphere and in the same spirit. Unfortunately, the brave people of Zimbabwe were still under the yoke of colonialism and racism.

5. He reminded the Committee that, since the unilateral declaration of independence on 11 November 1965, Southern Rhodesia had been transformed into a racist bastion. The

condemnation of the rebellion by the international community and the clearly expressed will of the United Kingdom to put an end to it had raised hopes that it would be rapidly put down. Unfortunately that had not been the case and the United Kingdom Government had, without the knowledge of the people of Zimbabwe, undertaken negotiations with the rebel régime which had led to the proposals for a settlement agreed upon between the Government of the United Kingdom and the illegal régime on 24 November 1971.<sup>1</sup> The United Kingdom Government had, however, made the entry into force of those agreements subject to acceptance by the entire population and had entrusted the Pearce Commission with carrying out an inquiry into the matter.<sup>2</sup> The people of Zimbabwe had spontaneously and clearly shown their firm opposition to the Anglo-Rhodesian agreements and the Pearce Commission should be commended on having acknowledged that opposition. However, since then, as the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples stated in chapter VIII of its report (A/9623/Add.2) there had been no real progress towards a political settlement. Furthermore, it was increasingly evident that the administering Power was powerless to overthrow the illegal régime.

6. In the meantime, that régime, supported by its racist allies in South Africa, had continued to subject the valiant people of Zimbabwe to increasingly ferocious repression. The Special Committee, in its report, had outlined all the repressive measures: the razing of villages, the killing of civilians, mass arrests, detention under inhuman conditions, the use of the death penalty, the closing of churches and schools, the resettlement of Africans, the use of concentration camps, the intensification of racial segregation, etc. Those measures had been confirmed by the representative of the African National Council of Zimbabwe at the 2092nd meeting.

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

<sup>2</sup> For the conclusions of the Commission, see *Rhodesia: Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce*, Commd. 4964 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).