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Chairman: Mr. VARELA QUIROS (Costa Rica)

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AGENDA ITEM 90: QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA: 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 (continued)

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AGENDA ITEM 90: QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA: 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 (continued) (A/34/23/Add.1, A/34/88, A/34/111, A/34/126, A/34/171, A/34/179, A/34/186, A/34/187, A/34/220, A/34/228, A/34/279, A/34/346, A/34/357, A/34/389 and Corr.1, A/34/439, A/34/499, A/34/542, A/34/599; A/C.4/34/L.26)

1. Mr. ALGÅRD (Norway) said that over the years his Government had consistently advocated peaceful and negotiated solutions to the problems of southern Africa. Thus, it had welcomed the decision on Zimbabwe taken by the Heads of Government of Commonwealth countries at Lusaka in August 1979. The United Kingdom Government deserved credit for the rapid and decisive way in which it had acted to follow up the agreement reached in Lusaka. Norway strongly welcomed the progress made at the London Conference, and was deeply appreciative of the way in which the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs had conducted the negotiations and of the co-operation and spirit of compromise shown by all the parties concerned. It was particularly important that all the parties to the conflict had been brought actively into the negotiating process and his Government deeply appreciated the important contribution made by the front-line States. The progress made so far gave strong reason to hope that it would be possible to reach an agreement concerning a cease-fire on the basis of the United Kingdom proposals and that Zimbabwe might soon be able to achieve independence based on genuine majority rule through free and fair elections. A freely elected government in Zimbabwe would enjoy broad international support in consolidating its newly-won independence.

2. Mr. MURATA (Japan) said that his Government maintained the position that Southern Rhodesia should achieve independence immediately and peacefully, with genuine majority rule and by a process acceptable to all the parties concerned. Thus, it had supported the successive initiatives to achieve a peaceful settlement of the problem, in particular the initiative taken by the United States in 1976 which had resulted in the Anglo-American proposals. It also steadfastly supported the nine-point settlement plan agreed upon by the Heads of Government of Commonwealth countries at Lusaka, which had provided the first hope of a negotiated settlement, as well as the strenuous efforts currently being made in London. Compared with previous efforts to achieve a settlement, the London Conference, which was now concentrating on the last hurdle - the question of a cease-fire - had indeed made significant progress toward a final settlement. Japan had the highest regard for the efforts made by all the parties concerned, in particular the United Kingdom Government. The Conference might represent the last chance to bring to an end the 14 years of chaos and seven years of armed conflict in Southern Rhodesia.

3. In view of the delicacy of the situation, his delegation was profoundly disturbed by the reports of the recent attacks against Zambia by the Salisbury régime, which were especially deplorable since they were intended to destroy the civilian and economic infrastructure that was vital to the survival of a land-locked country like Zambia. It lodged the strongest possible objections to those senseless attacks and implored the Salisbury régime not to repeat them. Japan would continue its efforts to expand economic co-operation with Zambia.

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(Mr. Murata, Japan)

4. Meanwhile, the international community should continue to pursue two simultaneous courses: it should continue its unreserved support for the just cause of the oppressed people of Zimbabwe; and it should vigorously maintain the sanctions imposed against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. Japan had faithfully implemented Security Council resolutions 253 (1968) and 388 (1976), and had also discouraged sports exchanges with Southern Rhodesia and prohibited the importation of Rhodesian chrome.

5. In addition to enforcing the sanctions, the Japanese Government had provided whatever humanitarian and educational assistance it could to the oppressed peoples of southern Africa and to the liberation movements, including those of Zimbabwe, through annual contributions to the United Nations funds for southern Africa. The people of Zimbabwe had suffered for far too long. Japan hoped that Zimbabwe would achieve independence at the earliest possible time and it was eagerly looking forward to co-operating with the people of Zimbabwe in their nation-building efforts.

6. Mr. OUNAIES (Tunisia) said that the mere independence of Zimbabwe was not the issue. The people of Zimbabwe could have achieved that 14 years earlier when a racist minority had proclaimed the independence of Rhodesia, and even one year earlier when the by-products of colonialism had offered them the independence of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. They were continuing to struggle, instead, for a rare and worthy objective that would redound to their honour in the history of decolonization.

7. The people of Zimbabwe knew what they wanted: their ultimate objective was a decisive and definitive break with the system of colonialism and racism. The people of Zimbabwe also knew what they did not want: a false independence in which the political order legalized special privileges on the basis of race. The people of Zimbabwe knew that they could count on the unanimous support of Africa, the Arab world and the non-aligned movement, which represented the clear majority of the United Nations.

8. At the current stage of the Rhodesian situation, three fundamental points should be made. Firstly, any independence settlement accompanied by constitutional impediments based on racial considerations - which would prolong rather than solve the problem - was invalid. The perverted legal system that had established a whole cycle of privileges for the white minority must be abolished and independence must bring equal rights under law for all citizens. An administering Power which was a model of egalitarianism in its own society was countenancing inequitable constitutional arrangements for an African society, thus pursuing colonial policies while claiming to be furthering decolonization; and its proposals for independence in Zimbabwe were therefore suspect. Any independence settlement that did not contain clear constitutional safeguards not only against covert forms of internal racial domination, but especially against South Africa's strategic hegemonistic designs to establish white supremacy throughout the region, could not guarantee Rhodesian stability.

9. Secondly, although it had been a responsible and equitable step to bring together all parties concerned in the negotiations, the resort to ultimatums, to threats of unilateral recognition and lifting of sanctions, to privileged conditions

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(Mr. Ounaies, Tunisia)

for the weak creature of decolonization that was Bishop Muzorewa, all represented policies contrary to the dignity of the negotiators, to the responsibility they bore and to the ethics of negotiation. The negotiations were creditable because they included the Patriotic Front, recognized by OAU and the non-aligned movement as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe, and any agreement not approved by the Patriotic Front was void and should not be recognized by the United Nations. The Patriotic Front had shown a high degree of responsibility and a political and military discipline that justified the confidence of the administering Power, whereas the rebel régime was implicating it in responsibility for its aggressions against neighbouring States, even during the course of negotiations. It was therefore difficult to understand how the rebel forces could be relied upon as the peace-keeping forces. The trust which the United Kingdom seemed to have in the rebel entity was suspect and weakened the credibility of the negotiations, just as it cast doubt on the strict discipline of the rebel forces during the transitional period. Tunisia supported the appeal of the United Kingdom representative that no unilateral or collective action that might affect the course of negotiations should be taken, and believed that it should apply to both sides, precluding any recognition of the illegal Salisbury régime or any lifting of sanctions.

10. A third consideration was the responsibility of the United Nations in the situation; it should not play a mere observer's role but should scrutinize the provisions of the settlement and the guarantees for its effective implementation. The elections which would decide the future of Zimbabwe were particularly crucial, and the guarantees so far proposed for such elections were anything but convincing, particularly as regarded security arrangements and imposed time-limits. The United Nations should make concrete suggestions on that aspect of the future settlement. The Organization should remain seized of the question of Southern Rhodesia as long as the basic conditions for its decolonization, in accordance with the relevant resolutions, had not been fully met. The aim was not quick independence but rather the guarantee that a brother country had definitively thrown off colonialism and racism in achieving authentic independence and advancing the cause of African dignity.

11. Mr. NCUBE (Observer, Patriotic Front (Zimbabwe African People's Union))* said that he felt it his duty to inform the Committee on certain real problems that were preventing a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Zimbabwe, particularly in view of attempts by the United Kingdom to mislead the Committee, and its arrogant and paternalistic handling of the negotiations. The United Kingdom representative had sought to create the impression that there were no difficulties with the cease-fire negotiations and also that his Government was impartial. The Patriotic Front had always maintained that the British Government never did, and did not now, intend to decolonize Zimbabwe and aimed, at the very least, to settle for neo-colonialism. Its assessment had been proven correct at every stage of the three-part negotiations in progress at Lancaster House.

12. First, the United Kingdom proposals on the constitution sought to retain much of the political and economic power in the hands of the current puppet régime;

* The full text of this statement has been issued as document A/C.4/34/L.28.

second, its proposals on transitional arrangements gave maximum advantage to that régime; and third, its proposals on the cease-fire were a recipe for war rather than peace. With regard to the cease-fire, the United Kingdom Government was proposing, among other things: the confinement of Patriotic Front forces to 15 specific places, while Rhodesian forces were allowed to remain in combat posture in their bases; the choosing of security forces from among Rhodesian forces; the deployment of a small monitoring force only after disengagement by the opposing forces; and a Cease-Fire Commission whose sole responsibility would be to investigate violations. The most urgent areas of concern of the Patriotic Front were the disposition of the forces, the make-up of the peace-keeping force, the timing of the cease-fire, and the role of South Africa and the private armies or so-called auxiliary forces. The Patriotic Front objected vehemently to the United Kingdom proposals because they gave advantage to the forces of the colonial régime over the Patriotic Front.

13. Obviously the United Kingdom was not concerned with a permanent peace which would lead to the creation of a stable and prosperous Zimbabwe but rather was bequeathing to Zimbabwe not only the ravages of colonialism but also an inherent political, social and economic instability which would be exploited by those who had, together with the United Kingdom, resisted the genuine decolonization of Zimbabwe. The "quarantining" of Patriotic Front forces in 15 specific areas suggested to them by the Salisbury military leaders made them sitting ducks in any coup by the colonial soldiers or in any pre-emptive bombardment by South Africa, whose interest in preventing a Patriotic Front victory was no secret.

14. The British consistently refused to accept the reasonable demand by the Patriotic Front for a cease-fire in two stages: first, a cessation of movement and second, a movement of the respective forces to agreed places, monitored by a full-fledged peace-keeping force which alone could ensure that there would not be an outbreak of hostilities, provided its numbers were sufficient and its military capability included offensive as well as defensive weapons.

15. He noted that, in their latest attempt to meet the Patriotic Front's objections, the British still clung to a peace-keeping force which would be nothing but a toothless bulldog, of intimidatory appearance rather than capability. They clung to the erroneous view that distance could be a military deterrent. He considered that any disengagement which was not final would leave room for violations of the cease-fire.

16. As to when the cease-fire should come into effect, the latest British proposals were deliberately silent. The Patriotic Front wanted a categorical statement which recognized that a cease-fire could not be timed. It could only be determined by events on the ground. Those events would be determined by the activities of private armies and the auxiliaries now being trained by South Africa for Bishop Muzorewa, and by the firearms held by white civilians. The Patriotic Front had called for the disbanding of all private armies, the confinement of the auxiliaries being trained in South Africa, and the disarming of the white civilian population. The British had refused to accede to those requests, and so any cease-fire was unlikely to last.

(Mr. Neube)

17. It was clear that South Africa, by virtue of its involvement, would be able to intimidate the people of Zimbabwe to vote for puppet representatives by infiltrating the auxiliaries into Zimbabwe.

18. Furthermore, the Patriotic Front wanted a civilian police force only for the cease-fire period, and had therefore called for the dismantling of the Joint Operational Command which contained paramilitary police. It had further called for the grounding of all military aircraft. The British had not responded to those initiatives, which would ensure a durable cease-fire and preparations for a genuinely fair and free election.

19. He trusted that the Committee would understand the concern of the Patriotic Front. He was reluctant to allow the people of Zimbabwe to be guinea pigs for British neo-colonial schemes. The Patriotic Front had fought to bring freedom and justice to the people of Zimbabwe. He was sure that the Committee would endorse that noble objective.

20. Mr. HADAS (Hungary) noted that, while the alliance between the imperialist forces and the supporters of neo-colonialism in Africa was narrowing, the most reactionary circles were trying to stop or even reverse the course of history by all possible means. That was why the racist white minority was somehow still able to rule Zimbabwe. That notwithstanding, it had become obvious to those reactionary circles that the growing aggressiveness and brutal physical oppression on the part of the white minority would lead nowhere. The recent history of Angola and Mozambique had made everyone aware of the fate of those who chose such a course of action and preached such an ideology.

21. The United Kingdom had quickly answered the appeal of the new Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and had recognized the Muzorewa Government, a decision which had doubtless increased the pressure for a peaceful transfer of power in Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom's recognition of the Muzorewa Government had come as no surprise. The muted reaction of the Western allies to Ian Smith's disregard of international law by holding elections for an interim government with the exclusion of the Patriotic Front had suggested that the Western allies would in time publicly support the plan for an integrated Government. The Muzorewa régime, which had nourished the false hope that military and financial aid from the United Kingdom would help to wipe out the Patriotic Front, was now itself inexorably approaching its final collapse. However, the arsenal of the neo-colonialist Powers appeared to be inexhaustible. After 14 years, the United Kingdom Government had finally accepted its constitutional responsibility to grant legal independence to Zimbabwe following the meeting of the Heads of Government of Commonwealth countries in Lusaka in August 1979.

22. The case required careful study. As the representative of the Patriotic Front had emphasized at the 26th meeting of the Committee (A/C.4/34/SR.26, para. 2), the fact that the Commonwealth Heads of Government had recognized the United Kingdom's legal and constitutional responsibility to grant independence to Zimbabwe did not suggest that the Commonwealth committed itself to backing any constitutional formula

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that the United Kingdom Government might devise; the Commonwealth had merely associated itself with the United Kingdom's efforts to work out an internationally acceptable independence formula for Zimbabwe.

23. Despite several modifications, the United Kingdom proposal put forward at the current London Constitutional Conference was not an internationally acceptable one. In its analysis of the United Kingdom's 13-point paper, the Patriotic Front had noted that it confined itself almost entirely to the elections and ignored matters which were crucial if those elections were to be free and fair; that the services to be placed at the disposal of the future government would be the services supporting the interim administration, and that the United Kingdom proposal was an attempt to carry into independence those same services which had been fighting a bitter war against the liberation forces; that the Commonwealth had not conferred constitutional responsibility on the United Kingdom but had merely recognized and reaffirmed a position that had already been recognized by the United Nations; and that, whereas the Final Communiqué issued at the Lusaka meeting had recognized that the search for a lasting settlement must involve all the parties to the conflict, the United Kingdom had adopted the attitude that it had the responsibility and the right to impose its own solution on Zimbabwe. More than a month had passed since that analysis had been made and the arguments adduced by the Patriotic Front were still valid. The passage of time had brought no remedy for the oppressed people of Zimbabwe.

24. The capacity of the Southern Rhodesian régime to violate the peace of the region had increased considerably as a result of the "internal settlement". Its recent brutal aggression against Zambia was proof of a further increase in that capacity as a result of the current efforts to achieve another settlement of the same kind for the further preservation of the privileges of the white minority and the exploitation of the indigenous population by international imperialist circles. That would constitute an even more serious violation of the peace and security of Africa. In order to avoid it, the Committee must support the requirements for transition as defined by the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe.

25. Mr. SEKYI (Ghana) said that the administering Power was to be congratulated on having made so much progress in handling a problem as intractable as that of Southern Rhodesia. Agreement had been reached by all parties, including the Patriotic Front, on a constitution and on transitional arrangements for the holding of elections. Agreement might also soon be reached on the provisions for a cease-fire. A good part of the credit for that must, however, also go to the Patriotic Front, which appeared to have been negotiating under a series of ultimatums to accept proposals agreed upon with its rivals or face the prospect that the administering Power would proceed without it to appoint a governor, lift sanctions, conduct elections and recognize the winners as the legitimate Government of an independent Zimbabwe.

26. A good example of that procedure was the recent United Kingdom ultimatum to the Patriotic Front to reply to the cease-fire proposals. Those proposals were clearly inconsistent with the universally accepted principle that no belligerent should gain

(Mr. Sekyi, Ghana)

military advantage from a cease-fire since the Patriotic Front's forces would be herded into 15 locations while their opponents would remain mobile. In that regard, the Committee had just heard a remarkably clear statement by the Patriotic Front, and he requested that it should be reproduced in extenso.

27. The United Kingdom weekly journal, The Economist, had accurately presaged the shape of things to come when it had commented that, by agreeing to change the Muzorewa constitution, the United Kingdom had made Zimbabwe's neighbours an offer which they could not refuse and which they would in turn urge the Patriotic Front not to refuse, on pain of losing their support. As The Economist had indicated, however, the United Kingdom had had to avoid giving the Patriotic Front a veto: if either Mr. Nkomo or Mr. Mugabe, the joint leaders of the Patriotic Front had rejected the United Kingdom plan for the new election, the elections should have proceeded without him. The leaders of the front-line States should then have been invited to remove from the Patriotic Front the support it would then no longer deserve, having rejected a fair and democratic constitution that enjoyed the Commonwealth's blessing. The Patriotic Front therefore deserved to be congratulated on its astute statesmanship, on its determination to keep the talks going and to keep peace always in prospect even at the cost of certain concessions.

28. As for the representatives of the rebel régime, his delegation was not quite sure about their role and their strategy during the past few weeks. However, they had admittedly played a remarkably clever game. In that regard, it had always been Ghana's view that the Rhodesian constitutional crisis had always been essentially a question of whether the administering Power, the racist minority or the African majority should control the police, the army and the civil service. Ever since the breakup of the Central African Federation, those levers of power had been firmly in the hands of the racist minority, and the administering Power had failed to discharge its primary responsibility of transferring them into the hands of the African majority. The racist minority's insistence on retaining them had largely accounted for the breakdown of the various negotiations undertaken since Southern Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence.

29. The racist position on that central issue apparently continued essentially unchanged, and again threatened to wreck the current endeavours to find a constitutional settlement. As The Economist had reported, the white minority's insistence on "satisfactory" transitional arrangements meant, in fact, retention of the existing police and army command structure. Moreover, as The Economist correspondent had suggested prior to the London Conference, the South African Government would probably have urged Bishop Muzorewa and Mr. Ian Smith to be as accommodating as possible on constitutional change, but to resist arrangements which would strip Bishop Muzorewa of his power during the all-important pre-election period. Thus, the simple objective of the Pretoria-Salisbury axis had been to ensure, by their effective control during elections of the existing army, police and civil service, that it would be the Smith-Muzorewa clique which would be in power when legality was restored and recognition regained.

30. Unfortunately, the administering Power's final formula for the transitional period appeared to differ little from that plan, except in one particular. Under

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(Mr. Sekyi, Ghana)

that formula, to which Bishop Muzorewa's delegation had been the first to agree, the electoral process would be completed within three months under an administration consisting of a British Governor and some 200 British civil servants, and the existing army, police and civil service. The proposed administrative structure was hardly different from that which had existed under the internal settlement, with the distinction that a British Governor and his advisers were substituted for the Smith-Muzorewa Cabinet and Parliament. But that Parliament lacked control over the supporters of Mr. Smith and the Selous Scouts, who had retained the real levers of power. It was unlikely that the proposed Governor and his advisers would have any more control than their predecessors had had over those armed recalcitrants, without some real and independent means of enforcing authority, such as a United Kingdom, Commonwealth or United Nations force, which the United Kingdom had already ruled out. Thus, the proposed United Kingdom Governor would have little means of enforcing authority and of preventing the execution of the Pretoria-Salisbury plan for the elections. The mere addition of a United Kingdom presence without an independent means of enforcing authority would scarcely change the basic situation in Southern Rhodesia beyond shedding a ray of quasi-legality upon the electioneering manoeuvres of the Ian Smith faction.

31. In his delegation's views, that was one serious defect in the package put together at such pains by the administering Power. The Patriotic Front had been asked to stake everything upon the outcome of elections held under an authority which could not be exercised in Southern Rhodesia independently of forces loyal to its election opponents. The presence of Commonwealth election observers, in whatever force, might help to determine after the event whether there had been fair play, but would add little to the Governor's power to enforce fair play throughout the electoral process.

32. A situation was thus foreshadowed in which the entire electoral process could go awry, and the whole package would then fall apart. Sanctions would have already been lifted, at least by the administering Power and perhaps also by the United States. Money, men and arms could then pour in as never before, to sustain the Smith-Muzorewa-Walls alliance in the final bloody fight for power against the authentic representatives of the people, the Patriotic Front. In that event, the Pretoria régime would soon be involved and the conflict would certainly escalate.

33. There was a second serious defect in the United Kingdom package. One of the reasons given by the administering Power for insisting on such a surprisingly short period for the electoral process was that the situation was too fragile to hold any longer. If the situation was admittedly so fragile - and the policing of the elections by Mr. Smith's forces did not make it any less so - why was there such a rush to lift the sanctions and to determine unilaterally that the threat to international peace and security was over before the end of that admittedly fragile and unstable period?

34. It had been argued that the administering Power was unable to apply sanctions against itself. The United Kingdom had never ceased to be the de jure administering Power, but that had never prevented the application of sanctions by its legislature. If the problem was caused by the United Kingdom's de facto control, then it should

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(Mr. Sekyi, Ghana)

be pointed out that, by its own admission, that control would not be as firmly established as should normally be the case. For de facto authority should be enough to keep the peace indefinitely and even survive its breakdown, and thus contain any local threat to international peace and security. Those were surely the only circumstances in which such an argument was tenable and the lifting of sanctions justifiably contemplated. In the event of a breakdown of law and order during the electoral process, the United Kingdom's de jure authority would certainly continue, but its de facto control in the form envisaged, with all its inherent weaknesses, would have a most uncertain future, especially if South Africa intervened as had already been threatened. By continuing to apply sanctions, the administering Power would surely be applying them not against itself in any real sense but merely in order to control a situation in which the Salisbury-Pretoria axis still retained far too much power.

35. Certain quarters now seemed to believe that the Lusaka Communiqué, frequently cited as the authority under which the administering Power had been insisting on its proposals and ultimatums, had somehow superseded the United Nations Charter and the mandatory decisions of the Security Council and had somehow conferred on the administering Power the privilege to disregard them. The Lusaka Communiqué had done nothing of the sort: it had called on the United Kingdom to exercise its responsibility as the administering Power - a responsibility which could not be accepted or exercised without real power. But the Commonwealth had implied no intention to abrogate the responsibility of the administering Power towards the international community on the issue of decolonization or to authorize the United Kingdom to disregard its obligations under the United Nations Charter, including its obligation to observe the Security Council sanctions. The sanctions could be lifted only by the Security Council and not by any Member State acting unilaterally. The Southern Rhodesian threat to international peace and security could not be said to have been terminated prior to the irreversible transfer of power to a government elected in free and fair elections properly so attested under a constitution agreed by all parties on the basis of majority rule.

36. Thus, it was the responsibility of the United Nations to ensure that the people of Zimbabwe achieved genuine self-determination. To legalize economic and military support for a régime created in such circumstances, or even to lift sanctions, whether or not such a scheme was acceptable to all parties, was merely to play into the hands of South Africa and its supporters, thereby escalating the conflict. Against such dangers the international community should remain ever on its guard.

37. Any unilateral action to lift sanctions in defiance of the decision of the Security Council should be treated as a serious violation of Charter obligations; that would be infinitely more serious if it was carried out by one of the permanent members of the Security Council. The international community should steadfastly set itself against those evils to come, and Ghana, for its part, was ready to commit itself to such a course of action.

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38. Mr. RASON (Madagascar) proposed that the statement made by the representative of the Patriotic Front should be reproduced in extenso.

39. The CHAIRMAN said that, if he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee agreed that the full text of the statement made by the representative of the Patriotic Front should be issued as a Committee document, taking into account the financial implications set out in paragraph 15 of document A/C.4/34/L.1.

40. It was so decided.

41. Mr. AL-GHAFFARI (Yemen) said that Zimbabwe could only achieve real independence and national sovereignty through self-determination and majority rule. It was astonishing that a small group of white settlers, who constituted no more than 3 per cent of the population, were allowed to control the civil, military and judicial institutions of Southern Rhodesia while the rest of the population, which was excluded from important positions in Government and public life, was being hunted down and herded into detention centres under a system that could be likened only to the "law of the jungle".

42. As previous speakers had already pointed out, the "Zimbabwe-Rhodesian constitution" did not differ from its forerunners. How, indeed, could proper elections have been held in a country whose beleaguered population was living under martial law and strict censorship imposed by the illegal racist minority régime? Security Council resolution 445 (1979) had declared the results of those elections null and void and had stated that no recognition would be accorded either by the United Nations or by any Member State to any representatives or organs established by that process. The continuous attacks that were being made by the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia against Mozambique, Zambia and Angola made it even more imperative for the international community to intensify its sanctions and refuse to deal with the illegal racist régime in Salisbury.

43. The position of the Yemen Arab Republic regarding racial discrimination in southern Africa had already been stated in the General Assembly (A/34/PV.60) when his delegation had assured the Assembly that the implementation of the sanctions declared by the United Nations represented a practical method of eliminating colonialism and that support for the cause of self-determination and independence pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was the best way in which the international community could contribute towards the struggle for liberation and the establishment of a just and lasting peace for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

44. His own people in the southern part of Yemen had also passed through a similar stage in their struggle against colonialism before achieving their independence in 1967. The authorities in Aden and Sanaa were currently preparing the way for the establishment of a united Yemen, which they regarded as the first step towards the unification of the Arab nation as a whole. His country believed that the success of current endeavours to find a solution to the question of Southern Rhodesia depended first, on recognition of the Patriotic Front as the sole

(Mr. Al-Ghaffari, Yemen)

legitimate representative of the people of Southern Rhodesia and the implementation of its programme for independence, and second, on the holding of free elections under a new constitution based on majority rule that would put an end to the domination that the white minority was endeavouring to exercise under the spurious internal settlement which had not fulfilled the wishes and aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe.

45. He was confident that the struggle of the Patriotic Front would eventually lead to victory, freedom and national independence for the people of Zimbabwe, who would thus be able to contribute to the strengthening of peace, justice and progress throughout the world.

46. Mr. HAYDAR (Syrian Arab Republic) said that his delegation had listened carefully to the statements made by the representatives of the Patriotic Front and the United Kingdom, and was closely following the negotiations at Lancaster House in London. While he wished to respond positively to the appeal made by the representative of the United Kingdom to show restraint and flexibility at such a crucial time, he felt obliged to state his position.

47. The initiative taken at the meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth countries at Lusaka in August 1979, which had led to the Constitutional Conference in London, constituted the most significant development in the recent history of Southern Rhodesia in that it had shown that a peaceful solution to the long-standing conflict between a dominant racist minority and an oppressed persecuted majority was possible; it had indicated that the Patriotic Front, the legitimate representative of the Zimbabwean people, had fought not for the sake of force itself but so that the people of Zimbabwe might enjoy freedom and basic human rights; and it had proved that the national liberation movement had a deeper sense of flexibility, objectivity and responsibility when it came to a genuine, just and comprehensive peaceful settlement than those who irresponsibly and unjustly termed them "terrorists". He commended the Patriotic Front for its statesmanship.

48. The Lancaster House Conference was crucial and, if successful, would constitute an essential turning-point in the history of Africa. Any use of deadlines or ultimatums might jeopardize the expectations that had been raised since they were neither helpful nor conducive to a lasting settlement.

49. The last phase of the negotiated settlement - the cease-fire - was the most important and controversial and a reasonable period of time was required to ensure that adequate arrangements were made. The agreement should reflect clearly and beyond any controversial interpretation the national and human rights of the people of Zimbabwe in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and of OAU. The forces involved in the maintenance of law and order should include those of the Patriotic Front, as well as the national army created during the transitional period. Moreover, only a strong multinational force could ensure peace and security during the cease-fire. Lastly, adequate time should be allowed for all the parties to assemble and to instruct their followers so that democratic, objective and fair elections could be held.

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(Mr. Haydar, Syrian Arab Republic)

50. The Lancaster House Conference provided the international community, and Africa in particular, with a very significant opportunity which should not be missed, otherwise the consequences would certainly be grave, dangerous and prejudicial to international peace and security.

51. Mr. MUSHKETIK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the imperialist forces were seeking to arrange a settlement with the Southern Rhodesian puppet régime that would thwart the demands of the patriotic forces and the people of Zimbabwe and would preserve the former colonial system. The so-called "internal settlement", with the holding of "elections" and the adoption of a "constitution", had been aimed at giving a semblance of legitimacy to the puppet régime. Those manoeuvres had been unmasked by the African people and by all peace-loving forces.

52. The Patriotic Front, the legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe, had shown constant readiness to engage in serious negotiations with a view to the attainment of genuine independence through the conclusion of an agreement on a new constitution and on transitional arrangements for a peaceful transfer of power.

53. At the same time, as the representatives of the Patriotic Front had stated in the Committee, attempts had been made at the London Conference to work out a plan acceptable to the Salisbury régime, but without the consent of the Patriotic Front, for a transition to an "independence" which would hardly differ from that prescribed in the already discredited "internal settlement". Under that plan, power would be transferred to those who could preserve the interests of the imperialist monopolies, thus maintaining de facto white rule. Realizing, however, that such plans were doomed to failure - the forces of the Patriotic Front being well-armed and well-prepared - the imperialists and their henchmen were seeking to induce the patriots to withdraw their forces to predetermined points so that, should the need arise, they could be attacked by the forces of the puppet régime. That proposal was accompanied by plans for the speedy holding of elections during the shortest possible transitional period. At the same time, while lip-service was being paid to the earliest possible transition to independence and to majority rule, clumsy attempts were in fact being made to force through the sham settlement already agreed with the Salisbury régime.

54. In response to its resistance to that arrangement, the delegation of the Patriotic Front was being subjected to increased pressure, political blackmail, threats and ultimatums. The United Kingdom was illegally arranging to lift the sanctions imposed by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia. At the same time, armed raids were being carried out, with Western knowledge, against the front-line States, especially Zambia, the Pretoria racists were threatening to occupy Zimbabwe, should the Patriotic Front achieve victory and large-scale loss of life and material damage continued to occur in the Territory.

55. Those acts were accompanied by an evil campaign against the Patriotic Front. Attempts were being made to convince world public opinion that the patriots of Zimbabwe were interested not in a peaceful settlement but in a prolongation of the war. It was time for the supporters of the puppet régime and the advocates of the

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(Mr. Mushketik, Ukrainian SSR)

old colonial order to heed the voice of reason and accept the Patriotic Front's repeated assurances that it sought the speediest possible end to the destructive war, but not at the cost of the vital interests of the people of Zimbabwe.

56. The Ukrainian SSR supported that position. A just settlement required the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the people of Zimbabwe. The age of colonialism had passed and the whole of progressive mankind stood by the heroic people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for a just cause.

57. Mr. SIMON (Grenada) said that his delegation's position on the question of Southern Rhodesia was based on the principles enunciated by the Prime Minister of Grenada in his address to the General Assembly earlier in the session (A/34/PV.27).

58. The negotiations taking place at Lancaster House were at a critical stage. One last hurdle remained to achieving an agreement. That was a growing tribute to the leaders of the Patriotic Front who had struggled for many years against the fascist Salisbury régime; he wished to express his appreciation of the Patriotic Front's attitude during the negotiations.

59. The stalemate in the negotiations could only be resolved if it was recognized that the forces of the Patriotic Front should be assigned a leading role in the maintenance of law and order during the transitional period. During that period a Zimbabwean national army should be created, comprising the forces of the Patriotic Front and the existing military establishment. The role of Commonwealth forces in Zimbabwe during the transitional period should be to maintain law and order and to ensure that the cease-fire was observed. No cease-fire could be made effective within the following two months, and a further four months should be allowed to elapse before elections were held. The administering Power should accept those proposals.

60. He expressed his delegation's solidarity with the Government and people of Zambia in connexion with the damage and loss of life sustained as a result of the savage and brutal attacks of the despicable Salisbury régime. He called upon the international community to focus its attention on a peaceful settlement to the problem of transferring power from the white minority to the African majority in Zimbabwe, as set out in document A/32/23/Rev.1 and as agreed at Lusaka. The whole world should demand justice and peace, which had so long been denied the people of Zimbabwe.

61. Mr. KADOBEYE (Burundi) said that the question of Southern Rhodesia was both delicate and complex: delicate because it was highly topical and the London talks were at a critical stage; complex because the question encompassed every aspect of the life of a people. It profoundly affected the peoples of Southern Rhodesia and of all southern Africa in the economic, social and political fields. Indeed, no one, in Africa or elsewhere, could ignore the whirlwind of change which raged over southern Africa.

62. Bearing in mind statements made by previous speakers, he proposed to follow the lines of the Special Committee's report (A/34/23/Add.1), whilst taking account of current developments, in stating his country's position.

(Mr. Kadobeye, Burundi)

63. He noted that at the Lusaka meeting, and at the current Constitutional Conference in London, the United Kingdom had finally accepted its responsibilities as the administering Power. The key to the problem lay with the United Kingdom, which had enabled the Salisbury régime to survive. It was for the United Kingdom to end the deadlock.

64. His delegation would welcome a cease-fire between the Patriotic Front and the Rhodesian army, and the holding of new, fair and just elections, since it had always preferred the peaceful settlement of disputes to armed struggle.

65. Nevertheless, he emphasized that the Patriotic Front's tireless efforts had been largely responsible for the convening of the Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House. If it had not been for the Front and the efforts of the international community, Bishop Muzorewa would have become entrenched in power, once he had received recognition from the United Kingdom Government.

66. He reaffirmed his support for the heroic people of Zimbabwe and the political and military struggle of the Patriotic Front, their sole legitimate representative. His Government could never sanction any solution to the question which was not unreservedly endorsed by the Patriotic Front. He paid tribute to the Patriotic Front for the spirit of compromise which it had displayed at the Constitutional Conference. He warned against pressure being put on the parties to the Conference in an effort to reach a precipitate outcome.

67. He denounced the growing collaboration between the racist South African régime and the leaders in Salisbury. It had attained disquieting proportions. While such collaboration persisted, the Zimbabwean people could be sure of nothing. It was widely recognized that those régimes not only deprived Africans of their fundamental rights but resorted to violence and repression, and aggression against neighbouring States in defiance of Security Council resolutions.

68. He appealed for international support for the front-line countries. Until Zimbabwe was completely independent, economic sanctions should be maintained and, if necessary, strengthened. The Pretoria-Salisbury alliance gave rise to serious tension which threatened peace and security throughout Africa.

69. Faced with the conflict between those who desperately sought to preserve colonialism in southern Africa and those who were rightfully determined to achieve freedom whatever the cost, he proposed a lucid and rational approach through the intervention of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, which alone were capable of reconciling the warring parties.

70. Yet it was common knowledge that the racist régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury scorned United Nations and Security Council resolutions. In recognition of the inalienable right of the Zimbabwean people to self-determination and of the legitimacy of their struggle for independence, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the aims of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), he called for an end to the use of mercenaries and to the repressive war which the illegal, racist, minority régime was waging against the Zimbabwean people. He further

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(Mr. Kadobeye, Burundi)

called for an end to acts of aggression against Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia, and to the machinations of South Africa and other countries which still supported, overtly or covertly, the illegal Salisbury régime.

71. He reaffirmed his support for the people of Zimbabwe, which, led by the Patriotic Front, should use every means at their disposal to break free from the chains of racist and colonial domination. It was the duty of every free nation to help the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia to regain, as soon as possible, their freedom and dignity, so that they could finally inherit their birthright. With those considerations in mind, he trusted that the London Conference would reach a successful outcome.

72. Mr. SCHLEICHER (German Democratic Republic) said that the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa had assumed new dimensions in 1979. The Patriotic Front fighters had extended the liberation struggle over the entire Territory of Southern Rhodesia. The liberation struggle had driven the racist minority régime to the brink of collapse. The peoples of the world supported the Patriotic Front, which was recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe. His delegation wished to pay a special tribute to the peoples of the front-line States, who were supporting the liberation struggle at great sacrifice.

73. The racist régimes and their imperialist henchmen were not willing to admit defeat. Imperialism had answered the successes scored by the national liberation movements with a wide-ranging counteroffensive mounted through military, economic, political and diplomatic means. That included intensified terror against the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, the escalation of acts of aggression against sovereign neighbouring States and political manoeuvres to install neo-colonialist régimes in Zimbabwe and Namibia. In view of those developments, all talk about peaceful solutions and the readiness of the racists to bring about peace appeared to be utter mockery. It was difficult to understand the verbal consent the Muzorewa-Smith régime had given to London when, at the same time, that régime was escalating violence, aggression and terror within and beyond Southern Rhodesia. It was becoming increasingly clear that an attempt was being made to bind the Patriotic Front, by means of pressure and blackmail, to a neo-colonialist settlement and to deprive the people of Zimbabwe of the fruits of their sacrifices and struggle over the decades. Stooges of the racists, denied any right to represent the people of Zimbabwe by the United Nations, were being used in those intrigues. Their involvement was more evidence of the attempt to force the Patriotic Front to abandon principled positions. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries had stated that international recognition of any results produced by the London conference would depend on the establishment of true majority rule and independence, which would satisfy the demands of the fighting people of Zimbabwe and be in keeping with resolutions adopted by OAU, the non-aligned movement and the United Nations. Neither aggression and terror nor diplomatic intrigues would prevent the victory of the national liberation movement of Zimbabwe.

(Mr. Schleicher, German
Democratic Republic)

74. The attempts to erect new obstacles to the struggle for self-determination were not new. The illegal elections held in April 1979 had led to the installation of a puppet régime, whose representatives were now even being presented as negotiating partners. Any step taken by the racists and their imperialist henchmen was dictated by efforts to exclude the Patriotic Front from the exercise of power and preserve the former system of exploitation. The recent acts of aggression against sovereign African States proved that the expansion of the racists' base in Southern Rhodesia was meant to extend the outpost of imperialism against progressive developments in southern Africa, the spring-board of imperialism against independent States on the continent. His Government was concerned about plans by the South African racists to integrate neo-colonialist régimes in Zimbabwe and Namibia with a view to perpetuating imperialist and racist rule. It was confident, however, that those plans would fail because of the resistance of the African peoples.

75. The imperialist States which claimed to be mediators were rendering economic and military assistance to the racists. Recently, attempts had been made to lift sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia by the Security Council. At the same time, economic pressure had been intensified against the front-line States. The sanctions imposed by the Security Council could be lifted only by the Council. Any unilateral lifting of sanctions would constitute a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations. The Salisbury régime, in escalating aggression and terror against Zambia and Mozambique, had itself given fresh proof of the need for coercive measures against colonialism and racism.

76. In paragraph 5 of resolution 424 (1978), the Security Council had decided that, in the event of further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zambia by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, the Council would meet again to consider the adoption of more effective measures. In the light of recent acts of aggression, account should have been taken of those provisions, especially since the Council had reaffirmed in resolution 455 (1979) that the existence of the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia was a threat to international peace and security.

77. Disregarding world-wide condemnation, the imperialist States and their corporations were continuing and even expanding their economic, military and political collaboration with the racist régimes in southern Africa. It was imperative to bring about an unrestricted transfer of power to the African majority, respect the Patriotic Front as the only legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe and put an end to the terror against the people of Zimbabwe and the aggression against free African States. His Government was prepared to participate in all measures aimed at immediately ending the dangerous conflicts in Zimbabwe and all of southern Africa and enabling the people of Zimbabwe to exercise the right of self-determination. Sanctions against southern Africa must be expanded and strictly enforced; their effectiveness must be enhanced. His Government vigorously condemned all machinations against the people of Zimbabwe and the Patriotic Front aimed at establishing a neo-colonialist régime. Without the Patriotic Front, no solution would be found to the question of Southern Rhodesia.

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(Mr. Schleicher, German
Democratic Republic)

78. His Government resolutely condemned the perpetual acts of aggression launched by the racist régimes against the front-line States and assured those States of its full solidarity. It appreciated the heroic and successful struggle of the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front and commended the front-line States on their consistent support for that struggle. The German Democratic Republic would continue and intensify its over-all support to the Patriotic Front as a means of contributing towards the implementation of United Nations resolutions.

79. Mr. NDONGO (Equatorial Guinea) said that there were several encouraging developments in the search for a lasting political solution to the question of Zimbabwe. He commended the front-line States on their solidarity and support, and on the sacrifices they had made in assisting the people of Zimbabwe and the Patriotic Front in the struggle for liberation and independence. Special praise should go to President Kaunda of Zambia for his contribution to the constitutional talks in London. Equatorial Guinea gave its unconditional support to the Patriotic Front and hoped that the decisions reached in London would be effectively implemented in the interest of all the parties concerned. It recognized that there were still some delicate outstanding issues that would require the wisdom, tolerance, moderation and goodwill of all the parties involved in the talks.

80. His delegation was convinced that the British Government would fully assume its responsibilities during the period of transition. That Government would have to take action to guarantee a complete cease-fire, the maintenance of order during the election campaign and the holding of free and fair elections. Conditions of peace and security must be created before the elections. The army and police should be mixed and the forces of the Patriotic Front should be incorporated in the army.

81. During the pre-electoral period of transition, steps should be taken to facilitate the return of all refugees, release all nationalist detainees and enable the rural population to participate in the elections. United Nations and OAU observers and advisers should take part in the organization and holding of the elections. A unit consisting of elements of the present Southern Rhodesian army and forces of the Patriotic Front and the United Nations or OAU would guarantee the smooth conduct of the general elections.

82. At the same time as the London talks, the racist régime in Salisbury had carried out armed attacks within the territory of Mozambique, massacring civilians. His delegation strongly condemned those diabolic actions by the mercenaries of the racist army and was confident that during the period of transition such attacks would cease.

83. Equatorial Guinea had always supported the just cause of peoples struggling for self-determination and independence and would always support the Patriotic Front in its struggle for total liberation of the Territory of Southern Rhodesia and total independence for the people of Zimbabwe. United Nations sanctions

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against the racist régime of Salisbury should not be lifted until a democratically elected Government was established. The international community should remain vigilant and prevent any manoeuvres from hampering the peaceful arrangements for the self-determination and independence of the people of Zimbabwe. The situation in Southern Rhodesia resulted from an armed confrontation between nationalist forces and rebel racist forces and involved other countries of the region. Concrete action should be taken to guarantee security during the process of decolonization. The States Members of the United Nations should co-operate with the Patriotic Front and the British Government in bringing about a peaceful and permanent settlement without further bloodshed. His delegation commended the Patriotic Front on its political maturity, its moderation and its political will to negotiate and find a peaceful solution to the problem of Zimbabwe. It hoped that in the not too distant future Zimbabwe would be admitted to the United Nations.

84. Mr. SANGSOMSAK (Lao People's Democratic Republic) said that since 1965 the people of Zimbabwe had been forced to live under a repressive and illegal régime imposed by a handful of cruel white racists as a result of a mishandled decolonization policy by the administering Power. Flouting the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, that régime had carried out a series of provocative actions, such as the so-called internal settlement, the intensification of savage repression against the people of Zimbabwe and the perpetration of criminal acts of aggression against the neighbouring independent States of Angola, Mozambique and Zambia. In an effort to preserve its domination, the racist minority régime had resorted to all types of manoeuvres designed to divide the people of Zimbabwe and fool the world. The only purpose of the internal settlement was to safeguard the interests of the white minority. The Constitution, which had been adopted by a referendum reserved exclusively for whites, was nothing more than a law to defend the privileges of whites and an instrument against the African population of Zimbabwe. The election farce organized on 20 April 1979 under that illegal Constitution and in a climate of repression and terror was even more illegal and grotesque. The Government resulting from those rigged elections was a puppet Government, a mere tool in the bloody hands of Ian Smith. It was high time that the international community should make up its mind to take strong measures to force the illegal régime to end once and for all its base practices and manoeuvres.

85. Together with its political manoeuvres, the illegal régime was stepping up its campaign of repression, arrests and murder against the people of Zimbabwe, in the hope of crushing the liberation struggle. That diabolical hope would never be realized, because an oppressed and humiliated people's thirst for justice and freedom was unquenchable. The crueller the acts of repression, the fiercer the resistance. Faced with repeated setbacks inside Southern Rhodesia, the illegal régime had increasingly resorted to attacks against independent neighbouring States in an attempt to isolate the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and internationalize the conflict.

86. Without the massive support from some imperialist quarters, the apartheid régime of South Africa and the illegal régime of Salisbury could never have been

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(Mr. Sangsomsak, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

so criminal and obstinate in their actions. There was a frightening increase in the quantity of sophisticated weapons which the illegal régime had received from some Western countries and South Africa. Some capitalist transnational corporations were continuing to exploit and plunder Zimbabwe's natural resources, disregarding United Nations sanctions. The illegal régime's substantial military expenditure and the increasing use of mercenaries posed a grave threat to peace and security in Africa and the rest of the world. Recent attempts to lift sanctions against Southern Rhodesia had encouraged the illegal régime to increase its acts of repression and aggression against the people of Zimbabwe and the front-line States. There was an orchestrated plan by the colonialists and the imperialists to oppose the efforts of the international community to find a peaceful solution to the problem. Rather than lift sanctions, the United Nations should broaden and strengthen them.

87. His delegation had been closely following the London talks, which were the last hope for a peaceful settlement. The Patriotic Front had shown great moderation and flexibility and had made major concessions. Regrettably, other parties had resorted to delaying tactics in an effort to turn the talks to their advantage, rejecting all the reasonable and constructive proposals made by the Patriotic Front. Such being the case, the best attitude would be one of continued vigilance.

88. A just solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia could be secured only if due account was taken of the legitimate interests of the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, their sole legitimate representative. His delegation reaffirmed its support for and solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for self-determination and genuine independence and remained confident that they would triumph.

89. Mr. HUMAYUN (Bangladesh) said that a critical moment in the history of southern Africa had arrived: there was now the hope of a breakthrough which would lead to a just and final settlement in Zimbabwe and its emergence as a sovereign independent nation.

90. He recalled that some 14 years had elapsed since the unilateral declaration of independence by the Smith régime. The numerous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions testified to the international community's concern, and also to its impotence. The racist régime had been pronounced illegal, and primary responsibility had been placed upon the United Kingdom as the administering Power to put an end to the situation. The international community had reaffirmed that the people of Zimbabwe were the only true repository of sovereignty in Southern Rhodesia. Sanctions had been imposed. The situation had been adjudged a danger to peace and security with attacks by the white racist minority régimes in southern Africa against their independent neighbours.

91. Meanwhile, sustained efforts were made to seek a constitutional settlement and return to legitimacy on the fundamental premise that there could be no independence before African majority rule. Those proposals reflected the

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immutable objectives of the international community: the surrender of power by the illegal régime and a return to legality; a peaceful transition to independence; free and impartial elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage; and a Constitution providing for a democratically elected government, the abolition of discrimination, the protection of human rights and the independence of the territory.

92. The last 14 years had witnessed not only the systematic negation of all those proposals, but concerted attempts by the racist régime and their puppets to circumvent and whittle down the fundamental objectives that alone could form a viable basis for a multiracial constitutional settlement.

93. Faced with mounting international pressure and internal dissension, the Smith régime had turned to subterfuge to win support. The results had been the internal settlement of March 1979 and its subsequent extension through the holding of so-called elections and the establishment of a spurious multiracial régime. Those elections were held at gunpoint, with gross irregularities. The elections and the Constitution under which they were held were no more legal and valid than the earlier UDI Constitution. The régime they produced was no more representative than the illegal racist minority régime of Ian Smith. The racist régime's defiance of the international community posed a challenge to the United Nations, Africa and the people of Zimbabwe.

94. The illegal régime's new-found tolerance was patently suspect. The legacy of decades of discrimination and exploitation remained in the form of disparities in education, salaries, job opportunities and built-in safeguards to protect the privileged status quo of the whites. The brutality and repression that had been perpetrated were well documented. There was ample evidence of torture, incarceration, eviction, resettlement and the indiscriminate murder of men, women and children. The white racists and their African partners had turned Rhodesia into an armed bastion where the common man was left to the mercy and degradation of a variety of anonymous forces.

95. Meanwhile, Rhodesian rebels in collusion with South Africa continued to raid across the frontiers of the front-line States. The intensity, frequency and objectives of those acts of aggression belied the so-called theory of "hot pursuit". They were aimed not only at decimating the supporters of the Patriotic Front, but at the systematic destruction of the economic infrastructure of neighbouring African States. Their aim was to vitiate all peaceful attempts at a just and final solution.

96. The above outline provided the perspective in which the London talks had to be viewed. As a member of the Commonwealth, Bangladesh had been party to the initiative launched by the Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lusaka in August 1979.

97. Bangladesh's position had been categorical and consistent. It had throughout been based on the premise that there could be no independence before

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majority rule. Bangladesh had repeatedly reaffirmed its total support for the Patriotic Front. His Government had always believed that the issue in Southern Rhodesia was not that of the election of a black Prime Minister, but rather the dismantling of the colonial edifice. A just and permanent solution of the problem of Zimbabwe had to be consistent with the total transfer of power from the minority to the people of Zimbabwe, in recognition of their inalienable national right to self-determination, freedom and genuine independence, and in accordance with an orderly and peaceful transition to independence. Pending such arrangements, the international community should condemn all acts of aggression launched by Southern Rhodesian rebel forces against independent African countries. The administering Power had ultimate responsibility for such attacks. While negotiations proceeded, mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia could not be relaxed without prejudicing the emergence of a final solution.

98. Bangladesh was fully committed to supporting the Patriotic Front, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe. Their victory was inevitable. As hopes for a solution appeared on the horizon, he believed that the international community should look beyond to the emergence of an independent, universally recognized Zimbabwe, a nation in dire need of rebuilding its war-torn land and of consolidating its economy.

99. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom) said that, according to information just received, the leaders of the Patriotic Front had said in London that a settlement at the Conference was imminent if agreement could be reached on the disposition of the existing forces during the interim period. They had said that there had to be more or less equal treatment for the Southern Rhodesian forces and the Patriotic Front fighters.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.