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2194th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 31 January 1980, at 4.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Jacques LEPRETTE (France).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, China, France, German Democratic Republic, Jamaica, Mexico, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2194)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:

Letter dated 25 January 1980 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Malawi to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13764)

The meeting was called to order at 4.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:

Letter dated 25 January 1980 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Malawi to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13764)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2192nd and 2193rd meetings, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Botswana, Cuba, Egypt, Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Somalia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia to participate in the debate without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bedjaoui (Algeria), Mr. Tlou (Botswana), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Dennis (Liberia), Mr. Muwamba (Malawi), Mr. Monteiro (Mozambique), Mr. Clark (Nigeria), Mr. Sharif (Somalia), Mr. Mkapu (United Republic of Tanzania), Mrs. Nguyen Ngoc Dung (Viet Nam) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the members of the Security

Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Zaire in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda (Zaire) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The first speaker is the representative of Somalia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. SHARIF (Somalia): Mr. President, I am grateful to you and to the other members of the Security Council for giving me this opportunity to speak on a matter of deep concern to my Government. We are concerned about the situation in Rhodesia, not only as an African State, but also as a member of the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

5. Ever since Ian Smith's unilateral declaration of independence, Somalia has done all it could to give moral and material support to the legitimate struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for freedom from racist colonial domination. After 14 years marked by cruel oppression and tragic conflict—a conflict that was wasteful in terms of human lives and political and economic progress—the authentic leaders of the people of Zimbabwe were able to win for them the prospect of peace and an opportunity to fulfil their just political and social aspirations. Today that prospect is once more in jeopardy and the Security Council must again deal with a problem that has shattered the peace of a region and threatened international peace and security.

6. In September 1979 we hoped, with the rest of the international community, that the unnecessary Rhodesian war would be ended and that peace and stability would be established for Rhodesia and its neighbours. The United Kingdom's assumption of its responsibilities towards a dependent Territory and rebel régime, though sadly belated, was nevertheless heartily welcomed by my Government. We knew that the pre-independence period, coming after the bitter-

ness of a protracted liberation struggle, would be a difficult one calling for the exercise of good faith, good judgement and discipline by all concerned.

7. The Patriotic Front must certainly be commended for its tremendous achievement in complying with the cease-fire agreements as far as was humanly possible in the limited time allotted and for its sincere efforts to turn around a war effort and redirect it towards the goals of peace and national unity. Unfortunately, it has become obvious that the achievements of the last five months could be easily erased if the conditions established for free and fair elections are violated.

8. Under the Lancaster House Agreement,¹ all powers of government are concentrated in the Governor during the pre-independence period and all allegations of improper activity are dealt with by him or his deputy. Serious and well-substantiated allegations of improper activity have been made by the Patriotic Front. The Security Council clearly has a grave responsibility in this matter, having decided in resolution 460 (1979) that it would keep the situation in Southern Rhodesia under review until the Territory attained full independence.

9. The charges of the Patriotic Front were carefully investigated by the Liberation Committee of OAU, and the Committee's findings led it to ask the African Group at the United Nations to call for this meeting of the Security Council. I should like to comment briefly on some of those charges.

10. First of all, the use of South African troops in Rhodesia is not only a gross violation of the Lancaster House Agreement and of a specific provision of resolution 460 (1979), but is also an action fraught with real danger and hateful symbolism for the people of Zimbabwe. Zimbabweans cannot forget the Pretoria régime's sustained and vocal support for minority rule in Southern Rhodesia or its declaration last year that it could not allow a Government of which it did not approve to assume power in Rhodesia. Neither can they ignore the virulent propaganda campaign launched by South Africa through its communications media against the Patriotic Front.

11. The decision to allow South African forces to police certain areas of Southern Rhodesia was at best an insensitive error of judgement. Unhappily, it can also be seen as a serious breach of faith with partisan overtones, seriously compromising the promise of free and fair elections.

12. The deployment of auxiliary forces which have strong connections with the Rhodesian army and the Muzorewa-Smith régime is equally deplorable. This development has been commented on in sections of the international press generally supportive of the administering Power. It should be noted that the United Kingdom stated at Lancaster House that the

majority of the personnel of the Monitoring Force would be British, with participation by forces of specific Commonwealth countries. The purpose of the Monitoring Force is simply to observe and to report on the maintenance of the cease-fire by the Rhodesian army, on the one hand, and by the Patriotic Front forces, on the other. It is clearly inappropriate and contrary to the letter and spirit of the cease-fire agreement for units with close attachments to one side of the conflict to be used for monitoring or security purposes. When these units do not confine themselves to observing and reporting, but engage in harassing and intimidating Patriotic Front supporters, then this violation of the cease-fire takes on even more serious proportions.

13. It would be a more constructive approach for the Governor to work more closely with the Cease-fire Commission on which all parties are represented. Acceptable ways of handling difficult situations that arise might then be worked out.

14. The use of South African and auxiliary forces becomes doubly partisan and threatening when it is seen in conjunction with the continuing detention of political prisoners, the restoration of emergency powers and martial law and the denial of the right of return to thousands of refugees. All these actions contravene specific provisions of the Lancaster House Agreement. The question of the refugees in neighbouring countries is a particularly important one. It was promised at Lancaster House that the British Government would facilitate their speedy return so that they could take part in the elections.

15. The British Government stated at Lancaster House that

"The question now at issue is who is to form the future independence Government. The British Government's position is that this must be decided by the people of Zimbabwe in free and fair elections in which all parties will be able to take part on equal terms."

And yet it is now possible for us to observe that the administering Power is trying to police the campaign, if not to decide it, and to favour some candidates over others.

16. This situation is, of course, painfully apparent to those whom it directly affects in Rhodesia and who are appealing to the international community to bring pressure to bear on the United Kingdom to rectify a deteriorating situation.

17. My delegation believes that the Security Council must reaffirm and reinforce the call, made in resolution 460 (1979), for strict adherence to the agreements reached and for their full implementation by the administering Power and all the parties concerned. The Council must demand of the United Kingdom that justice be done and be seen to be done.

18. At the close of the Lancaster House Conference, its Chairman, Lord Carrington, exhorted the Patriotic Front and the Salisbury delegation to sign the cease-fire agreement and approve the pre-independence arrangements in the following words: "To deny the people of Rhodesia this opportunity to resolve their problems by peaceful means would be unforgiveable". The administering Power could well take these words to heart at the present time and take proper and decisive steps to clear the path to genuine independence for the people of Zimbabwe.

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

20. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, at the outset I should like to thank you and, through you, the other members of the Council for having given us an opportunity to take part in the discussion dealing with the situation in Southern Rhodesia.

21. For the non-aligned countries, and in fact, for the overwhelming majority of the international community, the accession of Zimbabwe to real independence and sovereignty constitutes a matter of principle. When it adopted resolution 460 (1979), the Security Council called for "strict adherence to the agreements reached [at Lancaster House], and for their full and faithful implementation by the administering Power and all the parties concerned".

22. In his speech before the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session, President Fidel Castro, expressing the will of the heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries, confirmed the acceptance by the movement of negotiated solutions for the problem of Zimbabwe,

"... so long as they lead to the establishment of a real government representing the majority and the achievement of an independence that is satisfactory to the fighting peoples—and that this be done in accordance with the resolutions of such bodies as the OAU, the United Nations and our own movement of non-aligned countries."²

23. This series of meetings of the Security Council has been convened precisely because the administering Power, the United Kingdom, has not fulfilled fully and faithfully the Agreement reached about a month ago in London at the Lancaster House meeting. To the contrary, the British Governor of Southern Rhodesia, Lord Soames, has seriously violated the Agreement and imperilled its very future by permitting the Smith-Muzorewa troops and their so-called auxiliaries to harass and assassinate the sympathizers of the Patriotic Front rather than confining them to barracks as had been agreed in London.

24. That gentleman, who bears the primary responsibility for ensuring strict compliance with the Lancaster House Agreement,¹ has been conniving at the plots of the racists and the illegal presence of South African armed forces and mercenaries in Rhodesian territory and is refusing to facilitate the speedy return of Zimbabwean refugees to the country, as was stipulated in the Lancaster House Agreement. Sources close to the patriots of Zimbabwe estimate the South African military presence at approximately 6,000 men, organized in four battalions of infantry, one of parachute troops, two artillery regiments and six squadrons.

25. The Governments of the Commonwealth and of the front-line States, as well as the Commonwealth Commission for Southern Africa, have drawn attention to the numerous and increasingly serious violations of the Lancaster House Agreement. The Liberation Committee of OAU, for its part, adopted a strong resolution at its thirty-fourth session held at Dar es Salaam from 21 to 25 January 1980 [see S/13768], which expressed its serious concern about these violations.

26. The Chairman of the movement of non-aligned countries and President of the Republic of Cuba, Comrade Fidel Castro, also recently sent a message to the heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries regarding this dangerous situation.

27. The international community is observing with increasing disquiet the evolution of events in Southern Rhodesia and the role played by the Governor, Lord Soames.

28. In view of the repeated and gross violations of the Lancaster House Agreement, it is proper to ask oneself what are the real motives of those who are impeding its proper implementation. Perhaps, as has been said in various publications, what is involved is a deliberate manoeuvre to ensure that there will not be true independence in Zimbabwe. Many, with well-founded apprehension, believe that the colonial authorities, closely connected with the racist régime of South Africa and with notorious interests in the area, were merely planning for window dressing in Rhodesia, having miscalculated the powerful popular support of the Patriotic Front forces; and that, given the obvious manifestations of sympathy for the independence leaders, they are now attempting to apply the old neo-colonialist solution thus expressly contravening the Agreement that they had solemnly entered into.

29. The truth is that, contrary to what was agreed on at Lancaster House, the Rhodesian forces and the so-called auxiliaries have not been confined to barracks; South Africa is carrying out a systematic press and radio campaign against the Patriotic Front; the Governor has not facilitated the return of the Zimbabwean refugees to their country; the United Kingdom has

not fulfilled its commitment to expel the South African military forces and mercenaries from Southern Rhodesia; there have been repeated violations of the ceasefire agreement, and it has even been claimed that the patriots should hand over their weapons to the auxiliaries and the Rhodesian so-called security forces; and the provisions of resolution 460 (1979) have been ignored, particularly with regard to strict compliance with the Lancaster House Agreement and the expulsion of all foreign troops, whether regular forces or mercenaries.

30. In such circumstances, it is obviously not possible to establish the climate appropriate to the holding of free and fair elections in Zimbabwe.

31. The non-aligned countries firmly support the Liberation Committee of OAU in its request that the British Government comply with and implement fully and impartially the Lancaster House Agreement and immediately confine to barracks the so-called security forces of Rhodesia and the auxiliaries, that it establish conditions to ensure the holding of free and fair elections and to prevent the collapse of the Lancaster House Agreement, that it take the following actions immediately so as to ensure that all citizens of Zimbabwe can participate freely in the electoral process: (a) the release of all political prisoners; (b) the granting of permission to return to all Zimbabwean exiles in accordance with the Lancaster House Agreement; (c) the immediate and total withdrawal of the South African troops as well as the mercenaries now serving in the so-called security forces of Southern Rhodesia.

32. The British Governor should in no way whatsoever provide facilities to Mr. Muzorewa to carry out his electoral campaign but should rather maintain a strictly impartial position.

33. The Security Council should, likewise, condemn the illegal activities being carried out by the racist Government of South Africa against the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe and, particularly, the campaign that has been unleashed against the Patriotic Front. The Council should also demand the immediate withdrawal of South African troops, both those which are guarding the Beit Bridge—with the authorization of Lord Soames, as he himself has confessed—and which withdrew just yesterday, if we are to believe the reports in the press, and those which have been deployed throughout the Territory according to the denunciations of the patriots of Zimbabwe.

34. Finally, it is our considered opinion that the Security Council should state, clearly and unequivocally, that the international community will not recognize any Government or institution in Southern Rhodesia that is not the free and sovereign choice of the people of Zimbabwe.

35. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is Mr. Johnstone Makatini, repre-

sentative of the African National Congress of South Africa, whom the Security Council, at its 2192nd meeting, invited to participate in the discussion, pursuant to rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

36. Mr. MAKATINI: Mr. President, we thank you most sincerely for giving us this opportunity to speak.

37. The African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) attaches a great deal of importance to the debate now being held in the Security Council, for we are convinced that the explosive situation prevailing in Zimbabwe has a direct bearing on the permanently explosive situation obtaining in South Africa.

38. We commend the African Group on the speedy implementation of the resolution on Southern Rhodesia taken at the recent session of the Liberation Committee of OAU [*ibid.*] that called for the urgent convening of the Security Council. The unfolding situation in Southern Rhodesia has been aggravated and rendered more explosive by the numerous violations of the Lancaster House Agreement¹ being committed by the Government of the United Kingdom.

39. We salute the African Ministers who have taken the time to come here and present the African viewpoint—a viewpoint that is shared by all the African leaders and peoples, as well as the rest of progressive mankind. The urgency with which they have reacted to this prevailing situation is eloquent testimony to independent Africa's loyalty to the sacred objective conceived by the founding fathers of OAU—that is, the total liberation of the African continent, including South Africa. It inspires us with the hope that, despite the highly orchestrated campaign waged by the Western media to derail the struggle for liberation and genuine independence in southern Africa, the vigilance manifested by OAU will help foil all the imperialist manoeuvres designed to perpetuate the plunder of Africa's riches and the exploitation of its peoples in southern Africa.

40. The international community recalls that it was in the wake of the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the accession to independence by Zambia and Malawi, which ensued after a bitter struggle, that the die-hard racists proclaimed the so-called unilateral declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia. It will also be recalled that in the face of that rebellion, characterized as "treason", the British Government stubbornly refused to use force against its "kith and kin". It was then that the people of Zimbabwe took up arms and appealed for support from the independent African countries and other justice-loving nations. In their wisdom and magnanimity, the independent African countries, which had correctly seen the birth of Ian Smith's creation as the extension of the Fascist Pretoria régime—and at that time that régime was rearing its

ugly head with impunity, as it continues to do—decided against mobilizing the international community to join them and wage war to crush that illegal régime. Instead, they supported Britain's initiative towards the imposition of sanctions, on the basis that the Ian Smith régime constituted a threat to peace and international security. Today it is common knowledge that the South African régime systematically flouted the Security Council decision by bolstering Ian Smith's régime economically and militarily. The *apartheid* régime made no secret of its strategy. It declared that the white man was to remain "master" for ever in South Africa. Mindful of the fact that it was sitting on a powder-keg, it lent its military support not only to the Smith régime, but also to the erstwhile Portuguese colonial empire in Mozambique and Angola. Its aim was to help perpetuate the *status quo* in those territories which served as protective belts around South Africa.

41. In the wake of the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire, thanks to the heroic struggle waged by the people of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, the struggle in Zimbabwe entered a new stage of ever-escalating armed conflict.

42. Convinced of the correctness of the position taken by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, which declared that "southern Africa as a whole constituted one single theatre of operations, in which *apartheid* South Africa was the central strategic issue",³ ANC decided it could not stand idly by and watch the people of Zimbabwe fight the combined Rhodesian and South African forces. In its efforts to wage the armed struggle recognized as legitimate by the United Nations, it ordered its armed forces not to surrender when and if they made contact with the Rhodesian troops in transit on their way to South Africa. Some of them were captured on the battlefield and sentenced to death by the Smith régime, which later commuted those sentences to life imprisonment. They remain imprisoned in Southern Rhodesia to this very day.

43. In his statement to the Council yesterday, Sir Anthony Parsons, the representative of the United Kingdom, said: "An amnesty has been granted for all acts in furtherance of, or resistance to, the illegal declaration of independence". [2192nd meeting, para. 39.] The 18 or 20 ANC members—two are believed to have died in prison—were captured while participating in the struggle of resistance to the unilateral declaration of independence. And only the day before yesterday we received information that they were about to be deported to South Africa, where they would certainly be prosecuted and possibly executed. We call on the British Government, which has fully assumed administrative authority in Southern Rhodesia, to take appropriate action to secure the release of these men.

44. I must add that the message from our President, Oliver Tambo, also instructed me to request the Secretary-General to use his good offices to persuade the British Government to secure the release of our compatriots. I am encouraged by the report I received from the office of the Secretary-General that the representative of the United Kingdom has given the assurance that these freedom fighters will in no circumstances be sent to South Africa. In expressing our appreciation for that assurance, we should like to appeal for the speedy solution of this problem.

45. A number of speakers have expressed indignation at the presence of South African troops in Southern Rhodesia. We join them in condemning this as a violation of the Lancaster House Agreement. It is common knowledge that at the Lancaster House Conference, the British Government opposed the use of United Nations or Commonwealth forces. It also opposed the use of a sufficiently big force to monitor effectively and enforce the cease-fire.

46. Today, a country that has distinguished itself by its systematic opposition to and violation of United Nations decisions is being unilaterally assigned the role of gendarme in Southern Rhodesia on the basis that its troops are present to protect the vital lines of communication. That is not only unacceptable to the African people as a whole, but also makes us suspect that it is part of the global South African strategy to ensure the imposition to power of the Smith-Muzorewa axis, whose military pact with the *apartheid* régime of South Africa is intended to constitute the basis for the formation of the so-called constellation of States of southern Africa. The recent bombing and destruction of Zambia's bridges and rail links, except the one linking it with Southern Rhodesia, must be seen as part of this strategy.

47. All the speakers who preceded us stressed the fact that the small contingent of troops reported to be protecting the Beit Bridge was but an insignificant part of the larger South African force deployed all over the country and integrated into the Rhodesian army. When we listen to the South Africa Radio propaganda, it becomes clear that the presence of South African troops in Southern Rhodesia is viewed by Pretoria as legitimate and that it is part of South Africa's role as an ally of the Western world to prevent the assumption of power by the Patriotic Front. We must not forget that South Africa has arrogated to itself the right to intervene militarily in all African countries south of the equator. We must not forget that not long ago, Botha declared that, if the Patriotic Front were to win the elections in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa would intervene.

48. Finally, it is our humble submission that the call on the British Government to secure the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops and strict adherence to the Lancaster House Agreement is a friendly act towards

Britain. Those of us who read *The Washington Post* yesterday will agree that the danger to peace and international security which the *apartheid* régime constitutes has today reached the point where it calls for immediate action in the form of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions. It is in the long-term interests of Britain and its allies to join Africa and progressive mankind in helping to eradicate this inhuman system from southern Africa.

49. Mr. OUMAROU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): The thinker who said that it was easier to make war than to establish peace was quite right. The Lancaster House Agreement¹ offered us very encouraging prospects, but now we are having trouble reaching port. Unfortunately, we have serious reasons to fear that the hope which was born on 21 December 1979 in London may soon be transformed into an eruption of anger in Zimbabwe which has suffered so much and is today living through a particularly critical period in its history.

50. It is that very threatening possibility that is of concern to us here. When the Lancaster House negotiations were announced with a view to seeking an equitable solution to the problem of Rhodesia, Africa and the world as a whole gave a deeply felt sigh of relief. The United Nations itself, which had a very large file on the matter after 14 years of African struggle and denunciation, suspended its consideration of the matter so as not to jeopardize the difficult negotiations by an excess of zeal. We followed those negotiations very carefully, because they were extremely important and of international scope.

51. It was not in vain, because the merit of the Lancaster House Agreement was that it succeeded in establishing the modalities for a return to legal sovereignty in Southern Rhodesia and also in deciding on an immediate proclamation of a cease-fire throughout Rhodesian territory. It is only right that I should take this opportunity to welcome this new awareness, this albeit rather delayed awakening, on the part of the United Kingdom, whose delaying tactics had caused us concern for 14 years and for 14 years had left us thinking that what the United Kingdom intended to do in that connection was already done and that all was settled there so far as it was concerned.

52. Once the Lancaster House Agreement was signed, all that was left was to wait until the bitterness calmed down and loyalty prevailed everywhere so that Zimbabwe could emerge from the dark night.

53. The United Kingdom, more than any other country, had to make sure that everything went all right, because it was better informed than anyone of the geographical and human environment and, above all, because it knew the value that the international community attached to the outcome after so many years of unanimous condemnation of a situation that had regularly been fanned into flame by the tragedies of

an intransigent nationalist struggle and unrelieved police repression.

54. After all those ups and downs and delays, we are thus very disappointed to see that the United Kingdom, the administering Power responsible for the Lancaster House Agreement, is not acting fully in conformity with the spirit of that Agreement, and that could jeopardize what we all hoped would be the successful outcome of the Rhodesian question. One of the primary beneficiaries of such an unfortunate development would be South Africa, which is still actively participating and interfering in the internal affairs of the British colony. This is, unfortunately, once again an extremely serious situation, and there is still too much complicity between the United Kingdom and the racist régime of Pretoria. At any rate, that is the only construction we can put on this too obvious tendency to destroy with one hand what is painstakingly built with the other.

55. We cannot understand that in this pre-electoral period, when bitterness and distrust are especially deeply felt in Zimbabwe, that the concern of the administering Power should be anything other than to seek to establish internal peace by patiently promoting an atmosphere of confidence and trust among the parties to the elections, an ongoing dialogue between the provisional Administration and the patriotic movements and fair play in the full and responsible implementation of the commitments entered into by the administering Power and the other signatories of the Agreement.

56. Of course, in the present atmosphere in Zimbabwe, we admit that there may be excesses on both sides. There may be a lack of discretion on all sides. We might even say that this is a normal reaction. Walking, as the saying goes, is only a series of falls that have been avoided. However, we cannot but be deeply and greatly concerned when there are multiple violations of commitments solemnly entered into and when there is an open inclination to deal with force or contempt with agreements whose vigorous and faithful implementation is in the realm of the possible.

57. That is why, agreeing with the disappointment and the accusations voiced by the leaders of the Patriotic Front, we request the United Kingdom to call the local Administration to order and to make quick amends for the violations attributed to that Administration. For, as President Seyni Kountché once said, "water coming from the same spring cannot be both fresh and salted". The British Administration cannot at the same time clearly work for Zimbabwe to be at last rehabilitated and genuinely independent and just as clearly manoeuvre for the establishment in that country of a régime in keeping neither with the wishes of the heroic population concerned nor with the expectations of the international community.

58. The Security Council must help it to abandon this game by stipulating that it scrupulously abide by the spirit and the letter of the Lancaster House Agreement, which is based on the sacred principle of the right of peoples to peace and sovereignty. Only such an inducement, in keeping with international law and equity, can today prevent the situation in Zimbabwe from deteriorating once again, this time at the risk of becoming an acute factor for the destabilization of international peace and security.

59. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The United Nations, in particular the Security Council, has for many years been dealing with the problem of the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe from colonialist and racist oppression. Last year alone the Security Council adopted three resolutions [resolutions 445 (1979), 448 (1979) and 460 (1979)] confirming the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence and calling for the speedy establishment of true majority government in that country. Now we are once again meeting at the request of the African countries to discuss in the Security Council the serious and explosive situation which has developed in Rhodesia. What is at stake here is the fate of a great people that has suffered grievously and is still struggling. The importance of this can be seen from the fact that several Ministers for Foreign Affairs have come from Africa to participate in the deliberations of the Council.

60. The question of a settlement in Rhodesia is one of the most important aspects of the problem of eliminating the last remnants of colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

61. During the whole period of their activities in the United Nations, the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and other progressive States have been carrying on a consistent and principled struggle for the complete elimination of hotbeds of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* and for the establishment of the right of the peoples of southern Africa to determine their own futures.

62. In the time that has elapsed since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, there have been radical changes in Africa. Vast colonial empires have collapsed. African countries that have liberated themselves have carried out political and social changes to wipe out the pernicious consequences of colonialism. The contribution of African countries to the struggle to confirm and consolidate the principles of equality in international relations has become increasingly significant.

63. This progressive process has given rise to rather sharp opposition on the part of the imperialist Powers, particularly the United States of America, the United Kingdom and their allies, which are striving to hamper

the national and social development of the African peoples. For the sake of preserving their positions in the African continent, they are carrying out a policy of whipping up tension in and around Africa and for their own selfish purposes are trying to stir up fratricidal conflicts between Africans. They are attempting to arrogate to themselves the right to determine the fate and the future of the African peoples. The Western countries are pursuing the goal of forcing the African continent to abandon its position of non-alignment, subjecting it to pressures from the forces of imperialism, racism and reaction. The imperialist Powers play a central role in these plans and try to steer the evolution of problems in southern Africa on a neo-colonialist course.

64. For several years now the Western Powers have been trying to crush the national liberation movement in Zimbabwe and to impose a minority racist régime on the people of that country. To that end they have used various ways and means, relying on the racist régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria. The Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and neighbouring African States have suffered from harsh methods of mass terrorism and a virtual war has been waged against them. At the same time, attempts have been made to set up a puppet régime in Zimbabwe to serve as a cover-up for the continuation of the colonial order. Those same goals have been sought by the British Government during the London negotiations.

65. During the recent consideration of the question of Southern Rhodesia in the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Soviet delegation expressed very serious doubts as to whether developments in Southern Rhodesia on the basis of the Lancaster House Agreement¹ would in fact lead along the path towards true independence for the people of Zimbabwe. As can be seen, our fears have been fully justified by the facts.

66. Today the Security Council has once again been obliged to take up consideration of the situation which has developed in Southern Rhodesia as the result of actions by the Government of the United Kingdom to strengthen the position of the puppet régime in the country in view of the forthcoming elections.

67. In a letter to the President of the Security Council requesting an urgent meeting of the Council, the African Group in the United Nations pointed to the fact that an explosive situation had developed in Southern Rhodesia as a result of the actions of the United Kingdom and indicated that that posed a serious threat to international peace and security.

68. Developments in and around Southern Rhodesia quite clearly confirm what we have said earlier in connection with the Lancaster House Agreement. They have put the national patriotic forces in a clearly unequal position *vis-à-vis* the racists and their puppets.

69. And, really, can we say that the conditions in the transitional period are calculated to ensure just, democratic and equal opportunities for truly free elections? The very fact that only two months have been allocated for preparations for the elections is clearly intended to prevent tens of thousands of refugees from returning from neighbouring countries to their homeland to participate in the elections. And now there are only four weeks left. Now, is that really equal opportunity? The national patriotic forces of Zimbabwe have virtually been deprived of an opportunity to wage a broad pre-electoral campaign, while at the same time favourable conditions are being provided for the racists and their puppets. This is another example of the "equal opportunities" which we have already mentioned.

70. Be that as it may, we do not wish to enter into an analysis of the discriminatory, one-sided and biased nature of the Agreement, which has been imposed on the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe. We should like merely to stress that this Agreement is also being crudely, flagrantly and grossly violated by the British Conservative Government.

71. In the letter from the African countries to the Security Council, as well as in the statements made by Mr. Dennis, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Liberia, Mr. Mkapa, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Monteiro, Minister of State for the Presidency of the People's Republic of Mozambique [2192nd meeting] and also by the representative of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, Mr. Kangai [2193rd meeting], and others, many facts have been cited testifying to the violations by the United Kingdom of Security Council resolution 460 (1979) and the Lancaster House Agreement.

72. Notwithstanding the Agreement, the British authorities have not ensured the withdrawal of South African troops from Southern Rhodesia. South African soldiers and policemen still control a number of important transport links and other facilities in the country. Governor Soames takes advantage of the presence of Rhodesian army detachments and the so-called security forces to harass and liquidate the fighters of the Patriotic Front. This is being done at a time when, according to the Agreement, the units of the Rhodesian army of the former puppet racist régime should remain in their bases throughout the whole period of the preparations for the elections, at a time when they should not engage in any military action and should not travel around the country.

73. The British Government is attempting to show that the problem of the presence of South African troops in Rhodesia has been settled because the South African troops defending the Beit Bridge have already left. However, in the statements made by the African representatives, it has been affirmed that at least 6,000 South African soldiers and policemen are still present in various parts of Zimbabwe and that South African troops are, in fact, in some cases part of the

Rhodesian troops. They wear Rhodesian uniforms and use vehicles with Rhodesian symbols and signs marked on them.

74. Moreover, according to the British newspaper *The Observer* of 20 January 1980, the British Government has authorized the Governor to carry on secret talks with Pretoria in respect of the presence of its troops in Rhodesia, without discussing this matter with the parties to the Lancaster House Agreement.

75. It is perfectly clear that the presence of South African troops in Rhodesia is a flagrant violation of the Agreement and that the threats by the South African leaders to carry out broad-ranging military intervention in Rhodesia in the event of an electoral triumph of the patriotic forces are nothing other than a direct threat to the peace and security of that region.

76. The representatives of the African countries and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe have also pointed to many other facts that bear witness to the violations of the Agreement by the British authorities. Here we could refer to the deployment of the so-called Rhodesian troops, the mercenaries and the private terrorist army of Bishop Muzorewa, known as the auxiliaries. This deployment is designed to place the Patriotic Front in an obviously disadvantageous position. Despite the agreement reached, the British authorities are giving preferential treatment to the Rhodesian troops and strengthening their position in a manner detrimental to the forces of the Patriotic Front. Governor Soames has done everything possible to hamper the return of the leaders of the Patriotic Front, Mr. Mugabe and Mr. Nkomo, so that Bishop Muzorewa and his company could organize the electoral farce in advance. The British authorities are also interfering with the return of the refugees. Without any justification, they have extended the state of emergency in the country. Political prisoners have not been released and, moreover, officials and supporters of the Patriotic Front are still persecuted. Those are the "equal opportunities" that exist for the preparations for the elections.

77. As the representative of the Patriotic Front stated this morning [2193rd meeting], the attention of the British Government has been drawn to these serious violations, but no steps have been taken to remedy the situation. The representative of the Patriotic Front stressed that the situation continues to deteriorate, and thus there is a threat to the cease-fire agreement as well as to peace and security. He said that the Patriotic Front, for its part, was willing to co-operate in the future, as it has done in the past, to ensure the creation of the conditions needed to guarantee the independence of the people of Zimbabwe. This is the tangible proof of the statesmanship and wisdom of the leaders of the Patriotic Front. Even at a time when the Front has been placed in this untenable situation, it still believes that the British authorities and specifically, Governor Soames, may be brought to reason

and will carry out in these last four weeks what is written in the Lancaster House Agreement, which is so unfavourable to the Patriotic Front.

78. And what are the British colonial authorities doing? They are still relying on the former racist administrative machinery and punitive organs. Also, South African regular troops have been brought into Rhodesia and are waging an open struggle against the national patriotic forces of Zimbabwe. They are trying to prevent the victory of those forces in the future elections, and they are providing direct help to the racists and their supporters. South Africa and the United Kingdom have been waging a tremendous propaganda campaign against the patriotic forces. Large firms have spent millions on this election campaign in support of the puppets chosen by the neo-colonialists. Of course, one can get anything done with money, but the Patriotic Front does not have the money; the racists and their supporters do have the money. This demonstrates once more the so-called equality in the pre-election preparations.

79. It is apparent that the elections to be held in Southern Rhodesia are, in our opinion, a new farce, similar to what was staged in April 1979. The aim of this comedy is to impose a neo-colonialist puppet régime on the people of Zimbabwe, with a view to preserving the real power in the hands of those forces that can ensure that the British interests will not be harmed, that the interests of the foreign monopolies will not be touched, and that the privileges of the local European population will not in any way be affected.

80. Events in Southern Rhodesia can only be considered in relation to the events which are taking place in southern Africa and around the continent. In southern Africa—and we must draw this conclusion on the basis of all that we have heard—there is an extremely serious situation which is the result of attempts by the imperialist Powers, under a new guise, to preserve the colonial nature of the Governments in Zimbabwe and Namibia. The imperialist Powers, primarily the United States and the United Kingdom, are making increasingly broad use of the *apartheid* troops of South Africa to suppress and crush the national liberation struggle of the African peoples.

81. Extremely cruel acts of aggression have been committed against the neighbouring countries of Zambia, Mozambique, Angola and Botswana, with the active participation of the South African régime. In recent months there have been frequent attacks against Zambia, and the major transport arteries of the country and bridges have been destroyed. Airborne Rhodesian troops have made punitive raids even around Lusaka as well as in many other areas. Rhodesian troops have carried out raids into Mozambique, killing or wounding about 3,000 civilians—not soldiers, but civilians. Considerable material damage has been done to the country. All of this shows that the racist

régimes in southern Africa, acting with the connivance and support of the major powers of NATO, are carrying out far-reaching, well-planned measures to preserve their domination, their interests and those of their Western supporters.

82. The South African racist régime poses a serious danger to the peoples of southern Africa and the national liberation movements in that region and beyond it. In this connection, of particular importance is the strict implementation of the Security Council resolutions [resolutions 418 (1977) and 421 (1977)] on the arms embargo against the racist régime of South Africa. Yet the United States, the United Kingdom and some other Western Powers and transnational corporations are systematically violating the Council sanctions against South Africa. South Africa is making large purchases of modern military technology from those countries. Those military purchases by Pretoria from Western European countries are a direct violation of the Security Council embargo.

83. Many cases of open violations of that embargo have been exposed, and are being examined by the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa. It is obvious that a great many more cases of this type have not yet been exposed. The report of the Centre against *Apartheid* of September 1979 also contains very serious material, concerning the help South Africa receives from Western countries for the development of its military potential.

84. Developments in southern Africa very convincingly show the need for strict compliance with and the expansion of sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa.

85. The Soviet position on the situation in Southern Rhodesia is very clear; it is based on the policy of principle of our country aimed at the complete elimination of all remnants of the system of colonial oppression, the elimination of all infringements of the equality and independence of peoples, the elimination of all hotbeds of colonialism and racism. We have consistently supported, and we continue to support, the selfless struggle of the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe for the freedom and independence of their country, a struggle that they have been waging for many years under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, which the United Nations has recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe. The Soviet Union has firmly supported, and still firmly supports, the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence and the transfer of power in the country to the true representatives of the people.

86. In the present grave circumstances, it is absolutely essential that all measures be taken to stop the attempts of the United Kingdom and its allies to preserve the neo-colonialist puppet régime. The

Soviet Union agrees with the position of the Patriotic Front and the demands of the African countries that feel that the United Kingdom's actions are depriving the people of Zimbabwe of their elementary rights and the opportunity to carry out elections in their own country in conditions of justice and equality.

87. The representatives of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and other African countries have indicated the measures that should be taken to ensure that the United Kingdom authorities remedy the situation in Rhodesia. They include: the monitoring of the withdrawal of South African troops and mercenaries; restriction of the Rhodesian troops, confining them to barracks; the disbandment of the auxiliaries; halting discrimination against the forces of the Patriotic Front; an end to the unequal treatment of the various parties to the election; the rapid return of the refugees; an end to the unfavourable situation of the refugees; and cessation of the emergency situation. We support all those just demands.

88. In carrying out its role, the Security Council should adopt a resolution which fulfils the hopes and aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe to create an independent State. This is the duty of the United Nations.

89. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

90. Mrs. NGUYEN NGOC DUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like to thank you and the other members of the Security Council for having responded favourably to the request of the delegation of Viet Nam to speak today.

91. First, on behalf of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, I should like to express total support for the rights of the people of Zimbabwe and the Patriotic Front, which are calling for strict respect for the Lancaster House Agreement¹ by the Administering Authority of Zimbabwe, the United Kingdom.

92. Viet Nam fully supports the position expressed by the Chairman of the non-aligned movement, President Fidel Castro, in his message on the events in Zimbabwe. Viet Nam concurs with the statements made at the Council's 2192nd meeting by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Minister of State of the Presidency of the People's Republic of Mozambique on behalf of the front-line States, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Liberia, on behalf of the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and by the representative of the Republic of Malawi on behalf of the African Group in the United Nations. All those statements condemn the flagrant violations of the Lancaster House Agreement that are characterized by obvious facts—that is, the presence of troops of the abhorrent régime of the

Republic of South Africa on the soil of Zimbabwe, which runs totally counter to the assurances that were provided when the Agreement was signed; the harassment and encircling by the Rhodesian forces and the auxiliaries of the fighters of the Patriotic Front, which have scrupulously respected the cease-fire and assembled in the agreed places; and the persecution of the population in the zones that have been evacuated by the forces of the Patriotic Front.

93. It is difficult to say that these are not systematic acts, part and parcel of the neo-colonialist policy, which is hostile to the right to independence and self-determination of the people of Zimbabwe.

94. It is particularly significant for the struggling peoples to note that those who just recently were particularly eager to pose at this rostrum of the United Nations as defenders of the peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan have now by their acts revealed themselves as inveterate enemies of the freedom and independence of the people of Zimbabwe and are attempting stubbornly to defend their sordid interests and supporting a racist, Fascist minority that is guilty of genocide and condemned by all mankind.

95. The tactics of these imperialist and reactionary circles were initially to harp abstract principles, providing guarantees of their absolute fidelity to them in order to dupe those who keep misinterpreting those principles, basing themselves upon formal aspects. At the same time those circles are really carrying out an antiquated colonial policy and depriving peoples of their true right to self-defence and self-determination.

96. But these manoeuvres of sleight of hand to conceal the real nature of the retrograde forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism and expansionism and to reverse the roles of the victim and the perpetrator of the crime are futile, because peoples that have paid dearly for the right to independence and self-determination know very well whom to believe.

97. The experience of the Vietnamese people has convinced it that the Lancaster House Agreement was not a gift from colonialist and racist forces, but rather the direct outcome of the heroic armed struggle waged by the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. For more than a decade, how many manoeuvres have there been, how many tricks, how many crimes carried out by the imperialist circles of the United Kingdom in collusion with the racists of South Africa and supported by the United States in order to maintain the puppet régime of Muzorewa?

98. The history of struggle in our era has taught us that it is customary, just when the colonial Powers sense the inevitable collapse of their protected régimes condemned by the majority of the peoples, for them suddenly to show themselves to be reasonable and

even gracious and to seek a political solution so as to ensure that there will be an apparent peaceful transfer of power to the revolutionary forces.

99. In such circumstances, the finest promises, the firmest assurances wrung from the imperialist Powers during negotiations frequently turn out to be delaying tactics, dangerous ploys aimed at liquidating the revolution by other means and keeping the neo-colonialist régime in place under a different cloak.

100. Despite this sad fact, the peoples in the struggle do not oppose solutions that can be obtained without armed struggle, so long as they lead to a true independence.

101. For its part, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam reiterates its unswerving solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe and with all the fraternal peoples of that continent fighting for their political and economic emancipation. It endorses the demands contained in the statements of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, the front-line countries, the African Group in the United Nations and the non-aligned group, that the Security Council should adopt appropriate measures requiring the British Administering Authority strictly to respect the agreements that have been concluded and fully to implement them; more specifically, that the South African forces of the *apartheid* régime should be withdrawn immediately from Zimbabwe; that the patriots held in Zimbabwe should be immediately released; that the state of emergency should be lifted so as to create the conditions required for truly free elections to take place in proper conditions with the participation of the people of Zimbabwe and to guarantee security and facilities to the fighters and supporters of the Patriotic Front for their electoral activities. In our era, the peoples of the world cannot tolerate the antiquated order of the colonial empires of the past, even in its newest and most attractive guise.

102. The United Kingdom must match its words with deeds, it must honour its commitments entered into in the Lancaster House Agreement so as to achieve decolonization as speedily as possible for the people of southern Africa, thereby putting an end to this shame of mankind and liquidating a hotbed of war which seriously threatens the peace and security of the peoples of this region.

103. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

104. Mr. BEDJAOUI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the Algerian delegation is very happy to be able to express to you its appreciation for your intelligence, patience and effectiveness as you have presided over the Security Council during this month, during which we have had to deal with so many crises and during which the international situation has been so delicate.

105. Today it is to bring before the Security Council facts of exceptional gravity that the African front-line countries, the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity and all independent Africa supported by the non-aligned countries as a whole have had recourse to this body. We have requested this debate because there is so much at stake, since the matters involved are so closely interconnected and include the maintenance of peace and security in Africa, the scrupulous respect in good faith for the principles and norms of decolonization, the fate of an entire people which has suffered only too much and, lastly, the peaceful future of all southern Africa.

106. Just a few weeks ago, we had thought, following the signing on 21 December 1979 of the Lancaster House Agreement,¹ that the minority racist régime of Southern Rhodesia was coming to an end, and that along with it, there would be an end to the intolerable oppression of an entire people and to the widespread acts of aggression against the African countries in the region on the part of a régime that had become the agent for permanent insecurity and the creator of a constant threat to international peace and security. The signing of the Agreement was the result of a very long, tragic and devastating struggle waged by the people of Zimbabwe, led by its legitimate representative, the Patriotic Front, to regain its independence and authentic sovereignty.

107. The negotiations, begun at the initiative of the United Kingdom at Lancaster House, were very arduous because of objective difficulties inherent in the situation which nobody can deny. Nevertheless, they clearly showed that the Patriotic Front is truly representative, that it has a very clear sense of its responsibilities, a desire for dialogue and negotiation and a particular skill and foresight in seizing every opportunity to reach peace. The Patriotic Front, wishing to spare the lives of the people, acting responsibly and mindful of its future, and anxious to secure the happiness of its people, went to the extreme limit in making all possible concessions.

108. Africa did everything to contribute to the victory of reason and freedom for Zimbabwe because it was well aware of the importance of what was at stake at Lancaster House. This is why, throughout this very long phase of complex and critical negotiations, the front-line African countries, and Africa as a whole, tried to make it easier for the United Kingdom to play its role as it reassumed its responsibilities as the administering Power that had been in abeyance for 14 years. Heads of the front-line States did not hesitate to go themselves to London in order to break the deadlock in the over-all negotiations to spell out the terms of the Agreement.

109. On another level, this time at the level of the United Nations, the African Group twice deferred debate on the question of Rhodesia so as not to jeopardize in any way the negotiations that were under

way, and it also encouraged the drafting of a resolution which, all in all, reflected the hopes of the international community for a peaceful solution of the problem.

110. Unfortunately, despite the signing of the Lancaster House Agreement by all parties concerned and despite the cease-fire itself, which had been so long awaited, over the last few weeks we have witnessed what is really a distortion of the aims of the Agreement and we have seen thinly veiled attempts to deprive the Patriotic Front of the fruits of its tireless struggle on behalf of its people. There is a danger that its sacrifices will be in vain. There have also been attempts to favour factions that are not truly representative.

111. No one was superficial enough to think that, after the signing of the Agreement last December, the process of the liberation of Zimbabwe would proceed normally and smoothly. Human history teaches that the most decisive and therefore the most delicate and testing time for a people which is struggling is that last quarter of an hour, that crucial period when the fate of a people is at stake and when the colonial Administration which is in eclipse tries, in a last vain attempt to avoid the inevitable: the independence and sovereignty of the people which has been subjugated.

112. It was this long experience of the colonial situation that led the Security Council, with its sense of political responsibilities, to set forth in its resolution 460 (1979) clear provisions aimed at preserving the people of Zimbabwe from more distressing trials than those which it had endured and from particularly frustrating disappointment. The Council therefore called forcefully on all parties to the Agreement to respect strictly, fully and faithfully the provisions of that Agreement and it gave the administering Power the imperative duty of ensuring that no mercenary forces or South African troops would penetrate into Zimbabwe to try to force on it a certain fate.

113. But the sovereignty of a people cannot be achieved by the enemies of that people. One cannot build the true independence of a country with those who are opposed to it. One cannot expect the racist laws of Ian Smith, which are still in force, suddenly and miraculously to have a liberating rather than a discriminatory effect. The legislative arsenal and the regulations of the lost régime of Smith and Muzorewa cannot provide liberty and freedom when they can only produce terrorism and enslavement. One cannot make those men who have unleashed their demons to effect a policy of domination contribute actively to a policy of liberation. Demolition experts cannot become the builders of the new, free city.

114. The Governor of Zimbabwe, wishing systematically and scientifically to change the balance of internal forces in favour of the supporters of Smith

and Muzorewa, is violating the commitments which he entered into and thus can neither ensure nor guarantee the fulfilment of his responsibilities, which consist primarily in ensuring the existence of conditions which would permit free and fair elections in Zimbabwe.

115. Everything suggests that the increase in incidents and acts of violence against the forces and leaders of the Patriotic Front is intended to favour one of the parties to the Agreement known for its neo-colonialist tendencies, to the detriment of the nationalist forces. And yet, what a tremendous example of political sense, of restraint, of moderation has been given by the true nationalist forces in increasing their assurances of the guarantee of the future of the white community, which must be linked with the future of the nation of Zimbabwe as a whole, provided that the white community truly wishes it.

116. Zimbabwe is living through a crucial moment of its history. For Zimbabwe, this is the fateful hour when its destiny hangs in the balance. It cannot allow the Governor sent to Zimbabwe by the administering Power to try to sidetrack the process leading the country to independence in keeping with the Lancaster House Agreement. The measures taken by the Governor cannot but elicit the most serious concern because everything is happening as though what was desired was the preservation of the racist and colonial *status quo* in Rhodesia, while an attempt is made to lend to its internal evolution a semblance of legality. There are many examples of this.

117. In the first place, the maintenance of South African troops in the Territory is in flagrant violation of the Lancaster House Agreement and of Security Council resolution 460 (1979), which I recalled a moment ago. This is a threat to the internal security of Zimbabwe and an attempt to try to affect decisively the free choice of the Zimbabwean people. Who is right: the United Kingdom which, through Lord Carrington, Secretary of State, undertook to ensure the withdrawal of foreign troops immediately after the Governor's arrival, or the Governor himself, when he decided not only to keep the troops in Zimbabwe but even to justify their presence by invoking the need to protect—one wonders against whom—the channels of communication between Rhodesia and South Africa?

118. Secondly, we know that difficulties of all kinds may be encountered by the local authorities in connection with the return of the refugees. We do not in any way underestimate those difficulties. But we do have some cause for concern over the harassment and intimidation employed against those refugees and over the artificial difficulties created to try to make them abandon the idea of returning to their homeland. In these circumstances, would one not be justified in believing firmly that such artificially created difficulties actually tend to change the electoral situation and to favour the Muzorewa-Smith alliance?

119. Thirdly, the arbitrary detention of many militants and supporters of the Patriotic Front is a serious infringement on the freedom of action at the political and electoral levels of one of the contracting parties to the Lancaster House Agreement, namely, the Patriotic Front, whose militants are still being described as rebels and bandits and are being pursued, as such, by Southern Rhodesian troops. One might wonder what happened to the Agreement that provided that those forces, today more free than ever in their movements, would be confined to barracks just as the forces of the Patriotic Front have been; indeed, they have been practically locked up in their various camps.

120. Fourthly, the auxiliaries of Salisbury—in other words, the armed supporters of Muzorewa—enjoy complete freedom of action and movement throughout the Territory. They make up the larger part of the so-called security forces and thus, in the nature of things, become the unchallenged arbiters of the political and electoral situation in the country. Those forces are provoking and harassing the Patriotic Front and trying to relegate it to the sidelines, as well as intimidating the population, so as—one might say—to hold their own kind of referendum. The Pretorian guard of 6,000 soldiers, in the personal pay and service of Muzorewa, is freely roaming through the Territory in violation of the Agreement and is engaging in terrorism against the people.

121. Fifthly, the harassment and encirclement by the Rhodesian auxiliary forces of the Patriotic Front fighters moving towards the assembly points provided for in the Agreement constitute a flagrant violation of that Agreement. Indeed, does not the Agreement envisage co-operation between the nationalist forces and those of the Rhodesian régime?

122. Sixthly, the considerable means of propaganda made available to the supporters of Ian Smith and Muzorewa are aimed at changing the electoral situation in Zimbabwe and imposing on the people of that country, by illegal methods, a neo-colonialist régime with a legalistic facade—of both doubtful and bitter taste.

123. Those are just some examples that enlighten us about the true intentions of the representatives of the administering Power. What is happening makes it appear that there is a desire to revert to a situation that we have always unanimously condemned.

124. Our duty today is to protect the fruits of the struggle by the Patriotic Front, to guarantee the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe to true independence in a united State, freed of all the remnants of the past and turned firmly towards the future. To that end, the administering Power must respect the commitments entered into and apply the Lancaster House Agreement in good faith. It must also ensure that all the required conditions are satisfied with a view to organizing, in accordance with the envisaged time-

table, free and genuine elections, worthy of the respect for the dignity of man on the part of the homeland of *habeas corpus*.

125. In my delegation's view, the following conditions must be met if there is to be a normalization of the situation and a return to legality: first, all the South African and foreign forces must be withdrawn immediately; they must not be readmitted to Rhodesian territory under any pretext; secondly, the return of the Zimbabwean refugees now in the neighbouring countries must be ensured, facilitated and guaranteed, without any restrictions; thirdly, the Rhodesian forces and the forces of the Patriotic Front must be treated identically, in conformity with the Lancaster House Agreement; fourthly, all the political detainees must be released; fifthly, all the means envisaged in the Agreement must be placed at the disposal of the Patriotic Front so that it can successfully carry out all the preparations for the elections; sixthly, an end must be put to the frantic and large-scale radio and television propaganda by South Africa in support of Muzorewa; that is inadmissible interference in Zimbabwe's internal affairs; seventhly, it must be forcefully recalled that the United Nations, primarily responsible for the decolonization of Zimbabwe, will do everything necessary to ensure that the people of that Territory will be able, in keeping with all the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, to exercise freely its right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty.

126. We hope that the United Kingdom, a permanent member of the Security Council, will understand all the dangerous effects of the action by its representatives in Zimbabwe and the serious consequences that such action could have for peace in southern Africa. We would like to hope that the United Kingdom will take into account the strong feelings aroused throughout the world by the turn of events in Zimbabwe, and that it will very soon adopt an attitude in keeping with the initiatives it took throughout the process of the Lancaster House negotiations.

127. Mr. MILLS (Jamaica): Mr. President, it was a little over a month ago that my delegation had the opportunity of speaking in the Security Council [2181st meeting] on the subject of Southern Rhodesia. That was on the occasion of the consideration by the Council of the question of the lifting of sanctions which had been imposed against the illegal régime in that country. We emphasized our great satisfaction with the sustained efforts on the part of all who had contributed to the achieving of the results embodied in the Lancaster House Agreement.¹ We stressed that this Agreement could be viable only if it was effectively and fairly implemented—a task which placed great responsibility on the administering Power, the United Kingdom.

128. It gives us no satisfaction, therefore, to find ourselves—along with others here—in a most serious

debate concerning the turn of events in Southern Rhodesia. The countries of Africa, through OAU, called for the convening of the Council to consider these events and to propose prompt and effective action. Moreover, in the light of these developments, it is wholly appropriate, in the view of my delegation, that the Council should exercise, on behalf of the international community, its continuing responsibility towards the people of Southern Rhodesia, and seek to ensure that the process of their liberation and the establishment of a free, independent Zimbabwe are carried out equitably and effectively.

129. The basis of the discussion in the Council today is the serious complaint which has been made concerning the manner in which the administering Power has been carrying out its responsibilities during this transition period. Details of these complaints have been forcefully and eloquently outlined by the Ministers of Liberia, United Republic of Tanzania and Mozambique [2192nd meeting], who have a special mandate from OAU to come to New York to participate in this series of meetings; by the representative of the Patriotic Front; and by a number of representatives here. They have made detailed presentations on the main issues of concern: the use of South African forces by the British authorities in Salisbury; the deployment of Rhodesian forces and the so-called auxiliaries; the renewal of the state of emergency and the maintenance of martial law; the denial of the fundamental right of large numbers of refugees to return freely to their country; and the lack of impartiality in the treatment of the different political groups in the country—specifically, the bias against the Patriotic Front. Each of those issues harbours grave implications, and the disputes surrounding them pose a most serious threat to the prospect of free and fair elections, and of peace in Southern Rhodesia and in fact the entire southern African region.

130. My delegation has heard the categorical repudiation of these charges by the representative of the United Kingdom, who has underlined the considerable amount of progress which has been made in the country in a few short weeks, and has sought to explain the manner in which the authorities in Salisbury have carried out their very difficult tasks.

131. Let me say at this stage that Jamaica has a very special interest in the question of Southern Rhodesia, an interest which it has maintained throughout the past 15 years. My country has given unwavering support to the Patriotic Front, to the front-line States and the other countries of Africa which have struggled at great sacrifice to bring about the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe from the crushing domination of an illegal racist régime. My Government, and in particular my Prime Minister, has had the honour of participating actively in negotiations to this end at the Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government held at Lusaka from 1 to 7 August 1979 and elsewhere.

132. My delegation must therefore register its grave concern at recent developments in Southern Rhodesia which have called into question the integrity of the processes now under way there. We face the real possibility of a breakdown in this operation, a repudiation of the Agreement and a return to warfare.

133. It is our belief that the central issue is the matter of confidence and credibility. My delegation is fully aware of the delicacy and complexity of this final stage in the long process towards the decolonization of Southern Rhodesia, and these factors were clearly demonstrated in the recent long and difficult negotiations in London. We are aware of the vital issues which time after time threatened those negotiations. No one could seriously have expected that the implementation of the Agreement, involving the cease-fire, the preparation for the elections and other elements, would have been easy. No one could seriously have underestimated the magnitude of the task facing the Administering Authority or the difficulties which would be encountered by the Patriotic Front. It was inevitable that there would be unanticipated problems, delays, inefficiencies, and an element of deliberate action by some interests to frustrate the processes.

134. In the circumstances, it is only the establishment and maintenance of confidence and credibility in respect of the processes and those involved in them that could ensure the ability and willingness to cope with such difficulties and differences as would arise and ensure eventual success.

135. However, the truth is that the history and experiences of the past years in respect of Southern Rhodesia have been replete with incidents and circumstances which have made it most difficult to build the necessary confidence and faith, in spite of the very positive atmosphere and the optimism generated around the Lancaster House Agreement. We recall, among other things, the bitter experience of the unilateral declaration of independence and the rooted assumptions of racial superiority and perpetual white-minority rule that came with it; the influence and the activities of South Africa and the ambivalence of some Governments in respect of that country's attitudes and activities in the area; and the apparent readiness on the part of some countries to accept the fraudulent elections and the régime of Mr. Muzorewa which resulted from them. We recount these things, not simply for the purpose of dwelling on the past, but in order to underline the pressing need, against that background, for scrupulous attention to the maintenance of confidence in the integrity of the processes flowing from the Lancaster House Agreement.

136. My Government has the strongest views on the presence and deployment of South African forces in Southern Rhodesia during this critical period. In a statement issued on 17 January, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Jamaica

described this as "repugnant, provocative and unacceptable".

137. If this were the only matter in the complaint it would, nevertheless, by itself constitute a most damaging element in the situation. We are not unmindful of the fact that early last year the racist régime of Pretoria revealed its sinister designs on the peoples of Rhodesia and Namibia. Amidst offers of generous military and economic assistance, Pretoria then declared its concept of "a constellation of States", which in all likelihood was designed to subject those countries to a satellite relationship and to reverse the tide of liberation which has swept the African continent. Whatever the pretext, my delegation considers that there is and was no justification for the presence of South African troops on any part of Rhodesian territory.

138. The deployment of the Rhodesian forces and the so-called auxiliaries constitutes a serious departure from the Agreement, one which inevitably would seriously call in question the entire operation.

139. The existence of serious obstacles to the free return of refugees will inevitably lead to grave doubts about the validity and fairness of the forthcoming elections. The persons concerned are nationals of Zimbabwe. Their participation in an election which will have such profound implications for their future and the future of their country is a vital necessity. These and other issues which have been raised call for urgent action to repair breaches in the implementation of the Agreement. Jamaica joins others in calling for the faithful and impartial implementation of the Lancaster House Agreement by the Administering Authority.

140. The future of Zimbabwe and its people is at stake here and with that the future of southern Africa—for what happens in Zimbabwe will have far-reaching implications for the area. And, as we consider these matters, we are aware of the considerable turbulence in international affairs at this time. The successful conclusion of the decolonization process in Zimbabwe would be a most welcome positive achievement in a troubled world.

141. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

142. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): I wish to thank the members of the Security Council for having given me this opportunity to explain the views of my country on this important moment in the struggle for the freedom and independence of Zimbabwe, whose people and liberation movement have replaced the certitude of victory in armed national liberation struggle by a constructive, responsible and dignified testing of strengths in elections, on equal terms,

convinced that its inalienable right to freedom and independence will prevail over all obstacles.

143. We have listened carefully to the statements of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the front-line States, the representative of the United Kingdom [*ibid.*] and other African representatives. All those statements have clearly confirmed the need to convene this series of meetings of the Security Council and to clarify, through open debate, the problems that have arisen along the road of further unhampered progress towards the implementation of the provisions of the Lancaster House Agreement¹ on Zimbabwe. At this critical moment also my country wishes to make its contribution, as it has already done in all the earlier phases of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for liberation and independence.

144. Yugoslavia, together with the other non-aligned countries, has always maintained not only that the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe from colonial and racial oppression is the right and the concern of the people of that country, but also that the obligation of the whole international community—and of the United Nations in the first place—is to help to promote the realization of that right.

145. The struggle waged by the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, its sole authentic representative, is simultaneously part of the overall efforts exerted by all peoples, and by the peoples of southern Africa in particular, for the liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism and for the further strengthening of the independence of the free States of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. It is imperative, therefore, to ensure that the struggle for liberation is brought to a successful conclusion, either through armed confrontation or through the electoral process which can produce lasting results only if it faithfully reflects the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe.

146. Interpreting the obligation of the international community precisely in that manner, my delegation, at the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Maputo from 26 January to 2 February 1979, proposed that the Patriotic Front, as the sole authentic representative of the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence, should be admitted to the non-aligned movement as a fully fledged member. In admitting the Patriotic Front to their ranks, the non-aligned countries committed themselves to lend all-out support to the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, which has made tremendous sacrifices in order to become a member of the community of free peoples.

147. The non-aligned countries have approved the peaceful settlement of the problem of Zimbabwe on the basis of the principles of self-determination, believing that such a solution will lead to the realiza-

tion of the objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. In this connection, we wish to pay a special tribute to the front-line States, which have contributed to the creation of conditions for a substantively new situation in Southern Rhodesia, one which, in our estimation, offers prospects and is positive. For we cannot ignore the fact that today, instead of confrontation, a peaceful testing of strength is taking place on yesterday's battlefield.

148. As in the case of every other agreement, the Lancaster House Agreement also is valid only to the extent to which its provisions are observed and implemented impartially. However, great responsibility is borne by the British side in its capacity as the colonial administering Power upon whose conduct will depend whether the trust placed by the people of Zimbabwe in the Agreement will be justified. Consequently, the Agreement should be implemented in good faith, and only such an implementation of the provisions of the Agreement can ensure the recognition of its results. Failure to implement the obligations assumed under the Agreement will have unforeseeable consequences for peace and security in southern Africa.

149. Unfortunately, we are witnessing a situation in which it is becoming ever clearer that the letter of the Agreement is not being observed precisely by the party which has assumed the obligation to ensure its implementation.

150. According to the letter of the Agreement, the British Government committed itself not to allow South African troops to remain on the soil of Southern Rhodesia. However, they are still present there in various capacities and under various disguises and, it seems, in no small numbers. Adopting an even more brazen stand and encouraged by the tolerant attitude towards it, the South African Government has issued statements to the effect that it will withdraw its troops as soon as so-called satisfactory arrangements are made with the Rhodesian security forces concerning the security of Beit Bridge. That régime behaves as if it were the master of the situation, behaviour that is fully in accord with its aggressive nature as manifested by its constant aggressive actions against the front-line States. It would be irresponsible to allow the will of the entire world Organization, which demands the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of all South African troops from Zimbabwe, to be circumvented. Every manoeuvre in that sense, as well as any violation of the Agreement, should be condemned most emphatically.

151. There is no need to argue that no free and honest elections can be held in the presence of the troops of the racist régime and that, unless the elections are free and honest, there can be no international recognition of the newly elected Government.

152. Also completely at variance with the Lancaster House Agreement is the integration of the private army

of former Prime Minister Muzorewa into regular Southern Rhodesian military units and its use for occupying areas which the units of the Patriotic Front had evacuated under the Agreement. We are also strongly opposed to the policy of enactment of laws on the basis of the state of emergency, which is purposely directed against the African population of Zimbabwe. The introduction of courts martial by the British Governor during the electoral process, far from guaranteeing free and honest elections in that country, jeopardizes the most elementary conditions for the holding of elections. Any form of unequal treatment of the two sides, the continued holding in gaol of hundreds of political prisoners who are sympathizers of the Patriotic Front, and the ever more frequent attacks against and assassinations of its members should also be condemned in the strongest terms.

153. The creation of customs, border or any other difficulties for returnees and refugees sympathizers of the Patriotic Front can only further raise doubts as to the intentions of those who are holding power.

154. The positions I have set forth are those held by almost the entire international community. They have been repeatedly reaffirmed in the United Nations. They are, above all, the positions of the non-aligned countries. Yugoslavia has always supported the struggle of national liberation movements for complete political and economic independence and for majority rule. For that reason, we insist on a consistent implementation of the Lancaster House Agreement in order to secure the genuine independence of Zimbabwe, to enable the people of that country freely to choose the road of its political and economic development and to ensure the holding of elections in which the Patriotic Front, recognized by the United Nations as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe, will be able to take part freely and without hindrance under the same conditions and on an equal footing with all the other parties concerned.

155. We support the peaceful settlement of this as well as any other problem, provided such a settlement is not used as a screen for circumventing the genuine aspirations of oppressed peoples. In that sense we also supported the Lancaster House Agreement, proceeding from the assumption that it would ensure the total liquidation of the colonialist and racist régime in Zimbabwe and that the achievements of the national liberation struggle would be preserved for the people of Zimbabwe. If that is not ensured, the "solution" likely to emerge will be null and void and without any prospects. The attitude of the world towards the peaceful settlement of colonial problems so strongly advocated by the Western countries will also depend on the way in which the Agreement is implemented.

156. We feel that these meetings of the Security Council have offered us the opportunity to draw attention to the dangers inherent in attempts at arbitrary and one-sided interpretations of the Lancaster House Agreement or violation of its clauses.

157. The question of Zimbabwe, like the problem of Namibia or any other colonial Territory, is a component part of the general struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism and all forms of domination, subjugation and hegemony and cannot be separated from the struggle for the universal affirmation of the principles of non-alignment and of the right of peoples to decide their own destiny. That right should become universal, and the United Nations should protect and defend it in equal manner throughout the world. Those who violate or who turn a deaf ear to that are actually helping to intensify the use of force in international relations and global confrontation, threatening the general process of détente and impeding the struggle for peace and security in the world.

158. My delegation is convinced that the warning sounded in this forum will be heeded by those to whom it is addressed. The United Nations is the proper place not only for drawing attention to the problem, but also for taking indispensable steps to prevent the violation of the Lancaster House Agreement and secure the equal treatment of all of its signatories. We should constantly endeavour to contribute to the realization of the right of Zimbabwe, as well as that of Namibia, to independence and sovereignty, which will have a lasting and positive effect not only in Africa but also in the world at large.

159. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has listened to the statements made by the respected Ministers of Liberia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Mozambique and by the representatives of African and other countries on the present situation in Southern Rhodesia. Now I should like to state the following views on this question.

160. Over a month has passed since the parties concerned signed in London the Lancaster House Agreement¹ on the solution of the question of Southern Rhodesia. The African countries and peoples and the international community have been concerned with strict adherence to and implementation of that Agreement so that the people of Zimbabwe will be able to realize majority rule and national independence at an early date. However, the recent development of the situation in Southern Rhodesia shows that the Agreement is facing a new test as to whether it can be implemented or not.

161. The Lancaster House Agreement provided for the complete withdrawal of the police and armed forces sent by the South African authorities to be stationed in Zimbabwe and has formulated the principle of treating the forces of Muzorewa and the Patriotic Front equally. In paragraphs 6 and 7 of its resolution 460 (1979), the Security Council once again explicitly calls for strict adherence to the agreements reached, and for their full and faithful implementation by the administering Power and all the parties concerned, and calls upon the administering Power to

ensure that no South African or other external forces, regular or mercenary, will remain in or enter Southern Rhodesia, except those forces provided for under the Lancaster House Agreement.

162. Since the signing of the Agreement, the Patriotic Front has strictly adhered to the provisions of the cease-fire agreement and its guerrilla forces have regrouped one after another at the designated assembly points. Up to now, South African police and armed forces and a large number of mercenary troops have still not been completely withdrawn from Rhodesia. Furthermore, with the tacit consent of the administering authorities, the security forces of Rhodesia and its so-called auxiliary forces have been allowed to leave the assembly points for free activities on the pretext of assisting the Rhodesian police to maintain law and order, and by harassing, encircling or even flagrantly killing those forces of the Patriotic Front that are on their way to the assembly points, these Rhodesian forces have constantly created serious bloody incidents. These are, obviously, in violation of the Lancaster House Agreement and have naturally aroused the resentment and apprehension of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, the African front-line countries and a large number of States Members of the United Nations.

163. The Chinese delegation already pointed out during the consideration and adoption of resolution 460 (1979) of the Security Council that "the signing of the London agreement marks the beginning of a new stage in the struggle of the Zimbabwean people" [2181st meeting, para. 147] for national independence. We pointed out that any agreement is merely something on paper. Acute and complex struggles have to be waged in order to translate something on paper into reality. The racist forces of Rhodesia will never step down from the stage of history of their own accord. The South African racist régime has all along had designs of placing southern Africa under its long-term control. The South African racist régime and the Rhodesian racist forces are jackals of the same lair, and they are bound to collaborate with each other, work hand in glove and resort to various schemes and carry out sabotage and disturbances in a death-bed struggle. In view of the recent developments, our anxiety is not unwarranted. These developments have also shown that only by relying on the continuous strengthening of the unity of the Zimbabwean people and African front-line countries and all other justice-upholding countries and peoples, and by heightening vigilance and persevering in the struggle, can the complete and unreserved implementation of the Lancaster House Agreement be ensured.

164. The significance of the early peaceful solution of the Rhodesian question and the realization of the genuine independence of the Zimbabwean people goes well beyond the confines of one country. It will be a major event that concerns peace and stability in southern Africa. We have taken note of the fact that,

with the support of the African States of the Commonwealth, the parties concerned have made great efforts and positive contributions to the peaceful solution of the question. We have given full appraisal of this. However, if the Agreement reached cannot be strictly and fairly implemented, and the United Kingdom fails to take immediate and effective measures to stop the deterioration of the state of affairs, the situation in Zimbabwe and southern Africa will continue to be turbulent and unstable and even lead to greater relapses.

165. At present, hegemonists from outside are casting a covetous eye and are seeking every opportunity to carry out infiltration and expansion in this area. Should the aforementioned situation occur, the results of the Lancaster House Conference would be destroyed and hegemonists from outside would intensify their meddling. This would be detrimental to all the signatories of the Lancaster House Agreement.

166. Since the British Governor has already taken over full power in Rhodesia, the British side should discharge its responsibilities and deal with the situation in Rhodesia in strict adherence to the provisions of the Agreement. This is not only in the interests of the parties directly concerned, but also conducive to the maintenance of peace and stability in southern Africa.

167. The Chinese delegation is in favour of the views and various correct proposals put forward by the representatives of the African countries. The Security Council should give serious consideration to them. In our view, the Council should strongly condemn the South African racist régime for its interference in the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia and call upon the administering authorities to urge the immediate and complete withdrawal of South African forces and all other mercenaries from Southern Rhodesia and to implement the Agreement comprehensively and fairly in every respect. We sincerely hope that the Agreement will be speedily and strictly implemented so as to facilitate the fair and peaceful solution of the question of Southern Rhodesia and the realization of national independence of the Zimbabwean people.

168. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Zaire. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

169. Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure for me to have an opportunity to speak once again during your term of office as President of the Security Council. I am familiar with your country's devotion and your own devotion to the defence of just causes, and I am convinced that, with your lucid and able guidance, the Council will respond appropriately to the questions raised in this debate on Zimbabwe.

170. The Republic of Zaire attaches great importance to Zimbabwe's future because of the direct influence that the situation in that country and that part of Africa has on peace, security and stability in central Africa. During the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, we had an opportunity to emphasize that point and to recall that, just as Zambia needs real independence in Zimbabwe and Angola needs real independence in Namibia, Zaire needs stability and security in Angola and in the other neighbouring countries. In its march towards progress and development, Africa requires peace and stability in central Africa and its periphery.

171. For its part, the Republic of Zaire has always believed that the final harmonious settlement of the problem of Zimbabwe essentially requires a dialogue among all the sons of Zimbabwe. The Republic of Zaire therefore supports the African action calling for these meetings of the Security Council. That action expresses justified concern and a true desire to contribute. We are concerned, first of all, because in our devotion to peace, we wish to establish conditions for understanding, cohesion and harmony in Zimbabwe. Now that peace is at hand, we wish it to be achieved. We do not want our hopes to be dashed. We want all parties to refrain from anything that might bring back mistrust and war and cause useless frustration. Next, we have a true desire to contribute, because we wish to help to bring about a successful outcome to the great efforts that have been undertaken by the United Kingdom to ensure that Zimbabwe achieves independence in a climate of understanding, peace and harmony in accordance with the stipulations of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

172. The United Kingdom should therefore understand Africa's action as constituting a positive and productive contribution to the real fulfilment of the wishes expressed in the Lancaster House Agreement;¹ several heads working on a good cause are always better than only one.

173. Over the past 14 years Africa's approach, shared by the international community as a whole, has been to help the people of Zimbabwe, organized within its national liberation movement, to resist the brutality of all kinds perpetrated by the rebel Salisbury Administration and to regain its rights to self-determination, to unrestrained development of its own individuality and to independence—rights that have been ignored—and also to draw the attention of the United Kingdom to its responsibilities as administering Power.

174. After much hesitation and the failure of attempts, the hesitancy of which I assume results from the complexity of the problem, the United Kingdom has finally responded to the appeal of OAU, the national liberation movements and the international community and has promised fully to meet its responsibilities as administering Power.

175. The signing of the Lancaster House Agreement on 21 December 1979 in London by the parties concerned, Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom, was a great relief, and the restoration of legality in Zimbabwe with the arrival of the new British Governor caused deep emotion among all of us who have been concerned with this problem for many years. We paid a well deserved tribute not only to the United Kingdom and Mrs. Thatcher's Government, but also to the Patriotic Front and to all the leaders of Zimbabwe for the courage and maturity they had demonstrated.

176. Information concerning the violation of the Lancaster House Agreement, and particularly the maintenance of South African troops and mercenaries, causes us deep concern. The maintenance of South African troops and the presence of mercenaries certainly are not factors for stabilization in that country and in the region. It is a serious cause for concern, because we do not want time bombs that will explode in the hands of the sons of Zimbabwe just after independence has been achieved and the British Governor has left. So many efforts have been undertaken in patient, arduous negotiations to solve the crisis of Zimbabwe; they surely do not deserve such an outcome.

177. We should therefore like to make a friendly request of the United Kingdom and all the other States of the world first to help the sons of Zimbabwe to understand one another, to unite, to overcome their divergences, since the latter can so easily be exploited to the detriment of the people and their future, and to learn from the examples of the past; while, on the other hand, they refrain from adopting any position that might fan the flames of discord among the children of Zimbabwe and create useless frustration. We wish to ensure that, free from all hindrances, the people of Zimbabwe may choose their future leaders without pressure from any source.

178. In Zimbabwe in particular, and in southern Africa in general, we wish to warn against any errors of assessment and judgement that might be exploited to counteract the will and determination of the States of our region to pursue a policy of true independence and to work for peace, progress and the development of their peoples in a climate of friendship, understanding and co-operation with all the nations of the world. There are, indeed, errors of assessment and judgement that might eventually give rise to serious threats to international peace and security in the region.

179. We are convinced that the children of Zimbabwe will be equal to their historic responsibilities, and we must all help them. A situation of confusion in Zimbabwe will serve neither the interests of Africa nor those of the United Kingdom and its partners.

180. The interests of all reside in the implementation without any distortion or ulterior motives of the

Lancaster House Agreement in a climate of order and mutual trust. We are convinced that the British Government will in good faith continue to implement the Agreement in letter as well as in spirit, in the interests not only of friendship and co-operation between independent Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom but also of world peace and security.

181. No other continent has been subjugated for so long as Africa, or so mistreated and humiliated by the colonial situation and *apartheid*. No other continent has lost so many human lives as has Africa because of the colonial situation. No other continent has been so impoverished or been so much the victim of the plunder of its resources as has Africa because of the colonial situation. We wish to believe that all that belongs to the past.

182. The accession to independence of a new nation is a time for all who love freedom, peace and justice to rejoice, but it is also a moment for reflection on respect for the rights of peoples and for human dignity in the interests of friendship and indispensable co-operation among peoples and States.

183. The courageous people of Zimbabwe has long been the victim of an unjust fate—illegal occupation by a racist and intransigent minority. The courageous people of Zimbabwe has experienced too much deprivation and too many wars and it has shed too much blood.

184. From north to south, from east to west, let us once and for all set aside selfish designs and speculation and promise to restore peace to Zimbabwe, to give it a breathing space. I am convinced that it will then be able to demonstrate to the world what it is capable of doing, if it can work in a climate of freedom and dignity, its independence regained.

185. We must demonstrate an exalted sense of responsibility. This means that we must draw up a balance sheet of what we have achieved together after difficult work in which all have paid a price. This means also that we must build on the basis of those achievements.

186. When I measure the distance that we have travelled since we began, I tell myself that we have gone a long way, and I can understand, on the one hand, the justified indignation and emotion of the representative of the Patriotic Front and, on the other hand, the frustrations of Great Britain, whose self-esteem and national pride have been wounded because it is inclined to believe that the efforts that it has undertaken so far are not even being recognized.

187. It is not in the mind nor in the intention of anyone—certainly not of the delegation of Zaire—to disrupt the Lancaster House Agreement. We must therefore all, both in word and in deed, avoid excesses that would have a negative impact and invite

all parties directly involved to demonstrate moderation and mutual understanding, since, over and above excesses on one side and radical responses on the other side that all bear the stamp of injured self-esteem and national pride, we must return to reality. That is to say, that we must remember, first, that Zimbabwe is still a British colony; secondly, that the process of achieving independence and holding free and democratic elections must go on; thirdly, that the Lancaster House Agreement is a valid one and must not collapse; fourthly, that after this Security Council debate, it will be necessary to continue on the spot in Zimbabwe to solve the specific problems that arise by peaceful means rather than by convulsive means; and, finally, that we must all work to create the optimum conditions for the return of peace and freedom to that country. Taking into account all I have said, a compromise is possible between the various positions that would support the dynamics of peace and spare all parties paralysing frustrations and humiliations.

188. In the view of the delegation of Zaire, once we have heard all the relevant and nobly inspired statements in the Security Council, a resolution or an appeal from the Council that would call upon the United Kingdom, the administering Power, to ensure that the process leading to the accession of Zimbabwe to independence and free and democratic elections

takes place in conformity with the Lancaster House Agreement; that would call for the withdrawal of the South African troops, the withdrawal of mercenary forces, the confinement to base of all troops or military forces, and treatment on an equal footing of all parties involved in the elections so as to guarantee that they will all have the same opportunity to accede to power—this would eloquently express the concern of all of us.

189. We hope that everyone will be mature enough to meet the challenge and that the decisions adopted by the Security Council will promote, rather than delay or forestall the achievement of a just and lasting solution of the crisis of Zimbabwe.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Constitutional Conference, Lancaster House, London, September-December 1979*, Cmd. 7802 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1980).

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 31st meeting, para. 18.

³ A/34/542, annex, Political Declaration, para. 78.

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