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NOTE

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2120th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 5 March 1979, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Leslie O. HARRIMAN (Nigeria).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2120)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:
Letter dated 28 February 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13121)

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

Tribute to the memory of Mr. Jamil M. Baroody, Ambassador of Saudi Arabia

1. The PRESIDENT: I wish at the very outset of this meeting on behalf of the members of the Security Council to pay a tribute to the memory of His Excellency Mr. Jamil M. Baroody, Deputy Permanent Representative of Saudi Arabia to the United Nations.
2. Ambassador Baroody represented Saudi Arabia at the United Nations from 1947. His political experience and his historical knowledge of the United Nations were unparalleled. We recall that Ambassador Baroody was a wise and enthusiastic guardian of the ideals and objectives of the United Nations and that he participated in the work of the Security Council on many occasions over the years.
3. I should like to ask the Permanent Mission of Saudi Arabia to convey to the Government and people of Saudi Arabia the sadness we feel at this time. I wish also to extend sincere condolences to the family of Ambassador Baroody.
4. His passing leaves a gap which will be felt sorely by all of us in our work at the United Nations.

On the proposal of the President, the members of the Council observed a minute of silence.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:

Letter dated 28 February 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13121)

5. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2119th meeting, I invite the representatives of Angola, Benin, Botswana, Cuba, Ethiopia and Ghana to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Houngavou (Benin), Mr. Modisi (Botswana), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Seifu (Ethiopia), and Mr. Sekyi (Ghana) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

6. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fernando (Sri Lanka) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

7. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, before turning to the substance of the item under discussion I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March, a month in the course of which the Council will have to consider quite a number of important matters affecting your continent in particular. I should like to take this opportunity wholeheartedly to thank your predecessor in the post of President, the representative of Kuwait Mr. Bishara, who with skill and energy unstintingly devoted himself each day to the task of guiding the proceedings of the Council in February.

8. The decision of the Group of African States at the United Nations to call for an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the question of the situation in Southern Rhodesia was a timely initiative. As a result of the illegal manoeuvres of the racist régime directed against the African majority in Zimbabwe and also as a result of their repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States, there persists in this part of Africa a tense situation that is fraught with danger to peace and security. Understanding, as they do, that as a result of the irresistible

upsurge of the liberation struggle waged by the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front the total collapse of the illegal régime is inevitable, the racists around Smith will shrink from no crimes or provocations in order to prevent the people of Zimbabwe from obtaining true independence and freedom. It was precisely for that reason that they arranged the so-called internal settlement, which began a year ago with the shameful deal in Salisbury between Smith and the three African leaders who sold out and which is to be consummated next April by the farce of the illegal so-called elections. This so-called internal settlement is designed to hoodwink the people of Zimbabwe. It is an attempt to impose on that people a neo-colonialist régime and, while promising to establish a majority government, actually to preserve the reality of power in the hands of the white exploiters.

9. In its resolution 423 (1978), the Security Council condemned "all attempts and manoeuvres by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia aimed at the retention of power by a racist minority and at preventing the achievement of independence by Zimbabwe". At the same time, the Council declared illegal and unacceptable any internal settlement concluded under the auspices of the illegal régime and called upon all States not to accord any recognition to such a settlement.

10. However, as the facts show, not all Member States are ready to comply with this unambiguous resolution. One instance in evidence of this is the campaign that has been mounted in Western countries for a repeal of the binding sanctions decreed by the Council against the illegal régime as well as consideration by the United States Congress of the question of sending a group next April to observe the illegal, one-sided elections in Rhodesia.

11. As is pointed out in the statement of the Group of African States at the United Nations of 14 February last:

"To send observers to such an election is in fact to give encouragement to the manoeuvres of the Smith régime calculated to defeat a genuine settlement of the conflict in Zimbabwe. Such a move can only comfort Mr. Smith and his collaborators and provide them with a false sense of hope if only they can continue with their oppressive war for some time more. It would, as a consequence, only lead to the escalation of the conflict and prolongation of the suffering and bloodshed of Zimbabweans."
[S/13084, annex, para. 4.]

12. These and other similar actions are clearly designed to help to legalize the Rhodesian régime in one form or another, while at the same time they represent an attempt to undermine the national liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. Also, this collusion promotes the continuation of the aggressive acts of the racists against independent African States, the latest examples of which have been the massive attacks by Rhodesian troops against Zambia, Mozambique and Angola resulting in the killing of hundreds of refugees from Southern Rhodesia and inhabitants of those countries.

13. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic supports a resolution of the Rhodesian problem that would ensure the earliest possible transfer of power to genuine representatives of the African majority in Zimbabwe, namely, the national liberation movement headed by the Patriotic Front, and categorically opposes all attempts to impose on

the people of Zimbabwe a neo-colonialist solution. The Czechoslovak delegation whole-heartedly supports the decisions that were taken on this question at the special meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries which was held at ministerial level at Maputo during January and February last.

14. The Czechoslovak delegation believes that at this stage the Security Council should once again condemn the manoeuvres of the illegal régime—among other things, the farce of the so-called elections planned for next April—which attempt to preserve and perpetuate the domination of the white minority and to hinder the attainment by the people of Zimbabwe of genuine independence. The Council must declare these elections and their results illegal and call upon all States to refrain from recognizing any organs that may come to be established on the basis of these elections. We should also condemn with the utmost vigour the repeated acts of barbarous aggression committed by the Rhodesian racist army against neighbouring sovereign African States. At the same time, the Council must support the just demands for the further expansion and strengthening of binding sanctions against the racist régime.

15. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I should like to start by congratulating you on your assuming your office. You have, if I may say so, drawn what promises to be a particularly busy and perhaps difficult month, and we wish you well in your task, calling as it does for considerable diplomatic expertise, objectivity and patience, qualities for which you are renowned.

16. I should also like to take this opportunity of congratulating Mr. Bishara of Kuwait for the way he led the Council during February when we were faced with some most important issues. He handled the functions of the presidency with dignity and great skill.

17. It has been a sad week-end for the United Nations, which has lost in Ambassador Baroody its longest-serving and perhaps its best known delegate. I should like to extend to his wife and his family and to the Saudi delegation our sincerest commiserations. Mr. Baroody will never be forgotten here, and the Organization can ill afford to lose his dedicated devotion to its cause, his unique and independent approach to world problems, his trenchant wit and what I could call his spirit of iconoclasm. The United Nations will not be the same without him.

18. I now turn to the subject of our debate today. I would wish first to place on record our whole-hearted condemnation of the recent attacks by the illegal régime on the territory of neighbouring States. The attacks were illegal and indefensible and we deplore the terrible loss of life and destruction. By spreading the destruction in this way—and we note with extreme concern that the attacks have for the first time been extended to include targets in Angola—the Rhodesian régime risks widening the conflict into a regional war. Indeed, both sides have been guilty of sharpening the conflict in recent months. It has been marked by some brutal acts inside Rhodesia, including the shooting down of Rhodesian civilian aircraft with tragic loss of innocent lives. As so often in such situations, the worst and most tragic consequences of conflict fall upon the civilian population, both African and European.

19. In the British Government's view, the best prospect of ending the conflict and of achieving a return to legality and

a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia lies in an attempt to find a wider agreement involving both sides in the conflict and incorporating such essential features of the Anglo-American proposals as a cease-fire and a neutral administration for the conduct of free and fair elections under United Nations supervision. Such elections, held under impartial control, should determine the wishes of the people of Rhodesia as a whole and be conducted in a manner which would command the acceptance of the international community. We believe that any resolution adopted by the Security Council should call on all concerned to make renewed efforts to achieve a settlement on those lines.

20. The British Government, with the Government of the United States, remains fully committed to continuing efforts to bring about a peaceful transition to independence and majority rule through elections supervised by the United Nations. That commitment was reconfirmed at a meeting between my Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. Owen, and the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Vance, at the beginning of last month. Also since the Council last discussed the issue, Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, as special representative of the United Kingdom Prime Minister, visited southern Africa to consult the leaders of the front-line States, Nigeria, South Africa and the Patriotic Front and Mr. Smith and the other three internal African leaders at Salisbury. The sad conclusion of Mr. Hughes' inquiries was that the parties were so far apart that there was no existing prospect of convening a successful meeting of all parties to consider a negotiated settlement, but that the Anglo-American proposals, though neither immutable nor intended to exclude other possibilities, remained available as the best basis we could currently see for an eventual settlement.

21. We believe that the elections which the Salisbury régime proposes to hold in April are not likely to bring about a successful result. As my Prime Minister has stated publicly, he does not see how it is possible to talk about holding "free and unfettered elections" in the kind of situation we are facing and that it is indeed difficult to see how, in these circumstances, elections not held under international supervision and following a cease-fire could gain international recognition. But I must add a clear note of warning to those speakers who have called on Governments to prevent their nationals from going to Rhodesia to observe these elections. We could not accept language attempting to circumscribe the functioning of our parliamentary democracy or Parliament's right to exercise its judgement on the acceptability of any settlement to the people of Rhodesia as a whole in accordance with the fifth principle endorsed by successive British Governments. Nor could we accept wording which sought to fetter the British Parliament as to how it might decide to inform itself on the situation. It has been made clear that the British Government does not intend to be officially involved as a Government or to send observers to monitor the elections. We shall however not be able to accept any resolution which circumscribes the rights of individual United Kingdom citizens whatever their status, whether that of Members of Parliament, representatives of the media, or other. Nor shall we be able to accept any resolution that in any way circumscribes the rights of the British Parliament, which, as has been repeatedly stressed in the Council, has a specific responsibility in relation to Rhodesia.

22. In short, my Government remains deeply concerned about the situation in Rhodesia, the rising level of conflict

there and the increasing extension of the conflict to the territories of other Member States in the area. It also remains convinced of the urgent need to encourage all the parties to achieve, through negotiation, a settlement which will at last bring an end to violence and secure a peaceful transition in Rhodesia to internationally recognized majority rule. We shall examine any draft resolution which is submitted to the Council in the light of the considerations which I have set out.

23. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, permit me first of all to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for March and to wish you every success in your conduct of the Council's proceedings. In the present very weighty and complex stage of the development of the international situation, the Soviet Union has developed and is developing friendly relations with your country and we are sure that your rich experience in the United Nations, particularly in regard to the national liberation struggle and the struggle against *apartheid*, will promote the achievement of positive results on matters which the Security Council will be called upon to examine this month.

24. I should like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to your predecessor as President, Ambassador Bishara of Kuwait, for his tireless and skilful conduct of the work of the Council in exceptionally difficult circumstances which required the full use of his unequalled diplomatic talents.

25. I wish to say a few words also about the sudden passing of Mr. Baroody. That sudden death took from among the ranks of United Nations diplomats an experienced diplomat who knew many statesmen and who was sincerely striving to promote by his contribution the consolidation of peace. One could agree or fail to agree with the various proposals or statements made by Mr. Baroody but one could not deny him his great human qualities. He sincerely wanted peace throughout the world.

26. The Soviet delegation has studied attentively the statements of representatives of African States and the representative of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, which were made at the last meeting of the Council. We entirely share the profound concern and indignation of African countries at the abrupt escalation of aggressive actions on the part of the racist régimes of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa against neighbouring independent African countries. Over the last two weeks alone, Zambia, Angola and Mozambique have been the victims of repeated barbarous bombing by the racist régimes. As a result of those bombings, hundreds of completely innocent people—children, women, and old people—died or were wounded; refugee camps were destroyed and schools and other purely civilian targets were destroyed. The racist aggressors went so far as to threaten to escalate the bombing of the territory of neighbouring African States to the level of large-scale warfare. At the same time, the racist régime of Smith has been stepping up its repressive policy within the country. His punitive organs without trial and without investigation have been dealing summarily and brutally with all those suspected of opposition to the racist régime. They have been burning villages, destroying crops and pursuing a policy of open genocide against the black population of Zimbabwe. In these circumstances of intensification of the armed struggle

being waged against the Smith régime by the warriors of the Patriotic Front, the Southern Rhodesian racists want to break the militant spirit of those fighting for national liberation and force the African countries to give up their fraternal support for the liberation struggle of the Zimbabwe patriots.

27. The Security Council cannot remain indifferent to the situation which threatens peace and security in southern Africa and elsewhere. The Council must most vigorously condemn the aggressive actions of the racist régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria against neighbouring African States as a flagrant violation of international law and a serious threat to international peace and security.

28. At the same time the Soviet delegation believes that the criminal attacks by the Southern Rhodesian racist régime on African States should be viewed within the broader context of the efforts being made to preserve the colonial order in that country and to continue the plundering and exploitation of the indigenous population of southern Africa. For those purposes the racists and their protectors in the West have had recourse to the most varied manoeuvres. They have hired local collaborators and made attempts to split the ranks of the Patriotic Front, they are banking on getting round economic and other sanctions that have been imposed by the United Nations with regard to Southern Rhodesia and, finally, they are continuing their policy of implementing a so-called internal settlement, which means the preservation in that country of a racist order under a neo-colonialist label.

29. In its resolution 423 (1978), the Security Council condemned all attempts at keeping the racist minority in power in Southern Rhodesia and declared illegal and unacceptable any internal settlement concluded under the auspices of the illegal régime. The Council called upon all States not to recognize such a settlement.

30. We have seen that the racist Smith régime, aware of the support of extremely influential circles in the West, is continuing the policy of preserving and strengthening the rule of the minority in Zimbabwe. An important role in those plans is assigned to the so-called elections in Zimbabwe scheduled for April. It is clear that those elections will constitute one more police operation undertaken by the racist authorities, accompanied by terrorism against the local population. There can be no question of any transfer of power to the majority so long as that possibility is excluded even by the so-called constitution which was recently approved by the white population of the country.

31. However, as we know, the United States and the United Kingdom are considering with the utmost seriousness the question of recognizing the results of those elections and using that pretext to refuse to observe the sanctions established by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia. The proposed sending of a group of American congressmen and members of the British Parliament for what they call "objective observation" of the "elections" is an open act of defiance and a challenge to the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe and the African countries, which have condemned all attempts at a one-sided solution to the Rhodesian problem undertaken by the Smith régime and have rejected the planned elections as illegal and invalid. In their statements in the Council, the representatives of the African countries have called upon the Western countries to

renounce the measures they are preparing with the aim of legalizing the so-called internal elections being planned by the racist régime, since that can only lead to a further exacerbation of the conflict in Southern Rhodesia and an increase in the threat to international peace and security in that area.

32. The question arises: Can it really be true that those countries which intend to send so-called observers to the elections to be held by the Smith clique do not understand that those elections constitute only a new and ill-disguised farce? Obviously the point is that those elections are just one more link in the chain of measures aimed at solving the problem of Southern Rhodesia in a neo-colonialist fashion. Not so long ago, in the United States the doors were thrown wide open in hospitality to the head of the Southern Rhodesian racists; steps were taken leading to the repeal of economic sanctions and now the ground is being prepared for the total recognition of the illegal régime.

33. A similar role in this matter is also being played by the United Kingdom, the administering Power in Rhodesia. The so-called rebel Smith could long have been dealt with. The United Kingdom could long ago by itself have transferred power to the indigenous majority of the population of that country, and now could do so with the support of the United States. But what is happening? The answer is that there are profound economic and strategic interests of the United Kingdom and the United States at work in southern Africa.

34. In the statement made on 14 February last by the Group of African States at the United Nations, the following is rightly pointed out:

"Such a move can only comfort Mr. Smith and his collaborators and provide them with a false sense of hope if only they can continue with their oppressive war for some time more. It would, as a consequence, only lead to the escalation of the conflict and prolongation of the suffering and bloodshed of Zimbabweans. It would also be in flagrant violation of the Security Council decision." [S/13084, annex, para. 4.]

35. The Soviet delegation believes that the Security Council should most energetically demand that the Western Powers should refrain from sending observers to Southern Rhodesia—even though we have just been told here that their Governments are unable to do that.

36. For our part, we should like once again to confirm our position of principle: A swift and just solution of the problem of Southern Rhodesia can be obtained only through clear compliance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, by means of strict, complete and unswerving application of sanctions against the Smith régime and its supporter, South Africa, and by the transfer of power to the genuine patriots in Zimbabwe, represented by the united Patriotic Front. Only such measures will be in keeping with the interests of the people of Zimbabwe, its will and its aspirations. The members of the Patriotic Front should not allow any attempts to split that Front to succeed. The strength and the victory of the Front lie in its unity.

37. Pursuant to its position of principle of support for the struggle of peoples for their freedom and the elimination of

the colonial racist régimes, the Soviet Union intends to continue most actively to promote the success of the great liberation movement of the peoples of southern Africa. As was pointed out the other day in his statement to the electors of Moscow by the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev,

“there is no area in world politics where our Party and the Soviet State would not support the cause of justice, progress and peace”.

On the basis of this position the Soviet Union addresses itself to the struggle for the liberation from the yoke of racist oppression of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and against the system of *apartheid* in South Africa.

38. The Soviet Union intends firmly and unswervingly to follow that course in the future, especially here in the Security Council. We are ready to support any draft resolution of the African countries which would help to accelerate the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe from the colonial and racist yoke, and make it possible to establish the power of the indigenous population of that country. A good basis for a Council resolution on the item under discussion could be the final communiqué of the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of non-aligned countries recently held at Maputo [see S/13185].

39. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): Mr. President, I should like to express my sincere congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I am convinced that you will discharge your duties in the same efficient and elegant manner as did your predecessor, Ambassador Bishara. The latter's description of the presidency as crippling and restrictive, generating both loneliness and frustration, is an awesome characterization which, I am sure, will not deter a person of your own experience. I have to confess, however, that it does give me some pause for thought as regards next month.

40. I should also like to associate myself with the words of condolence expressed here on the occasion of the death of our friend and colleague, Ambassador Baroody. The Organization will not be the same without him.

41. The war inside and outside Southern Rhodesia is being stepped up. The policies of the illegal régime of Ian Smith have brought about this tragic situation which has been further exacerbated during the last twelve months. The Norwegian Government strongly condemns the recent armed attacks against Angola, Mozambique and Zambia by Rhodesian forces.

42. The Norwegian Government deplores the great losses of innocent lives as a result of the increased military activities of the Smith régime across the borders of Southern Rhodesia and the intensification of the civil war inside the Territory.

43. The latest attacks on independent States in southern Africa clearly demonstrate how those States are in the forefront of the struggle for freedom and independence in southern Africa. In this connexion, the Norwegian Government wishes to stress the responsibility of the international community to provide effective economic and humanitarian assistance to the victims of those attacks.

44. The present situation in Southern Rhodesia emphasizes the urgent need to find a political settlement which can be internationally recognized and bring peace to a free and independent Zimbabwe. There is no reason to believe that the elections scheduled for 20 April will reverse the tide of mounting war inside and outside Southern Rhodesia. On the contrary, we fear that they will provoke further violence.

45. The Norwegian Government can in no way associate itself with a purported electoral process, or the results thereof, in a sitace on the basis of a constitution which allows the white minority that constitutes less than 5 per cent of the population to retain the controlling political power. Under these circumstances, the sending of observers can in no way legitimize the results of those elections. The international community must regard the upcoming internal elections in Southern Rhodesia, and the results thereof, as null and void.

46. In the view of the Norwegian Government, the Anglo-American proposals contain fundamental principles which, if implemented, would allow for free and fair elections. Those principles must be an integral part of any political settlement in Zimbabwe.

47. Regrettably, time is now rapidly running out, because of the intransigence of Mr. Smith and his colleagues in their pursuit of an internal settlement. In the Security Council, however, we must still press for a peaceful solution and take all necessary measures towards that end. The Norwegian Government urges all parties concerned to resume efforts to bring about a free and independent Zimbabwe on the basis of genuine majority rule.

48. Until an internationally acceptable political settlement has been found, the international community must scrupulously maintain its sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. The utmost care should be taken not to accord any legality to a régime in Southern Rhodesia established in contravention of the principle of genuine majority rule based on free and fair elections.

49. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to say how pleased I am to see you once again presiding over the Security Council. We shall need all your talent and deep knowledge and experience in order to deal with the work which is before us this month.

50. I should also like to express to the representative of Kuwait our thanks and our congratulations for the excellent manner in which he conducted the business of the Council last month. His patience and tact during the last few weeks have been a most valuable example to us all.

51. The French delegation would like to associate itself with the tribute which you offered, Mr. President, to the memory of Ambassador Baroody, who died yesterday after having occupied such an important place in the United Nations for more than 30 years. With his original turn of mind and often non-conformist albeit conciliatory views, Ambassador Baroody was sincerely devoted to the cause of peace. I should like to express our deep deep sympathy to the delegation of Saudi Arabia and the family of Mr. Baroody.

52. It is almost a year ago to the day that the Security Council met to consider a complaint of Zambia, a victim of

raids carried out by the forces of Southern Rhodesia. Ian Smith sought in that way to show that he was determined, despite and against everyone, to implement the so-called internal solution which had given rise to the so-called agreement of 3 March 1978. The international community and the members of the Council in particular at that time warned the rebel leader of the dangers of that policy. For his part, the representative of France stated here on 17 March 1978:

"The illegal régime at Salisbury must understand the universal condemnation that such operations call down upon it. It must realize that the restoration of peace in Rhodesia cannot come about through hostile incursions into neighbouring countries nor through a refusal to face up to reality, but only through an understanding reached in negotiations with all the Rhodesian parties." [2070th meeting, para. 18.]

53. Far from producing even the beginning of a solution to the thorny problem which divides that country, the agreement of 3 March 1978 merely added to the difficulty, even when in Malta and at Dar es Salaam solutions appeared to be emerging.

54. On several occasions thereafter Ian Smith sent his forces sometimes into Zambia, and sometimes into Mozambique and sometimes into Botswana in the hope of overcoming the resistance of the Patriotic Front.

55. Today, refusing to draw the obvious conclusions from events and taking no account of the warnings and advice offered to him from all sides, the rebel leader obstinately continues to seek to impose his plan. With the forthcoming elections which he has scheduled for 20 April he is, on the contrary, increasing the number of his forays in neighbouring territories and for the first time has launched a raid as far as Angola. On that occasion, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country issued a communiqué, on 1 March, the terms of which I should like to recall:

"France condemns the raid carried out on 26 February by the Rhodesian air force over the territory of Angola. Such actions, which are clearly contrary to the rules which should regulate relations between States, can only aggravate tension in southern Africa and jeopardize efforts to reach a peaceful settlement of the various problems present in the region."

56. How can Ian Smith not realize that the repetition and extension of these actions, with all the attendant suffering and destruction, is above all a proof of his powerlessness?

57. According to Ian Smith, on 20 April the democratic rule of "one man, one vote" will for the first time be applied in Southern Rhodesia. Unfortunately, this manoeuvre is taking place in the most questionable circumstances.

58. First and foremost, this electoral consultation is being organized by a government set up pursuant to an agreement judged to be inadequate by the United Kingdom itself, the only legal administering Power recognized by the international community. Secondly, this parody of electoral consultation will be taking place in an atmosphere of insecurity that has given rise to a strengthening of the police and military apparatus in a way incompatible with the free expression of the will of the people.

59. For these reasons, we cannot support the intention of those who wish to observe this operation, thus conferring on it an endorsement of which Ian Smith would not fail to take advantage. France understands in any case that no government is ready to encourage them.

60. In 1977 the United States and the United Kingdom drew up proposals [S/12393] which, in my country's view, offered a useful basis for settlement. As was recognized last Friday by the representative of Zambia [2119th meeting], they contain provisions the application of which would make it possible for Zimbabwe to accede to genuine independence. France again expresses the hope that all the parties involved in the conflict will agree to take into account the essential elements of those proposals in order to put an end to the dispute which divides them and thus promote the establishment of an era of peace in the region.

61. Mr. LAI Ya-Li (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Mr. President, first of all, allow me to extend to you my sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. I should also like to take this opportunity to express my sincere congratulations to Ambassador Bishara of Kuwait on his successful fulfilment of the duties of the presidency of the Council for February.

62. On the other hand, I wish to express our deep condolences at the untimely death of Mr. Baroody, Deputy Permanent Representative of Saudi Arabia to the United Nations. We would ask the delegation of Saudi Arabia to convey to Mr. Baroody's family our deep sympathy.

63. The Chinese delegation has listened carefully to the statements made by the representatives of the African States. I now wish to state the views of the Chinese delegation.

64. First, over a recent period the Smith racist régime in Rhodesia has repeatedly and flagrantly dispatched planes and troops in rabid armed attacks on and invasions of Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. From late November to early December 1978, the Smith reactionary authorities carried out numerous air raids on areas in the Gaza, Tete and Sofala provinces of Mozambique and ruthlessly massacred innocent local inhabitants and Zimbabwe refugees. On 20 December their planes intruded into Zambia and carried out barbarous bombing and strafing, which resulted in casualties among the peaceful inhabitants and Zimbabwe refugees. During the same period, they also made repeated incursions into Botswana, causing loss of life and property among the people there. A few days ago, bombers of the Smith racist régime flagrantly overflew the neighbouring African States to penetrate deep into the Luso area of Angola, where they carried out indiscriminate bombing and strafing, inflicting loss of life and property among the innocent inhabitants of Angola and Zimbabwe refugees. The Chinese Government and people express deep indignation at, and strongly condemn, these new and sanguinary crimes committed by the Smith racist régime against the people of Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and Angola and all the peoples of Africa.

65. Secondly, the latest series of despicable acts of the Smith racist régime in Rhodesia is obviously intended to dampen the flame of the armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people and to compel those African States to give up their

position of supporting the Zimbabwe people's struggle for independence. At present, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, and with the direct support of the African States and of the front-line countries in particular, the struggle of the Zimbabwe people is making steady progress. Under the heavy blows of the armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people, the Smith reactionary authorities are beset with difficulties at home and abroad and are finding the going tougher and tougher. In order to save itself from imminent doom, the Smith racist régime is increasingly resorting to counter-revolutionary dual tactics with the aid and abetment of imperialism and the South African racist régime. While intensifying the suppression of the Zimbabwe people and armed aggression against the front-line States, it is staging the political fraud of the so-called internal settlement in an attempt to exclude the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, to preserve the interests of the minority white ruling class and to perpetuate its reactionary rule over the Zimbabwe people. This scheme is doomed to failure because it has been strongly condemned and opposed all along by the Zimbabwe people, the African States and all the countries and peoples that uphold justice in the world. At its thirty-third session, the General Assembly adopted a resolution by which it condemned and rejected the so-called internal settlement of the question of Rhodesia and declared it null and void [resolution 33/38 A]. In such circumstances, the sending of observers by any country to the sham elections scheduled for next April and stage-managed by the Rhodesian racist régime would be in total violation of that resolution and therefore impermissible.

66. Thirdly, while the racists are putting up a last-ditch struggle, one super-Power not of the region is looking for opportunities to meddle in the liberation struggle in southern Africa with a view to profiting from it. However, the people of Zimbabwe and other African countries have long been tested on the battlefield and are unshakeable in their determination to overthrow racist rule and to win and safeguard national independence. Neither the racists' last-ditch struggle nor the super-Power's evil doings will be able to block the advance of the people of Zimbabwe and all the people of southern Africa.

67. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Zimbabwe people in their just struggle for national independence and firmly support the front-line countries of Africa in their just struggle to fight back against the armed provocations and aggression on the part of the Smith reactionary authorities. We are convinced that under the leadership of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, the Zimbabwe people will further strengthen their unity, persist in the struggle, guard against and do away with the super-Power's meddling and all other outside interference and win complete victory in the struggle for national liberation with the support of the front-line and other African countries and all the countries and people that uphold justice.

68. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): Please accept our warmest congratulations, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. Bangladesh considers it fortunate that you are at the helm of our affairs at this juncture when the Council is debating the critical situation in southern Africa. We are confident that your skill and experience in these matters, so ably demonstrated by you in your capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, will ensure the satisfactory conclusion of our efforts. Bangladesh is fully cognizant of the commitment not only of

Nigeria but also of its able Permanent Representative to the cause of freedom and justice in Africa and the world at large. It is therefore with full pride and confidence that we extend to you our firmest co-operation in the difficult tasks ahead.

69. I take this opportunity also to thank once again our outgoing President, Ambassador Bishara, who conducted the Council's deliberations in the month of February with exemplary capability and devotion. His efforts in the cause of peace have brought distinction not only to him but to the Government and people of Kuwait.

70. I should also like to take a few moments to express on behalf of my Government and the members of my Mission, and on my own behalf, our deepest grief and sorrow at the passing away of Ambassador Jamil Baroodi. One cannot do justice to him by describing in mere words his stature, position and contribution to this world body, he was veritably an institution, the dean amongst all United Nations diplomats. His demise has diminished us all and his absence will leave a void that, for many of us, can never be filled. I extend our deepest condolences to his family.

71. Bangladesh whole-heartedly endorses the initiative of the African Group in convening this urgent series of meetings of the Council. There is no doubt that events in Southern Rhodesia are rapidly converging into a critical and bloody flash-point. Chaos in Rhodesia affects all of southern Africa, with dire consequences for peace and security in the region as a whole and ultimately the world beyond.

72. The immediate impetus for Council concern is the successive premeditated and provocative acts of aggression that were launched by the racist white minority régime, well inside the territories of Zambia, Mozambique and Angola, from 17 February to 1 March. These predatory attacks caused widespread havoc and the death of innocent refugees and civilians in their hundreds. They cannot but challenge the moral consciousness of all mankind—even more because of the dubious motives that have accompanied them. For, apart from its punitive intent and desire for indiscriminate retribution, the racist régime seeks obviously to divert the attention of its sympathizers from the desperate situation and struggle within Rhodesia and to embroil them in a larger regional conflagration, thereby prolonging its own illegal existence. The long-range strike on distant Angola is proof positive of this intent. The Government and people of Bangladesh unequivocally condemn these harsh and illegal manoeuvres and extend their heartfelt sympathies and support to the fraternal people of Zambia, Mozambique and Angola. We extend our fullest commendation also for their exemplary restraint in the face of continuous provocations. We believe that all moral and material assistance should be rendered to these States, which bear the heaviest burden of supporting the liberation struggle.

73. These pre-emptive strikes, however, are symptomatic of a much larger malaise that is deeply rooted in the Rhodesian situation and of much more important concern to the international community in its so far fruitless search for solutions. This is characterized, on the one hand, by the determination of the racist minority to maintain in perpetuity white supremacy and effective control of power, directly or indirectly, by whatever ruse, subterfuge, circumvention or deceit possible and, on the other, by its evident failure to contain or dampen the war of liberation aimed

precisely at dismantling this colonial *status quo* and ushering in genuine independence and majority rule in Rhodesia. The crux of the problem revolves around the fact that up till now racism and politics in Rhodesia, so far as the whites are concerned, have been inseparable if not synonymous. The real danger lies in the fact of increasing recognition by the resisting black majority that it is military action that constitutes the true reflection of power. Without cognizance of these facts and urgent and constructive efforts to remedy this situation, the conclusion is obvious: Rhodesia is headed irrevocably for a climactic blood-bath.

74. The past history of Southern Rhodesia needs no elaboration. More than 13 years have elapsed since Ian Smith tore up the Rhodesian Constitution, betrayed his oath to the British Queen and unilaterally declared independence. The international community's reaction to this usurpation of power and events thereafter is also well documented. Some 23 Council resolutions stand as milestones of the community's concern as well as, unfortunately, its ineffectiveness. The racist régime was pronounced illegal. The Council affixed primary responsibility on the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to put an end to the critical situation. It was solemnly reaffirmed that the people of Zimbabwe were the only true repository of sovereignty in Southern Rhodesia. Progressive and comprehensive economic sanctions were imposed. The deteriorating situation was adjudged a danger to peace and security, particularly with the increasing acts of aggression launched by the white racist minority régime on neighbouring African States.

75. Simultaneously, a sustained effort was pursued through a wide variety of proposals to seek a constitutional settlement and return to legitimacy on the fundamental premise that there would be no independence before African majority rule. These proposals underscored the basic objectives of the international community: the surrender of power by the illegal régime and the return to legality; an orderly and peaceful transition to independence; free and impartial elections on the basis of universal adult franchise; an independent constitution providing for a democratically elected Government, the abolition of discrimination, the protection of individual human rights and the independence of the judiciary.

76. The past 13 years have witnessed the systematic negation of all these proposals from the initial *Tiger and Fearless* talks through the hopeful Anglo-American initiative and the series of negotiations at Geneva, Malta, Dar es Salaam and elsewhere. They have also seen the whittling down and circumvention of the fundamental objectives that could form the only viable basis for multiracial constitutional settlement. This failure belongs solely to the illegal white minority régime, which, in the words of their racist leader Ian Smith, has yet to come to grips with "this thing called majority rule".

77. Faced with mounting international pressure, internal dissension and a burgeoning liberation struggle daily encroaching upon its authority, the Smith régime turned to subterfuge to win the support of its sympathizers. It tempered its determined resistance to any tangible change by so-called moderation and concessions to certain African factions quick to seize upon the advantage of an immediate sharing of power. The result was the internal settlement of 3 March 1978 and the establishment of a biracial transitional government. The international community was, how-

ever, to condemn this spurious settlement for what it was: an undisguised attempt to legalize and indeed legitimize the white-minority hold over Zimbabwe by dividing the African majority and perpetuating white domination.

78. The show of tolerance that the régime sought to propagate was patently suspect. The legacy of decades of racial discrimination and exploitation, despite recent anti-discrimination laws, remains very much on the surface in the form of vast disparities in education, salaries and job opportunities, and built-in safeguards to protect the privileged *status quo* of the whites. Past speakers from Africa have revealed the extent of the repression and brutality that continues to be perpetrated on the people of Zimbabwe. While much is made in the Western press of attacks on white farmers, little is highlighted of the heavy price paid by the African majority for the disintegration of authority in the country. Harassment, intimidation and subjugation continue unabated. There is hard-core evidence of torture, the incarceration of thousands of African patriots in gaols and concentration camps euphemistically called protected villages and of the eviction, transfer and resettlement of Africans, not to mention the indiscriminate murder of men, women and children. In its desperation, the entrenched and isolated régime has sought to bolster its belaboured armed forces by raising the upper limit of the drafting age of whites to 59 years, by recruiting mercenaries and encouraging a massive influx of foreign immigrants, black or white. African partners of the racist minority have in turn sought to protect themselves and to increase their individual power through the recruitment of private armies, which are nothing more than armed bandits. Rhodesia has thus been turned into an armed bastion, and the common man is left to the mercy and the depredations of a wide variety of forces the identity of many of which are unknown.

79. Meanwhile the course of events was also to be shaped by the launching six years ago and the intensification of the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. This resort to arms in defence of their inalienable rights was undertaken only as a result of the frustration of all efforts exerted in search of a peaceful transition to majority rule. As has been aptly pointed out by the representative of Ethiopia [2119th meeting], as early as September 1977, in response to the Anglo-American proposals, the Patriotic Front made it clear that the problem in Zimbabwe was not the election of a black Prime Minister but rather the dismantling of the colonial edifice and the attainment of genuine independence through the democratization not only of the voting process but of the very way of life in Rhodesia—in short, the destruction of racist Rhodesia and the emergence of sovereign Zimbabwe. The immense courage, fortitude and sacrifice of the Zimbabwean patriots were to compel the illegal régime radically to modify its recalcitrant stand and to make seemingly tangible concessions.

80. It is in this vital perspective that the Council must now turn to the latest manifestation of the minority régime's attempt at duplicity: the extension and perpetuation of the spurious internal settlement through the announcement of elections scheduled for next month. There can be no doubt concerning the real motives underlying this calculated initiative, for what indeed are the contents of the new constitutional arrangements? They give to the white minority disproportionate representation and control of all levers of power. The four per cent of Rhodesia's population which is

white will have 28 seats in Parliament—more than a quarter of the total of 100 seats. The Constitution gives the Chief Justice and his successors control over the appointment of all judges. So much, then, for the independence of the judiciary. Similar arrangements cover the police, the civil service and the armed forces, in which incumbent white officers and top civil servants would control the appointment of their successors.

81. The Constitution provides for a national government for five years, including all parties, in which the whites may not inconceivably be the largest bloc. One might well ask what happened to the provision of the original 3 March settlement, which carefully stipulated that whites in Parliament would not be allowed to join any minority black party to form a coalition and frustrate the majority. So much, then, for the much touted National Unity Coalition Government. Meanwhile with the whites still unsatisfied by these gains, provisions have been made to divide Rhodesia into eight provinces for the remaining 72 black seats, a formula that is designed to assist the minority tribal groups manipulated by the white régime who could under the provision secure 15 of the 72 seats available.

82. These arrangements have also blithely ignored the actual ground situation. The Patriotic Front has been excluded, despite its control of large areas of the countryside and command of the sympathy and support of the people of Rhodesia. They have papered over the existing tension and friction, which is reported to have reached murderous levels, in the biracial transitional Government. The question arises as to how these parties which detest, fear and hate each other can govern in a coalition in which there is no strong executive. Even the proposed name of the country—Zimbabwe-Rhodesia—reveals the incongruity of the proposed settlement, for it underscores the hangover and the nostalgia for white privilege.

83. The conclusions are obvious. The scheduled elections are nothing more nor less than a fraudulent sham. The international community cannot in any way lend credence to this massive hoax, whose sole aim is the perpetuation of white domination and privilege under the guise of a return to majority rule. Bangladesh joins its voice in the appeal to all countries not to give recognition in any manner whatsoever to these illegal manoeuvres, including the sending of missions, however objective or dispassionate, to observe the planned elections, since we believe that that could serve only to lend legitimacy to the process and its results.

84. Bangladesh has consistently reaffirmed that there can be no acceptable solution in Zimbabwe until African majority rule is established with the participation of all parties concerned, and in particular the Patriotic Front, on the basis of one man, one vote. We believe that a just and permanent solution of the problem of Zimbabwe must be consistent with the total transfer of power from the minority to the people of Zimbabwe in recognition of their inalienable national right to self-determination, freedom and genuine independence. Bangladesh has noted and welcomed the initiatives taken by the United Kingdom and the United States over the past two years for the convening of a conference of all interested parties on the arrangements necessary for the transition to majority rule. We believe that these proposals could have constituted a basic framework for further negotiations leading to genuine independence, inasmuch as they would have ensured the speedy termina-

tion of the illegal Smith régime, the return to legality, the dispersal of racist security forces in consonance with an orderly and peaceful transition to independence, and the halting of all acts of aggression against neighbouring States. We believe that the Council should once again urge renewed efforts at diplomacy in the overriding interests not only of preserving human lives but of securing a lasting and just settlement for the people of Zimbabwe.

85. Bangladesh believes that, pending these arrangements, the further extension and tightening of sanctions would be consistent with exerting extra pressure on the illegal régime to expedite the process of transition. We fully support the African call for the reactivation and strengthening of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968).

86. In the final analysis, Bangladesh, along with non-aligned nations in general and free Africa in particular, is fully committed to strengthening the solidarity with and support for the struggle of the Patriotic Front, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe. We too are convinced, along with them, that final victory is inevitable.

87. Mr. MILLS (Jamaica): Mr. President, the delegation of Jamaica extends to you its congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March and considers it particularly significant that you should be occupying this important position at a time when the Council will be dealing with major international issues, including critical matters concerning the situation in southern Africa. We are fully aware of your personal dedication to the liberation of the people of southern Africa and of your country's great contribution in this matter. We are confident that you will place your characteristic energy and interest at the disposal of the Council during your period of office.

88. My delegation would like to express once more its deep appreciation to Mr. Bishara for the great efforts that he made on behalf of the Council during the month of February, when he was faced with issues of unusual complexity.

89. Mr. President, the delegation of Jamaica wishes to associate itself with the tribute which you paid to the memory of Ambassador Baroody. We have also heard with great sadness the news of the death of Ambassador Baroody. His death robs the United Nations of a great and dedicated friend and supporter. His frequent and earnest participation in the work of the Security Council gave him virtually the position of a permanent member without the right to vote. We have greatly missed his presence in the Council chamber in the past few weeks. He was a man for whom my delegation had the very deepest respect, and we extend to his family, to his delegation and to his country our deepest sympathy.

90. Over the past few weeks, while the attention of the Council has been focused on issues in South-East Asia, we have none the less been aware of developments in the question of Southern Rhodesia. We believe that it is fitting and timely for the Council to examine those developments in the light of its continuing responsibilities and its commitment to bringing to an end the prevailing illegal situation and to promoting self-determination and genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe.

91. The Council is still faced with the continued defiance of the rebel Smith régime. Over the past month, the illegal régime has carried out air attacks on villages and refugee camps in Zambia, Mozambique and Angola, causing indiscriminate loss of life and hardship and suffering among civilians. Such deplorable acts of aggression have been executed sporadically over a long period of time. But it appears now that as the illegal régime becomes more and more desperate it is increasing its programme of violence and terror against the people of Zimbabwe and the front-line African States. The Council must unreservedly condemn these brutal acts of aggression.

92. The Council should also, in the view of my delegation, take note of the fact that these acts of aggression are extending over a wider field, menacing States far from the borders of Rhodesia. The recent attack on Angola is an ominous development which has grave implications for the security of African States in central and southern Africa. That act of aggression reveals the close co-ordination in military strategy between the régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria which are making common cause in their war against the forces of African liberation. South Africa is, of course, the major factor in this alliance. Without its military and economic support, the Smith régime would collapse in no time. Jamaica has always held the view that effective action against South Africa is vital if the policy of sanctions against the illegal Salisbury régime is to succeed. As it is, South Africa has enabled the Smith régime to defy the United Nations, to survive the application of sanctions, to oppress the people of Zimbabwe and to launch aggression against independent African States with the use of sophisticated modern weapons. Since we have no reason to expect that the Pretoria régime will mend its ways, there should be no hesitation in moving towards the imposition of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

93. In the meantime, the existing sanctions against Southern Rhodesia should be tightened and scrupulously observed. It is the duty of Governments to monitor the activities of exporters of arms, oil companies and other commercial interests to ensure adherence to the sanctions policy. The surest way to bring this about is through the complete closing off of contact with the rebel colony. All airline connexions should be terminated, overseas information offices operated by the illegal Government should be closed down and facilities for emigration and for recruitment of mercenaries to the colony should be denied.

94. In addition, it is necessary for all Governments to be vigilant in the face of the propaganda campaign mounted in certain countries and designed to give respectability to the Smith régime and to undermine the unity of international action against it. Since the promulgation of the so-called internal settlement last March, Smith has mounted a strong campaign to win support from certain countries—but to no avail. The Smith settlement has been exposed as a fraud and another trick to safeguard minority power and privilege in Zimbabwe. It was firmly rejected as unacceptable and illegal by the Security Council and by the international community as a whole. Now that the rebel régime is in the process of preparing to hold "elections" under its internal settlement, it is right that the Council should reaffirm its position of principle by rejecting those fraudulent elections scheduled for 20 April and declaring the results thereof null and void. The Smith régime should be given the clear message by the Council that the international community will not compromise its basic principles and will oppose any

arrangement that would prevent the accession of Zimbabwe to independence and genuine majority rule. No action should be taken by any State that might suggest that the so-called elections and their results have any legitimacy or validity. In this regard my delegation has noted with great concern press reports indicating that the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom may be sending observer missions to cover these elections. We consider that such a step would be unwise, undesirable and unnecessary. In our view, the question of whether or not the elections are fair and democratic has already been determined by the provisions of the internal settlement. By its resolution 423 (1978), the Security Council declared illegal and unacceptable any settlement under the auspices of the Smith régime. It follows therefore that, as the over-all settlement is illegal and unacceptable, any elections pursuant to its implementation must *ipso facto* be illegal and unacceptable. There can be no doubt about this, and no more proof is required.

95. We fear that the dispatch of observer missions might be or might appear to be the beginning of a process of legitimizing the Smith settlement of 3 March, leading to disruption in the unity of international action against the illegal rebel régime. This would represent a great setback to our efforts towards genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe and would lead to further problems for all concerned.

96. Jamaica is fully committed to the achievement of genuine majority rule in a free and independent Zimbabwe. Circumstances and the drift of events have led to a situation where the fulfilment of these objectives now depends on the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. Over the years, efforts at a negotiated settlement have failed as a result of the intransigence of the illegal Smith régime and its refusal to concede political rights to the black majority. The Anglo-American proposal for a settlement at an all-party conference appears now to have suffered the same fate, as a result of this intransigent attitude. Smith is determined to go ahead with his own plan, which is bound to fail and can only delay the eventual doom of his régime. The liberation forces, supported by the front-line African States, will continue to move from strength to strength, and there can be no doubt that their just cause will triumph at the end of the day.

97. I should now like to introduce a draft resolution on behalf of Bangladesh, Bolivia, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia. The draft concerns itself in its preambular paragraphs with the indiscriminate military operations undertaken by the illegal Smith régime involving aggression against neighbouring States and with the continued executions of persons sentenced under the repressive laws of that régime, whose existence and actions constitute a threat to international peace and security.

98. The right of the people of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly, is re-emphasized, as is the legitimacy of their struggle to secure that right. The draft resolution records the grave concern of the sponsors at the proposal by some countries to send missions to Rhodesia to observe the illegal elections which the Smith régime will be holding next April and recalls the provisions of Security Council resolution 423 (1978) which explicitly declares the internal settlement illegal and unacceptable.

99. In the operative paragraphs the Council strongly condemns the recent armed invasions of the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Republic of Zambia and commends those States and the other front-line States for their support of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. It condemns the attempts of the Smith régime to perpetuate racist minority rule, in particular by way of its fraudulent so-called elections, which are declared null and void. The sponsors call upon all States to refrain from sending observers to the illegal elections. Finally, the Council calls for the framing of measures for the strengthening and widening of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

100. The sponsors of the draft resolution stand ready to pursue discussions on it with other members.

101. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you on the assumption of your duties as President of the Security Council for this month. This is the second time you have presided over our deliberations. Your diplomatic skill and wide experience augur well for the successful conclusion of our deliberations during a month which is overcrowded with an agenda of serious questions.

102. I should like also to thank members of the Council who have expressed kind sentiments to me for the efforts made during my presidency in February.

103. By the death of Ambassador Baroody, yesterday, the United Nations was lost a representative whose devotion to the Organization was unmatched. The United Nations was his lifeline and breath. He was a universalist, an internationalist. He placed the United Nations above regional and national interests and he displayed his dedication to the principles of the Charter with an indescribable zeal. His wealth of knowledge benefited everyone, but he carried it with unusual humility. His legacy to the United Nations is too profound to be affected by the passage of time. Therefore he will remain everlastingly in the annals of the Organization. He was a United Nations legend and will be so even in his physical absence. In brief, the United Nations without him will be a different Organization. I convey my profound condolences and sympathy first to the family of nations which he unswervingly served for so many years and next to his bereaved family and to the Government and delegation of Saudi Arabia.

104. My delegation supported the request of the African Group for the revival and reactivation of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) in order to implement the various resolutions of the General Assembly regarding the strengthening and widening of the scope of sanctions against the Rhodesian racist régime.

105. My delegation would also like to join previous speakers in condemning the upcoming Rhodesian elections, the outcome of the Salisbury agreement, which were unanimously denounced by members of the Council.

106. The Smith régime has been desperately trying to give itself a semblance of legality. Mr. Smith came to the United States in an attempt to win friends and influence people. The deceptive mask, however, failed to deceive world public opinion and camouflaged the nature of the illegal régime.

107. The illegal Smith régime still practises racial discrimination and denies basic human and political rights to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe. His illegal régime is now wreaking havoc with the concept of majority rule. Of what value are elections if their real aim is to guarantee the supremacy of the white settlers by perpetuating their control over the army, the police force and the administration in general? An election held without the participation of the Patriotic Front is like "Hamlet" without the Prince of Denmark.

108. It is one thing for Mr. Smith to hold bogus elections and another for countries to send observer missions to Rhodesia. My delegation strongly objects to any attempt to endow the projected elections with any aura of sanctity by sending official observer missions to give their blessing to a process which is intended merely to provide an excuse for lifting the economic sanctions imposed by the Council.

109. Ian Smith is not only waging a campaign of terror against the indigenous population of Zimbabwe but is also escalating his armed invasions of the territories of neighbouring African countries which have sheltered the refugees who fled his reign of terror. The illegal régime must realize that its modern and sophisticated weapons cannot break the will of the valiant Governments of Zambia, Botswana, Angola and Mozambique which have a moral obligation and an international responsibility to help their less fortunate brethren in Southern Rhodesia.

110. The noose around the neck of Ian Smith and the racist régime in South Africa is becoming increasingly tight. All oil shipments from overseas have been stopped. Had it not been for the connivance of the multinational corporations, the embargo would have become so complete that the racist and *apartheid* régimes would have been compelled to come to their senses.

111. My Government believes that the sanctions imposed by the Security Council must be made more comprehensive and must be fully implemented by all Member States if the sanctions instrument is to remain effective. Instead of relaxing the sanctions imposed on Southern Rhodesia we must carry out against the Smith régime all measures provided for in Article 41 of the Charter, including the complete disruption of road, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication with Southern Rhodesia.

112. The present meeting of the Security Council is a timely one because it comes in the wake of the escalating armed invasions by Ian Smith of the territories of neighbouring African States and on the eve of the projected bogus elections. Hence, the Council is bound to adopt a decision condemning the unprovoked acts of aggression by the Smith régime against the territories of the front-line African States. The Council must reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence. It must reaffirm its rejection of the Salisbury agreement and all ancillary measures flowing from it such as the elections scheduled for 20 April the outcome of which must be declared null and void, as those elections are distorting the will of the people of Zimbabwe and welding the fetters imposed upon them.

113. We must realize that much more is involved than an illegal racist régime. The Smith declaration of independence was rightly described as an advance by the forces of racialism, fascism and, indeed, colonialism in southern Africa.

The elimination of colonialism and racial domination in southern Africa is justified by all the basic principles of mankind. Every principle of national and individual freedom, every principle of human equality, of justice and of humanity makes it imperative that the rule of the minorities should be ended. For they are judge, jury, prosecuting attorney and lawmaker in their own dispute. It is high time for the Security Council to remind them that under the Charter there exists such a thing as the rule of law. That is why my delegation, together with other non-aligned countries, sponsored the draft resolution which was just so ably introduced by Ambassador Mills of Jamaica.

114. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): It is with great sorrow that we learn today of the death of Ambassador Baroody of Saudi Arabia. His passing deprives the United Nations of one of its most original and extraordinary personalities. Ambassador Baroody has been associated with the United Nations since its inception at San Francisco more than 33 years ago. He was deeply committed throughout his life to the well-being and vitality of the Organization and to the cause of international peace. He was not only a diplomat, he was an orator, a storyteller, an historian and a raconteur. None of us can ever forget how his wit and pungent comment carried us through innumerable difficult moments and provided fresh insight on a number of thorny international issues. Our profound condolences go to his widow and to his family.

115. Let me welcome you, Mr. President, to the presidency of the Council and say that my nation looks forward to your leadership and guidance as we approach the difficult issues that will confront us during the month of March. I would also say again that we certainly appreciated the patience and perseverance of your predecessor, the representative of Kuwait, and we hope that we can continue the work of the previous month, building upon his leadership, as we move forward with many of the unresolved questions that continue to occupy the Council.

116. My delegation will want to speak further at a later point on the issues involved in the Council's discussion of Rhodesia. Despite recent events, it remains my Government's hope that early progress can be made towards self-determination for the people of Rhodesia. I assure the Council that my Government, working jointly with that of the United Kingdom, will continue to spare no effort towards this end.

117. Today, however, I want to address myself in particular to the recent escalation of violence exemplified by the destructive attacks on Angola, Mozambique and Zambia carried out during past weeks by aircraft of the Salisbury régime. Those attacks can only render more difficult a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia, and they have cost many human lives. It has been reported that at least some of the targets were camps containing refugees, including women and children, who became innocent victims of this violence. We deplore all attacks on non-combatants, and we deplore these attacks against neighbouring States. Such attacks complicate our chances for rational transition to majority rule in Rhodesia and make more difficult efforts throughout southern Africa to promote peaceful change.

118. My Government believes that the Council should forthwith condemn, on behalf of the world community, this calculated and deliberate escalation of violence in southern Africa.

119. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Ghana. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

120. Mr. SEKYI (Ghana): Mr. President, I would first of all convey my gratitude to you and, through you, to the other members of the Council for the opportunity to participate in the present debate. I have the greatest pleasure also in adding the congratulations of the Ghana delegation to those deservedly conveyed to you on your assumption of office this month as President of the Council. Like those who have spoken before me, so eloquently, I consider it remarkably fortunate that we should be considering this crisis in liberation under the presidency of Nigeria, a country whose dedication to the cause of liberation is unquestioned and whose influence in that crusade is widely recognized. We are no less happy that Nigeria is represented by you, Mr. President, a diplomat of recognized skill and experience, with a well-established record of dedicated and effective personal involvement in the fight against racism in southern Africa, particularly as Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We wish you all success, success no less than that of your predecessor of Kuwait—and may we say that we confidently expect it—as you steer the Council's work throughout this month.

121. The racist aggression now under consideration by the Council is, as is well known, by no means the first of its kind. The illegal racist minority régime of Ian Smith has long been notorious for the persistence and barbarity of its incursions into Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. Following a precedent set by its mentor, the Vorster régime, it has now added Angola to the sphere of its marauding activity—and this, again, merits the most unequivocal and forthright condemnation by the Council. But is mere condemnation enough? How much more are the Smith régime and its external abettors to be allowed to get away with in threatening and disrupting peace and stability in ever-widening areas of southern Africa? For how much longer should they be allowed to drop napalm on refugees and civilians whenever they lose a battle with freedom fighters?

122. As the delegation of Ghana has frequently pointed out, it has been a long time since a fairly wide range of mandatory sanctions were first imposed by the Council against the illegal racist régime, and these included oil sanctions. Long ago the world was entitled to expect that the régime's economic nerves would have grown too feeble and that its military machine would have grown too rusty to mount any attacks against the internal population and external neighbours of Rhodesia. But its armoured cars still roll and its warplanes still fly, laden with weapons of aggression such as no decent country should use and driven by contraband fuel which, originating from Member States which ought to have known better, still reach the racists through the sole channel of South Africa. In this regard we warmly congratulate the present Government of Iran in putting a stop to the practices of its predecessor.

123. I have spoken on the assumption that it is merely South African fuel which was used in the recent atrocities against Angola and Zambia. But if, as the evidence suggests—and we have heard the representative of Angola on this—South African armaments were employed, if South Africa's bombers took off with incendiary weapons from United Nations territory under its illegal military occupation, then the matter is infinitely more serious and the evil

much more widespread; and it all goes to reinforce a truth which should already be self-evident: it is time—high time—for the members of the Council to consider the extension of oil and other sanctions to South Africa, not the lifting of any sanctions against Rhodesia, and certainly not the lifting of sanctions by any unilateral action in breach of Charter obligations. This is the time to close the loopholes in the ring of sanctions, not widen them in order that Ian Smith with Vorster and others may be better able to oppress the nationals of Zimbabwe and bomb its neighbours.

124. The Security Council itself does not intend, as far as we know, to reverse any of its decisions imposing sanctions against the Ian Smith régime. But, in our view, there are in the present situation at least two things which call for urgent action by the Council. As the first step towards a more effective application of sanctions such as might curtail the capacity of Ian Smith to make a nuisance of himself in his neighbourhood, why not resuscitate the Committee on Sanctions,¹ which ever since 1977 has very strangely been allowed, it seems, to fall into disuse. Secondly, and still more urgent, measures should be taken, in our view, against the danger of unilateral action to lift sanctions against Ian Smith.

125. There is little need to belabour the truism that any such action would constitute a flagrant and appalling breach of Charter obligations. And if any such action were to be taken by any of the permanent members, the guardians, after all, of international peace and security, would that not then be the very height of irresponsibility? The damage to their own reputation in the eyes of all Africans and at the bar of world opinion could well be left to them to assess for themselves, for it is they, after all, who would sense the inevitable consequences.

126. But what of the United Nations itself? What would be left of its effectiveness if the Security Council, the one organ which can make binding decisions, could be disregarded as lightly as the General Assembly, alas, so often is? If one Member State can lightly throw off today the obligation to respect mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia, why should not another as carelessly throw off tomorrow the obligation to respect the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa? Seen in this light, the precedent which now threatens to be set appears dangerous indeed and pregnant with incalculable mischief for the future. And all for what purpose? Merely to hold up, by what seems to be a last desperate effort, the crumbling edifice of racist rule in Rhodesia. For, we must confess, the sequence of events strongly suggests to us that such, no less, is the objective.

127. In the final analysis the problem is, and has always been, how to force the levers of power—control of the armed forces and police—out of Ian Smith's hands. Those levers should of course not have got there in the first place. But, if I may mention it, Ghana's own efforts in the Council to prevent their getting into the hands of a racist minority régime were frustrated in 1963 by the sole veto of the administering Power. Anyhow, the levers got into those hands—the wrong hands—and the problem ever since the unilateral declaration of independence has been how to get them out again. Mr. Smith and his friends, displaying at all times, one must say, a remarkably clear understanding of

¹ Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia.

the point at issue, have never consented, on any account, to relax their clutch on those particular levers. When his talks with the British Prime Minister, on HMS *Tiger*, broke down in 1966, Mr. Smith said:

"The proposals also envisaged by Mr. Wilson under the heading of a return to legality are repugnant to the Rhodesian Government, involving as they do, first that the armed forces and the police will be invested in the Governor."

Sir Harold himself, reporting later to Parliament at Westminster, said:

"I told him [Mr. Smith] that a fair and convincing test of acceptability would be quite impossible in circumstances where an illegal régime was possessed of emergency powers and executive control including broadcasting and television."

And again, Sir Harold said:

"Their refusal to accept the settlement as a whole stems from their insistence on their refusal to return to legality unless they themselves can remain in power while the agreed constitutional settlement is being tested by Rhodesian opinion."

Sir Harold added significantly at the time: "The implications of this are obvious and no one in this House would be ready to accept these implications". Again later, in reply to a question by Mr. Edward Heath, then leader of Her Majesty's Opposition, Sir Harold said:

"In the first place, in my view and that of my House friends, it is impossible to say that we could operate a free test which is required by the fifth principle—on which my predecessor insisted and on which he was so determined—against the background of an illegal constitution, armed, as the leader of the Opposition himself has said—and I quoted this to Mr. Smith—with all the powers of a police State."

128. So the talks broke down over the question of the levers of power, of who was to control the police and armed forces during the test of the constitution's acceptability to the people of Rhodesia as a whole—the fifth principle—and in the context of that breakdown, Sir Harold made his first approach to the Security Council for mandatory sanctions. The Council duly applied them—selectively at first, then less so. But whether selective or not, they have been rendered ineffective by persistent breaches and gaping loopholes. So both negotiation and sanctions having failed to prise the levers of power out of Smith's clutches, the people of Zimbabwe eventually resorted to the third method of solving the basic problem, that of armed struggle. That struggle has been unduly prolonged because sanctions have been breached. Now it is succeeding and it is being proposed that sanctions should be lifted.

129. Theologians have often told us that the Devil exults in the contemplation of human sins, from which he draws much inspiration and comfort. And one can readily imagine that, like him, Ian Smith draws nothing but hope and courage from the ever-lengthening record of misdeeds in his favour. This is a case where the promise, real or even fancied, is almost as pernicious as the deed, or misdeed. From every evasion, every quibble, every violation of the

Charter in his interest by those who profess to condemn his racist rebellion, Smith draws hope and the courage to persist in his path of crime. The mere expectation of lifted sanctions, reinforced by the presence of a few Western observers, is enough to revive the ebbing strength of the racist régime by the hope of reinforcements for oppression. They therefore resist that much longer and many more lives are lost. We hope it will be borne in mind that the blame for the resulting loss of lives is never to be placed at the door of those forced to take up arms in exercise of the right—an inherent and inalienable right—of self-defence against armed oppression by an illegal racist minority régime. It is to be laid at the door of the armed racist oppressor and at the door of all those who help, support, assist or encourage the armed racist oppressor, for they must be presumed, as every man is presumed, to intend the probable consequences of their actions. But to revert to the point. Now that the armed struggle is succeeding, it is sought to lift sanctions. And by what method? What is the latest plot hatched by Ian Smith and his guilty supporters to perpetuate the crime of racism in Rhodesia? Is it a deep-laid plot? Or is it so transparent that even a child could see through it? Well it is this.

130. Nearly one year ago, when much of the Zimbabwe countryside was already controlled by the advancing forces of the Patriotic Front, Ian Smith concluded an internal settlement, one of whose avowed aims was to bring about the lifting of sanctions. So much appears in its preamble. That internal settlement imposed on the long-suffering people of Zimbabwe, whose voices were and are stifled, a diluted form of majority rule, a mere fake in which control of the police and army, the levers of power, is for another 10 years or more, carefully removed from the reach of the majority and retained effectively in the same hands, more or less, in whose determined grip it has been kept ever since and even before the talks on the *Tiger*.

131. The implications of this—if I may borrow Sir Harold's phrase—are as obvious today as they were when the talks on the warship broke down. They should also be as obvious as they were when the Council, at Sir Harold's instance, first approved mandatory sanctions. When Cromwell commands his Ironsides, Parliament does not rule. Every Englishman knows that, and Mr. Smith is, or was, an Englishman. Whatever the case, he has seen and has probably decided that no parliament of "blacksmiths" will ever rule in Rhodesia as long as an Ian Smith controls the Selous Scouts. Not only can it not rule, parliament cannot even be properly elected. The comparison, it is true, carries the risk of a descent from the sublime to the ridiculous. But we believe that it is nevertheless valid enough, and it sums up the present constitutional situation in Rhodesia.

132. Under such an arrangement as the internal settlement, there could in the first place be no genuine test of the constitution's acceptability to the people as a whole. One has not been tried anyway. And even if one were, the circumstances are such as to exclude important sections of the people—to exclude all those, for example, who support the Patriotic Front, since they could hardly be expected to participate willingly in a referendum under the guns of an interested régime still armed, to borrow Sir Harold's phrase, "with all the powers of a police State". Nor can any elections under such a constitution and held under such circumstances be free or fair, whether they are observed or not. By the very nature of the case, they cannot be preceded—as they should be—by any genuine exercise of

the right of free speech or association by all the people of Zimbabwe. And everywhere throughout the so-called electoral process the guns of Smith's army and police will be at hand.

133. Last week [2119th meeting] we heard the spokesman of the Patriotic Front speak eloquently and convincingly of the methods likely to be used. The event could never be regarded as a valid act of self-determination as the term has been understood in the philosophy of the United Nations ever since the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The circumstances are of the sort in which a "no" indication means "no" but a "yes" indication cannot necessarily—indeed cannot possibly—mean a valid "yes"; and neither result can constitute a valid ground for recognizing any resulting government. Observation of such elections has, therefore, no use, unless it is to give a semblance of respectability to the ruse, the subterfuge, the hoax by which Ian Smith hopes to obtain the lifting of sanctions, as the Patriotic Front advances upon him. Or else it will only serve to aid and abet pressures or to satisfy the letter of laws which, playing the game of Ian Smith, would pressure Governments of States permanent members of the Council to lift sanctions in such a manner as to breach a Council decision under Chapter VII in a most flagrant violation of Article 25 of the Charter.

134. To sum up, the point we have sought to make is that Ian Smith once drove a British Prime Minister to seek sanctions from the Security Council by openly insisting on his control of the armed forces and police. It remains to be seen whether he can obtain the lifting of those sanctions this time by concealing that control under the pretence of majority rule. We maintain that he should not be allowed to pull off this trick, and we advocate that, in accordance with the draft resolution so lucidly introduced by the representative of Jamaica, the Council should take measures to prevent or forestall all the steps intermediate, in the scheme of Ian Smith, to the lifting of sanctions and that it should reinforce its resolution 423 (1978) by ruling that there should be no recognition of any government emerging from the internal settlement or of the spurious constitution under it. We urge that the Council should prohibit the dispatch of observers to those so-called elections, that it should take measures to strengthen sanctions and prevent violations thereof and that it should clearly express its condemnation of the racist régime for its barbaric acts of aggression against Mozambique, Zambia and now Angola.

135. I should not like to leave this table without associating the Ghanaian delegation with the tributes which have been paid to the late Ambassador Baroody. His dedication and enthusiasm made him for many of us a figure unforgettably associated with the United Nations, and I myself always found him delightful to listen to. It is true that these halls will never look or sound the same again without him, and I should like to convey to the delegation of Saudi Arabia and, through it, to the bereaved family our condolences and sympathy, our own sadness at his final absence from our midst.

136. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Benin. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

137. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation wishes to thank you and the other members of the Council for allowing it to

participate in this important debate on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

138. My delegation is pleased at seeing you presiding over the Council at a time when it is seized of an important question relating to the total liberation of Africa from colonialism, neo-colonialism and international imperialism. Your country, Nigeria, is in the vanguard of the struggle for our total liberation. You yourself, as Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, are well versed in the problems with regard to the liberation of southern Africa from minority racist and colonialist régimes. That means that you are highly qualified to lead this debate to a positive conclusion and one which is satisfactory for Africa. I need not dwell upon the relations of brotherly love which are at the basis of ever-increasing militant co-operation between your country and mine, Benin.

139. The People's Republic of Benin, its vanguard Party, the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, and its people believe that the total liberation of the African continent is a *sine qua non* for the strengthening of our political freedom, the development of our national sovereignty and the consolidation of our political independence. The security of no African State can be guaranteed and peace in our region will always be threatened so long as racist régimes such as that of Ian Smith continue to exist and flout the will of the international community by persisting in their barbarous colonialist practices of oppression.

140. The specific case of the racist régime of the rascally Ian Smith—the case now before the Council—is a matter of serious concern to us in Benin. The imperialist Powers of the capitalist West, and in particular the administering Power, bear very heavy responsibilities for the present escalation of the acts of provocation and war by a racist minority régime at bay. The administering Power and its allies are responsible for the killing and the massacres recently carried out against refugee camps in Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, actions designed to frighten the Zimbabwe nationalists and undermine their determination and fighting spirit. This killing and these massacres are designed, too, to prepare the ground for an internal settlement already under way. International imperialism and its vassals, the white racist settlers in southern Africa, must understand that genuine liberation is inevitable. The hypocrisy of the Western Powers is all too characteristic. The People's Republic of Benin will never stop denouncing, with firmness, certain dishonest actions of the imperialist policy, which attempts on every occasion to delay the liberation of the oppressed people of Zimbabwe. In international forums, the masterminds of imperialist diplomacy have used all their brainpower to mount plan upon plan and invent bogus solutions whose main purpose is to ensure that Smith will be maintained in power, with the support of some African puppets.

141. The internal agreement of 3 March 1978 is, according to information published in the Western press itself, only a rehashing of the old, secret Kissinger plan. Smith's internal settlement has settled nothing, and the problem of the decolonization of the Territory of Southern Rhodesia, a British colony, remains—in its entirety. Between 3 March and today, the situation in the colony has seriously deteriorated. As for the Anglo-American plan, despite its superficially attractive aspects, the aim is not to satisfy the deep aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe by driving from power the white, non-African colony that usurped power

and the happiness of the people of Zimbabwe, but to maintain colonialist domination in that part of our continent. My delegation has on many occasions denounced all these plans for an imperialist settlement and has drawn attention to their hidden traps set against the freedom of our peoples and the true independence of Africa. But the Anglo-Americans, in their diplomacy, have raised some "hopes". We know the position today with regard to this notorious Anglo-American plan, as well as the notorious diplomatic initiatives of the United Kingdom and the United States, designed, as they have led many African leaders to believe, to help Smith withdraw as a "gentleman".

142. The forces of international imperialism cannot for ever deceive our peoples. The true game of the Western Powers, and in particular the subtle game of the administering Power, is being put to the test every day, and their shameful hypocrisy is being clearly exposed. The Western Powers know how to manipulate the United Nations and to make a lot of noise about their various "peaceful settlements". The specific case of Southern Rhodesia shows that their diplomatic initiatives are always opportunistic and the purposes of those initiatives always concealed. That is why the People's Republic of Benin is always sceptical about all these plans.

143. To revert to the question of the particular responsibility of the administering Power, one cannot but pose some serious questions and accuse that Power of political machiavellianism. Indeed, what is the meaning of the evasiveness, the hesitation, the consistency in the reactions and attitudes of the ruling circles of that Power in the face of the present escalation by the Smith régime? Is it not a question of a political bankruptcy, of a decolonization process that got off on the wrong foot from the very beginning?

144. When we analyse the facts, the actions of the administering Power and the unfulfilled promises of its successive Governments, we can only render a very severe judgement. I shall merely emphasize certain facts. From 1965 to the present time, the administering Power has taken no radical measure, such as the use of armed force—which has been used elsewhere—to put an end to Smith's rebellion, the deep origins of which are to be found in the tremendous political generosity shown to the white British subjects in the colony, at the expense of the indigenous colonized peoples. The only weapon used against the Smith rebellion is the selective sanctions adopted in 1966 and 1968. In 1978 it was unfortunately noted that those sanctions had been seriously violated and that a governmental company of the administering Power itself had been involved in this shameful fraud. The obstinate refusal to agree to the widening of sanctions and the present impasse in the Committee on Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia have raised serious doubts about the credibility and the real will of the administering Power to decolonize that part of our continent, Africa.

145. The inaction of the administering Power in the face of the killing and the massacres engaged in by the Smith clique throughout Africa and the escalation of air raids over Angola seem to demonstrate sovereign contempt for the indigenous black people of the colony of Southern Rhodesia. That is an attitude which we can only condemn. Thus, the administering Power is completely responsible for the current serious stage in the insane acts of the rascally Ian Smith.

146. It is understood that Smith's régime is illegal. No Member State should establish relations of any kind with that régime. Nevertheless, Member States have noted recently that the rascally Ian Smith made an official visit to the United States and said to *The New York Times* that that constituted *de facto* recognition of his régime by the United States. Ever since then Smith's arrogance has increased and his acts of war and aggression have been stepped up to such an extent that the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Organization of African Unity expressed concern at the meeting of the Council of Ministers' at Nairobi. The present meetings of the Security Council were decided upon at the Nairobi meeting. The decisions adopted at Nairobi and the concern expressed there show to what extent Africa is worried and how much Africa has lost its faith in the fine words of the administering Power. Smith's trip to the United States was clearly in violation of the United Nations sanctions.

147. The specific question that now arises is this: who provides Mr. Smith with weapons? Here again we find directly implicated some Western European Powers that refuse to abide by the sanctions and that for business or mercantile reasons cannot stop that dangerous trade with Southern Rhodesia. That is why we accuse all those Powers of genocide, of making attempts on the lives of the Rhodesian blacks now in Botswana, in Zambia, in Angola and in Mozambique.

148. The Council must adopt urgent decisions. My delegation believes that one of those decisions should relate to reactivation of the Committee on Sanctions. There are several proposals along these lines before the Council.

149. The responsibility that is borne by the racist régime of South Africa, a country through which weapons travel to Southern Rhodesia for the commission of acts of genocide, is undeniable. However, as everyone knows, the Botha régime is subject to an embargo on the supply of weapons to it, under Security Council resolution 418 (1977). It has been shown that there have been many cases of violation of that resolution, and there again the direct implication of some Western Powers cannot be denied. Furthermore, Mr. Botha himself has acknowledged that he receives weapons despite the Council embargo. I should like to read to the Council a brief extract from an article in *The New York Times* of 20 November 1978, written by Mr. John Burns. It states:

"If an arms embargo is not feasible, I do not think an oil embargo is feasible either," Mr. Botha said in an exchange last week. The remark constituted the first acknowledgement by South Africa that it is still obtaining arms from overseas, despite the mandatory embargo imposed by the United Nations Security Council last year."²

150. There is also proof that there are currently some cases of violations of resolution 418 (1977), thanks to which South Africa is able to receive weapons and deliver them to Southern Rhodesia. I should like to refer to a Reuters release published in *Le Monde* of 12 or 13 December 1978. It reads as follows:

"Weapons of American and Canadian manufacture have been delivered to South Africa after having gone through Antigua, a former British colony, according to

an inquiry conducted by a State associated with the British Crown. According to an inquiry published by the BBC, guns, ammunition and radar equipment were shipped in violation of the United Nations embargo by the Spears Research Corporation, a firm based in the United States, in Vermont and in Canada. The firm denied such shipment. The Foreign Office declared on Monday that 'it was following the affair closely and had begun consultations with the Governments of the United States, Canada and Antigua'."

151. All of this shows that what is occurring today in Rhodesia has its roots in the violations of resolution 418 (1977) which enable the racist régime of South Africa to ship weapons to Rhodesia. That is the channel used by Western Powers to help Smith to remain in power.

152. Some questions come to mind concerning the work now being done by the Committee established after the adoption of resolution 418 (1977). My delegation would like to ask what that Committee does at present. What does it deal with? This question could be raised by many States that are entitled to ask for reports. The question of the delivery of weapons to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia is an extremely important aspect of the present crisis. The Council should attach great importance to it, since its role is that of preserving peace and security in the world.

153. There are today in the West, and particularly in the United States and in Great Britain, those of conservative and reactionary tendencies, and I would even say racist tendencies, who are working for endorsement of Smith's internal settlement through recognition of that scandalous *fait accompli*. The question of sending observer missions for the so-called elections of April 1979 has been raised. In reactionary political circles, particularly in the United States Congress, there are those who actively work for Smith. My delegation wishes to denounce all those manoeuvres and to condemn the official circles that promote them.

154. The solution of the problem of Southern Rhodesia must include acceptance by the Western Powers, and in particular by the administering Power, of true decolonization by means of a transfer of power to the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. As long as that reality of history is not recognized, the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe will only be intensified.

155. The Security Council, which condemned the internal settlement of March 1978, must in like manner condemn the April elections and the dispatch of any observer missions to Southern Rhodesia to assist Mr. Smith.

156. The duplicity and complicity of certain Western Powers in regard to Smith's insane behaviour are such that the killings and massacres in Zambia, Angola, Zimbabwe, and Botswana have in no way troubled the consciences of those Western preachers on human rights. None of the Western leaders has spoken to denounce Mr. Smith and the threats that his wild acts of aggression pose to peace and security. Their silence and even the restrained condemnation on the part of the administering Power encourage Smith and his clique to escalate their actions further.

157. I should now like to approach another aspect of the matter, which my country considers to be of great importance, namely, the question of the recruitment and training of the white mercenaries and their dispatch to Rhodesia.

²Quoted in English by the speaker.

158. Since the agreement of 3 March, the Western press has referred to the existence—or at any rate the deployment—of officers and agencies which recruit and train white mercenaries to go and massacre the people of Zimbabwe. All those activities are currently being carried out in several Western capitals. At times they are conducted right under the eyes of officials who have taken no measures to put an end to them. In some Western countries there is not even any legislation condemning activities leading to the recruitment of mercenaries. On the pretext of respecting the freedom of citizens and civil rights, some Western countries refuse to adopt strict measures against those of their citizens who are public assassins and who are sought in Africa for criminal acts. This is an unacceptable situation.

159. My country, which has suffered from acts of aggression carried out by mercenaries, will continue to condemn those countries which are the accomplices of the adventurers and mass killers and which believe that their activities can stop the march of revolution. That is a dream! But the threat which mercenary activities pose to peace and security is an extremely serious one, and the Council cannot discuss the question of Rhodesia without considering the matter of the white mercenaries who today commit violations and ignoble acts against the women and children of the blacks of Zimbabwe. All such acts which remain uncondemned and those who support them can only be termed "racist".

160. It is extremely urgent that Member States should adopt the most drastic measures to prevent the activities of recruitment and transport of mercenaries to Southern Rhodesia. The Council must take up this question in all seriousness.

161. In conclusion, I should like to come back to the question of sanctions.

162. For years Africa has called for the expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. The measures which have been provided under Article 41 of the Charter are relevant and I should like to read out that Article:

"The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic relations."

Additional measures are provided in Articles 42 to 48 of Chapter VII.

163. Africa has never ceased calling for an interruption of rail, sea, air, telegraphic, postal, radio and other means of communication, under the terms of Article 41, in the case of Rhodesia. What is the Council waiting for? Today the escalation of the acts perpetrated by Mr. Smith and his supporters is such that these are the only peaceful measures likely to make those persons see reason. It is extremely urgent that the Council should reconsider all such measures.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.

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