



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-THIRD YEAR

2066th MEETING: 13 MARCH 1978

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2066)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia: Letter dated 1 March 1978 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Upper Volta to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12578)	1

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2066th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 13 March 1978, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Ivor RICHARD
(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bolivia, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Kuwait, Mauritius, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2066)

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

Letter dated 1 March 1978 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Upper Volta to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12578)

The meeting was called to order at 4.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:

Letter dated 1 March 1978 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Upper Volta to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12578)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken by the Council at previous meetings, I invite the representatives of Angola, Benin, Botswana, Kenya, Mozambique, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, the Sudan, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Upper Volta and Zambia 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. Tlou (Botswana), Mr. Maina (Kenya), Mr. Lobo (Mozambique), Mr. Baroody (Saudi Arabia), Mrs. Gbujama (Sierra Leone), Mr. Medani (Sudan), Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. Bamba (Upper Volta) and Miss Konie (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the

representative of Liberia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite him to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

3. In view of the limited number of places at the Council table, I invite the representative of Liberia to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber on the usual understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table whenever he wishes to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Thomas (Liberia) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

4. Mr. BARTON (Canada): Mr. President, I should like first of all to convey to you my delegation's pleasure at the fact that you are presiding over our affairs at this particular moment and our sympathy at the fact that you had the tough luck to draw such a difficult issue during your presidency. I should also like to acknowledge with appreciation the contribution of the representative of the Soviet Union, who served as our President last month and guided us wisely during that time.

5. The approach of the Canadian Government to the Rhodesian problem is guided by the principle that Southern Rhodesia must be returned to constitutional government, a return that includes the transfer of effective power to a government based on majority rule. Only such a settlement can, in our view, bring about the conditions of political stability which an independent Zimbabwe must have if it is to take its place as a strong, multiracial member of the African community.

6. Over the years, Canada, like the other Members of the United Nations, has joined in the collective efforts of the Organization to end the domination of Rhodesia by a white minority. The obligations that this has entailed for us have of course been minimal compared to the hardships and dangers endured by the black citizens of that country and by those in the neighbouring front-line States. But we have nevertheless shared their hopes during the past year that the long ordeal was nearing its end.

7. A year ago—on 10 March 1977—the British and American Governments took the decision to co-operate in trying to bring about a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia which would lead to majority rule in 1978. After consultations with the parties concerned, the two Governments

published a set of proposals that could form the basis of such a settlement. Canada strongly supported this action because, in our view, those proposals were consistent with the principles I have just enunciated. They contained the necessary elements for a peaceful transition to majority rule and offered reasonable prospects for political stability. We were further encouraged when, for the first time in over 10 years of searching for a peaceful settlement, all the parties concerned seemed prepared to accept a single document as a basis for negotiation. In his statement on 26 September 1977 to the General Assembly, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs commented on the Anglo-American proposals in the following terms:

“Canada fully supports the plan not only because we believe that it provides the basis for a fair and equitable solution but also because we reject totally the alternative of further bloodshed. There must be no lessening of our resolve to see the end of the present illegal minority Rhodesia régime, and for that reason we must redouble our efforts and our commitment to peaceful means.”¹

8. It was on that basis that we supported Security Council resolution 415 (1977), which requested the Secretary-General to appoint a representative to enter into discussions with Lord Carver and all the parties concerned. We have no doubt that the Anglo-American initiative and the subsequent action by the Council, building on the consensus of the Maputo Conference,² viewed against a deteriorating economic and security situation, added to the pressures on the Smith régime to take further steps on the road to majority rule. The very fact that the Anglo-American proposals initially commended themselves in their entirety to none of the competing interests suggests that they may well have struck a fairly good balance. We have noted with considerable satisfaction that the front-line States and the Organization of African Unity have now indicated their support for the proposals as a basis for a negotiated settlement and that the leaders of the Patriotic Front are also moving in the same direction.

9. It is clear also that the agreement signed at Salisbury on 3 March does not provide for the full transfer of the instruments of authority to the African majority. The terms of the agreement will make it possible for the minority to retain control of the judiciary, the military, the police and the civil service for at least a decade. There is no provision for a cease-fire under international supervision, nor is there provision for internationally supervised elections. All things considered, therefore, we are of the opinion that this agreement is inadequate and cannot command the support necessary for a lasting solution. It has been rejected by the leaders of the Patriotic Front, by the front-line States, and by all the States members of the Organization of African Unity. There appears to be no prospect of its leading to the cessation of the armed conflict and the lifting of sanctions.

10. In examining the very serious problem with which the Security Council is confronted, we must take fully into account the complexity of the situation. It is important, we believe, to avoid attempting to identify heroes or villains. In

our view, the key to a settlement lies in the arrangements for a genuine transfer of power and, in particular, in the need to satisfy all parties that these arrangements are fair and that their interests are protected. We therefore urge all parties to enter into resumed negotiations.

11. The Council, for its part, should make every effort to pave the way for the resumption of negotiations to develop an internationally acceptable solution and to achieve stable, effective majority rule and, in our view, should focus on measures which will encourage all Zimbabweans to recognize the need for making common cause and participating in the negotiations. If the Council, as a consequence of this debate, can pave the way for further negotiations between the parties concerned, it will have made an important contribution to the independence of Zimbabwe under effective majority rule and to the peace and security of Africa and the world.

12. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. In you as President we have an experienced statesman and diplomat who has won for himself in New York the very well deserved title of one of the most popular chiefs of mission.

13. A few days ago, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, Sir Michael Palliser, once again confirmed, during a visit to Prague, that relations between our two countries were extremely promising. That reflects the conclusions contained in the joint communiqué signed at the end of the visit to the United Kingdom of the Foreign Minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. In that communiqué the Czechoslovak Minister and his British colleague said, *inter alia*, that they welcomed the strengthening of mutual ties and the continuing development of political and other exchanges on governmental and other levels.

14. I should like also to express my gratitude to the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Ambassador Troyanovsky, who so skillfully and effectively conducted the proceedings of the Council last month. I would take this opportunity to express my particular pleasure at noting that between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics there exist close ties of comprehensive co-operation, friendship and solidarity, and that the constant strengthening and further development of these ties is one of the foundations of the foreign policy of socialist Czechoslovakia.

15. One of the questions which has long been ripe for solution in connexion with the completion of the struggle against colonialism in southern Africa is the attainment of a just solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia and the immediate, total and unconditional transfer of all power to the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe. The illegal minority régime continues, however, to pursue a racist policy of inhuman oppression, in its attempts to continue by every means in its power the colonial, racist domination over the people of Zimbabwe and to perpetuate its ruthless exploitation of the indigenous African population and the plundering of the natural resources of that country.

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 6th meeting, para. 72.

² International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held at Maputo from 16 to 21 May 1977.

16. Those are precisely the goals of the most recent manoeuvres of Smith and his direct and indirect supporters from outside in order to impose on the African population plans for a so-called internal settlement. The minority régime—long since obsolete—is attempting to preserve power in its own hands and is hoping that, by means of the achievement of an agreement with the venal elements inside the country and the subsequent creation of a puppet régime, it will be able to keep the Patriotic Front outside any decisions affecting the fate of their country. The régime hopes in this new way to entrench its domination over the indigenous African population and give itself the appearance of legitimacy.

17. The agreement signed the other day at Salisbury does not even formally provide for the transfer of power to the African majority, although Smith and the so-called moderate African leaders who went along with him in this shameful deal are trying to represent it as doing so. On the contrary, it clearly banks on the further preservation of all power in the hands of the racist minority, which will continue to retain possession of all the machinery of violence and oppression that has been created in Zimbabwe during the 12 years of the existence of the illegal régime. All the provisions of the deal are aimed at preserving the privileges of this minority in the political and economic fields. This so-called agreement is as illegal as the Smith régime itself, and this illegality has been acknowledged by the Security Council and all the Members of the United Nations. By their conduct, the parties to this shameful deal have excluded themselves from the ranks of genuine fighters for the freedom and independence of the people of Zimbabwe.

18. Obviously the so-called internal settlement cannot possibly become a basis for a just solution to the Southern Rhodesian problem. At the same time, it must be evident to everyone that the illegal racist régime is able to reject the just demands for the unconditional transfer of power in its totality in Zimbabwe to the authentic representatives of the African majority simply because that régime enjoys the direct or indirect support of those Western countries which have a stake in preserving their broad political and economic interests in that part of Africa.

19. The direct responsibility for the present situation in Southern Rhodesia must be borne by those who, by their policy of endless talks with the Smith régime and the contriving of all kinds of compromise plans acceptable to Smith, have in fact been promoting the virtual preservation of that régime and its perpetuation and legalization in one form or another. Using these talks as a pretext, they have even held up the adoption by the United Nations of effective measures against the illegal régime under Chapter VII of the Charter.

20. In the circumstances, no one can be surprised, surely, that the manoeuvres of Smith and his supporters have been categorically repudiated by the Patriotic Front, which has stated that the armed struggle will continue until total and final victory. Only the earliest possible elimination of the Smith régime—and also, incidentally, the Vorster régime—and the complete and total victory of the genuine fighters for the freedom and independence of the countries of

southern Africa can ensure peace and justice in that part of the world.

21. In spite of all the calculations of Smith's defenders aimed at splitting the anti-colonial front of the African States by appeals to recognize the so-called internal settlement—which they have recently been trying to represent as a “step in the right direction”—the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, at its recent meeting at Tripoli adopted a resolution which

“Rejects any outcome of the fraudulent talks taking place between the racist minority régime of Ian Smith and certain unrepresentative elements.”³

The resolution calls upon all Zimbabweans to support the efforts of the Patriotic Front.

22. Thanks to the heroic struggle of the patriots of Zimbabwe, led by the Patriotic Front, the defeat of the illegal racist régime is inevitable. It is obvious, however, that that régime is unwilling to leave the political stage of its own free will and does not wish to transfer power peacefully to the authentic and legitimate representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. Clear evidence of this is to be found in the intensification of the repression of the peaceful African population, the expansion of military activities against members of the national liberation movement, and fresh acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign African States. It suffices to recall in this connexion the most recent instance of brutal aggression by the Rhodesian racist army against neighbouring independent Zambia, from 6 to 8 March, and the murder of a large number of peaceful inhabitants of that country, as well as Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

23. These provocative actions on the part of the minority régime are the most eloquent reply to all the efforts of the national liberation movement of Zimbabwe and the front-line African States to bring about a peaceful settlement in the country. At the same time, these actions expose in the best possible way the true aims of Smith's most recent manoeuvres in connexion with the so-called internal settlement of the problem. As is pointed out in Security Council resolution 411 (1977), as a result of these criminal actions the minority régime remains

“a source of insecurity and instability in the region and constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security”.

Furthermore, its manoeuvrings in connexion with the underhand deal on the so-called internal settlement are making the situation in southern Africa even more difficult and intensifying the threat there.

24. The Czechoslovak delegation shares the serious view expressed on 9 March by the leaders of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe [2064th meeting]. That is why it supports the demand of the Group of African States that the Security Council should categorically reject the so-called Smith agreement and give its

³ Quoted in English by the speaker.

decisive support to the Patriotic Front, without which it is impossible to bring about a just settlement in Zimbabwe. By its actions the Council should promote the creation of conditions that would ensure a just solution to this problem in accordance with the will and aspirations of the African majority of Zimbabwe for freedom and independence. Such a just solution should guarantee the earliest possible transfer of State power to the genuine representatives of the people of Zimbabwe, namely, the patriotic forces headed by the Patriotic Front, the sole legitimate representative of the African majority which is honourably fighting for the freedom and independence of its people. In order to ensure such a settlement, all the means available to the United Nations must be employed.

25. As I have already pointed out, my delegation supports the demands of African States that the Security Council should condemn all Smith's manoeuvres, declare null and void any so-called settlement in Southern Rhodesia brought about under the sponsorship of the racist régime and oblige all Member States to refuse recognition to any régime created in Southern Rhodesia as a result of the talks on the so-called internal settlement.

26. We also whole-heartedly share the view expressed in the Council by a number of African and other countries that the situation in Southern Rhodesia remains a serious threat to international peace and security and that in the circumstances existing sanctions against Southern Rhodesia should not only be maintained but even expanded to include all the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

27. In conclusion, I should like to stress that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always favoured the immediate elimination of the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia. It has been giving and will continue to give every kind of political, diplomatic, moral and material support to the African population of Zimbabwe and its national liberation movement led by the Patriotic Front in its struggle for freedom and national independence.

28. Mr. HUSSON (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first I should like to offer you my congratulations on your assumption of the lofty duties you have been discharging since the beginning of this month. France is particularly pleased to see presiding over the Council's meetings the representative of a country with which we have long-standing and friendly relations strengthened by our membership in the European Economic Community.

29. I should also like to thank the representative of Nigeria for the manner in which he conducted our work in January and to express our gratitude to the Commissioner for External Affairs of that country, Brigadier Garba, for having honoured us with his presence and his experience. I am very pleased with the relations our two countries enjoy and with the results of the visit recently paid by Mr. de Guiringaud to Lagos.

30. Our congratulations also go to the representative of the Soviet Union, who in February conducted our debate on a difficult and delicate question with competence and distinction. Needless to say, our two countries are deter-

mined to develop relations based on friendship, mutual respect and co-operation.

31. Since I have not had a chance to speak before the Council since the beginning of this year, I have not been able to bid welcome to the newly elected Member States among us. We are pleased to welcome five new members in the persons of the representatives of Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Gabon, Kuwait and Nigeria. All are experts on the United Nations and we are very pleased we shall be able to benefit from their enlightened experience.

32. I should also like to say that for the past two years we have enjoyed the co-operation of the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Pakistan, Panama and Romania. I am pleased to stress that my delegation has very fond memories of their contributions to our work.

33. On 1 September last, the Security Council was officially informed of the proposals regarding a settlement in Southern Rhodesia drawn up by the Government of the United Kingdom "with the full agreement of the United States Government and after consulting all the parties concerned" [S/12393]; on 29 September it adopted a resolution requesting the Secretary-General to appoint a representative to enter into discussions with the British Resident Commissioner designate—Lord Carver—and with all the parties concerning the military and associated arrangements deemed necessary to ensure the transfer of power to a majority government in Southern Rhodesia [resolution 415 (1977)]. In accordance with that resolution, Mr. Waldheim, shortly thereafter, appointed Lieutenant-General Prem Chand to represent him.

34. Five months have passed since then. And now, having seen fit to ignore the views of the international community and pursuing his illegal course, Ian Smith has arranged a so-called internal settlement which, as he openly admits, he hopes will eventually be accepted by the entire world.

35. We should like to say that there is no question of France's recognizing this arrangement as being capable of settling the Rhodesian problem. Were we to do that, we should have to repudiate our vote of 29 September and disavow the constant support we have since the beginning given the Anglo-American proposals for an internationally acceptable settlement.

36. It may be true that in the agreement achieved by Ian Smith there are certain provisions which do create some hopes for his acceptance of majority rule and the ultimate transfer of power. However, according to United Nations criteria, too many conditions remain unfulfilled for this text to stand the slightest chance of actually creating a genuinely sovereign and independent Zimbabwe.

37. First of all, it should be recalled that the United Kingdom still holds a major responsibility. To our way of thinking, it and it alone can ensure the legal transfer of power. It must therefore remain directly engaged in any process leading to independence. It was with this in mind that the Anglo-American proposals of 1 September provided for the appointment of a British Resident Commissioner with the necessary authority.

38. Secondly, power can be given only to the authentic representatives of the Zimbabwe people, and elections are the only democratic way of establishing who those representatives are. For elections to be valid, they would have to be conducted in a climate and according to procedures that would allow for complete freedom of choice. In particular, it is essential that the hostilities should cease and that provisions should be adopted to ensure both the maintenance of law and order and respect for the rights of citizens during the transition period. The United Nations has an important role to play in the establishment of the confidence which is necessary for this purpose. That is precisely why it is part of the Anglo-American plan for the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to ensure that the elections will be conducted properly.

39. Finally, the restoration of peace necessarily presupposes an agreement among all those who have fought and are fighting for independence. In this connexion, it is regrettable that men sharing the same ideal of an independent Zimbabwe have not yet managed to define among themselves the terms of an agreement which would put an end to their quarrels. I should like to urge here and now the chiefs of the various nationalist movements to join their efforts with those of the United Kingdom Government in order to prepare the foundation for the restoration of peace.

40. The illegal régime at Salisbury must understand that there can be no lasting peace without the participation and support of all those who have a decisive role to play in the tragedy of that country. Until it observes this elementary principle it cannot hope that the international community will endorse plans which by their very nature cannot lead to a final settlement. Consequently, Ian Smith must expect his isolation to continue and even to increase.

41. It is important that everything should be done to bring about a settlement by peaceful means. Let us not forget that peace is the very *raison d'être* of the Security Council. The Council must play a constructive role in this particularly important matter.

42. My delegation therefore expresses the hope that the Council will give its full support to the United Kingdom and the United States in their efforts to reach with all the parties concerned an internationally acceptable settlement

of the problem of Southern Rhodesia. France, for its part, is prepared to give its assistance.

43. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Members of the Council will recall that near the end of our meeting last Friday I gave advance notice that, on behalf of my African brothers members of the Council, I intended to circulate a working paper after it had been processed by the Secretariat. That paper was actually circulated in all languages, as far as I know, last Saturday morning. In addition, I invited comments on that paper. Since last Friday, consultations and negotiations have been taking place intensively and extensively and we, the African members, have considered whatever comments we have received. I wish to assure you, Mr. President, that we gave special consideration to the views expressed by the representative of the United Kingdom.

44. We Africans have now reached a stage where we feel that we should submit our paper, which is somewhat revised and which now commands the sponsorship of all the non-aligned countries represented in the Council. Therefore, on behalf of the delegations of Bolivia, Gabon, India, Kuwait, Mauritius, Nigeria and Venezuela, I formally introduce the draft resolution which has been circulated as document S/12597. The contents of the draft are well known by now and require little if any comment by me, as the spokesman of the seven sponsors. I shall therefore just go through the draft as a matter of form.

45. The draft contains five totally non-controversial pre-ambular paragraphs and seven very realistic and reasonable operative paragraphs, which I feel certain will command the full support of all members of the Council, thus leading to a unanimous decision. The text of the draft resolution reads as follows:

[The speaker read out the text of the draft resolution.]

46. I do not feel that I ought to take more time of the Council, and I rest here.

47. The PRESIDENT: I am obliged to the representative of Mauritius for telling me how carefully he and his colleagues considered the views of the United Kingdom. I can only say that it does not show.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.

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