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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2033RD MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 28 September 1977, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, Canada, China, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2033)

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

Letter dated 23 September 1977 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12402)

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:

Letter dated 23 September 1977 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12402)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius [S/12405]. It reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that during its current meeting devoted to consideration of the 'Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia', the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Joshua Nkomo, co-leader of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe."

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to this request.

It was so decided.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: letter dated 1 September 1977 from the representative of the United Kingdom to the President of the Security Council [S/12393]; letter dated 8 September 1977 from the representative of the United Kingdom to the President of the Council [S/12395]; text of a draft resolution sponsored by the United Kingdom [S/12404].

3. The first speaker is the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, His Excellency the Right Honourable Mr. David Owen, whom I welcome to the Council.

4. Mr. OWEN (United Kingdom): Mr. President, first may I welcome you to your office and say what a pleasure it is to speak in the Council under your presidency, particularly as you are the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, with which my country has had for many years and will always have very close relations. It is a pleasure for us.

5. The United Nations has been involved in Rhodesia for many years and so, in bringing this draft resolution to the Council, I do not believe that we are raising a new issue of principle. Involvement of the United Nations and indeed involvement of the Council is not a new issue. I wish that it were otherwise. I wish that this issue of Rhodesia had not been before the Council for the many years that it has been.

6. Britain has striven within the international community to bring about an end to the illegal régime and to transfer power to the majority in Rhodesia. I hope there is no misunderstanding about the depth of the commitment of my Government to achieving, at the earliest possible date, a transfer to majority rule and an independent, free Zimbabwe.

7. In the negotiations that have been undertaken, we have had to face the fact that there are many different views about the form of a settlement which will bring about an independent Zimbabwe. It is, in my judgement, impossible to reach total agreement among all the parties. What we have striven to do is to produce proposals which the world, the United Nations and the Security Council will judge to be fair.

8. At this stage, the crucial issue is to try to end the fighting, to bring about a cease-fire. Until arrangements satisfactory to the parties have been worked out, it is very difficult to see us making an over-all package which will be acceptable to everybody in the Council.

9. The fundamental principles on which we have tried to work are these: that Mr. Smith and the present illegal régime must stand down before the start of the transition period and that there should be fair and free elections on the basis of one person, one vote. We have advocated a role for the United Nations because we believe it offers an assurance to the nationalist leadership by guaranteeing the impartiality of elections and by guarding against any fears they may have of recolonization because of the presence of a Resident Commissioner under the British Government.

10. But I am not asking for a judgement on the United Nations role at this stage. What we propose in our draft resolution is a limited step which has the aim of bringing together the parties who have been doing the fighting so that they can agree to a cease-fire which will lead into the transitional period. We recognize that the parties cannot agree to a cease-fire first and only then discuss transitional arrangements.

11. The draft resolution before the Council speaks for itself. Operative paragraph 1 requests and refers to the appointment of a representative to enter into discussions "concerning the military and associated arrangements that are considered necessary to effect the transition to majority rule in Southern Rhodesia". Since the publication of our proposals, a number of comments have been made by the parties, some in writing and some orally, and we shall be pursuing consultations with them on all the points raised with the hope of widening the measure of agreement. Certainly, if there can be a further agreement, I shall do everything in my power to try and achieve it.

12. Therefore, in taking this step that is proposed to the Council today, nobody is required to pronounce himself on the package as a whole. That will be done when we come back to the Council at a later stage after discussions with all the parties, and none of the arrangements in the paper that have been put before the Council can be put into effect until the parties and the Council are satisfied, until there has been agreement on a cease-fire, and unless the British Government and Parliament believe that the over-all package is such as will give them authority for the appointment of a Resident Commissioner under the legal powers which Britain still possesses.

13. I hope, therefore, that the Council can agree to take this limited step on the basis of the draft resolution that has been put forward by my Government. It has been put forward in the genuine belief that it offers the quickest and the speediest way of resolving the conflict in Rhodesia and bringing about what has been the objective of the United Nations now for many years, that is, a transfer of power to the majority in Rhodesia and the creation of an independent Zimbabwe that will bring satisfaction and peace to the people of Zimbabwe and also stability to the whole of that region of southern Africa.

14. It is with these objectives in mind that the British Government has put forward these proposals and this draft resolution. I hope that the Council will feel able today to take a decision along the lines of this draft resolution.

15. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is Mr. Joshua Nkomo. I welcome him and, in accordance with the

Council's earlier decision, invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

16. Mr. NKOMO: Mr. President, members of the Security Council, allow me to extend to you the greetings of the struggling people of Zimbabwe and their liberation movement, the Patriotic Front. We appreciate the constructive role of the United Nations in promoting peace and security, co-operation and understanding among the nations of the world. We Zimbabweans particularly appreciate the role of the United Nations in the efforts to eradicate the racist and colonial situation in our country.

17. The Security Council is meeting today to consider the rapidly changing situation in Zimbabwe. It is important, first of all, to understand precisely why the situation has changed to such an extent that this august body finds itself debating mechanisms for the transfer of power from the Rhodesian minority to the Zimbabwean majority. This change has been brought about by, and only by, armed struggle, by the sweat and blood of our people, some of whom have forsaken normal lives in order to free their country. Our people have chosen to make this supreme sacrifice because the British and their Rhodesian agents would not heed our peaceful demands for self-determination. Naturally, we should have preferred to regain our independence without having to lose some of our finest sons and daughters in the process, but we were left with no choice. Since the liberation movement began to respond to the Rhodesian violence with commensurate force, our liberation ranks have swelled by leaps and bounds. We have reached this point because the people are fighting a war and are winning it. If we are challenged to press on to total victory on the battlefield we shall rise to the occasion, because we know that final victory is certain and will be ours. Our people have suffered too much to allow any obstacle to stand in the way of complete victory over Rhodesian fascism. We do not seek further bloodshed for the sake of it, but we shall not shrink from it if the alternative is to accept something less than real and authentic independence.

18. This, then, is the reality against which any formula to resolve the crisis in Zimbabwe must be measured. The reality today in Zimbabwe is the war being waged by forces of the Patriotic Front, the sole liberation force in that country. Any moves to find a formula to end the crisis in Zimbabwe must take that fact into account. The next thing is to identify the parties to the armed conflict. Who, then, are these parties? They are the forces of the Patriotic Front on the one hand and the British settler forces on the other. Unless this reality is clearly recognized there will never be a solution to the crisis in Zimbabwe.

19. I should now like to turn to the specific issue on which this meeting of the Council has been convened. It has been called at the request of Britain to authorize the Secretary-General to appoint a representative who would work with the British Resident Commissioner designate and with us, that is, the Patriotic Front.

20. The Zimbabwe liberation movement recognizes the role of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in the process of decolonization. We have availed ourselves of

every opportunity offered us to petition the United Nations against British colonialism and Rhodesian racism in Zimbabwe. In this regard, we have always viewed this role of the United Nations as a positive contribution towards the liberation of our people.

21. But today the context in which we discuss the proposed United Nations role in Zimbabwe is different from what it has been in that this time it is the colonizer who is requesting the Security Council to come to his aid. It is important for people who have held the work of the United Nations in high esteem to understand what it is that the Organization is being asked to do. If Britain's motive is to make the United Nations play the role of partner in the furtherance of colonial interests, we vehemently oppose the move. On the other hand, if the United Nations presence is sought to facilitate the complete decolonization of Zimbabwe, the Patriotic Front will have nothing against it. In other words, unless the role of the United Nations representative is specifically defined, there is a danger that he may be seduced into playing a role inimical to the interests of the United Nations and of the people of Zimbabwe.

22. This meeting of the Council has been called to examine just one aspect of the latest British proposals. At this stage of the negotiations, especially as the Council is not considering the substantive elements of the proposals, we do not intend to make a detailed and comprehensive response to the proposals. Such a response will be made at the appropriate time. Nevertheless, in order to assist the Council in its deliberations, it behoves us to afford the Council some insight into the thoughts of the Patriotic Front on the British White Paper [see S/12393]. For that reason I shall now make available to the members of the Council a document, the Maputo document,¹ conveying those thoughts. As we see it, to enable the United Nations to fulfil the objective of decolonization in Southern Rhodesia, its representative's role must be defined in terms which clearly enhance and advance the objective of decolonization in a concrete and practical way. To that end, the instrument by which he is appointed must incorporate in clear and unequivocal language the following elements: first, that his appointment should be made by the Secretary-General acting in close consultation with the members of the Security Council and the parties to the armed conflict and, secondly, similarly, that his duties, powers and functions should be determined in close consultation with the members of the Council and the parties to the armed conflict.

23. Allow me now, on behalf of the Patriotic Front and the struggling people of Zimbabwe, to express our gratitude for the opportunity afforded us to present to the Council the position of the Patriotic Front.

24. I now conclude by formally presenting to the Council the Patriotic Front's document.

25. We believe that Zimbabwe must be free, the struggle must continue. Victory, of course, is certain.

26. The PRESIDENT: I wish to welcome the presence in the Security Council of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mr. Treiki, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania, Mr. Macovescu.

27. Mr. BOYA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation very much appreciates the tact and diplomatic skill with which you have been so effectively conducting the proceedings of the Council during this month of September. Today the Council has before it a question of great importance for Africa. We have no doubt that this debate will be conducted with objectivity and a high degree of responsibility. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to extend to you our appreciation for the very friendly relations existing between your country, the Federal Republic of Germany, and my own, the People's Republic of Benin. The fruitful co-operation between our two countries has produced results beneficial to Benin; the people of Benin are happy about this co-operation.

28. My delegation welcomes the presence here of an authentic son of and fighter for Zimbabwe, our brother Joshua Nkomo, co-president of the Patriotic Front, the only representative of all the people of Zimbabwe. My delegation salutes the courage and spirit of sacrifice of the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe. We pay a respectful tribute to the memory of all the sons of Zimbabwe who have fallen on the battlefield in the fight for liberty, sovereignty and national independence. The People's Republic of Benin vigorously supports the positions of the Patriotic Front.

29. The debate in which we are participating today is a sign of the profound and irreversible changes that have occurred in Zimbabwe since the arrogant rebel clique of Ian Smith unilaterally and illegally proclaimed the independence of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. It is a sign that, faced with the determination of the freedom fighters of the Patriotic Front to intensify the armed struggle of national liberation until complete victory—and, therefore, faced with the constant deterioration of Smith's positions—the United Kingdom, the colonial Power, cannot remain passive any longer. Hence, my delegation believes that the process leading to these initiatives is positive in itself because Great Britain has at last understood the scope of its heavy responsibility in this misfortune that has been inflicted on the people of Zimbabwe for more than 12 years.

30. My delegation appreciates all the efforts towards peace designed to spare the people of Zimbabwe so much suffering and sacrifice. But it must be fully understood that these efforts must lead exclusively to the true and total independence of Zimbabwe. That is why my delegation would like, at this stage, to restate its position with regard to what it expects from this debate.

31. We do not wish to see the usual confusion surround this debate. Everything must be made crystal clear, because the Africans in the Council, including Benin, do not wish to bear any responsibility for confusion carefully orchestrated by the enemies of Africa with their shady and sordid designs.

¹ Subsequently circulated as document S/12406.

32. It is not a matter of discussing the Anglo-American proposals as such. What is at issue for us here is the consideration of the Anglo-American arrangements as a reflexion of the desire of the United Kingdom and the United States to embark, particularly with the Patriotic Front, on serious negotiations aimed at achieving a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian question. And we think that the Anglo-American arrangements contain elements that could serve as a basis for such negotiations. This debate should not be interpreted as an attempt or a wish on the part of the Council to endorse the Anglo-American arrangements. We regard these arrangements as a parallel initiative towards a peaceful settlement. That is all.

33. For us there can be no question of using these arrangements as a substitute for the armed struggle in the field. That struggle must be pursued with even greater determination until the last of the Smith clique's torturers give up.

34. For us, there can be no question of leaving the field free for anyone to replace Smith by neo-colonialist puppets devoted heart and soul to the protection of the shady imperialist interests.

35. I turn now more specifically to the object of this meeting, which is to give the Secretary-General a mandate to appoint a representative to negotiate the details of certain questions very important for the success of the whole process. We must be absolutely clear about this subject too.

36. As we see it, it is not a matter of appointing a representative of the Secretary-General to dismantle the national liberation forces of Zimbabwe or to help to undermine the bases of a struggle by the people to save the embattled masses of Zimbabwe. The representative of the Secretary-General will not be going there to help the Resident Commissioner of the colonial Power to do some careful neo-colonialist plastering-over of cracks designed to safeguard the imperialist interests on the scene. As we see it, the idea is to help Smith to fall without breaking any bones, as it were. In other words, the mandate of the representative to be appointed by the Secretary-General should be defined in such a way as to enable the negotiations with the Patriotic Front to continue on clear bases. As Mr. Nkomo quite rightly said just now, the Secretary-General's representative should be appointed in close consultation with the members of the Security Council.

37. It is in the light of that analysis, the purpose of which is to preserve the purity of future actions, that the People's Republic of Benin agrees to grant the mandate sought by Great Britain for the appointment of a representative of the Secretary-General.

38. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Benin for the kind words he addressed to me and for his comments about the good relations between our two countries.

39. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): Mr. President, it has been a pleasure to work with you in the

Security Council during these past months since my appointment as representative of the United States. I extend to you the great appreciation of my Government for your leadership in resolving the previous question before the Council—Cyprus—and for the leadership you are now giving the Council as we take up the present important issue.

40. Of course, the United States supports the present proposals. And yet I must say that these are not really Anglo-American proposals—as our press has termed them. Rather, I refer to them as Anglo-African-American proposals which, essentially, have come about because of initiatives on the part of nations and peoples of Africa themselves.

41. It is true that my Government would not be involved at all had it not been for the insistence of African States that we had a role to play in the transformation of the entire southern African continent and the achievement of majority rule on that continent. It was as a result of our commitment to majority rule throughout southern Africa that we became involved in the process of listening to the front-line Presidents, the liberation movements and all the parties that have been involved in this struggle.

42. There is some trepidation whenever the United Nations gets involved in this kind of exercise because over the past years, especially in Africa, our history has been somewhat spotty. There have been difficulties when we have attempted this kind of exercise on the African continent, but I would contend that there is a tremendous difference in that continent in 1977 from the time in 1963 when the Security Council was last involved there. That difference is manifested in the presence of a strong Organization of African Unity, which itself determines the affairs of Africa and which, rather than listening to the so-called super-Powers, is certainly much more in a position to have the super-Powers serve the interests of Africa than was the case in 1963.

43. The organization of the front-line Presidents and their ability to work together as a unit have already been evidenced in the achievement of liberation for Mozambique and Angola through their united support of the liberation struggle, and the lessons which they have learned from their experience in leading that part of Africa to freedom. They are coming to this exercise with a body of experience which could not have existed in 1963 when their countries were fledglings struggling for their own freedom.

44. I must agree with Mr. Nkomo that we would not be here were it not for the strength of the liberation struggle. That liberation struggle has been both an armed struggle and a diplomatic struggle. That we are here is testimony to the fact that it has been as successful in its diplomatic as in its military efforts.

45. We are here today looking for an internationally acceptable solution. There are many solutions which are possible but only from this body can come a solution which is both permanent and internationally acceptable. The way this body, and especially the Secretary-General, have operated, is an indication that, perhaps, given all these

circumstances that have come about in the past, we can approach at least this phase of the exercise with some measure of confidence. Under some circumstances a Secretary-General might be able, without calling a meeting of the Council, to appoint a representative to observe talks about military arrangements leading up to a cease-fire, and yet Secretary-General Waldheim has sought to consult the Council and to take his mandate from it. In everything we have done in Zimbabwe, there has been an effort on the part of the Secretary-General to work in consultation with the members of the Council. That is not something that is necessarily mandated by the Council; it is something which the Secretary-General accepts as his obligation and one of the responsibilities of his office.

46. As we are approaching an internationally acceptable solution and as we accept the responsibilities of the Council for that solution, we are in fact giving Zimbabwe an opportunity for a permanent solution. We are giving Zimbabwe an opportunity to move towards independence and majority rule without a lot of the in-fighting, conflict and internal dissension that has inevitably gone with the struggle for freedom when it has not been accompanied by the support of the entire international community.

47. There is no doubt, so far as I am concerned, about preserving the security of the white society or about its sanctity and survival in Africa. In no place in Africa has white society been destroyed; even where there has been a complete military takeover of the government, whites have either survived in the country, if they chose to stay, or they have somehow miraculously been able to get out, like the roughly 300,000 who were airlifted out of Angola. Yet what we are talking about is the possibility, if we are not together and united in helping this nation to achieve its independence through some orderly, democratic means, of continued civil strife, which is essentially a black-on-black struggle and which has very little to do with the struggle against racism, colonialism or imperialism.

48. I should think the so-called super-Powers have learned that there is no advantage to be gained in Africa; that essentially all that we as the United States could do for the African continent, all the money that we have to spare, all the power that we have to utilize, could be poured into Africa and it would be hardly a drop in the bucket in dealing with the problems that Africa faces. We would gain hardly any advantage at all through a massive expenditure of time, talent, money or military resources. The problems of Africa are so enormous that they can be approached only with the kind of international unity that can come from this body.

49. It is with that in mind that my Government supports these proposals, hoping that in doing so we are beginning a period of international co-operation towards putting an end to colonialism, racism and imperialist domination, and towards enabling people to determine by their own choice how their governments are to be run and who shall run them. It is because I think that this first step offers the Security Council and the representative of the Secretary-General an opportunity to explore the possibilities of taking this kind of action with a representative designated by the United Kingdom that we can take this step at least

with very little risk and with tremendous potential, because, as a result of this step, we might continue that slow process that we have been engaged in of learning to work together to solve the world's problems. I hope that the Council will support this proposal and, more than just supporting this limited first step, will support the entire process and see to it that, as reports come back to us, we seek to find some way of bringing about freedom, independence and justice in Zimbabwe and minimizing the shedding of blood and the destruction of the resources of that country.

50. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, my delegation extends to you its warm felicitations on your assumption of the office of President of the Council for this month. We are greatly impressed by your efficient and meaningful conduct of the business of the Council and we feel sure that your guidance of our work will contribute to its success.

51. We are glad to welcome the presence of Mr. Joshua Nkomo in the Council and we were most interested in what he had to say since his words have direct relevance to our present debate.

52. As to the question before us, my delegation listened with great attention to the statement of the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom. His presence here among us is a mark of the importance the United Kingdom attaches to the resolution of the state of rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, if possible by peaceful methods and with the association of the United Nations.

53. My delegation will support the draft resolution sponsored by the United Kingdom in document S/12404 for the following reasons: we see the appointment of a representative of the Secretary-General as a desirable and indeed necessary form of association of the United Nations in the process of bringing about the true independence of Southern Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule. We regard it as the very first step in this process and as being in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

54. There has been an illegal situation in Southern Rhodesia since 1965, and the former colonial authority has been trying, unsuccessfully, with or without the help of the United Nations, to quell the rebellion of Ian Smith. The Security Council, in its first resolution on this question, resolution 202 (1965), requested the United Kingdom to promote majority rule and to enter into consultations with all concerned for the attainment of the independence of Southern Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule.

55. That involves the rectification of the illegal situation caused by the Smith rebellion. With that objective in view, the United Kingdom and the United States have taken certain exploratory initiatives. It is not our present intention to comment on those initiatives except to say that the restoration of legality in Southern Rhodesia does not imply the return of the colonial authority *per se*; but it does mean co-operative efforts by the United Kingdom and the United Nations for the purpose of achieving the objectives of the Charter.

56. In other words, the restoration of legality in Southern Rhodesia is subject to two conditions: first, it should be on the basis of the principle of the paramountcy of the interests of the people of Zimbabwe; secondly, it should be on the principle of rule by the elected majority leading to the independence of Zimbabwe.

57. The peaceful return of legality naturally must involve the restoration of peace in the first instance, so that thereafter there could be further steps towards decolonizing Southern Rhodesia. My delegation is in favour of exploring the opportunity offered by the proposal of the United Kingdom in appointing a representative of the Secretary-General. This appointment would involve simply the association of the United Nations with the efforts of the United Kingdom to create, first of all, peaceful conditions and the appropriate atmosphere necessary to bring about the transition to majority rule and independence in Zimbabwe. This limited purpose has our full support and we wish it the success it deserves because it is a peaceful attempt to solve a very difficult problem in accordance with the Charter and in association with the Secretary-General.

58. Now, as regards the actual appointment of a representative of the Secretary-General, it has always been our view that the competence of the Secretary-General should not be limited in any way or in any formal sense. But knowing the Secretary-General as we do, we have no doubt whatsoever that he will naturally ensure that the appointment has the tacit or the explicit approval of the parties concerned.

59. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of India for the kind words he addressed to me. I should like to add that the task of the President during the debate on Cyprus was made much easier thanks to his help and mediation.

60. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, I am happy to see you in the Chair of the Council at a time when we are discussing Zimbabwe.

61. Having heard the important statement of my socialist comrade, the Right Honourable Mr. David Owen, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, and having heard also the equally important statement of my glorious and beloved African brother, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, I wish to state that my delegation fully supports the initial and limited step regarding a mandate to our esteemed Secretary-General to appoint a representative for the purposes of paving the way for a peaceful and negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe. I do not believe we would have reached this stage in our efforts towards achieving majority rule in Zimbabwe were it not for the armed struggle of the African liberation movements, the awakening of the United Kingdom under the wise leadership of Prime Minister James Callaghan and of the distinguished Mr. David Owen, and the indispensable role played by the United States, especially by our good friend Andy Young, under the wise leadership of President Carter.

62. I shall not—I repeat not—at this stage offer any comment on the British White Paper as circulated. I wish the eventual representative of the Secretary-General every success.

63. Mr. BARTON (Canada): Mr. President, once again it is a pleasure for my delegation to be serving under your guidance. We have witnessed its quality before and we look forward to your continuing ministrations during the remainder of this month.

64. The United Nations has for many years given its support to efforts designed to bring about independence and majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. We have witnessed a number of initiatives taken by the administering Power, the United Kingdom, and supported by the international community, designed to bring about that elusive end.

65. The results of the latest and most intensive initiative which the United Kingdom, with the full agreement and support of the United States, has evolved, after consulting all the parties concerned, are embodied in the document that is before us today. At this point in our deliberations, it has been agreed generally that we will not enter into a substantive discussion of the situation in Southern Rhodesia, nor of the proposals for the settlement embodied in that document. But I do wish to draw attention to the comment made by our Secretary of State for External Affairs during his statement to the General Assembly last Monday² to the effect that Canada fully supports this plan, not only because it provides the basis for a fair and equitable solution, but also because we reject totally the alternative of further bloodshed. To this end, we are pleased to support the draft resolution now before the Council which requests it to appoint a representative to enter into discussions with the British Resident Commissioner designate and with all the parties concerning military and associated arrangements in Southern Rhodesia during the transition to majority rule.

66. We are hopeful that this first step will be followed by measures which will bring early and peaceful independence to Zimbabwe.

67. Mr. MACOVESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to wish you every success in your important tasks in that capacity.

68. I should also like to welcome the presence among us of Mr. Joshua Nkomo, co-president of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, and to assure him of our support in the struggle which his people are waging to achieve the independence of their country.

69. My delegation agrees with the ideas contained in the draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. David Owen. In this it is guided by the position of principle of the Romanian Government concerning the effective role which the United Nations must play within the context of the actions taken by the international community in support of the struggle of peoples for freedom and independence and to ensure international peace and security.

² Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-Second Session, Plenary Meetings, 6th meeting.

70. The United Nations has special responsibilities in general, and the Security Council in particular, with regard to the elimination of the illegal minority régime in Rhodesia through the establishment of the conditions necessary for the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

71. It is regrettable that for almost 12 years now the actions taken within the United Nations, including the sanctions adopted by the Security Council, have not yielded the expected results. In fact, the illegal régime of Salisbury remains in power thanks to the assistance provided by some States, in particular South Africa, in disregard of resolutions adopted by the United Nations and the mandatory sanctions decreed by the Council.

72. In the circumstances, the people of Zimbabwe and their national liberation movement, are quite justified in resorting to all means of struggle, including armed struggle, in order to realize their aspirations to freedom and independence.

73. At the same time, the successes of the liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa have brought about conditions permitting the use, in addition, of political methods and negotiations in an endeavour to settle by peaceful means the grave situation prevailing in Rhodesia.

74. In that context, international public opinion has welcomed with interest the various initiatives and attempts to set in motion a process leading to the peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian crisis. It is also within the framework of these concerns that we find the initiatives of the United Kingdom Government, which has special responsibilities as the administering Power of Rhodesia. The Romanian delegation has taken note of the considerations presented here by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and those of the co-president of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, Mr. Joshua Nkomo.

75. The Romanian delegation reserves the right to participate again in the debate when the Council begins the discussion of all the substantive questions involved in the settlement by political means of the question of Rhodesia. For the moment, we wish to emphasize that any initiative aimed at a solution of the Rhodesian problem can have the support of this forum as long as it meets with the fundamental objective of the people of Zimbabwe: the obtainment of the freedom and total independence of their country. Accordingly, it is only natural that the representative of the liberation movement of Zimbabwe, the Patriotic Front, should participate in the discussion at the United Nations on the future of Rhodesia in order to present his views.

76. We believe that consideration by the Security Council of the means by which the United Nations could effectively and specifically support the attainment by the people of Zimbabwe of their legitimate rights is a positive step in fulfilling the role which the United Nations is called upon to play in the final elimination of colonialism and racism. The Romanian delegation would like to emphasize the need

for the Organization and the Security Council to play a more active role in the settlement of the Rhodesian problem and to follow closely and control the way in which political power is transferred to the Zimbabwe majority government.

77. Although it is only a limited step, the appointment by the Secretary-General of a representative in Rhodesia can contribute to a more decisive United Nations commitment in the settlement of the Rhodesian problem. Like other members of the Council who have spoken, we wish to emphasize that the decision which we shall take must in no way be used as justification to evade previous Council and General Assembly resolutions concerning Southern Rhodesia or as a pretext to put off a settlement of the serious situation in Rhodesia.

78. For its part, Romania, faithful to its policy of solidarity with the peoples of Africa and the entire world, will continue to give full support to the people of Zimbabwe in their just struggle to achieve freedom and national independence.

79. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like to welcome you to the presidency of the Council once again and assure you of our co-operation and of our confidence in you.

80. There is no need to recall that the primary task of the Council is to ensure the establishment and maintenance of peace. At the present time, we are facing a situation in Rhodesia which is fraught with menace to the stability of an important part of the world. It is therefore our duty to seek ways of meeting the situation. Today the United Kingdom is proposing that we should explore a method which may avoid greater difficulties. It seems natural that we should give our support to this proposal.

81. My delegation has listened with attention to our African colleagues, who are primarily interested in a happy ending to the situation and who have signified their agreement with the proposal to appoint a special representative of the Secretary-General. Mr. Nkomo in person has just addressed us on this subject. In the circumstances, my delegation thinks that it would be a good idea, at this stage, to send out someone whose task would be to get in touch with all the interested parties and to report to us on the results of these talks. After having considered that report, the Council will be in a position to draw the necessary conclusions and, in particular, to decide whether or not we should go ahead with the application of the plan referred to.

82. We would be failing in our duty if today we were not to try out a proposal likely to bring sovereignty and independence to the people of Zimbabwe in a peaceful way, in keeping with the wishes of the international community.

83. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the Security Council, under your wise leadership, seems once again to be coming close to a harmonious solution of one of the most difficult and thorny questions which has been on the agenda of this body for many years.

84. The delegation of Panama wishes to announce that it will support the draft resolution contained in document S/12404 introduced by the delegation of the United Kingdom because it considers it to be a sound, judicious and wise decision to place the solution of the Zimbabwe problem before the logical forum, that is, the United Nations system.

85. My country wishes to pay a special tribute to the liberation movements of southern Africa and especially the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, which has been so ably represented here today by Mr. Joshua Nkomo. His words were imbued with sincerity and wisdom, as might be expected from a man who fights in the field and who also knows how to fight at the negotiating table. As several representatives have stated, it is a triumph for liberation movements, for those who struggle for the freedom of Africa.

86. Naturally, we wish to express our appreciation of the efforts exerted by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, Mr. David Owen, to enable his country to respond to the wishes of the international community, to the aspirations of the common man, so that a just and swift solution of the problem of Zimbabwe can be reached.

87. We also wish to recognize the efforts which have been undertaken in this connexion by our colleague, Ambassador Andrew Young of the United States.

88. We believe that they have made a presentation which deserves public support. The major Western Powers are engaged in a process of restoring the faith of the public, and we feel that this should also find an echo among the Eastern Powers because we all wish for a peaceful end to the suffering of the African peoples.

89. Accordingly, my delegation endorses the ideas expressed by other representatives this afternoon and addresses a very sincere and heartfelt appeal to all members of the Council to support this effort to resolve the problem of Zimbabwe within the United Nations system by giving the Secretary-General yet another proof of our confidence. We know that, in his official capacity, he must needs be fully responsive to the spirit of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions which seek a solution of this problem and try to bring about the decolonization of Zimbabwe, the recognition and proclamation of its independence and majority rule by an effective formula which will guarantee the definitive, specific and unlimited exercise of the right of political and economic self-determination for the people of Zimbabwe.

90. Miss LOPEZ (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Today's debate is of extreme importance for Venezuela. That is why we wished to be present, since it deals with one of the most dramatic problems affecting the African continent, a problem which concerns not only Africans but all members of the world community.

91. The problem of Rhodesia has been the object of constant concern in this forum, and the resolutions adopted on that question are many. However, the sanctions which

we have adopted and applied continue to be insufficient to put an end to the Smith régime and its consequences. The capacity for survival of this régime is clearly explained by the unconditional support it receives from its South African friends and by the free movement of capital from Western companies. Transnational corporations operate freely through their South African branches, quite legally and with ease. There is no doubt that that is the greatest support of the Smith régime. It is with this weapon that 270,000 whites subjugate more than 7 million blacks in Southern Rhodesia. The situation is steadily worsening. The people of Zimbabwe are suffering spiritually and physically and it is more and more urgent to find a solution of the problem. When the majority of the population is recognized as representing the people of Zimbabwe, the transnational companies will have to recognize that fact and accept their will.

92. The recent death of Mr. Biko, a distinguished fighter for the freedom of the South African people, is one further manifestation of the cruelty of racist régimes. His death is one more proof of the urgency of eliminating *apartheid* and those guilty of perpetuating it.

93. The delegation of the United Kingdom, which is headed at this moment by Mr. Owen, has submitted a proposal to the Council which results from Anglo-American consultations and which we find appropriate, on the understanding that it is a good point of departure towards the adoption of a series of subsequent measures.

94. We wished to hear Mr. Nkomo to ascertain his position on this proposal. We are now convinced that it is necessary to make a beginning and take a first step which would permit the transfer of power to the majority in Zimbabwe. We strongly believe that, on this occasion, the role of the United Nations is to lend assistance and co-operation to the Member State which bears the main responsibility for the solution of this problem.

95. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): Mr. President, allow me first, instead of congratulating you on these closing days of your presidency, to pay a tribute to the efficient, skilful and patient manner in which you have conducted our deliberations during the course of this month.

96. I wish also to apologize particularly to the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom for my inability to be present at the early part of this meeting. I was occupied in another meeting of a different nature, but of some importance.

97. We have had occasion to state our position on the question of Southern Rhodesia in the Council, in the General Assembly and in various other forums on previous occasions. Therefore, there is little need for me to reiterate the views of Pakistan.

98. The Council is concerned today with taking action on the specific request of the representative of the United Kingdom in document S/12402. A draft resolution has been submitted in document S/12404 in which the Council would request the Secretary-General to appoint a representative to enter into discussions with the British Resident

Commissioner designate and with all the parties concerning military and associated arrangements. We are in sympathy with the objectives of that draft resolution and will be able to support it.

99. We have also heard the statement made here by Mr. Joshua Nkomo, representative of the Patriotic Front, a principal party in the conflict. The considerations that he put forward in giving his endorsement to the draft resolution merit the most serious consideration and will, we hope and we are sure, be given proper weight.

100. We sincerely hope that the present initiative marks a turning point in the situation, which is both tragic and dangerous, and that it will lead to the rapid emergence of Zimbabwe to true independence.

101. The PRESIDENT: As I have no more names on the list of speakers and with the concurrence of the Council, I wish to suspend this meeting in order to enable members to meet with me immediately in Conference Room 5 for consultations to decide on how the deliberations of the Council should be continued.

102. Mr. OWEN (United Kingdom): I am very conscious that the decisions that I am asking the Council to make are of great importance and I do not wish any member to feel that it is being put under undue pressure. But we have only three more members around this table that have yet to speak and I wonder whether it would be possible to reach a decision today. This will, of course, be discussed in the consultations, but by having consultations do we, as I understand it, leave open the possibility of taking a decision today, were we to obtain agreement? I would certainly hope so, but I would understand it if there were strong pressing reasons for our being unable to do so. I have a slight personal reason for my hope: I might find it difficult to be here and I wanted very much to be present to listen

to all the contributions. I greatly appreciate the overwhelming measure of support that the draft resolution has already received.

103. The PRESIDENT: I recall for the benefit of members of the Council that it was my intention to suspend the meeting and not to adjourn it.

104. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I support the request of the representative of the United Kingdom that we arrive at a decision on the draft resolution today. But I should also like to point out that the three African members of the Council have an appointment to meet with the Secretary-General immediately after this meeting and we also have an appointment to meet with Mr. Nkomo. Therefore, Mr. President, if we are to meet with you for consultations we should appreciate it very much if you could allow us at least 15 to 20 minutes.

105. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): I think it is the custom in the Council to discuss this kind of procedural problem in informal meetings. Since you, Mr. President, invited us to meet in an informal meeting, we should prefer to hold that meeting and decide in it whether to resume our meeting today or to have a meeting another day.

106. The PRESIDENT: I have just been informed by the Secretary-General that he would be willing to postpone his meeting with the three African members of the Council which was originally scheduled after the adjournment of this meeting. I shall now suspend the meeting for the purpose of holding what I hope will be brief consultations in Conference Room 5 in order to decide how we should continue.

The meeting was suspended at 4.55 p.m. It resumed at 5.45 p.m. and was adjourned.

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