



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-THIRD YEAR

**2070<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 17 MARCH 1978

NEW YORK

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## NOTE

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## 2070th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 17 March 1978, at 10.30 a.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/2070)

#### 1. Adoption of the agenda

#### 2. Complaint by Zambia:

Letter dated 9 March 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12589)

*The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

#### Complaint by Zambia:

Letter dated 9 March 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12589)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken previously by the Council, I invite the representative of Zambia to take a place at the Council table and the representatives of Botswana, Cuba, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Jamaica, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and the Upper Volta to take the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mwale (Zambia) took a place at the Council table and Mr. Tlou (Botswana), Mr. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Boatén (Ghana), Mr. Mills (Jamaica), Mr. Lobo (Mozambique), Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Bamba (Upper Volta) 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 the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in

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

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Pham Duong (Viet Nam) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.*

3. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): First of all, I should like to express a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Mwale, Foreign Minister of Zambia, who has come personally to participate in the deliberations of the Security Council. We have listened attentively to his statement [*2068th meeting*]; he exposed with irrefutable facts the serious crimes of massive intrusion into Zambia committed by the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia and strongly condemned these crimes.

4. Recently, while frenziedly pressing forward with its "internal settlement" fraud, the Smith racist régime has been stepping up its repression at home and aggression abroad. It has reached a new high in its reactionary arrogance. Following its armed incursion into Botswana on 27 February, the Smith régime launched another large-scale attack on Zambia by air and ground forces, causing heavy losses in life and property among the Zambian people. But Smith and his like have the effrontery to deny such an act of naked aggression by saying that it is a "self-defence operation". This is gangster logic, Fascist logic, pure and simple! Such a desperate act constitutes not only a serious encroachment upon the sovereignty and security of Zambia, but also a rabid provocation to the entire African people and the people all over the world.

5. The present situation in Africa is excellent. The entire African people are courageously fighting for the elimination of the last bastions of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. The armed struggles in Zimbabwe and Namibia and the mass movement in Azania are developing vigorously. Supporting each other, these struggles and the mass movement have converged into an irresistible revolutionary torrent, ceaselessly pounding away at the Smith and Vorster reactionary régimes. Like the sun setting beyond the western hills, the Smith régime, which finds itself in dire straits, is attempting to resort to military force to coerce Zambia and other front-line countries into withdrawing their support for the just struggle of the Zimbabwe people. This does not in any way show its strength, but reveals precisely that it is feeble and is drawing near its

doom. The iniquitous acts of Smith cannot but further rouse the African countries and people to strengthen their common struggle against racism. So long as racism still exists, the people of Zimbabwe will continue their resolute and indomitable struggle for independence and liberation until they win final victory. It is a sacred duty for the front-line countries and other African States to extend support in military, political, economic and other fields to the Zimbabwe people's struggle in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity in order to realize the complete emancipation of the whole African continent. No matter how the racists employ their schemes and intrigues under the protection and support of one super-Power, and no matter how the other super-Power that styles itself the "natural ally" of the African people tries to meddle in and undermine the liberation struggle of the people of southern Africa, they cannot change the ignominious end of the Smith racist régime, that of meeting its final doom. Africa belongs to the people of Africa. The African people will certainly be able to bring about a bright tomorrow of the complete liberation of the African continent so long as they strengthen their unity and exclude outside interference.

6. The Chinese delegation strongly condemns the Smith racist régime for its criminal acts of aggression against Zambia, firmly supports Zambia and other countries in southern Africa in their just struggle against colonialism and racism, and expresses its great admiration for the just position taken by the Zambian Government and people in defying brute force and supporting firmly the struggle of the Zimbabwe people. The Chinese delegation holds that the Security Council should adopt a resolution sternly condemning the criminal acts of aggression committed by the Smith racist régime against Zambia, and commending and supporting the just stand of Zambia.

7. Mr. McHENRY (United States of America): First of all I wish to express the gratitude of the United States delegation to Foreign Minister Mwale for taking time from his busy schedule personally to assist the Council in its work on this agenda item. Other representatives of the United States and I have had frequent occasion to consult with Mr. Mwale on developments in southern Africa, and we have appreciated the opportunity to do so.

8. The attack of 6 March by the forces of the Smith régime on Zambia is but the latest in the continuing Rhodesian tragedy. The United States fully shares the sense of outrage that has been so eloquently expressed by the Foreign Minister of Zambia [2068th meeting] and by other speakers. The United States expressed that view immediately on learning of this latest incident. We also share the concern expressed by the Minister over the possibility that the escalation and spread of violence in the region could have grave repercussions on the peace of the region and, indeed, the peace of the world. The fact that during the last three months the Council has witnessed armed attacks by the Smith régime against Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia demonstrates the degree of the danger.

9. Yet, the way out of the Rhodesia crisis is, in the view of the United States, clear. The danger that the Smith régime poses for the neighbouring African States and for peace in

southern Africa can be removed only by the replacement of the illegal régime by an independent State of Zimbabwe established on the basis of free and fair elections and genuine majority rule. This is the goal which the United States Government and the Government of the United Kingdom, with the co-operation of the front-line States, have been actively working for during the past year. Ambassador Young expressed in his statement before the Council on 14 March [2067th meeting] the United States' belief that the Anglo-American plan, which was put forth and discussed at length, offered the best hope for a peaceful solution of the Rhodesian crisis and for a speedy transition to independence on the basis of majority rule, and that only in that way could the tragic pattern of conflict and bloodshed be broken.

10. I noted with concern one aspect of the Foreign Minister's statement, and that was that seven United States-manufactured Chinook helicopters were involved in the Rhodesian attack on Zambia. I have been authorized to state—and the United States Embassy at Lusaka has so advised the Government of Zambia—that the United States has never supplied, nor agreed to a third country's supplying, nor been aware of a third country's supplying the Chinook helicopters or any similarly configured helicopters to any country in southern Africa. To the knowledge of the United States Government, there have been no such helicopters in the region. Furthermore, the United States Embassy at Lusaka has offered its assistance to the Government of Zambia in identifying any Rhodesian helicopters destroyed in the recent military action there. The United States Government is prepared, if the Government of Zambia agrees, to send a representative of the United States Department of Defense to examine, together with representatives of the Government of Zambia, the wreckage of the downed helicopters in order to determine their type and to obtain any serial numbers or other information that would assist in identifying their country of origin.

11. My Government is convinced that a peaceful solution can be found in Zimbabwe and that the tragic events of recent days need not recur. What is needed is a renewed dedication to the goal to which we are all dedicated. As far as the United States is concerned, I can assure members of the Council that we will continue to spare no effort to achieve an independent Zimbabwe.

12. As we shall not have another opportunity to speak on the draft resolution before us [S/12603], the United States would state that it will support the draft; however, as members are aware, that will obviously not affect the position that we have taken on previous resolutions that may be referred to in the draft.

13. Mr. HUSSON (France) (*interpretation from French*): First of all I should like to bid welcome to Mr. Siteke Mwale, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia, who has honoured us by coming here and participating in our debate in person. France maintains friendly relations with his country and we are well aware of the difficult circumstances in which Zambia finds itself at the present time as the result of incursions into its territory. Therefore, my country considered the information on the recent events in that country with great sympathy and understanding.

14. The present debate in the Council is an extension of the Council's recent debate on Rhodesia. Indeed, just after we began our consideration of the problem raised by the announcement that a settlement had been reached at Salisbury on 3 March, the forces of the rebel régime entered Zambia. It would have been difficult not to consider that gesture as an act of defiance vis-à-vis our work. The Lusaka authorities, victims of the attack, were fully justified in asking that we should condemn that intervention, which, no matter how it is viewed, constitutes a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of an independent State Member of the United Nations.

15. As soon as the facts, which brought about the convening of our meetings, came to our attention, the French Government, through its spokesman of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, denounced those events in these terms:

"The Security Council has been meeting since 6 March on the Rhodesian problem, and the French Government cannot fail to condemn the raids on Zambian territory carried out by the army of the illegal régime of Ian Smith. That military intervention represents an increased danger to peace in southern Africa and cannot fail to impede the efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement to which we have been constantly devoted."

16. The list of incursions by the forces of Ian Smith into neighbouring States is unfortunately quite long, as many speakers have already reminded us. The Council has already dealt with similar raids against Zambia, in particular in 1973, but also against Botswana and Mozambique.

17. The Salisbury régime apparently clings to the belief that such actions will ensure its tranquillity. However, in the kind of situation that exists in Rhodesia, such actions can only result in an increase of the already serious tension and a risk of a broadening of the conflict. These actions also cause many casualties and much resentment. They cause death and destruction, forcing the country attacked to mobilize resources that it would otherwise have been able to devote to its own development.

18. 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. In our opinion, that is one of the essential lessons to be learnt from the preceding debate in the Council.

19. By sending his forces into Zambian territory, Ian Smith has only drawn the attention of the world—as if that were necessary—to the overriding need for the transfer of power to the majority in his country, failing which the cycle of violence can only continue.

20. The Council must resolutely condemn such operations as that which has just been launched on the territory of Zambia. My country will thus support the draft resolution proposed yesterday by the representative of India on behalf of six States members of the Council [S/12603].

21. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): My delegation listened attentively to the Foreign Minister of Zambia, on 15 March [2068th meeting] when he made a statement in which he exposed in detail the circumstances attendant on the most recent deliberate bloody attack by the Southern Rhodesian racists on sovereign Zambia and at the same time revealed in a masterly manner the reasons for and objectives of the aggressive acts of the illegal régime against independent African countries.

22. In the course of the discussions on the question of the situation in Southern Rhodesia in various bodies of the United Nations over a period of more than 12 years the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, together with a number of other States, has repeatedly warned that the continuing existence of the racist régime in that country represents a constant threat to peace and security not only in that part of Africa but throughout the world. The most recent barbarous attack on Zambia by the racist army once again vindicates those misgivings. It is obvious that until the existing régime at Salisbury is entirely eliminated the Security Council will be faced again and again with the question of its open and incessant acts of aggression against the African population of Zimbabwe and also against sovereign African States. As the heroic and legitimate struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, led by the Patriotic Front, becomes more intense, the Smith régime is attempting desperately and vainly and by any means available to it to stave off its inevitable defeat.

23. The Foreign Minister of Zambia, like the representatives of other African countries, has drawn attention to the direct link between the manoeuvres of the illegal régime in its attempts to impose the so-called internal settlement plan upon the African majority and the most recent acts of aggression committed by that régime against Botswana on 27 February and Zambia on 6 March. According to the representative of Tanzania:

"It simply means that, as far as the Smith régime is concerned, the so-called internal settlement has changed nothing. It simply demonstrates that the régime is determined to continue its acts of aggression internally and externally." [*Ibid.*, para. 77.]

24. The acts of aggression by the racist régime against the front-line African States are clearly designed to discourage the peoples of those countries from supporting the liberation of Zimbabwe, but at the same time undoubtedly also represent an attempt to internationalize the conflict and involve other States in the hope of enjoying the assistance of countries who have their own political, military and economic aims in that area. And it would appear that Mr. Smith has some basis for counting on the support of the Western countries which, by their connivance, bear responsibility for the fact that his régime continues to survive and to commit acts of adventurism. Surely this is demonstrated by a number of warning signs that we have seen recently in connexion with the so-called internal settlement and which have indicated the encouragement that Mr. Smith and his henchmen have been receiving recently in their attempts to perpetuate their domination over Southern Rhodesia.

25. The fact that the Security Council has been obliged to deal in swift succession with a number of questions connected with the new manoeuvres of the racist régime within the Territory and also with its aggressive actions against independent Zambia clearly shows that the situation in that part of the world is extremely dangerous. At the same time, this is confirmation of the fact that it is necessary for the Council to take urgent and decisive measures which would ensure the immediate elimination of the racist régime and the rapid transfer of power to the African majority.

26. The Czechoslovak delegation shares the view expressed by the Foreign Minister of Zambia when he stated:

“If the world community does not act effectively to arrest the rapidly deteriorating situation in our area, the conflict will definitely escalate and proliferate. Moreover, we believe that it is within the power of the United Nations to help in the attainment of meaningful solutions to the problems of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.” [*Ibid.*, para. 32.]

27. For its part, the Czechoslovak delegation believes that one of the most important contributions the United Nations could make to the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa would be strict observance and strengthening of sanctions against the régime at Salisbury and its ally in South Africa.

28. Mr. von WECHMAR (Federal Republic of Germany): Mr. President, let me first of all join you in welcoming our new colleague, the representative of Bolivia, Ambassador Rolón Anaya. My delegation is looking forward to developing with him, in our common endeavours here in the Security Council, the same kind of friendly and intensive relations as have existed for so long between Bolivia and the Federal Republic of Germany.

29. Only a few days ago [2067th meeting] I reiterated in this room the policy of my Government on the question of Southern Rhodesia. We condemned the violation of the territorial integrity of countries bordering on Zimbabwe and the loss of human lives this caused.

30. My delegation has since listened with great attention to the detailed report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zambia [2068th meeting] on the latest Rhodesian attack on Zambian territory on 6 March. Zambia has indeed every reason to seize this organ of this complaint and to ask us to pronounce judgement on these latest developments, which again highlight the danger to peace and security in that part of Africa.

31. I have time and again voiced our conviction that acts of violence only bring about new violence and aggravate rather than alleviate conflicts. We deeply deplore the human suffering and damage inflicted upon the people of a friendly nation and emphatically denounce this new act of aggression. It is, as we know, only the latest episode in a long series of military operations against Zambia and other neighbouring countries, especially Mozambique and Botswana. This time, however, the minority régime at Salisbury did not even try seriously to put forward any reasonable argument for its unjustified action.

32. I need not reiterate the stand taken by the Federal Republic of Germany against those who disregard the integrity of sovereign neighbouring countries and the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. I can only repeat that we strongly condemn such acts of aggression. They endanger all our efforts to bring about the necessary political changes in Zimbabwe by peaceful means.

33. We have deep sympathies with the people and the Government of Zambia, which have again been the victim of attacks by the illegal Smith régime. The relations between Zambia and my country are governed by mutual understanding and friendship. A great number of political, social, cultural and other organizations in my country are in continuous contact with their Zambian counterparts. Federal agencies as well as other public and private bodies are contributing to the development of the Zambian economy and infrastructure. President Kaunda and his Foreign Minister have been frequent and most welcome in visitors to the Federal Republic of Germany. The political leaders of my country attach special importance to the continuing dialogue with these distinguished African politicians. In view of this encouraging record of co-operation, I should like to take up the words spoken a few days ago in this chamber by Mr. Mwale: we shall try to be “a friend in need”.

34. Addressing myself to the sponsors of the draft resolution before us [S/12603], I should like to add that, if it is put to the vote, my delegation will cast a positive vote.

35. Mr. ROLON ANAYA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first of all to bid a special welcome to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia, His Excellency Mr. Mwale.

36. By way of confirming the position expressed in the Council by the delegation of Bolivia last January [2058th meeting], I should like briefly to explain the rejection of neo-colonialism and racism by the people and the Government of Bolivia. But before doing so, I should like to express our gratitude to the President of the Council, whose sagacity Bolivia wishes to emphasize, and also to praise his patience and effective work in the difficult and important debate of the past week on the subject of the denunciation of new violations by the régime in Southern Rhodesia. I should also like to thank all our colleagues for their words of welcome, especially those just expressed by the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, and to reiterate that Bolivia, representing the Latin American countries in the Council, a role it is happy to share with the land of the Liberator Bolívar—I refer to Venezuela—finds itself at a most propitious moment in its history to make a practical contribution, which, we hope, will be realistic and active. We do not intend to engage in the empty discourses or mere declarations that seem to be flooding the world these days, devaluating words and overwhelming everyone with documentary inflation.

37. In our view, the present-day world is witnessing, among other features, two fundamental movements—national and international, movements that are internal and external to each society, to put it simply. While the internal stratification manifested in the polarization of classes—a

stratification that today is admitted by all—has been translated into international terms with the existence of rich and poor countries, the phenomenon of foreign domination of the colonial citadels has become national and regional now that the prevailing colonialism of international, extracontinental and metropolitan subjugation in economic, political or cultural spheres has taken hold nationally under various cunning forms of concealment and dissimulation. There is a new form of colonialism which is difficult to recognize. Everyone calls it neo-colonialism. It can be local or regional, but it is certainly always of great and powerful international scope and more and more extensive.

38. This new face, the masked countenance of this phenomenon, which continues to pose a problem for entire peoples and is a disgrace to all mankind, does not merely show itself in the brazen seizure of the territory of others and violation of the sovereignty of peoples, as illustrated repeatedly, by the Rhodesian régime. Other manifestations of neo-colonialism are racism, as, for example, in the deprivation of individual human rights and the damage done to the prices of the raw materials that are vital for some peoples. The latter is almost like cutting off a human being's oxygen supply; this is what is happening in the dumping of tin by which my country has been most absurdly and unjustly affected at the very moment when we are making a major effort to set up a form of democracy with participation by all the people and without any outside control. Another kind of neo-colonialism is revealed in the arrogant attitude of regional subimperialism that can condemn an entire nation to being locked in an enclave, once again like my country which over the past century has been imprisoned in the Andes, while on every side people speak of integration, fraternal understanding, equal opportunity for one and all and solidarity. It is difficult for the Bolivian people to place much credence in all this.

39. In less than a century we have had four international wars and 200 internal wars in which colonialism, which, in the guise of racism, kept us segregated for centuries as in "Indian reservations", played an important role, to the point where each confrontation had an economic implication in the plundering of raw materials. In Bolivia, we have not only sacrificed our physical wealth—guano, saltpetre, rubber, petroleum and tin—but also our lives.

40. We know what it is to be plundered and oppressed. For this reason, our position is clear and consistent. On the one hand, we reject colonialism in all its forms: racism, the arms race, the activities of transnational corporations, the dilatory and pseudo-juridical nature of a law of the sea exclusively territorial and feudal, ideological and cultural imposition, and even the arrogant intervention of countries which, in the middle of the twentieth century, presume to teach other peoples how freedom should be established, while it has not been established in their own countries. But this is indeed a time when it can safely be said that no one can deceive anyone else.

41. There is solidarity among all those peoples fighting for their own freedom and not for the affluence of the industrial Powers, whose peoples in past centuries have cared little for the fate of the human race on this planet.

With this solidarity we believe that, thanks to bodies such as this, mankind will emerge triumphant and do away with the subhuman conditions in which the approaching twenty-first century could otherwise well still find us.

42. Bolivia, together with Gabon, India, Kuwait, Mauritius and Nigeria, is sponsoring the draft resolution submitted to the Council yesterday [S/12603]. We do so for three basic reasons to which I shall now refer briefly. First, the draft resolution reflects the spirit of resolution 432 (1978) and other Council resolutions. Secondly, the case of the Rhodesian régime has been dealt with time and again and something must be done to ensure that this racist régime and other, similar régimes will not continue to mock us and, to put it bluntly, make us ridiculous in our own eyes. Thirdly, we must put an end to these sinister interventions that infringe on the life of the peoples, even if they appear to be for their benefit. For solidarity is one thing and intervention is another. In this day and age, intervention is inadmissible in human societies, which must not be treated with contempt. It makes no difference whether these interventions are pictured as struggles for freedom or against it. Liberty is possible only with dignity.

43. I should like once again to express my thanks to you, Mr. President, and to my other colleagues here. I shall do my utmost to make a realistic and constructive contribution to the work of the Council towards the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world. I have watched with sincere admiration the devoted efforts to that end being made by each and every member.

44. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like first of all to address some words of welcome to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia. His participation in the Council's work testifies to the importance of the task now facing the Council, that is, to ensure Zambia's security in the face of the incessant acts of aggression committed by the illegal racist régime at Salisbury.

45. The Soviet delegation listened with the greatest attention to the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia [2068th meeting]. He gave us a detailed analysis of the situation that has resulted from the acts of aggression by the Southern Rhodesian régime against Zambia and other neighbouring African States. We entirely share the view of these events set forth by Mr. Mwale and by many other representatives who have spoken in the Council.

46. As the Soviet delegation has repeatedly stated, the continuing acts of aggression by the Smith régime stem from the very fact of that régime's existence and its attempts to cling to power at any price. There is a direct connexion between Smith's attempts to impose the so-called internal settlement on the people of Zimbabwe and the acts of aggression committed by Smith's illegal régime against the front-line States. The choice of the time for the commission of this latest act of aggression was no coincidence. With the connivance of those who are responsible for the fate of this colonial Territory, Smith and his colleagues attempted to divert the attention of world public opinion from the Salisbury deal two days after it had been

concluded in order to deflect or at least attenuate the indignation of public opinion at this act. The aggression against Zambia demonstrated once again Smith's disregard for those who were ready to go along in the signing of this so-called internal settlement. He made of them virtual accomplices in the crime committed against a fraternal African people.

47. Thus, the Security Council's present consideration of Zambia's complaint has become the logical extension of the discussion of the Rhodesian problem in the Council, the logical extension of the condemnation of the illegal Smith régime, and it is essential that effective measures should be taken not only to put an end to the numberless acts of aggression by the Rhodesian racists, but also to remove those racists entirely from the scene.

48. The recent attack on Zambia by the Rhodesian racists has not only aroused the deep indignation of world public opinion but also demonstrated with startling clarity that the armed attacks and raids carried out by Smith against neighbouring States are becoming ever more extensive and serious. By systematically expanding the acts of aggression against their neighbours, the racists wish to "internationalize" the problem of Zimbabwe, intimidate the front-line States and force those States to refrain from supporting the just struggle of the patriotic forces of the people of Zimbabwe, led by the Patriotic Front. The course of events has irrefutably shown, however, that the processes now under way in southern Africa are irreversible and that no armed provocations will halt the struggle of the peoples for the final and total elimination of these remnants of colonialism and racism and the hotbeds of tension and conflict that still survive in that part of the world.

49. The just cause of Zambia and the other front-line States that are confronting the armed forces of the racist régime has met with broad support throughout the world. Support for the front-line States has, for example, been expressed by the Organization of African Unity. Suffice it to recall that OAU, at the twenty-ninth session of the Council of Ministers held at Libreville in June and July 1977, reconfirmed that any attack by the racist régime on any front-line State would be considered as an attack on independent Africa as a whole and that all OAU member States would provide all possible support and assistance to the victim of such aggression.

50. The movement of non-aligned countries has also been consistently at the side of the front-line States. Thus, in a communiqué [see S/12595] issued a few days ago by the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries regarding the most recent act of aggression committed by the illegal minority régime against Zambia, the non-aligned countries call upon the Security Council to condemn the illegal Salisbury régime, whose existence represents a threat to international peace and security, and to take all necessary measures to remove that régime.

51. In the letter from the African Group to the Security Council [S/12594], there is a demand that the necessary measures should be taken to safeguard the rights of the Republic of Zambia, a Member of the United Nations.

52. In our view, those statements contain a clear and distinct programme of action for the Council.

53. The valiant struggle of Zambia and the other front-line States to safeguard their independence and sovereignty against any encroachments from outside have met with the understanding and support of the Soviet Union. It is a pleasure to be able to point out that the views of the Soviet Union concur with those of Zambia on the questions relating to southern Africa. I would remind the Council that, in the joint Soviet-Zambian statement signed at Lusaka last March, the parties supported the demand submitted by the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe for the immediate and unconditional transfer of power to the legitimate representatives of the people. They categorically condemned the repression by the Rhodesian racists of the indigenous people of the country, as well as Salisbury's attempts to create a puppet government in Zimbabwe. The parties also condemned the provocative armed actions which had been undertaken—and which continue to be undertaken—by the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia against the neighbouring independent African States of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. The statement pointed out, too, that the parties viewed these provocative acts of aggression as a threat to peace and security not only in that area but also in Africa and the world as a whole.

54. Recent events in southern Africa have fully confirmed the soundness of these appraisals which also underlie the attitude of the Soviet Union regarding the question now being considered by the Council. The Soviet delegation is ready to support the draft resolution of six non-permanent members of the Council [S/12603] condemning the recent act of armed provocation by the Southern Rhodesian racists against Zambia, which represents a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country. We believe that the Council should reconfirm the fact that only by rooting out the system of *apartheid* in South Africa and totally liberating Zimbabwe and Namibia will it be possible to lay firm foundations for the elimination of tension and the attainment of peace and security in that part of the world. The delegation of the USSR has repeatedly stated in the Council that the task of liberating the long-suffering people of Zimbabwe from the colonial yoke as early as possible could be accomplished by the decisive application of the most effective sanctions against the régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, including an embargo on the delivery of petroleum products as proposed here by a number of African representatives.

55. Mr. HARRIMAN (Nigeria): It is indeed an honour and a privilege to greet Foreign Minister Mwale, who has come all the way from his home and his comforts on yet another occasion to lodge a complaint before the Security Council. My delegation heard the Minister's statement [2068th meeting] with deep emotion.

56. This is not the first time that the Republic of Zambia has been subjected to aggression by the racist régimes; nor is it the first time Zambia has complained to the Council. Ever since its independence the Republic of Zambia has repeatedly been the target of threats and acts of aggression



and other flagrant violations of sovereignty by the Portuguese colonial régime, which has now happily been removed, by the illegal Ian Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia and by the *apartheid* régime in South Africa. Over the years the Portuguese régime received support, military and material, from the Western countries for the purpose of maintaining its supremacy in Africa, and many of the armaments which sustained Smith in his unilateral declaration of independence came from that source, judging by the arsenals details of which have been published over the years by the Institute of Strategic Studies of your country, Mr. President, and by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. The evidence is quite clear, not only from those statistics but also from documents in the archives of the United States Government, regarding this collusion of racism and colonialism to stem the tide of liberation which does not appear to have been abandoned, judging by the performance of the Western Powers in recent days when we discussed the question of Rhodesia.

57. For its steadfastness in support of African freedom, for its hospitality to African liberation movements offered in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity and other groups, including the movement of non-aligned countries, the Republic of Zambia has had a high price to pay. My delegation wishes on this occasion to reaffirm Nigeria's great admiration for the Republic of Zambia and its President, His Excellency Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, one of the greatest fighters for human dignity of our age. During the Lagos Conference, at which some of us here were present, we heard him speak<sup>1</sup> and had the privilege of listening to his great and firm message of commitment and determination regarding the liberation of the continent of Africa. This has been his unflinching determination and commitment since I first listened to him in the 1950s in the United Kingdom, when he was speaking on the question of independence for his country.

58. We believe that the Security Council must pay great heed to the statement of the Foreign Minister of Zambia and to those of the representatives of other front-line States and consider why the racist régimes are able to commit and continue with their aggressions. Otherwise it may merely adopt one more resolution of condemnation that will have as little effect as past resolutions.

59. First of all, it will be recalled that, when the so-called Central African Federation was dissolved, the colonial Power transferred the air force to the white minority régime of the settlers in Southern Rhodesia despite the warnings of the Security Council.

60. Secondly, the Smith régime, which has the support of hardly 1 per cent of the population, is little more than a gatekeeper for the racists in South Africa. It is the Pretoria régime that has ensured the survival of the Smith régime, provided it with military equipment and oiled its military machine.

61. Thirdly, while we hear plenty of condemnations from them, the Western Powers have constantly resisted effective

action against the Pretoria régime to prevent it from undermining the sanctions against the Smith régime. The case for an oil embargo against South Africa is as clear as daylight, but there is still resistance from the Western Powers. I think it is certainly time they supported the oil embargo or confessed their unwillingness to join in meaningful action to restore peace in southern Africa, an unwillingness they demonstrated in their actions and reactions here earlier this week on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

62. Fourthly, as the march of freedom nears the borders of South Africa, where external interests have built up a huge stake, the Western Powers are increasing manoeuvres and machinations to sow confusion and conflict. We see a well-orchestrated campaign in the United Kingdom and the United States to put the blame for the situation on alleged divisions in the liberation movements rather than on the intransigence of the racist régimes or the unwillingness of Western European Powers and the United States to take meaningful action.

63. Hardly had Ian Smith announced a so-called internal settlement than many politicians and newspapers in those countries gave it full endorsement without even bothering to hear from the people of Zimbabwe. It was in this context that the Smith régime felt it opportune to unleash its armed forces on Botswana and Zambia. The racist régimes know that those African States have not built up their armed forces since they have tried to utilize their limited resources for the economic and social development of their countries. The racist régimes feel they can commit aggressions with impunity. But let it be known that this situation will not last. Certainly it will not last.

64. The rebels at Salisbury have recently taken to this kind of aggression as a reaction to the increased pressures from freedom fighters who are now spelling the doom of the tottering illegal régime. The seriousness of these acts of so-called hot pursuit by Smith's gangster army does not lie in the fact that they are committed in a normal process of military confrontation with the gallant freedom fighters. It lies in the nature of the raids and their targets. It is not only cowardly in the military sense, it is almost against all the principles and civilized norms of armed conflict to engage in the destruction of the lives of defenceless civilians—women, children, the infirm and the aged.

65. I remember when I was privileged to speak in the Council on a similar matter last year that I recalled [*1985th meeting*] the evidence of no less a person than Senator Dick Clark of Iowa, who went to the front to see the so-called guerrilla camps that had been destroyed and found a devastating and horrid sight of civilians maimed and villages bombed in the name of "hot pursuit". Information from the International Red Cross, the World Health Organization and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and private conversations have revealed to me that that was in fact the case. The degree of suffering on the borders of Rhodesia and South Africa and the dehumanization of newborn children with distorted personalities owing to hunger, aggression and insecurity have been reported to me privately also by UNICEF officials.

<sup>1</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.3, annex V.

66. My delegation has spoken out whenever we have had the opportunity to do so in condemnation of those types of raids on defenceless civilian populations in the front-line States which are not in any way connected with the liberation war now raging in Rhodesia. Many African countries have also called on the Council to take immediate steps to restrain the military excesses of Ian Smith. The result of all those efforts has been minimal or negligible—like that of the efforts aimed at the decolonization of Rhodesia.

67. The continued acts of aggression by the Smith régime have confirmed not only the justification for our disgust and disdain but also the urgent need to see the end of them. Our major obstacle to achieving that has been our tendency to underrate the gravity of the tense situation in the southern African region and the need for greater commitment on the part of non-front-line States of Africa to the struggle in the near future. Or it is probably the lack of moral and political courage to restore sanity in Southern Rhodesia.

68. If the Security Council does not take effective action to protect the front-line States from violent attacks, no one can blame them if they are obliged to find other means to secure themselves. Nigeria has always been committed to the objective of supporting defensive positions in the front-line States, and I believe that the process has been going on too long for us to stay aloof.

69. My delegation has noted with particular attention the statement by the Foreign Minister of Zambia concerning evidence that foreign military equipment was used by the Smith régime in its latest aggression against Zambia. We are very well aware of parallel “hot pursuit” operations in Lebanon and of the Hebrew markings reported to have been found on the aircraft that were shot down. We feel that the Council must have before it all information and demand a full explanation of the countries concerned.

70. My delegation once again calls on the United Kingdom and its allies—the word “allies” is very interesting in times of peace—to observe the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Might is not right. The United Nations must be respected. The Western Powers must come to grips with the fundamental problems of southern Africa. They must disengage from a theoretical approach based not on reality or legality but on sheer power. There is an antithesis between power and principle. Power can only invoke respect and prestige if it is not abused, as it has been in southern Africa by the British. To put economic gains before human values is to obey a base and abysmal motivation in human and international relations. The Western Powers must face up to their responsibilities; they must decide on affirmative action—not negative reactions as we have seen here too often for our comfort—to put an end to Fascist settler colonial minority régimes in southern Africa and respect the wishes of the exploited African continent for a change.

71. Mr. CARPIO CASTILLO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I should like to express our pleasure at seeing with us the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia. His presence is an indication of the gravity of

the situation confronting the countries bordering on Southern Rhodesia. I assure him of the solidarity of the Government and people of Venezuela with his country and the Zambian people.

72. Very briefly I wish to say that our delegation considers that the question at present on the Security Council's agenda is part of the same problem posed by the existence of the illegal régime of Mr. Smith, which threatens peace and security in southern Africa. My country condemns any act of aggression against any Member State, regardless of the reasons, especially when the aggression is accompanied by brutality which converts it into an act of genocide against the civilian population and results in a regrettable loss of life among children and defenceless elderly persons.

73. For that reason we wish to reiterate Venezuela's position, as stated on a number of occasions, namely, that we totally reject intervention in the internal affairs of other States. We believe that in this case an internal conflict caused by the rebel racists in Rhodesia has been internationalized and this constitutes a situation of grave concern to my country. We are aware of the link existing between the persistence of régimes like that of Mr. Smith, *apartheid* and acts of aggression such as those of which the Zambian people have just been victims.

74. On this occasion, we should like to announce that we support the draft resolution sponsored by six members of the Council [S/12603] and that, consequently, we shall vote in favour of it.

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

76. Mr. BOATEN (Ghana): I am very grateful to you, Sir, and to the other members of the Council for permitting me to participate in this debate.

77. On 7 March last the world was shocked by a statement from the illegal régime of Ian Smith to the effect that his Government's forces had crossed into Zambia and carried out a raid on one of the Patriotic Front bases of Joshua Nkomo. This, we are told, was to secure the boundaries of Zimbabwe. We are told, further, that at least 38 of the Zimbabwe nationalists fighting for independence died. Under what international law, if I may ask, is a country permitted to attack an independent country? Under what international law does one country attack another, say, with the purpose of securing its boundaries? Assuming that the country whose boundaries are being imperilled does not find itself capable of carrying out such a raid, what does it do? It probably does nothing. In such circumstances, what prevails is force of arms. The world, in that instance, will go full circle back to the law of the jungle.

78. In this instance, however, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia told the Council last Wednesday [2068th meeting] that at 0945 hours two bombs were dropped at low altitude in Luangwa District to divert the attention of the air defence unit from Kavalamanja. He further told the Council that 22 Zambians lost their lives and 19 were injured. This act of naked aggression on Zambia should be

condemned by the Council and the international community.

79. What is puzzling is why Ian Smith decided to stage this attack, when he had concluded an agreement with a section of the nationalists. Was it Ian Smith's way of securing acceptance of the agreement concluded with the Reverend Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole and Jeremiah Chirau? Or was the intention to have that agreement rejected? If his reason for staging the attack was the former, then Ian Smith is a poor judge of human nature. If his reason was the latter, he could have achieved it without the attack. By this attack Ian Smith has, so to speak, moved away from the negotiating table.

80. We cannot accept the argument that the action was taken in self-defence. The procedures for negotiations had been laid down in Security Council resolution 415 (1977). If for some reason it was not possible to proceed according to them, one would have expected Ian Smith and the other African leaders with whom he had negotiated the agreement to conduct further negotiations with Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe before signing it, since any acceptable agreement should be accepted by the people of Zimbabwe as a whole.

81. In this connexion, permit me to quote at some length the statement we made last year in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly:

"The Security Council and the General Assembly have long recognized the legitimacy of the liberation struggle. Circumstances and the intransigence of its armed opponents, most recent instances of which we have just noticed, have forced those engaged in that legitimate struggle to take up arms. And, if the Maputo Declaration is anything to go by, the legitimacy of the armed struggle has also been recognized by all except a few countries. But oppression by an armed minority on such an appalling scale as occurs in Southern Rhodesia may surely be resisted legitimately by armed self-defence, especially where negotiations and even mandatory sanctions have proved ineffective for so long; and in such circumstances nothing in the letter or spirit of the Charter forbids self-defence; nor should we fail to recognize that it is not the so-far ineffective and feebly applied sanctions, nor intermittent and fruitless dialogues without teeth or leverage, which have brought Smith now to the point of willingness to negotiate more seriously. My Government is therefore convinced that the correct policy is to support them to the full and also to maintain them at the maximum."<sup>2</sup>

We still stand by this.

82. In this regard, it behoves the international community to condemn unreservedly the so-called self-defence argument of Ian Smith in his recent premeditated and unprovoked attack against Zambia from 6 to 8 March this year. That act, I am sure, has embarrassed his supporters,

<sup>2</sup> The official records of the Fourth Committee are published in summary form. See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Fourth Committee*, 28th meeting, para. 35.

both inside and outside Rhodesia, including those with whom he recently concluded his so-called internal agreement.

83. The Government of Ghana is opposed to attacks of this nature and vehemently condemns them when they take place in an independent country. As the Council is aware, this is not the first time Ian Smith has carried out so unprovoked an attack on a sovereign country. On 9 August 1976, the air force of the illegal régime attacked a refugee camp at the village of Nyazonia in Mozambique and killed over 600 defenceless people, including women and children. In late October and mid-November 1976, the illegal régime carried out further acts of aggression with impunity against Mozambique. These constituted a full-scale operation against the provinces of Gaza and Tete. There were more than 300 killed. Botswana also has been the victim of Smith's aggression. We all have an obligation to give assistance of diverse forms to those countries that have become victims of the violence committed by the régime of Ian Smith.

84. By these wanton acts of aggression, Mr. Ian Smith is proving to the world at large that his minority régime is a source of serious threat to international peace and security. There is therefore an urgent need to take all necessary measures to end Ian Smith's régime and establish a government based on majority rule.

85. The criminal actions of Ian Smith's minority régime are designed to exert pressure not only on Zambia but also on the front-line States and their peoples who are actively and solidly supporting the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their just struggle for national liberation. By its open military aggression against sovereign and independent neighbouring States and its oppression of the people of Zimbabwe, the Smith clique is increasingly jeopardizing the security of free African States. The people of Africa will not, however, be deterred from their support of the just struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to achieve independence based on majority rule. Ghana considers that such armed attacks carried out anywhere in the world are a flagrant breach of international law and represent a serious threat to world peace and security. They are fraught with dangerous international consequences and must therefore be condemned.

86. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

87. Mr. PHAM DUONG (Viet Nam): Mr. President, I should like to express my thanks to you and to the other members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to participate in this important debate.

88. Our delegation has been following with great attention the situation in southern Africa and especially the signing of the so-called internal settlement followed by the barbarous military attacks by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. We have listened attentively to the statement delivered by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zambia [2068th meeting], in

which he gave details on the attacks perpetrated by the Smith forces against Zambia.

89. The recent wanton and barbarous acts by Smith's infantry troops and warplanes carried out from 6 to 8 March last have resulted in great losses in Zambian lives and property. That attack and those perpetrated by the Smith régime against Botswana and Mozambique have inflicted grave consequences on those front-line countries.

90. Those attacks once more reveal the aggressive and arrogant nature of the Smith régime, which, supported by the imperialists, has been trying to destabilize the region by sowing dissension among the people of southern Africa, thus creating a permanent threat to peace and security in that part of the world.

91. The Vietnamese delegation expresses its indignation at the barbarous acts carried out by the racist Smith régime against Zambia, and energetically condemns those attacks against the people of the Republic of Zambia who love peace and freedom. We also joined with the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries in issuing a communiqué dated 10 March [see S/12595], in order to raise our voice in condemnation of that flagrant violation by the Smith régime against the Republic of Zambia.

92. During the deliberations in consecutive meetings of the Security Council on the situation in Southern Rhodesia, many representatives have come to the conclusion that that situation is due to the existence of Smith's illegal racist minority régime, which ought to give place to genuine majority rule.

93. Everybody will recall that there have been many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council in which it has been urged that this illegal racist minority Smith régime should be ended, but so far it still exists and is becoming more and more cunning and arrogant. This racist minority régime is seeking by every means to ensure its existence and its domination over the people of Zimbabwe. The so-called internal settlement recently created by Ian Smith is proof of that.

94. Since the "internal settlement" was reported by the press, it has been categorically rejected by the people of Zimbabwe and by its leadership, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. It has also been rejected and condemned by the majority of States Members of the United Nations. The Security Council, in the resolution it recently adopted, considered it illegal and unacceptable [resolution 423 (1978)]. My delegation joins its voice to those of other delegations in rejecting and condemning this so-called internal settlement.

95. We hold that so long as the illegal racist minority régime continues to exist in Southern Rhodesia, there is a danger of aggression and domination, and peace and security cannot be assured in the region.

96. The Vietnamese people, who have experienced a struggle against imperialism and for national salvation, fully and consistently support the just struggle of the Zimbabwe people under the leadership of the Patriotic Front of

Zimbabwe for the immediate elimination of the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and for the attainment of genuine independence and self-determination. We reaffirm our continued solidarity with the Government and people of the Republic of Zambia and other front-line States in their resolute stand against the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and highly commend their selfless assistance to the people and Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, despite the heavy sacrifices that they must undergo. We call upon the Council to adopt the most effective measures to stay the bloody hands of the Smith régime and to put an early end to the illegal régime at Salisbury.

97. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/12603.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.<sup>3</sup>*

98. The PRESIDENT: I should now like to make a statement in explanation of vote in my capacity as representative of the UNITED KINGDOM.

99. Of all those who have spoken in this debate, I have listened with the greatest attention to the Foreign Minister of Zambia [2068th meeting]. Mr. Mwale made vividly clear the death and destruction caused by the armed attack against his country. I believe that none of us can be under any misapprehension about what happened. It is clear that there was a planned, premeditated attack in some strength mounted by the forces of the illegal régime at Salisbury. This I condemn and condemn in the strongest terms. We have already communicated to the illegal régime our strong views on this matter.

100. I also wish to express to the Government and people of Zambia our sympathy and sorrow at the losses they have sustained. We are very conscious that Zambia has suffered more than any other country as a result of the tragic events in Rhodesia over the past 12 years. We are particularly aware of the heavy economic sacrifices it has made. We have borne in mind its special circumstances when considering our programme of aid in Africa. Zambia can rely upon the United Kingdom to play its full part in helping Zambia in the future and in encouraging others to do likewise.

101. There are, of course, other strong reasons for condemning this attack and others like it which the illegal régime has launched against Botswana and Mozambique. Such attacks make much more difficult the efforts that are in progress to bring about a peaceful resolution of the conflict. They poison the atmosphere and harden the attitudes of those concerned. Some speakers have sneered at the aim of pursuing a peaceful solution. But I notice that those countries that have to live closest to this appalling problem do not sneer at efforts to achieve a peaceful transfer of power. I assure the Council that our efforts will continue to this end.

102. I have also heard many speakers repeat that attacks of this kind will be brought to an end only by the removal

<sup>3</sup> See resolution 424 (1978).

of the illegal régime. I agree. I have also heard many go on to argue at length that the United Kingdom has done nothing to bring about such removal. I disagree. I do not intend to repeat what I said here three days ago [2067th meeting], but the fact is that we have worked hard, with our United States colleagues, to bring about an agreement which would effectively mean an end to the minority régime. I urge all members of the Council and Members of the United Nations not to indulge in historical recriminations, particularly of the sort we have had to listen to sometimes this morning, as they are frequently wantonly inaccurate; and recriminations, however enjoyable and self-indulgent, are hardly constructive. I would urge those with influence to use it rather better to further our efforts to promote a meeting of all those now engaged in this struggle.

103. For reasons which will be clear from what I have already said, my delegation considered it appropriate and necessary to join in the vote and accept the resolution which has just been debated. In so doing, I must note that in recalling resolution 423 (1978)—and indeed resolution 326 (1973)—it is also to be recalled that my delegation abstained on that resolution, that our position on the legitimacy of the struggle is well known and that the eighth preambular paragraph of the resolution just adopted constitutes a reaffirmation of substantive resolutions on the subject. As to paragraph 4, I would observe that my Government has already made certain proposals to this effect, proposals which require the co-operation of all parties concerned.

104. In my capacity as PRESIDENT I give the floor to the Foreign Minister of Zambia, who has asked to speak.

105. Mr. MWALE (Zambia): I have listened very attentively to the deliberations at this series of meetings of the Security Council to consider my country's case concerning the acts of aggression committed by the illegal racist régime. On behalf of the Government of Zambia, I thank in particular those who have spoken in support of Zambia and in condemnation of Smith's premeditated and unprovoked invasion of Zambia between 6 and 8 March last. My delegation was deeply touched by the expressions of solidarity with Zambia. This is indeed very reassuring.

106. Your noble words, Mr. President, and those of the other members of the Council will be conveyed to the people of Zambia and to all those who have lost their kin in this invasion. This is the time for me to express our gratitude to you personally for your understanding and ability to weather the storm. Please convey the sentiments expressed here to your Government in the hope that the message may trigger the necessary positive action in Whitehall. I wish also, through you, to reiterate my delegation's gratitude to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to bring about an improved situation in southern Africa.

107. At the expense of repeating myself, I shall say that my delegation still feels that the immediate removal of Smith and his instruments of oppression remains the crux of the matter in resolving the problem of Rhodesia. The removal of Smith is the only thing that would end the

sufferings of all Zimbabweans in that unhappy country; it is the only thing that could decisively eliminate the dangers arising from frequent acts of aggression against neighbouring front-line States. Indeed, it is the only way to avert an internationalized war in southern Africa.

108. Zambia is grateful to the members of the Council for adopting the resolution unanimously. This act should serve as a warning signal to the rebels in Southern Rhodesia. We should naturally have preferred a prescription for action which would end the problem immediately, but we are realistic enough to know that a resolution should be not an end in itself, but a means to an end, the end in this case being the attainment of genuine independence for Zimbabwe.

109. I would refer very briefly to one point that was raised this morning by one of the members of the Council. I have taken note of the statement by the representative of the United States, Ambassador McHenry, regarding the identity of some of the aircraft shot down by Zambian troops during the recent Rhodesian attack. I want to point out that my Government is still investigating and that our military people are quite able to identify the markings and sources of supply of some of these weapons. Indeed, as soon as the investigations are completed the world will know the truth.

110. The Council should remain seized of this problem beyond this debate because the situation in southern Africa is deteriorating day by day. As we have already indicated, the minority régimes are escalating the conflict as well as expanding their forces of oppression. In this regard, do not be deceived by the emergence of "black Smiths" in Rhodesia who have joined hands with Ian Smith in the so-called internal agreement. The United Nations community should indeed be guided by resolution 423 (1978) which rejected Smith's manoeuvres.

111. Finally, I wish again to urge the United Kingdom and its Western allies to deal more decisively with the illegal régime in Rhodesia. I am quite aware of your personal concern about this, Mr. President, having known you personally, and I have no doubt in my mind that you are genuine in your approach to the problem. Therefore, if I mention once again that there is need for Her Majesty's Government in London, with the co-operation of other Western countries, to put more pressure on Smith, this does not mean that we are not aware of your personal concern in the matter.

112. The West should not expect Africans to continue to engage in open-ended meaningless talks about talks, some of which have only helped to delay positive action, thereby buying time. The problem is that, should the West fail to deal decisively with the Rhodesian problem, as it has since 1965, it will have to face the consequences of its omissions and blunders. Free Africa and our friends will redouble their efforts to free Zimbabwe and Namibia.

113. The Council should be aware that from the evidence before it there is no way at this stage, and particularly in this war situation with Rhodesia, for the Rhodesian problem to be solved without the participation of the

Patriotic Front. In other words, because there is a war situation there can be no solution without the involvement of the people who are fighting. The Patriotic Front has for rear bases the front-line States and, indeed, the Organization of African Unity. It is quite obvious that the Anglo-American proposals and, indeed, any other positive suggestions and proposals put before Africa cannot succeed without the involvement of the front-line countries. It is therefore logical that, unless and until the illegal régimes in Rhodesia and South Africa stop attacking these front-line States and killing and maiming their citizens, it will be very difficult for those of us who are on the spot to respond favourably to any such discussions or proposals. It is as simple as that. We believe that Smith is not serious when he says that he would like to have a negotiated settlement. He is not serious because, just when he has given the world the impression that he is interested in discussions on the basis

of "one man, one vote" and all the slogans he has been using, the following day he attacks Zambia, Botswana or Mozambique. For us it does not make sense. If those who have influence on Smith really want any progress towards a negotiated settlement, they must stop him from raiding Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana.

114. What I have stated is not a threat at all; it is just a timely, friendly warning from those of us who bear the brunt. We Africans are now sick and tired of receiving promises which are never fulfilled. The litmus test for success in southern Africa will be the independence of Zimbabwe and Namibia and genuine majority rule and freedom.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*

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