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# 2142<sup>nd</sup>

MEETING ON 27 APRIL 1979

NEW YORK

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#### NOTE

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## 2142nd MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 27 April 1979, at 4 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Ole ÅLGÅRD (Norway).

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

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2142)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia: Letter dated 26 April 1979 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Ivory Coast to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13276)

*The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:**  
Letter dated 26 April 1979 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Ivory Coast to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13276)

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

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Jaipal (India), Mr. Sangaret (Ivory Coast), Mr. Maina (Kenya), Mr. Fernando (Sri Lanka) and Mr. Sahloul (Sudan) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT: I should also like to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 27 April from the representatives of Gabon, Nigeria and Zambia [S/13280] which reads as follows:

*"We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that the Council should*

*extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Callistus Ndlovu, representative of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, to participate in the Council's consideration of the 'Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia'."*

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

*It was so decided.*

3. The PRESIDENT: The Council is meeting today in accordance with the request made by the Group of African States at the United Nations in a letter dated 26 April from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Ivory Coast to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Council [S/13276].

4. The first speaker is the representative of the Ivory Coast, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of April. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. SANGARET (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): This is the second time this month that the Chairman of the African Group at the United Nations—that is, the representative of the Ivory Coast—has spoken before this distinguished body, presided over by you, Sir. That is why I shall, with your permission, merely endorse the congratulations that have already been addressed to you by the head of my Mission.

6. I should like, however, to add a few words about your predecessor, Mr. Harriman of Nigeria, who deserves no less praise for the able and skilful way in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council during the month of March.

7. Mr. President, the African Group is deeply grateful to you for having so quickly agreed to convene a meeting of the Council, in spite of much work, at the end of this week to consider the question of recent events in Southern Rhodesia.

8. The voice of the Ivory Coast has always been heard whenever there has been question of violations of the freedoms and rights of our African brothers—and it is certainly with that still disadvantaged group that we are now dealing. That is why I am particularly pleased to have this opportunity to express, on behalf of the African Group, our profound disapproval of the situation and the events taking place in Southern Rhodesia and also our total condemnation of the so-called internal settlement arrived at in Southern Rhodesia.

9. There is no need to dwell on the deplorable situation which preceded the so-called elections and which still prevails in Southern Rhodesia: barbaric armed attacks against Angola, Mozambique and Zambia by Rhodesian forces resulting in heavy losses of human lives among the oppressed African population of Zimbabwe; martial law in effect in the entire Territory; a so-called constitution of internal settlement negotiated with a few African lackeys, the aim of which is to maintain the effective political power of a white minority representing not even 5 per cent of the population; observers representing only themselves and coming from goodness knows where to attend the so-called consultations.

10. That is the general picture of the farce which has been presented to us and the international community, which they naïvely wish to place before a *fait accompli* and from whom they are requesting *de facto* and *de jure* recognition. That is a challenge thrown down to the international community by the illegal Rhodesian régime, which is openly and totally supported by the racist régime of South Africa. Only recently the common denominator—the South African régime—was denounced and condemned here by the entire international community for its practice of the crime of *apartheid*, and the Council will have to remember that today it is still the evil deeds of this same racist régime of South Africa that must be condemned.

11. There is no need to recall that the Patriotic Front has, since September 1977, in response to the Anglo-American proposals and all the negotiations undertaken until then, always made it clear that the problem of Zimbabwe was not the bringing back of blacks into the government by the election of a black Prime Minister but rather the elimination of colonialism and all its structures, which should lead to genuine independence by a democratic process giving rise to the birth of a free and sovereign Zimbabwe.

12. The much debated internal settlement has been categorically rejected by the Security Council. By unanimously adopting resolutions 423 (1978) and 445 (1979), the Council reaffirmed that the settlement could not make that rebellious régime legal and acceptable, nor could it lessen the responsibility of the United Kingdom, the administering Power.

13. Today the Council is meeting once again to consider the extension of the so-called internal settlement, that is, the sham elections, which even exceeded the most optimistic hopes of their authors since they managed to fill the ballot boxes in excess of 100 per cent. The Council, not so long ago, in its resolution 445 (1979), unequivocally rejected and condemned those ridiculous manoeuvres and it cannot act differently today. We can only condemn once again the results of those elections and declare once again that they are null and void. In so doing, the members of the Council would only be confirming and reaffirming their earlier decision, which should make the obstinate adversaries of a free Zimbabwe understand that a settlement of the colonial problem of Southern Rhodesia is not possible and will not be possible without the participation of the Patriotic Front.

14. In this crucial year for the liberation of Zimbabwe, it is absolutely indispensable to reaffirm the solidarity of the

African people with the Patriotic Front, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe, to whom all of Africa has given its support.

15. Africa hopes that the United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, will take firm and appropriate action to reject and banish the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia.

16. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is Mr. Ndlovu, representative of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, to whom the Council has just extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

17. Mr. NDLOVU: I should like to begin by thanking the President and the other members of the Security Council for giving me this opportunity to appear before the Council. Last month the Council met to discuss the Smith régime's aggression against the neighbouring countries of Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and Angola. Today, a month later, the Council is meeting, it is to be hoped, to reaffirm its stand against minority rule in Zimbabwe, where minority rule is now trying to disguise itself behind blacks whom it has recycled making of them its own allies and weapons against the people of Zimbabwe. Mr. President, we hope that under your enlightened guidance this body will take a unanimous decision to reaffirm its position against racist oppression in whatever form that evil seeks to disguise itself.

18. In the past few days, the régime of Ian Smith and its allies have been bombarding the international community with propaganda, claiming that a majority Government has been elected under the constitution of the so-called internal settlement. The people of Zimbabwe have enjoyed the support of the international community in their just struggle against minority exploitation and racist oppression. We hope that those who have properly identified themselves with the struggle of our people for a just and non-racial society in Zimbabwe will not be misled by recent manoeuvres by the enemies of Zimbabwe to entrench minority rule in our country under the guise of installing a majority Government. The forces which today want the world to believe that power has been transferred to the majority are the same forces which have kept racist Rhodesia alive, justifying their indefensible actions with the pretext that their dealings with minority régimes in southern Africa have been in the interests of the African majority. Those are the same interests that have bank-rolled groups of so-called observers who recently flocked to Zimbabwe to monitor the sham elections, which have been correctly described as a "gigantic popularity trick".

19. Western political and news commentators want the world to judge Smith's elections independently of the constitution upon which those elections were based. The Patriotic Front rejected the so-called internal settlement because it did not settle anything. The constitution of the so-called internal settlement was not approved by the majority of the people of Zimbabwe because the Rhodesian régime did not want Africans to vote on it, except in the elections which were conducted under conditions of repression, an unprecedented display of military might, violence and the intimidat-

tion of the African people of Zimbabwe. The mobilization of over 100,000 troops and the extension of martial law over 94 per cent of the country meant that the defenceless people of Zimbabwe were forced to vote under the gun. That alone meant that the so-called elections were not free.

20. Those elections were neither free nor fair because, before they took place, thousands of opponents of the Smith régime were thrown into prison following the banning of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union in September 1978. The arrest and detention of opponents of the régime cleared the way for elements sympathetic to the so-called internal settlement to have free run throughout the country, backed by the armed forces which burnt and destroyed homes of people opposed to the so-called internal settlement. The grim story of the brutal methods that the régime's forces used to get Africans in the rural areas to support the so-called internal settlement and to vote in the elections was told by one Rhodesian company commander when he said on 4 March 1979, in an interview with *The Observer* of London: "The way we're going about it, this country will end up with a white majority".

21. For the vast majority of the African people that were forced to vote in the so-called elections, the voting was a traumatic experience. In its election arrangements, the Smith régime laid down elaborate plans designed to give its armed forces the capability of launching an all-out military sweep in rural areas with the aim of ensuring a high turnout. The methods used left the African civilian population with very little choice but to vote wherever the régime's forces were in control. Given these brutal and savage methods used by the Rhodesian military against the civilian population, it is absurd to say that the elections were fair and free.

22. In an analysis we put out on 25 April 1979, issued as document S/13277, we demonstrated how the régime forced people to vote in the elections. We also showed that the percentage turnout being played up in the Western news media was as fictitious as the figure that the régime claimed represented the total number of African workers. Both the imaginary 2.8 million figure which the régime claimed represented the total number of Africans qualified to vote and the percentage turnout of 63 per cent have been discredited by the evidence that schoolchildren below the age of 18 years were forced to vote in most electoral districts. By the régime's own admission, aliens, most of whom are migrant labourers, were also allowed to vote. Displaced people or refugees now living as squatters in the urban areas were preyed upon by military auxiliaries and forced to vote under penalty of eviction from the shanty towns.

23. A human rights group based in London which observed Smith's elections has reported the arrest of teachers in the Shabani area because they would not co-operate with the régime's orders to compel their pupils to vote. Given this gross abuse of their power over innocent civilians by Rhodesian authorities in their attempt to get as many Africans as possible to vote, we find it ridiculous that some conservatives in the United States, Britain and Australia should be so bold as to peddle the lie that those elections were free, fair and democratic.

24. Supporters of Ian Smith in the West have been talking about Smith's elections as if they stood independently of the constitution on which they are based. Although we have analysed the constitution of the so-called internal settlement before this august body, we believe that in the context of this debate it is necessary to remind members of the Council that the constitution under which those elections were held not only gave white voters the privilege, nay the right, to vote to approve the constitution but also permitted the white minority to vote separately for the 28 white parliamentary seats and again to vote alongside black voters for the 72 black parliamentary seats. When expressed as a ratio, the white vote to the black vote was 11 to 1, in that whites who are 4 per cent of the population elected 28 per cent of the parliamentary seats alone and then also voted along with blacks who are 96 per cent of the population to elect 72 Africans to Parliament. In short, every white voter had 11 votes for every 1 black vote. If that is democracy to some people, to us it is "apartheidocracy", that is, a government of *apartheid*, for *apartheid* and by *apartheid*.

25. We challenge those who think that a black government has now been elected in Zimbabwe to pause and consider how the elected officials of that so-called government will control the civil service, the police, the armed forces and the judiciary when the constitution says that those four institutions should be regulated and controlled by four commissions totally insulated from the authority of the elected officials. Under the provisions of that constitution no blacks qualify for appointment to any of the commissions, because in each case the qualifications required for appointment call for prior experience in service—which hitherto has been inaccessible to black people. In reality those commissions will be the government, not Bishop Muzorewa and his elected co-quislings.

26. Those who think that the Smith elections are likely to lead to the isolation of the Patriotic Front and result in a peaceful resolution of the country's problems are entertaining grand illusions indeed. The resentment and anger of our people against what has happened run deep. The anger and resentment of our people cannot be weathered by dropping bombs on defenceless civilians and refugees in neighbouring countries. As far as our people are concerned, Bishop Muzorewa and his followers are quislings and, as such, traitors who have sold the country to Smith and South Africa.

27. Let there be no illusions about what is going to happen. Bishop Muzorewa and his United African National Council (UANC) have no capacity to contain the forces of liberation. Already today, Mr. James Chikerema, Muzorewa's Vice-President, denounced the Bishop at a press conference at Salisbury, accusing the politico-cleric of nepotism, regionalism and foolish leadership. We have always known the UANC of Bishop Muzorewa to be a banana organization made up of disparate forces each of which is pursuing personal ambitions. It has neither political depth nor coherence and, as such, is a conclave of shiftless power-seekers, whose conception of the struggle has never gone beyond the quest for personal glory and self-gratification. This is the reality that must be faced by those who want to shield their true intentions in Zimbabwe behind the UANC of Bishop Muzorewa.

28. Members of the Council probably recall that, shortly after the signing of the Salisbury agreement on 3 March 1978, Mr. Smith's Foreign Minister, Mr. P. K. Van der Byl, described the agreement between his régime and the three blacks—Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole and Chief Jeremiah Chirau—as “a masterpiece as a politico-diplomatic exercise”. Mr. Van der Byl, who was addressing a closed meeting of whites at Chisipite High School, went on to say that in the so-called internal settlement his régime had “the advantage of authentic black nationalists defending our political position”.

29. It is important that members of the Council should fully understand on what principles the Smith régime has predicated its acceptance of any settlement formula for Zimbabwe. The three principles upon which the régime has predicated its acceptance of any settlement formula are: (a) recognition of the régime's unilateral declaration of independence; (b) maintenance of present standards—meaning white standards—in the running of government; (c) protection of white property and way of life.

30. Those principles upon which the Rhodesian Front Party had over the years predicated any settlement represented the “political position” that Mr. Van der Byl argued the three blacks in the so-called internal settlement had conceded to the Smith régime. And, in fact, it is precisely for that reason that people of Zimbabwe have rejected the so-called internal settlement, because not only does it recognize Smith's unilateral declaration of independence but it also entrenches white minority rule and protects the inequitable distribution of wealth in the country. The so-called internal settlement, with its entrenchment of white power in Zimbabwe, also guarantees the survival of racist South Africa, in that Zimbabwe becomes a king-size bantustan, a buffer zone that stands between South Africa and the African revolution. It is for that reason that South Africa has invested a lot of money and energy to make sure that Smith's fraud works.

31. South Africa, which entered the negotiation exercise over the future of Zimbabwe under what it then called “détente in southern Africa”, has linked a solution of the Rhodesian problem to the solution of the problem of Namibia. Hence Smith's so-called internal settlement and South Africa's Turnhalle arrangement in Namibia are products of South Africa's strategy to entrench minority rule in the two countries under the guise of majority rule constitutions.

32. If the international community condones the fraudulent arrangements now being put into effect in Zimbabwe and Namibia, this will amount to handing South Africa a blank cheque to establish a belt of puppet satellite States in southern Africa. In the event of South Africa's succeeding in creating a belt of puppet States in southern Africa, the security of the entire continent would be threatened. *Apartheid* South African leaders have of late been talking about what they call “fortress southern Africa”. Although leaders of the South African minority régime speak of “fortress southern Africa” as if it were something for the future, in fact the South African régime of P. W. Botha has already begun constructing “fortress southern Africa”.

33. Bishop Muzorewa has already said that his own régime will co-operate closely with the South African régime both economically and militarily. Hence, by accepting the results of the elections recently conducted in both Zimbabwe and Namibia, the world would be endorsing South Africa's imperialist designs on Africa as a whole. This would also amount to endorsing South Africa's domestic policies regarding black people.

34. The Western countries that have been negotiating with South Africa on Namibia must realize that, if South Africa gets the impression that the West is willing to go along with Smith's fraud in Zimbabwe, the *apartheid* régime will be encouraged to pursue an independent settlement in Namibia. In short, we call upon all Members of the United Nations to reject Smith's elections in Zimbabwe and to warn South Africa against interference in the internal affairs of Zimbabwe.

35. We also wish to draw the attention of this body to current moves in the West, particularly in London and in Washington, to lift economic sanctions against the Smith régime. Certain conservative groups in the United Kingdom and in the United States that have always supported Smith—even before he made the so-called internal settlement with Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau—have begun to revive their drive for the lifting of sanctions by their respective countries. The Patriotic Front condemns all such manoeuvres and calls upon all Member States to observe these sanctions against the Smith régime. Any move to lift sanctions would encourage the racist régime at Salisbury to extend its aggression against the neighbouring countries of Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. In any case, such a move to lift sanctions would be in violation of Security Council resolutions on Southern Rhodesia.

36. In conclusion we call upon the Security Council to reaffirm its rejection of the so-called internal settlement and its elections, to call upon all Member States not to recognize the puppet régime resulting from the illegal elections, to denounce *apartheid* South Africa for providing the Smith régime with arms to attack neighbouring countries, and to warn South Africa against attempting to create a king-size bantustan in Zimbabwe.

37. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Sudan who wishes to make a statement on behalf of the current President of the Organization of African Unity. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

38. Mr. SAHLOUL (Sudan): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to thank you and through you the other members of this body for permitting me, on behalf of the Organization of African Unity, to participate in this discussion of the item on the agenda of this meeting called in response to the urgent request by the African Group at the United Nations to consider the critical situation in Zimbabwe after the results of the sham elections carried out last week.

39. The Council may recall its resolution 445 (1979), in which it declared that any elections held under the auspices of the illegal racist régime and the results thereof would be

null and void and that no recognition would be accorded either by the United Nations or any Member State to any representatives or organ established by that process.

40. The peoples of Africa are against any kind of recognition being accorded to the present situation in Zimbabwe, and our position in regard to what was known as the internal settlement was made clear at the time it was declared. Africa was and still is against any moves or measures designed to leave the state of affairs in southern Africa under the control of the white minority groups. The analysis of the illegal régime's "Constitution for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia", prepared by the Commonwealth Secretariat and distributed by Zambia [S/13235], brought to light the fact that the internal settlement is no more than a process to ensure the perpetuation of the *status quo*.

41. It is the sacred duty and responsibility of the Security Council to declare in no unclear terms that these elections, like those conducted by the *apartheid* régime in Namibia, are completely null and void. They are null and void because they were not free, fair or democratic and because they aimed at perpetuating and further consolidating power in the hands of the white racists under the false pretext of establishing black majority rule. They are null and void because the very constitution under which these elections were carried out is itself illegal and the environment was completely unfavourable. How can we expect an election to be fair and democratic when it was conducted under conditions of martial law and a state of emergency? How can it be free when huge private armies exist which harass people and force them to vote for certain particular parties and threaten to fire and to execute those who oppose their instructions?

42. Among other things, in document S/13235 the following is pointed out: first, the major political movements of Zimbabwe have had no hand in framing the constitutional arrangements—which were put for approval before only the white community, some 3 per cent of the population; secondly, the constitution is so framed as to restrict the powers normally exercised by such a legislature to the point where it may fairly be asked whether, in fact, the majority would be left with any power with which to rule; thirdly, the qualifications required for appointment to each of the key posts established by the constitution are drawn up in such a way as effectively to exclude over 96 per cent of the population from participating in those institutions for at least a generation.

43. We have stressed these particular aspects of the fraudulent constitution to emphasize but a few of the drawbacks that are characteristic of the document. We are not trying to enter into a discussion of this fraudulent constitution; rather, we are referring to it in view of the fact that some have raised their voices calling for endorsement of the elections and recognition of the political set-up that will follow. We feel that such people are, to say the least, irresponsible, naïve and completely ignorant of the reality of African nationalism. What concerns us is the fact that their impact on public opinion in their respective countries may result in pressure being exerted on the respective Governments, especially at a time when some of those Governments are faced with the prospect of political uncertainty. Any step taken

in the wrong direction will have serious consequences for future relationships between those countries that still believe in the possibility of achieving a peaceful solution in southern Africa and the African countries.

44. It has been widely reported that the racist gang of Ian Smith, in its desperate attempt to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Zimbabwe, used all and every possible means to recruit illegal voters and force them to go to the balloting centres to cast their votes in favour of particular groups. Thousands of black workers and employers were herded by their employers to the polling places to participate in the elections with the understanding that failure to do so would be tantamount to disobeying the rules of work and could be punishable by immediate dismissal from employment and deprivation of all rights under the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act and its ancillary legislation.

45. It has also been reported that youngsters, including teenagers as young as 13 or 14, were driven in school buses to participate in the elections under the direct supervision of their teachers and Ministry of Education employees, who, in their turn, risked their jobs if they failed to do this.

46. In addition to all that, many cases of gross violation, forgery and fabrication have been detected. Ironically enough, even a person like the Reverend Sithole, one of the founders and the main theorist of the so-called internal settlement has pronounced himself clearly with regard to the elections and denounced them as a fraud. In his rejection of the result of the elections, Mr. Sithole stated: "My party consider the results as not being the verdict of the people but of a particular Ministry which has stage-managed the elections".

47. In Africa we have a saying, the rough translation of which might be, "If thieves differ about sharing the spoils, eventually the truth will come out". Mr. Sithole's remarks, although selfish and showing concern for his own narrow and vested interests, nevertheless indicate beyond any doubt that the whole thing was a sell-out and nothing but a big joke. It is for the international community to live up to its responsibility to see to it that no recognition whatsoever is accorded these elections and to withhold any possible support for any bodies, organs or individuals who might try to step into power as a result of these forged elections.

48. We believe that we have gone a long way towards accommodating the point of view of those who have been calling for a settlement through continued dialogue between the forces of African nationalism and the proponents of white racism. We also believe that we have reached the end of the road and that the hour of decision has arrived. Fortunately we are not the ones who are asked to decide because our stand is clear beyond any doubt and we are set on a course of confrontation with the racist régimes. In our view it is up to those who stand to gain or lose a lot from the coming development in southern Africa to decide which side to choose. We hope that their decision will be the right one.

49. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Sri Lanka, who wishes to make a statement in his

capacity, as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

50. Mr. FERNANDO (Sri Lanka): Mr. President, let me at the outset thank you and through you the members of the Council for giving me this opportunity of participating on behalf of the non-aligned group of countries in the Council's deliberations on the so-called elections in Southern Rhodesia. Needless to say the best wishes of my delegation are extended to you for the successful conduct of the business of the Council. Our thanks are also due to your predecessor, the representative of Nigeria, who last month fulfilled his tasks as President with considerable skill and dedication.

51. When the Foreign Ministers of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries met a few months ago in Mozambique, at the battlefield of the liberation struggle, they were unanimous in condemning the plans of the racist régime to hold so-called elections in Zimbabwe. The elections have now taken place amidst a blaze of publicity and media coverage.

52. The elections are to be condemned not only because the very basis on which they took place was illegal, but also because even in the conduct of essentially fraudulent elections there have been so many reported abuses and malpractices that the entire operation from conception to execution could at best be described as a fiasco. However, it is not possible to consider the elections purely as a matter for ridicule as the intent behind them is clearly to entrench and perpetuate the political, economic and military power of the illegal racist minority at Salisbury and to block majority rule. The Council, by its resolution 445 (1979), declared that any elections held under the sponsorship of the illegal racist régime and the results thereof would be null and void and, further, that no recognition would be accorded either by the United Nations or any Member State to any representatives or organ established by that process. All these views were reiterated and affirmed by the non-aligned countries in a communiqué issued by the Co-ordinating Bureau on 16 April [S/13252].

53. I would take this opportunity to call upon the Council to consider taking appropriate steps towards effectively carrying out its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, which would be undermined if the sham elections are in any way given recognition. It is also a matter of paramount importance for the effective discharge of the functions of the Council that its decisions should be completely implemented.

54. When the Foreign Ministers of the Co-ordinating Bureau met at Maputo, Mozambique, they congratulated the Zimbabwean patriots and freedom fighters, led by the Patriotic Front, on the success they had achieved on the battlefield. Perhaps, it was the very success of that liberation struggle, its extension throughout the entire territory and the wide support it had among the people that sharpened the sense of desperation on the part of the racist régime at Salisbury and prompted it to foist these elections on Zimbabwe. The elections were in a sense then an admission of

defeat by the racists. The so-called elections would in no way assist the struggle of the international community to eradicate *apartheid* and achieve the dignity of man.

55. It is ironic that even those who were part of the so-called internal settlement have themselves condemned the elections for what they are. If any Member of the United Nations accords any form of recognition, blessing or support for the malformed issue of the so-called elections, that could only be considered an act which would contribute to perpetuating the illegal white minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. These elections will not lead to genuine independence and freedom for the people of Zimbabwe. The struggle for genuine independence and majority rule in southern Africa, and in particular in Zimbabwe, has been one of the cornerstones of the policy of the non-aligned movement since its inception. The non-aligned countries have always affirmed their faith in the United Nations as an effective instrument for promoting international peace and security and for achieving a better world order for mankind.

56. On behalf of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, I would once more reiterate our sincere call to all Member States to regard the results of the elections as null and void and to see that no recognition or support is accorded to any representatives or organs established by the so-called electoral process that has taken place. The non-aligned countries reiterate their firm support for the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe under the Patriotic Front and pledge their solidarity in the continuation of the struggle which must inevitably lead to victory and to genuine independence and freedom.

57. Mr. MUTUKWA (Zambia): Sir, I wish, on behalf of the delegation of Zambia, to begin by congratulating you on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of April. Your personal qualities as a skilful diplomat have already been amply demonstrated in the negotiations and consultations on the disturbing situation in Lebanon. It is fitting that the representative of Norway should preside over the Council as it takes up the question of Southern Rhodesia again. Norway, together with the other Nordic countries, has continued to show great understanding of the situation in southern Africa and has rendered considerable assistance to the oppressed people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, through their national liberation movements.

58. In this meeting of the Council, Africa seeks nothing new. We are not making any unreasonable or exaggerated demands on the Council. Indeed, the objective of the meeting is simple and limited: We seek only the reaffirmation by the Council of the position it has already taken in previous resolutions, particularly 423 (1978) and 445 (1979), to the effect that the régime in Southern Rhodesia remains illegal and that all its manoeuvres to give itself a veneer of legitimacy are null and void. Specifically, we are requesting the Council to reiterate its designation of the recent sham elections stage-managed by the Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia within the context of its so-called internal settlement as illegal, null and void. In this regard, the Council should call upon all States not to accord recognition to any representatives or organ established in Southern Rhodesia



as a result of the so-called elections. That would be in accord with resolution 445 (1979). As we know, Smith and his clique proceeded with the elections in total defiance of the United Nations.

59. What we are witnessing in southern Africa, especially in Zimbabwe, Namibia and the bantustans of South Africa, is a frantic attempt by the defiant racist minority rulers to impose puppet régimes so as to perpetuate white racist minority domination. With black puppets in visible positions, such as that of Prime Minister, the white minority intend, under these arrangements, to preserve for themselves real power and authority and, as they have done all along, amass privileges and wealth at the expense of the black majority.

60. The new rulers at Pretoria have again shown their determination to exert full military might in the fruitless struggle to make southern Africa safe for racist white minority rule. There is ample proof of collusion between South Africa and the Smith régime in the military field. This is contrary to the earlier protestations of the Pretoria régime.

61. I wish to draw the attention of the Council to the repeated acts of war which Rhodesian military forces and those of South Africa have unleashed against Zambia and the other front-line States of Angola, Mozambique and Botswana. These dastardly acts of aggression have the aim, *inter alia*, of destabilizing front-line countries and of killing refugees and innocent nationals of our countries—this in addition to the attempts by the minority régime to divert attention from the wars of liberation now raging inside Zimbabwe and Namibia. We refuse to be used as scapegoats by the racist maniacs and reject that practice.

62. The real problem in southern Africa is the continued existence of racist régimes. The problems facing the régimes at Pretoria and Salisbury are internal ones. It is the oppressed people of those countries who are up in arms against their slave-drivers. The international community should aid those people to achieve their freedom.

63. Regrettably, there is growing evidence of increased collaboration between certain Western countries and South Africa, particularly in the military sphere. We are concerned about this matter even in the context of the Rhodesian issue, because it is South African weapons, such as long-range military aircraft, that have been used to attack us. This matter should be studied adequately by the arms embargo committee<sup>1</sup> and subsequently exposed to the international community. Zambia will continue to hold countries which collaborate with the racist régimes responsible for abetting those régimes in attacking us and killing innocent civilians.

64. We in Zambia have not been impressed by the disturbing loud noises emanating from Britain and the United States proposing the lifting of United Nations-decreed sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and recognition of the

puppet régime. Among the reasons advanced for this approach is the purported high voter turnout in Zimbabwe. Surely, under normal circumstances, this would have been a helpful indicator. But, as we are aware, the situation in Rhodesia is not normal. In fact, we accord no significance to the bogus elections, which were tantamount to a non-event.

65. Let me, at this juncture, express the views of my delegation specifically on the much-publicized issue of the sham elections in Rhodesia. It is our submission that what happened in Rhodesia recently was not an objectively conducted election but a simulated one.

66. In making our assessment, we draw a distinction between appearances and reality. We say that not because Zambia is opposed to elections as such. To us in Zambia elections have been a part of our political culture since pre-independence days. These facts can be verified by any objective academic observer. What Zambia does not support are stage-managed, fake and simulated elections. The enlightened segment of the international community should not allow itself to be deluded by some of the developments in Rhodesia, such as simulated elections. The international community cannot afford to stand by while Smith and his friends continue to engage in dangerous experiments with the lives of millions of Zimbabweans who are in bondage.

67. No elections can be objectively assessed without reference to the political framework within which they are conducted. Elections are dialectically linked to a political system. Elections cannot be conducted in a political vacuum. In the context of Rhodesia, any serious observer or assessor of the so-called elections would be well advised to examine not only the so-called constitution but the entire political system of contemporary Rhodesia.

68. The so-called elections in Rhodesia were staged at a time when a war was raging in that country. Rhodesia is at war. The entire country is under a state of emergency and martial law. Even those who have the most elementary rudiments of legal knowledge know what this state of affairs entails.

69. Under this state of emergency, the Smith régime has detained thousands of Africans who are opposed to the régime and its so-called elections. Millions of Africans in the rural countryside are confined as inmates of concentration camps, which are euphemistically called protected villages. In addition, well over half a million Africans have been uprooted from their homes to become refugees or squatters on the outskirts of cities and towns.

70. The majority of the electorate in Rhodesia, therefore, are not free voters as we know them elsewhere: they are a captive audience who can be manipulated by the régime in pursuit of its objective—that is, to maintain white minority power in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, in Rhodesia a system of electoral administration for Africans is virtually non-existent. The preparations for the so-called elections did not even include the demarcation of constituencies or a census of the population. Instead, the régime was mobilizing to intensify its repression inside the country. It was during that

<sup>1</sup>Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa.

period also that the murderers of Salisbury and their accomplices unleashed several attacks against my country and Botswana. All these facts, we are told, added up to the so-called peaceful elections held in Rhodesia.

71. It is well known that the régime mobilized its war machine and called up reserves on the eve of the "elections". Soldiers who were mobilized supplemented the massive police force and para-military units. The work of all the armed men was to escort voters at gunpoint to polling booths, on the pretext that voters were being protected. It was not surprising to learn that it was only in the Rhodesian elections that the voter turnout exceeded 100 per cent of the voters. This meant that there were more votes than the number of votes, in a "fair" election.

72. The next question we may ask is: Who were the electorate voting for? It is typical of the racist nature of the Salisbury régime that only white people voted for white candidates. Thereafter the whites joined blacks and others to vote for blacks, ostensibly to produce a multiracial society. Surely there is something peculiar about the political chemistry of Rhodesia. In Rhodesia, by virtue of being white one is automatically entitled to more than one vote. Yet "one man, one vote" is the universally accepted criterion for voting elsewhere in the world where elections are conducted fairly.

73. The Zambian delegation has had occasion at previous meetings of the Council to outline the problems inherent in the constitution of Rhodesia, which is based on the so-called internal settlement and which merely seeks to entrench racist illegal minority rule by other means. We recommend that delegations should read the analysis of the rebel régime's constitution prepared by the Commonwealth countries in London [S/13235]. As has been stated, even the so-called internal settlement cannot settle the Rhodesian independence crisis, and that has been proved. That agreement, signed on 4 March 1978, was aimed at circumventing the real transfer of power from the minority to the majority through free and fair elections. The so-called Rhodesian constitution does not provide a framework for Zimbabwe to be ruled by the majority African people because, as is typical of all situations of oppression and exploitation, power in all sectors of society in Rhodesia will still be vested in the minority. Under the provisions of the so-called constitution, the minority will control all the commanding heights of the economy, the instruments of government, the legislative process, the judiciary, the civil service, and the military and security services.

74. It is for reasons that should be self-evident to any sophisticated observer that one wonders why certain so-called observers had to trek all the way to Rhodesia with preconceived notions to see what they set out to see. For a mentally myopic observer, the so-called elections were an end in themselves. We are told by the propagandist media of the West that most observers were satisfied that the elections were free and fair because the observers saw many Africans dancing in the streets. Since when has the international community been impressed by the fairness of an election merely because people have been seen dancing in the streets?

75. In the view of the Zambian delegation, what should exercise the minds of all the concerned parties is the question of the end result of any election. That is the crux of the matter. An election that produces a black ruler in a country that perpetuates the basic structure of oppression does not conform to the elementary requisites of independence. What is at stake in Zimbabwe is not which individual will become a bantustan-type prime minister. The crux of the matter is how to achieve the independence of Zimbabwe, with the majority in control of the country.

76. If majority rule had been achieved, then there would be no war of liberation inside Rhodesia. Thousands of guerrillas inside Rhodesia would have laid down their arms. Thousands of refugees who have fled the tyranny of the Smith régime over the years would have returned to their motherland.

77. If we state the problem in the simplest terms, it is this. In the long history of decolonization in Africa there has been no country in which there has been a dispute as to whether or not independence under majority rule had been achieved. The definition of what constitutes independence and majority rule is self-evident, and that is what the people of Zimbabwe who have been struggling for freedom say they want. Surely the cause of peace and freedom for Zimbabwe cannot be advanced by those who engage in ostrich-type politics as an end.

78. In conclusion, let me state that there is ample evidence to show that the so-called elections that were conducted in Rhodesia have brought no change in the situation because they have not resolved the vital issue of independence and majority rule. The end product of an election held under the auspices of an illegal racist régime cannot make either the election itself or its results legal. The problem of Rhodesia is still with us. The international community should reject all deceptive manoeuvres by the rebel régime, including the bogus elections conducted recently.

79. Zambia urges the entire membership of the Council to live up to its responsibilities. The Council should reaffirm its urgent appeal to all States not to accord recognition to any representatives or organs established by that process and to observe the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, sanctions which were decreed by this august body over a decade ago. It is also the expectation of the Zambian delegation that the Committee on Sanctions<sup>2</sup> will expedite its work to enable the Council to consider the extension and tightening of sanctions against the rebels in Rhodesia.

80. My delegation is distressed to observe how ironic it is that the countries that are obstructing conclusion of the work of the Committee on Sanctions are those which in fact initiated the imposition of sanctions, those that have primary responsibility for having colonized Rhodesia—States that have argued that they want a peaceful solution to the problem and yet continue to create obstacles to the effective implementation of the mandate of the Committee on Sanctions.

<sup>2</sup>Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia.

81. The people of southern Africa look to the United Nations, and especially to the Security Council, in these troubled times. Let no responsible member of this august body betray the hopes of millions of oppressed people in southern Africa.

82. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Kenya, who wishes to make a statement on behalf of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

83. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): Mr. President, I would first of all thank you and the whole Council for affording my delegation this opportunity to participate in this debate. Your long and outstanding service to the United Nations as representative of your great country gives us every confidence that, as we discuss the question of Southern Rhodesia, you will help to guide the Council along the path of truth and justice.

84. I should like to make only a few remarks in this debate, representing my Minister, who is the current Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, although, as the Council well knows, the African problems are so closely tied together that it makes no difference whether I speak as a representative of Kenya or as a representative of the Council of Ministers of OAU.

85. The question of Southern Rhodesia has been before the Security Council for many years. United Nations economic sanctions are still in force. Anglo-American proposals which the Council was requested to support in 1977 are still theoretically on the table. And the people of Zimbabwe are still shedding blood—a lot of blood—for their freedom. In our view, the purpose of the Council's meetings on this occasion is very different. The Council has been convened to review the fraud that has been enacted in Southern Rhodesia, in order to place on record its position with regard to that fraud.

86. My delegation had the occasion to state during a previous debate that the rebel illegal régime of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia did not cease to be illegal merely because Ian Smith was able to recruit a couple of black accomplices. At that stage we maintained that certain steps had to be taken to return Southern Rhodesia to a legal path, and we tried to outline those steps. We held that the view that Smith on his own could not return Southern Rhodesia to a legal path without involving the administering Power, the United Kingdom. The Africans he recruited did not and could not replace the administering Power; and we held, and still hold, the view that the moment the Bishop and the other recruits joined the illegal régime, they became no more and no better than the many so-called ministers who had served under Mr. Smith since 1965. We did not, however, believe that the Africans who joined Mr. Smith could be part of such a grotesque fraud, which they have the face to call "elections".

87. We need only draw the attention of the Council to a few facts to show that what has taken place in Southern Rhodesia is not an election but a fraud.

88. To begin with, when the so-called constitution was drawn up, the people of Southern Rhodesia—other than the 100,000-odd supporters of the illegal régime—were not given a chance to express themselves on the constitutional proposals. That is a very important fact. The now-dishonest Bishop came to the attention of the people of Southern Rhodesia in 1971, when he led them to reject previous, similarly fraudulent constitutional proposals. He knew more than any other person that the constitutional proposals could not be accepted by the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia, and therefore the presentation of those proposals to the people was deliberately avoided. That major omission also explains in part why the Bishop made sure no election of leaders would take place. An election involving African leaders would have been embarrassing because it would have exposed the individuals to questioning by the electors. It would have led to their having to answer questions from their own people which they could not answer. So what has been done in Southern Rhodesia in the past week? The people have been asked to answer an irrelevant question. They have been asked which party they support—which is quite different from supporting leaders.

89. In any case, the fraudulent campaign raised another irrelevant question. The balloting process was billed as a vote to bring peace. I cannot recall any other place where people have gone around the country campaigning on the pretext of an election to bring about peace. The side of peace-or-no-peace will no doubt speak for itself in due course. Peace cannot be bought through a fraud: that is our view. The so-called illiterate people must not be mistakenly regarded by anyone as foolish or stupid. They certainly are not. This is a common error, a stunt used in many places to paint illiterate people as stupid people. This also explains why many—indeed, I would say all—who were rounded up to go to the so-called election stations went there without any question. All the people called upon to go to vote went to vote. They would have been foolish not to do so. I can explain why they went, because we in my country went through this kind of process. It is not my intention to blame anyone at this stage.

90. During Kenya's struggle for freedom, my people were rounded up and all put in emergency villages—in Southern Rhodesia they call them "protected villages". We existed under emergency conditions and regulations. In Southern Rhodesia they go even further. Martial law exists in more than 90 per cent of the country. The emergency villages in Kenya were illegal prisons, and I have no doubt that the protected villages in Southern Rhodesia are illegal prisons. People are herded into them no less than prisoners are herded into prisons. Remembering our own experience, I can well imagine the physical brutality and other forms of abuse they are being subjected to. The curfew hour arrives; people go indoors and are locked up—just as we were locked up. In the morning they are told what to do. Any deviation is severely punished, and death at the hands of the guards—or, in the case of Southern Rhodesia, the protectors—must be a common occurrence. In those circumstances only the stupid or hell-bound fool would be left behind when the call to go to vote was made.

91. The so-called elections in a territory under martial law are no elections at all. My people went through similar

motions in order to survive; not until the emergency conditions were removed did they speak their mind. Under the emergency conditions anyone who mentioned the name of our late President in any favourable light was as good as dead—at the very least, he would have been detained. After the emergency conditions were lifted the people, almost with one voice, spoke their mind and proclaimed him their true leader.

92. There has been no election in Southern Rhodesia, and those who are now in the process of organizing a world-wide campaign for the recognition of the illegal and fraudulent régime in that country should know that they are deceiving themselves if they believe that they are working for peace. They are working against their own true interests and those of the people of Southern Rhodesia. They are guilty of working to prolong the suffering of the people of

that country. We know that the illegal régime will become even more dependent on those external supporters, and the conflict is bound to continue for a much longer period than necessary.

93. The Council has a straightforward duty to reject the fraud that has been perpetrated as no more capable of deceiving us than were previous frauds organized by the rebel illegal régime of Ian Smith. The correct line would be to urge the dishonest Bishop and Mr. Smith to return to the negotiating process in order to arrive at a solution that will win world-wide support. We believe that good common sense will prevail everywhere, including London and Washington.

*The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.*