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2143rd

MEETING: 30 APRIL 1979

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NOTE

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

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

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

2143rd MEETING

Held in New York on Monday 30 April 1979, at 3.30 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/2143)

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 4.05 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: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2142nd meeting, I invite the representatives of India, the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Sri Lanka and the Sudan to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

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

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

3. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them document S/13282, which contains the text of a draft resolution sponsored by Bangladesh, Bolivia, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia. Members also have before them document S/13283, which contains the text of a telegram dated 27 April from the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples addressed to the President of the Council.

4. Mr. El-JEAAN (Kuwait): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you on the able manner in which you have been presiding over our informal and formal deliberations. I also wish to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Harriman of Nigeria, on his perseverance and dedication during a month in which the Council was in almost continuous session.

5. The Security Council meets today at a crucial moment in the life of Southern Rhodesia. The will of the Council has already been clearly manifested in resolution 445 (1979), in which it condemned all attempts and manoeuvres by the illegal régime, including its so-called elections of April 1979, aimed at retaining and extending racist minority rule and at preventing the accession of Zimbabwe to independence and genuine majority rule.

6. Some would no doubt claim that a government is about to be installed in Rhodesia that has been chosen by free elections in which all parties were allowed to participate freely and which were observed by impartial international observers. Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the declared winner in the sham elections, is already making appeals to the Patriotic Front freedom fighters to lay down their arms and accept what he calls the will of the people. Bishop Muzorewa has already called on the United Kingdom and the United States to lift economic sanctions and to recognize his Government.

7. Reports in the Western press abound concerning the coercive and corrupt measures used to rig the elections. *The Washington Post* of 27 April rightly pointed out that the new constitution under which the elections were carried out was so stacked—with an automatic reserve of 28 per cent of the parliamentary seats and control of the military, the police, the civil service and the judiciary for whites, who constitute less than 4 per cent of the population—that the elections, no matter the level or ostensible fairness of the voting, could hardly be called free. *The*

New York Times of 26 April went a bit further by saying: "The real issue is not how the election was conducted, but what it was about". The newspaper, in its leading editorial, then posed the question:

"But if Rhodesia's leaders really believe that their constitutional formula for distributing power has the overwhelming support of blacks, why did they allow only whites to pass judgement on it in the earlier referendum?"

The New York Times gave the following reply to the question it had posed:

"The electoral exercise just completed merely asked voters to state a preference among the black parties that had accepted Mr. Smith's—and the white minority's—constitutional plan. Voters opposed to the plan had the choice of abstaining—at the risk of reprisals from employers or soldiers—or of casting a dutiful vote for the least distasteful of the collaborating parties. It is therefore a mistake to assume that all the blacks who cast ballots, under conditions of martial law, approved of the proposed structure."

8. With regard to the conduct of the elections themselves, *The New York Times* of 27 April had this to say:

"...serious doubts were raised by the potential for forced voting in hundreds of 'protected villages,' where tribesmen have been forcibly gathered during the war, and in tribal areas patrolled by military 'auxiliaries' loyal to Bishop Muzorewa and to his principal internal rival, the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole.

"Another problem for advocates of recognition was the effort to deter peaceful opposition. In the Bulawayo area, a stronghold of... Joshua Nkomo, the police detained some 900 Nkomo supporters to head off a boycott campaign. In Salisbury, 500 black students at the University of Rhodesia were intercepted by police when they attempted to march off the campus in protest against the voting."

9. In these circumstances, one could rightly ask what is the purpose of these elections? Well, Mr. Ian Smith visited the United States a few months ago to persuade the American Congress and Administration to recognize his Government and lift the sanctions. He brought with him Bishop Muzorewa who is now proclaimed as the victor in the elections. Hence the elections are envisaged as a means of persuading Western Governments to recognize the illegal régime and lift the sanctions.

10. One should emphasize, however, that there is nothing new in the situation. The position of the Council is clearly defined in resolution 445 (1979). If the Council meets today, it is merely to reaffirm its previous position and to thwart any attempt by the illegal régime to mislead the world community.

11. The Security Council cannot give its blessing to an election in a country where martial law is in effect, where voters are accompanied to the polls by security forces, and where no voices opposed to the election process are allowed to be heard. How can the Council agree to the

installation of a new Government whose real task is to perpetuate white control in a country where whites make up only 4 per cent of the population. The constitutional plan worked out by Ian Smith made sure that whites would retain control of such key government functions as the judiciary, the police and the military. It has been rightly said that to observe or even acknowledge the elections would serve only to validate the discriminatory constitutional arrangement on which the elections rest.

12. It is the understanding of my delegation that the Council is not called upon to do anything new. It is merely called upon to reaffirm its previous resolutions and to expose the tactics of the illegal régime. We merely wish to tell the illegal régime that behind the mask of Bishop Muzorewa there hides the face of Ian Smith. Hence, there can be no recognition of the Government to be installed and the sanctions must remain.

13. I should like to introduce the draft resolution contained in document S/13282 on behalf of the delegations of Bangladesh, Bolivia, Gabon, Jamaica, Nigeria, Zambia and Kuwait.

14. The draft resolution reaffirms the illegality of the Smith régime and reaffirms resolution 445 (1979), which is more timely than ever, since it declares that any elections held under the auspices of the illegal racist régime and the results thereof will be null and void. The draft resolution recognizes the obvious when it states that the so-called elections were designed to perpetuate racist minority rule. The draft resolution condemns the so-called elections of April 1979 and reaffirms that they are null and void. It reiterates the call to all States not to accord recognition to any representatives or organ established by that process and to observe strictly the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

15. We are confident that the members of the Council will adhere to the Charter and the previous decisions of the Council and not fail the people of Zimbabwe at this crucial stage in their history.

16. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of India. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

17. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, first of all let me express my delegation's gratitude to you and to the other members of the Council for giving us this opportunity to place before the Council our views on the present situation in Rhodesia. I would also extend to you our warm congratulations for your dedicated leadership and skilful guidance of the Council during this difficult month; and I say this with full knowledge of the problems you have had to face both as President of the Council and as representative of Norway.

18. The Council is now considering the situation in Rhodesia resulting from the elections held by the illegal régime this month. The Minister for External Affairs of my country denounced those elections as "neither free nor fair". They were in fact an elaborate fraud conceived and executed by the illegal régime in order to create a black façade for white rule. White illegality does not

become any more acceptable by the addition of some black colouring to it. And giving it a black veneer through an electoral process makes both democracy and independence doubly counterfeit.

19. It is not my purpose to discuss the so-called constitution under which the elections were held. It is sufficient to draw attention to the fact that that constitution was framed without the participation of the political parties that have been engaged in the national liberation struggle. Furthermore, it is an imposed constitution that is a typical paternalistic arrangement providing for the trappings of black visibility, while leaving the levers of real power with the white minority. No colonial territory has emerged to independent nationhood on such an absurd basis of constitutional change without any real transfer of power.

20. I cannot see any practical merit in it for the white minority even for the short term. The black majority is not going to take very long to realize how securely it has been tied hand and foot, though the mouth may be left free of restraint. It does not need a prophet to predict that frustrations will mount rapidly among the black majority when it discovers the extent of its deception.

21. Official recognition of the newly elected leadership as the legitimate Government of independent Zimbabwe would be tantamount to violation of the Charter. The Charter calls for termination of colonial rule through the attainment by the people of genuine independence. Until then the United Nations must remain the trustee for Zimbabwe and its people. Neither the United Nations nor its Member States should lend any support or extend any sort of recognition either to the elections or to the new régime.

22. The existing sanctions should be continued until the latest subversion of the process of decolonization is rectified. And this rectification will not be possible until all the constituent elements of the national liberation movement accept a negotiated basis for peaceable transfer of real power to the majority in terms of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)—one which will also take fully into account the legitimate interests of the minority.

23. The anomaly of white rule which began in Rhodesia in 1921 is now seeking respectability under the guise of black acquiescence. A new disturbing dimension is provided by the ready and quick support for it from South Africa, which remains the last stronghold of racism. We see in this an attempt by the Pretoria régime to forge an empire in southern Africa based on a cosmetic concept of racism. It will not last, of course, nor will it succeed; but I am afraid that it may prolong and even widen the base of the struggle.

24. Constitutional niceties cannot hide the face of racial subordination. Independence is the natural end of colonial constitutional advancement—not an unprincipled political expedient foisted on a war-weary people for the sake of peace. Peace bought at the expense of principle or justice cannot endure. The duty of the Security Council is

clear: it is to uphold the Charter and the principles of decolonization and to vote unanimously in favour of the draft resolution, which seeks only to reaffirm the Council's well-established position.

25. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): This being the first time this month that I have spoken in the Council, I should like, Mr. President, to say how pleased I am at seeing the Council presided over by the representative of a country which has long-standing ties of friendship with mine. My delegation has especially admired the competence, authority and dedication with which you have personally conducted the many delicate consultations of these past weeks.

26. I wish also to pay a tribute to the effective work accomplished during the month of March, a particularly busy one for the Council, under the active presidency of Ambassador Harriman, the representative of Nigeria.

27. France's position on the agenda item before us is clear. My country fully appreciates why the elections organized and held in Southern Rhodesia by an illegal Government in disregard of recommendations of the international community have aroused condemnation and strong feelings within the United Nations and why it has become necessary for the Security Council to meet once again to consider the resultant situation.

28. However, as my delegation has repeatedly stated here, the only legitimate authority which my country recognizes at the present time in Southern Rhodesia is that of the United Kingdom. Moreover, the entire international community recognizes the special responsibilities of the British Government vis-à-vis its colony. Yet today that Government, for reasons of which no one is unaware, is not in a position to take any major decisions on the matter. Therefore, the convening of the Security Council on the subject of Rhodesia does not seem particularly well-timed. That is why France cannot associate itself with a draft resolution dealing with the responsibilities of the administering Power, when that Power has not yet had an opportunity to take a stand as it sees fit.

29. To that political consideration may be added a consideration of a legal nature. The draft before us in its preamble restates the eleventh paragraph of resolution 445 (1979), the controversial language of which prompted my delegation to abstain from voting on 8 March last. On that same occasion [2122nd meeting] I none the less set forth unambiguously France's attitude towards the elections that were about to be held in Rhodesia. The fact that they have been held since then does not change their nature; in our view, they remain fundamentally flawed in that they were arranged by a Government set up under an agreement judged inappropriate by the United Kingdom.

30. Furthermore, regardless of the percentage of participation proudly announced by Ian Smith after the vote, doubts arise by reason of the imposing police and military apparatus deployed on that occasion. One may wonder whether weapons were not used to convince rather than to protect and guarantee the free application

of the rules of genuine democracy. In these circumstances, my Government remains determined to apply strictly, as it has always done, the sanctions in effect against the rebellious colony.

31. The electoral operation which has taken place in Rhodesia has only added to the confusion and complicated the efforts to bring about a settlement. The United Kingdom and the United States recently appealed to all parties to get together without prior conditions in order to define conditions that would allow the emergence of a legitimately independent Zimbabwe. France hopes that that appeal will be heeded.

32. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

33. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): I wish to thank the Security Council for having given me this opportunity to explain my country's position with regard to the situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia at this particular moment, which is of great importance to the national liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, now entering its decisive stage.

34. I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption and carrying out of the functions of President of the Council and express the conviction that your diplomatic skill and political wisdom will contribute positively towards the successful outcome of the debate on this question, which is important to peace and security not only in Africa but also in the world at large. An additional reason for wishing you success stems from the excellent relations existing between our two countries, as well as from our long personal friendship, which I consider to be one of the highlights of my career.

35. I also wish to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Harriman, for his dedication and for the skilful manner in which he conducted the deliberations of the Council in the month of March.

36. The Council has dealt with the same problem recently. The result of the debate held on that occasion was an expression of solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe and with its struggle to achieve independence and to decide its own fate in a free and independent State of Zimbabwe. At that time it was noted that the minority colonial régime in Southern Rhodesia continued to pursue a policy of brutal repression against the people of Zimbabwe, endeavouring at the same time to legalize neo-colonial relations through a so-called internal settlement, to carry out plans aimed at breaking up the national unity of Zimbabwe and the united front of fighters for freedom and thus prevent the genuine independence and free development of the people of Zimbabwe, which enjoy broad international support.

37. From all this it clearly appears that the purpose of the internal solution is to prolong the life of the régime of oppression in a new garb by creating the false impression that racial discrimination and *apartheid* have been abolished and that power has, as they allege, been transferred

to the so-called representatives of the majority of the population of Zimbabwe. This obvious tactic of the racist régime is part of a broader plan to transform the problem of racism and colonialism, the existence and maintenance of which is condemned by the whole world, into an internal issue—that is, to present it as an internal problem of African countries. The immediate aim is the creation of satellite bantustan entities around South Africa, which would not only provide a base for the system of racial oppression and exploitation but also pose a constant threat to the independence and security of African countries. The actual purpose of such manoeuvres, which characterize the situation in Namibia as well, is to perpetuate the system of domination over a significant part of the African continent, which would remain a preserve for the acquisition of profits and the maintenance of strategic strongholds.

38. These obvious colonial designs could not deceive the international public, and the scenario of the strategy conceived by the racists met with a timely and unequivocal response. By its resolution 445 (1979), the Security Council condemned the intention of holding so-called elections and emphasized that the results of such elections would be null and void and that representatives and organs elected under the auspices of the racist régime would not be recognized by the United Nations or its Member States.

39. The racist régime turned a deaf ear to the decisions of the world Organization and, supported by powerful imperialist interests, held sham elections conducted under the coercion of the repressive military-political apparatus. In such conditions, the elections, far from being free, were actually transformed into an ordinary masquerade. The fact that they could be held with impunity constitutes a challenge to the conscience of the whole of mankind. This entails the responsibility of all of us and in particular the responsibility of countries which, through their economic, political and other ties with South Africa, can and should exert decisive pressure with a view to preventing this quasi-democratic trick from obtaining even the beginning of international recognition and, even more, preventing its being used as a pretext for abolishing sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. What is more, the holding of elections and the defiance of and the failure to comply with the decisions of the Organization confirm our view that in response to this challenge it is imperative to lay even greater stress on the question of strict application of mandatory sanctions and of their extension to all areas, from oil to nuclear technology, and to check any step taken in the aforementioned sense by the forces supporting the racists.

40. Proceeding from the policy and positions of the non-aligned movement, which were further elaborated and confirmed at the Ministerial Meetings at Belgrade in July 1978 and at Maputo in February 1979, and with regard to the specific case of the illegal elections in Southern Rhodesia and the statement issued by the Coordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries in New York on 16 April [S/13252], the non-aligned countries have in word and deed expressed their firm resolve to

contribute—by supporting the national liberation struggle of Zimbabwe in all its forms under the leadership of the Patriotic Front—to the liquidation of racism and the foiling of all manoeuvres aimed at portraying that régime as representing majority rule. It is not and it cannot be a rule of the majority because, beside the stage-managed character of the elections, the instruments of real power have remained in the hands of the racist minority. The national forces of Zimbabwe have repudiated those manoeuvres, and Africa has condemned them. It is therefore incumbent upon the Security Council and all the members of the international community to do the same, both in order to give assistance to the people of Zimbabwe and to fulfil their duty in furtherance of universal peace and freedom in general.

41. The substance of the positions of non-aligned countries was explained in detail at the last meeting of the Security Council by the Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, the representative of Sri Lanka, Ambassador Fernando. We therefore believe that the task facing the Council at present is to reaffirm the stands embodied in resolution 445 (1979), to reject the elections and all quisling substitutes arising therefrom, to condemn South Africa, to draw the attention of the world to the dangers inherent in the current situation and to take effective measures against the rampaging of South Africa, which threatens peace and security in Africa and throughout the world.

42. Yugoslavia will, as in the past, continue to lend full material, political and diplomatic assistance and support to the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa, particularly those of Zimbabwe and Namibia, to achieve independence and to decide their own fate without outside interference. Such a position has also been adopted by the Committee of 24,¹ whose session in Belgrade, opened on 23 April, has just closed. In his message addressed to that session of the Committee, the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, emphasized, among other things, that southern Africa was increasingly turning into a very dangerous crisis area constituting a threat to peace not only in the region of Africa but in the world in general. He said that, because of the difficult situation in southern Africa, it was necessary to undertake concrete actions and adopt measures for the urgent and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and for the establishment of majority rule in Zimbabwe. He also emphasized that it was imperative to put into effect all the measures necessary for the total international isolation of those régimes and the application of effective sanctions.

43. We expect that the Security Council will take the necessary measures against the minority racist régimes without delay. The constant deterioration of the situation in southern Africa due to intensified repressive measures against the peoples of that region and daily aggression and terrorist acts against the independent African front-line States makes it imperative to undertake these meas-

¹ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

ures as a matter of urgency. Any procrastination on our part would make us willing or unwilling accomplices in the legalization of a system of oppression that we have ourselves proclaimed to be a crime against mankind, a system that treats with scorn all the values that have asserted themselves in the evolution of the international community. My country will support every effective action leading to the liquidation of that system.

44. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Botswana, who wishes to make a statement on behalf of the front-line States. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

45. Mr. TLOU (Botswana): Mr. President, I thank you and the other members of the Council for according me the opportunity to participate in this very important debate on behalf of the front-line States—Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia. I need not add that it is always a singular honour to speak on behalf of this group of States which, acting under the supreme mandate given to them by the Organization of African Unity, have untiringly and unflinchingly sought ways to resolve the crisis that continues to bedevil the British colony of Southern Rhodesia; and this they have done at great risk to their own countries and peoples, as evidenced by the now only too familiar and repeated aggression against them. But then the price of principle is always very high.

46. Mr. President, you have the onerous task of guiding this debate to a successful conclusion and, in congratulating you upon the assumption of the presidency for this month, I should like to wish you well in this exercise and to express our full confidence in your guidance, since you are endowed with such great diplomatic skills and since you represent Norway, a country whose support for the struggling peoples of southern Africa is well known.

47. Speaking after the Chairman of the African Group for this month, the current President of the Organization of African Unity, the representative of the Patriotic Front and others, I can afford to be very brief, since the African position regarding recent developments in Southern Rhodesia has been amply stated. It therefore only remains for me to make a few remarks and merely reaffirm the front-line States' stand on the bogus elections in Rhodesia.

48. At their meeting held on 3 and 4 March 1979 at Luanda, the front-line Presidents declared the so-called elections in April null and void. I reaffirm that position today.

49. The front-line States remain committed to a search for a genuine solution to the Zimbabwean problem: a solution which will enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and true independence; a solution which will end the state of illegality and white minority privilege and control which the Smith "constitution" seeks further to entrench and perpetuate. Only a democratic constitution approved by the people of Zimbabwe as a whole can enable them to choose their true leaders in a free and fair election.

50. What is important in any election—and especially in an election that should mark the transition from colonialism to independence—is not so much the electioneering processes, very important though they are, as the constitution under which such an election is held. Failure to grasp this essential fact can easily lead to futile, confused and distorted assessments of the recent so-called elections in Southern Rhodesia, which, in effect, were a gigantic farce whose only result can be to throw our region into yet greater chaos and insecurity.

51. Document S/13277, which is before this august body, very ably exposes the Ian Smith elections for what they really are—yet one more attempt to hoodwink the world and buy time for Smith's tottering régime, which will henceforth, until its demise, operate through the agency of some men with black faces.

52. Detailed analyses have been made elsewhere, for example in a recent study by the Commonwealth Secretariat entitled "An Analysis of the Illegal Régime's 'Constitution for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia'" [S/13235]. The verdict is unanimous and unequivocal. The so-called constitution and, consequently, the fraudulent elections held under it are intended to entrench the *status quo* in Rhodesia, namely, by preserving racism, colonialism and effective white minority control of the socio-economic and military structures of the country. The following brief quotation from the Commonwealth Secretariat study of the Smith "constitution" puts in a nutshell the real nature and intention of that document:

"...virtually every lever of institutional power has been retained in white hands;... the people at large are bequeathed a government bereft of the power to govern effectively and a legislature denuded of all means either to change the *status quo* or to advance the legitimate aspirations of the nation as a whole. Taken as a whole and judged by the democratic standards claimed for it by its proponents, it is revealed as a carefully woven, carefully contrived subterfuge for sustaining a wholly anti-democratic régime."

53. That, then, is the "constitution" that the illegal régime, in an attempt to win international recognition and thus end the sanctions decreed by the Security Council, has imposed upon the people of Zimbabwe through the so-called elections.

54. Of recent days there have been reports and statements emanating from certain quarters that, on the basis of the recent Smith-directed elections, sanctions ought to be lifted and the illegal régime recognized.

55. Quite clearly, recognition of the illegal régime, which will now be led by a powerless black man who perforce must dance to Smith's tune, will mean making a clear choice between supporting the legitimate struggle of the Zimbabwean people for genuine freedom and aligning with the forces of racism, colonialism and gross exploitation. Those who recognize the régime will find themselves on the side of South Africa, which is the main backer of the illegal régime.

56. Such is the clear choice facing those who are entertaining ideas of recognizing the régime. Besides, to encourage the régime in any way, including being equivocal about whether or not to recognize it, can only prolong the war which we all want to end; for Smith and his collaborators will hobble along hoping that international recognition will eventually be forthcoming.

57. Recognition of the régime will further strengthen the unholy alliance now unfolding in southern Africa similar to the Salisbury-Lisbon-Pretoria one that was toppled by the victorious revolutions against Portuguese colonialism. The South African Prime Minister has recently stated that he is embarking upon the creation of a new alliance in southern Africa. That alliance will certainly include the illegal régime at Salisbury, which some are now talking of recognizing. For our region, this will mean not only the intensification of oppression of the majority in the white-ruled countries but also increased attacks against the front-line States. Indeed, in recent weeks the illegal régime in Salisbury has escalated its attacks against Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia, and not so long ago South Africa attacked Angola.

58. Therefore, as a first and immediate step following the bogus elections, the international community should refrain from recognizing the Salisbury régime. Secondly, the international community should continue to support the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, led by the Patriotic Front, in addition to sustaining the sanctions against the illegal régime.

59. The Security Council should give the lead in this direction by unanimously adopting the draft resolution now before it [S/13282] by which it rejects the results of those elections. Any hesitation on the part of even one member alone could encourage Smith and his collaborators to continue along the road to certain disaster.

60. For their part, the front-line States will continue to support the struggling people of Zimbabwe, despite attacks against us, for no other reason than that we are on the side of justice. No amount of intimidation can make us abandon this sacred duty.

61. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, allow me, albeit at the very end of the month, to congratulate you officially on having assumed the responsible post of President of the Security Council; better late than never. At the same time, I should also like to thank you for your able guidance of the work of the Council this month.

62. The recent turn of events in Southern Rhodesia is yet another proof that the aims of the Smith policies have always been to preserve colonial domination by the racist minority over the people of Zimbabwe in whatever form.

63. Many years of struggle waged over the people of Zimbabwe and their relentless resurgence under the guidance of the Patriotic Front, which enjoys all-round support from anti-colonialist forces in the world, have certainly made the fall and the complete elimination of

the racist Smith régime inevitable. As was noted in the final communiqué of the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries held this year in Maputo:

“By virtue of its extension in depth throughout the entire Territory, the liberation struggle has reached an advanced stage, which has weakened the position of imperialism and enables the Patriotic Front to dictate the pace of the advance to genuine independence in Zimbabwe.” [S/13185, *annex, para. 46.*]

64. Recognizing that fact, the racists, assisted by their protectors, have made efforts to prevent the natural outcome of the struggle and to force on the African majority a settlement which would fully ensure their own self-seeking interests and the interests of the economic and political circles of Western countries.

65. Those goals are the basis of the entire policy of the racists, namely, to put the so-called internal settlement into effect in Zimbabwe and thereby to prevent the sole legitimate representative of the people, the Patriotic Front, from resolving the fate of its people. The recently held rigged elections were part and parcel of that policy. They were staged by the Smith régime and took place in an atmosphere of terror directed against those who are struggling for genuine freedom for their people. They also took place in a situation of sharp escalation of acts of aggression by the régime against neighbouring independent African States.

66. Speaking before the Security Council, the representative of the Patriotic Front, Mr. Ndlovu, said the following:

“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.” [2142nd meeting, *para. 20.*]

67. Obviously, in those circumstances there could be no pretence even of any transfer of power to the majority in the country. That possibility was excluded by the entire policy of the racists and indeed by the constitution itself which was adopted by the white minority to maintain its political, economic and social domination in the country.

68. The so-called internal settlement of the Rhodesian problem and all the actions undertaken by the racists which stem from the plan are as illegal as the régime itself. As such they have been soundly repudiated by the people of Zimbabwe and by the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations. The Security Council, in its resolutions 423 (1978) and 445 (1979), unequivocally

condemned all attempts and manœuvres by the illegal régime to prevent Zimbabwe from attaining independence. They state that any internal settlement and any elections conducted under the aegis of the illegal régime would be illegal and unacceptable and call upon all States not to recognize any representatives or organ established as a result of that process.

69. Notwithstanding the unequivocal decisions taken by the Council, certain Western countries, particularly the United States and the United Kingdom, are openly taking steps to recognize the results of those illegal elections and the entire internal settlement process. The lifting of the mandatory sanctions decided upon by the Council against the racist régime is under way. Despite the various arguments which are advanced to justify those steps, the behaviour of the allies of the racists is totally unjustifiable, since it runs counter to the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and by the General Assembly.

70. A just solution of the Rhodesian problem can and should only be obtained through the immediate elimination of the minority régime and the prompt transfer of power in Zimbabwe to the genuine representatives of the African majority, the national liberation movement, that is to say, the Patriotic Front. In order to achieve that, it is essential for all States consistently to implement all the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and it is just as essential for all States to apply all the sanctions against the Smith régime and its ally, the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

71. In view of the continued manœuvring by the racist régime and its allies, we support, as representing the necessary minimum, the proposal by the African Group at the United Nations that the Security Council should once again reaffirm that the so-called elections conducted under the aegis of the illegal racist régime and their results are null and void. All States should be called upon not to recognize any representatives or organ established as a result of that process and mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia should be strictly enforced.

72. Mr. MILLS (Jamaica): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, I pay a tribute to you for the very manner in which you have been conducting the affairs of the Security Council during this month. You have done this with the judicious mixture of firmness and good humour for which you are so well known in the United Nations, and this has greatly facilitated the work of the Council.

73. I also take the opportunity of expressing to Ambassador Harriman of Nigeria our appreciation for the skilful and effective manner in which he guided the work of the Council during the month of March, which proved to be a very active one for the Council.

74. The Council is again meeting to discuss the situation in Rhodesia in circumstances that are most unusual and in fact critical. But the truth is that nothing that is really new or unexpected has happened. In the face of the overwhelming and strongly expressed position of the

international community and in the face of the specific and clear decisions of the Security Council, the racist régime of Ian Smith has proceeded with the pretence of an election. On the basis of this fraudulent manoeuvre, the régime has launched a campaign, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom, for recognition and support.

75. One cannot escape the feeling in this matter of Rhodesia that the situation is more than grotesque. What we have here is the spectacle of an illegal régime that has ruled for 14 years on a basis of white minority domination of the black population and that has deceived all who have attempted to negotiate acceptable approaches to independence on a basis of majority will and majority rule turning around and asking the world to accept the result of a managed election held under most extraordinary circumstances in order that a government of some sort may be formed under a constitution which is itself an instrument of continuing white minority domination.

76. The events of the past few weeks, culminating in the carefully stage-managed so-called elections, represent nothing more than a movement from a number of unwarranted and unacceptable assumptions to a foregone and equally unacceptable conclusion. The only thing that might be regarded as new, and it is not really all that new, is the possibility that this latest trick of Ian Smith's may work, to the extent that some credence may be given to it in some quarters.

77. The position of Jamaica on this matter is simple and fundamental. Along with the vast majority of the international community, we have rejected totally the notion of such an election as the Smith régime planned to undertake. In this respect, Jamaica, in March of this year, voted with other members of the Council in favour of resolution 445 (1979) which rejects any manoeuvres by the Smith régime aimed at perpetuating racist minority rule and preventing the accession of Zimbabwe to independence and majority rule. Jamaica fully endorsed the call in that resolution to all States to refrain from according any recognition to any representatives or organ established by way of the proposed elections.

78. My delegation supported the request by the Group of African States for this series of meetings of the Security Council, not because there was any need to make new assessments or new pronouncements on the issue, but in order that the Council could reaffirm in strong terms the position and the decisions already expressed on the illegality of the Smith régime, the total unacceptability of the sham elections and their results, and the necessity of all States' observing the mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia. Such reaffirmation has become necessary particularly in the light of reports which seem to indicate the possibility that some credence may be given to the elections and their results. My delegation has therefore joined in sponsoring the draft resolution just introduced by the representative of Kuwait [S/13282], and hopes that it will receive the support of all members of the Council.

79. There is a particular aspect of the situation in Zimbabwe to which reference has been made in this debate and in the press. It is the matter of the offer of substantial military and economic aid by South Africa to the new régime which it is proposed to install in Zimbabwe following the so-called elections, and of the South African concept of a constellation of States, including South Africa and Rhodesia. All of this was fully confirmed in a television interview screened yesterday, in which Bishop Muzorewa declared under questioning that he would readily accept such aid from South Africa. It is my belief and the belief of my delegation that that entire interview served to underline the tragedy facing the people of Zimbabwe and the great risk of the betrayal of their interests and their hopes.

80. In the view of my delegation, any action by any member of the international community which lends credence or gives comfort to such régime as may be installed will merely contribute to this tragedy and make more certain the continuing and increasingly bitter military conflict which seems quite unavoidable in that unhappy country.

81. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Mr. President, today is 30 April, the last day of the month of April. However, I am pleased to extend, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, our warm congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. At the same time, my congratulations also go to Ambassador Harriman for the outstanding manner in which he performed his functions as President for the month of March in most complicated circumstances.

82. The farce of sham parliamentary elections stage-managed by the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia has come to a close. Although Ian Smith and his company have shouted themselves hoarse to describe the elections as free and fair, they are in fact sheer phoney elections conducted at bayonet point, as has been rightly pointed out by the representative of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and many African representatives in their statements.

83. As is known to all, the so-called elections were conducted entirely under the threats and blandishments of the Smith authorities. Over a long period, Ian Smith took a series of military measures and brazenly imposed a nation-wide curfew in order to protect the sham elections in pursuance of his programme for "internal settlement". During the elections, the racist authorities dispatched over 100,000 troops and armed police to force the voters to go to the polls and brutally to suppress and arrest the blacks who were opposed to the elections. At the same time, they repeatedly invaded such front-line States as Zambia and Mozambique from the air and the ground, carried out barbarous armed attacks on the Zimbabwe refugee and guerrilla camps in those States and even launched a wanton sneak attack on Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, in an attempt to kill a leader of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. The commander of the armed forces of the Smith régime even brazenly clamoured that the

military actions they took at home and abroad were aimed at ensuring "the right atmosphere" for the elections.

84. The phoney elections engineered single-handedly by the Smith authorities were staged at a time when those authorities were in the grip of political and economic crises at home and extreme isolation abroad. The reactionary authorities of Southern Rhodesia met with increasingly strong condemnation from the Zimbabwe people and world opinion following Ian Smith's unilateral declaration of his determination to go ahead with his fraudulent "internal settlement" in February last year and the subsequent hasty rigging-up of a so-called transitional government. With the support of the African States and people and the people of the whole world, the Zimbabwean people have found themselves in a more favourable situation in their struggle for national independence and liberation. The armed struggle grows stronger, spreading to many places, including the rural areas of Zimbabwe. In order to save itself from its tottering reactionary rule, the Smith régime, defying universal condemnation, has again resorted to political gimmicks and stage-managed the latest bogus elections while intensifying armed repression in an attempt to legalize its reactionary rule and enable the whites, who comprise only 4 per cent of the population, to continue the absolute power of minority rule over the whole of Southern Rhodesia. But this is only the wishful thinking of a handful of racists. The bogus elections stage-managed by the Smith régime can in no way help the racists. It will be repudiated and condemned unanimously by the people of Zimbabwe and all other African States and by the international community as a whole. Furthermore, it reveals once again the recalcitrance of Ian Smith and his company, who will never lightly give up their reactionary racist rule over the Zimbabwe people. The perverse acts of Ian Smith and his company will cause the Zimbabwe people to get further united for more resolute struggle and hasten the destruction of the racist régime and the triumph of the people.

85. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Zimbabwe people in their just struggle for national independence and liberation under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. We firmly support the views expressed by the African States and the Patriotic Front. We hold that the Security Council should strongly condemn the Smith authorities for their stage-managed sham elections and reaffirm that they are illegal and null and void. The Council should also consider the strengthening and expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. We are deeply convinced that, with the support and assistance of the African States and people, the Zimbabwe people will overcome super-Power meddling and sabotage, strengthen their unity for intensified struggle and attain a truly independent and free Zimbabwe.

86. On the basis of the foregoing position, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/13282 sponsored by Bangladesh and six other non-aligned Member States.

87. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to welcome you as President of the Security Council for the month of April. You have done much this month that has been useful, and I hope that this meeting will conclude with the adoption of a useful resolution which will resolve the problem of Southern Rhodesia.

88. I take this opportunity to express the hope that relations of good neighbourliness and fruitful co-operation between the Soviet Union and Norway will continue to develop in the interests of our countries and peoples and in the interest of strengthening peace and security in Europe and, indeed, throughout the world.

89. On behalf of the delegation of the Soviet Union, I should like also to express our gratitude to the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Harriman, who accomplished a great deal of work in guiding the Council during March. In doing so, he demonstrated his outstanding diplomatic qualities, which are so widely known in the United Nations.

90. It is not quite two months since the Security Council last took up the question of the situation in Southern Rhodesia, but once again the Council is compelled to revert to that question. I recall that on 8 March, the Council adopted resolution 445 (1979), in which it decisively condemned the aggressive actions of the Smith régime against neighbouring African States as well as all attempts and manœuvres by the illegal régime aimed at preventing the accession of Zimbabwe to independence and genuine majority rule. The Council then 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 by either the United Nations or any Member State to any representatives or organ established by that process.

91. Much has been said about the situation in Southern Rhodesia since the recent rigged elections. Now what is that situation at the present time? Despite the condemnation by the Council and the fact that any so-called internal settlement under the auspices of the racist régime of Smith has been declared illegal and unacceptable, only a few days ago Southern Rhodesia completed the farce of the so-called elections. These were carried out in order to perpetuate the colonial and racist régime in that country, to maintain *de facto* colonialist rule and to prevent the genuine representatives of the people of Zimbabwe under the Patriotic Front from coming to power.

92. But the farce dreamt up by Smith and his puppets does not deceive anyone, either in the United Nations or outside it. We are not deceived by it. The so-called elections were conducted on the basis of the internal settlement agreement that was condemned by the United Nations but signed by Smith and a group of collaborators and in accordance with the so-called constitution, which was rigged up by the white settlers of Southern Rhodesia. That shameful document merely strengthened the domination of a handful of racists over the majority of the

indigenous population. In accordance with Smith's "constitution", the Europeans—who form only one twentieth of the population—would have about one third of the seats in Parliament and the right of veto as well. In the cabinet of ministers, the whites are guaranteed more than one quarter of the seats, and they keep all key levers of power—the army, the police and the judiciary. So the real goal of this new stratagem of the racists is to create the mere semblance of the transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe.

93. How the sham elections were conducted is well known to everyone. They took place in conditions that were admitted by the Smith régime to be those of martial law—an extraordinary situation—under the muzzles of guns of the army and the military units in an atmosphere of mass arrest and intimidation of the population by threats of dismissal from employment and corporal punishment.

94. The representative of the Patriotic Front spoke here and before the Committee of 24 at Belgrade about how the elections were conducted. They were not elections; they were not a farce; they were the Devil knows what. The campaign of intimidation carried out within the country was accompanied by provocations and aggressive actions against neighbouring sovereign States by the Southern Rhodesian racists.

95. All these facts and many others made clear in the Security Council and, a little earlier, in the Committee of 24 by the representatives of the Patriotic Front and African countries, fully show up the machinations of the Smith régime to continue white minority domination in Zimbabwe and to strengthen the neo-colonialist régime in Southern Rhodesia. These elections are not legal. The new régime must not be accorded recognition by any State that respects the principles of the United Nations.

96. It is clear that the fraud perpetrated by the Smith clique could not have been carried out without the *de facto* agreement of powerful forces in certain Western countries which do everything they can to maintain the domination of their transnational monopolies in that part of Africa. The imperialist circles of those countries are trying to preserve their right to manage the rich natural resources and to use the neo-colonialist régimes as gendarmes to combat the national liberation movements in that part of the continent and the independent young States of Africa.

97. Maintaining the racists in power under the guise of a multi-racial government would give the Western monopolies certain guarantees for the protection of their interests, their property and their right to continue their exploitation and to grow rich at the expense of the indigenous population. And they certainly have plenty to protect. According to data cited in United Nations bodies, in documents and in the Western press, more than 80 per cent of the mining enterprises in Rhodesia are controlled by Western monopolies. Union Carbide alone has invested half a billion dollars in the extraction of chrome. Notwithstanding Security Council resolutions

regarding sanctions against the Southern Rhodesian racists, a number of international companies have continued to provide support to the illegal racist régime at Salisbury. Large monopolies such as Shell, British Petroleum, Mobil Oil and Caltex—according to data printed in the Western press and in United Nations documents—continue to supply the racists with petroleum products that are vital to their economy and to their waging a punitive war against the people of Zimbabwe and neighbouring States.

98. An important role in supporting the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and in promoting its survival is being played by the racist régime in South Africa. It is known to everybody that South Africa is the main channel through which sanctions against Southern Rhodesia are violated. The question of putting an end to such actions by South Africa has been raised in the United Nations many times. The majority of Member States favour the most stringent sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter, but the adoption of such measures has been countered by certain well-known Western Powers.

99. In the Final Document² of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted at its Belgrade meeting on 27 April this year—a very new document—we have a direct appeal to the Western permanent members of the Security Council to promote the adoption of effective measures against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. A request is also contained therein for the Council immediately to examine the question of sanctions against South Africa.

100. The importance of the economic and strategic interests of certain Western Powers explains their policy of connivance at the actions of the Smith clique and the racist régimes of southern Africa. The holding of so-called elections in Southern Rhodesia was yet one more link in the chain of measures to subvert the national liberation movement and to resolve the problem of Southern Rhodesia in a neo-colonialist fashion.

101. That purpose is also served, as is quite obvious now, by steps such as the hatching of various plans for settlement in Rhodesia, including the involvement of the United Nations, the circumvention of economic sanctions and the reception of Smith, the head of the Southern Rhodesian racists, and his accomplices in the United States. That aim is further served by the stage-managed campaign to depict the farce played out by Salisbury as democratic, just elections, to prepare the ground for the legalization and recognition of the puppet régime created by Smith and to create the moral conditions in which certain Western Powers could lift the sanctions decided on by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia.

102. The connivance at the actions of the Smith régime by a number of NATO countries which try to maintain

²See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23*, chap. VIII, para. 12.

their economic and strategic interests in southern Africa is the main reason why the people of Zimbabwe are still held in the stranglehold of colonial racist oppression. African States and all freedom-loving peoples should, in these circumstances, exercise maximum vigilance and should actively work to put an end to the policy of placating the racist régimes in southern Africa. The Salisbury plot must be condemned. Attempts to implement it should be decisively repudiated. The answer to the racist manoeuvre must be firm, decisive support for the national liberation movement of Zimbabwe, the Patriotic Front, in its just struggle for genuine independence for the country.

103. The Soviet Union advocates the immediate transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe; the genuine transfer of power to the indigenous population.

104. We are convinced that the best way to resolve the problem of Southern Rhodesia is in joint compliance with decisions taken by the General Assembly and the Security Council. The strict, unswerving observance of all sanctions against the Smith régime and its ally, South Africa, would be the effective way to put a speedy end to the domination of the illegal Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia.

105. The Soviet delegation is ready to support a proposal whereby the Security Council would decisively condemn the so-called elections conducted by the Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia, and recognize that they are completely null and void as the so-called government resulting from them is also null and void. I should also say that we would be ready to support a more decisive resolution calling for more effective measures against the Southern Rhodesian racist régime.

106. Mr. AHSAN (Bangladesh): Mr. President, allow me first of all to extend to you our warmest congratulations on your assumption of office as the President of the Council and for the dedication and wisdom which you have brought to bear in the conduct of our work during this month.

107. My delegation also wishes to express its warm tribute to Ambassador Harriman of Nigeria for so ably presiding over the Council's deliberations during the difficult month of March.

108. As we meet again to consider the situation in Rhodesia, it is pertinent to recall that during the sessions held two months ago the Council took cognizance of two specific factors: the escalation of armed attacks by the Salisbury régime against neighbouring States and the announcement of the holding of so-called elections under the spurious internal settlement constitution. In condemning these measures, the Council reaffirmed the illegality of the régime as well as the unacceptability of any internal settlement or of elections held under its auspices. The Council indeed condemned all attempts and manoeuvres by the illegal régime aimed at retaining its hold over Zimbabwe and at preventing its accession to independence and genuine majority rule. Subsequent devel-

opments have borne out the apprehensions expressed by the Council. The fraudulent elections, anticipated and rejected in advance as null and void by the international community in March, are but symptomatic of a deteriorating situation. That those elections were flawed, contrived at gunpoint, and had gross irregularities, about which much has been said in the Council itself, is not the issue at stake. The elections and the internal settlement constitution under which they were held are no more legal or valid than the constitution that followed the unilateral declaration of independence, which the internal settlement constitution purported to replace. The régime they produce cannot be any more representative than that currently in power at Salisbury. What is at issue is the challenge posed to the United Nations, to Africa and to the people of Zimbabwe by the illegal régime and its defiance of the wishes of the international community.

109. The situation in Rhodesia remains a threat to international peace and security. The civil war that has been raging threatens to expand in even greater violence and intensity. Rhodesian planes now regularly bomb sites in neighbouring countries in an attempt to contain the liberation struggle. The entrenched minority is seeking desperately to legitimize its hold through pretence and subterfuge on the one hand and undisguised military alliance with the forces of racism and colonialism in Africa on the other. The haste with which the illegal régime has espoused the South African Prime Minister's proposal for the so-called "fortress southern Africa alliance", is a pointer to this.

110. The Security Council cannot abdicate its responsibility. In the view of my delegation, silence on its part at this crucial juncture would be tantamount to appeasement or at least to a weakening of its resolve in this matter. It would be a betrayal of the trust reposed in the Council by the whole international community, by Africa and by the people of Zimbabwe.

111. My delegation believes that the Council must resolutely condemn all attempts and manoeuvres by the illegal régime aimed at preventing the accession of Zimbabwe to independence and genuine majority rule. It must reaffirm its rejection of the so-called elections as invalid and reiterate that no recognition can be accorded to any representative or organ established by that illegal process. Bangladesh believes that mandatory sanctions imposed by the Council should be strengthened and that due vigilance must be exercised to ensure their full implementation by all States.

112. Bangladesh stands fully committed to strengthening its solidarity with and support for the liberation struggle and for the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe.

113. Mr. McHENRY (United States of America): This meeting of the Security Council and the consideration of the draft resolution before us [S/13282] come against the backdrop of recent elections in Rhodesia and the desire of the international community to express its views on the effect of those elections on the long search for a settlement in Rhodesia.

114. The efforts which my Government and the Government of the United Kingdom have undertaken over the last 18 months to bring about a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia are a matter of public record; it is not necessary to go into them today in any detail. The United States continues to be prepared to work with all parties to achieve a peaceful settlement. We continue to believe that the proposals embodied in the plan developed by the United Kingdom and the United States provide the best and fairest solution to this problem. That a peaceful solution is an urgent necessity is beyond doubt. The mounting toll of lives and property which the tragic events in Rhodesia are taking demonstrates more clearly than anything we could say here that a settlement must be found.

115. The position of the United States on the current situation in Rhodesia was clearly stated by Secretary of State Vance on 17 March. At that time he said:

“Both sides should take a first and significant step: to accept the principle of United Nations-supervised elections in Rhodesia and to agree to negotiate the conditions for holding such elections. The proposals we and the British have previously put forward convey our view of such a process. But we recognize that election arrangements must be negotiated to the satisfaction of the parties themselves. The crucial point is the acceptance of the principle of internationally supervised elections as the only way to avoid protracted and damaging war.”

116. As the Secretary of State made clear, we believe that a broader solution, based on elections supervised by the United Nations, is required if peace is to come to Rhodesia. We hope that the parties will be prepared to co-operate in the efforts needed to reach agreement on the conditions for such elections. And while we recognize that this will not be easy, we believe that the effort must be made. The need for the parties to take that “first and significant step” of which the Secretary of State spoke is clearer today than ever before.

117. As members of the Council are aware, the President of the United States is required, under United States law, to make a determination as to whether the recent elections in Rhodesia were free and fair. The President will issue his determination on the basis of a complete analysis of the situation in Rhodesia, taking fully into account the international obligations and responsibilities of the United States. Pending that determination, it would not be appropriate for us to take a position on the draft resolution now before the Council, and accordingly the United States will abstain on the draft when it comes to a vote.

118. I now turn to the draft resolution itself. In the view of the United States, the draft resolution is not mandatory and does not give rise to binding obligations. The same is true of resolution 445 (1979), which is referred to in the fourth and eighth preambular paragraphs of the current draft. In our view, the references to the responsibilities of Member States concern the enforcement measures previously decided upon by the Council.

119. I should like to make an observation. In a very real sense the situation in Rhodesia today is the same as it was before the recent elections: the search for peace continues. Peace will come to Rhodesia only when all the parties to this tragic conflict can be brought to political accommodation. It is only then that this tragic situation, which has brought so much death and destruction to Rhodesia and its neighbours, will be finally resolved. For our part, the United States will continue to work with all Governments which seek a peaceful solution to the crisis.

120. Mr. BLANKSON (Nigeria): I extend to you, Sir, the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of April. Even though today is the last day of the month and the Council has had few formal meetings so far, I am delighted at this opportunity to commend the able manner in which you have conducted the business of the Council. Furthermore, Norway, the country you represent, belongs to that family of Nordic countries which have been in the vanguard of the Western countries in their support for the liberation struggles in southern Africa.

121. I would also acknowledge, on behalf of Ambassador Harriman, the many kind words expressed not only about his presidency during March but also regarding Nigeria's contributions to the search for universal peace and justice.

122. At this crucial point in the developments in Southern Rhodesia, and as Ian Smith, his black puppets and their conservative supporters in some Western countries attempt to perpetuate white minority domination, Nigeria has joined the African Group in calling on the Security Council to reaffirm its position and its commitment in respect of that war-torn Territory.

123. Since 1968, the Security Council has held that the situation in Southern Rhodesia is a threat to international peace and security. One of the important factors in that determination was, and still is, the rebellion against the British colonial authority by a handful of whites led by Ian Smith. The rebellion stopped short the internationally recognized process of decolonization in that Territory; consequently, the people of Rhodesia, particularly the black majority, have been unable to exercise their right to self-determination.

124. The rebellion and the seizure of power by Ian Smith have led to a war of liberation in Southern Rhodesia. Many attempts—and I will not bore you by citing all of them—including the Anglo-American proposals to restore the Territory to legality and create an atmosphere conducive to the holding of free and fair elections which would thereafter lead Rhodesia to majority rule and genuine independence, have so far been unsuccessful. I would not, as I said, wish to dwell on the reasons why these attempts have not produced results.

125. The recent developments, including attempts and manoeuvres by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia which culminated in the April elections, have, I wish to repeat, not contributed in any way to the restoration of

legality in that Territory. As previous speakers have said, power is still vested in the hands of the illegal régime even though there is a semblance of a change of guard. There is still a war situation in Southern Rhodesia, a situation that takes its daily toll of human life. A major and internationally recognized movement, the Patriotic Front, was excluded from the electoral process. One can only conclude that the whole process is a design to perpetuate white minority rule in that Territory, using a few hand-picked Africans. In fact there is every reason to believe that the recent developments will only aggravate the situation and lead to the intensification of the armed struggle.

126. I would repeat once more that these elections will not bring peace to Southern Rhodesia. Peace and stability can be achieved there only if and when Rhodesia as a whole participates in the electoral process. As long as the Patriotic Front is excluded from that process, the liberation struggle in Rhodesia will continue.

127. In its resolution 445 (1979) the Security Council condemned all attempts and manœuvres by the illegal régime, including the April elections aimed at perpetuating racist white domination in Southern Rhodesia. It also stated that no recognition should be accorded to any representatives or organ established by that process. That is as valid today as it was when that resolution was adopted early in March. That is also the position of my Government. Nigeria joins the international community in denouncing the fake election in the strongest possible terms. For our part, we shall continue to support the Patriotic Front and to provide it with all necessary assistance.

128. In conclusion, it may be pertinent here to strike a note of warning. The safari to Rhodesia undertaken by some conservative elements in some Western countries to observe these fake elections does not confer upon the latter any sort of legitimacy. These observers should not ignore the weight and importance of the African position nor that of the international community with regard to the situation in Southern Rhodesia. They should not underestimate the determination of those fighting forces of the Patriotic Front who are sacrificing their lives to free their country from the racist régime of Ian Smith. They should not for a moment forget that independent Africa is unflinching in its support for the people of Zimbabwe and will continue to be so until genuine independence is achieved.

129. The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of NORWAY.

130. The Norwegian Government has on numerous occasions stated that in its view an internationally acceptable solution to this conflict in Rhodesia must be based on the following two principles: first, free and fair elections must be held under international supervision and control; secondly, conditions must be created which allow for the equal and full participation of all political forces in that country.

131. The elections just arranged in Rhodesia by the illegal Government of Ian Smith do not satisfy these basic principles. Suffice it to say that the elections took place in a situation in which a major part of the Territory had been placed under martial law and where press and other media were censored. The political conditions were such that a major political force—the Patriotic Front—did not participate in the electoral process, which was held on the basis of a constitution prepared and adopted by a minority of 4 per cent of the people. That constitution preserves political minority control in Rhodesia for the next 10 years.

132. In its resolution 445 (1979), the Council stated that under such circumstances the international community must regard the elections in Zimbabwe as null and void, that the results thereof should be subject to no recognition and that mandatory sanctions must be maintained. It is the view of my Government that the Council should uphold that position. Thus we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution now before us.

133. The Norwegian Government hopes that renewed efforts will be made to achieve an internationally acceptable settlement. My Government has on previous occasions expressed its support for the Anglo-American proposals for a negotiated and peaceful settlement of the conflict in Rhodesia. Those proposals contain fundamental principles which would allow for free and fair elections under satisfactory international control. I would on this occasion like to repeat my Government's support for those proposals, and I would urge all parties to enter into talks on that basis without preconditions and without further delay.

134. I now resume my functions as PRESIDENT of the Council.

135. It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution sponsored by Bangladesh, Bolivia, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia [S/13282]. I now put that draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, Czechoslovakia, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Zambia

Against: None

Abstaining: France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The draft resolution was adopted by 12 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.³

136. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the United Kingdom wishes to be allowed to speak after the vote. I now call upon him.

³ See resolution 448 (1979).

137. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I would start by saying how pleased I am to see you as President of the Council if only for another six-and-a-quarter hours. You have had a difficult month. It has not always been public, but, speaking for the United Kingdom, I would say how much we appreciate the way in which you have handled your task in this difficult month.

138. I would also take this opportunity to express our appreciation to Ambassador Harriman of Nigeria for the way in which he handled the affairs of the Council during March.

139. The British Government's position on the elections in Rhodesia was given in our explanation of vote on resolution 445 [2122nd meeting], when we stated that the elections which were then envisaged for Rhodesia, and which have in fact now been held, were in the opinion of the British Government unlikely by themselves alone to provide a sufficient basis for the peaceful attainment of full majority rule. It was made clear that, in the opinion of the British Government, whatever the circumstances in which those elections took place, and whatever their outcome, it would still be necessary to work for comprehensive negotiations, involving both the internal and the external parties, out of which a peaceful, orderly and universally accepted transfer of power could emerge. That remains the assessment of my Government. While the elections, in terms of all that has happened since 1965, represent a step in the right direction, my Government has made clear that they do not regard them as the threshold for recognition or for the lifting of sanctions. To return to this issue now is, as I stated during our consultations, most ill-advised and untimely.

140. Since the elections, the Prime Minister has announced the British Government's intention to send Mr. Cledwyn Hughes to Africa to follow up his previous mission in December and to advise whether it would be appropriate to convene a meeting, under his chairmanship, of the parties both inside and outside Rhodesia to negotiate a cease-fire, which is what is urgently needed, and the holding of internationally supervised elections.

141. In the same explanation of vote, I also made it clear that the British Government had to preserve the full freedom of the British Parliament—which has the ultimate responsibility for bringing Rhodesia back to legality under arrangements which will guarantee genuine majority rule—and to judge for itself the circumstances which obtain in that Territory and the true wishes of its people. Accordingly, I said on that earlier occasion that it was a matter of principle for us that we could not accept language which sought to circumscribe the functioning of our parliamentary democracy. We could not and we would not accept that the British Parliament could be fettered in discharging its responsibility—a responsibility, I would say, which the Council has itself recognized and indeed emphasized—for Rhodesia and we could not and we would not acquiesce in the adoption of a resolution which would have the effect of limiting Parliament's ability to discharge that responsibility. It was for this reason, among others, that my Government was obliged to abstain in the vote on resolution 445 (1979) and it is for this reason that we have abstained in the vote on the resolution today. The resolution which the Council has just adopted contains certain expressions of opinion and recommendations to Member States. My Government does not regard them as binding and could not accept them while at the same time maintaining, as we must maintain, the freedom of judgement and action of the British Parliament in the exercise of its responsibilities. I must make clear that we do not regard anything in the present resolution as circumscribing that freedom of judgement and action.

142. The war in Rhodesia, with its tragic effects on the civilian population, is intensifying. I said on behalf of my Government in the Council last month that the fighting was likely to continue and that the need for negotiations would remain. I added that the British Government believed that after any elections were held there would be a need to bring the internal and external leaders together around a negotiating table. The British Government will pursue its efforts to achieve a settlement which will bring an end to the war and command the acceptance of the international community.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.