

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR

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JUN 14 1982

2171st

MEETING: 23 NOVEMBER 1979

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NEW YORK

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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.

2171st MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 23 November 1979, at 5.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Sergio PALACIOS de VIZZIO (Bolivia).

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/2171)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint by Zambia:

Letter dated 22 November 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13636)

The meeting was called to order at 8.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Zambia:

Letter dated 22 November 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13636)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to inform Council members that I have received a letter from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, in which he requests 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 that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kikhia (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Security Council is meeting today in response to a request by the Permanent Representative of Zambia, which is contained in a letter dated 22 November addressed to the President of the Council [S/13636].

3. Members of the Council have before them the text of a draft resolution sponsored by Bangladesh, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia [S/13645].

4. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): Mr. President, on behalf of the Zambian delegation, I once again thank you and the other Security Council members for acceding promptly to my request for the convening of a meeting to consider yet another case in a series of unprovoked acts of aggression committed by rebel Rhodesia against Zambia.

5. Zambia's decision to request the urgent convening of this Council meeting should not be taken lightly. The last time we brought a case of aggression against us before the Council was in March 1978, in spite of the repeated acts of aggression which the rebel Rhodesian forces have unleashed against my country since then. It should be noted that the Rhodesian forces have been embarking on armed attacks, aerial raids and bombings of Zambia since October 1978. The frequency of these aerial bombings and commando raids has grown in intensity. On each occasion, the Rhodesians have used even more sophisticated weapons against our civilian population and refugee centres in different parts of the country. They have done so with impunity and a strange sense of sadism. Rhodesian rebels have perpetrated similar murderous raids against the other front-line States of Mozambique, Botswana and Angola.

6. We have on several occasions drawn the attention of the international community to the grave situation in southern Africa which threatens the fabric of international peace and security. The new barbaric and murderous offensive operations which the rebel régime and those that conspire with it have mounted against Zambia since September this year deserve the attention of the international community through this body. The situation is indeed very grave.

7. At this juncture, let me catalogue some of the heinous crimes which rebel Rhodesian forces have committed against Zambia.

8. On 12 October 1979, the Chambeshi river rail bridge on the Tanzania-Zambia railway and the road bridge linking Zambia and Tanzania were both blown up. On 16 November, three other bridges along the Kafue-Chirundu road in central Zambia were also blown up. On the following day, two road bridges near Rufunsa on the Great East Road linking Zambia and Malawi were destroyed. Kaleya bridge, in the southern province, and Chongwe bridge, again on the Great East Road, were destroyed by the rebels on 19 November. These attacks on Zambia's road and rail networks, apart from causing a lot of hardship within the country itself, have virtually cut off Zambia's major transportation links with the outside world.

9. With the following information I give the very first preliminary estimated cost of reconstructing the bridges destroyed by Rhodesian rebel forces.

10. The road bridge over the Chambeshi river, which is a seven-span concrete bridge with a total span of 172 metres, on the road between Mpika and Kasama, has been damaged. Of the six supporting piers, two piers on the Kasama end are completely destroyed, with a resultant loss of three spans of 25 metres each. A third pier, though still standing, is cracked and slanting and is therefore unreliable as a support in this condition. At present, the TAZARA authorities are engaged in the construction of a temporary bridge for both rail and road traffic. The estimated cost of constructing a new bridge is \$US 3,132,500.

11. The Kaleya bridge decking consisted of five spans, totalling 34 metres. Neither decking nor supports can be retrieved for further use. It is therefore necessary to construct a new bridge at the same location at an estimated cost of \$US 689,150.

12. The estimated cost of reconstructing the Chongwe bridge is \$US 626,500.

13. With regard to the bridges over the Rufunsa river, the estimated cost of rebuilding them is \$US 125,300. The cost of reconstructing the Kafue-Chirundu bridges is estimated at \$US 1,503,600.

14. The estimated total cost of reconstructing these bridges is \$US 10,024,000. There is no doubt that the eventual total cost of reconstruction will be much higher than this figure.

15. Prior to the recent attacks, there were various cases of aggression committed against Zambia, in which many people lost their lives and a lot of property was destroyed. For example, on 6 September 1979, rebel forces opened fire at our troops' positions at Chirundu bridge; on 21 September, enemy troops opened fire and shelled Chiawa village, killing two civilians and injuring many others; on 13 October, rebel forces bombed Lusiwasi power station, using rockets and mortars.

16. At the same time, South African troops entered Zambia and camped at Mwandu, among other villages. They were also active in Nawinda, Sichili mission, Machile, Masese and along the Mwandu-Mulobezi stretch in the western province.

17. I also wish to refer members of the Council to the letter sent to the Secretary-General on 13 September 1979 [S/13539], in which I detailed the acts of aggression which were committed by rebel Rhodesia and South Africa against Zambia over a period of time ranging from January to August 1979.

18. The information which I have just outlined clearly demonstrates that the rebel Rhodesians have launched an undeclared war against Zambia. They have concentrated their attacks on Zambia's economic infrastructure. Enemy attacks on Zambia's bridges are aimed at paralysing the country's vital transport network. As a land-locked

country, Zambia depends for its survival on its road and rail networks for transporting goods to and from the ports. The road and rail networks are therefore very important to us. The Rhodesian rebels and their allies are intent on destroying Zambia's economy as well as destabilizing the country. We cannot accept this.

19. It is thus evident that the armed attacks are directed at Zambia. Claims by the enemy forces that the attacks were not aimed at Zambia are therefore completely unfounded and without any justification whatsoever. The international community should accordingly dismiss those lies with the contempt they rightly deserve.

20. Spokesmen for the rebels have neither disclaimed nor disguised their responsibility for those wanton attacks. Even if they denied or attempted to deny any knowledge of what was happening, it is common knowledge that it is the Rhodesian rebels and their collaborators who are the culprits. We have on several occasions caught them red-handed in the act.

21. The illegal Rhodesian régime at Salisbury does not even pretend that its targets are the freedom fighters, as it chooses to refer to the refugee centres. It has committed and continues to commit acts of war against Zambia. In so doing, it has murdered many Zambians in cold blood and destroyed property. In the process rebel Rhodesians have violated Zambia's territorial integrity and sovereignty. They have disregarded all norms of international law and several resolutions of the United Nations, including those of the Security Council.

22. There is irrefutable proof that the rebel Rhodesian forces residing in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, together with their allies, are responsible for the damage to Zambia's economic infrastructure and the loss of human lives in their raids.

23. We are aware that the rebels, as international outlaws, have no respect for the rule of law. It is the responsibility of the administering Power, Britain, to bring sanity to bear on the rebels in its colony. Instead, Britain remains conspicuously silent whenever Zambia is attacked. When it has attempted to react, its reaction has either been irrelevant or, at best, begged the issue.

24. For instance, the British Government issued a statement in London today in which it called on the Salisbury régime and the Patriotic Front to indicate that they would not carry out any more cross-border military incursions and infiltrations between Rhodesia and Zambia. The British Government added that, for the undertaking requiring the Rhodesian régime and the Patriotic Front leaders to cease cross-border operations to work, it would be essential to obtain the co-operation of the Zambian authorities.

25. We consider that portion of the statement which seeks to implicate Zambia to be political blackmail. The war is between the rebel forces and the Patriotic Front, inside Rhodesia. The British cannot solicit Zambia's co-operation when Zambia's civilians are being callously and wantonly murdered by the rebel forces and vital communications are

being destroyed. The British should not use Zambia as the sacrificial lamb in their efforts at Lancaster House in London to negotiate a cease-fire. Britain would be well advised to deal directly and seriously with the parties to the conflict.

26. Zambia has stated time and again that if successive British Governments had acted decisively from the beginning of the Rhodesian crisis the Council would not be meeting to consider the acts of aggression against Zambia.

27. It is paradoxical that rebel Rhodesia is escalating its attacks against Zambia at a time when a peace conference is in progress in London. It is equally paradoxical that the rebels should have struck at a time when prospects for solving the Rhodesian problem appeared promising. It is unwise for the rebels to bite a country which stands for peace and freedom, a country which continues to work for the peaceful solution of the Rhodesian problem. The Commonwealth agreement was concluded in Zambia, yet Zambia is today a target of repeated attacks by the enemies of peace.

28. Are we in Zambia not justified in holding the administering Power, Britain, responsible for the turn of events in the area? Salvation in Rhodesia lies in tackling the root cause of the problem in the region, that is, in removing the illegal minority régime.

29. The Rhodesian forces would not have been able to inflict all these losses on Zambia and the other front-line States had it not been for the support which South Africa is giving the Salisbury régime. We have always known that the illegal régime at Salisbury has depended on South Africa and certain Western countries for survival. It is well-known that the Rhodesians fly South African planes painted in Rhodesian colours. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that Israel has been responsible for training in commando tactics and equipping the Rhodesian forces. A number of States Members of the United Nations are also guilty of arming and abetting the rebels. The Rhodesians have no capacity to manufacture the weapons of war which they repeatedly use against us. We demand sincerity on the part of those Member States that are responsible for all this. Many lives have already been lost and lives will continue to be lost unless they act responsibly.

30. It would be appreciated if the Security Council were to establish an *ad hoc* committee from among its members, to be appointed by the Council after consulting with the members, in order to assist the Council in the implementation of any resolution which it might wish to adopt. Thereafter, that *ad hoc* committee could report its findings to the Council for any further action. Such a step would also augment efforts to mobilize the much needed international assistance to Zambia arising from the prevailing international situation. The Government of Zambia proposes that, in view of the urgency of the matter, such an *ad hoc* committee should be constituted immediately and should be asked to report to the Council during December, preferably by 15 December.

31. In concluding, I wish to reiterate that the situation created by repeated Rhodesian acts of aggression against Zambia is very grave indeed. Rhodesia is fighting an unde-

clared war against Zambia. It is clear that of late the rebel forces have widened the spectrum of war by attacking and destroying our transportation networks, both internal and international. The rebels have severed Zambia's international outlets to the outside world, on which any modern economy is dependent. The Rhodesian rebels have set back our development efforts. They are indeed enemies of peace and progress. To this extent the Government of Zambia calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom as the Administering Power and in the exercise of its full responsibility fully and adequately to compensate the Republic of Zambia for the damage to life and property resulting from the acts of aggression.

32. That is the context within which we appeal for international support and assistance to help us to offset the effects of Rhodesian aggression. We are aware that the process of reconstruction will be with us for a long time after any positive developments regarding the independence of Zimbabwe. It is our considered view that the Security Council is best able to deal with threats to international peace and security. Our country is under such a grave threat that we urge the Council to act promptly on our case. We are confident that the Council will respond adequately to that challenge.

33. Mr. CLARK (Nigeria): This meeting is being held at one of the most critical junctures in Africa's history. The incidents and circumstances leading to it are so absurd and irrational that they only underscore the tragedy of the situation in southern Africa.

34. Since its unilateral declaration of independence in 1965, the racist illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia has consistently and arrogantly defied the will of the United Nations. In addition, the illegal régime has excelled in making a mockery of international law by launching repeated acts of aggression against all the neighbouring States, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and others, as well as attacking refugee camps and civilian targets again and again in open defiance of the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

35. The questions that we must ask ourselves are: Why does that illegal régime persist in committing those criminal attacks and acts of defiance, rebellion and desperation? Who continues to provide it with the material means and military hardware with which it commits those wanton acts of aggression against neighbouring States? What Powers encourage it to behave so brazenly and in the insolent manner that has characterized its life of rebellion in the last 14 years? How has it managed to survive all the strictures of international sanctions all these years, given its unsophisticated economy and lack of international recognition?

36. The answers may not be difficult to find.

37. First, the administering Power, the Government of the United Kingdom, has failed woefully to assume its responsibilities for quelling the rebellion in that Crown Colony, thereby encouraging the illegal régime to play its role of international outlaw to the hilt.

38. Secondly, the international sanctions imposed against the illegal régime have often been breached with impunity,

even with the connivance of the administering Power, as the Bingham report¹ amply testified.

39. Thirdly, the international community has failed most regrettably to take firm and effective measures to defend the conventions and laws freely subscribed to by all States to sustain the fabric of civilized international conduct.

40. But, above all, the racist régime of South Africa has consistently demonstrated its contempt for the United Nations, not only by refusing to apply the decisions of the Security Council against Rhodesia in obedience to Articles 25 and 41 of the Charter, but also by consistently aiding and abetting the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia with arms, men, finance, trade and every other means of sustenance. I hope that the time will soon come when the United Nations will realize how seriously the attitudes and policies of South Africa threaten the image and credibility and, indeed, the very survival of the Organization.

41. It is with the deepest sense of anger and anguish that my delegation has once again asked to be allowed to speak on the question of the senseless acts of aggression committed by the rebel régime in Rhodesia against an independent African State—this time Zambia.

42. Earlier this month, Angola was forced to come to the Council with a complaint against South Africa. Today Zambia is making a complaint against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. According to information received from Lusaka, vicious armed attacks by rebel and racist forces of southern Africa against Zambia have increased since the beginning of September 1979. As we have just heard from our colleague and brother, the representative of Zambia, those acts of aggression have occurred with increasing frequency during the last few days.

43. A swift glance at those acts of aggression, of wanton destruction of innocent lives and of intimidation against a sovereign, independent country leaves us with the following impressions: the aims of the rebel forces and their friends are, first, to destroy the Zambian economic infrastructure and to weaken its resolve to support the liberation movement in Africa in general and in Zimbabwe in particular; secondly, to escalate and internationalize the war of liberation in Zimbabwe; thirdly, to intimidate the Zambian populace by disseminating fear and strife, thus causing the Zambian Government to exert pressure on the Patriotic Front and make it accede to certain unfair demands in London; and fourthly, to wreck the talks now going on in London at Lancaster House.

44. No one seriously accepts the rationalization of those acts as "hot pursuit", a concept that is both reprehensible, because it is intended to intimidate, and colonial, because it is often resorted to to defend territories that are being rapidly lost by colonial Powers. Nor do we accept the argument that the forces of the illegal régime attack only guerrilla camps, not Zambian non-military targets.

45. There is something sinister and alarming about the recent acts of aggression steadily being launched by the

¹ T. H. Bingham and S. M. Gray, *Report on the Supply of Petroleum and Petroleum Products to Rhodesia* (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1978).

rebel racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. According to *The Washington Post* of 21 November, the attacks are aimed at escalating the destruction of Zambia's infrastructure and intended to lead to a breakdown of the London talks. *The Christian Science Monitor* of the same date opines that the recent attacks on Zambian non-military targets by the forces of Southern Rhodesia are a part of a new strategy aimed at crippling Zambia's road and rail facilities and forcing the country to bring pressure on the Patriotic Front guerrillas to make more concessions at the Lancaster House talks in London.

46. If those are the motivations behind the attacks, then the rebel régime is a prey to a greater psychosis than we had imagined. Do they not want peace? Do they not want international recognition? Do they think that the Lancaster House talks would have been possible without the support and consent of the Zambian Government?

47. When the irrational statements being attributed to Bishop Muzorewa are read with the recent announcement by his illegal Government that it was suspending transit of grain to Zambia, in spite of the fact that Zambia has had a very bad harvest, then the situation becomes more ominous. The rebel régime is running scared. Bishop Muzorewa and his clique are afraid of losing democratic elections in Zimbabwe. They dream of intimidating Zambia, but are mistaken.

48. Describing the attacks as presaging "a full-scale war situation", President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has ordered a total mobilization of his armed forces and a call-up of all military reserves. If and when it comes to the crunch, Zambia will not be alone. Its friends, including Nigeria, will stand solidly and firmly at its side.

49. These acts of aggression by Rhodesia against Zambia pose a threat to international peace and security. It is in this regard that we call upon the Security Council to face up to its responsibility and condemn the illegal régime in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia for its continued acts of aggression and escalation of violence against Zambia.

50. It is with the object of placing the interests of international peace and harmony above those of narrow national privileges that I have the honour of introducing, on behalf of the sponsors Bangladesh, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia, the draft resolution in document S/13645.

51. The draft resolution is the sequel to resolution 424 (1978). In paragraph 5 of that resolution the Council warned that:

"in the event of further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zambia by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, the Security Council will meet again to consider the adoption of more effective measures, in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, including Chapter VII thereof".

52. We believe that it is a betrayal of the ideals of the United Nations if the organized forces of any régime, legal

or illegal, can at will attack the territory of a Member State. Hence the expressions of strong condemnation of the criminal acts of the illegal régime and the collusion between it and South Africa, which encourages it to mount these attacks, in operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of the draft resolution.

53. Furthermore, we believe that it is only right and proper that we commend the restraint and forbearance of the Zambian Government. The Zambian Government has refused to be drawn into the war that is raging inside Zimbabwe, thereby not widening the scope and intensity of that war. More important, it has not relented in its support for the just struggle for freedom and independence in Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular, hence operative paragraph 3.

54. Because of the graveness of the situation and the principle of compensation implicit in all acts of redress of grievances suffered, operative paragraphs 5 and 6 are most important. The identity of the authorities responsible for these dastardly acts is clear to us. We believe that the administering Power, the Government of the United Kingdom, and the Government of South Africa, which has over the years assisted the so-called Government of Rhodesia to persist in its rebellion, are the real culprits. Hence we invite attention to the principle of compensation in paragraph 5.

55. We also think that it is important that some action be taken to ensure that the provisions of this draft resolution are implemented; hence operative paragraph 7, in which we have asked for the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee composed of four members of the Security Council, to be appointed by the President, after consultation with members, in order to assist the Council in the implementation of this resolution, in particular paragraphs 5 and 6 thereof. We hope that this *ad hoc* committee would appeal to all Member States and international organizations to help in the immediate and urgent reconstruction of the various economic infrastructures and facilities that have been destroyed so wickedly and wantonly by the illegal forces of Southern Rhodesia.

56. In this connexion, we also hope that, without prejudice to the bilateral agreements or the discussions between the Government of Zambia and the Government of the United Kingdom, the *ad hoc* committee would be able to assist in ensuring adequate and full compensation for the losses that the Zambian Government has sustained.

57. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation has listened carefully to the statements made by the representatives of Zambia and Nigeria. Those statements analysed the situation which has arisen as a result of the aggressive actions of the Southern Rhodesian racists against the Republic of Zambia. We fully agree with their description of these actions as a gross violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Zambia, as naked aggression, in fact, against that country.

58. The Security Council has already on many occasions, considered the question of the aggressive actions of the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia against neighbouring States, including Zambia. In March of last year the Council

unanimously adopted resolution 424 (1978), which condemned outright the armed invasion which was carried out by the Salisbury régime against Zambia. Despite that resolution, the Southern Rhodesian racists not only have refused to give up their piratical policies but on the contrary have intensified them.

59. The aggressive actions of recent days by the Southern Rhodesian régime are of such broad scope that there is virtually a situation of war in the country, and the Government of Zambia has been obliged to declare general mobilization. As a result of these aggressive attacks, there have been hundreds of victims among the civilian population and the economy of the country has suffered tremendous material damage. These actions are not episodic in nature but are large-scale, mass military operations undertaken simultaneously in various parts of the country.

60. The aggression of the Southern Rhodesian régime against the Republic of Zambia cannot be considered in isolation from the events which have recently been occurring in the southern part of the African continent and around it. These events indicate that the racist régimes in the southern part of Africa, acting with the connivance and support of their Western protectors, are making well-planned efforts to preserve their domination.

61. Both the Southern Rhodesian and South African racist régimes, by unleashing an undeclared war against the front-line States, are trying to force them to cease their support of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and in this way to secure further concessions from these national liberation movements at the talks concerning a settlement in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

62. At the same time, certain Western Powers have resorted to various diplomatic and political manoeuvres in order to preserve their position in South Africa, in Zimbabwe and Namibia, by transferring power to puppets who would guarantee that the interests of the imperialist transnational monopolies would remain untouched, thus preserving the privileges and the *de facto* domination of the racists. To these ends, attempts have been made to maintain the old military, political and administrative apparatus in Southern Rhodesia. For many years now a bloody colonial war has been waged with the help of this apparatus against the population of Zimbabwe and neighbouring independent States.

63. The Soviet delegation condemns outright the aggressive actions of the Rhodesian racists against the Republic of Zambia. It is our conviction that their desperate attempts to hold up the process of the final liberation of Africa from colonial domination is doomed to failure. The course of events has irrefutably shown that the process now under way in southern Africa is irreversible and that no military provocations can stem the tide of the struggle of peoples for the complete and final elimination of the remnants of colonialism and racism and the sources of tension and conflict in that part of the world.

64. The valiant struggle of Zambia and the other front-line States to defend their independence and sovereignty from any encroachments from outside have won the support and sympathy of the Soviet Union. We resolutely

condemn the provocative armed actions of the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia against neighbouring independent African States; we regard those actions as a threat to peace and security not only in that part of the world but in all of Africa and the world as a whole. Guaranteeing genuine self-determination and independence for the people of Zambia would be an important prerequisite for the removal of the tension and the achievement of peace and security in that part of the world.

65. The delegation of the Soviet Union believes that the Security Council not only should condemn the recent acts of aggression by the Southern Rhodesian racists against Zambia—acts which represent a gross violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country—but should ensure that they are not repeated in the future. In that connexion, it should be recalled that the Council, in resolution 424 (1978), decided that

“in the event of further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zambia by the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia, the Security Council will meet again to consider the adoption of more effective measures, in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, including Chapter VII thereof”.

66. That resolution was adopted unanimously. This means that it was supported by the delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. Today the Council is in fact discussing those “further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zambia” mentioned in resolution 424 (1978). The question can legitimately be asked: are those delegations now prepared to support the adoption of effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter?

67. So far as the Soviet delegation is concerned, we are convinced that now the time is ripe for the Security Council to take effective steps against the Southern Rhodesian aggressors, and we are prepared to support any proposals to that effect.

68. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Recently the racist forces of Southern Rhodesia have launched a series of armed incursions against Zambia, destroying bridges along major roadways and damaging the economic facilities. The continuous escalation of the acts of aggression against Zambia by the Southern Rhodesian racists not only has once again grossly violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zambia, resulting in serious loss of life and property and creating many difficulties for the economy of Zambia, but has also been a serious threat to international peace and security. The Chinese delegation strongly condemns the racist forces of Southern Rhodesia for this unbridled act of aggression and takes this opportunity to express our deep sympathy with and support for the Government and people of Zambia, the victims of the aggression.

69. As is well known, the struggle of the Zimbabwean people to achieve national independence based on genuine majority rule, under the leadership of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front and with the strong support of the people of the world, particularly the front-line States, has made remarka-

ble progress in both the military and the political fields. Recently the Patriotic Front, Zambia and other front-line States once again made a great effort towards a speedy and just settlement of the Rhodesian question and the early realization of independence in Zimbabwe. At the London talks convened on the basis of the “Lusaka agreement” of the Commonwealth Conference held last August, the Patriotic Front put forward a number of positive and reasonable proposals, thereby enabling the talks to achieve a certain amount of progress and winning the praise of the international community and world opinion. In these circumstances, the sinister design of the racist forces of Southern Rhodesia in intensifying their armed aggression against Zambia and other front-line States is obviously to exert pressure on Zambia and the other front-line States and on the Patriotic Front, in a vain attempt to coerce the front-line States into abandoning their support for the just struggle of the Zimbabwean people and to undermine the struggle of the Zimbabwe people for national independence and liberation, so as to preserve the *de facto* control and domination by the racist forces in Southern Rhodesia.

70. With the same purpose in mind, the chieftains of the South African racist régime, in collusion with the Southern Rhodesian racist forces, have continued to clamour recently that South Africa will not “tolerate” the attainment of genuine majority rule and national independence by the Zimbabwean people, and have openly carried out military intimidation. However, faced by the Zimbabwean people, tempered by what it has undergone, and the other great African peoples, the armed aggression of the Southern Rhodesian racist forces and the blatant provocations by the South African racist authorities can only be of no avail. On the contrary, their criminal acts can only arouse a more determined struggle by the Zimbabwean people and more resolute support by the front-line States for this just struggle. We are convinced that, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, and with the strong support of the people of all countries, particularly the African front-line States, the Zimbabwean people will certainly strengthen its unity and intensify its struggle, overcome the various obstacles in its advance, do away with all outside interference and sabotage, and win final victory in its struggle for national independence and liberation.

71. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the just cause of the Zimbabwean people and the correct position of Zambia and the other front-line States of supporting the struggle of the Zimbabwean people. In our view, the Security Council should strongly condemn the racist forces of Southern Rhodesia for their act of aggression against Zambia, and should adopt practical and effective measures to prevent the recurrence of such armed aggression. The Chinese delegation also supports the reasonable and correct propositions put forward by Zambia and other African countries.

72. Based on the foregoing position, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Bangladesh and five other countries in document S/13645.

73. Mr. N'DONG (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Once again the Security Council is called upon to condemn attacks by the illegal régime of Zimbabwe against the

Republic of Zambia, an independent State and a Member of the Organization. For its part, the delegation of Gabon cannot but resolutely support all measures that the Council may take to restrain Southern Rhodesia and South Africa and to prevent them from continuing their attacks upon the front-line States.

74. My country has often condemned their activities, and we share the suffering of the people of Zambia. The attacks of which we have been informed by our brother the representative of Zambia and which have, sadly, been accompanied by death and destruction of social infrastructures, of roads and railway lines are not only a flagrant violation of the territorial integrity of a sovereign State but also a threat to international peace and security and, furthermore, a major challenge to the Security Council and the international community, which have repeatedly stated that such acts against a sovereign State are unacceptable and to be condemned. These attacks are weighty with consequence, since they are being carried out at a time when the Lancaster House conference might enable everyone to hope for an agreement that would put an end to this tragedy which the people of southern Africa have been suffering for so long.

75. For all those reasons my delegation supports the draft resolution that has been submitted to the Council. It is our firm hope that the Council will see that its provisions are applied to the letter as quickly as possible.

76. Mr. PETREE (United States of America): It is a source of great regret to my Government that, at this crucial point in the efforts to bring Zimbabwe to independence, it has proved necessary for the Security Council to meet to consider the latest raids against Zambia. The United States has joined with the Council in the past in the condemnation of similar acts. What is particularly distressing about the present complaint is that the attacks were directed against civilian targets in Zambia. Bridges and roads have been cut, and Zambia is being systematically denied land access to the outside world. In addition, supplies of maize through Zimbabwe-Rhodesia destined for Zambia are being withheld by the Salisbury authorities.

77. One of the cruellest aspects of this war is that innocent people, non-combatants, women and children inevitably suffer from the conflict. Now they are being made to suffer through the denial of essential foodstuffs, a deliberate and inhumane use of civilians as hostages to achieve a political goal. For these reasons my Government has publicly condemned the latest raids into Zambia.

78. The United Kingdom, with the full support of the Commonwealth nations, has undertaken an initiative at Lancaster House and substantial and encouraging progress has been made. I wish to reiterate the whole-hearted support of my country for that initiative and to express appreciation to the British Government and to the parties to the talks for the progress achieved so far. It is precisely because the Lancaster House process offers the best hope of obtaining a negotiated and internationally acceptable settlement for Zimbabwe that the United States is deeply concerned by the latest attacks on Zambia. We believe that the negotiations in London must not be jeopardized, and we condemn any activity which might jeopardize them.

79. It is the position of the United States that the quickest way to bring about a permanent halt to violence on all sides is to reach a prompt agreement on the cease-fire and to begin the implementation of the process which will lead to elections in Zimbabwe. We urge the Council to do all that is possible to hasten that result.

80. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of November. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

81. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): Mr. President, at the outset permit me to thank you and, through you, the other members of this body, the Security Council, for giving me this opportunity to speak on behalf of the African Group, of which my delegation has the honour to be the Chairman this month.

82. This is the second time this month that the Council has met to discuss the aggression of the racist régimes in southern Africa against neighbouring countries.

83. The unprovoked aggression of the Southern Rhodesian régime against the people of Zambia can, once again, only be understood as an attempt to flirt with the racist régime of Pretoria and to prove to it that the Rhodesian régime can be depended upon to consolidate its racist schemes at the expense of the African people. This can undoubtedly be seen from the recent statements made by Mr. Botha. Reported by *The New York Times*, his so-called "friendly warning" from South Africa, made before the aforementioned aggression against Zambia, demonstrates that:

"Zimbabwe-Rhodesia is a key country for a stable southern Africa and, if Powers from the outside are intent on creating chaos, the Government will see that southern African institutions are protected."

Once more, the aggression can only be comprehended as an ill-fated response by Abel Muzorewa, who did not hesitate to declare on television that there was "a lot of wisdom" in the Botha warning.

84. The events that have taken place in Angola and Zambia during this month are part of a comprehensive plan, designed by the imperialist forces and their allies at Salisbury and Pretoria, to bring the African States under their domination. These imperialist forces and their allies attempt to create differences and dissensions among the African States in order to prevent them from constituting a major force that would challenge the imperialist and racist forces and their allies.

85. It is clear that manipulative tactics are at present being undertaken against the front-line States, that there is a striking parallelism between the policies of the two racist régimes in southern Africa, and that there is an alliance between them to destroy the unity and the liberation movements in the region.

86. The Pretoria and Salisbury régimes are continuing to commit these acts of aggression against the front-line States in the midst of negotiations on Zimbabwe and Namibia. Some become sensitive when the Security Council is called upon, as in the present case, to react to these acts of aggression in accordance with its responsibilities under the Charter. We hear suggestions that meetings like this one complicate the ongoing negotiations, but it is clear now that peace and security in the front-line States in particular and Africa in general are continuously threatened by the existence of white minority racist régimes. These odious régimes are determined to keep the peoples of the region under eternal subjugation. They are desperately trying to contain the rising tide and to stop the sweeping force of national liberation and social revolution. We must do all we can to prevent them from doing irreparable damage and injury to the independent States and peoples in the southern part of Africa.

87. The Salisbury régime's aggression against Zambia is yet another in a series of acts which constitute a consistent and sustained pattern aimed at the destabilization of the front-line States in the hope of weakening their support for the liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The racist régimes at Salisbury and Pretoria have stepped up their aggressive attacks against Mozambique, Botswana and, more recently, Angola and today, against Zambia.

88. It is abhorrent and appalling that the aggressive, racist and Fascist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury are still supported by the Western countries. Those Powers act thus in spite of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The assistance given to the southern African régimes by some Western Powers has enabled those racist régimes to step up their aggression against the front-line States.

89. The recent aggression against Zambia is a clear indication that Britain is still backing Salisbury's stepped-up attacks on front-line States in the hope that Zambia will be forced to give up its support of the Patriotic Front and that the Patriotic Front will make more concessions at the London talks on Zimbabwe. In addition to this, the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes are planning a common strategy aimed at preventing the Patriotic Front from gaining power in the elections proposed by Britain.

90. It is clear, as some previous speakers have stressed, that the main goals of the attacks and aggression by the Salisbury régime are the following: first, assisted by South Africa and the Western Powers, to destroy the economy of Zambia and to make that country weaker; secondly, to escalate the pressure against Zambia in order to internationalize the war and push Zambia into seeking help from elsewhere; thirdly, to put pressure on the Patriotic Front to make more and more concessions; fourthly, to destroy the talks which are being held in London; and fifthly, to prevent or delay the return of the exiled Zimbabwe patriots and hinder the reintegration of the refugees in their country. This aggression threatens peace and security in the region, and it is for the Security Council to take urgent measures to prevent any further deterioration of the situation.

91. Finally I wish to read a press release which was issued by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity regarding the recent raids on Zan. :

"The recent raids on bridges and economic targets in Zambia by forces of the puppet Government in Rhodesia, headed by Bishop Muzorewa, must be blamed squarely on the Bishop's masters, the frightened white minority in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The people of Zimbabwe must see the mad monk for what he is and disown him before he reduces Zimbabwe to another bantustan, which will be rejected like other bantustans by the OAU and the international community. The OAU is ready to give President Kaunda any assistance he may ask for to put an end to the aggression of the puppets from Rhodesia."

92. The African Group reaffirms its support for and solidarity with Zambia. It appeals to the international community to extend support and assistance to the people of Zambia, including material, political and military assistance. It urges the Security Council to take effective and relevant action against the illegal régime at Salisbury. It calls upon the Council to condemn the illegal régime at Salisbury for its flagrant aggression against the Republic of Zambia, to demand that the illegal régime at Salisbury respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Zambia and to take effective action against the illegal régime at Salisbury in accordance with the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

93. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): There are no more speakers at the moment and I therefore propose that we have a short suspension.

The meeting was suspended at 10 p.m. and resumed at 10.50 p.m.

94. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is my understanding that members of the Council are ready to adopt by consensus the draft resolution sponsored by Bangladesh, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia, contained in document S/13645. Unless there is any objection, I shall take it that it is so decided.

The draft resolution was adopted.²

95. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call upon those representatives who have asked to be allowed to speak after the adoption of the resolution.

96. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): First, I should like to express my regret to you, Mr. President, and to all the other members of the Council for having delayed the proceedings of the Council for some hours. This is a matter of the utmost importance to my Government; it was essential that consultations take place at a very high level in London before my Government could be in a position to give me final instructions. It is evidence of our desire to co-operate with the Council and to reach consensus that these consultations took place even though the hour in London is now well after midnight.

² See resolution 455 (1979).

97. I begin the substantive part of my statement by expressing the deepest and most sincere sympathy of my delegation and of the people of my country for the suffering and destruction inflicted on Zambia. In saying this, I am reiterating similar expressions already made by British Ministers in Parliament and directly to President Kaunda. We deplore any escalation of fighting anywhere, and in particular we condemn any attacks on civilian targets.

98. We stand at what may be a unique point in the history of Africa. The key to unlock the door to peace and stability in Zimbabwe is in our hands. The key finally to lock the door on the bitter cycle of violence, death and destruction is in our hands too. We have reached this position through the will of all parties to achieve a settlement, through the efforts of the front-line States and through the efforts of the whole Commonwealth, as embodied in the agreement reached at the Lusaka conference last summer.

99. All these endeavours culminated in the Lancaster House conference under the chairmanship of my Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, a conference which has now been in continuous session for over 10 weeks. I note at this point that the chairman of the Lusaka conference was President Kaunda of Zambia, who also made the journey to London very recently in order to play a most helpful role at a particularly difficult point in the negotiations. The Lancaster House conference is in its final stages. A constitution granting genuine majority rule to the people of Zimbabwe has been agreed on by all parties. Transitional arrangements under the authority of Britain, and with the observation and active support of the Commonwealth, have also been fully agreed on.

100. We are now on the last yards of the last lap. This lap is the all-important question of a cease-fire, the one thing which will bring about a cessation of the acts of violence which have plagued Rhodesia itself and the neighbouring countries, particularly Zambia and Mozambique. We earnestly hope that the prize of a full agreement, which will be immediately implemented in all its parts, is only a few days away from us. The full effort of my Government is concentrated on trying to ensure that nothing deflects us from this goal in these final moments.

101. My delegation associated itself with the consensus reached by the Council. We did so simply and only because we do not wish to do anything—anything—that might damage the prospects for an early and successful conclusion of the Lancaster House negotiations. There is a great deal of language in the consensus with which we take issue. It is one-sided. It is not even-handed. It contains intemperate phraseology. It takes no account of the fact that for many years fighting by Patriotic Front and Rhodesian forces has erupted on all sides and from all sides.

102. I reiterate this with all the passion at my command: we can bring an end to the fighting, both within the country and across the borders, only when we get agreement on a cease-fire, when we can implement the whole accord, when all parties respect it, when we the British Government are in control. At present we are not—I repeat: not—in control, and we cannot guarantee a cessation of hostilities.

103. I say again: nothing must be allowed to deflect us from the achievement of the agreement which alone will remedy this desperate state of affairs.

104. In our view, the wording of the consensus does not imply that a fresh determination has been made under Article 39 of the Charter. Moreover, as regards paragraph 5 of the consensus, I repeat what my Lord Privy Seal, Sir Ian Gilmour, stated in the House of Commons on 21 November—namely that “the British Government do not accept any responsibility for the damage inflicted in Zambia by the Rhodesian raids, nor for the payment of compensation”. But this disclaimer of responsibility does not mean that we are hard-hearted or unmoved by the suffering of Zambia. The Lord Privy Seal went on to say on the same occasion that “as a friend of Zambia and once the cease-fire has been agreed, we shall wish to play our part in assisting Zambia to restore her infrastructure”. Anyone who knows the history of the relationship between Britain and Zambia since the independence of that country will know that these are not empty words.

105. Before I conclude, I feel obliged to reply to one or two points raised in the debate.

106. The representative of Libya suggested that we were in some way encouraging the raids on Zambia and that we wanted the Lancaster House conference to fail. That is an absolutely monstrous allegation. Words fail me—and I could have wished that those words had failed him. I vigorously, utterly and totally reject these charges. The record of our achievement so far at Lancaster House is eloquent rebuttal in itself.

107. The representative of Nigeria accused my Government of aiding and abetting breaches of sanctions. I cannot allow this to pass. As the Security Council knows, my Government has always co-operated closely with the Rhodesia sanctions Committee,³ and wherever evidence has come to light, British firms that have breached sanctions have been prosecuted. As for the Bingham report, mentioned by the representative of Nigeria, it was commissioned by my Government, subsequently published and passed to the Director of Public Prosecutions in London, to see whether it contained evidence that would justify a prosecution under English law.

108. In conclusion, I am not ashamed to reiterate once more my appeal: let nothing happen which might in any way deflect us from that prize of a full agreement, of peace and stability for the people of Zimbabwe, which is now so close—so very close—to our grasp.

109. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): At this late hour I shall be very brief.

110. During the last two weeks the Rhodesian army carried out a number of armed incursions into the neighbouring territory of Zambia. France, which in the past has frequently had occasion to condemn such raids, cannot remain unmoved by the emotion being felt today by the Government and people of that country. At the very time

³ Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia.

when the encouraging developments in the London conference on Rhodesia-Zimbabwe have given us some reason to hope that agreement can soon be reached, we cannot but be deeply worried about the repercussions that these repeated attacks against Zambia could have on the outcome of the negotiations, on which peace in southern Africa largely depends.

111. For that reason the French delegation firmly condemns the recent Rhodesian raid into Zambia and assures the Government and people of Zambia of France's solidarity in the sore trials they are undergoing. For that reason also we joined in the consensus by which the Council has just expressed its opinion on this subject.

112. In conclusion, I wish to say that only the seriousness of the facts which motivated this meeting of the Council, as well as the urgency of the measures to be taken, prompted my delegation to go along with the procedure that has characterized this debate. We hope that this procedure will be regarded not as a precedent but, rather, as an unusual response to an exceptional situation.

113. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): The hour is late and I shall therefore not detain the Council much longer. I have asked to speak at this stage in order to thank the members of the Council for their support and their solidarity with my country, demonstrated through the unanimous adoption, by consensus, of the draft resolution in document S/13645.

114. The resolution just adopted is essentially in three parts. First, it condemns the acts of aggression committed against my country by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, in collusion with the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. Secondly, it places responsibility for the acts of aggression on the administering Power—in this case, the United Kingdom—and calls upon it to take measures which we know it is capable of taking to put an end to such acts of aggression. Thirdly, it recognizes the damage done to our economic infrastructure and, accordingly, calls for international assistance to us and upholds our right to full and speedy compensation.

115. With regard to the question of compensation, dealt with in paragraph 5 of the resolution, I wish to stress that it is the understanding of my delegation that the Government of the United Kingdom is the "responsible authorities" referred to therein. No other interpretation is acceptable to us in Zambia.

116. Strengthened by the support of the Security Council, we intend to pursue our legitimate claim for compensation from the United Kingdom for the damages done to our economy by the rebel Smith colony. We are gratified that the Council has set up an *ad hoc* committee to follow the implementation of the resolution, particularly its paragraphs 5 and 6. We shall co-operate fully with the committee. We hope that this resolution will be followed by concrete and tangible and generous material and other forms of assistance to us in this hour of great need, in accordance with paragraph 6.

117. We appreciate the strong and categorical condemnations in paragraphs 1 and 2. They are important, and they give us encouragement. But, quite clearly, they are not enough. The situation in our country calls for more than deeds for words. Our people, who have experienced unparalleled hardship and have made tremendous sacrifices in the cause of justice, freedom and independence in southern Africa, hope for and expect much more concrete support from the international community. I hope they will not be disappointed.

118. Let me conclude by reaffirming the determination of my country to continue its uncompromising and resolute support for the legitimate struggle of the people of Zimbabwe until genuine independence is achieved.

119. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded this stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.10 p.m.