



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

**2034<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 29 SEPTEMBER 1977

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.

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## 2034TH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 29 September 1977, at 5 p.m.

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

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

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2034)

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

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

*The meeting was called to order at 6.25 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:**  
Letter dated 23 September 1977 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12402)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Gabon and Kenya, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the agenda. Consequently, I propose, in accordance with the usual practice and with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, under the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

2. In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table, I now invite the representatives of Gabon and Kenya to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table whenever they wish to address the Council.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. N'Dong (Gabon) and Mr. Waiyaki (Kenya) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

3. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them the text of a draft resolution sponsored by the United Kingdom and contained in document S/12404. I should like also to draw the attention of the Council members to document S/12406 containing the text of a letter dated 28 September 1977 from the representative of Benin to the President of the Council.

4. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The position of principle of the Soviet Union on the Rhodesian problem has been repeatedly set forth in the Security Council and other United Nations organs. The Soviet Union categorically favours the earliest possible transfer of power to the genuine representatives of the people of Zimbabwe, the national liberation movement headed by the Patriotic Front.

5. This approach of ours flows from the fundamental line of Soviet external policy aimed at the total elimination of all the remnants of the system of colonial oppression, of the infringement of the equality and independence of peoples and of all hotbeds of colonialism and racism. The Soviet Union seeks no privileges for itself in Africa; it does not covet concessions or bases, nor does it impose on African countries its own world outlook. As was stressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. Andrei A. Gromyko, in his recent statement during the general debate in the General Assembly:

“... Our aims in Africa are independence, freedom and peace for its peoples.

“We do not conceal the fact that in Africa, as elsewhere, our sympathies lie with the States that have embarked on a progressive path of development, a path of social and economic transformations for the benefit of the masses. We openly declare our complete solidarity with the peoples fighting for the liquidation of the remaining strongholds of colonialism and racism.”<sup>1</sup>

The sooner an end is put to those anachronisms of our age, colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, the purer will be the atmosphere in Africa and throughout the world.

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 8th meeting, paras. 156 and 157.*

6. The Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted a great number of important and useful decisions confirming the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence, and have provided for a number of measures aimed at the elimination of the racist régime of Smith. If this régime still dares to defy the world community, it is only because the appropriate measures and sanctions have not been observed by certain States Members of the United Nations. The consistent implementation of United Nations decisions on the Rhodesian settlement, the implementation of sanctions against the Smith régime and its ally South Africa—that is the direct way in which a just solution to the Rhodesian problem, entirely in keeping with the will and aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe, can be and must be ensured.

7. The valiant struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for its freedom and independence must end in total victory. We cannot permit a situation where the people of Zimbabwe is deprived of the fruits of this victory as a result of various kinds of behind-the-scenes scheming. There is no need to recall how much has been done in the past by way of attempts to impose upon the people of Zimbabwe all kinds of plans for a “settlement”. The people of Zimbabwe, continuing their heroic struggle for total liberation, have rejected those plans because, in essence, they were designed to ensure, by various means, the consolidation of the position of oppression in which they were kept by the colonialists.

8. The delegation of the USSR does not want now to go into an analysis of the most recent Anglo-American plan for a settlement in Rhodesia. However, we cannot accept either direct or indirect forms of recognition of that plan as a possible basis for a Rhodesian settlement. Representatives of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and of a number of African countries have pointed to the neo-colonialist tendencies of its provisions. At this stage, we consider it necessary to express our categorical objections to the fact that the United Nations should be, in one form or another, involved in measures connected with a Rhodesian settlement which might be prejudicial to the national liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. In this regard, we cannot forget the sad experience of United Nations participation in certain events on the African continent which had tragic consequences. We cannot permit the United Nations to be used once again to cover up a neo-colonialist approach to a solution of the problems of eliminating the colonial system in Africa.

9. Therefore, the Soviet delegation has the most serious doubts also about the British proposal with regard to the appointment of a representative of the Secretary-General to hold talks with the interested parties in Rhodesia. In his statement in the Council [2033rd meeting], the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom said that the decision of the Security Council to appoint a representative of the Secretary-General would in no way mean approval of the Anglo-American plan. Nevertheless, we do have some grounds for being apprehensive that such a decision may be used to approach this plan by the back door. The Soviet delegation cannot therefore support the draft resolution providing for

the appointment of a representative of the Secretary-General to hold talks with the parties in Rhodesia.

10. At the same time, we listened attentively at yesterday's meeting [*ibid.*] to the statement of one of the leaders of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, who, in principle, did not object to the appointment of a representative of the Secretary-General. As far as we know, this is also the position of a number of African countries. We also take into account the explanations to the effect that the functions of the representative of the Secretary-General would be of a limited and preliminary character and would in no way be used to the detriment of the national liberation movement of the people of Zimbabwe. In these circumstances, the Soviet delegation finds it possible not to impede the adoption of the draft resolution contained in document S/12404.

11. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*translation from Chinese*): In recent years, the struggle of the Zimbabwe people for national independence and liberation, particularly their armed struggle, has been mounting vigorously, and continual new victories have been achieved. The just struggle of the Zimbabwe people has won the powerful support of the African countries and people and the people of the rest of the world. The front-line African States have long given firm support to the struggle of the Zimbabwe people and made heavy sacrifices to that end. Besieged by the great African people, the Smith racist régime is beset with difficulties at home and abroad and assailed from all sides, finding itself in utter desperation and isolation.

12. But historical and contemporary experience has told us that no reactionary forces in the world will ever step down from the stage of history of their own accord. Before their extinction, they are bound to resist desperately in a last-ditch fight by every possible means. This is a universal law true both in the past and at present, whether in China or abroad. The Smith racist régime is no exception to this. Therefore, all the revolutionary people understand that it is imperative to use revolutionary dual tactics in dealing with the counter-revolutionary dual tactics and that armed struggle is the fundamental way towards genuine and complete national liberation. Negotiations must be based on fighting. The armed force of the people must only be strengthened and not weakened before the enemy lays down his arms completely. In 1945, when referring to our peace negotiations with the Kuomintang, the Chinese people's great leader and teacher, Chairman Mao Tsetung, taught the Chinese people that it was necessary to adopt the policy of waging a “tit-for-tat” struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries. He pointed out: “The arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept, must not be handed over”. And he added: “If we hand over our guns, won't the Kuomintang have too many?” Thus the Chinese people were fully prepared, and when the Chiang Kai-shek clique perfidiously renewed its sanguinary attacks on them, the Chinese people, relying on their own armed force, dealt crushing blows at the Kuomintang and finally liberated the whole of China and buried the Chiang dynasty.

13. The General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted a good number of resolutions on the question of

Rhodesia. These resolutions strongly condemn the Southern Rhodesian racist régime as illegal, call for the strengthening of all-round mandatory sanctions against this régime and resolutely support the Zimbabwe people in their just struggle to strive for national independence by all means.

14. Recently, the United Kingdom and the United States put forward their "proposals for a settlement" of the situation in Rhodesia [see S/12393]. At present, the Chinese delegation has no intention of making an over-all comment here on the proposals in their entirety. That can be done later if necessary. However, we think at least we can now say that the substance of these proposals is not in accord with the spirit of the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, and in some respects is even contradictory to those resolutions. These proposals in their present form are not conducive to the furtherance of the Zimbabwe people's armed struggle and can hardly lead the Zimbabwe people to their genuine national liberation and independence.

15. It is difficult for us to understand that, while the British-American proposals are only preliminary proposals made by one of the parties concerned, proposals which are still in the process of negotiations with the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and the African States concerned and whose final destiny remains unpredictable, the United Kingdom representative should now request the Security Council to confirm one of the provisions in these proposals, that is, that the Secretary-General will be invited to appoint a representative "to enter into discussions with the British Resident Commissioner designate and with all the parties concerning the military and associated arrangements" in Rhodesia. Although the United Kingdom representative has told us that this does not affect or prejudice the future of the proposals, this abnormal practice of turning things upside down or putting the cart before the horse, as the English saying goes, cannot but make us suspect that its purpose is to create an impression that the Security Council had basically approved or confirmed the British-American proposals themselves and given the necessary authorization, and then to use it to further weaken and disrupt the armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people. No doubt such an eventuality would adversely affect the struggle of the Zimbabwe people for national liberation.

16. In view of the foregoing, we cannot support the draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom representative. But taking into consideration the position of the African States concerned, we will not participate in the vote on the said draft resolution.

17. The PRESIDENT: At this point I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius, which is to be circulated in document S/12407 and which reads as follows:

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

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

*It was so decided.*

18. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): Mr. President, first I must congratulate you on the skill and wisdom that you have demonstrated in the course of this month as President of the Security Council. Your term in this high position has been witness to a number of difficult but very important debates, and we have therefore indeed been fortunate to have had a diplomat with your experience and dedication as our President. I must also take this occasion to thank you personally for the warm words of welcome that you have extended to me.

19. My congratulations and thanks go also to your predecessor in this high post, the distinguished representative of France, on the equally excellent manner in which he presided over our affairs last month.

20. The Security Council has been asked to consider the draft resolution of the United Kingdom calling for the appointment of a United Nations special representative in Southern Rhodesia. In presenting the draft resolution yesterday [2033rd meeting], the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom noted that this was a limited step. In referring to our discussions here, he said that nobody was required to pronounce himself on the package as a whole. His statement on the matter echoed many of the assurances given to African delegations in recent days. The appointment of a special representative at this time, it has been said, does not in any way imply an acceptance, or even a consideration, of the wider proposals set out in the Anglo-American proposals for a settlement contained in document S/12393.

21. In the view of my delegation, this is an important—indeed, a fundamental—point. The Security Council is not now discussing the substantive provisions of the Anglo-American proposals. It could only discuss them after careful consideration, and the discussion even then would have to be a lengthy one.

22. We must also stress that, given the fact that the Council has not yet even started discussion of the wider proposals, it would be altogether wrong for a special representative of the United Nations in Southern Rhodesia to discuss them, or in any way to engage in discussions which would imply an acceptance of any substantive matters in those proposals. We are therefore very concerned about the thrust of certain arguments made before the Council yesterday and about the growing press comment to the effect that the Council's willingness to consider the appointment of a special representative is in fact a step in the direction of United Nations support for the Anglo-American proposals as a whole.

23. Moreover, the terms of the draft resolution itself seem to my delegation to be oddly ambiguous. This ambiguity could land the special representative and the Security Council in precisely the situation we want to avoid. The draft resolution is rather general in its terms, and this generality might be misinterpreted. It says that the special

representative is "to enter into discussions" concerning arrangements that are considered to be necessary for the transition to majority rule. But what we would like to know is what these arrangements are and by whom they are considered to be necessary. That is not clearly specified at all. It would appear that the special representative would be free to make his own judgement about what is necessary and what is not, and that, of course, would be desirable. However, when we look at the text of the statement contained in document S/12395 of 8 September, we find, in our view, considerable cause for alarm. That document sets out the general lines of the arrangements regarding security which are judged to be necessary for the implementation of the Anglo-American plan as a whole. In the first paragraph on "implementation", however, it appears to confine the role of the special representative to discussion of the details of "the respective roles of all the forces in Rhodesia".

24. The fact that the discussions are to be led by the Resident Commissioner designate might well mean that the special representative would find himself discussing the details of the security arrangements set out in the Anglo-American document, arrangements which are part and parcel of the Anglo-American proposals for an over-all settlement. The Anglo-American proposals, as set out in document S/12395, state that one of the principal objectives of the Resident Commissioner designate will be to "create the single army of Zimbabwe". If the special representative were to enter into discussions on this subject, and on others outlined in that document, he would be implicitly accepting the framework for security arrangements set out in the Anglo-American proposals. As was made clear yesterday, the Patriotic Front is contesting precisely these arrangements. I would refer members of the Council concerned about this matter to the relevant sections of the comments by the Patriotic Front on the Anglo-American proposals. Those comments are contained in document S/12406 of 28 September.

25. The delegation of Libya takes the view that if we are to keep to the terms of reference proposed for these discussions, we must make sure not to commit the special representative to the acceptance of any matter of substance in the Anglo-American proposals and, particularly, not to anything contained in the annex to those proposals, as set out in document S/12395.

26. As far as my country is concerned, we support without reservation the struggle of our brothers in Zimbabwe. This just struggle should not be diverted. We shall not accept any interpretation of the mission of the United Nations special representative that would imply any support for the suspension of the just struggle of our brothers in Zimbabwe. No one in Africa wants war, but if war is necessary to liberate a country, then it is a just war.

27. The President of Libya has clearly declared that unless the whole of the African continent is independent we in Libya shall never regard ourselves as an independent country.

28. Thus, it should be clear that the United Nations must not be involved in any way in any action to divert the real

and just struggle of our brothers in Zimbabwe and that this struggle must continue until the racist régime is liquidated.

29. In fact, we are happy about this Anglo-American initiative, although it has come so late. Because of our previous experience with these countries, especially Great Britain, in our continent, we are not yet convinced of the sincerity of these proposals. Nevertheless, there is now new hope. We trust that the two countries will apply this kind of initiative, this spirit, to other parts of the African continent and other parts of the world where racist régimes still exist.

30. We do hope that in adopting this draft resolution the Security Council will be helping to bring about the immediate liquidation of this racist régime. My delegation has no objection in principle to the draft resolution.

31. The PRESIDENT: I wish at this stage to welcome the presence in the Council of the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, Mr. Shahi.

32. The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya, Mr. Waiyaki. I welcome him and, in accordance with the Council's decision, invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

33. Mr. WAIYAKI (Kenya): Mr. President, I thank you and the members of the Council for inviting me to address this august body on the subject under discussion. I am particularly happy to see you presiding over the affairs of the Security Council for the month of September and, in particular, over these meetings when we are considering a very important aspect of the problem of the decolonization of Zimbabwe. As a distinguished diplomat from the Federal Republic of Germany, a country which maintains very cordial and mutually fruitful relations with my country, Kenya, you have a wealth of experience and the capacity to tackle difficult issues, and that is of great value to us.

34. The request of my Government to participate in this debate was prompted by the realization that, without any question, the subject under discussion and the decision the Council is being requested to make are very important and have many long-term consequences. We appreciate that it was the desire of many members of the Council that the debate should be short. In view, however, of the fact that this problem has been with us for over a decade, and in view of the far-reaching implications of the decision of the Council, we feel it is imperative to consider the matter in some detail in order to facilitate speedier implementation of the subsequent stages of the proposals. We should all understand where we are going.

35. We appreciate that the Council has agreed generally not to discuss the substance of the Anglo-American proposals for a settlement in Rhodesia, although, peculiarly, the Council is being asked to take the first step towards implementing those proposals. We must go along with the wisdom of the Council and we should like to join those who have spoken before us in expressing support for the appointment of a representative of the Secretary-General. So let me say that we accept the request contained in document S/12404. We certainly commend the energy

and wisdom brought to this intractable problem by the British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. Owen, since he assumed his responsibilities last year, and the determined support of the United States Government principally through Mr. Andrew Young. Their efforts complement the armed struggle being successfully carried out by the patriots of Zimbabwe.

36. As I have said, the request before the Council, though limited in scope today, has very great significance for the United Nations. For the last 12 years the United Nations role in the problem of Zimbabwe has been limited to the imposition of limited economic sanctions against the rebel régime. Today, the Council is being asked to approve the appointment of a representative of the United Nations who will carry out certain responsibilities with regard to discussions and negotiations with the British Resident Commissioner designate and all the parties. We should like an assurance that the parties concerned do not include rebel Ian Smith.

37. We in the Kenya delegation share the reservations expressed yesterday [2033rd meeting] by the representative of the Patriotic Front, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, because we do not believe that the United Nations should take any action that would shift, however briefly, the responsibility of the administering Power from that Power to the United Nations. We support the involvement of the United Nations in helping to find a solution to the problem of Zimbabwe, but we do not think that the United Nations should be called upon to undertake the negotiations which have been going on between the administering Power and the rebel régime for the past 12 years.

38. It should be a condition, in our view, of United Nations entry into Zimbabwe that the administering Power should undertake, in unequivocal terms, that the rebel régime will step down and Southern Rhodesia will return to legality to enable the British representative to assume the responsibilities incumbent upon the British in Zimbabwe. We consider that the discussions and negotiations leading to the surrender of power by the illegal régime should be continued by the British representative, supported by the United States.

39. We further feel that the United Nations representative and the British Resident Commissioner could not coexist with the rebel Smith, who has led an illegal Government buttressed by all the armed forces, including the Selous Scouts and mercenaries, for the past 12 years. The illegal régime and the undesirable elements in its armed forces would embarrass the United Nations representative and the British Resident Commissioner, to say the least. We consider that with the British Resident Commissioner and the United Nations representative assuming the responsibilities proposed for them in the Anglo-American package deal, the administering Power must be in a position to guarantee unimpeded development in the shortest time possible to majority rule in Zimbabwe.

40. We share the view of those who have spoken before us that the United Nations should co-operate with the administering Power to help bring about a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe, but we believe that the Africans

are unlikely to agree to a cease-fire first and thereafter carry out discussions for the transitional arrangements. This, we believe, is not realistic and it does not appear to us to be fair that a representative of the Organization should undertake such an unrealistic mission before the necessary climate and ground work have been developed. Inasmuch as it is not realistic to ask the British Resident Commissioner to enter Zimbabwe with the illegal régime still in control of the Government, we think it is unrealistic to request the United Nations representative to undertake the mission of arranging a cease-fire when, quite clearly, judging from all evidence available, those involved in fighting are not ready to enter into cease-fire arrangements at this time. We certainly do not expect the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe to be asked to lay down their arms before they can see that what they have been fighting for has been achieved or is definitely in sight. A cease-fire should not be synonymous with a laying down of arms. It is because we believe that the Organization should do a good job and be helpful rather than compound an already complicated situation that we consider that the United Nations representative should not be appointed in a hurry before the stage is carefully prepared. The United Nations is, in a limited way, and at the request of the administering Power, at variance with the illegal régime. This fact cannot be denied, and therefore no action should be taken by the United Nations which would create the impression that it is recognizing the illegal régime against which it has been fighting for the last 12 years.

41. May I repeat, in conclusion, that my delegation supports the proposals before the Council but considers also that there are important aspects of the proposals that should be evaluated and the consequences weighed before the United Nations plunges into Zimbabwe. As the representative of the Patriotic Front requested—and we support his request—there should be consultations with the Patriotic Front in appointing the United Nations representative and, more particularly, in defining more specifically the role he is expected to play when he is appointed.

42. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya for his kind words addressed to me as well as for his reference to the cordial relations between our two countries.

43. The next speaker is the representative of Gabon, who wishes to make a statement on behalf of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

44. Mr. N'DONG (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, my delegation is pleased to see you presiding over the work of the Council during the month of September; our satisfaction is particularly great, because your country and mine enjoy excellent relations of friendship and co-operation.

45. It is to convey the importance that my country and the Organization of African Unity attach to the quest for a just and equitable solution to the Rhodesian problem that I have asked to participate in this debate. The member countries of OAU have always followed with great interest developments in the situation in southern Africa, particu-

larly in Rhodesia ever since a minority of individuals, in defiance of international opinion, took the unilateral decision to seize power. The member States of OAU have also contributed to the adoption of resolutions, both in our own regional organization and in the United Nations, aimed at putting an end to that unacceptable situation.

46. We must unfortunately note that, to date, none of the initiatives and resolutions aimed at a peaceful solution of this problem which is hardly a credit to the human race have been implemented, but have remained a dead letter. We must also note that it is thanks only to the determination of the free peoples of Africa and to the intensification of the armed struggle waged by the Patriotic Front that the great Powers, which could have prevented this situation, have finally come to understand the need to remedy it.

47. Although it should be recognized that these initiatives do point the way to a settlement of the problem, inasmuch as they provide for the appointment of a representative of the Secretary-General in Rhodesia, I should like to stress here, on behalf of the current Chairman of OAU, that free and independent Africa does not endorse all aspects of the settlement proposed by the Anglo-American plan. At this stage, therefore, we are not endorsing the Anglo-American plan but merely considering exploratory measures that may lead to a peaceful settlement of the distressing problem of Rhodesia. That is in keeping with both the letter and the spirit of the action taken by the Government of the United Kingdom, which took the initiative in calling this meeting of the Security Council. That, in any case, is the understanding of the OAU member States.

48. I should like to stress that, as Mr. Joshua Nkomo stated, the choice of the representative of the Secretary-General in Rhodesia should be made and his mandate determined in close consultation with the members of the Security Council and the parties to the conflict. With that thought in mind, I should also like to stress that, for free and independent Africa, the negotiations about to begin can be productive only if no preconditions are set and if they are held between the colonial Power, the United Kingdom, and the Patriotic Front, the latter being the only organization qualified in the circumstances to represent the interests of the Zimbabwe people.

49. These negotiations must not make it possible for certain elements to use the situation to obstruct the process that should lead to independence. Specifically, the appointment of a representative of the Secretary-General in Rhodesia, which we accept, must not be a delaying tactic that will make it possible for the Ian Smith régime to get its second wind and annihilate the aspirations of the Zimbabwe people, who have already lost many of their sons in their quest for the realization of their ideals of freedom and independence in dignity. It has been noted that the rebel régime of Ian Smith has always used moments of euphoria produced by the announcement of negotiations or discussions to delude world public opinion and to consolidate its war arsenal in order to frustrate the aspirations of the Zimbabwe people and the international community for freedom.

50. As for the African States, they will remain ever more vigilant and they will actively support the liberation

movement until the conditions for a final settlement have been met and accepted by the parties to the conflict.

51. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Gabon for the kind words he addressed to me and for his reference to the close relations between our countries.

52. As there are no other speakers, I should like to make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY.

53. It has been the consistent policy of my Government throughout all debates regarding southern Africa that the necessary and long overdue changes in that part of the world to which the international community is so desperately looking forward should be brought about by peaceful means. This principle applies not only to the abandonment of the policy of *apartheid*, which runs contrary to all considerations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, but also to the Namibian and Rhodesian questions.

54. We listened attentively to the able presentation of the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Owen [2033rd meeting], and we are pleased to learn that there are now sufficient prospects for a peaceful settlement in which the United Nations would play an important role. We are well aware that the final political settlement is not yet ready for consideration by the Council but that an initial step should be taken to allow the involvement of the Organization in the current efforts to achieve the independence of Zimbabwe by peaceful means.

55. We share the view that the United Nations has to play an important role in order to ensure these conditions. We welcome the idea of giving the Secretary-General the mandate to appoint a special representative who would work together with the Resident Commissioner and who would embark upon a process of talks with all the parties concerned in order to find out what further measures would be needed to ensure the political acceptability of the package as a whole.

56. The Federal Republic of Germany will be ready to support the efforts of the special representative in every possible way. It is equally ready to give all political support to the continued efforts of the United Kingdom and the United States in furthering this political solution. My delegation is pleased, therefore, to support the draft resolution before the Council.

57. I now resume my functions as PRESIDENT. I give the floor to the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya who wishes to introduce some amendments to the draft resolution.

58. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): In reference to the draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom in document S/12404, I should like, on behalf of the three African members of the Council—Benin, Mauritius and Libya—, to propose two slight improvements to that draft.

59. First, we suggest the addition of a new preambular paragraph reading as follows:

“*Having heard* the statement by Mr. Joshua Nkomo, co-leader of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe;”

60. The second amendment concerns operative paragraph 1. After the word "appoint", we propose the addition of the words "in consultation with the members of the Security Council".

61. I hope Foreign Secretary Owen will not find it difficult to accept these two slight improvements to the draft.

62. Mr. OWEN (United Kingdom): Having heard the discussion and the argumentation, I accept the amendments proposed and would wish them to be incorporated into the draft resolution proposed by my Government.

63. The PRESIDENT: With the amendments proposed by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and accepted by the United Kingdom as the sponsor of the original draft resolution, the revised text will soon be distributed to Council members as document S/12404/Rev.1.

64. As there are no further speakers, I take it the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the revised draft resolution.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* Benin, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none with one abstention.<sup>2</sup>*

*One member (China) did not participate in the voting.*

65. The PRESIDENT: The Secretary-General wishes to speak. I now call upon him.

66. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have noted with the closest attention the discussions in the Council and the terms of the resolution which has just been adopted. I shall, of course, immediately take the necessary action to implement the request addressed to me in the resolution to appoint a personal representative for the purpose described therein. I hope to be able to inform the Council in the near future, after appropriate consultations, of the name of my representative. In seeking for a representative, I shall of course pay particular attention to experience and the special circumstances.

67. While I wish to assure the Council that I and my representative shall do all in our power to achieve satisfactory results, I am under no illusion as to the very great complexities and difficulties of the task that has been entrusted to us. Success will depend in very large measure on the co-operation and understanding of the parties concerned and on the degree of their determination to find

a solution to the problem by peaceful means. I shall report to the Council as soon as possible on the results of my representative's discussions with the British Resident Commissioner and with all the parties concerned.

68. Once again I wish to assure you, Mr. President, and the members of the Council that I and my colleagues will do our utmost to carry out successfully this difficult but extremely important task.

69. The PRESIDENT: The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom has asked to make a statement after the vote and I now call on him.

70. Mr. OWEN (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I should first like to thank you for the distinguished way in which you have conducted our proceedings both today and yesterday and to express my gratitude to you for that. I should like to express also my sense of privilege to all the members of the Council for having me participate in this discussion. It is the first time I have been to the Security Council and I hope it will not be the last. The Secretary-General's statement regarding the way he will approach his task was of great help and comfort. I am conscious of the fact that I have put a resolution to the Council which will put a heavy task on the United Nations. I believe, however, it will fulfil those great tasks and responsibilities in the way to which we have grown accustomed, particularly under the Secretary-General. I thank the members of the Council for their support.

71. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is Mr. Callistus Ndlovu. I welcome him and, in accordance with the Council's decision, invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

72. Mr. NDLOVU: On behalf of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front I wish to thank you, Mr. President, and the members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to clarify our interpretation of the resolution just adopted. Mr. Joshua Nkomo, co-leader of the Patriotic Front, expressed our reservations to this august body [2033rd meeting] on the appointment of a United Nations representative and we wish to restate our position on the matter now, namely: (a) that the present exercise does not prejudice our position on the British constitutional proposals and that what has been done here is a separate matter from the consideration of the British proposals themselves; (b) that when the resolution refers to "all parties concerned" it means the parties involved in the armed conflict, namely the Patriotic Front, on the one hand, and the British, through their settlers in Zimbabwe, on the other; (c) that the United Nations representative will be appointed by the Secretary-General who will make sure that his mandate is clearly defined and not subject to manipulation by those who are opposed to a free Zimbabwe. In this regard, his role should be defined in terms that enhance and advance the objective of decolonization. Should it turn out in the process that what has been done here is an attempt to sabotage the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, the Patriotic Front will reserve the right to act accordingly.

<sup>2</sup> See resolution 415 (1977).

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