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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.

2121st MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 6 March 1979, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Leslie O. HARRIMAN (Nigeria).

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/2121)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia: Letter dated 28 February 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations addressed to President of the Security Council (S/13121)

The meeting was called to order at 4.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia: Letter dated 28 February 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13121)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the preceding meetings, I invite the representative of Angola, Benin, Botswana, Cuba, Ethiopia, Ghana, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Houngavou (Benin), Mr. Modisi (Botswana), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Seifu (Ethiopia), Mr. Sekyi (Ghana), Mr. Fernando (Sri Lanka) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

3. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, I would like to thank you and, through you, all the other members of the Council for having given me this opportunity to explain my Government's views on present developments in and regarding Zimbabwe and once again to express our solidarity with and to pay tribute to the heroic struggle and the sacrifices the people of that country are making both for

the cause of their own liberation and for the cause of freedom in general.

4. I wish to congratulate you personally, Mr. President, on your assumption of the office of President of the Council for the month of March, and I wish you success in carrying out those responsible functions. Your well-known diplomatic skill, negotiating ability and political wisdom will perhaps enable the Council, if not to solve, then at least to move off dead centre the solving of the important problems of peace and security with which it is faced at the present moment.

5. I also wish once again to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Bishara, for the efforts he exerted and the contribution he made in the month of February during the consideration on one of the most delicate issues in international relations.

6. I should like to express my profound condolences to his family and the Mission and Government of Saudi Arabia on the passing away of Ambassador Jamil Baroodi, a distinguished diplomat and an illustrious representative of his country, who made an invaluable contribution towards the realization of the principles and objectives of the United Nations. The world Organization has lost a diplomat from whose wisdom and experience we have all derived great benefits. It is all the poorer for the loss of a man whose fiery oratory inspired many of our debates.

7. The problems with which we are faced are neither new nor surprising. Actually, we are again confronted with the policy of aggression abroad and repression at home that the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia has been pursuing unceasingly. We are witnessing the death throes of an anachronistic régime which has been condemned by the entire international community and against which the whole people of Zimbabwe has risen up in arms, a régime that is maintaining itself in power thanks only to the support of private interests and monopolies greedy to exploit the natural resources of the country.

8. Current events prove beyond any doubt what we already knew, namely, that the very existence of the racist régime amounts to permanent aggression both against the people of Zimbabwe and against the independence of African States. The systematic terrorist actions of the armed forces and mercenaries of that régime threaten the security and independence of African countries, especially of the front-line States, as well as peace in the region and beyond. It is necessary immediately to check this threat, which has turned the region into the most acute hotbed of conflict in the world—as is proved by South Africa's most recent brutal attacks against Angola. In order to achieve this, it is imperative to take vigorous, direct and joint action.

9. Parallel with its aggression, the minority racist régime continues to pursue a policy of brutal repression against the people of Zimbabwe, endeavouring at the same time to legalize neo-colonial relationships through a so-called internal settlement. As a matter of fact, the racist régime is trying to impose on the people of Zimbabwe solutions that would deprive it of the fruits of its liberation struggle, solutions that would render genuine independence and free development impossible. The racist régime, is trying to achieve this through stage-managed elections to be held under the pressure of the repressive apparatus of the racist régime, the purpose of such elections being to impose on the people of Zimbabwe puppet groups of quislings with a view to creating a false impression that the racist régime has been eliminated. The final aim of these manoeuvres is to perpetuate oppression, to disrupt the united front of freedom fighters and to undermine the international support enjoyed by them. There is no doubt that these attempts, like all others, are bound to fail because today peoples are less willing than ever before to reconcile themselves to relations based on subjugation. The people of Zimbabwe are giving proof of this every day. Peoples cannot be deceived any more. They know how to distinguish freedom from lack of freedom and genuine independence from sham independence. All those who believe that by any kind of manoeuvring they can make someone other than a people's liberation movement speak in the name of that people are grossly mistaken. Actually, the purpose of such manoeuvres is to prolong the life of racist régimes, a course that would at the same time open the way to a confrontation of the global interests of the world Powers.

10. My country condemns most emphatically the aggressive actions against Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, in the same way as it condemns any attempt at imposing upon the people of Zimbabwe—by means of "internal settlements" and bogus elections—new forms of subjugation in place of the old ones. We must translate into practice the numerous resolutions of the United Nations and eliminate this most inhuman form of discrimination and oppression ever imposed on human beings.

11. In accordance with its policy of support for every authentic struggle for freedom and independence and against colonial domination, aggression and occupation, and in the spirit of its non-aligned policy and very close relations with the liberation movements and front-line States that are the bulwark of the freedom of Africa, my country will lend, within the limits of its abilities, all-out assistance to this struggle. Solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe, with the front-line States and with the countries of the African continent constitutes an obligation towards the fundamental principles of the United Nations—towards peace, freedom and the inalienable rights of men, peoples, nations and States.

12. The struggle waged by the peoples of southern Africa under the leadership of their liberation movements—and in this specific case by the people of Zimbabwe, headed by the Patriotic Front, the only authentic representative of that people—is not solely an African struggle but also a struggle involving all peoples and countries. Therefore, the international community is duty bound to support this struggle. It is indispensable to translate declarations against racial discrimination, minority rule and *apartheid* into actual deeds.

13. In that regard, the non-aligned countries have fulfilled their share of responsibility. They have confirmed by their

actions their support for the liberation of peoples. They have endorsed the principle of self-determination—construed as the right to independent national life and free social development—as the basic principle of their own policy since their first conference, held at Belgrade in 1961, and have propelled the struggle for its realization into active international life as one of the absolute priorities of their action.

14. Supporting peaceful settlements wherever they are possible on the basis of the principle of self-determination, the non-aligned countries have consistently supported the armed liberation struggle as a legitimate form leading towards the realization of the objectives of independence and freedom, to which every people is entitled under the Charter. These positions as an indivisible part of the totality of a policy of non-alignment have been affirmed at all gatherings of non-aligned countries—including the last ministerial conference, held at Belgrade, and the extraordinary ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries held at Maputo, Mozambique. These positions have also been embodied in all actions by all non-aligned countries in the United Nations. In order to strengthen the liberation struggle in all its forms, the Co-ordinating Bureau, meeting at Maputo, recommended that the sixth summit should admit the Patriotic Front as a full member of the non-aligned movement.

15. The non-aligned countries have made an historic contribution by initiating and accelerating the process of decolonization throughout the world, a process whereby millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America have achieved their independence. That is the reason why an increasing number of countries are rallying to the enduring values of non-alignment, and, for that very reason, the ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau underlined in its document [*see S/13185*] that, as an independent, global factor, the policy and principles of non-alignment had provided a firm basis for promoting and safeguarding the genuine independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and supporting the efforts of peoples under colonial oppression.

16. The firm determination of the peoples of southern Africa to continue their liberation struggle in all its forms constitutes a decisive factor in the attainment of their freedom and independence. International assistance and support are additional factors indispensable to the promotion of those objectives.

17. We are convinced that the situation in which the people of Zimbabwe finds themselves today calls for the taking of urgent measures with a view to thwarting the aggressive actions of the racist régime against the independent African States, supporting all the forms of the struggle waged by the Patriotic Front for the independence of Zimbabwe and preventing the legalization of the so-called internal settlement of 3 March 1978 or of any so-called representatives likely to emerge from stage-managed elections. Strong action at the national and the international levels should be undertaken by all Member States in order to prevent the recruitment of mercenaries by the racist régimes. It is also imperative to adopt the measures provided for in Article 41 of the Charter, to prevent the violation of existing mandatory sanctions and to impose new ones.

18. Our action of solidarity with the victims of colonialism and racism would not be complete if it failed to encompass the front-line States as well. It is therefore indispensable to condemn all acts of armed aggression and attempts at destabilization directed against Tanzania, Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique, as well as any other form of direct complicity in such acts.

19. We deem it necessary also to strengthen all forms of support for these States, both at the national and at the international level, in order to enable them to counter systematic aggression by racist régimes to which they are subjected owing to their role as secure rear bases for the liberation struggle and to help them overcome the security and economic consequences of such a situation.

20. To conclude, the process of the liberation of Zimbabwe has entered an advanced, actually decisive, phase. Racism is at the end of its strength: it is undermined from within, isolated abroad, subjected to the pressure of an ever-stronger and more united front of the forces of peace, independence and progress. This calls for more energetic action on our part. Consequently, we believe that the Security Council should act resolutely without any delay or hesitation. I wish to repeat that my country will give its unflinching support to such action.

21. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Sri Lanka. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

22. Mr. FERNANDO (Sri Lanka): Mr. President, at the outset let me thank you and through you the other members of the Council for this opportunity of saying a few words on the current situation in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. It is significant that you, as the representative of non-aligned Nigeria, with your wide experience and competence in the struggle against *apartheid* and racist domination in Africa, are to guide our deliberations during the current debate. It is also my duty to take this opportunity to congratulate not only you but the two previous Presidents of the Council, Ambassadors Mills and Bishara of Jamaica and Kuwait respectively, for their strenuous efforts to maintain the peace and security of the world. It is a matter of added pride to my delegation that all three of you are from non-aligned countries.

23. Permit me on this occasion to express on behalf of Sri Lanka and other non-aligned countries our deepest condolences on the death of Ambassador Jamil Baroody of Saudi Arabia.

24. We are facing the critical and final phase in the liberation of southern Africa. It is my duty as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries to recall the non-aligned countries' abiding commitment and historic contribution to the initiation and acceleration of the process of decolonization throughout the world. Since the first summit conference, the non-aligned countries have set themselves, as one of their fundamental and priority tasks, the total emancipation of subjugated peoples from racial discrimination and colonial exploitation. Proceeding from this commitment, the non-aligned countries have taken important initiatives in the United Nations and in other international forums which have significantly contributed to the independence of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Indeed these initiatives inaugurated the era of decolonization which is now regarded as one of the

salient achievements of the United Nations since its inception. In this context I wish not only to express our appreciation but to seek the co-operation and assistance of members of the Security Council that are not members of the non-aligned movement for the implementation of this historic task on behalf of humanity.

25. Only one month ago an extraordinary meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau was held at Maputo to consider the situation in southern Africa and to reiterate the collective solidarity and unflinching support of the non-aligned countries for the peoples of southern Africa at this critical and decisive phase in their struggle for freedom from colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* and the attainment of their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence. Our support is based on the policy and principles of non-alignment as enunciated by the heads of State and Government at our summit conferences. Our principles include the inalienable right of people to self-determination and true independence and the right of all people to live without contravention of their human rights as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is in this context that we call upon the Security Council to make every effort to contribute to the liquidation of the inhuman régime in Zimbabwe and to put an end to the colonization of Zimbabwe.

26. As I see it, there are certain aspects relating to the situation which must engage the attention of the Council and indeed of the entire international community.

27. First, in the colony the illegal Smith régime continues, in pursuance of the theory and practice of its perverted race doctrine, to harass, torture, intimidate and deny the most elementary human rights to the people of Zimbabwe and to detain, imprison, persecute and execute freedom fighters and those struggling for the liberation of their country. The few token cosmetic gestures of "liberalization" in no way alter the basic barbarity of the régime. All this has been condemned before: it needs to be condemned again and again until the entire system is destroyed. At Maputo, Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries were acutely aware that, "in a desperate bid to survive, the illegal minority régime is increasingly resorting to massacres and acts of repression against the broad masses". Those who support the régime actively, or by apathy, are condoning these practices and are guilty of encouraging them.

28. Secondly, as part of this desperate bid to survive, the régime last year foisted upon the colony the so-called internal settlement. At the non-aligned ministerial conference held last year at Belgrade, our Ministers rejected and totally condemned the so-called internal settlement in Southern Rhodesia. They considered that agreement to be a sham and a fraudulent attempt to consolidate racist minority power and stated that a just solution would be possible only if it was based on the wishes of the majority. I wish also to reiterate the following words used by the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka in a statement a few months ago:

"We do not have confidence in the internal settlement, we do not accept any settlement that excluded the participation of the Patriotic Front, which has been recognized by the Organization of African Unity as the sole liberation movement of Zimbabwe. The internal settlement, we feel, is intended to preserve the political and economic interests of the minority for the foreseeable future. We

believe that the policy of racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia could end only—and only—by a genuine transfer of power to the majority based on the principle of one man, one vote.”

29. I need not go into this settlement any further on this occasion. I would merely refer to Security Council resolution 423 (1978), which condemned it. Following on that agreement, the régime has taken steps towards an election to take place on 20 April. The terms and conditions under which the so-called election is to take place is the most telling commentary on the régime's real intention—to entrench its rule and further to ensnare the people of Zimbabwe in its murderous clutches. The result is prearranged to operate totally against genuine freedom and independence. It is the duty of the Council to denounce the election in advance for what it is intended to be: an unmitigated, crudely concealed act of political hypocrisy and deceit, an insult to the declared views of the international community. The pseudo-election should receive no recognition of any sort and all States have a duty to avoid giving it even an implied form of recognition. The principle is clear: as stated in General Assembly resolution 33/38A, there should be no independence before majority rule and any settlement affecting the future of the colony, whatever its title or status, must be worked out in accordance with the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe and with the full participation of the Patriotic Front.

30. The third aspect which should be of concern to us is represented by the acts of wanton aggression that the régime is continuing to commit against the front-line States which are supporting the just and legitimate liberation struggle in that Crown Colony. The grave concern of the non-aligned countries was clearly expressed at the extraordinary ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau at Maputo which had as its central theme “to provide an opportunity for expressing heightened solidarity with the liberation movements and the front-line States”.

31. The Security Council, as the custodian of international peace and security, has before it numerous resolutions condemning acts of aggression committed by the Smith régime against the independent States of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, and calling for the termination of those acts. The response from the Smith régime has been only to step up the brutal attacks and to penetrate even deeper into those States, violating their sovereignty and territorial integrity and causing death and destruction. The credibility of the Council itself is on trial. Clearly the régime in Rhodesia is receiving sustenance and support and there are leaks and loopholes in existing sanctions. These must be sealed.

32. The Security Council must take effective steps to bring the illegal régime to order, to destroy the racist structure in the country, to prevent and thwart all attempts at achieving dubious “settlements” and deals, and to bring about conditions genuinely allowing for the exercise of the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence. At the non-aligned ministerial meeting at Maputo, Ministers urged

“concerted action by the non-aligned countries, particularly those represented in the Security Council, in support of the resolution adopted at the fifteenth summit of African heads of State held at Khartoum in July 1978, aimed at the adoption of the measures provided for in Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations”.

At the same conference, the Co-ordinating Bureau recommended that the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe should be admitted as a full member of the non-aligned movement as “a telling further support for the liberation struggle waged by the people of Zimbabwe, led by the Patriotic Front, for the speedy establishment of a free, independent and non-aligned Zimbabwe”.

33. Though the international community has been mindful of the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against the Ian Smith régime, there have been inconsistencies of attitude among certain States Members of the United Nations. In these circumstances it is our duty to appeal to all Member States to lend their full support to settle this critical situation in Zimbabwe. There are some members of the international community who may advocate different methods to achieve the universally accepted goal. It is our duty to understand them, but to renew our call to them to join us in this struggle to uphold the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe. I am making this call because it is essential that the entire international community should at this stage pledge its moral, material and political assistance to the people of Zimbabwe.

34. The struggle of the people of Zimbabwe is not only their own, but the struggle of all peoples who believe in freedom, independence and human dignity. In this context, I wish to appeal to the members of the Security Council to undertake effective measures, taking into consideration all relevant provisions of the Charter, to deal decisively with the aggressive actions of the racist régime which threatened peace and security in the region as well as in the rest of the world.

35. Mr. ROLÓN ANAYA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation cannot but convey to you the pleasure we feel at seeing you conducting the Council's business in the third month of this year, which marks a difficult period for world peace and security. Bolivia, which, as I have said before in this same forum, is one of the countries of Latin America which has suffered most from a threefold colonialism, has a firm resolve which has already been put into effect to some extent: that of soon establishing diplomatic representation in Nigeria and, through that representation, enhancing the most brotherly relationships with all the peoples of Africa.

36. I have experienced at first hand and personally admired the tireless endeavours and efforts of your predecessor, Ambassador Bishara, to re-establish peace in another region of the world. I wish to state for the record the sincere gratitude of my delegation to the representative of Kuwait, particularly since strangely uncomprehending speakers have accused the Council of inactivity, without noticing that it is ceaselessly active, through its President, through the non-aligned countries, through small countries like my own, and through all those which are really interested in world peace and security in confronting the regional warfare waged by some of the major Powers well known to all, whose action paralyses the Council.

37. In different places in the world, vast and lengthy regional conflicts constantly renew the threat to world peace and security. The underlying cause of those disturbances is always the same, although the labels, faces or intentions may change. Actions may be overt or covert, but the colonialist problem is the same as manifested in the

dispute over spheres of influence. In southern Africa it appears as undisguisedly and basely racist and inhuman action undertaken by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia.

38. Yet again there have been two kinds of aggression in that region. One is openly international in nature: it is the armed action of Rhodesia against Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. The other is of an institutional nature: it appears in the so-called internal settlement, the aim of which is to impose the power of racist minorities against the liberation of the peoples of Africa.

39. Bolivia condemns the attacks of the Rhodesian régime against the front-line States and deplores the incredible prolongation of the hostilities for more than 10 years; it agrees with representatives of African States that local war in the south of that continent could spread and lead to a world war if we do not take more resolute action.

40. Aggression of an institutional nature, by virtue of its simulation of democracy, also deserves condemnation, because it makes a mockery of the best aims of genuine majority rule based on legitimate elections. It is absurd to claim that there can be genuinely free elections in a country at war. We therefore fully agree that a plebiscite which is not free is illegal; that a plebiscite which does not pursue the genuine independence of a country and is not organized by the government of the majority but imposed by an illegal minority must also be illegal, even though self-appointed observers may claim to validate it.

41. All those threats and other reasons have led my delegation to join in sponsoring the draft resolution submitted [2120th meeting] with appropriate reasoning by the representative of Jamaica on behalf of the non-aligned members of the Council, with which Bolivia makes common cause yet again because of the consistency that it has always maintained in its unswerving anti-colonialist stand.

42. In closing, I would express the deep regret of my delegation at the death of Ambassador Jamil Baroody, representative of Saudi Arabia, the dean of the United Nations diplomatic corps, as that unforgettable man has been called. On behalf of the people and Government of Bolivia, I express to his country and to his family our most sincere condolences.

43. The PRESIDENT: There are no further names on the list of speakers. I shall therefore now make a statement in my capacity as representative of NIGERIA.

44. I recall that within weeks of Smith's unilateral declaration of independence, Nigeria played host to the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers at Lagos, at which we were told that the rebellion by Ian Smith would be brought down in weeks rather than in months. That was in January 1966, and almost 13 years have elapsed since that Conference; yet we are no nearer a solution today than we were then.

45. The Government of the United Kingdom, while accepting legal responsibility for the Territory, has not discharged this responsibility on the ground. We know, for example, that the British Government has never hesitated to act fast and firmly wherever its colonial authority was challenged, even in the name of freedom. It did so before

Smith's unilateral declaration of independence and has, in fact, done so in recent times. An impression has been allowed to be created that the kith and kin factor is the key to this puzzling colonial policy of Whitehall. One cannot but arrive at the conclusion that Britain has protective policies towards white minority régimes in southern Africa, which it did so much to create. Even an extension of peaceful sanctions against Rhodesia has been opposed.

46. Even at this late hour, my delegation calls on the British Government, as the administering Power, to take all necessary steps to bring down the Smith rebellion. We call on Britain to return the Territory to legality, to ensure that independence will be granted and that political power will be handed over only on the basis of majority rule in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Unless the administering Power acts along these lines, it should be prepared to accept full responsibility for the racial war into which Rhodesia is gradually sliding.

47. It is not my intention to recount here the various manœuvres adopted by the illegal Smith régime to thwart all the efforts by the international community at evolving a solution to the Zimbabwe problem in a manner consistent with the legitimate aspirations of the majority population in the Territory. One thing, however, remains clear. Smith has consistently manipulated, and continues to manipulate, a section of world opinion. We have witnessed many initiatives. Numerous peace talks have taken place. But Smith remains in power. Only under military pressure as well as international sanctions does Smith appear to make some seemingly conciliatory gestures.

48. No doubt the Anglo-American proposals were conceded in principle by Smith as a means of easing the military pressure from black nationalist freedom fighters.

49. Indeed, Nigeria supported the Anglo-American plan out of pragmatic necessity to bring to a merciful end the ongoing hardship and agony of the people of the Territory. We felt that the honour, prestige and power of the United States would assist in the evolution of a solution to the problem of Zimbabwe. But all along we felt scepticism regarding Smith's bona fides in any meaningful negotiations. And as if to justify our misgivings, negotiations for the implementation of the plan soon became bogged down when the rebel leader insisted on retaining the present structure of his notorious army, paramilitary police force and the judiciary.

50. The stage was then set for an internal settlement which pretended to concede some shadow of black participation in an interim administration for the Territory pending the establishment of a multiracial Government with a so-called majority-rule orientation. The 3 March 1978 agreement, the basis of the current interim administration in the Territory, has even been described in Western circles as the worst sell-out in modern constitutional history, for all the crucial arms of Government are still entrenched in the hands of the same coterie of racists who have exploited the Territory during these past 13 years.

51. Even the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the two main blacks in the Smith Government, admitted in the press that the decision to attack Zambia last October was taken without even the elementary

courtesy of consulting them in the Cabinet. They have been powerless to alleviate the hardship imposed on blacks as a result of restrictions of blacks to certain areas, or so-called protected villages, which are nothing but concentration camps in the classical sense. Muzorewa and Sithole are powerless to stop the executions, or, to put it correctly, judicial murders, which are being carried out by the illegal Smith régime. Since the signing of the internal settlement agreement on 3 March 1978, more and more people are known to have been sentenced to death. When Her Majesty the Queen recently granted amnesty to certain black Africans in Southern Rhodesia who had been condemned to death, Smith repudiated that and proceeded with the executions. This is the same Smith with whom we are dealing, the same Smith who rebuffed the British Crown, the same Smith who seized power, the same Smith who is now being given tacit recognition in the so-called elections which are to be supervised, if we may use that word at this stage.

52. With regard to the international efforts at resolving the conflict, I think it would be correct to assume, therefore, that the Anglo-American initiative has slid into an icebox. In fact, I believe those initiatives are dead, because we do not hear of Prem Chand, we hear that Lord Carver has been withdrawn, and there is no sign that the great Powers which put their honour and prestige behind the settlement intend to continue their efforts. Again, the factors bringing about such a stalemate are manifestly evident. The United States Administration pleaded domestic pressure last year in the granting of visas to Smith and his clique to visit the United States. The United States Administration claimed that it would in fact exploit the visit to put a few home-truths bluntly before the rebel leader. It was in vain that we not only pointed out the fact that Smith's visit would be tantamount to a reversal of the new United States policy in Africa and diminish United States credibility, but also, and more important, contended—and rightly too—that the visit would amount to a flagrant violation of Security Council resolution 253 (1968), on sanctions.

53. Smith had designs of his own. By bringing Sithole with him, he planned to appeal to right-wing elements in this country. He contended that his so-called biracial experiment should be given a chance. He revamped the usual call to prevent the emergence of Marxist-oriented Governments in the region.

54. Surprisingly, he almost succeeded; for, even before Smith left the shores of the United States, right-wing elements in Congress had initiated sustained pressure to force the Carter Administration into rescinding its commitment to applying the United Nations mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia. The same caucus has been stepping up pressure for the dispatch of an observer mission to monitor the sham elections now scheduled for April 1979. Elections based on the 3 March 1978 agreement prescribed by the illegal Smith government cannot be considered free, fair or legal, no matter whether they are observed or not. Legitimacy can obviously not flow from illegality. As a first step, Smith has to be removed—and we were told this by the Anglo-Americans. Legality must first be restored to the Territory; only then can the international community recognize processes of decolonization and only under such conditions can these be put into effect. It was on that basis that Nigeria gave support and help to the process of the Anglo-American formula.

55. I need not repeat the horrors of the attacks which have taken place within the past week. One need only highlight some new dimensions. Smith has now started raiding African countries not contiguous to Rhodesia. The Rhodesian war situation has therefore grown wider. It is an obvious and well-documented fact that the targets of many of these raids are innocent civilian centres and refugee camps and not guerrilla bases, as is almost automatically claimed and reported by much of the Western media.

56. In addition, we should bear in mind that there has been a further escalation of the conflict in the area, for this morning the South African racist Government bombarded Angola, in succession to the actions of the Smith régime last week. Obviously, the alliance has now come closer to perfection, allowing the racist settler colonial systems and régimes in southern Africa to continue to push African States into retaliation, which would lead to conflagration and a racial war in the area.

57. In Rhodesia itself the war has become intense. About 90 per cent of the Territory is under martial law. Civilian blacks continue to suffer from the process of enslavement and dehumanization. Yet some among us continue to be insensitive to their plight.

58. The advertised press campaign of deception in the United States and British media, in particular, is comical to many of us who know the facts. But these deliberate distortions appear to be concerted. Over the past days there have been regular commercials by the Smith régime and its supporters based on falsehoods which have been broadcast by many important and key radio stations in the United States. These advertisements are no doubt beamed at and play on the weaknesses of certain elements in the West by regularly displaying photographs and picturing the heroic leaders of the subjected people of southern Africa as bloodthirsty communists.

59. We believe that both the United States and the United Kingdom can, given the necessary political will, still act jointly to stave off the racial holocaust which will ensue in Zimbabwe if Smith is not removed from power, as they promised. My Government understands the pressures of those elements in the United Kingdom and the United States that wish to derail the policies of the existing Governments of these States in the interests of a racist settlement in southern Africa. It is a pity—a great pity indeed—that human values have become subject to party politics in those countries.

60. As a first step, and since the situation in Zimbabwe continues to pose a threat to international peace and security, my delegation strongly feels that the Council must pronounce itself firmly and unequivocally on the current political charade being stage-managed in Rhodesia. We must condemn and reject in advance the oncoming elections, scheduled for the month of April, stating clearly and categorically that the Council will recognize neither such fraudulent elections nor any Government purported to have emanated from that electoral process.

61. In accordance with the resolution just adopted by the Nairobi meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Organi-

zation of African Unity, we should also call on all States not to send any observer missions to the Territory, since this would be misconstrued as an endorsement of the sham elections sponsored by the rebel régime. Any official encouragement given to observe any elections under the aegis of the illegal régime will amount to support for continuing racial domination, to a reneging by those countries on their commitments under resolution 423 (1978), and to a repudiation of the decisions and aspirations of all the member Governments of the Organization of African Unity and of the peoples of Africa. It will mean a rejection of the point of view of almost all the Members of the United Nations and it will mean, *ipso facto*, support for white racial supremacy and racial war. It will amount also to repudiation, in the African context, of Western value systems, of democracy and social justice.

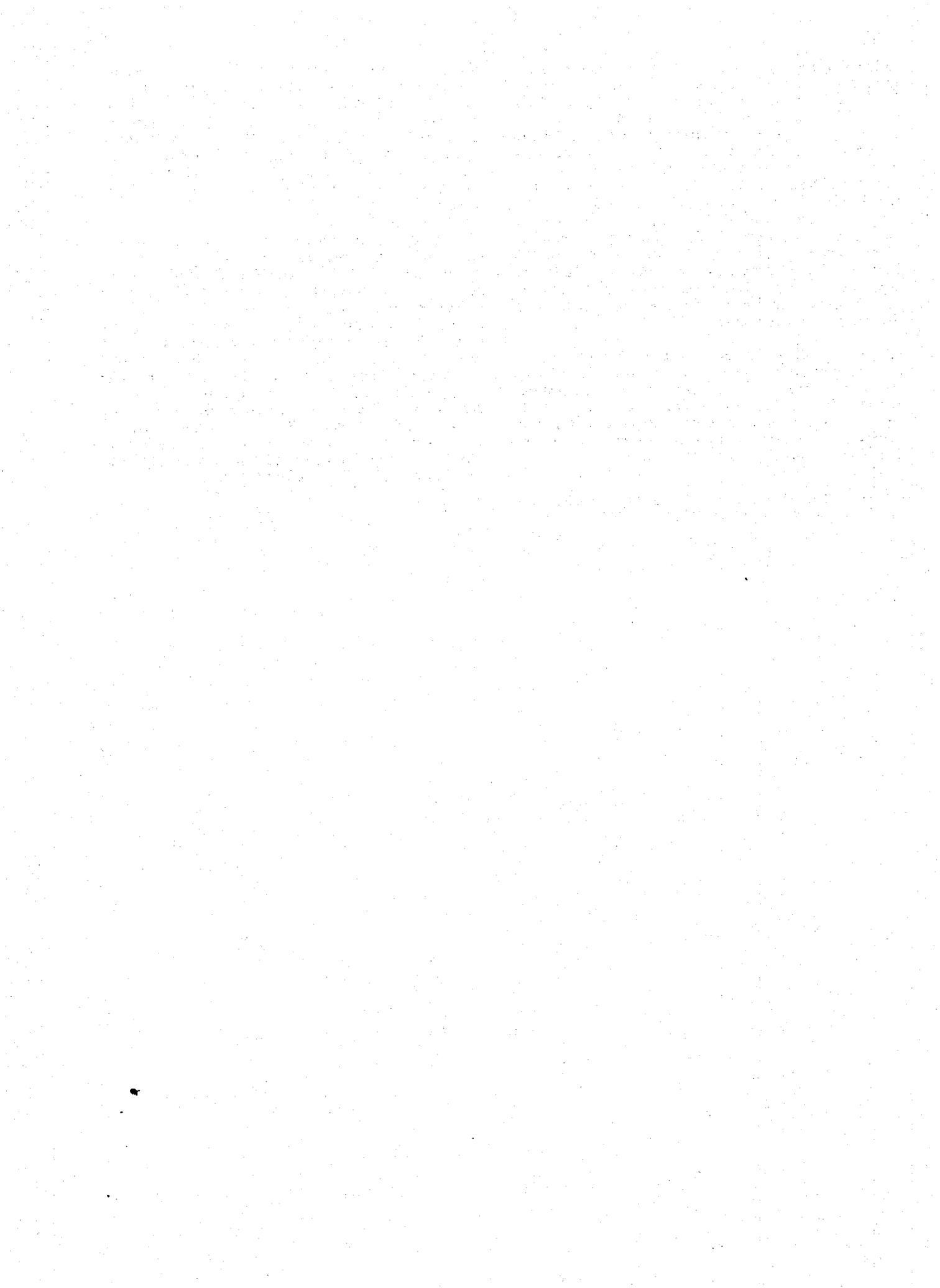
62. Finally, the Committee on Sanctions¹ must meet as soon as possible to work out means for reviewing and strengthening the current mandatory sanctions against the régime. We must keep up the pressure against the Smith régime until the rebellion is brought down and a legal process in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) is brought about.

¹ Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia.

63. My Government, my people, my country—Nigeria—will continue to give political and material support to the Patriotic Front in its legitimate struggle for the freedom and independence of its people. We call on all States to render similar assistance to Zimbabwe's sole liberation movement and to all front-line States which, in the process of executing the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, have become victims of racist bombings and racist threats.

64. My delegation hopes that the Security Council will take appropriate measures—sooner rather than later—if the potentially explosive situation in Rhodesia is to be defused and the threat of Ian Smith and his illegal racist régime to international peace and security is to be removed from the region. This is a simple matter within the capability of the Council. We hope that Zimbabweans will not remember this debate as just another routine exercise in futility by the Council, but that the Council will uphold the principles of justice, freedom and human dignity, in accordance with the Charter. That is what the Zimbabweans are fighting for. That is what the Smith régime is challenging, in its defiance of the international community—defiance which the elements in the United States and in the United Kingdom to which I have referred are striving to support.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.



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