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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2062)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia: Letter dated 1 March 1978 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Upper Volta to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12578)	1

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2062nd MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 7 March 1978, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Ivor RICHARD
(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bolivia, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Kuwait, Mauritius, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2062)

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

Letter dated 1 March 1978 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Upper Volta to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12578)

The meeting was called to order at 4.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:

Letter dated 1 March 1978 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Upper Volta to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12578)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the Council at its 2061st meeting, I invite the representatives of Angola, Benin, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Upper Volta and Zambia to participate in the debate without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Houngavou (Benin), Mr. Lobo (Mozambique), Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. Bamba (Upper Volta) and Miss Konie (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that a letter has been received from the representative of Kenya in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion. 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 accordance with Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

3. In view of the limited number of places at the Council table, I invite the representative of Kenya to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber on the usual understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table whenever he wishes to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Maina (Kenya) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 7 March from the representatives of Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria. This letter has been distributed as document S/12585 and reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that, during its meetings devoted to consideration of the 'Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia', the Council extend invitations under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Robert G. Mugabe and Mr. Joshua M. Nkomo, Co-leaders of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe."

5. As there is no objection to the request, I intend, at the appropriate moment, to invite Mr. Mugabe and Mr. Nkomo to make their statements.

It was so decided.

6. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them the text of a letter dated 6 March from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations [S/12583] transmitting the text of a letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria.

7. The first speaker is the representative of Mozambique. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

8. Mr. LOBO (Mozambique): Mr. President, on speaking for the first time at this series of meetings of the Council, I should like first of all to pay my tribute to you personally and, through you, to all the members of the Council and the people they represent. To you, I want to reaffirm the total support of the People's Republic of Mozambique in your search for a just settlement of the particular issue in question, namely, a settlement in Southern Rhodesia, which for a long time now has been a concern of the international community.

9. Once more we find ourselves debating in the Council the question of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, where the illegal racist régime still defies the opinion and

will of the international community and has for the last decade systematically ignored the resolutions of this august body.

10. Ever since Ian Smith illegally occupied that Territory, every attempt to reach a peaceful solution of the problem has not only failed but has been received by the minority and the illegal régime at Salisbury with a clearcut answer of total challenge, expressed in various ways ranging from simple disregard of the public opinion expressed by the United Nations to acts of aggression and violations of the territory of neighbouring sovereign States, where Smith has been committing some of the most barbaric massacres ever known to mankind. And now he has assumed the dual role of rebel subordinate and administering Power, unilaterally exercising the prerogatives rightfully belonging to the colonial Power. Or should we assume that this carries the blessing of that same colonial Power?

11. Only today, a fresh report of another aggressive raid by Smith's racist forces has come over the foreign news wires. Reuters reported that Rhodesian security forces had struck into neighbouring Zambia killing at least 38 Zimbabweans and many Zambians and causing new and costly damage to property.

12. To this moment, Smith has exhibited all this arrogance apparently towards the United Kingdom, the administering Power of the Southern Rhodesian colony, and towards the international community. One is tempted to ask where all this force exhibited by Smith comes from. Who is behind him, causing him to behave in such a bold way from 11 November 1965 to this latest manoeuvre of the so-called internal settlement? It is evident that, without the support which Smith gets from his Western allies, the racist and illegal Smith régime would not have survived all the measures adopted by the United Nations, although those measures unfortunately have not been honoured by some of the Members which have not complied with the action initiated by the international community.

13. We know that all these ideas and plans could not be master-minded entirely by Smith himself and his direct collaborators. Plans of this nature are part of the imperialist global strategy to prevent the creation of progressive régimes which are contrary to the interests of imperialism, in Africa in general and particularly in that area.

14. We know too that the plan which has been conceived and which is now being implemented by Smith and those who support him, overtly or covertly, was meant to create a group of puppets for the prevention of the solution to the problem which might be reached through the dialogue taking place between the Patriotic Front and the Anglo-American group, and that the purpose was to protect certain interests in the area. We are afraid, however, that once again the wrong approach has been adopted by Smith and his friends.

15. It should be clear that the establishment of a puppet government in Zimbabwe would encourage South Africa to go ahead with its plans to install a similar system in Namibia. Those two objectives would serve the intentions of the Vorster régime which, by strategically setting up the

two Territories within South Africa's sphere of influence—inasmuch as South Africa would support them economically, politically and materially—would be enabled to proceed with its policy of bantustanization of South Africa, and henceforth would be supported by the puppet governments of independent Zimbabwe and Namibia, to the detriment of Africa.

16. Once again, the international community should not remain indifferent to this further affront and challenge from the illegal régime at Salisbury. It must stop this action because, if it fails to adopt proper measures to block the so-called internal settlement, such failure will put the entire United Nations in a position of contradiction, since the Organization has designated Lieutenant-General Prem Chand as its representative in Rhodesia during the transitional period.

17. My country considers that the Anglo-American proposals provide some basic elements for the negotiations to be carried out with the Patriotic Front, the legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe, with a view to finding a negotiable solution to the problem, as was said by my President, Mr. Samora Moisés Machel, in his statement before the General Assembly on 3 October 1977.¹

18. To ignore the Patriotic Front and not to proceed with the negotiations on the basis of the Anglo-American proposals will not contribute in any way to a peaceful solution of the Rhodesian problem, because the people of Zimbabwe and Africa are as one in not tolerating that situation. The people of Zimbabwe, under the legitimate leadership of the Patriotic Front, will continue to intensify the armed struggle and the People's Republic of Mozambique, together with other front-line States, will redouble their support in every way they can until the people of Zimbabwe win dignified, complete and total independence. Not to consider the Patriotic Front a valid interlocutor is to ignore the realities of Zimbabwe.

19. The present situation demands that we should face our responsibilities. By assuming them we do not imply that the international community should serve as a substitute for the Zimbabwean people in their national liberation struggle, but that we must firmly and decisively support them in their effort to reach a just settlement which can guarantee peace in the country.

20. We must isolate and completely liquidate Ian Smith, together with his settlement and his puppets who, in order to satisfy their own personal interests, have revealed their true character as traitors to Africa in the line of Moïse Tshombé, Ojuko, Holden Roberto and Savimbi, who shamelessly betrayed their own people and the people of Africa as a whole. Africa is ashamed of those who have betrayed Zimbabweans who gave their lives in action, of those who betrayed all the refugees who were murdered in cowardly and merciless fashion in Chimoio, Nyazonia and the Smith prisons. Africa is ashamed of those betraying all the young Zimbabweans who have had to give up all prospect of a normal life in order to risk their lives for a

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 17th meeting.

meaningful freedom for their motherland. Those detestable characters have not only betrayed both dead and living Zimbabweans, but have gone to the extent of betraying even those not yet born. By the time the future generation comes into this world, those poor innocent children will find themselves in a world of discrimination where each will be either a black Zimbabwean, or a white Zimbabwean with dual citizenship—in other words, a colonialist but never just a Zimbabwean who happens to be white.

21. We ask: is the Security Council going to permit the legalization of discrimination and the perpetuation of the state of tension in Zimbabwe? How will Africa explain to the young Zimbabwean some years from now the whole political tragedy and frustration with which he will find himself surrounded, and how will that young Zimbabwean react? The idea that he will not mind or that he will tolerate such a fate can only occur to someone who either is not serious and realistic or is somehow suffering from a racist complex, perhaps even without being aware of it.

22. Smith should not be given another opportunity to degrade humanity. The Security Council should stop him. The dignity of Africa must be preserved and we cannot preserve it by allowing the kind of settlement that is signed by men who are traitors to and renegades of the liberation cause of an entire people, men who have opted for an alliance with a racist and Fascist régime in order to perpetuate the racial discrimination, humiliation and exploitation that have so long been endured by the people of Zimbabwe. The people of Zimbabwe have suffered more than enough. The fact is that the newly concocted plan of deceit and deprivation will add further strength to their united desire to continue fighting for their just cause. The denial of their representation by the Patriotic Front will inevitably invite their most militant opposition and will intensify the armed struggle. It is extremely regrettable that a few turncoats who have chosen to satisfy selfish ambitions at the expense of swallowing self-respect and dignity, including love for their country and compatriots, have further sparked and aggravated violent repercussions.

23. While our desire is to achieve peace and not to internationalize the conflict, an end to the current clashes can be attained only through the honest and truthful resolution of the conflict. The kind of settlement maliciously arranged under the terms reported in the press will never work out. We must assure a genuine transfer of power from the minority régime to majority rule. The international community must channel all the necessary efforts to ensure real independence for Zimbabwe.

24. We wish in particular to address an appeal to the representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States, who took as their responsibility the elaboration of proposals which have been the basis of negotiations with the Patriotic Front. The time has come to back up their proposals. We should also like to address an appeal to all the Western Powers that are in one way or another seriously involved in the question of Zimbabwe. We should like to see them make an earnest effort and, if necessary, take energetic steps to persuade and influence Ian Smith to desist from going ahead with his macabre plans, which can only lead to regrettable consequences. The international

community should be concerned with the latest Smith manoeuvres in order to avoid a *fait accompli* on this question. The Salisbury régime, conspiring with the puppet groups of Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau, is staging the macabre manoeuvre of a so-called internal solution, with the end in view of setting up a neo-colonialist régime which will wait for the action of the racist régime in South Africa to increase the already existing tension in the area.

25. The People's Republic of Mozambique vigorously condemns the Smith manoeuvre. The immediate removal of Ian Smith, the leader of the racist minority rebel Government, is the first condition that is required for any effort to solve this problem to be successful and to be implemented in the right manner. Ian Smith has been the author of all the drama of Rhodesia, and it is still the same Ian Smith who has acted as the main protagonist, causing the failure of every legitimate attempt at negotiation to resolve the Rhodesian problem throughout the 13 years of his racist rebellion.

26. We believe that the effectiveness of the proposals submitted depends to a large extent upon the determination and sincerity shown by your Government, Mr. President, by the Government of the United States and by the international community in general.

27. We have come to the Security Council to pledge anew our faith in its proven capability and strength to meet head on even greater threats to international peace and security. It is with this same conviction that we rally the Council to take its turn and act effectively to cope with the worsening danger to the peace-loving members of the international community who have jointly expressed their condemnation and rejection of the attempts to deceive Zimbabwe and its people and the rest of the world.

28. My country, the People's Republic of Mozambique, born out of the sacrifices of the best sons of the Mozambican people, will continue to fulfil its responsibilities in supporting the people of Zimbabwe, through the Patriotic Front, until they achieve their final victory: a dignified, total and complete independence.

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

30. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): Mr. President, in view of the agreement establishing diplomatic relations between our two countries that we signed here in New York not too long ago, allow me to convey to you and to your Government the best wishes of my Government and myself and our hope for ties of friendship and co-operation to our mutual benefit.

31. Furthermore, it is fitting indeed that the present Security Council debate should take place under the presidency of the United Kingdom, which, first as a colonial Power and later as the administering Power, has been more intricately involved in the affairs of Zimbabwe than any other country in the world.

32. For its part, the People's Republic of Angola is a front-line State which has always been deeply committed to

the liberation of southern Africa, to the eradication of racism, *apartheid*, minority rule and the denial of fundamental freedoms to the majority inhabitants of any country. We are participating in the debate today for the purpose of restating our position, reiterating our support for the Patriotic Front in its struggle to liberate Zimbabwe from the stranglehold of a racist minority régime and to renew our pledge to all the freedom fighters of southern Africa to establish majority rule and a just and equitable society.

33. We in southern Africa are tired of war. For generations we have been battling all over Africa to achieve independence. Much blood has been shed. The lives of countless generations have been sacrificed so that we might win freedom. But if southern Africa requires of us further and even greater sacrifices, we are willing to serve, so that ultimately our oppressed brethren in that area will achieve our common destiny and our common dream: freedom and complete independence.

34. There are many forms of imperialism and colonialism today. Peace will not come to the area as long as any settlement achieved by the illegal racist Smith régime continues to ignore the genuine liberation movement: the Patriotic Front. The negotiations that have been taking place between Smith and certain elements within Zimbabwe and the agreement that has recently been signed are all a farce, a mockery of justice, a deception of the greatest magnitude. We view it with horror because it will merely prolong the state of war that exists in Zimbabwe today and that will continue unabated as long as the people, led by their vanguard movement the Patriotic Front, do not get their full rights. We also view with sorrow the fact that certain elements in Zimbabwe have allowed Smith to pull the wool over their eyes and are unwittingly, or deliberately, carrying out the designs of imperialist Powers.

35. That so-called internal settlement can only damage chances for a just solution to the conflict; it can delay true liberation, but it cannot prevent it. The revolutionary militants of the People's Republic of Angola throw their full weight behind the efforts of the Patriotic Front; and we state boldly and clearly that, unless that internal settlement is rejected and condemned and unless negotiations with the Patriotic Front are again effectively put in motion, the only course left open to the people of Zimbabwe will be armed struggle.

36. The MPLA Working Party and the Government of the People's Republic of Angola condemn the internal settlement, whose sole purpose is the retention and legitimization of the ruling racist clique. We reject this insult to our intelligence and our integrity. We are asked to believe that Smith has agreed to one-man, one-vote majority rule and freedom for the Zimbabwean people. And yet, consider some of the provisions of the settlement: although the electoral roll is described as a common roll, in practice it works out to separate racial rolls for white and black voters; it provides for the retention and perpetuation of Smith's public services, Smith's police force, Smith's defence force, Smith's prison service and Smith's judiciary—all those who have been victims of colonialism know that the judiciary—an essential element of a minority administration—pen-

sions are to be remittable outside the country, enabling the former racist colonialists to continue to be subsidized by and exploit Zimbabwean labour, people and products; citizens who are at present entitled to dual citizenship are to retain that privilege, and so people will be subsidized who may have no stake at all in the future of Zimbabwe.

37. Other details of the agreement reveal that the Smith clique will maintain the *status quo* for 10 years, plus the transitional period. After the transitional period, the "parliament" will be able to enact "ordinary" legislation by a simple majority, but the administration of that legislation and the governing of the country will remain in the hands of the existing civil service; the police force and judiciary and the armed forces supporting the Government will retain their present composition. Are we being asked to accept that as "freedom" for the Zimbabwean people?

38. At this very moment the Fascist, racist troops of Smith and those who signed the so-called internal settlement are attacking the independent nation of Zambia.

39. I wonder how many of us in this chamber really know the full extent of the racism, oppression, exploitation and inequality that engulf the lives of native black Zimbabweans. The strict censorship imposed by the Smith régime has effectively shut off from the world the abyss of horror and deprivation in which black Zimbabweans live, while white Rhodesians are free to migrate. For example, Smith's troops have orders to shoot any Zimbabwean children who wander outside their "protected" villages. That news was revealed in the course of parliamentary debates at Salisbury and escaped censorship because of a loophole permitting the reporting of statements made by legislators. Those "protected" villages are fenced and patrolled hamlets—almost concentration camps—in which blacks have been forcibly regrouped, and they were first introduced in 1973. There are at present over 200 such protected villages, mainly in the north-east and south-east of the country, with new ones being established daily in the north-west as well.

40. There are over 580,000 blacks who have been compulsorily removed to those villages, which are overcrowded, lack sanitary facilities, clean water and sufficient food; and the blacks who have been forced to move into them have not been compensated for the property they were forced to abandon when they were transported into those camps. To force them to move, their black settlements were burned down. It is interesting to note that the "protected village" system was devised by the British in Malaya in the 1950s and tried by the United States and the puppet Saigon régime in the Viet-Nam war.

41. Reports of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia and of Amnesty International tell tales of torture and electric-shock treatment meted out to blacks at the hands of Smith's 30,000-strong security forces. The Commission's report states that "the practice of torture has become a common event in the lives of people in the rural areas" at the hands of Government security forces, whose brutality has succeeded in driving many people into joining the guerrillas.

42. The administering Power, for various reasons, has made no attempt to denounce the settlement, although Mr. Owen stated at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly,² not too long ago, that only negotiated settlements which were internationally acceptable and which had the full support of the United Nations would end the violence and achieve stable majority rule. Now we hear cautiously worded statements coming out of London, as well as Washington, implying acceptance of Smith's farcical settlement. And then the Western world wonders at our "phobia" of imperialism and neo-colonialism and finds our alliances with our genuine friends inexplicable and "dangerous".

43. We reiterate our stand that any settlement of the Zimbabwe question has to include the Patriotic Front and that power has to be handed over to the legitimate representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. We have every reason to doubt Smith's motives; we are fully justified in harbouring deep suspicions about his nefarious plans. Consider some of the following facts.

44. There was a 300 per cent increase in the defence budget of the Smith régime between 1972 and 1976, with a 26 per cent increase predicted for 1977-1978. Between March 1976 and 1977, there were 143 attacks by the Smith forces against Mozambique alone. Zimbabwe has a population of 6.3 million, of which the white minority forms only 250,000. Yet there are 85,406 registered white voters while only about 10,000 blacks so far have the franchise—less than two-hundredths of one per cent. Military spending is taking up 27 per cent of the budget, or almost \$1 million per day.

45. A very pertinent question at this point—one that is linked to this so-called settlement, and to the efforts now being made to win recognition for the settlement—is how the Smith régime could have lasted all these years if it were not for the direct and indirect help afforded to the racist régime from abroad, most noticeably, of course, from Pretoria, with the connivance of the imperialist Powers. The reports of the Committee on Sanctions,³ of the Committee of 24⁴ and of other United Nations organs show quite clearly that Smith could afford to ignore United Nations decisions because of the overt and covert support which he has been receiving from his allies. Who are Smith's allies?

46. We are not debating the issue of sanctions; yet the issue of vital supplies, such as petroleum, is fundamental to the existence of the Smith régime. Even by the most conservative estimates, the régime has 5,000 armed soldiers, 1,200 air force men, 80 combat aircraft and 4,000 reservists and 6,400 paramilitary men with 28,500 reservists, as well as innumerable armed white civilians. Where does Smith get arms and fuel for his forces?

47. Another aspect of the internal settlement causes us tremendous concern: we are legitimately outraged at the

² *Ibid.*, 9th meeting.

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

⁴ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

thought that the racist *apartheid* régime at Pretoria will be encouraged to duplicate the process in Namibia and that southern Africa will remain at war for many more years.

48. Smith and his allies, both inside and outside Zimbabwe—both inside and outside Africa—are hoping to perpetuate their rule. Setting up a form of token majority rule is sheer camouflage to prevent the genuine forces of liberation from taking over and dealing a death-blow to imperialism and neo-colonialism. Parallel to this, when the struggle continues, as it surely will, Smith and his cohorts will cry "genocide" and charge the supporters of the Patriotic Front with hostility to a black Government in Zimbabwe.

49. It is not only power that grows out of the barrel of a gun: it can also be freedom, peace and genuine independence. To that end all progressive forces in southern Africa have committed themselves. Until final victory the struggle continues.

50. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Benin, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

51. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, my delegation thanks you most sincerely for allowing us to participate in this important debate on the question of Southern Rhodesia. I congratulate you personally on your accession to the presidency of the Council at this historic time. We know you are a very experienced and skilled diplomat. At this time you are assuming an awesome responsibility for the proper conduct of the present debate. As President, you are master of the Council's procedure, and procedure, as we all know, can be used for all ends, good or bad. I do not doubt your personal honesty; I wish you courage and success.

52. My delegation wishes to avail itself of this opportunity to express its gratitude to Comrade Ambassador Troyanovsky of the Soviet Union for the skill and the sense of responsibility with which he guided the Council's work last month.

53. The unswerving support of my country, the People's Republic of Benin, for the cause of the liberation of peoples from foreign domination and exploitation, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism is part of our national political programme. The People's Republic of Benin, a revolutionary country, its vanguard party, the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, and its valiant people are well aware that the only guarantee of their freedom, peace and security resides in the total liberation of Africa—that is to say, principally, the systematic elimination of the illegal, minority racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury.

54. That is why, in order to give concrete expression to our total commitment to the cause of peoples struggling to recover their human dignity and win self-determination and independence, and to commemorate the first anniversary of the defeat, by the people of Benin, of the armed imperialist aggression of 16 January 1977, a Week of Solidarity with Peoples and Countries Struggling for their National Libera-

tion and an International Conference on Mercenaries were organized at Cotonou from 9 to 16 January 1978 on the initiative of our party. Those events, the results of which have been published in document S/12557 of 13 February 1978, brought together delegations from more than 40 democratic countries, parties and organizations throughout the world, and the results of those events, particularly the historic Declaration of Cotonou, carry considerable conviction. I shall read out a few passages of that Declaration concerning precisely the tactics and strategy of the imperialist Powers in Africa at this time:

“The great defeat suffered by American imperialism in South-East Asia, the collapse of the colonial system under the hammer blows of the peoples of Africa and the intensification of the struggles waged by the constantly expanding non-aligned movement caused international imperialism, seriously shaken, to redirect its strategy of domination and exploitation and to focus its aggressiveness and most of its designs on Africa, . . .

“The new imperialist strategy of domination and exploitation is developing in two main directions, one based primarily on policies of intimidation and force and the other on methods that are more pernicious but no less harmful and dangerous.

“This strategy is clearly part of a carefully elaborated global plan, carried out in a climate of disorder and calculated confusion in an attempt to disorient and outwit the progressive forces and to create artificial rifts, the better to accomplish their work of undermining and demolition.

“These roles of the various imperialist Powers are distributed and made to overlap in such a way that it is not easy to reveal their complicity in the criminal activities. This tactic reflects the concern of the imperialists to avoid appearing openly behind one and the same mask, so as not to be perceived as a single bloc, which would lead to their undoing and their total isolation. Duplicity, like amalgamation and diversion, has always formed part of the arsenal of imperialism.

. . .

“The sudden resurgence of the Western Powers’ interest in Africa . . . is instructive in this connexion. It is not reflected solely in the compassion which the Western Powers, the traditional supporters of the racist régimes of southern Africa”—in Salisbury and in Pretoria—“have suddenly displayed for the oppressed peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa . . . and the poorest African countries. It is reflected above all in interference, in an increasing number of subversive activities, . . .

“In southern Africa, the imperialists, acting through Pretoria and Salisbury, are working relentlessly against the front-line States, especially Angola and Mozambique. At the same time, in groups of five or two, they are hatching plans and initiatives clearly designed to render devoid of substance the independence which the international community is demanding with particular insistence for the people of Namibia [and of Zimbabwe]. In

so doing, the imperialists think that they can call in question the authority of SWAPO . . . ; they are seeking to destroy the unity of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe in order to despoil the people of Zimbabwe of the fruits of their struggle and sacrifices . . .”.

55. These are the fundamental characteristics of the strategy and tactics of the imperialist Powers in southern Africa, as was so well emphasized in the historic Declaration of Cotonou. Given these tactics and strategy, motivated by bloodthirsty violence, the only response for us is armed struggle and recourse to the historical right of self-defence.

56. The people of Benin has never believed in the so-called peaceful settlement plans dreamed up in imperialist offices. Even before they began, our country denounced the Geneva talks on Southern Rhodesia as a crude delaying tactic. The lamentable results they produced and the continued abdication of responsibility by the British colonial Power, which has constantly refused to put down the rebellion of that rogue, Ian Smith, are proof that we were right and that we shall always be right in our rigorously objective analysis of the situation in southern Africa. Our scepticism with regard to these Western plans, whether British or Anglo-American, for the peaceful settlement of the problems of southern Africa—Namibia and Zimbabwe—is more than justified.

57. There is one plan, and only one, for the peaceful settlement without bloodshed of the Rhodesian question. The framework and the broad lines of that plan have already been laid down in resolutions of the United Nations and OAU. That plan has two basic objectives: the peaceful surrender of Smith and the transfer of power to the authentic representatives of the people of Zimbabwe under the banner of the Patriotic Front. Any plan that sidesteps these two clearly defined objectives is nothing but a vile imperialist and neo-colonialist machination and plot. The countries and peoples of Africa and all the peoples of the world that love peace and justice are determined vigorously to counter such plots and to work for their failure.

58. The main objective of the various plans, and in particular of the so-called agreement signed on 3 March 1978, is to set up in Southern Rhodesia a servile neo-colonial régime committed to the defence of the strategic, economic and political interests of the Western Powers, that is to say a régime totally devoted to the preservation of interests radically opposed to those of the labouring, exploited and oppressed masses of Zimbabwe. That is why we consider these to be merely machinations, imperialist manoeuvres or simply plots.

59. It is in this way that we must describe the so-called internal agreement signed on 3 March. It is in fact the outcome of a carefully prepared process, instigated and maintained by the strategists of imperialist and neo-colonialist policies of domination in their London and Washington offices.

60. The Smith agreement only differs from the other plans, published or not, in the directness of its terms. Smith lacks the diplomatic finesse of the strategists of London

and Washington, that subtlety of words and of expressions intended to distract our vigilance and to launch us on a suicidal course. Ian Smith, the son of a butcher, does not bother himself with all these subtleties. As proof of his naivety, his lack of finesse, and his extraordinary clumsiness, I need only quote from a passage from John Burns' article, published in *The New York Times* of 4 March last, in which the entire Salisbury agreement was also published. It reads as follows:

"Mr. Smith, and most whites, appear to hope that life under a black Government"—that is to say, within the framework of the agreement—"will not be much different from what it is now. Government officials seemed to be expressing this in symbolic form by arranging to have the portrait of Rhodes, who gave the country his name, transported specially from Mr. Smith's office to the signing ceremony, where it was the only adornment on the wall."⁵

The African peoples of the region in general and the Zimbabwe people will pass on from generation to generation the sorry memories and the indelible traces left by Cecil Rhodes, a notorious British settler who made of white domination and supremacy a political doctrine in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. It is precisely this white supremacy that Smith's internal agreement seeks to preserve.

61. I shall now quote another passage from Mr. Burns' article:

"The transitional administration will take over at an unspecified point in the coming weeks. . . . Under complex arrangements that divide power between whites and blacks, Mr. Smith will retain the title of Prime Minister.

"'We are all equals now', he said, referring to the four leaders who signed the agreement. The four will make up the Executive Council, the controlling body in the transitional administration, with each of the leaders acting as chairman for unspecified periods in rotation. The Council will operate by consensus, giving Mr. Smith the power to block decisions."⁵

62. Here Mr. Smith, who is responsible for the present situation, is invested with a right of veto! Thus that same white supremacy taken to extremes during the transition period will remain substantially unchanged after 31 December 1978, when the so-called black majority institutions will be set up.

63. The clauses safeguarding the interests of the white racist minority are many and they include the right of veto of the 28 whites in Parliament, which comprises 100 members. Ultimately, as Ian Smith believes—and here we agree with him—nothing will change. Life will go on as before, namely, with the exploitation of the Zimbabwean people.

64. It is also symptomatic that the objective of the internal agreement prepared by Smith is above all to loosen

the bonds that have increasingly been choking him. To that end, he must at all costs obtain the lifting of the economic sanctions which afflict the Smith régime and the disbanding of the patriotic forces which each day increase the scope of their operations and strike devastating blows against the adversary.

65. This is proof that the Smith plan and the other plans, both public and secret, have one and the same objective, that is, an objective that is totally contrary to the interests of Africa.

66. Having said this, we may ask who is Smith and who are the so-called internal leaders? A handful of agents who have imperialist patents. It is pointless then for us to give too much importance to these sorry creatures, for whatever importance we give them they are still only a front for the same enemy of African peoples: imperialism.

67. It is for all these reasons that the African peoples in general, and the people of Zimbabwe in particular, condemn and categorically reject this internal agreement and call on the Security Council to do likewise. This is a serious moment. The internal agreement bears within it the seeds of war in all its forms; it aggravates the general insecurity of the region and threatens increased violence against the front-line States. The administering Power and all Western States will bear full responsibility for any new bloodshed imposed on a peaceful people that wants its freedom.

68. Benin, for its part, will continue, as will all progressive States, to lend its moral, political, diplomatic and material support to the Patriotic Front, which is the only genuine representative of the people of Zimbabwe.

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

70. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): Mr. President, I thank you and the other members for making it possible for me to address the Council on the question of Southern Rhodesia. I am particularly pleased to see you presiding over these meetings because your country, more than any other, is concerned with the problem of Southern Rhodesia. You have personally been involved in one of the many efforts that your country has undertaken to solve this problem, and you are therefore intimately involved and familiar with the issues under discussion. No doubt the deep involvement of your country and your own personal involvement in the situation in Southern Rhodesia may lead to uncomfortable situations for you as President of the Council, but, knowing your outstanding qualities as a lawyer, parliamentarian and diplomat, I have confidence that you will acquit yourself well and guide the discussion of this problem in the Council to a successful conclusion.

71. This meeting has been called to review the situation in Southern Rhodesia because one more in a series of many manoeuvres that the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia had undertaken since 1965 is creating some confusion and giving an opportunity to the supporters of the illegal régime to mount a campaign for the recognition of that illegal régime. This manoeuvre is particularly dangerous in the

⁵ Quoted in English by the speaker.

current situation because it is being advertised under a beautiful label known as "majority rule". It is fraudulent, as any careful observer who has been following the situation will quickly see. It is therefore the duty of the international community to review the situation and clearly understand the issues and what is at stake in order to avoid being party to the tragedy which is continuing to be enacted in Southern Rhodesia.

72. It is necessary that the Council should address itself to the issues so that clear thoughts and understanding may lead to reasonable decisions and actions. The illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia seized independence illegally in 1965. The administering Power—your country, Mr. President—denounced that action of the illegal minority régime and came to the Council to request it to impose mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Despite gross violations of these sanctions, they are still in force, although they are producing but a fraction of the intended effects. That régime has received no official recognition from any country. Like those sanctions, the many years of patient waiting for peaceful means to change the situation in Southern Rhodesia—means which have included high-level negotiations between the British Government and the leaders of the régime over the years and, more recently, between the leaders of the régime and the British and United States Governments—have produced no result. These peaceful approaches have not achieved the removal of the illegal racist minority régime and the creation in that unhappy Territory of a lawful government representing all the peoples of Southern Rhodesia. As we all know, the prolonged frustrations led to the formation of forces of freedom fighters nearly six years ago. The freedom fighters' efforts, together with the sanctions imposed by the Council, are a part of the situation in Southern Rhodesia which no one can ignore. The illegal régime has therefore addressed itself to the question of how to eliminate these two factors from the situation.

73. Last year, the British Government, in conjunction with the Government of the United States, put forward proposals as a basis for negotiations between the British Government, assisted by the United States Government, and the illegal régime of Ian Smith, with the participation of the peoples of Southern Rhodesia represented by the freedom fighters. Although there were many reservations regarding those Anglo-American proposals, they were accepted in principle as a basis for negotiations. The Council was persuaded at the time to appoint a United Nations representative who would be in a position to assist in a solution of the problem. Those Anglo-American proposals are still on the table for discussion, as evidenced by the recent meeting held in Europe. The peoples of Southern Rhodesia, represented by the freedom fighters, can be said to be still pursuing a path for a negotiated settlement with the only authority in a position to convert the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia into the legal government of that colony. We know, however, that the illegal régime has rejected the Anglo-American proposals and planned to stage its own so-called internal settlement, which can assume the mantle of legality only if that mantle is granted by the British Government.

74. The so-called internal settlement provisions address themselves to resolving two issues: first, the lifting of

United Nations mandatory sanctions—an action which is naively taken for granted—and, secondly, bringing to an end the armed conflict being waged by the freedom fighters. Ending the armed conflict would become the task of the so-called new government, which does not include either those who are doing the fighting or their leaders. The third important problem, namely, the securing of legality for the illegal régime from the administering Power, has not been dealt with at all, unless we take the setting of a date for independence to imply that the British Government will confer legal instruments for that supposed independence on 31 December 1978. The three fundamental issues—the lifting of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, the termination of armed conflict inside Southern Rhodesia and the granting of legal independence by the administering Power—have not been dealt with adequately.

75. Is it seriously being proposed that, because the illegal régime has secured the co-operation of a new set of black faces who may in the past have represented significant sections of the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, the face of the illegal régime is now acceptable? We say, no. Right from the beginning, when the racist régime illegally declared independence, there has always been a sufficient number of Africans who have agreed to give their co-operation to the racist régime. Indeed, even though the African people rejected the 15 seats allocated to them in the racist parliament, those seats have at all times been occupied by a number of men picked by the racist régime. Furthermore, not so many months ago, the régime set about recruiting a few of those people, who were appointed and given the title of ministers in an attempt to paint the face of the racist régime with some colour representative of the peoples of Southern Rhodesia. No one has seriously suggested that, because Ian Smith secured these half dozen men to join his ranks, the régime ceased to be either illegal or racist. The fact that two of the so-called African leaders have enjoyed a position of leadership in the past is supposed to give them credentials that would make them acceptable to the outside world if not inside Rhodesia. The most significant fact which tends to expose this fraud is that one of these leaders has in the past insisted on testing the acceptance by the African people of such proposals, while this time there is no mention whatsoever of any move to test the acceptance by the peoples of Southern Rhodesia of the so-called internal settlement proposals. The credentials which these African leaders may have enjoyed in the past are subject to serious question now, and their acceptance of the fraudulent proposals, which will evidently not lead to any genuine majority rule, provides the best evidence of that.

76. No doubt in the next few weeks or months there will be plenty of talk of interference by outside forces in internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia. This is nothing new, as the illegal régime has maintained that complaint all along. What is important is to recognize that a peaceful solution of the problem of Southern Rhodesia is the concern of us all. That problem has been a threat to international peace and security from the beginning. For this threat to be removed, it is important that a genuine effort should be made to solve the problem peacefully. As we have stated, there are three main issues to be tackled for a peaceful solution of the problem—namely, steps to be taken in order to bring an end to armed conflict in

Rhodesia, steps to be taken to enable the administering Power to grant legal independence to Southern Rhodesia and steps to be taken to enable the Security Council to lift mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

77. Ending the armed conflict requires that the illegal régime and the freedom fighters be engaged in discussions so that settlement proposals acceptable to both may be agreed upon. Recruiting a group of leaders within Rhodesia who do not represent the freedom fighters—who, as we all know, enjoy the full support of the peoples of Southern Rhodesia—is engaging in self-deception. That can only lead to continued armed conflict, when armed conflict ought to be ended as soon as possible. For settlement proposals to be acceptable to the administering Power—and no doubt the representatives of the administering Power can best speak for it—they must lead to genuine majority rule within Rhodesia. The proposals put forward at present, we believe, fall far short of the desired goals of majority rule—and this has been stated by representatives of the administering Power. Indeed, any careful study of those proposals will indicate that they provide no settlement at all. They only make provision for an unlikely or unrealistic form of government in the interim period, leaving the difficult issues facing a majority government to be settled by the non-government of the interim period. Those proposals also codify the racism which is the basic cause of the problem of Southern Rhodesia. No one would fail to note the racism and fraud contained in the electoral roll fraudulently called “common”. No one but the blind and deaf would fail to be struck by the fact that, apart from the so-called leaders of the African people, the only section of the Rhodesian society that will be consulted is the present white electorate, or would fail to note that the body that is supposed to approve the constitutional proposals for majority rule is the same parliament—a parliament made up of the racists who seized power in 1965. The racist régime and those who have joined hands with that illegal régime must therefore be naïve in the extreme or must assume that everyone outside their group has no common sense.

78. As we have stated, we are likely to hear plenty of talk about the support the outside world is giving the Patriotic Front as opposed to those who claim to be leaders of the

African people. Although that might appear to be so, the truth is that if peace is to return to Southern Rhodesia the freedom fighters must be involved in any genuine settlement proposals. It is for that reason that we urge that a conference including all those involved in the problem of Southern Rhodesia, among them the Patriotic Front, should be convened in order to hammer out proposals that will bring genuine majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. The so-called internal settlement proposals cannot bring genuine non-racist majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. Since they do not address themselves to the basic issues of the problem, they cannot provide a solution and therefore they should be rejected. We call on those responsible for their formulation to think again and to take the route provided by the Anglo-American proposals, which form a good basis for negotiations for the settlement of the problem of Southern Rhodesia.

79. For that reason, we urge the Council to take a position that will lead to an end to the problem created by the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia. This position should be that the United Nations will continue to enforce the existing mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia until the problem is finally solved. There can be no short cut to genuine majority rule which does not codify, in a permanent settlement, the racism and *apartheid* that are evident in the current so-called internal settlement proposals. We believe that the people of Southern Rhodesia, freed from the terrorism imposed by the illegal régime and given a chance to choose freely, would reject such proposals; indeed, some six years ago, they rejected similar proposals that were put before them. Unfortunately, even leaders can go wrong; but the failure to recognize the obvious fraud contained in the proposals must be puzzling to many.

80. Mr. President, we have full confidence that the Council, under your leadership, will arrive at the correct reading of the situation so that it may continue to assume its responsibility with regard to the problem of Southern Rhodesia.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

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