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NOTE

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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.

2181st MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 21 December 1979, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. CHEN Chu (China).

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/2181)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:
 - (a) Letter dated 12 December 1979 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13688);
 - (b) Letter dated 14 December 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Madagascar to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13693);
 - (c) Letter dated 18 December 1979 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13698)

The meeting was called to order at 4.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:

- (a) Letter dated 12 December 1979 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13688);
- (b) Letter dated 14 December 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Madagascar to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13693);
- (c) Letter dated 18 December 1979 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13698)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I wish to inform the members of the Council that I have received

letters from the representatives of Botswana, Cuba, Liberia, Madagascar, Mozambique and the United Republic of Tanzania in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Tlou (Botswana), Mr. Oramas (Cuba), Mr. Tubman (Liberia), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Monteiro (Mozambique) and Mr. Foun (United Republic of Tanzania) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Security Council is meeting today in response to the letter dated 18 December from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom addressed to the President of the Council [S/13698].

3. Members of the Council also have before them the following other documents: S/13688, containing the text of a letter dated 12 December from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom addressed to the President of the Council; S/13693, containing the text of a letter dated 14 December from the Permanent Representative of Madagascar addressed to the President of the Council; S/13699, containing the text of a draft resolution which has been prepared in the course of consultations.

4. It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/13699. As there is no objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, France, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia

Against: None

Abstaining: Czechoslovakia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.¹

¹ See resolution 460 (1979).

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I now call upon the Secretary-General, who wishes to make a statement.

6. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I welcome the formal signing today in London of the agreement ending the conflict in Southern Rhodesia and setting in motion the process by which Rhodesia will become a free and independent Zimbabwe under genuine majority rule. This agreement brings to an end 14 years of rebellion in that Territory, with its tragic loss of life, human suffering and destruction, not only in Southern Rhodesia but also in Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia.

7. The resolution just adopted by the Council calling upon Member States to terminate the measures taken against Southern Rhodesia under Chapter VII of the Charter creates a new situation in southern Africa which will undoubtedly have a profound effect on the course of events in that region.

8. The resumption of normal relations with Southern Rhodesia provides both an opportunity and a challenge for the international community, and particularly for those neighbouring States whose economies were so closely linked to that country. We are all aware of the special nature and the magnitude of the problems faced by these countries as a result of the application of sanctions and the disruption of normal trade, traffic and communications in the region. For the past years, in response to resolutions of the Council and of the General Assembly, I have been closely involved in the United Nations effort to mobilize financial, technical and material assistance to enable these countries to overcome the difficulties they faced as a result of the rebellion in Rhodesia. I wish to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to those members of the international community who responded with additional assistance.

9. However, in spite of this response, it did not prove possible for those countries to pursue their normal development in the face of the diversion of resources needed to cope with the extraordinary situation and the burden of applying sanctions. In the case of Zambia and Mozambique particularly, the burden of sanctions has been enormous.

10. The successful outcome of the Lancaster House conference creates a new situation for the countries of the region. In all cases, the economic and social structures have been seriously disrupted. There will, therefore, be an urgent requirement for international assistance on a massive scale to enable these countries to restore their economies and to take advantage of the opportunities which peace and security will finally provide. I am glad to note from the resolution that the Council has taken these important considerations fully into account.

11. The assistance required will involve rebuilding basic facilities which have been destroyed in the fighting, and rehabilitating transport and communications networks, particularly railroads and ports. It will also take advantage of the new opportunities for the revival of agriculture, industry and services in the region.

12. I need not underline the fact that a co-operative effort by the international community is demanded by the situation. Let me assure the Council that I shall do everything I can to organize all possible assistance to the front-line States, in accordance with the terms of the resolution just adopted by the Council. I shall undertake this task in close consultation with the Governments concerned and in collaboration with the appropriate agencies of the United Nations system.

13. I also wish to assure the Council that I shall, in due course, enter into detailed discussions with the new Government in Zimbabwe with a view to organizing an effective programme of financial, economic and technical assistance geared to the immediate and long-term needs of the country. On the basis of those discussions, I shall again address the international community in order to provide detailed information as to the requirements for assistance to deal with the situation.

14. The resolution calls upon the international community to facilitate the repatriation of all refugees and displaced persons to Southern Rhodesia. In this regard, I should like to inform the Council that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is acting to facilitate the voluntary repatriation and resettlement of refugees from wherever they are to Southern Rhodesia and, if requested to do so, is willing to co-ordinate all offers of international assistance to this end. Special efforts will be needed to assist in the resettlement and rehabilitation of those inside Southern Rhodesia who have been displaced as a result of the conflict.

15. Before concluding my remarks, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the United Kingdom, as well as the other parties involved in the negotiating process, on the positive outcome of the conference and to wish them every success in bringing this long-standing problem to a happy conclusion.

16. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): I begin with some brief comments on details of the resolution just adopted.

17. Paragraph 2 calls upon Member States to terminate sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Our view remains that the obligation to impose those sanctions fell away automatically with the return to legality of the colony. But we have been very conscious that many countries have attached great importance to the adoption by the Council of a resolution on this subject. We have been glad, in a spirit of co-operation, to support a resolution acknowledging that sanctions have fulfilled their purpose. As regards the final preambular paragraph, we do not regard this paragraph as constituting a fresh determination of the existence of threats to international peace and security in the region.

18. This is a moment of history. During the past three months I have spoken many times in the General Assembly and in the Security Council on the progress of the Rhodesia negotiations. I have faithfully kept the Assembly informed and I had the occasion to announce with deep and genuine feeling to the Assembly the final initialling of the cease-fire agreement which, as I put it, unlocked the door to peace and stability in Zimbabwe. This afternoon I shall not go over the

same ground. I shall look briefly to the future. No one who took part in the Council's decisions to take measures against the rebel colony could have feared or foreseen that the years ahead held so much bloodshed, destruction and misery for the peoples of Rhodesia and for neighbouring countries.

19. But at long last the moment has come to set all this behind us. The agreement reached at Lancaster House is a great tribute to the flexibility and strength of purpose of the parties represented there, to the African leaders, particularly those of the front-line States, who have given such wise counsel, and to the Commonwealth leaders who conceived the guidelines for the conference and whose continued support will be so vital during the electoral period. But it is also important to say in this chamber at this momentous time that the agreement was a triumph for every man and woman in the world who believes that problems, however difficult, can and should be solved by negotiation.

20. It is a moment of history in the Council and it is the very beginning of the history of a free and independent Zimbabwe. It is to the future that we must look. Nobody pretends that the next few weeks will be free of danger and of difficulty. But the agreement that has been reached provides the chance that the people of Zimbabwe have been awaiting so long to determine their own future in a fully democratic way. It is essential that all parties comply with the agreement. We ask the Governments of all Member States to do everything to assist in whatever way they can and to do nothing which might jeopardize the democratic process. I pledge for my Government that we shall do everything within our power to ensure that conditions are right for free and fair elections.

21. Let us not forget, in our preoccupation with constitutions, transitional arrangements and the cessation of hostilities, the fundamental humanitarian problems. Many people have been displaced and their lives shattered throughout the long years of strife in Zimbabwe. There are over 200,000 refugees outside the country. The front-line States have suffered great loss and destruction of property. The resolution which we have just adopted rightly takes full account of those facts and I warmly welcome the statement which the Secretary-General has just made and the action which will be taken by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and by non-governmental organizations.

22. The rapid resettlement of the refugees, the reconstruction of damaged economies, the righting of social dislocations are not only a vital humanitarian imperative. They are also an important element in the normalization of conditions in Zimbabwe. The lifting of economic sanctions is, I need hardly say, a cardinal element in this process. The rapid restoration of normal conditions is of the greatest consequence for establishing the atmosphere in which free and fair elections can be conducted and, of course, for the future of an independent Zimbabwe.

23. This is a moment which all of us present will not forget. But I look forward to an even more unforgettable moment in the weeks to come: the moment when we here in the Council take the decision to welcome to the Organization a new Member—a free and independent Zimbabwe, born in

peace and dignity and looking forward to the prosperity and tranquillity that its people long for and deserve.

24. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): At their meeting at Lusaka last August, the Commonwealth Heads of Government adopted an historic communiqué [S/13515] which laid a solid foundation for the convening, by the United Kingdom, of the Lancaster House conference on Zimbabwe which has just concluded. After three and a half months of detailed and complex negotiations, the principal parties involved in the conflict in Southern Rhodesia, which has defied solution for a decade and a half, concluded an agreement which will constitute the basis for the holding of free and fair elections in the Territory. These elections are designed to launch the British colony of Southern Rhodesia into the free and genuinely independent nation of Zimbabwe, assured of recognition and acceptance in the community of nations.

25. This hopeful prospect is obviously exciting. A new chapter, indeed one which should make pleasant reading, has been opened in the history of the future Zimbabwe. The parties at the Lancaster House conference deserve commendation. The conference, the results of which herald a new era for the troubled British colony, could not have succeeded without goodwill and statesmanship on the part of all those concerned. In this regard, it is to be noted that after many years of prevarication the United Kingdom has shown determination, in accordance with its responsibility as administering Power, to resolve the problem in a just manner acceptable to the international community.

26. Above all, credit must go to the people of Southern Rhodesia as a whole, who, through their national liberation movement, the Patriotic Front, fought heroically for the enjoyment of their inalienable right to self-determination and genuine national independence. It is largely through the efforts of those gallant freedom fighters that suitable conditions were created for the holding of the Lancaster House conference. It was through their vigilance and tenacity of purpose, reinforced by the steadfast support of African, non-aligned and other progressive countries, that the manoeuvres aimed at according so-called independence to Southern Rhodesia were frustrated.

27. Zambia has always stood for principles in respect of the situation in Southern Rhodesia in particular and in southern Africa as a whole. It is in accordance with these basic principles that we have consistently rendered our total support to the oppressed people of Southern Rhodesia and to their national liberation movement in their legitimate struggle for freedom and independence. As the international community is aware, that has entailed tremendous sacrifice on our part as a nation. Our economy has suffered immensely as a result of our compliance with the decisions of the Council in respect of the sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia. Incidentally, Southern Rhodesia not only is contiguous to Zambia but is also a country with which we have had a history of interdependence founded on common colonial experience. Over the years Zambia, a land-locked country, has been the target of deliberate and systematic acts of aggression perpetrated by the then régime in Southern Rhodesia, aimed at the destruction of our economic infrastructure. Many of our people have died in the course

of the struggle for the liberation of Southern Rhodesia and many more have been maimed.

28. In spite of the pressures brought to bear on us as a nation, we have consistently refused to succumb. We have neither entertained blackmail nor sacrificed our principles on the altar of expediency. We are glad and indeed proud to be associated with the present achievements of the struggle of the people of Southern Rhodesia for freedom and genuine national independence, to which we have contributed in many ways, although rather humbly.

29. The stage has been set and it is now up to the people of Southern Rhodesia to choose their leaders in free and fair elections, which will be followed by the accession of the Territory to independence. We sincerely hope that the electoral process soon to begin will be genuinely free and fair and will be seen to be so by the international community. The onus for ensuring that is, of course, on the administering Power. We hope and trust that the United Kingdom, through its Governor in Southern Rhodesia, will live up to its undertakings in the true tradition of democracy. For our part we in Zambia shall respect the results of genuinely free and fair elections in Southern Rhodesia. In the meantime we shall do our utmost to co-operate in every possible manner to facilitate the process.

30. The immediate task before the Security Council, and indeed the purpose of this meeting, is to take action in respect of the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Council against Southern Rhodesia under Chapter VII of the Charter. Regrettably, we are meeting against the background of actions taken by the United Kingdom and a few other Member States which lifted unilaterally the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. In this regard, I wish to state most emphatically the considered view of my Government that the mandatory sanctions imposed in resolution 253 (1968) by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia, under Chapter VII of the Charter, can be lifted only by the Security Council itself. Until the Council had taken such action, all Member States were morally, politically and legally under obligation to maintain them in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter. No State should be allowed to usurp the authority of the Council. This sad precedent should have been avoided before the meeting and decision today. By their precipitate, ill-timed and unilateral action, the few Western countries which lifted sanctions unilaterally generated undue controversy and acrimony on the question of sanctions. It was incumbent upon the United Kingdom in particular, as it did when it requested the imposition of the sanctions, to come to the Council and seek their termination. That is a matter both of law and of principle. The authority of the Council should be scrupulously maintained at all times and its permanent members have a particular duty to uphold its powers.

31. It has always been the attitude of my Government that the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia should be lifted by the Security Council once the purposes for which they were imposed had been achieved. Against the background of the conclusion of the Lancaster House agreement and its signing today, we consider that it is now opportune and appropriate for the Council to terminate the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and to authorize the

resumption of normal economic relations with that Territory. That is why my delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted by the Council.

32. The agreement, which must indeed be seen as a package and a composite whole, satisfies in our view the three cardinal elements which were basic to the imposition of the sanctions more than 10 years ago. Those elements, reflected in the preambular provisions of resolution 253 (1968), relate to (a) the United Kingdom's primary responsibility for Southern Rhodesia, (b) the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of the Territory for the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and (c) the need to put an end to the threat to international peace and security posed by the situation in Southern Rhodesia.

33. The Lancaster House agreement has made it possible for the United Kingdom to resume its direct authority over the Territory, and a governor has been sent to Southern Rhodesia. Furthermore, an agreed Constitution has been worked out and the agreement provides for the exercise by the people of Zimbabwe of their inalienable right to self-determination, through the holding of free and fair elections. Finally, the agreement provides for a cease-fire which will restore conditions of peace and security in Southern Rhodesia and in the region.

34. On behalf of my Government, I wish to take this opportunity to commend the Committee on Sanctions² for the important work it did in trying to ensure compliance by all States with resolution 253 (1968). I wish also to thank those States which adhered strictly to the sanctions policy in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter.

35. But all is not yet over in Southern Rhodesia. Much still remains to be done to ensure the exercise, by the people of that Territory, of their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with the Charter and in conformity with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This, therefore, is an occasion for cautious optimism. It is important that the international community as a whole, and above all the Security Council, remain absolutely vigilant in respect of the situation in Southern Rhodesia.

36. The Council cannot be aloof to, or take lightly, the threats of the racist régime of South Africa to intervene militarily in Southern Rhodesia in the event of a Patriotic Front victory. It is imperative that the rule of law must be respected. South Africa should be in no doubt as to the seriousness of its threatened intervention in Southern Rhodesia, which would strike at the very heart of democratic principles and values and, of course, grossly violate international law. The Council should leave South Africa in no doubt that, in the event of such an adventurous act, it would be absolutely imperative for it to take enforcement measures against the Pretoria régime under Chapter VII of the Charter.

² Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia.

37. For the present, it is incumbent upon the Council to call for the immediate expulsion from Southern Rhodesia of all South African military forces, security personnel and all other mercenaries. The people of Southern Rhodesia should be allowed to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and genuine independence in a free atmosphere without the presence of the wanton South African forces and other soldiers of fortune.

38. Finally, let me express the hope of my Government that there will be strict adherence to the agreement concluded at Lancaster House and that it will be fully and faithfully implemented. The agreement heralds a bright future for the people of Southern Rhodesia who have suffered and languished for too long under the illegal racist minority rule. For us in Zambia, nothing could be more heartening than the triumph of the cause of justice in Southern Rhodesia.

39. Mr. CLARK (Nigeria): Three things I shall not say or do at this historic meeting of the Security Council.

40. First, I shall not impugn or derogate from the integrity, validity and uniqueness of the agreements reached at the Lancaster House conference regarding the future of Zimbabwe. The agreements are the fruits of extensive and intensive negotiations between the administering Power and the nationalists of Zimbabwe, particularly the Patriotic Front. They are the results of the collective wisdom and sense of realism of those who took part in them. They are a triumph of and a tribute to the sacrifice, perseverance and patriotism especially of the Patriotic Front leaders, who, above all, made the agreements possible and who, faithful to the Lusaka Declaration on the decolonization of Africa, never hesitated to negotiate even when armed struggle seemed to yield better results than the negotiations with authorities who betrayed their trust.

41. Secondly, in spite of the temptation to do so, I shall not indulge in bitter recriminations. Indeed, I shall not dishonour the memory of the 20,000 Zimbabweans who lost their lives, by dwelling on the criminal attempt by the white racist settlers to spit in the face of history. We shall let bygones be bygones even if we, in Nigeria, reserve the right to arrest and try Mr. Smith and his immediate henchmen as war criminals and mass murderers if they ever set foot in Nigeria.

42. Thirdly, Nigeria would never subscribe to any move or statement likely to weaken the authority of the Security Council. Nor shall we modify the principles of self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of States enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. We perceive the democratic evolution of the political and psychological situation in the entire region of southern Africa to be inevitable. The tide of freedom and majority rule will break down the banks of the Limpopo river, expanding and deepening the frontiers of independence and anti-racism to the farthest corners of southern Africa.

43. We fully support the fivefold purposes of the resolution just adopted, which are, as we understand them, as follows: first, to restore the rule of law to the British colony of Southern Rhodesia by putting an end to the rebellion in that colony; secondly, to decolonize the colony in accordance with the objectives of General Assembly resolution

1514 (XV); thirdly, to strengthen the institution of the Security Council as the organ for the maintenance of international peace and security; fourthly, to lift the sanctions that were imposed by the Council on the rebel régime; fifthly, to aid Zimbabwe and the front-line countries to overcome their economic and social difficulties.

44. At this juncture, one cannot but recall some tragic episodes of the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, which has resulted in so much loss of life and wanton destruction of property both inside Zimbabwe and in the neighbouring States. One must recall that urgent meeting of the Security Council which the then Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom requested in his letter dated 11 November 1965 [S/6896]. He had informed the President of the Council in that letter that the white racist settlers in Southern Rhodesia had illegally and unilaterally declared independence for Southern Rhodesia. The African Group, on the same day, requested the President of the Council to convene an emergency meeting of the Council to discuss the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, as its implications for Africa and the world created an obvious threat to international peace and security. The reaction of the Security Council and the General Assembly, which was then in session, was swift and predictable. In spite of the fact that the rebellion was against the British Crown and that it was aimed at perpetuating the power to control a British colonial Territory's destiny of a tiny white minority régime comprising only one twentieth of the Southern Rhodesian population, the measures proposed by the British Government to re-establish the rule of law in that territory were clearly tentative, inadequate and pusillanimous. It not only ruled out the use of military force, but sought to mislead or misdirect the international community at every critical moment of the rebellion by pursuing ineffective and pussyfooting policies towards crushing it.

45. Hence we are meeting for the umpteenth time since 1965 to consider the question of Southern Rhodesia, the last bastion of British colonial rule in Africa. While in the past we used to consider measures and adopt resolutions, notably resolutions 232 (1966) and 253 (1968), to bring about the end of the rebellion and racist white minority rule, this time we meet against the background of the recently concluded Lancaster House conference which culminated in the signing today in London at 12 noon of an agreement which commits and obliges the administering Power, the Government of the United Kingdom, to decolonize Southern Rhodesia on the basis of free and democratic elections, which will lead it to genuine independence acceptable to the international community in accordance with the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV).

46. From all accounts, the negotiations were difficult and complex. This is nothing of a surprise, bearing in mind the long history of missed opportunities, and misperceptions of the most equitable routes to genuine independence and democratic rule. Nigeria closely followed the progress of the negotiations. We did not fail to express our concern over the "Dutch uncle" or hectoring attitude of the British principals, as we felt the Lusaka Commonwealth communiqué, which led to the negotiations, required all parties to agree to their provisions without blackmail or coercion.

47. It has been our conviction all along that the three crucial elements in the talks were: first, the constitution for

an independent, democratic Zimbabwe; secondly, the transitional arrangements; and, thirdly, the cease-fire. While the first two could be railroaded or adopted through ultimatums and brinkmanship, there has never been the ghost of a chance that a cease-fire agreement could be imposed unilaterally. Events have now vindicated our position.

48. Now that all parties have signed the agreement, as envisaged in the Lusaka Commonwealth communiqué, we should not be lulled into euphoria or any sense of security.

49. First, the prophecy that the British authorities merely wished to wash their hands of the haunting spectre of a rebellious colony by taking the steps which led to the Lancaster House agreement must not be seen to be true. Britain owes it as a duty to itself, the Commonwealth, the front-line States and the international community to make the agreement succeed.

50. Secondly, I wish to draw attention to some elements, the resolution of which will, in my delegation's judgement, ensure the accession to peace and genuine independence in Zimbabwe. The first is the end of the white racist rebellion, which has now technically been accomplished by the adoption of the Westminster Zimbabwe bill, the appointment and arrival at Salisbury of Lord Soames as Her Majesty's Governor, and the signing of the constitutional accord incorporating the cease-fire agreement. It is interesting to note that, in terms of the Zimbabwe bill, Rhodesia is to be granted "fully responsible status as a republic". Regarding the second element, the rebel colony of Southern Rhodesia and racist South Africa are so notorious for their intransigence and defiance that the Security Council has had to invoke enforcement measures against them under Chapter VII of the Charter. The sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia did not stem solely from the rebellion, even though that act instigated them. The measures adopted against the rebel colony arose from the fact that the circumstances and events leading to the rebellion constituted a threat to international peace and security. The end of the rebellion has by no means removed that threat, as the recent raids against the front-line States of Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia show.

51. Giving a narrow interpretation to the sanctions measures, a number of States, all Members of the United Nations—particularly the United Kingdom and United States, which ought to know better both the political and legal implications of their precipitate action, being permanent members of the Security Council with special responsibility for upholding and defending the authority of the Council—have been lifting those sanctions unilaterally. This is, in my delegation's judgement, in violation of Article 25 of the Charter. Since the sanctions were imposed by the Security Council, it is the only competent organ that can lift or modify them. I wish to emphasize that we do not regard interpretation of the Charter and Member States' obligations under it as elastic codes of convenience to be contracted and expanded to suit whims or situations of those States.

52. Thirdly, I believe that it is in the spirit of compromise, love of country and a genuine desire to achieve peace and democracy in Zimbabwe that the Patriotic Front has again

accepted, in good faith, the assurances of the British Government by appending its signature to the constitutional documents in respect of an independent Zimbabwe. The least we expect from the British Government is that this good faith and trust be reciprocated, eschewing all perfidy. In this connexion, we should not forget that the cease-fire agreement, a crucial component of the over-all constitutional conference, was eventually signed by Messrs. Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe after firm and specific assurances from the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, that the illegal Rhodesian armed forces, including its vandal and lawless air force, would be controlled and put on an equal footing with the forces of the Patriotic Front; that the Commonwealth monitoring force would be adequate for the purpose for which it was established, and, most importantly, that South Africa would discipline itself, for a change, suppress its rabid attitude, for a change, and not meddle in the affairs of the British colony during the cease-fire and the elections, for a change.

53. The assurances given by the British Government regarding the presence of South African armed forces and security personnel in Zimbabwe are so imprecise and non-committal that we shall hold that Government responsible for any further South African intervention in Zimbabwe. We are also concerned by British statements that the resolution of the situation in Southern Rhodesia would mean the end of the isolation of South Africa. Nothing can be further from the truth. As long as South Africa continues to defy the United Nations over its policy of *apartheid* and Namibia, it will continue to remain in the "doghouse", an international pariah. Furthermore, South Africa has been issuing threats to subvert or intervene militarily in Zimbabwe if any of the parties which do not sympathize with the racist policies of South Africa comes to power in independent Zimbabwe. These are grave threats which cannot go unnoticed by the Security Council.

54. The erstwhile illegal régime has not denied the fact that South African troops and mercenaries have been involved in the fighting on its side. Rather, it has attempted to justify that. Only recently, one Mr. Rowan Cronje, one of Bishop Muzorewa's so-called "ministers", admitted that South African troops were involved in Rhodesia and that there were mercenaries in the Rhodesian Light Infantry. These South African armed forces and security personnel, as well as the mercenaries from Europe, the United States and elsewhere, must be expelled without delay from Rhodesia.

55. The presence of South African forces and white mercenaries is only one dimension of the amount of arms and ammunition owned and used by the whites which makes them rank among the most heavily-armed populations of the world. It is estimated that there are up to 160,000 weapons in private hands. We have all seen photographs of whites—men and women, as well as children under the age of 18—carrying, or receiving training in the use of, automatic weapons. Then there are the white farmers—about 5,300 of them—who have an armed and trained militia. In addition, there are the *mujibahs*, young gangs belonging to the private armies of Muzorewa and his friends. Nigeria fully supports the Patriotic Front's demand that all—I

repeat: all—civilians in Zimbabwe be disarmed. We expect that this will be one of the first preoccupations of the administering Power.

56. British policies in southern Africa have created so many "Frankensteins" in Rhodesia and southern Africa that the British will therefore bear the grim and full responsibilities for the actions of these monsters if they fail to keep them in check. Hand-wringing and unconvincing pleas of impotence or lack of time will not suffice.

57. For too long the people of Zimbabwe have been cast in the role of the surrogates of other peoples' ideological and colonial rivalries; for too long they have been visited by death and destruction; for too long they have been denied their inalienable right to self-determination and distracted from the common challenge of building their national social, political and economic institutions. The Zimbabweans deserve peace—peace with honour—not another betrayal or skilful sell-out. I assure them of Nigeria's support until that goal has been achieved.

58. The advent of independence in Zimbabwe calls for an increased effort on the part of both the Member States and the United Nations itself to ensure that adequate and immediate international assistance is provided to both Zimbabwe and the front-line States for reconstruction, relief and rehabilitation purposes. The international community has been so painfully and intimately involved with the tragic plight of Zimbabweans, the senseless loss of life, the waste and the suffering of more than half a century of colonialism, particularly those caused by 14 years of pig-headed racism and rebellion, that they deserve our help and assistance.

59. An adequate amount of economic support and skilled manpower training should be made available to make Zimbabwe's independence a true reality. In this connexion, we note that the United Nations has been supporting important training programmes for southern Africans, including Zimbabweans. I refer here specifically to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for southern Africa and the United Nations Development Programme's special programmes for assistance to national liberation movements in southern Africa. These have greatly assisted Zimbabweans and other South Africans in their training endeavours, and we should like at this particular time to call upon the Secretary-General to increase further and expand these and other programmes and to train on an accelerated basis, both at home and abroad, indigenous Zimbabweans for the tasks ahead of an independent Zimbabwe.

60. There is also a crying need to attend to the humanitarian questions of refugees, displaced persons and freedom fighters from South Africa caught and detained in Southern Rhodesia under one pretext or another during the period of the rebellion.

61. It is in the light of those considerations that I express warm appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General for his statement this afternoon.

62. No appeal for assistance, relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction can be complete without referring to the enormous sacrifices and dislocation of the economies of the

front-line States, particularly Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. No words can express our colossal gratitude to them. No offer of aid and assistance can be too much for those front-line States. The reckless raids into their territories by the rebel forces and mercenaries brought untold death and destruction to many innocent persons who are now beyond help. We can only pay a tribute to their memory.

63. The Right Honourable Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, speaking in New York a few days ago, said that momentous events in the history of any nation are achieved through "resolve" and "imagination". Let us hope that her Government and the international community have enough resolve and imagination to assist Zimbabwe to be reborn a great nation and a beacon of inspiration to the benighted *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

64. Mr. N'DONG (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Everyone here recalls the sad day of 11 November 1965. It was on that day that Ian Smith, then Prime Minister of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, chose to throw down the gauntlet to the whole world by unilaterally proclaiming the independence of the Territory on behalf of 250,000 whites, thereby preventing an accession to power by the black majority.

65. That challenge by Ian Smith elicited two sorts of reactions. Along with the internal reaction, which was the organization of liberation movements leading to an armed struggle, there was also an international reaction which led to the adoption by the Security Council of a number of resolutions imposing mandatory economic sanctions on that rebellious colony, including resolutions 232 (1966), 253 (1968) and 314 (1972)—to cite only a few.

66. Fourteen years later, we are today called upon to consider a question which my delegation feels is of crucial importance. Indeed, the lifting of the sanctions imposed by the Council on Southern Rhodesia some 11 years ago means at least two things. First, it means that the international community today recognizes that the reasons that compelled it to impose such sanctions are no longer justified, in view of the fact that the imposition of those sanctions was to be part and parcel of the effort by the international community to ensure that the United Kingdom restored legality to Southern Rhodesia. With the agreement reached after the Lancaster House talks and officially signed today by the parties concerned, we are entitled to believe that this is finally an accomplished fact: Rhodesia henceforth falls under British responsibility. Secondly, this means, perhaps by extension, that we can reasonably expect an end to the insecurity of the borders and the interior of the neighbouring countries, especially the front-line countries. This might also entitle us to believe that international peace and security in the region will be ensured.

67. Even if we have not yet had the opportunity of examining in detail the contents of the London agreement and even if it might be a bit premature at this point to speak of the complete restoration of legality in that regained British Territory, my delegation, for the aforementioned reasons, voted in favour of the resolution which the Council has just adopted. Nevertheless, I should like it to be understood that

my delegation, which has always supported and will continue to support peoples struggling for their freedom, acknowledges and welcomes that agreement but firmly hopes that it will be complied with and implemented in all its aspects so as finally to bring Rhodesia to complete independence within the framework and in the spirit of the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

68. Before concluding, I should like to draw the attention of members of the Security Council to the fact that the lifting of sanctions will surely be of great benefit, from the economic and other standpoints, to South Africa, which—let us not forget—has been defying the Organization for a long time now. Indeed, we all know that this is an additional opportunity for the trade and industry of that homeland of *apartheid* to develop with a vengeance.

69. Our fears in this respect should therefore be an added motive for the international community to mobilize and increase its assistance to Rhodesia and the front-line States to enable them to undertake with greater chances of success the work of reconstruction and development of their respective countries, the importance of which need not be stressed here.

70. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to commend all those who, directly or indirectly, took part in the Lancaster House negotiations and to salute the memory of those—whose number is legion—who sacrificed their lives in a devastating conflict which we hope has ended after 14 years.

71. Mr. VANDEN HEUVEL (United States of America): This is an important and impressive day for the Security Council and for the United Nations itself. We have this afternoon adopted a resolution which, following the signing of the cease-fire agreements in London today, permits us to greet the days ahead with the confidence that difficult, almost intractable problems can be solved by hard work, resolve and goodwill.

72. A long agony of death and destruction has come to an end. With the free and fair election of the leaders of a new Zimbabwe, the rebuilding process will be well under way, healing the wounds and laying the foundation for a just and prosperous society based on the common aspiration of all the peoples of Zimbabwe.

73. We do not underestimate the practical difficulties of implementing the Lancaster House agreements, but we are confident that the door to true majority rule and independence for Southern Rhodesia and the achievement of genuine self-determination for all of its people is now open.

74. May I once again on behalf of my Government congratulate all the parties to this momentous agreement. We are aware of the obstacles which were overcome and the statesmanship, vision and courage that were necessary to overcome them.

75. The United States was happy to join in support of the draft resolution before us today. It is pleased that the Council is calling upon Member States to terminate the measures taken against Southern Rhodesia under Chapter VII of the Charter because the objective of those measures

has been achieved. It was in recognition of that fact that the United States made its recent announcement regarding sanctions. With that element behind us, the United States looks forward to a positive process of self-determination and reconstruction in a society intrinsically rich in resources, people and spirit. We look forward to welcoming a new and independent Zimbabwe into the community of nations.

76. What has happened and what we hope will now happen to bring an equitable peace to Zimbabwe is, simply put, a triumph for the constructive spirit. It is an endorsement of the basic principles of the Organization. It is a victory for all of us. We wish all parties well as the process now unfolds to its conclusion.

77. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council often meets to confront crisis situations that are likely to jeopardize peace. Today, it is different. This meeting has been caused by an event that is a harbinger of hope and of return to peace. The signing in London a few hours ago of agreements reached at the Lancaster House conference closes a painful chapter in the history of decolonization in Africa. My delegation pays a tribute to the memory of all of those who were its victims.

78. Throughout this long conflict, bitterness, anger, disappointment and mistrust have accumulated. The welcome outcome of the negotiations begun three months ago is therefore all the more praiseworthy. We should unreservedly congratulate all those who have been instrumental in this development. It has been a great collective effort that has required imagination and perseverance, a spirit of compromise and faith in the future. That is why my delegation pays a joint tribute to the Governments of the United Kingdom, the front-line States and the Commonwealth States, and also the Salisbury authorities and the leaders of the Patriotic Front, who themselves have finally shown the virtues of negotiation.

79. Under the terms of the agreement, the cease-fire should now be applied. Free and democratic elections are to be organized on the basis of majority rule. They will enable the future Republic of Zimbabwe quickly to attain internationally recognized independence.

80. In these conditions, the circumstances that justified the adoption of sanctions against Rhodesia no longer exist, and it is appropriate for the Council to draw the appropriate conclusions.

81. It was with deep satisfaction that my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted to the Council. We need therefore feel no hesitancy in expressing our regret that it refers to certain texts which my country had not approved.

82. In conclusion, I express the hope that now that the weapons have been silenced the people of Zimbabwe as a whole will endeavour to restore its unity and to work for peace and independence. The United Nations impatiently awaits the day when this new State joins us.

83. Mr. DE ZAVALA-URRIOLAGOITIA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Bolivia has repeatedly con-

demned the attacks of the Rhodesian régime against the front-line States, just as we have deplored the incredible prolongation of a warlike conflict with attendant suffering of every kind during 14 long years of cruel civil war.

84. From one end of the world to the other, prolonged regional conflicts time and time again rekindle the threat to peace and security. But the ingredients of those disturbances are always the same, although the intentions, masks or labels may vary.

85. Precisely therein lies the gravity of the case, because often contradictions coincide with the traditional feelings of friendly and peace-loving peoples because there are those who govern and legislate with a very short memory, who compromise with merciless utilitarianism and neglect friends. That is the case of Bolivia, whose long-suffering people contributed to the victory to the allied cause and that of the United States. But now that very people, showing solidarity and friendship during difficult times, is doomed to poverty whenever the General Services Administration announces the sale on the open market of a part of its mineral strategic reserves. In that way the economy of the Bolivian people, which in very good faith contributed to the stockpiling of those reserves, accepting burdensome prices for several years to defend freedom and democracy, is cast into crushing poverty and deep social disquiet whose consequences are unforeseeable and might be detrimental to the constitutional process my Government has begun. This ambivalent conduct comes not from the generous people of the United States but from power sectors in which financial consortia manoeuvre.

86. The actions may be brazen or covert, but the colonialist characteristics are the same in the dispute for spheres of influence. In southern Africa in the past, those influences took shape in flagrant acts of the illegal Southern Rhodesian régime that were crudely racist and anti-human.

87. It was in that light that we analysed with great satisfaction the signature this morning of the peace and cease-fire agreement at the conclusion of the conference held at Lancaster House, which in the opinion of my delegation lays down the basis for a free and independent society in Zimbabwe by providing principles and genuine rules of conduct for majority government and by drafting a new constitution in accordance with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

88. Being aware of that, we supported the draft resolution which has won approval in the Council this afternoon, and we wish to express our hope that a lasting peace will prevail in that tormented area of the world.

89. Together with our non-aligned brothers, and in accordance with what was said by the Secretary-General, we urge all States Members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies to mobilize their assistance both to Southern Rhodesia and to the front-line States in their plans for reconstruction and in their efforts to facilitate the repatriation of all refugees to Southern Rhodesia.

90. Finally, since I believe that this will be my final statement in the Council, I wish to express my gratitude to you,

Mr. President, for your excellent and balanced guidance, typical of the proverbial wisdom of China, and at the same time to wish you the greatest success in your presidency.

91. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): Sir, the pressure of events and the constraints of time have prevented me from extending to you in fuller measure, our congratulations on your assumption of the Presidency of the Council for this month. May I say how happy we are to see you in the Chair on this occasion. You are a representative of a country which not only belongs to our own region of the world, but with which Bangladesh has the closest and friendliest of relations. Ties between the Governments and peoples of Bangladesh and China have always been strong; they continue to be consolidated in all spheres of activity. The people of Bangladesh are particularly cognizant of the solidarity that has governed our relations and of the principled stand of the people of China. Your personal qualities have won for you the respect and esteem of all of us present in the Council. Your diplomatic ability, your devotion to duty and your understanding and patience have already contributed in large measure to the successful conduct of the Council's work in this critical month, and will surely continue to do so for the remainder of your term. I wish you all success.

92. Bangladesh wholeheartedly welcomes the signing of the Lancaster House agreement between the parties to the conference in London. It is an historic occasion, a hopeful occasion and a happy occasion. It is historic because it marks a crucial milestone on the long and arduous road to decolonization, a return to legality and legitimacy and the explicit recognition that no enduring solution of the Rhodesian problem can be assured without a constitution that has the agreement, support and participation of all parties concerned. It is hopeful because the signing signifies the beginning of a process leading to the free and unfettered exercise by the people of Zimbabwe of their inalienable rights to self-determination, freedom and independence, and the emergence of a truly independent and thriving Zimbabwe. It is a happy occasion because it is a giant step towards closing a dark chapter of struggle and sacrifice, involving great human and material loss, against forces of illegality, brutal repression and racism and all its evil manifestations.

93. We have repeatedly stressed that the process has only just begun. The Security Council, as the primary organ of our world body, charged with the maintenance of peace and security, has a continuing and crucial responsibility to bring this positive momentum to its logical end until the rights of the people of Zimbabwe have been fully exercised and a sovereign, independent Zimbabwe emerges into nationhood on the basis of the principles of the Charter and in conformity with the objectives of the historic General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960. The Council must remain ever alert and increasingly vigilant in promoting these objectives.

94. The Bangladesh delegation warmly welcomes today's statement by the Secretary-General. It should be our collective duty to strengthen the hand of the Secretary-General in the urgent and successful implementation of the resolution just adopted, particularly paragraph 8, in all its aspects.

95. While emphasizing all this, we want to pay a genuine and sincere tribute to all those who have contributed to this long-awaited initiative for a peaceful solution of the problem. Our heartfelt congratulations are extended to those who have fought so hard and sacrificed so much in their determined struggle for their inalienable rights, to those unsung martyrs who gave their lives in order that their country might truly be free, and to those who have suffered brutality, harassment, intimidation and even prolonged incarceration rather than abandon their cause.

96. We commend the role of the United Kingdom, which, as the administering Power, finally and resolutely assumed its responsibility to undertake serious negotiations with all parties concerned and pursue them to their logical end, despite built-in obstacles. It goes without saying that this responsibility remains a grave and continuing charge in the full and scrupulous implementation of the agreement that has been concluded.

97. In this process the role of the front-line States, as the vanguard of the Commonwealth conference, cannot be over-emphasized. Their sustained support and pressure, despite tremendous economic constraints and sacrifice, were the last bastion in the undermining of the illegal minority régime. The travail and misery suffered by the peoples of Zambia, Mozambique, Angola and Botswana are well known to the members of the Council and I need not refer to them once again. The statesmanship of their leaders, their combined will and determination and their pragmatism have made an enormous contribution to the progress that has been achieved. As a fellow member of the Commonwealth, Bangladesh takes justifiable pride in these developments and in its participation in the proceedings of the Council today.

98. In the final analysis, the hopeful auguries that have been generated in Rhodesia are a reflection of the will and desire of the entire world community in its pursuit of the fundamental prerogatives and principles of the Charter. We eagerly await the day when we shall be able to welcome into our midst, as an independent and sovereign equal, the Government and people of Zimbabwe.

99. Taking cognizance of what the representative of the United Kingdom has rightly termed a moment of history, I should like to state that we are nearing the end of a tumultuous and eventful year in the work of the Council. In many ways, this has been a record year, unprecedented in the annals of the Council, in both procedural and substantive terms. Bangladesh has been privileged to serve in the Council—particularly today—and to participate in, learn from and contribute to its deliberations. If the pressure of events has kept us in these halls and corridors through late hours of intense consultations and critical moments of anxiety, it has also underscored a basic lesson: that all nations, big or small, powerful or weak, have a stake in the interests of mankind, in the preservation of peace, in the uplifting of peoples and in the recognition of our common humanity and interdependence.

100. Peace is not yet an inherent right for all. It is built up brick by brick in an edifice whose foundations need continually to be bolstered. It is painstakingly arrived at through

compromises, through understanding, persuasion, even through the sacrifice of some commitments. But the essential catalyst for peace goes beyond the dictates of power and, in reality, is unswervingly founded on the principles of the Charter, the norms and rules of international law and its treaties and conventions, and on the moral attributes common to all religions and societies.

101. For Bangladesh, the Islamic principles of tolerance, compassion, magnanimity, brotherhood and, above all, peace, justice and equity have been a binding code in conducting our work. It is our hope that in the many critical issues that face our world in the future, it is the spirit of community, understanding and the recognition of our common fate and interdependence that will guide and govern our conduct, so that we may solve our outstanding problems peacefully, both in the Council and outside it.

102. I cannot conclude without thanking those members of the Council who will be leaving our midst at the end of this year, the Permanent Representatives and delegations of Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Gabon, Kuwait and Nigeria. Their co-operation, support and contribution to our work have been invaluable. Their guidance and advice to my delegation in particular, without exception, deserve our heartfelt gratitude and commendation.

103. I wish to take this opportunity to thank in particular the representative of Bolivia, who, with exemplary skill, devotion and impartiality conducted our work during the month of November. I express also my personal sense of loss at the departure of Ambassador Clark of Nigeria. His courageous initiatives as well as his wisdom and judgement will be missed. We assure him of our deep and abiding respect and friendship. I shall also sorely miss the co-operation and friendship of Ambassador N'Dong of Gabon and Ambassador Hulinský of Czechoslovakia. Finally, a word for my brother Ambassador Bishara, who not only is a fellow member from Asia but also, as a member of the Council, has established with me and members of my delegation a deep and personal friendship. His contribution to the Council is well known. His leadership, his statesmanship, his humour and his charm, his innovative abilities and his knowledge of procedure have served us again and again. His unstinting co-operation and assistance, particularly to me and my delegation, have helped us immeasurably in meeting the responsibilities imposed by membership of the Council. We shall sorely miss him, and the Council will sorely miss him.

104. Mr. NEIL (Jamaica): My delegation takes great satisfaction in noting that the sustained efforts, lasting over a decade, to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to an end and to achieve an acceptable settlement to the Rhodesian problem have finally resulted in the historic signing of a comprehensive agreement in London today.

105. Jamaica has always closely followed developments in Southern Rhodesia since the time of the unilateral declaration of independence and we have in the intervening years supported all measures designed to bring the rebellion to an end.

106. We are particularly gratified that the momentum generated at the Commonwealth Heads of Government

conference at Lusaka in August has resulted in success. The way is now open for arrangements to ensure a transfer of power to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe in a situation where the peace and security of the region can be ensured.

107. My delegation takes this opportunity to commend the parties to the Lancaster House talks, particularly the British Government, the front-line States and the Patriotic Front, for the statemanship and goodwill displayed throughout the duration of these difficult talks and for their eventual success.

108. Since the state of rebellion has now been brought to an end and the legal authority of the administering Power has been restored in Rhodesia, it is right and proper that the Security Council should meet and take the decision to remove the sanctions imposed by resolution 232 (1966). There is no doubt that the application of sanctions played an important role in bringing international pressure to bear on the rebel régime. There have been some problems and violations which undermined their effectiveness, but in the long run it proved impossible for the rebels to remain in isolation and to continue their defiance indefinitely.

109. The people of Zimbabwe themselves have played a decisive role and they have done this in waging a long and hard struggle under the leadership of the Patriotic Front to achieve their right to freedom, self-determination and national independence.

110. The front-line States, which throughout stood in brotherly solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe, have earned the admiration and respect of the entire international community. A number of these States, particularly Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia, have had to pay a very high price and have had to carry a heavy burden in this process. Not only have their economies been dislocated by the imposition of sanctions, but these States have suffered immensely from the unprovoked acts of aggression carried out by the rebel régime throughout the period since the unilateral declaration of independence. It is now necessary for the international community as a whole to render all available assistance to these States and to give assistance to the refugees in the region so that the task of rebuilding may proceed and all displaced persons may speedily be reintegrated into their countries of origin.

111. In the final analysis, the Lancaster House agreement can be viable only if it is effectively and fairly implemented. A grave responsibility lies with the administering Power, the United Kingdom. It is our expectation that the agreement signed today will be fairly and faithfully implemented by the United Kingdom so that the people of Zimbabwe may proceed to genuine independence and sovereignty.

112. In addition, an immediate task of the administering Power is the expulsion of all South African forces in Southern Rhodesia along with the mercenaries currently remaining in the Territory. It is apparent from recent pronouncements that the *apartheid* régime of South Africa will seek through every device to frustrate the achievement of genuine independence and majority rule in Zimbabwe. Constant vigilance is therefore required to ensure that these

evil designs do not succeed and that the people of Zimbabwe will not be denied the fruits of their struggle, for which they have sacrificed so much.

113. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): The Norwegian Government warmly welcomes the historic agreement at the Lancaster House conference. On this occasion I am pleased, therefore, to express, on behalf of the Norwegian Government, our sincere congratulations to the British Government upon the successful conclusion of these extremely difficult negotiations. Equally, the parties concerned deserve praise for their willingness to negotiate and to find the necessary compromises. The Norwegian Government likewise wishes to express its deep appreciation to the African front-line States and to the Commonwealth countries which have contributed actively to the highly important results achieved over the last few months.

114. In view of the agreement reached in London, it is appropriate that the Security Council has today lifted the sanctions which were imposed on the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. We fully support, therefore, the resolution which has just been adopted.

115. In concluding, I should like to express the hope that the recent developments regarding Zimbabwe will positively influence the situation in southern Africa as a whole, and particularly in Namibia. The Lancaster House agreement and the decisions which the Council has just made are of the greatest encouragement for all those who have been striving for freedom, peace and progress in southern Africa.

116. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Czechoslovak delegation would like to make some comments on the decision just adopted by the Council to lift sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

117. In all frankness, we wonder whether the Council was not too hasty in taking that decision. For the situation which has obtained in Southern Rhodesia since 1965 and which led directly to the adoption of mandatory sanctions by the Council has remained virtually unchanged. There has been only a formal change in the status of the country, while the erstwhile régime has not really been eliminated. First and foremost the régime's military and police forces and other important attributes of power have not been disbanded—elements which, among others, are, under resolution 423 (1978), primary prerequisites of the restoration of legality in Southern Rhodesia and the peaceful and democratic transition to genuine majority rule and independence. Moreover, enormous amounts of weapons remain in the hands of white racists in the Territory and there are tens of thousands of mercenaries and even regular military units and security forces in Southern Rhodesia who are fighting there in the interests of white minority power and against the enjoyment of the legitimate rights of the people of Zimbabwe to real freedom and independence.

118. At the same time, we still hardly know what will be the outcome of the agreements signed in London. For the time being it is hardly clear that they will be complied with in a manner which would truly be in keeping with the vital far-reaching interests of the people of Zimbabwe. There are no guarantees that the reactionary forces will not use all the

means remaining to them to undermine the decolonization process and to maintain—perhaps under a new banner—their colonial and racist domination in the country. Nor should we forget the position of South Africa in this regard, which openly threatens that it will undermine implementation of the agreements which have been achieved. Have not Prime Minister Botha and other ringleaders of the *apartheid* régime stated repeatedly that South Africa is prepared to undertake military intervention in Rhodesia on behalf of the illegal régime if the course of events in that country is not in keeping with their interests? Everyone understands that the interests of South Africa are not in fact furthered by a just solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia.

119. The Czechoslovak delegation, which has consistently favoured and continues to favour the most rapid and genuine independence for the people of Zimbabwe, believes that the Council should at this stage be exceptionally vigilant and should take such an important step as the lifting of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia only when all prerequisites are fulfilled for the establishment in that country of genuine majority rule.

120. The Czechoslovak delegation decided, however, not to vote against the draft resolution contained in document S/13699, bearing in mind the position taken on this issue by interested African countries.

121. In conclusion, the delegation of Czechoslovakia would like to express its conviction that, in spite of all the difficulties facing the people of Zimbabwe, it will finally achieve genuine independence and freedom.

122. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): The other day I spoke of Christmas presents. Today I think that the agreement arrived at this morning could constitute an acceptable Christmas present.

123. We have come to the end of a long odyssey that spanned 14 years of history. Before continuing to express the views of the delegation of Kuwait, I should like to express my gratitude and thanks—and I am sure I can speak for Ambassador Clark of Nigeria also—to the delegation of Bangladesh and particularly to Ambassador Kaiser for his thoughtfulness and the sentiments which he expressed in his statement.

124. Kuwait voted in favour of the resolution just adopted by the Security Council in line with its traditional policy of endorsing and supporting the policies of African States on southern Africa. Kuwait has observed scrupulously the sanctions imposed on the illegal régime in response to resolutions 232 (1966) and 253 (1968). Since the African States believe that the continuance of those measures is no longer necessary in view of the recent developments and the signing of the cease-fire agreement, my delegation joined with others in voting in favour of the resolution.

125. No matter what changes have taken place, the aim should remain the same: that is, the genuine independence of Zimbabwe on the basis of free, fair and credible elections, supervised by an impartial body. We hope that there will indeed be an impartial mechanism that ensures the genuineness of the elections.

126. The achievement of today would not have been possible had it not been for the sacrifice—the enormous sacrifice—of the front-line States. My delegation would like to express its appreciation and admiration to those front-line States for the enormous sacrifices made by their peoples and Governments and, indeed, for their conviction in the justness of the cause that has enabled them to withstand brutal attacks from the rebels as well as the economic, political and social upheaval which resulted from those attacks.

127. My delegation would also like to pay a tribute to all African States as well as to other Members of the United Nations whose combined efforts generated political and moral pressure on the administering Power.

128. One should also pay a tribute to the United Kingdom, which, on this particular question—as opposed to the question of Palestine—has maintained pressure on the rebels in order to make them see reason. They eventually gave in not because of any unexpected display of generosity, but because they saw no alternative.

129. In this respect, one should also pay a tribute to the United Nations, which has maintained the heat on the illegal régime in Zimbabwe. It is also fitting to express sincere gratitude to the United Nations staff in the Secretariat, whose dedication to the cause ensured the implementation of Security Council resolutions.

130. We express the hope that very soon independent Zimbabwe will join the family of nations, which has long awaited it, as a Member of the United Nations. We also express the hope that the independent State of Palestine will join the family of nations.

131. Let us say with hope that all is well that ends well. We hope that there will be no more bloodshed, no more devastation and no more brutal raids. The people of Zimbabwe and the people of the front-line States have had enough of those brutal raids.

132. I should like, in this respect, to commend the Patriotic Front and its leaders and freedom fighters for the successful outcome of their war of liberation. All of us are indebted to the martyrs who fell on the battlefields. Without their sacrifice, without their blood, the result of today would not have been possible. The leaders of the Patriotic Front showed statesmanship, for which we admire them. They have proven that in a struggle, blood conducts diplomacy. Diplomatic efforts alone would not have brought about this conclusion. In Kuwait we say: "Freedom has a door that does not open unless a bleeding hand bangs on it". We say that emphatically in my country, and the Patriotic Front has acted in accordance with that saying. We congratulate Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe on their statesmanship and diplomacy and on their daring spirit on the battlefield.

133. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): In connexion with the resolution adopted today by the Security Council, in the vote on which the Soviet Union abstained, we should like to reaffirm the principled position of the Soviet Union on the

question of the Rhodesian settlement. In accordance with that position, the Soviet Union has consistently supported, and continues to support, the selfless struggle of the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe for freedom and independence in their country, a struggle which has been waged over many years under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, recognized by the United Nations as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe. The Soviet Union is firmly in favour of ensuring the inalienable right of the Zimbabwe people to self-determination and independence, and the transfer of power in that country to its legitimate representatives.

134. As is well known, the Security Council has adopted numerous resolutions designed to make it possible for the people of Zimbabwe to enjoy its right to self-determination and independence, including resolutions which imposed mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. The Soviet Union has scrupulously observed those resolutions of the Council.

135. In this connexion, we cannot fail to condemn the decisions of the United Kingdom and the United States unilaterally to terminate observance of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. As emphasized in the letter sent today by the Permanent Representative of the USSR to the President of the Security Council [S/13702], the aforementioned unilateral actions taken by those countries constitute a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, since only the Council can terminate the effects of the decisions which it has taken. Only by a decision of the Council can the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia imposed by the Council be rescinded. No unilateral actions in this regard can be considered lawful or valid, inasmuch as they violate the clear and unambiguous provisions of the Charter.

136. With respect to the current question, the Rhodesian settlement, the Soviet Union has some serious doubts whether, during the course of future events in Southern Rhodesia, the genuine independence of the people of Zimbabwe will be guaranteed in accordance with its legitimate interests. Therefore, we feel that in the present conditions the lifting of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia is premature and can play into the hands of the colonialists and racists. Nevertheless, we acknowledge and well understand the position of the African countries as regards the resolution just adopted by the Council.

137. Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA (Portugal): For once we are gathered around this table neither in a sombre mood nor faced by a situation which constitutes a threat to or a breach of international peace and security. Indeed, it is gratifying for the Council to know that the Lancaster House talks have come to a successful conclusion, which led to the signing in London today of an agreement on a cease-fire in Southern Rhodesia.

138. After 14 long years of bloodshed, violence and continuous suffering for the peoples of Zimbabwe and the neighbouring African countries, peace is finally at hand. The agreements reached in London show unequivocally that a peaceful settlement of disputes is possible through negotiations and direct dialogue. This extraordinary feat has been possible thanks to the courageous attitude of all the

parties concerned. We are therefore happy to pay a tribute to those who were directly instrumental in bringing the London talks to a successful outcome: to the Commonwealth countries, whose initiative during the last summit conference of heads of State and Government at Lusaka laid the basis for the Lancaster House talks; to the British Government, which fully assumed its responsibilities as the administering Power and which steered the conference so skilfully during the past three months, at times through extremely adverse circumstances, with the determination to bring about, come what might, a democratic solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia; to the Patriotic Front for its co-operation and noteworthy decision to participate in the elections, thereby accepting that these will determine who in the near future will be the legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe; to the Government at Salisbury, which agreed to step down in order to facilitate the prospects of an internationally accepted solution; last but not least to the front-line States, which had to face enormous hardships and to undergo untold human suffering for 14 years, but whose leaders all along showed a statesmanlike attitude, making a very positive contribution to bridging the gap between the two sides.

139. All these efforts combined have led, we are pleased to note, to the agreement on a constitution for a free and independent Zimbabwe, providing for genuine majority rule and enabling the exercise by the people of that Territory of their right to self-determination, in accordance with the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives laid down in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

140. In this connexion, I should like to quote a passage from a communiqué issued on 19 December by the Office of the Prime Minister of my country:

"Portugal, after having defined its relationship with Africa on a new basis, has never accepted partial or discriminatory solutions to this problem and has instead upheld the principle of a genuine majority rule which would contribute to the firm establishment of a government, in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of its people. At the same time, Portugal has underscored the negative effects of the situation on southern Africa, in general, and has condemned the Rhodesian attacks on neighbouring countries, namely, Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Botswana."

141. We are confident that the restoration of peace in Zimbabwe and the establishment of a democratic government at Salisbury will pave the way for a final solution of all the problems that have been afflicting that region for too long a time. Southern Africa and its people deserve and need an extended period free from any kind of tribulations so that they may have the possibility of shaping their destinies without any undue outside interference and dedicating the best of their abilities and talents towards the task of national reconstruction, in a multiracial society, free from hatred, prejudice and injustice.

142. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of CHINA.

143. Today in London, the parties concerned formally signed the agreement on the solution of the question of Southern Rhodesia. This is an important success achieved by the Zimbabwean people through their protracted and valiant struggle with the full support of the African countries, particularly the front-line States. It is also a serious defeat for the racist forces of Southern Rhodesia.

144. Fourteen years ago, a handful of white racists represented by Ian Smith unilaterally declared the independence of Southern Rhodesia in an attempt to perpetuate the minority colonialist rule. Over the years, these extremely reactionary and brutal racist forces have subjected the Zimbabwean people to sanguinary armed repression and have ceaselessly carried out military invasions of and armed attacks on the front-line African States. At the same time, they have resorted to all kinds of tricks and engaged in the fraud of an "internal settlement" in an attempt to prolong their reactionary rule by a combination of soft and tough tactics. However, the historical trend is irresistible, and all their schemes have ended in ignominious defeat one after another.

145. For a long time, the Zimbabwean people have plunged themselves wave upon wave into most arduous struggles for genuine national independence and liberation. In the past decade and more, the armed struggle of the Zimbabwean people led by the Patriotic Front has started from scratch and grown in strength, dealing heavy blows to the racist forces. The Patriotic Front has also been actively engaged in political struggles, which have yielded great successes. The just struggle of the Zimbabwean people has won increasingly wide sympathy and support from the international community. In the recent negotiations in London, the Patriotic Front once again exerted tremendous efforts and put forward many positive proposals, making important contributions to the conclusion of the final agreement.

146. The victory won by the Zimbabwean people is also inseparable from the great efforts exerted by the numerous African countries, especially the front-line States. In their struggle, the Zimbabwean people have always enjoyed the active support of the African countries. It is praiseworthy that the front-line States have made great sacrifices in rendering full political, moral, material and other support to the Patriotic Front, thus making positive contributions to the just cause of the Zimbabwean people.

147. The signing of the London agreement marks the end of one stage and the beginning of a new stage in the struggle of the Zimbabwean people. Historical experience shows that an agreement is merely something on paper. Acute and complex struggles have to be waged in order to translate something on paper into reality. It can be expected that the racist forces of Southern Rhodesia will never step down from the stage of history of their own accord, and they are bound to resort to various schemes and to carry out sabotage and disturbances in a death-bed struggle. What also calls for vigilance is that the South African régime has all along tried to place southern Africa under its long-term control and has openly subjected the Zimbabwean people to military threats with the clamour to incorporate Zimbabwe in its ambitious plan of a so-called "constellation of States in

southern Africa". Nevertheless, we believe that with the support of the front-line States and all other justice-upholding countries and peoples, the Zimbabwean people, which has long experience in struggle, will continue to strengthen its unity, heighten its vigilance, persist in struggle, frustrate the schemes and trouble-making on the part of the racist forces of Southern Rhodesia and the South African authorities, firmly get rid of the meddling and sabotage of all outside forces, including hegemonism, and attain genuine majority rule and national independence. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, continue to give firm support to the just cause of the Zimbabwean people until it wins final victory.

148. In view of the recent developments, the Chinese delegation agrees that the Security Council should decide to terminate the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. But this does not mean that the Council and the international community should abandon their due responsibilities on the question of Southern Rhodesia. Pending the attainment of genuine majority rule and national independence of the Zimbabwean people, the Council and the international community should follow closely the developments in Southern Rhodesia and urge all the parties concerned to implement the provisions of the agreement completely, faithfully and unreservedly. The Council should also ask the authorities concerned to take effective measures to bring about the immediate withdrawal of all South African armed forces and mercenaries from Zimbabwe and not allow them to re-enter. Furthermore, with regard to the downtrodden Zimbabwean people and the front-line States, which have made great sacrifices in supporting the just cause of the Zimbabwean people, the international community is duty-bound to assist them in economic reconstruction and rehabilitation, and the United Nations system should play an active role in this respect.

149. Based on the above-mentioned position, the Chinese delegation has voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/13699.

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

151. The next speaker is the Minister of State in the Presidency of the People's Republic of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. José Oscar Monteiro. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

152. Mr. MONTEIRO (Mozambique) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I express my gratitude to you and, through you, to the members of the Security Council, for giving us this opportunity to participate in the work of this important meeting. It is a matter of great significance for us that it is the People's Republic of China, a country with which we have ties of friendship forged during our armed struggle for national liberation, which is presiding over the present meeting of the Council.

153. We avail ourselves of this opportunity too to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his consistent contribution to the cause of the liberation of peoples, particularly in southern Africa. His sustained com-

mitment and devotion—of which we have had further proof at this meeting—reflect the preponderant role of the United Nations in the decolonization process, notably in questions concerning the implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination and national independence enshrined in the historic resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly.

154. We believe that the United Nations contribution to the question of decolonization—we can say this on the basis of our own experience—has had a major impact; it constitutes one of the most beautiful laurels in the wreath of the Organization. The peoples of the world, the colonized peoples, always expect much of the United Nations; they turn towards it with eyes of hope. That is why, in our opinion, nothing should be encouraged or admitted that might lessen the eminent role of the United Nations with regard to decolonization.

155. The present meeting of the Security Council is being held at a decisive phase in the decolonization process of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. That it is being held means that once again the international community, through the Council, is living up to its responsibility to analyse the new situation created in Zimbabwe.

156. We are meeting to analyse the stage of the implementation of resolution 253 (1968). In that resolution the Security Council, gravely concerned because of the existing situation in Southern Rhodesia where the white settlers in rebellion against the colonial Power had seized power and proclaimed an independent racist régime, decided to apply mandatory sanctions within the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter. At that time it affirmed its concern at the threat which the action of those white settlers constituted to international peace and security.

157. Given Great Britain's refusal to use force to bring down the rebellion of the white settlers, the racist régime was consolidated. It began deliberate repressive action of striking cruelty in repression of the nationalist movement of the people of Zimbabwe. Hundreds of nationalist militants were arrested and imprisoned, and some are still languishing in prison. Hundreds of patriots were summarily executed. But the people of Zimbabwe did not bend. It became organized and began an armed liberation struggle. It resisted intimidating manoeuvres; it strengthened its ranks, consolidated the unity of its movement and brought the armed liberation struggle to a more advanced stage. It struck increasingly severe blows against the army of aggression.

158. The consolidation of the independence of African countries enabled the liberation movements to consolidate their rearguards and develop their liberation struggle with increased vigour. With the defeat on the battlefield of Portuguese colonialism and the proclamation of independence on the political level by Mozambique, the relations of friendship and solidarity forged during the liberation struggle in Mozambique gained a new dimension. The unity of the nationalist movement within the Patriotic Front, the constant development of the armed liberation struggle, the support of the neighbouring African countries and of the international community in general, and the effective application of sanctions were the factors which made possible an

ever more intensive development of the liberation struggle to bring down the colonial system.

159. The racist and colonialist enemy, with the support of imperialism, sought to stop the winds with its hands. It strengthened repression and increased the number of arrests, bombings and massacres of Zimbabwean nationalists. It tried to internationalize the war by bringing it to neighbouring countries, particularly Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. To this end, it began the largest repressive operation ever known in African history against the neighbouring countries. Incapable of halting the powerful development of the armed liberation struggle, it seeks to make us believe that African countries are committing aggression against Rhodesia. By raising the scarecrow of subversive threat and foreign intervention, the racist régime endeavoured to mobilize the most retrograde forces in the world in the capitalist countries to intervene on its side and thus get a second wind for a régime condemned by events and history.

160. Politically, the Ian Smith régime was forced to recognize that the wind had changed; that in our time it was no longer possible to continue to impose domination by a minority over the majority of a population. It recognized that the wheel of history turns, but it tried to make it turn to its advantage so as to safeguard the privileges of the settlers. It tried to prevent genuine independence. To that end it redoubled manoeuvres that led to the signing of the so-called "internal settlement". With the help of some Africans who lent themselves to the farce, the racist régime sought to legitimize the continuation of domination and the privileges of the minority at the international level. But the international community saw through those manoeuvres and refused to recognize the legitimacy of any solution that did not include the liberation movement and did not guarantee the genuine rights of the majority of the population at the political and economic levels.

161. The dimension of the armed struggle of the nationalist combatants was confirmed as the great force capable of defeating treacheries and compromises; it imposed the Patriotic Front as the great force able to lead the people of Zimbabwe to genuine national independence. The "internal settlement" fell like a piece of rotten fruit. Once again it was the result of action and vigilance by the people of Zimbabwe, African peoples and the international community as a whole. It was in that context that the Commonwealth conference decided at Lusaka to hold the constitutional conference on Southern Rhodesia in London.

162. The results of the talks held in London, which have been formally registered in the agreement signed by all the parties to the conference, in our view embody above all the victory of the people of Zimbabwe. They enshrine the right of the people of Zimbabwe to independence, freedom and democracy. That agreement is the result of the struggle and sacrifices of the Zimbabwean people and of the best of its children. It is the victory of thousands of patriots, thousands of Africans in Zimbabwe and the neighbouring African countries who have contributed to victory with their lives. Consequently, it represents far more than the results of diplomatic negotiations which made it possible. It is an agreement sealed by innumerable sacrifices. It represents the

victory of the African peoples. That agreement—may I be permitted to say so—is also our victory, a victory for us, the people of Mozambique, the people of Zambia, the people of Botswana, the people of Tanzania, the people of Angola and the front-line countries which have assumed their responsibilities for Zimbabwe's liberation. The agreement is also the victory of the Organization of African Unity and of all African peoples in their essential and fundamental commitment to the complete liquidation of colonialism and *apartheid* from our continent. The agreement also embodies the victory of the socialist countries because of their contribution to the liberation movement in Zimbabwe in various forms of support to the political and armed struggle. The agreement also embodies the victory of the progressive forces throughout the world, the non-aligned movement, the solid bulwark of the just cause of the liberation of peoples.

163. We bow with respect and deep feeling in memory of all those who have given their lives for Zimbabwe's independence.

164. It is fair also, at a time when we are drawing up a balance-sheet of this struggle, to say that there were those, although not too many, who in a sustained and consistent manner violated sanctions and sought by every means possible to support Ian Smith. There were those who with their passivity encouraged support for the Ian Smith régime, either through mercenaries, or through the actions of companies that violated sanctions, and were responsible for the high—and to a certain extent avoidable—cost that the Zimbabwean people and the other peoples of the region have had to pay for Zimbabwe's independence. Every gallon of oil illegally supplied to the Ian Smith régime, every helicopter, every piece of ammunition, every trade manipulation and violation of sanctions, every mercenary meant that more lives were lost, that there were more aggressions and that there was more destruction. Those who are responsible must be identified.

165. But it is no longer they who make history. Their struggle is a rearguard action to hamper the irreversible movement of the liberation of peoples and the building of a new world. That is why we consider it to be a victory of the United Nations that, despite sabotage and open or clandestine violations, the sanctions worked effectively and assisted in the liquidation of the Ian Smith régime.

166. As they progressed, the talks clearly showed the firm will of the Zimbabwean fighters to win peace and freedom for their people. The negotiations proved that the Zimbabwean people wants nothing less than complete freedom and independence. Let this be a warning to those who in the following phase will try to sow discord and to create pretexts to prevent the Zimbabwean people from attaining genuine independence and making their own choice in complete freedom.

167. The negotiations have also shown that the Patriotic Front was able to represent the interests of both the entire people of Zimbabwe and the international community. In Zimbabwe, it is the Patriotic Front that represents the objectives of liberty and independence, for which the international community has been striving.

168. We also wish to pay a tribute to the efforts of all those who have contributed in the long effort of seeking a negotiated agreement and a lasting peace.

169. For our Government and for the people of Mozambique, all problems concerning Zimbabwe are of particular importance. Peace in our region is closely linked to the situation in Zimbabwe and in southern Africa in general. Solidarity between our peoples has its roots in the history of our struggle. During the armed liberation struggle in Mozambique our liberated areas in the province of Tete were rearguard bases for the Zimbabwean liberation fighters.

170. Having attained independence, the people of Mozambique needs peace to rebuild its country. That peace is not possible as long as colonialism remains at our doors. Reality proves that. As long as there is colonialism and racism there will be massacres. That is why, in its Constitution, the Mozambican people has enshrined the fundamental principle of solidarity with the struggle of oppressed peoples and why it considers that in order to guarantee peace on the very threshold of independence the struggle has to continue. That means creating all the conditions to enable the people of Zimbabwe to develop their political and armed struggle within the territory; continuing the struggle, including the complete application of sanctions decreed by the international community. Continuing the struggle means also resisting aggression and consolidating our defence, ensuring the inviolability of our borders and the security of our citizens as well as that of citizens of Zimbabwe who are refugees in our country. Thus, on 3 March 1976, the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Samora Moisés Machel, declared the immediate and complete application of the sanctions decided upon by the Security Council against the racist Ian Smith régime. We are convinced that that decision made it possible to make effective the embargo decided upon by the Council.

171. Allow me to recall that, for the People's Republic of Mozambique, the application of economic sanctions against the British colony of Southern Rhodesia is not merely the halting of trade relations between two countries.

172. The colonial economy of Mozambique was largely turned towards rendering services to neighbouring countries. A major part of our resources and our foreign exchange came from these economic relations. This situation has repercussions on the strictly internal level. As an example, it suffices to say that, with the application of sanctions, railway communication between Maputo and Beira, two of our main cities, was interrupted, since in the past such communication had taken place through Rhodesia.

173. When the enemy realized that the application of sanctions by the People's Republic of Mozambique marked the beginning of the end, it reacted brutally. The enemy's "international irresponsibility" led it to start operations through which it tried to occupy parts of our territory. It destroyed bridges, railways, telecommunications systems; it assassinated our farmers and destroyed our harvests. It pitilessly bombed defenceless refugee camps and killed hundreds of refugees. Nyazonia, Doroi, Tronga and so many other pla-

ces are milestones in our common struggle fertilized by the blood shed by the peoples of Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

174. It is clear that the application of sanctions represented a heavy sacrifice for our country. The Security Council has already had an opportunity to learn of the effects of the application of sanctions and of the aggressions against our country and to record the heavy price our country has had to pay to assume its international responsibilities. In its resolution 411 (1977), the Security Council requested all States to give immediate and substantial material assistance to enable the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique to strengthen its defence capability in order to safeguard effectively its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

175. In this respect, we wish to express our appreciation for the support we received from the socialist and Nordic countries both in our economic and social development and in reinforcement of our defence capacity and assistance for refugees.

176. The Council also requested all States, regional organizations and other appropriate intergovernmental organizations to provide financial, technical and material assistance to Mozambique to enable it to overcome the severe economic loss and destruction of property brought about by the acts of aggression committed by the illegal régime.

177. Nevertheless, enemy aggression continued unabated. It even became more intense. In 1977 the enemy was equipped and received from its allies *matériel* that enabled it to continue its aggression, such as Bell helicopters and Mirage aircraft. Offices for the recruitment of mercenaries were set up in several Western countries. The enemy undertook new forms of terrorist and subversive action aimed at the political destabilization of our State. Violent raids were carried out against productive areas; technicians, including foreign technical assistance personnel, were assassinated in the provinces of Manica, Tete, Gaza and Sofala. The national telecommunications network was attacked for a second time in September 1979, with helicopter operations against the Mont Chiluvo station, delaying by two years at least restoration of the network. In the province of Manica alone, more than 800 homes were destroyed and burned. The destruction of railway bridges on the Beira-Moatize line has for three months paralysed exportation of one of the main resources of our country, coal. At Gaza, the destruction of the Macarretane Dam in September has jeopardized production in the major agro-industrial complex of Chokwe. Hundreds of heavy tractors were destroyed.

178. To illustrate the situation we shall give a few figures. The cost of the destruction during the four years of 1976, 1977, 1978 and 1979 of equipment, buildings, infrastructure and other economic elements reached \$45 million, of which \$25 million applies to the last two years. A detailed description of these facts and an indication of the losses may be found in the memorandum our Government is submitting to the United Nations [S/13706]. The report of the United Nations review mission sent to Mozambique³ makes reference to some damage sustained and estimates the resulting annual deficit in the balance of payments at approximately

\$150 million to \$200 million. We make these references because we believe that the Security Council should know in detail all the effects of the application of sanctions.

179. On several occasions, the Council has taken measures with a view to helping our country to compensate for the effects of the agreed sanctions and to establish programmes aimed at minimizing the effects of aggression and organizing support for the hundreds of thousands of refugees in our country.

180. At this time we should like once again to emphasize how important the support and encouragement of the international community have been, for they strengthened our conviction that the peoples of the world were behind us and that we were in the vanguard of the international community in its support for the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. Nevertheless, it must be said that actual contributions were far below the real needs identified by the missions sent by the United Nations and that, in practice, many of the contributions pledged never materialized.

181. We believe that the international community must more resolutely provide assistance to countries such as ours, which have had to bear, at a critical stage in their development, the weight of international decisions.

182. The accession of Zimbabwe to independence will surely mark the beginning of a new development for that country. Recent history proves that an independent people can do far more for the development of its country in a few years—and this despite transitory difficulties—than colonialism was able to do over the centuries.

183. Mozambique and Zimbabwe are bound by their past and are linked by a common struggle. They are linked physically and geographically; the natural access routes to Zimbabwe pass through our country. We are aware of the responsibility incumbent upon us as a country of transit for neighbouring land-locked countries, and we assume that responsibility. Our economy and our means of communication, which, in the past, were in the service of colonial and racist interests, must take on a new role. The international community must assume its responsibilities with respect to the development of Zimbabwe so that the independence it has won will end in concrete results which will benefit the whole of the people of Zimbabwe.

184. This action cannot be viewed in isolation. Zimbabwe's development implies strengthening its routes of communication with the sea. Further, the reopening of borders raises real problems. Our railway lines from the centre and the south, which connect with those of Zimbabwe, have for years been paralysed in their stretches near the border. With regard to the Chicualacuala line in the south, the enemy destroyed bridges, railway stations and damaged long stretches of the railroad, which must be repaired immediately. Many locomotives were destroyed or damaged. The immediate repair of the roads and railways and re-equipping and reorganization of the ports require urgent and immediate investments, estimated at \$30 million, as well as international technical assistance.

³ A/34/377.

185. The agreement signed in London makes it possible, in our opinion, to crush the rebellion and to guarantee that Great Britain will assume its responsibilities as colonial Power. Basically, the agreement creates the necessary conditions so that the people of Zimbabwe may choose its own future in complete security.

186. The signature of the Patriotic Front on the bottom line of this agreement means for us that the fundamental objectives of the armed struggle, whose legitimacy was recognized by the Security Council in its resolution 253 (1968), have been attained. Thus this agreement makes it possible to achieve peace. In this way, we believe that the essential objectives of the application of sanctions have been achieved.

187. Now that the conditions have been met, it is up to the body which decided to impose sanctions to decide to lift them. We cannot but regret the position of certain countries which decided unilaterally to lift sanctions, thus infringing the authority of the Council and setting an unacceptable precedent for the international community.

188. The independence and freedom of peoples and the exercise of their fundamental right to self-determination are basic principles and one of the pillars on which our international organization—the community of States itself—rests. This is why we believe that the Security Council must continue to follow closely the situation in Zimbabwe. Victory must not lead to a relaxation of vigilance. Threats already visible on the horizon which are aimed at influencing the election results, such as threats by the South African régime, must be vigorously repulsed by the international community.

189. The final phase in the process of accession to independence of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia turns a new page in the heroic struggle of African peoples against foreign domination. The chapter of slavery, colonialism and racial humiliation on our continent is about to close.

190. The liberation of Namibia will brook no delay. Racism and *apartheid* are about to crumble under the combined assault of interior and exterior forces. Let us strengthen the fight and support for the just struggle of the peoples still oppressed in Namibia and South Africa. The struggle goes on.

191. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

192. Mr. FOUM (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, I wish first of all to thank you and other members of the Security Council for affording my delegation the opportunity to participate in the debate on the item under consideration, namely, the question of Southern Rhodesia.

193. When the white racist minority led by Ian Smith unilaterally declared independence on 11 November 1965, the United Kingdom, as the colonial Power, came before the Security Council to seek the international community's condemnation of the act and its support in ending the rebellion. Indeed, the unilateral declaration of independence was an

act of rebellion against British authority. As such, it was of immediate concern to the Government of the United Kingdom. The Council responded swiftly the day following the unilateral declaration of independence by condemning it. It called upon all States to refrain from rendering any assistance to the illegal régime.

194. But the act of a unilateral declaration of independence was an act aimed by the white racist minority at denying the majority of the African population of Zimbabwe its legitimate rights to freedom and independence. It was an act that fed on the colonial history of the Territory. It was an act that, in its totality, constituted a threat to international peace and security. As such, it was of concern not only to the Government of the United Kingdom, but to the international community as a whole. Thus, in 1966 the Council imposed selective mandatory sanctions on Southern Rhodesia. In 1968, as the racist illegal régime had continued its defiance of the international community, the Council, by its resolution 253 (1968), imposed comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the colony of Southern Rhodesia. To all of us, the Council's action represented a step towards stopping the racist illegal minority régime from robbing the majority of the people of Zimbabwe of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV). It represented a definitive stand by the Council in support of human freedom and against the seed of instability. Tanzania, therefore, welcomed the enforcement measures and undertook to implement the Council's decision. We did so out of a desire to contribute to the efforts spearheaded by the people of Zimbabwe themselves to bring about a settlement and the freedom of Zimbabwe under majority rule. We did so also because the Council's action, the decision contained in resolution 253 (1968), was obligatory upon all Member States as set out in Article 25 of the Charter.

195. Earlier today an agreement was signed in London by parties to the Lancaster House conference which paved the way to a negotiated settlement. More precisely it is an agreement that establishes peaceful processes through which the people of Zimbabwe will achieve their independence through majority rule. It is thus an agreement that essentially establishes a new environment paving the way for the genuine independence of Zimbabwe.

196. Tanzania has welcomed this agreement. In doing so, we commend specifically the Patriotic Front for its statesmanship and perseverance in the Lancaster House talks and its singular contribution that made possible the London agreement. Without a doubt, this is a great moment for the people of Zimbabwe, who have suffered a great deal and, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front have made the ultimate sacrifice for freedom and for peace.

197. It is imperative to record that the signing of the agreement in London today represents, at this stage, the result of arduous efforts. For the history of the colony of Southern Rhodesia is a history of struggle by the people against domination and tyranny both colonial and racist. The people of Zimbabwe, desirous of achieving their liberation, have made every effort to acquire their legitimate goal of freedom. They embarked on a political struggle against British colonial rule and resistance against racist tyranny

when this was possible. It was only when all avenues to peaceful resistance and political struggle were blocked that they embarked on a legitimate armed struggle which has now forced the racist minority to accept a negotiated settlement and majority rule.

198. Indeed, even at the height of the armed struggle the people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, continued to explore all available avenues for peace. It is in this context that we recall their willingness to participate in the Geneva and Malta talks as well as the talks held at Dar es Salaam during the Anglo-American consultations.

199. By its action this afternoon, the Council has decided to lift the sanctions imposed against the colony of Southern Rhodesia by resolution 253 (1968). From what I have already stated, it is clear that my delegation accepts that the present situation regarding the colony of Southern Rhodesia allows the lifting of those measures. For that reason we welcome the Council's collective decision.

200. It is important, nevertheless, that the Council focus on certain important factors concerning its earlier decisions on sanctions, as indeed on the actions of certain States in respect of those decisions.

201. There is, on the one hand, the effect of the situation in the colony of Southern Rhodesia on the region prior to the Council's action this afternoon. Because of the nature of the racist and minority régime at Salisbury, neighbouring independent States—Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana—were a constant target of aggression. These fraternal States have borne a great burden because of their natural desire to assist the people of Zimbabwe to achieve their genuine independence. And these fraternal States have borne a great burden in implementing the decisions of the Council as regards the observance of sanctions. Implementation by Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana of the sanctions decision has been possible only at great cost to their own development efforts. My delegation is therefore gratified that the Council has taken cognizance of the sacrifices made by the fraternal States and has included in the decision just adopted provisions for action aimed at alleviating some of the consequences of the imposition of sanctions. We are most encouraged that action towards that end will be speedily taken, as the Secretary-General said in his statement before the Council today.

202. On the other hand, the Council must also focus on the actions of certain States unilaterally to abrogate the Council's measures adopted through resolution 253 (1968). The obligation of Member States to comply with enforcement measures adopted by the Council is clear and unequivocal. No State or combination of States has the right to adopt unilateral action in contravention of these decisions. Nor can the Council accept individual interpretations concerning such an obligation, because if such a state of affairs is tolerated then the very fabric of international intercourse and international law will be placed in serious jeopardy. In this context, we were greatly surprised and disappointed when we learned of the unilateral measures taken by the United Kingdom, the administering Power of the colony of Southern Rhodesia, to terminate enforcement measures

which had been decided upon by the Council. This unilateral decision was formally confirmed in a document circulated by the United Kingdom [S/13688]. This was also restated by the representative of the United Kingdom this afternoon.

203. We reject this submission. We believe that the action of the United Kingdom not only was unfortunate and ill-advised, but was also in clear contravention of the decisions of the Council—decisions which the United Kingdom itself was instrumental in having adopted. We consider the action ill-advised because, to be quite candid, it has served only to create feelings of suspicion and give rise to questions about the motives of the United Kingdom at a time when what is urgently required is collective action and collective goodwill on the part of the international community. We regret it all the more because many of our countries had been actively involved in promoting a genuine negotiated settlement on Zimbabwe. Consequently, in the light of the London agreement, all of us would have preferred to act collectively at the Security Council in order to promote effectively the implementation of that agreement. The unilateral move by the United Kingdom has clearly undermined what would otherwise have been a consensus spirit. All other unilateral action, including that of the United States and France among others, should be viewed in a similar light.

204. I believe I need not emphasize that the consequences of a breach of the Council's mandatory decisions are far reaching and very serious. The implications are graver still when such a breach of mandatory decisions of the Council is implied, or put into effect, by some permanent members of the Council. For such an action sets a bad precedent, represents a cynical use of the Council and renders future decisions subject to being ignored.

205. This debate therefore reaffirms that, since the Charter is an international treaty, all must abide by mandatory decisions reached under its provisions. And since decisions of the Security Council are binding by virtue of Article 25 of the Charter, any unilateral lifting of sanctions would contravene that provision.

206. And what is the effect of all this? The answer was well provided by the National Bar Association of the United States when arguing the case against the unilateral recognition by the United States of the so-called internal settlement and its consequent lifting of sanctions. It said:

"A unilateral breach of sanctions would voice to the world that the United States considers meaningless Charter provisions binding United Nations Members to comply with mandatory economic sanctions—the most important peace-keeping action which can be undertaken by the Security Council barring the use of force—and thereby would undermine the ability of the United Nations to fulfil one of its most important functions."⁴

That position was reaffirmed by the African Group in its letter [S/13693] to you, Mr. President, with reference to the United Kingdom letter.

⁴ A/34/279, annex, sect. I, part D.

207. Finally, we urge Britain to go ahead now with the difficult but important job of implementing the London agreement. The United Kingdom as the colonial Power bears great responsibility not only to the people of Zimbabwe but also to the international community. It is our belief that the London agreement will be implemented scrupulously and fully.

208. In that connexion, the Government of the United Kingdom should ensure speedily that South African troops and other mercenaries withdraw from Southern Rhodesia. They should not be allowed to meddle any further in Rhodesia's affairs. This meeting of the Council should also constitute a solemn warning to the *apartheid* régime of South Africa that the international community will not tolerate interference in the affairs of Zimbabwe and will remain vigilant against any threat to the integrity or security of that country.

209. The London agreement is the beginning of the end. May I end here by quoting Lord Caradon, then Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, when he spoke in the Security Council on 29 May 1968, just after the Council had adopted the resolution which imposed sanctions on Rhodesia. Lord Caradon quoted the words of a famous Englishman, Sir Francis Drake:

"Grant us to know that it is not the beginning but the continuing of the same unto the end until it is thoroughly finished which yieldeth the true glory." [1428th meeting, para.63.]

I hope that Lord Soames and other representatives of the Government of the United Kingdom will heed those words of wisdom in the case of Rhodesia.

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

211. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all, as Chairman of the African Group for the month of December I should like to express to you my sincere gratitude for the privilege you have accorded me by authorizing me to take part in this debate. It is significant that it is held under your presidency, Sir, because we have learned to trust your qualities as a keen and wise diplomat. We also know of your commitment and that of the country which you represent, the People's Republic of China, to the African nations when it is a question of bringing about the triumph of right and of promoting a future for our peoples characterized by progress and justice.

212. When the General Assembly took a decision on Rhodesia a few days ago, it emphasized three fundamental points: first, the reaffirmation of the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial

countries and peoples; then, the validity and effective application of resolution 253 (1968), which imposed mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia; finally, the responsibilities of the administering Power scrupulously to apply General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and the role which the Security Council can play regarding respect of its decisions by Member States.

213. The inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence implies recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle which it is waging to enjoy those rights. It also implies the establishment of majority government and requires the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) by the administering Power with respect to Zimbabwe. We believe that at the present stage of our deliberations no one can validly challenge those principles because they constitute the very foundations of our actions towards decolonization and the indispensable conditions of a just and lasting settlement.

214. It is not our intention to dwell uselessly on the past. But it is our duty to recall certain specific facts which justify the position taken by the African Group on the lifting of sanctions, and on the modalities and scope of individual or collective measures envisaged in that context.

215. The Council will recall that the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia were imposed because, on the one hand, the administering Power was unable to exercise its responsibilities and to bring the white Rhodesian minority to accept a peaceful transition towards majority Government and self-determination on a democratic basis and, on the other hand, the Council considered, in view of the persistence of the rebellion, that the situation in Rhodesia was a threat to international peace and security.

216. From the chronology of events, we see that it was in its resolution 232 (1966), in paragraph 1, that the Council noted that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security. In paragraph 2 of its resolution 253 (1968), the Council called upon the administering Power to take urgently all effective measures to bring to an end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, and enable the people to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Finally, in paragraph 1 of its resolution 314 (1972), the Council reaffirms its decision that "the present sanctions against Southern Rhodesia shall remain fully in force until the aims and objectives set out in resolution 253 (1968) are completely achieved".

217. It is clear from the foregoing that the objectives of the sanctions were to put an end to the rebellion, which constituted a threat to international peace and security, and then to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise its right to self-determination.

218. The agreement signed in London has certainly put an end to hostilities in Zimbabwe and to the rebellion, but the resulting situation is not in all respects in accord with the objectives set out by the Council in resolutions 232 (1966) and 253 (1968), namely, the elimination of any threat to

international peace and security in that area and the enjoyment by the Zimbabwean people of their rights as recognized in the Charter and in resolution 1514 (XV).

219. Indeed, as we have emphasized in the letter addressed to the President of the Security Council on 14 December 1979 [S/13693], we consider that a colonial situation still exists in Southern Rhodesia, a situation which the United Nations must settle in the light of the principles set out in the Charter and reaffirmed in resolution 1514 (XV), in order to ensure a return to peace and stability in Southern Rhodesia.

220. Furthermore, if the South African forces and mercenaries in Southern Rhodesia are not removed, they will continue to represent a threat to international peace and security.

221. It follows that the consideration of the question of Southern Rhodesia implies that we take these two elements fully into account. That is why it seems appropriate to us that the administering Power, in the exercise of its responsibilities, should be called upon to guarantee full respect for and implementation in good faith of the Lancaster House agreements and urgently to take the necessary measures to carry out paragraph 7 of the resolution just adopted by the Council.

222. At a time when the Security Council has taken a decision to lift the sanctions, we are pleased that it has called upon all Member States to continue to provide urgent assistance to the martyred people of Zimbabwe for reconstruction purposes and to facilitate the repatriation of all refugees or displaced persons so that they may be able to participate in deciding their future. In this connexion, we cannot forget the fate of the 20 members of the African National Congress who fought at the side of the Zimbabwean people and who are now in prison.

223. The front-line States, to which the African countries as a whole pay a highly deserved tribute, have suffered immense human and material losses as a result of their support of the Zimbabwean liberation movement and the Patriotic Front and because they applied sanctions. They are entitled to organized and sustained international assistance to enable them to overcome the economic and social difficulties which they face.

224. Finally, we hope that the Secretary-General will exercise his full authority with Member States and will show the diligence which, happily, we have come to expect from him, so that paragraph 5 of the resolution can be urgently and appropriately implemented.

225. The lifting of sanctions is not the end of the decolonization process in Rhodesia. The Council remains seized of the development of the situation and we continue to believe that the return to peace and stability in that Territory can be guaranteed only by granting real independence and by the effective exercise of power by the majority through its genuine representatives.

226. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Liberia, who wishes to

make a statement on behalf of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

227. Mr. TUBMAN (Liberia): Mr. President, I wish first of all to thank you and the members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to address the Council this evening.

228. Once again the situation in Southern Rhodesia is claiming the attention of the Security Council.

229. Fourteen years ago, when there was a usurpation of power and a turning away from legality in Zimbabwe, the Council was the logical and natural place to turn for the invoking of appropriate measures within the framework of the Organization to defend the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence. The Council, mindful of its responsibility under the Charter, decided then to impose sanctions because it was convinced that the continuance in time of an illegal minority racist régime in Zimbabwe constituted a threat to international peace and security.

230. Today, 14 years later and with more than 20,000 lives sacrificed in an unnecessary war, the Council's determination and decisions have been, most sadly, vindicated. So heavy a loss of life, with the attendant human suffering and the destruction of property in Zimbabwe and in the surrounding new and struggling African countries, has been nothing short of a calamity. This is to be greatly deplored, and we wish to pay a tribute today to those who have died in this war.

231. But today is not the time to talk of vindication; and while we cannot yet speak of victory we are here today looking forward and not backward. We have not come to lodge new complaints. Rather, speaking on behalf of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, we approach the Council this evening because the successful conclusion of the Rhodesian constitutional conference in London having ended the war in Zimbabwe and our erstwhile warring brothers in Zimbabwe having today in London turned their hands from fighting and their eyes towards peace, the stage has been set for the exercise by the people of Zimbabwe of their right to self-determination, freedom and independence.

232. The time has come to welcome Zimbabwe back to legality and for all States, predicated on the Council's action, to terminate the measures taken against Rhodesia pursuant to various resolutions of the Council under Chapter VII of the Charter. These measures have now been adjudged no longer necessary. Thus we have come full circle in Zimbabwe today. There is no victory yet in that country, but with legal administration at last restored there, this is a day of victory for justice and for the Security Council. For this step forward the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity is grateful, and he has requested that his congratulations and thanks be conveyed to the Council.

233. The leaders of Zimbabwe of all parties and persuasions who have signed in London today the agreement

reached at the Lancaster House conference also deserve praise and congratulations for the patience, sacrifice and statesmanship which they have shown. Our British friends, renowned throughout the world for their dogged determination and sense of fair play, were able under the leadership of Lord Carrington during 14 long weeks of the most difficult negotiations to remind the world of the many sterling qualities which made their country great. There will be ample opportunity for those qualities to be demonstrated in the coming months. During those critical months we the members of the international community would not serve the cause of peace if we were satisfied merely to be critics and spectators. On the contrary, we must do everything within our power, by any statements which we may feel called upon to make or actions which we may take, to encourage all parties to the London agreement to adhere to that agreement strictly and to implement it fully and faithfully.

234. The United Nations has already done much for Zimbabwe, but in view of the great work of reconstruction required to be undertaken in the light of the tragic destruction which has occurred there and in the front-line States, the United Nations and the specialized agencies must urgently step up efforts to bring economic aid and other forms of assistance to that war-weary region. We know that we can depend on the Secretary-General and his able collaborators to give this matter the urgent attention which it deserves in keeping with the resolution just adopted by the Council.

235. We the States of the Organization of African Unity, which are duty bound to help sustain the reconciliation among our heretofore divided brothers in Zimbabwe, are pleased on this occasion to express profound gratitude to all those States which by their support of the decisions of the Council, and in other ways, helped to bring about the welcome events of today. The material and moral support from these States for the gallant people of Zimbabwe will be greatly needed if that country is to move forward quickly from its present difficulties to a brighter future. We in Africa know only too well that the support by many Governments for sanctions would not have been sustained but for the strong solidarity shown to the people of Zimbabwe and Africa by many private individuals and groups in many countries. For such solidarity we Africans are grateful. It is no secret, for example, that the unhappy events in Zimbabwe have already done much to strengthen the ties of brotherhood between Africans and Afro-Americans. People of African heritage and people of goodwill everywhere welcome this development, because it can only lead to a greater awareness of Africa and a fuller understanding of African problems and aspirations, thereby making a worthy contribution to achieving world peace.

236. Even though there is no victory yet in Zimbabwe, let all of us, during this season of peace and goodwill, indulge the hope that the agreement that was signed in London today will lead to a new day of reconciliation and peace, not only in Zimbabwe, but for all of southern Africa.

237. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Botswana, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

238. Mr. TLOU (Botswana): Mr. President, may I thank you and your colleagues in the Council for affording my delegation the opportunity to participate in this important debate on the affairs of our neighbour, Zimbabwe. It is especially pleasing that you, a man of immense diplomatic skill and a representative of China, a country with which Botswana enjoys very cordial relations, are presiding over these deliberations. The decision just taken by the Council attests to your great leadership.

239. With the signing by all parties concerned of an agreement providing for a peaceful transition to genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe, the long, tragic history of bloodshed and misery brought about by the refusal of a merciless, racist minority to yield power to the overwhelming majority may be at an end. The agreement, if fully and scrupulously implemented—and we urge all those concerned to work to that end—could herald the beginning of a new era in Zimbabwe, an era in which the people of that country will be enabled for the first time to choose, in a free and fair election, those they want to govern them.

240. Botswana welcomes the announcement of the signing of the agreement at Lancaster House and will certainly watch with keen interest the implementation of that agreement. Botswana, on its part, will give full co-operation, when that is called for, to make the implementation of the agreement possible. We congratulate all the parties concerned in the negotiations that led to the agreement. We note with satisfaction that after many decades of neglect, Great Britain has now assumed its responsibilities in its colony of Southern Rhodesia in order to guide it to full independence.

241. May I take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the people of Zimbabwe who, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, sacrificed their lives in order to free their country from one of the most onerous systems of oppression in the annals of Africa's colonial history. In the long history of the struggle which was made inevitable by the recalcitrant racist minority's refusal to yield power to the majority, the cream of Zimbabwe's youth fell. To them we pay a special tribute, for they chose to face death rather than be perpetual slaves in their own country; they chose to die so that their fellow men might be free.

242. Ultimately it was those sacrifices on the part of the people of Zimbabwe, led by its liberation movement, the Patriotic Front, that made the Lancaster House conference possible. Without the pressure mounted by the Patriotic Front fighters, the illegal minority régime which faced eventual and inevitable defeat, would not have voluntarily moved to the conference table, for it is not in the nature of colonialists voluntarily to surrender power. It is in that sense, then, that we are saying the sweat and blood of the people of Zimbabwe paved the way for fruitful negotiations. The Patriotic Front is to be congratulated on its tenacity in the war that was forced upon it by the oppression of the racist minority and on its statesmanship in the negotiations just concluded.

243. What has happened in Zimbabwe should serve both as a warning and as a guideline to those who continue to

oppress their fellow men in the other minority-ruled States of southern Africa—a warning because an oppressed people will inevitably rise to fight for its freedom, as happened in Zimbabwe; and a guideline, because negotiations if undertaken in good faith and with seriousness can bear fruit. The minority régimes in South Africa and Namibia had better take heed of this truth as history inexorably marches on. They must know also that just at the international community backed the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle until an agreed solution was found, so will it support the other struggling peoples in southern Africa. Botswana will certainly continue unflinchingly to support those who are denied freedom and justice.

244. The signing of an agreement on Zimbabwe—indeed, a very important and historic step on the road towards majority rule—does not of itself ensure that all will be well. As we all realize, a very trying and difficult period lies ahead of us. The realization of the good intentions outlined in the agreement depends on scrupulous adherence to what was agreed. More importantly, conditions should be created on the ground to ensure that an atmosphere of confidence, reconciliation and fair play exists so that free and fair elections can be conducted. All disruptive elements, such as mercenaries and South African military personnel, should be weeded out. One cannot be oblivious of the reported threats by South Africa to intervene in Zimbabwe's affairs. We urge the administering Power to attend to those serious matters with the urgency they deserve, for failure to do so could plunge Zimbabwe into even greater chaos.

245. For years now our region has been—and it still is—poised on a very dangerous precipice. Many lives have been lost and a lot of property destroyed in Zimbabwe itself and in the front-line States, in particular Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. Millions upon millions of scarce resources have been spent by our Governments on security and defence measures forced upon us by the aggression of the racist minority régimes, and in this particular case the rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia, in a vain attempt to prevent us from supporting the struggle of our fellow men. Some of our peoples' basic needs have gone unattended owing to that diversion of scarce resources. These were necessary and worth-while sacrifices in the interest of justice and freedom.

246. Botswana is proud to have contributed in its own humble way to the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. The principles of freedom for which it fought are an article of faith as far as Botswana is concerned. That is why the possibility of a new era of freedom in Zimbabwe raises hopes that, at last, at least one of the problems of southern Africa may be finally solved. We are aware that even more difficult times lie ahead in South Africa and Namibia; nevertheless, a free Zimbabwe will enhance the ability of our peoples in the region to co-operate both to improve their quality of life and to contribute to the liberation of our continent.

247. One hopes that just as the international community backed the struggle for liberation in Zimbabwe, with the possible emergence of a free Zimbabwe, those same friendly forces will assist the young State which has been devastated by many years of war in its reconstruction efforts. Immediate assistance will be required to resettle and rehabilitate

the thousands who had to flee their motherland because of the war. Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia will also need international assistance to rebuild their economies and resume vital projects which have been shelved as a result of the diversion of funds to security needs. To this end, we were pleased to note the statement by the Secretary-General earlier in this meeting, concerning assistance to our countries, as well as to Zimbabwe, as requested in the resolution adopted today. Botswana will give the Secretary-General all possible assistance in the discharge of his responsibilities in this regard.

248. Even though it may be premature to talk of a free Zimbabwe at this juncture in view of the formidable task ahead, one can dare to hope that the final objective appears to be within reach. Botswana hopes that free and fair elections will be held in Zimbabwe, and just as we unhesitatingly backed the just struggle for genuine freedom in Zimbabwe we shall scrupulously abide by the freely expressed verdict of the people of Zimbabwe, who alone are entitled to choose their rulers.

249. We look forward to the emergence of a free and independent neighbour so that, together and in co-operation with the other sister States in the region, we can develop our respective countries and our region. Together we can form an even stronger front for the liberation of our subregion.

250. We believe that with the conclusion of the Lancaster House talks and the signing of the agreement, conditions now exist for the Security Council to take a decision regarding the lifting of the mandatory sanctions which it had previously imposed—for it alone has the legal authority to reverse its decisions. The Council has now acted on this matter, thus reaffirming its authority.

251. The decision taken today will enable the many States which had refrained from unilaterally lifting sanctions to take appropriate action in conformity with their own laws. My delegation was greatly concerned at the hasty way in which some Member States unilaterally lifted sanctions while the Security Council was seized of the matter. Such actions—with due respect for the sovereignty of Member States—should be avoided in future as they can only erode the authority of the Council, this vital instrument charged with the responsibility of keeping the peace in our troubled world.

252. My delegation is pleased to note that, although the Council has formally lifted the sanctions as of now, it has decided to remain seized of the matter of Southern Rhodesia until the problem in that Territory has been satisfactorily solved.

253. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Cuba, who wishes to make a statement on behalf of the current Chairman of the non-aligned movement. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

254. Mr. ORAMAS (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is in its role of current chairman of the non-aligned

movement that my delegation has asked to speak at this meeting of the Security Council, which is considering the lifting of the sanctions that were adopted against the illegal racist Rhodesian Government under Chapter VII of the Charter.

255. At their sixth summit conference, held at Havana, the Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries referred to the talks that were to be held in London and affirmed that those talks would not receive international acceptance or recognition unless they paved the way towards authentic majority Government and independence to the satisfaction of the fighting people of Zimbabwe and in accordance with the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity, the non-aligned movement and the United Nations.

256. For our countries the decisions of the Patriotic Front, the sole legitimate representative of the Zimbabwean people, represent the will of that people, and we offer it our firmest support in the armed struggle for independence and now commit ourselves to continuing our support in the new stage that is now beginning. A few days ago this firm support of our movement was once again expressed when the General Assembly voted on the question of Rhodesia; the draft resolution that was adopted won a very broad sponsorship from Africa and the countries members of the non-aligned movement.

257. The negotiating process known as the Lancaster House talks was the result of long, hard and risky battles waged by the Zimbabwean people and its vanguard, the Patriotic Front, to achieve the so much yearned for independence. Let it be clearly on record that the fight that was waged for 14 years is what made it possible for the colonial Power and its allies to be compelled to accept a negotiating process that has put an end to the illegal racist régime and provided for acceptance of the majority will of the Zimbabwean people. Let no one now try to camouflage that historic truth, which is the result of the sweat and the blood of that people and the international solidarity that it earned in its struggle.

258. The non-aligned movement wishes to draw attention to the need to remain vigilant so that the administering Power will offer the Zimbabwean people and its vanguard, the Patriotic Front, all guarantees that the process begun will be scrupulously respected and that no subterfuge will be used to disturb the elections or to prevent the people from freely expressing their aspirations so that they may have truly representative government.

259. We must bear in mind that the front-line States, complying with the sacred duty of assisting in the liberation of their brothers in Zimbabwe, were the victims of innumerable aggressions by the Rhodesian racists. We must mention that they suffered enormous losses in human lives and that the cost of the destruction of the economies and infrastructures of the front-line States ran into millions of dollars. When considering the reconstruction of Zimbabwe, we must also take into account that the front-line States need to be included in the plans to staunch the wounds of war and to compensate for the effects of the application of the sanctions

ordered by the Security Council, which have been ended today.

260. It is essential that the Security Council and all Member States remain vigilant concerning the threats of the racist Pretoria régime to intervene militarily in Zimbabwe. We have no doubt that such intervention would inevitably be defeated by the Zimbabwean people.

261. In this decisive hour, when new pages are being written in the history of the struggle against colonialism, the non-aligned movement, as was agreed at its sixth summit conference, reiterates its unswerving solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe, its vanguard, the heroic Patriotic Front, and the front-line States.

262. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received a letter from the representative of Kuwait [S/13703], which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that an invitation be extended by the Security Council under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, to participate in the Council's historic deliberations on the item 'Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia'."

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

It was so decided.

263. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I invite His Excellency Mr. Clovis Maksoud to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

264. Mr. MAKSOUD: I should like, on behalf of the League of Arab States, to thank you, Mr. President, for this kind invitation and the Security Council for having acquiesced to our request.

265. On behalf of the Arab Group of States and the League of Arab States, I should like on this occasion to share the international consensus in acclaiming the Lancaster House agreement and the Council's resolution lifting the sanctions.

266. The Arab States have consistently lent their unequivocal support to the valiant struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. On this occasion I should like, on behalf of the Arab League, to submit the following observations.

267. First, this is a welcome development at a moment when gathering storms of crisis are on the ascendant. The relief that this positive development brings may be a good omen to defuse other tensions and undue anxiety.

268. Secondly, the national liberation movement's resort to armed struggle is a mechanism of defense, while resort to military options by colonial and racist régimes not only is inherent in plans of conquest, colonization and racial discrimination but develops into an addiction that renders sanctions an inevitable and a deterring necessity.

269. Thirdly, when the authentic representatives of a liberation movement acquire a reasonable stake in a diplomatic process and there is a credible outcome such as independence and democratic rights, then it becomes an incentive for consequential negotiations.

270. Fourthly, confronting occupation and racist usurpation headlong is a necessary prelude to bringing about a realization of the futility of their anti-historical posture.

271. Fifthly, it is crucial to realize that this is a transitional period and that elements in South Africa still plan to circumvent the international consensus and to remain unanswerable to the Charter and the various United Nations resolutions.

272. Sixthly, the League of Arab States realizes that one of its constituents, the Palestine Liberation Organization, shares many of the anxieties, experiences and challenges which were faced by the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. It is our hope that the march forward by the people of Zimbabwe towards the realization of their national and democratic rights will hasten the arrival of the day when other liberation movements in southern Africa and Palestine achieve their national and democratic rights and join the community of nations in dignity and equality.

273. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Security Council has thus concluded this state of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.

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