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1714th MEETING: 17 MAY 1973

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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.

SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 17 May 1973, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Rahmatalla ABDULLA (Sudan).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, China, France, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1714)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:
 - (a) Letter dated 8 May 1973 from the representatives of Guinea and Kenya to the President of the Security Council (S/10925);
 - (b) Second special report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia (S/10920 and Corr.1).

The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:

- (a) Letter dated 8 May 1973 from the representatives of Guinea and Kenya to the President of the Security Council (S/10925);
- (b) Second special report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia (S/10920 and Corr.1)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the Council at its last meeting that the representative of Somalia be invited to participate in the discussion under the terms of Article 31 of the Charter, a place has been reserved for him in the Council chamber.

2. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): Permit me, Mr. President, to extend to you the most warm and hearty congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council. Since you come, as you do, from the Sudan, a good neighbour of my country and a country for which we have the highest respect, my delegation cannot but feel proud of your position. Your wisdom, good sense and long experience in public affairs cannot but be an asset to this

Council. Please, Mr. President, be assured of the fullest co-operation of my delegation during your tenure of office.

3. I should like also to express the gratitude of my delegation to my good friend the Ambassador of Peru for the way he presided over the deliberations of the Council last month. He had a difficult task, but he acquitted himself with distinction.

4. The Security Council is once again meeting to discuss the question of Southern Rhodesia. This particular meeting stems from Council resolution 320 (1972), which requested the sanctions Committee

“to consider the type of action which could be taken in view of the open and persistent refusal of South Africa and Portugal to implement sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)”.

It is therefore fundamental that whatever action this Council now takes should squarely meet the situation which caused the Council last year to adopt that resolution—namely, it should take action vis-à-vis the posture of non-co-operation and open defiance of Portugal and South Africa.

5. The situation in Southern Rhodesia itself continues to be grave. Opposition to the illegal white régime has increased—as was expected, for it would be unrealistic to expect a whole people, in the twentieth century, to suffer the scourge of colonialism in silent inactivity. Thus, since last December, the conflict has assumed serious dimensions, pointing to a situation threatening peace and security in that part of Africa. Not that we take any comfort in the loss of life; we see it as unnecessary and a direct result of settler obduracy. The Smith régime, however, instead of learning from its mistakes, has met the situation by sentencing captured freedom fighters to death and has now embarked on a programme of collective punishment under which cattle has been seized, villages have been fined collectively and schools have been closed down and turned into interrogation and concentration camps.

6. The Smith régime, not satisfied with what is happening in its police State, has embarked on a foolhardy attempt to convince the world that the African people of Rhodesia have now had second thoughts on the Anglo-Rhodesian “proposals for a settlement” of 1971 [see S/10405 of 1 December 1971]. News has come out that the Rhodesian régime may shortly be giving the world proof of that change of attitude on the part of the African people of Zimbabwe. Let it be said loudly and clearly that these

cheap tactics will convince no one and that whatever proof the régime chooses to dish out to the world is destined for the waste-paper basket.

7. The policy of economic sanctions against the illegal Rhodesian régime dates from 1965, when this Council urged all Member States to do their utmost to break all economic ties with the illegal Rhodesian régime. That was followed in 1966 by the imposition of collective enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations which made selective economic sanctions mandatory. In 1968 this Council embarked on a total trade boycott against the illegal régime. However, all those measures failed to bring down the illegal régime even though on paper all doors appeared to have been closed. The reasons for that failure are very clear. They are the following.

8. First, a number of countries have been trading with Rhodesia secretly. Some of them have been exposed, and a quick reading of the fifth report of the sanctions Committee¹ gives a general view of the number of countries that have been violating the United Nations sanctions.

9. Secondly, the United States Government has through legislative measures undertaken to break its international commitments by openly importing chrome and other minerals from Rhodesia.

10. Thirdly, the glaring weakness in the operation of sanctions has, of course, been the open defiance by two other States Members of the United Nations—namely South Africa and Portugal. Trade is openly conducted with the illegal régime through South Africa and the Portuguese colony of Mozambique, and the two Governments have openly declared that they will continue to defy the international community.

11. If sanctions were designed to topple the régime, it must be admitted that the result has been a total failure. However, sanctions do constitute a form of pressure on the illegal régime, and it is widely acknowledged that it is because of sanctions that there is a chronic shortage of foreign exchange in Rhodesia. But as time goes on the usurpers of power in Rhodesia make the necessary adjustments. Initially, sanctions did constitute a threat to Rhodesia, but by March 1971 we were able to read in the *Guardian* an article by Peter Niesewand which stated that:

“Regular tobacco buyers are back in Salisbury for the first time since Rhodesia’s seizure of independence five years ago, in defiance of economic sanctions. Farming sources told me that the buyers—mostly Americans—would attend the sales which start in secret here tomorrow.”

12. By May of the same year petrol rationing was lifted, and today we have a situation in which a permanent member of the Security Council is openly telling the world that it is defying a decision reached by this Council—a Council decision it had voted for—through the importa-

tion of chrome and other minerals. Furthermore, last month Rhodesia was able to show the world that it has been able to purchase American-made jet liners in spite of the sanctions.

13. Document S/10920 and Corr.1 contains a number of recommendations, suggestions and proposals by the sanctions Committee. The recommendations and suggestions that have been agreed to by all delegations are, in the view of my delegation, only palliatives. I have already given three methods by which the illegal régime escapes sanctions—that is, through secret trading, the American Government’s open trading and the open-door policy adopted by the South African and Portuguese Governments. Our palliatives will not be able to counter those three elements, and, what is more germane, they will not even restrain or prevent South Africa and Portugal from defying this Council. That is the basic question at the heart of resolution 320 (1972). We shall therefore find ourselves in a situation of built-in failure.

14. In plain language, the agreed recommendations and suggestions would be nothing but stop-gap measures designed to boost African morale and to exert a little more pressure on the régime. It will serve no purpose of this Council, of the international community and, above all, of the people of Rhodesia to have hopes raised that at last something really effective is being mounted, because that is far from the truth. We could foresee, at the end of this discussion by the Council, having a resolution that encompasses the recommendations and suggestions that have been agreed upon by all members of the Council. That could be the very minimum we could expect from the Council. But, as I have just stressed, it could be an exercise in futility, because failure is built into that course of action. Hence, African and other delegations proposed in the sanctions Committee the adoption of meaningful measures that would have led to positive action. My delegation takes this opportunity to express our appreciation for the support lent us by many members of the Council—support that was shot down by prominent Western members of the sanctions Committee.

15. The proposals by African members and other sympathetic delegations can also be found in the document before us. Kenya, together with the sister Republics of the Sudan and Guinea, put forward a series of 24 proposals, all designed to bring the severest pressure on the illegal régime. We intend to pursue in this series of Council meetings our line of action because any other course of action would, in practical terms, amount to nothing.

16. The proposals put forward by African countries are really very mild. We do not seek to mount anything dramatic. The following are just a few examples among the proposals suggested by the African countries.

17. First, all States should limit their importation of minerals and agricultural products from South Africa, Mozambique and Angola to the levels prevailing in 1965.

18. Second, all purchase contracts for goods from South Africa and the Portuguese colonies should include a clause to the effect that if goods purporting to be from those

¹ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Special Supplement No. 2.

territories turn out to be of Rhodesian origin, this would automatically render the contract void.

19. Third, all States should require that sales contracts between their countries and South Africa and Portuguese Territories for goods like aircraft, vehicles, machinery and spare parts should include a clause expressly forbidding any resale to Rhodesia and that further sales would be prohibited should the conditions be broken.

20. Fourth, Member States should pass legislation to forbid insurance companies from covering air flights into and out of Southern Rhodesia.

21. Fifth, Member States should enact legislation to create impediments to the sale and transport of Rhodesian goods or of goods destined for Southern Rhodesia specifying that no shipping lines should carry any such goods and that insurance companies should not insure such goods or ships carrying them.

22. Sixth, Member States should legislate that insurance companies attach warranties to all marine insurance contracts specifying that no goods of Southern Rhodesian origin are covered by the contracts.

23. Seventh, the Beira blockade, which at the moment covers the importation of oil into Beira, should be extended to cover the port of Lourenço Marques, and to cover all commodities and products originating from or going into Southern Rhodesia.

24. It is incredible that such mild and realistic proposals were turned down and some of them by none other than the administering Power at whom the rebellion is directed.

25. My delegation seizes this opportunity to commend to the Council the resolution adopted by the Committee of Twenty-Four at its 911th meeting on 27 April 1973.² That resolution, *inter alia*, draws this Council's attention to the urgent need to widen the scope of sanctions against the illegal régime so as to include all the other measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter and calls for the priority need to impose sanctions against Portugal and South Africa.

26. If I may, I should now like to focus attention on the sanctions Committee. As members of that Committee, we all have first-hand experience of its working. The Committee, with the invaluable help of the Secretariat, and within its limits, has done commendable work. The report which we are now considering is clear evidence of the energy, time and thought that has gone into the work of the Committee.

27. The Committee is now five years old and we could now reasonably pause and take stock of its performance and learn from its experience. In any man-created institution, there is always room for improvement and the Kenya delegation would like to share with Council colleagues a number of ways in which we could improve on the performance and effectiveness of the Committee.

28. We believe that the Committee should assume an activist role. It should be involved in forestalling sanctions breaking, not merely in an analysis of breaches of sanctions, or post mortems after the event, as has been the case hitherto. This can be done by the Committee examining ways and means of functioning in direct contact with the violators, or potential violators of sanctions, notably the companies. The present system, whereby it goes through Governments, is hardly conducive to yielding immediate results, because the culprits are insulated by their Governments from a face-to-face confrontation with the representatives of this Council.

29. The Committee should work in close collaboration with non-governmental organizations like the national chambers of commerce, trade unions and employers' organizations whose support, information and comments it might find invaluable in the discharge of its functions. The basic experience and day-to-day contacts of such bodies should be positively utilized to the enlightened ends sought by the vast majority of the international community.

30. So much for the sanctions. But we still have to find a solution to the over-all Rhodesian situation. Here, the responsibility lies with the British Government. As my Foreign Minister stated two months ago:

"Britain bears a special responsibility. The time has come when Britain must decisively exercise this responsibility, instead of adopting a policy of talkative inaction."

This Council is, of course, not now dealing with this aspect of the question, but my delegation wishes to reiterate to the United Kingdom that short of its physically moving in and asserting its rights in the rebel colony, the least we can expect of it is that the British Government should declare that:

(a) There will be no independence before majority rule;

(b) The 1971 British proposals on Rhodesia are no longer on the table; they are as dead as the dodo and are buried;

(c) The United Kingdom is willing and ready to initiate steps for a constitutional conference to be attended by all concerned, that is, by African political parties and their leaders, the United Kingdom as the administering Power, and the representatives of the settlers. The primary aim of such a conference should be to seek to accelerate the attainment of majority rule in Rhodesia.

31. My delegation would like to express the hope that at the end of this discussion, we would be able to come out with a concrete and meaningful programme of action. If we do not, we would have done our bit in pushing the people of Rhodesia further into the abyss of racial hatred and violence.

32. With these considerations in mind, my delegation would like to introduce two draft resolutions on sanctions on behalf of the delegations of Guinea, the Sudan and on its own behalf. In introducing these draft resolutions, my delegation thinks it is quite legitimate for one to ask why two draft resolutions are being introduced on the same

² Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 23, chap. VII, para. 22.

subject. The answer to that is simple and straightforward. In resolution 320 (1972), the Security Council charged the sanctions Committee with two clearly stated tasks. In paragraph 4 of that resolution, the Committee was asked:

"to undertake, as a matter of urgency, consideration of the type of action which could be taken in view of the open and persistent refusal of South Africa and Portugal to implement sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia".

The Committee discussed this aspect of the question, but was unable to reach an acceptable course of action. In fact, there was a deadlock. Therefore, rather than let the whole matter go by default, we have considered it our duty to let the Council address itself to this matter. Hence, the draft resolution on measures to counter South Africa's and Portugal's defiance of sanctions [S/10927]. That is the first draft resolution that I am placing before the Council. The delegation of Kenya, on behalf of the delegations of Guinea, the Sudan and on its own behalf, has the pleasure of recommending that this draft be adopted by the Council.

33. In paragraph 5 of the resolution of last year that I have just mentioned, the sanctions Committee was requested to examine all proposals and suggestions "for extending the scope and improving the effectiveness of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia". The sanctions Committee, I am glad to say, did come, to some extent, to grips with this aspect of the question and the consensus reached in section III of its report is adequate testimony of this. But this is not enough and we think consideration should also be taken of some of the original African proposals which were put before the Committee. My delegation, on behalf of the delegations of Guinea, the Sudan and on its own behalf, has the honour to submit to the Council a draft resolution on extending the scope and improving the effectiveness of sanctions [S/10928]. It will be noted that in this draft some of the original African proposals have been altered so as to meet the views that were expressed by numerous delegations in the Committee. Essentially, therefore, this is a compromise text. It is not by any means the best text we would have liked to submit and I am certain that some delegations will rightly consider it diluted. We would, however, appeal to all members of the Council to give this draft their closest and most sympathetic consideration so that this Council may be said finally to have started making sanctions meaningful and effective.

34. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): Mr. President, let me first of all take this opportunity of welcoming your accession to the presidency of this Council and of assuring you of my delegation's full confidence in your sound judgement and wide experience. It is, I think, particularly appropriate that you should be presiding over our discussion of this second special report of the sanctions Committee, which deals with matters of special significance for the countries of Africa and also for all who uphold the principles of justice and equality for all men. I must at the same time convey the thanks and congratulations of my delegation to our esteemed colleague, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar of Peru, for the firm, skilful and tactful manner in which he conducted our proceedings throughout some difficult negotiations during the month of April.

35. It is now five years since the Security Council decided to impose comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against the present régime in Southern Rhodesia. The intention of the Council, as expressed in resolution 253 (1968) at that time, was to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to an end. It can only be a matter for profound regret that this has not yet been achieved.

36. It would be a mistake, however, to regard sanctions as a failure. It is clear that the illegal régime is under substantial pressure, both from the impact of sanctions and from majority opinion within the country. Its protestations about the popular support it enjoys have been fallible since 1965, and they have rung even more hollow since the Pearce Commission made clear that the people of Southern Rhodesia rejected the 1971 proposals for a settlement, and in the light of events in the area since that time.

37. We can only regard the present situation in Southern Rhodesia as cause for considerable disquiet. Recent actions of the illegal régime continue to show complete indifference to the opinions of the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia and of the international community. I am thinking in particular of racist legislation, of the régime's actions against Zambia, of its attack on the freedom of the press and of the imposition of punishment on whole communities. I am disposed to comment in passing that such actions are not those of a Government fully confident of its mastery of the situation.

38. The peace and security of Africa and regard for the rights of the majority in Southern Rhodesia require that this rebellion be ended. For this reason, the Council has been concerned for some time about the breaches of sanctions that have clearly occurred on a large scale, sometimes openly, sometimes covertly. Those primarily involved, as the Council noted in resolution 320 (1972), are South Africa and Portugal.

39. However, they are manifestly not alone. Those States which permit or turn a blind eye to trading by their companies in goods coming from or going to Rhodesia must also be regarded as in default of their obligations. My delegation would appeal to their Governments to reflect not only on the urgent need to secure a just settlement in Southern Rhodesia but also on the importance to our Organization of making the sanctions machinery work and be seen to work.

40. The comparative obscurity in which some of these countries have consistently broken sanctions is clearly bound to come to an end. A feature of the report we are considering, as for example in paragraphs 18 and 21, is the desire of the Committee to expose them. My delegation hopes that the prospect of exposure will provide the stimulus they need to bear down harder on their companies. If that fails, the Council will inevitably find itself having to consider more drastic steps.

41. Another feature of the recommendations made in the report is the emphasis on technical aspects of the administration of sanctions. It is clear that many States, and the Committee itself, require more expert advice and assistance. My delegation, therefore, fully endorses the recommenda-

tions regarding the manual, the list of experts and the strengthening of the Secretariat. In particular, my delegation believes that the Committee should proceed as a matter of urgency, with the assistance of the Secretariat expert and the experts nominated by States, to produce the manual on documentation and clearing procedures, which we believe will be an important and constructive step.

42. There are other measures which the Committee has recommended and which my Government fully supports. There are still others which were considered but not adopted by the Committee and some of which my Government could have supported. But there is a limit to what we can achieve by refinements of the scope and administration of sanctions. What is needed is a greater will to make them work and the necessary zeal to apply them as they were meant to be applied. My Government is determined to do all that it can to make sanctions against the illegal régime fully effective, and it has taken or is taking what additional legislative and administrative actions are necessary to this end. Racism and the denial of the rights of the majority of the people of a country are concepts which are altogether unacceptable to my Government and to the international community as a whole. They are evils which we all have a solemn duty to eradicate, and my Government and my delegation will spare no effort to this end.

43. The representative of Kenya has just introduced two draft resolutions. My delegation will of course study them with all possible and necessary care. We shall consult our Government and in due course we shall be ready to offer considered comments on them.

44. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, before turning to the question on the Council's agenda, permit me, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, to congratulate you, the representative of an African State, on your assumption of the responsible post of President of the Council. We congratulate you and sincerely wish you success in discharging the complex, responsible and honourable duties of President. For its part, the delegation of the USSR will co-operate fully with you and will make every effort to ensure that the Council completes the tasks before it under your presidency.

45. We should also like to take this opportunity to express our feelings of gratitude and esteem to your predecessor, the distinguished Permanent Representative of Peru, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, the eminent representative of a Latin American country who successfully and effectively presided over the Security Council during the month of April.

46. The Security Council has met to consider the second special report submitted to it in pursuance of resolution 320 (1972) by the Committee on Southern Rhodesia.

47. The Soviet delegation listened with great interest to the extremely detailed statement by the Permanent Representative of Guinea, Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé, the Chairman of the Committee. She introduced the report to the Council [1712th meeting]. In her statement, we heard the voice of the whole of Africa calling for the adoption of the most

decisive measures against the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, the voice of the African peoples who defend the freedom and independence of the people of Zimbabwe.

48. It is perfectly natural that the consideration and assessment by the Council of this report should be carried out in close connexion with the study of the situation in Southern Rhodesia itself. Indeed, the events in that country give rise to serious concern.

49. The illegal racist and anti-African régime in Salisbury continues forcibly to impose upon the Zimbabwe people the infamous "proposals for a settlement" with which the Council is familiar; these were drafted some time ago against the wishes of the people of Zimbabwe, in collusion and jointly with the British Government and its official representatives. Each one of us and the Security Council as a whole is well aware that the people of Zimbabwe indignantly rejected those proposals during the visit of the Pearce Commission, despite all the efforts, intimidation and terror instigated by Ian Smith's régime.

50. Within Rhodesia there has been an increase in the use of terror against the Zimbabwe patriots and in the persecution of all who oppose the Smith régime. The Smith régime has introduced and is continuing to introduce laws and decrees designed to establish Fascist and racist practices similar to those existing in South Africa and the Portuguese colonies. Only the names have been changed. The South African racists' policy of setting up "Bantustans" is being carried on in Southern Rhodesia under the title of "provincialization". The same restrictions have been placed on the movement of Africans in white areas of Southern Rhodesia as in South Africa. Draconian measures are being taken against the African population of Southern Rhodesia which supports the just and patriotic struggle for the liberation of the Zimbabwe people.

51. Members of the Council remember well the recent discussion of the aggressive acts of the Southern Rhodesian racists against the sovereign African State of Zambia. That discussion clearly showed that the racist Smith régime not only continues to trample underfoot the rights of the Zimbabwe people but even goes so far as to pursue a policy of aggression against neighbouring independent African States, particularly Zambia. This policy of aggression by the Smith régime against neighbouring African States is similar to the policy of aggression being pursued by Israel against neighbouring Arab States.

52. The conditions in Southern Rhodesia itself and the Smith régime's policy of racism and aggression demonstrate, therefore, that the situation there is fraught with serious consequences for the future and threatens to aggravate the state of affairs in this region of Africa. This is not surprising, for the Southern Rhodesian régime is closely linked to its allies, the colonial and racist régimes of southern Africa, the Republic of South Africa and Portugal. The régime of the racists in Southern Rhodesia is aided and supported above all by South Africa and Portugal. A sort of triple alliance of racists and colonialists has been formed, comprising South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia, with a policy of racial hatred and aggression against all the peoples of Africa and the sovereign African States. The

anti-African spearhead of this sinister union is being sharpened. There are in the territory of Southern Rhodesia South African armed forces whose task is to crush the national liberation movement of the Zimbabwe people. They continue to remain there, despite the repeated demands of the Security Council for the withdrawal of these forces from Southern Rhodesia. These reactionary and anti-popular régimes are implementing their dangerous plot against the peoples of Africa.

53. Against this background of increased activity by these aggressive forces of racism in southern Africa, the growing concern of the peoples of Africa and of all democratic and peace-loving forces in the world at the situation in Southern Rhodesia and in southern Africa is fully understandable.

54. At the meetings in April this year of the decolonization Committee, the Committee of Twenty-Four, in which representatives of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, the Zimbabwe African National Union and the African National Council of Zimbabwe took part, serious concern was expressed at the further deterioration of the situation in Southern Rhodesia. Taking into account that concern and reflecting the just demands of all Africa, the Committee of Twenty-Four, in a resolution adopted on 27 April,³ drew the special attention of the Security Council to the urgent need to widen the scope of sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations. In view of the persistent refusal of South Africa and Portugal to implement the Council decisions on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, the Committee of Twenty-Four recommends that consideration be given to the question of employing sanctions against Portugal and South Africa themselves. The Council cannot disregard this pressing demand from the Committee of Twenty-Four.

55. Five years ago, in its resolution 253 (1968), the Security Council introduced compulsory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Their purpose was to put an end to the racist Smith régime so that the Zimbabwe people could freely and independently govern their own country and decide their own fate without any external interference. The Council Committee on Southern Rhodesia was set up to assist in the effective implementation of the decisions and bring about a settlement of the Southern Rhodesian question.

56. However, notwithstanding that decision by the Council and its subsequent enactments, the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia are systematically being violated. They are being violated both covertly, secretly, and overtly.

57. As is well known, the wide doors through which illegal trade and economic co-operation with the racist Salisbury régime are being carried on despite and in violation of the Security Council resolutions are the ports and borders of South Africa and the Portuguese colonies. The Government of South Africa and the authorities in the Portuguese colonial Territories, especially in Mozambique, issue false certificates of origin for the Southern Rhodesian goods they ship out, thus helping the Smith régime to dispose of

its goods on the foreign market in violation of the sanctions.

58. Where do these Southern Rhodesian goods go? Who buys them? As can be seen from the American press, particularly *The New York Times* of 28 April, illegal trade with Southern Rhodesia is carried on by a number of Western countries which, as the paper states, violate the Security Council's sanctions on a large scale. The members of the Council are also well aware from the reports of the Committee on Southern Rhodesia that it has before it 143 cases of suspected violations of sanctions. This fact has already been mentioned by previous speakers but it must be pointed out yet again. The names of certain Western countries have been mentioned in connexion with these cases between 20 and 40 or more times. This obviously gives food for thought, especially in view of the fact that three cases which the Committee has already determined to be direct violations of the sanctions do, in fact, involve three Western countries: the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and Australia. This shows that, as the expression has it, there is no smoke without fire.

59. Finally, everyone knows and it has already been pointed out by many speakers that despite and in violation of the Security Council resolutions on sanctions against the Southern Rhodesian racist régime, one of the permanent members of the Council, namely, the United States of America, is importing from Southern Rhodesia chrome ore, nickel, asbestos and other Southern Rhodesian products.

60. Such are the concrete facts about violation of the Security Council's sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

61. All this contradicts and violates Council resolution 288 (1970), in which the Security Council criticized States providing political, economic and other aid and support to the racist, anti-African régime of Southern Rhodesia. Further, in resolution 318 (1972), the Council condemned all acts violating the Council's pronouncements on sanctions.

62. Because of its concern at the unsatisfactory implementation by certain Member States of its decisions on sanctions, approximately seven months ago, in its resolution 320 (1972), the Council instructed the Committee on Southern Rhodesia to consider these questions. Firstly, the Committee was to prepare proposals for measures which could be taken in view of the open and persistent refusal by South Africa and Portugal to implement sanctions against the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia. Secondly, it was to draw up recommendations designed to extend the scope of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia itself. Thirdly, it was to prepare recommendations designed to improve the effectiveness of sanctions already in force as a result of Security Council decisions.

63. Members of the Council are well aware of these terms of reference given by the Council to its Committee on Southern Rhodesia. Now the Committee has submitted a report which we have all had the opportunity to study in detail, the report which is currently being considered by the Council.

³ *Ibid.*

64. During the Committee's drafting of this report, the USSR delegation insisted on the need to adopt the most decisive measures against the racist régime in Salisbury as well as against South Africa and Portugal, which openly support that régime in violation of Security Council decisions. The USSR delegation proposed that, in view of the fact that South Africa and the Portuguese colonialist-dominated Angola and Mozambique are the main avenues through which passes illegal trade with Southern Rhodesia in violation of the Council's sanctions, the Committee should recommend that the Council decide that all States should cease their purchases from the Republic of South Africa, Mozambique and Angola of goods which are the staple exports of Southern Rhodesia. We also proposed that the Council institute an obligatory embargo on the sale to South Africa and Portugal of petroleum and petroleum products and that there should be a further obligatory embargo that deliveries to South Africa and Portugal of all types of arms, military equipment, material and munitions should be completely prohibited.

65. With a view to extending the scope of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia itself, the Soviet delegation proposed that the Committee should recommend that the Security Council decide that all States should, in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter, institute the complete interruption of radio, telephone, telegraphic, postal and all other means of communication with Southern Rhodesia.

66. However, as a result of the position adopted by certain members of the Committee, neither these effective measures nor the African proposals have been included in the Committee's recommendations to the Council.

67. In this respect, the USSR delegation would like to point out, as it did in the Committee itself, that the recommendations and proposals contained in this report cannot be considered satisfactory, since they do not fully correspond to the mandate given to the Committee by the Council. The scope of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia has not been extended; the report does not contain any recommendations for sanctions against South Africa and Portugal, as was envisaged in the mandate given to the Committee by the Council. Attention has already been drawn to this fact by a number of previous speakers.

68. What is the reason for this failure to comply with the Security Council's decisions and who is responsible for it? The main factor is that the positive proposals submitted by African States and supported by the Soviet Union and a number of other States in the Committee, while in complete accordance with the mandate conferred on it, encountered resistance and opposition on the part of the representatives of certain Western countries. As a result, the work of the Committee was not only considerably hampered but was, in fact, paralysed; it was deliberately given a technical rather than a political and economic bias. The positive proposals of the African States and the Soviet Union were not adopted.

69. However, it is not merely a matter of difficulties in the Committee's work in these complicated conditions under which it was unable to perform its task. There is a more serious aspect to the problem. In point of fact, the sad and

unsatisfactory results of the Committee's work not only do not counteract the continuing violation of sanctions but, on the contrary, actually result in the concealment and encouragement of the violators and enable them to continue their harmful practice of violating the Security Council's resolutions on sanctions. Thus, there are two sides to the same coin.

70. The survival and continued existence of the foreign minority's racist régime in the African country of Zimbabwe, which has an African population of 5 million, is above all a direct consequence of the policy of connivance with and protection of that régime on the part of certain Western countries, particularly the "godfather" of that régime, the United Kingdom. It is the United Kingdom which bears the prime responsibility for the emergence and continuing existence of the racist régime in South Africa. Everyone knows that it is the United Kingdom which has repeatedly protected and defended the Southern Rhodesian régime in the Security Council by its veto. In recent years alone, the United Kingdom has used its veto three times—in 1970, 1971 and 1972—in voting on just resolutions defending the rights of the Zimbabwe people and has thus prevented the Council from adopting the effective decisions necessary to support that people and counteract the racists who oppress it. It has thus embarked on a course of direct support of the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom representatives, as before, recommend the typical British "calm and cautious" approach to the solution of this problem. However, the pernicious effects of this so-called calm approach are known to all. As the result of such an approach, the Zimbabwe people has already been suffering for almost 10 years under the yoke of a racist régime. The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, during his recent visit to African countries, energetically advertised the idea of a "dialogue" between the racists of Southern Rhodesia and representatives of the Zimbabwe people, in order, as he put it, "to create an atmosphere of agreement between the races". However, the Security Council and its members are well aware of the failure of the famous "dialogue" between the United Nations and the racists of South Africa which was imposed on the Council by certain friends of those South African racists. It is easy to see that, by advocating the idea of a dialogue with the racists in Southern Rhodesia, British ruling circles are clearly trying to contribute to the consolidation of the positions and the perpetuation of the racist and aggressive Smith régime; they are undermining the resolutions on sanctions and other Council resolutions concerning this régime and are pursuing a policy aimed at strengthening the positions of all racist and colonialist forces in southern Africa.

71. Whether you like it or not, let us be frank: this anti-African régime is in fact also aided and abetted by those countries which continue their illegal trade and other relations with it.

72. The policy of encouragement for and strengthening of the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia is contrary to resolutions of the Security Council and other United Nations bodies and is directed not only against the interests of the Zimbabwe people but also against the interests of all the peoples of Africa.

73. The USSR delegation is resolutely opposed to such an anti-African position and policy. We firmly support the implementation of the United Nations decisions on Southern Rhodesia and the immediate implementation of all Security Council resolutions concerning Southern Rhodesia in order to end the violation of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Specific proposals appropriate to this end were, as we have already said, made by the Soviet delegation in the Committee on Southern Rhodesia.

74. In the opinion of the USSR delegation, it is only by taking decisive action that the Council can contribute to the achievement of the noble and humanitarian objectives which the United Nations has set itself with regard to Southern Rhodesia, namely, to put an end to the illegal, anti-African racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and to create the conditions necessary for the full exercise by the Zimbabwe people of their lawful and indisputable right to freedom, national independence and sovereignty. It is not difficult to see that, in the light of these tasks, the recommendations submitted by the Committee do not correspond to those objectives and are, therefore, unsatisfactory.

75. Under these conditions, the USSR delegation has serious doubts as to whether the Committee itself is not serving by its action in this matter as a cover, a kind of screen for certain countries and international imperialist monopolies which systematically violate Security Council decisions on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia; does it not seem to be a United Nations body which merely creates deceptive illusions and an external impression that the Security Council is doing something in this matter, whereas all that is actually happening is that time is being wasted and there is opposition to the adoption by the United Nations of truly effective measures to free the people of Zimbabwe from the tyranny and terror of racist domination?

76. The Soviet Union, true to the Leninist principles of giving all possible aid and support to oppressed peoples in their just struggle against colonialism and racism for their freedom and national independence, will continue to support efforts aimed at the speediest possible elimination of the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia so that the people of Zimbabwe may be free and independent and their country may become yet another sovereign African State, the Republic of Zimbabwe.

77. In decisions adopted at the April 1973 plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it was stressed yet again that the unaltered policy of the Soviet Union towards the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which struggle for their freedom, for the affirmation of their independence and for economic and social progress is one of active support for this just struggle. As before, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in opposition to imperialism, colonialism and racism, will firmly follow in all its international policy activities the socialist, Leninist line, will give support to peoples defending their right to independence and national progress and will pursue the policy approved by the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the effect that hot-beds of racism must be universally boycotted and condemned.

78. The Soviet delegation will study carefully the draft resolutions just submitted by the distinguished Permanent Representative of Kenya, Mr. Odero-Jowi, on behalf of the three African members of the Council. We congratulate the delegations of those three African States on the initiative they have taken in preparing the draft resolutions. We shall support all measures aimed at putting an effective end to the violation of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and at extending sanctions to include South Africa and Portugal.

79. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): Mr. President, it is a pleasant duty, in taking the floor for the first time this month, to offer you the warm wishes of the Austrian delegation on assuming the presidency of the Council and to assure you of our full and loyal co-operation. As I had the privilege of working with you on the Council's mission to Zambia, I not only am gratified to see you in the Chair, but also am convinced that the Council will profit greatly from your experience, competence and wisdom.

80. Let me also address a word of thanks to the outgoing President, my friend Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, for the admirable way in which he acquitted himself of his duties as President of this Council in the month of April, leading us safely out of many a delicate and difficult situation.

81. Turning to the second special report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968), concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia, which is now before the Council, it is not only a matter of courtesy but one of profound conviction to express, on behalf of my delegation, gratitude and praise to the Chairman of the Committee, Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé—she is not with us this afternoon but her delegation will certainly convey our thanks to her—for the way she led the Committee, which is best reflected perhaps in her brilliant introduction of the report that she gave us last Monday [1712th meeting], an introduction in which we find combined both her political engagement in the question as representative of Guinea, a country which has led the fight for African independence for many years, and also her never-ceasing efforts to achieve the impartiality for which she has been known ever since she presided over this Council as its first woman President.

82. The question facing the Council today is one on which the Council, even though this may not always appear from debates, stands basically united. The comprehensive mandatory sanctions, imposed on Southern Rhodesia by resolution 253 (1968), have been adopted unanimously, and many of the subsequent resolutions have found the same degree of unanimity and unity of purpose.

83. The position of the Austrian Government on the imposition of sanctions against Rhodesia has been elaborated in a statement I made before the Council on 31 January of this year [1689th meeting]. But despite the strong support this action of the Council has received, we are, almost five years later, still a very long way from the goal we have set ourselves. This appears to be all the more serious as in imposing sanctions the United Nations for the first time has used one of the strongest available means provided for in the Charter, to change a situation that it found both politically and morally intolerable. This is all

the more serious as the rebellious régime in Salisbury has continued to pursue policies which Members of this Organization in their vast majority reject emphatically.

84. Grave aspects of these policies have been mentioned in the course of this debate and they include violations of elementary human rights and open defiance of the international community. In seeking success for sanctions therefore, we have to examine two questions: firstly, how effectively or how completely are they implemented; and secondly, in what way has the implementation of sanctions brought us closer to our political goal: namely, majority rule in Southern Rhodesia?

85. In focusing attention during this debate on the more technical aspects of sanctions, we must at the same time never overlook the broader political context of the Southern Rhodesian question, which indeed was brought to our attention, in a most dramatic way, by Mrs. Cissé's introduction of the report.

86. These questions, even if examined separately, are obviously linked, because only if sanctions achieve economic effectiveness will political effectiveness follow. Also, the economic effects of sanctions on Southern Rhodesia leave much to be desired, largely because of many loop-holes in their application. There are indications that their psychological, and consequently their political, impact on the illegal régime in Salisbury has by no means been negligible. They are thus the indispensable complement of the heavy moral pressure that the international community exercises through international public opinion, but especially through the strong sense of moral indignation expressed by all the peoples of the world in solidarity with the peoples of Africa.

87. My delegation is convinced, consequently, that even if we cannot hope for total effectiveness of sanctions in the near future, and despite the numerous difficulties in their practical application, comprehensive sanctions, as provided for in resolution 253 (1968), still constitute one of the principal means of pursuing the goal of political change in Southern Rhodesia. We are further strengthened in this optimism, moderate as it may be at the moment, by the recent decision of the Government of Zambia, a decision for which it has received the deserved commendation of this Council, to comply forthwith with sanctions decided on by the United Nations.

88. The Austrian delegation therefore particularly welcomes the second special report, which reflects for the first time a much better understanding of the practical problems involved in the application of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

89. These problems arise, in the first place, out of the privileged geographical position of Southern Rhodesia, which not only allows it to maintain trade relations with its southern neighbours, who act in defiance of United Nations sanctions policy, but also permits an even bigger transit trade through their territories neighbouring Southern Rhodesia.

90. On the other hand, Rhodesian goods, transiting through these neighbouring territories, under false certificates of origin, still do not seem to be at a loss to find buyers in many parts of the world. Governments of importing countries have until recently often been unable to keep track of the more and more sophisticated efforts to evade sanctions regulations.

91. The second special report does therefore, in my delegation's view, attack precisely these problems when it recommends, in paragraph 10, thorough checking procedures for certain categories of goods coming from South Africa, Mozambique and Angola, and, in paragraph 21, recommends informing Governments of any discrepancies in the statistics of their trade with South Africa, Angola and Mozambique, which might be suggestive of sanctions evasions committed by their nationals.

92. We also welcome the intention of the Committee, stated in section III of the report, to produce a manual on these checking procedures or to establish a panel of experts to assist Governments in their efforts to prevent sanctions violations.

93. In pursuing cases of suspected sanctions violations, which do become increasingly complicated because of the many detours the sanctions-breaking trade takes, the role of the Committee, in gathering and co-ordinating information and making this information available to Governments concerned, will be increasingly important.

94. The powers of the Committee will be further increased by the proposal contained in paragraph 18 of the report, which recommends the quarterly release of the names of companies found guilty of sanctions violations and of Governments which have not replied within the prescribed period.

95. The new powers and the new machinery thus offered to the Committee will give it new and heavy responsibilities in the discharge of its functions. It will be a thorough and objective discharge of these functions which will ultimately increase the usefulness, indeed the indispensability, of the Committee to the Council.

96. The present and future activities of the Committee, which are also the most valuable assistance of Governments which carry ultimate responsibility in pursuing and stopping sanctions violations, deserve wide support, support which my delegation is prepared to give to the fullest extent.

97. In seeking the co-operation of Governments it seems doubtful, however, if, for instance, a useful purpose can be served by the early publicizing of details of a case of suspected sanctions violations before either the guilt or complicity of a company has been established or the Government concerned has had the possibility of replying to the case.

98. In recommending adoption by the Council of the proposals contained in section III of the report, my delegation does not believe that will relieve us of all further concern about the effectiveness of sanctions. Indeed, I find

myself in agreement with the representative of Somalia who said that because of the slow and piecemeal imposition of sanctions Southern Rhodesia has always been given enough time to prepare for their evasion [1713th meeting]. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the Committee can act swiftly and competently for the effective implementation of its proposals. Moreover, the Council might wish to recommend to the Committee that it continue its search for further agreement on measures such as those contained in section IV of the report. My delegation hopes it will be possible to achieve compromise on a number of proposals, and we for our part are ready to co-operate in that effort.

99. In order to accomplish those tasks a substantial increase in the already overburdened staff of the Secretariat assisting the Committee will be needed. I may recall in this connexion that in the last year the Committee has held three times as many meetings as it had in any comparable previous period.

100. I have briefly outlined the views of the Austrian delegation on the question before us and on more effective implementation as proposed in the second special report, which we regard as a most urgent matter. Many previous speakers have pointed to the grave situation developing almost daily in Southern Rhodesia and to the alarming amount of tension in that region. Renewed efforts, in which the administering Power, the United Kingdom, will have to play an important part—in which we have repeatedly expressed faith—and also efforts by all other parties concerned, and, last but not least, continued action by this Council, will be necessary to achieve a political solution corresponding to the wishes and desires of those principally concerned—the people of Southern Rhodesia, Zimbabwe.

101. Finally, as we have just been presented with two draft resolutions by the representative of Kenya, allow me in conclusion to say that at this stage I wish to thank him and the delegations of Guinea and the Sudan for preparing those drafts for the consideration of the Council and to assure him that we shall promptly and carefully study the texts put before us and not fail to comment thereon after consultations with our Government.

102. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to express to you my delegation's satisfaction at having you preside over the Security Council during the month of May. We who know your qualities as a skilful and experienced diplomat are convinced that you will guide our work efficiently and successfully.

103. As Latin Americans, and because of the very special ties between Peru and Panama, we wish to place on record our appreciation of the correct and wise manner in which Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar guided our work during April.

104. We shall now give our views concerning the second special report of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia since today we are bound to comply with resolution 320 (1972), which states the need to examine and debate this report.

105. The Chairman of the Committee, Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé, with the assistance of other African representatives and officers of the Committee and the co-operation of all its members, has submitted a report which is the result of hard and painstaking work. On 14 May 1973 [1712th meeting], the representative of Guinea gave us a clear and precise explanation, which satisfied us completely. Accordingly my delegation will confine itself to making a few brief comments.

106. The delegation of Panama considers that the recommendations and suggestions contained in section III of the report accord with the terms of reference of the Committee, which seeks to avoid violations of sanctions to be imposed on Southern Rhodesia in order increasingly to isolate the illegal régime of Ian Smith. We should have been very pleased had the report included more severe recommendations to counter the refusal of Portugal and South Africa to comply with the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. My delegation agrees with the representative of India, Mr. Sen, who yesterday [1713th meeting] expressed the view that something more must be done so that information media will more energetically draw the attention of world public opinion to the tragedy through which the people of Zimbabwe are living so that at the earliest possible time we can achieve the more effective solidarity of all peoples who are aware that the minority régime of Ian Smith must be done away with as soon as possible.

107. Even though the economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia are not as effective as we would have wished, we are encouraged that daily broader and more drastic measures are being taken in the right direction to exercise pressure on the Ian Smith régime in order to obtain the objectives sought—the prompt control of the Government by the long-suffering people of Zimbabwe, who represent the real majority of Southern Rhodesia.

108. In the course of the last five years the delegation of Panama has not altered its line of conduct and has always made its position clear, namely, to co-operate so that all the sanctions against the usurper Government of Southern Rhodesia may be effectively complied with. In view of its anti-colonialist position, the Government of Panama takes advantage of this opportunity to reiterate its condemnation of all types of discrimination. We once again declare that we are behind the people of Zimbabwe in their desire to put an end as soon as possible to the illegal régime imposed on the majority of Southern Rhodesia by a racist minority. Accordingly, my delegation welcomes and warmly supports the two draft resolutions submitted this afternoon by the delegations of Guinea, Kenya and the Sudan. They were brilliantly introduced and explained on behalf of the sponsors by the representative of Kenya.

109. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): I believe I heard the representative of the Soviet Union, in his statement earlier this afternoon, include Australia among countries in respect of which alleged cases of breach of sanctions either have been or are under study by the sanctions Committee. I believe the Soviet representative may have been referring to sales of Australian wheat to Southern Rhodesia which the Australian Government has authorized in recent years on the basis that those sales

could be regarded as justified within the terms of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) on humanitarian grounds. I should just like to make it clear, so that the representative of the Soviet Union should be fully aware, that the Australian Government decided and announced at the end of last year that no more Australian wheat would be sold to Southern Rhodesia, and that as a consequence the case has now been closed by the Committee.

110. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The fact that Australia has violated the resolution on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia was mentioned in the Committee's fourth report;⁴ furthermore, as is clear from this document, which

⁴ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Special Supplement Nos. 2 and 24.

I now have before me, the reference by Australia to paragraph 3 (d) of resolution 253 (1968), in which mention is made of "special humanitarian circumstances", was recognized by members of the Committee as not being completely acceptable. Members of the Committee expressed doubts as to the applicability of paragraph 3 (d). At the same time, we take note with satisfaction of the statement by the representative of Australia to the effect that, as it appears from the Australian Government's statement at the end of last year, the Government of Australia has halted the export of wheat to Southern Rhodesia. We can only welcome that statement and express the hope that the other countries which are violating sanctions against Southern Rhodesia will follow that good example.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.

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