



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR

**1690<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 1 FEBRUARY 1973

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#### NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETIETH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 1 February 1973, at 4 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Joseph ODERO-JOWI (Kenya),

*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/1690)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Complaint by Zambia:
  - (a) Letter dated 24 January 1973 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10865);
  - (b) Letter dated 23 January 1973 from the representatives of Guinea, Kenya and the Sudan to the President of the Security Council (S/10866);
  - (c) Letter dated 26 January 1973 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia to the United Nations, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10869).

*The meeting was called to order at 5.05 p.m.*

### Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: Before we embark on the business before the Council this afternoon, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to the Council's President for last month, Ambassador Anwar Sani, for his brilliant and constructive leadership and the services he rendered to the Council.

2. Mr. Anwar Sani represents an Asian country, Indonesia, a country known and honoured for leadership in world affairs, a country which has a distinguished record in championing world peace and liberation of countries still under foreign rule, a country which has a tradition of friendly relations with many countries in the third world as well as in the developed world.

3. During his presidency, Mr. Anwar Sani left his imprint on the spirit and work of the Council: it was during his term of office that the Council took the historic decision to meet for the first time on the Latin American continent, in the Republic of Panama. Under his leadership, the Council's work for the year 1973 was launched with enthusiasm and hope. In fact, the Council is convened this afternoon merely to complete and conclude an agenda initiated under

his presidency. It is my hope and sincere desire that the item on the agenda, so ably and democratically handled by him, may be concluded to the satisfaction of all parties concerned and in the interest of enhancing the authority and powers of the Security Council.

4. I sincerely wish to thank him for the leadership he provided during the past month and for the services he rendered, which reflect the desire of his country to make a contribution towards the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The great country which he has the distinct privilege to represent and in the service of which he has demonstrated ability, tact and dedication is committed to world peace, prosperity and order for all mankind on this earth. Again, I sincerely thank him for the excellent work he did during the past month, which augurs so well for the functioning and work of the Council during the year.

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### Complaint by Zambia:

- (a) Letter dated 24 January 1973 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10865);
- (b) Letter dated 23 January 1973 from the representatives of Guinea, Kenya and the Sudan to the President of the Security Council (S/10866);
- (c) Letter dated 26 January 1973 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia to the United Nations, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10869)

5. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with our previous decision [1687th meeting], I propose, if there is no objection, to invite the representative of Zambia to take a place at the Council table.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. P. J. F. Lusaka (Zambia) took a place at the Council table.*

6. The PRESIDENT: Again in accordance with previous decisions [1687th and 1689th meetings], I propose now, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Ghana, Morocco, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire, Chile, Algeria, Senegal, Egypt, Somalia and Cuba to take the places reserved for them in the Council chamber in order to participate in the discussion under the terms of Article 31 of the Charter without the right to vote.

They will be invited to take a place at the Council table when it is their turn to speak.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. Rahal (Algeria), Mr. H. Diaz Casanueva (Chile), Mr. R. Aiarcón (Cuba), Mr. A. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. J. Cleland (Ghana), Mr. M. Zentar (Morocco), Mr. M. Fall (Senegal), Mr. J. Nur Filmi (Somalia), Mr. S. Slim (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Ipoto Eyebu Bakandasi (Zaire) took the places reserved for them in the Council chamber.*

7. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the members of the Council that, in letters dated 31 January and 1 February 1973, respectively, the representatives of Cameroon and Guyana also have asked to be allowed to participate in the discussion. In accordance with the provisional rules of procedure and the usual practice of the Council, I propose, if there is no objection, to invite the representatives of Cameroon and Guyana, under the terms of Article 31 of the Charter, to participate in the discussion without the right to stand and to take the seats reserved for them in the Council chamber on the understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when it is their turn to speak.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. P. B. Engo (Cameroon) and Mr. R. E. Jackson (Guyana) took the places reserved for them in the Council chamber.*

8. The PRESIDENT: The first name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of Cameroon. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

9. Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): Mr. President, I wish first of all to express my profound gratitude to you personally and also to the members here for granting me this select opportunity of appearing before the Council at such short notice.

10. It is particularly gratifying to observe the tremendous contribution that so-called young countries continue to make towards the establishment of world order and the positive construction of peace. January witnessed a great son of Indonesia guiding this august body with unadulterated wisdom and brilliance. February launches Africa's Kenya to reaffirm the existing truth of the capacity of African peoples to participate on equal terms with unparalleled sensitivity in the resolution of international problems and the organization of world peace.

11. We wish to congratulate the outgoing President, Ambassador Anwar Sani, for a successful term of office. To our joy and felicitations to you, our brother Odero-Jowi, we add the renewed confidence that you will ensure that the deliberations of this Council this month reach a fruitful conclusion.

12. My delegation asked to speak for two main reasons. The first is to demonstrate openly full solidarity with the sister African State of Zambia in what it is currently enduring in the face of provocation. The President of Cameroon, His Excellency El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo, has already dispatched a reassuring communication to His Excellency President Kaunda of Zambia, expressing the

indignation of the Cameroonian people in the face of the outrageous economic and military measures taken against that nation.

13. President Ahidjo has, on various occasions, reiterated my nation's declared commitment to the solution of African problems, especially in the field of decolonization. Cameroon will not consider its freedom complete until all of Africa is free. It must be understood by all concerned that the movement for total liberation is continental, and that it is not limited to any one country, nor to those peoples domiciled in geographical demarcations still under colonial domination.

14. International law and the Charter of the United Nations recognize the legitimate right of our peoples to self-defence against the use of force which deprives them of the exercise of the right of self-determination. The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, which was approved by the General Assembly in 1970 [see resolution 2625 (XXV)], resolved, once and for all, speculations on the scope of that right. It declared unequivocally that these peoples had the right to seek and receive aid in their struggle against the tyranny of imperialism. The support that any African nation, or any Member State of the United Nations for that matter, gives to the peoples of Zimbabwe cannot be culpable within the sphere of contemplation of international law or even recognized public morality. Consequently, any act undertaken in purported pursuit of a so-called right of self-defence against legitimate self-defence is illegal and must be condemned. This is clearly applicable to the present Zambian experience.

15. The second reason for our asking for the floor is that we wish to join in the appeal to the membership of the Council and to international opinion at large to take all necessary measures to ensure the effective realization of the highest and most sacred aspirations of the African peoples, peoples deprived of their fundamental legal right to the pursuit of freedom and the shaping of their own destiny. The deprivation of liberty has proved to be history's most notorious provocation against international peace and security. Contempt for the legal concepts of the sovereign equality of States and their territorial integrity is just as provocative as belligerency and open war.

16. The matter of which the Council is now seized involves a combination of both. The lewd conspiracy between the racist elements within Zimbabwe and their accomplices in South Africa is undermining the right to self-determination of the Zimbabwe people, on the one hand, and the territorial integrity and political independence of the peaceful and freedom-loving peoples of the Republic of Zambia on the other.

17. Our generation must recognize the nature of the peace that the Charter contemplates. It is not merely the absence of war. It involves the rejection of all situations conducive to belligerency and the attainment of full respect for the declared principles of peaceful coexistence among States. Technology has unified mankind to such an extent that isolationism is both anachronistic and uncessable in our age. The plight of a small, almost physically insignificant

nation in a remote corner of the globe can trigger untold disaster, in economic and military terms, to much bigger and more powerful nations elsewhere. We are all in the problems of this age together—large and small nations alike. None can afford the luxury of complacency or retreat.

18. The indignation of African peoples everywhere continues to mount with frightening intensity. It would be a dangerous miscalculation to suppose that our leaders spoke in response to vain and toothless rhetoric. The youth within and outside Africa are sensitive about justice. We must not hand to them the legacy of inactivity, of procrastination or, worse still, of mere lip service to the concept of the rule of law. If this generation does not take immediate and effective steps to arrest current trends, the present revolt in Africa will, in a matter of a few years, explode with incredible consequences, disruptive of the sound structure we dream of for the international community. The basis of oppression in southern Africa being racist and imperialistic, there can be no telling what wider consequences there could be outside the present area of conflict. Both rich and poor nations have a stake in peace. I am personally convinced, from their reactions in contemporary history, that the peoples of the world want peace rather than the futility of war.

19. The Government and the people of the United Kingdom guard the ideals of freedom with jealousy and commitment. The Constitution of that nation leaves no one in any doubt about their dedication to democracy and liberty. We ask of them no more than they ask of themselves at home—that they apply their cherished ideals to other peoples. Democracy in the context of majority rule is surely exportable. Southern Rhodesia is still a colony of the United Kingdom. It is with that State that the primary responsibility rests to rid the nation of Zimbabwe of the dangerous luxury of racism in public life. It would not be a novelty for the United Kingdom to arrange independence through the exercise by the peoples as a whole of self-determination after a comprehensive conference. A new constitution can always guarantee legitimate minority rights; but let the expressed will of the majority prevail.

20. The time is now for a rethinking on the part of all concerned. The United Kingdom, known for its mature diplomacy abroad and experienced government at home, should take the initiative, knowing first hand what sentiments exist among the majority of the peoples. It in fact took the trouble to send in a special commission to get the facts. Realistic and lasting peace can come only through agreement reached on the basis of racial equality and respect for fundamental human rights.

21. Rhetoric and open debate is no longer effective. Action must be the truest end to every declared ideal. The United Kingdom has openly supported the concept of peace and the principle of the self-determination of peoples. The representatives of the United Kingdom played a major role in the elaboration of the principles contained in the 1970 Declaration. Any reluctance or refusal on the part of the United Kingdom Government to cure this major curse of Rhodesia establishes the fact that that Government gives its unreserved approval to the *status quo*. A veto to

progressive resolutions and positive efforts intended by the majority of the United Nations cannot veto the determination of oppressed peoples to survive in an atmosphere of freedom. The United Kingdom will be as guilty of the insulting domination as those who act in the full knowledge and comfort of British-implied support.

22. South Africa and all blind allies of the racist régime in Rhodesia must awaken to the facts of the common threat to the peace and well-being of the international community. Peace and security in all of Africa through full respect for Charter principles as well as for the dignity and worth of the human person will mean prosperity for all, including South Africa, Zimbabwe and other areas of current potential explosion.

23. My nation appeals to all the members of the Security Council to treat the present debate with deference and not merely as another occasion to register a resolution, the worth of which is insignificant in the eyes of Ian Smith, his collaborators and accomplices, and to evolve a programme by which the threat to Zambia will be frustrated and overtaken by positive measures. Let us get away from the menacing thought, "Zambia today, who tomorrow?" If this Council fails to do this and if the international community fails to respond to the threatening needs of the day, then we must be prepared to join in the prophetic lament of Tennyson:

*Ah what shall it be at fifty  
Should nature keep me alive,  
If I find the world so bitter  
When I am but twenty-five.*

24. Neither assassinations nor arsenals of sophisticated weapons of mass destruction can succeed or have ever succeeded in destroying the will of peoples for freedom. They may—and only may—retard the advent of liberty. They cannot stop nature's historic processes of change in the balance of power and in the inevitability of its attainment.

25. The PRESIDENT: The next name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of Guyana, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

26. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): Mr. President, my delegation wishes to thank you and the members of the Security Council for the opportunity which you have afforded me to address the Council on the question now under consideration, one which calls for an unreserved expression of solidarity with a peace-loving and friendly State, the Republic of Zambia, and at the same time confronts the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, with special challenges.

27. I take this opportunity to convey to you the felicitations of my delegation upon your assumption of the presidency of the Council. We wish, through you, to convey similar felicitations to the delegation of Indonesia, which, in the person of Ambassador Anwar Sani, yesterday completed its term as President of the Council for the month of January.

28. The letter of the representative of Zambia, contained in document S/10865, demonstrates the disturbing fact that the racist régime of Ian Smith, having illegally seized power in Zimbabwe and having embarked upon a course of inhumanity and oppression there, has decided to compound its treason and tyranny with aggression against a neighbouring State, a Member State of this Organization. Its conduct in this instance follows the now established pattern of ruthlessness in seeking to maintain the power so wantonly usurped. Smith's action appears as a piece of blatant contempt for this Organization and universal public opinion. It is, in the view of my delegation, a further demonstration of a resolve to persist in racism, oppression and aggression.

29. But the rebels in Salisbury are not alone in that resolve. When note is taken of the letter dated 26 January addressed by the representative of South Africa to the President of the Security Council [S/10870] and having regard to the record of South Africa's internal oppression and external collaboration with similarly minded Fascist régimes in the region, a frightening picture of racist tyranny in southern Africa emerges. This letter is an invitation to Ian Smith to continue along the path he has chosen, fully assured of the support of South Africa.

30. My delegation, therefore, joins with all the other delegations which have condemned the aggression and tyranny of the racists in southern Africa and associates itself with their demand for appropriate action by this Organization and particularly the Security Council to bring to a halt their reign of terror.

31. Let there be no doubt about the commitment of the Government and people of Guyana to the Government and people of Zambia. Our Prime Minister, upon being apprised of this most recent aggression by Ian Smith against Zambia, immediately communicated to its President, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, our solidarity with the courageous Government and people of Zambia in their refusal to submit to intimidation and threats, and our support of the principled stand they have taken in upholding the canons and precepts of justice, freedom and human dignity.

32. Like so many delegations which have spoken before us we recognize that the international community can, at this juncture, do no less than support the Government and people of Zambia and assist them in all the ways open to it, more especially to overcome the economic difficulties which have resulted from the closure of the border and the imposition of a blockade by Ian Smith.

33. But even as we condemn the aggressors and express our solidarity with the Government and people of Zambia, it is necessary for us not to be diverted by symptoms, but to seek to end the threat to international peace and security in the region by taking action which will eradicate the root causes which led to those disturbances.

34. If we focus attention on the situation in Zimbabwe, we come to the inevitable conclusion that it is the failure of the administering Power the Government of the United Kingdom to take decisive action to terminate the rebellion in that unhappy country that has led to the present

problems. It is clearly incumbent on the administering Power to take new and dynamic initiatives in this regard.

35. My delegation has always been convinced that the early and unequivocal commitment by the British Government not to use force provided Smith with considerable confidence that he could proceed on his rebellious course. Nevertheless, in the view of my delegation, the opportunity is still available to the administering Power to discharge its responsibility to the people of Zimbabwe. One step in that direction would be the immediate withdrawal of the commitment not to use force in the pursuit of the stated objectives of the United Kingdom Government to establish democratic government in Zimbabwe. A further step would be to summon a constitutional conference, fully representative of the people of Zimbabwe, as advocated by many delegations during the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly and reiterated during the course of this debate.

36. Whatever may be the action that the administering Power takes in regard to the rebellion in Zimbabwe, let me say that the Government and people of Guyana stand ready to play their part in any international collective action which will halt the rape of the rule of law in Zimbabwe and usher in to that Territory a régime of long awaited democracy, peace and justice.

37. The PRESIDENT: That exhausts the list of representatives who wished to make general statements on the item on the agenda. I now call on the representative of the Sudan to introduce two draft resolutions, contained in documents S/10875 and S/10876, which have just been distributed.

38. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): I should like to start by offering the congratulations of my delegation to our friend Ambassador Anwar Sani of Indonesia for the wonderful way he acquitted himself as the President of the Security Council during the month of January. Ambassador Anwar Sani lived up to what we had expected of him when he assumed the presidency and, to our full satisfaction, conducted his work as President with outstanding ability, firmness and great conscientiousness. Therefore, to him and to his delegation, we again express our admiration and congratulations.

39. To you, Sir, as you assume the presidency for the month of February, my delegation would wish to express its heartfelt pleasure in seeing you in the Chair firstly because you are an African and secondly because you are a national of a country and a people with whom my country and my people entertain the best of brotherly relations. Your country and mine, like other African countries, are linked by fate to perpetual friendship and to common lofty aims, that is, the unity and freedom of Africa as a whole. Therefore, I wish you the best of success in your term of office and I wish to assure you of my delegation's full co-operation during this period.

40. Having said that, I should like to recall that, for the past four days, this Council has been occupied in debating the contents of the letter of 24 January 1973 from the representative of Zambia, contained in document S/10865.

Yesterday [1689th meeting] my delegation expressed its position on the Zambian complaint. It is my privilege today to introduce, on behalf of the delegations of Guinea, Kenya, Yugoslavia and my own delegation, the draft resolutions contained in documents S/10875 and S/10876.

41. Before I come to the specific provisions of the draft resolutions, allow me to state, for the purpose of emphasis, that the most significant problem that has loomed largely in our deliberations has been the threat to international peace and security in southern Africa. Members might have different attitudes and different positions on other things but, judging from the thrust of the statements made by many delegations, we are agreed that the recent provocations committed by the illegal régime in Salisbury aggravate an already dangerous situation in the area. These are developments which call for the most urgent and decisive action by the Council in its capacity as the organ whose primary responsibility is to maintain world peace.

42. Speaking specifically on the draft resolutions before the Council which, I believe, members have had time to consider, it will be realized that the draft in document S/10875 contains proposals regarding primarily the political aspects of the complaint. The other draft, in document S/10876 pertains to assistance to Zambia. In presenting the proposals in draft resolution S/10875, we have four significant points in mind. The first is how the Council should express its strong disapproval of the provocative actions of the Ian Smith régime. The second is what the Council should do about the presence of South African armed forces in Southern Rhodesia and on the border with Zambia. The third point is what the United Kingdom responsibility for Rhodesia really means. Finally, we have to address ourselves to the veracity of the statements of South Africa denying its military intervention in Rhodesia.

43. On the first point, the sponsors feel very strongly that the Council should condemn the actions of the Smith régime, leaving it in no doubt that the Council will not stand by while it provokes its neighbours and indulges in excessive repression of the people of Zimbabwe. Therefore we suggest unanimous approval of the provisions of operative paragraphs 1 and 2.

44. The second point is not new to the Council. As far back as 1970, the Council demanded of South Africa that it withdraw its armed personnel from Southern Rhodesia. The grave implications of South African military intervention on the side of the white minority régime in Salisbury cannot be over-emphasized. If I may, I should like to quote a one-time British Prime Minister, who said: "I believe the greatest danger ahead of us is that the world might be divided on racial lines. I see no other danger, not even the nuclear bomb, which could be catastrophic as that". Those were the words of Sir Alec Douglas-Home in 1964 when he was the British Prime Minister. It is our earnest hope that the Council will approve operative paragraphs 4 and 5, which are specifically addressed to this particular problem.

45. The third point, regarding British responsibility for Rhodesia, is not a new element in any debate involving issues touching on that Territory. However, the question that we shall continuously voice is how serious the United

Kingdom is about ending the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia. It is the administering Power and so, in terms of international law, is in a position to take measures that no one else can take. It argues that it cannot use force and will not contemplate the use of force by anyone. In that case, is the United Nations not entitled to expect that the United Kingdom Government will do everything short of using force? In this respect, the normal course of things would have been for the United Kingdom to make it quite plain from the time of the unilateral declaration of independence that it regarded any actions that helped Rhodesia as being tantamount to assisting rebellion against the British Crown. Yet in no instance have any British protests remotely approached such an attitude. It is for these reasons that the sponsors suggest the approval of operative paragraphs 3, 6 and 7.

46. Finally, we have to address our thoughts to facts as they are or are alleged to be in the area under our consideration. The sponsors believe that our conduct of these affairs will be helped a great deal if, under rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure, the dispatch of a mission to the region is approved by the Council. The purpose of the mission is stated in operative paragraph 9.

47. Coming to the draft resolution in document S/10876, I can do no better than quote my friend, the representative of Austria, who said yesterday:

"Zambia has undertaken the greatest efforts in order to comply with sanctions, and these efforts were not least among the acts which earned Zambia and its President, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the sympathy and admiration of many countries, including my own. Zambia certainly has borne the brunt and has been in the forefront of the struggle of Africa to gain full freedom and independence of the continent.

"As the result of severing its last economic ties with Rhodesia during recent weeks, Zambia today faces a new and more serious situation. My delegation is therefore convinced that the request expressed by Zambia, based on Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter and on the aforementioned provisions of resolutions 253 (1968) and 277 (1970), for economic assistance by United Nations organizations and by Member States deserves most serious consideration by this Council." [1689th meeting, paras. 60 and 61]

48. In concluding, I should like to say that the issue facing the Council today is whether it is willing to accept the fact that the question of Rhodesia represents a real threat to world peace and constitutes a problem of such profound importance to the future of the United Nations that the Council should put its prestige behind all efforts to bring an end to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. The sponsors believe that that is the course the Council must take. Let this Council not earn for itself the harsh judgement that the best it could do when there was no oasis in sight was to create a mirage.

49. I wish to terminate by saying that the sponsors of these two draft resolutions are prepared to discuss with other delegations any points which could facilitate their unanimous adoption.

50. The PRESIDENT: I have consulted with the members of the Council as to whether the Council should meet tomorrow morning or afternoon to continue the discussion and possibly conclude it and proceed to vote. The reaction of members was not unanimous. A number would like us to vote on Monday; others would like us to meet tomorrow afternoon, but they have not indicated whether they would be ready to vote then. I think the majority of members would prefer the Council to meet tomorrow morning, although in their case too it is not clear whether they would be prepared to vote at that time. I should like to suggest

that we reach some compromise on the matter. I think the only possible compromise would be for the Council to meet tomorrow afternoon, and, depending on the progress made at that meeting, we could proceed to vote or defer it until Monday morning. If that suggestion is acceptable and in the absence of any objections, the Council will now adjourn until tomorrow at 3 p.m., when we shall resume our discussion and proceed to vote, or defer the voting until Monday morning if that is judged expedient.

*The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.*