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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 NINETY-FIRST MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 2 February 1973, at 3 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/1691)

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 3.15 p.m.

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)

1. 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.

2. The PRESIDENT: Also in accordance with our previous decisions [1687th, 1689th and 1690th 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, Cuba, Cameroon and Guyana 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. P. B. Engo (Cameroon), Mr. H. Díaz Casanueva (Chile), Mr. R. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. A. Teymour (Egypt), Mr. J. Cleland (Ghana), Mr. I. Jackson (Guyana), Mr. M. Zentar (Morocco), Mr. M. Fall (Senegal), Mr. J. Nur Elmi (Somalia), Mr. S. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Ipoto Eyebu Bakand'asi (Zaire) took the places reserved for them in the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: I wish to draw the attention of the members of the Council to a new document, which will be distributed in a few minutes, under the symbol S/10877; it is a letter dated 29 January 1973 from the representative of Zambia to the Secretary-General.

4. Members will also recall that in the course of the 1690th meeting of the Council, held on 1 February 1973, the representative of the Sudan introduced two draft resolutions [S/10875 and S/10876] sponsored by Guinea, Kenya, the Sudan and Yugoslavia. Does any member of the Council wish to make any comments on the two draft resolutions? If no one wishes to speak, I shall assume that the Council is ready to vote on these two resolutions.

5. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): Members will recall that yesterday afternoon, when I presented the two draft resolutions, I said that the sponsors were ready to conduct any negotiations which might help to achieve unanimous support for those two draft resolutions. If, in your opinion, Mr. President, a short time might be wanted for further negotiations, the sponsors are ready to go along with that.

6. The PRESIDENT: I am really in some difficulty, because I have not heard different views expressed which would warrant my adjourning the Council to enable representatives to consult.

7. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): Mr. President, judging from the silence that has greeted your request for some indication of what the Council is prepared to do, I should suggest that we might consider adjourning until

Monday, so that consultations might take place in the intervening period of time. I am not going to make this a formal proposal until I have heard the views of others, including you, Sir, but it seems to me that we are not prepared to vote at this time.

8. The PRESIDENT: I hope that that at least will stimulate some discussion.

9. Mr. JAIN (India): A little while ago the representative of the Sudan made a proposal which, as far as my delegation has been able to understand, is a proposal for a short suspension to facilitate the continuance of informal consultations in the search for unanimity on the two draft resolutions. My delegation would like to support that proposal.

10. The PRESIDENT: May I know from the representative of the Sudan whether his proposal is a formal one?

11. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): Since there has been a response to my suggestion, I should now like to make the formal proposal that we suspend for 10 or 15 minutes and then return to consider the two draft resolutions.

12. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): I should like to support the motion of the representative of the Sudan, if only for the reason that, as I understand it, there is another document about to be circulated which we have not yet seen. Possibly it has some relevance to what we are discussing.

13. The PRESIDENT: We have a formal proposal for a suspension of about 20 minutes.

14. Mr. LENNKII (Austria): I should like to associate myself with the representatives of Australia and the Sudan and say that my delegation too would favour a suspension of the meeting. As concerns the time-limit, I would say that we should suspend not for a definite time but for as long as consultations continue, since we cannot say that they will be concluded in 20 minutes.

15. The PRESIDENT: I take it that the Council will agree to a suspension to enable delegations to consult on the two draft resolutions. As there is no objection, we shall suspend for consultations.

The meeting was suspended at 3.25 p.m. and resumed at 4.45 p.m.

16. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): Mr. President, while the meeting was suspended, you and the sponsors carried out a number of consultations among members that enabled us to come to some kind of agreement on the two draft resolutions.

17. On behalf of the sponsors, I wish to point out certain modifications to the draft resolution in document S/10875. First, the end of operative paragraph 3 should read: "such actions by the illegal and racist régime of Southern Rhodesia and that of South Africa". Secondly, it has been agreed that paragraph 7 should read as follows:

"Regrets that measures so far taken have failed to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to an end".

That paragraph will become paragraph 4 and be placed after paragraph 3. The following paragraphs will be renumbered accordingly.

18. I take this opportunity to say also that both India and Indonesia are now co-sponsors of the draft resolutions. It is the wish of the sponsors that the two draft resolutions, with the modifications that I have just read out, to the one in document S/10875, receive the approval of all delegations.

19. The PRESIDENT: As there are no comments from members of the Council, I take it that the Council is now ready to vote on these two draft resolutions. We shall vote on them in the order in which they were issued.

20. I shall put to the vote first the draft resolution in document S/10875, which, it will be recalled, has been modified in two places [S/10875/Rev.1].

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Austria, China, France, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 13 in favour, none against, with two abstentions.¹

21. The PRESIDENT: The Council will vote next on the draft resolution in document S/10876.

22. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): I wish to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the fact that the ellipsis in operative paragraph 3 should be replaced by the words: "resolution 326 (1973)".

23. The PRESIDENT: The Council will now vote on the draft resolution in document S/10876, with the addition just read out by the representative of the Sudan [S/10876/Rev.1].

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Austria, China, France, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, Sudan, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The draft resolution was adopted by 14 in favour, none against, with one abstention.²

24. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon representatives wishing to speak in explanation of their votes.

¹ See resolution 326 (1973)

² See resolution 327 (1973).

25. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): In my remarks at the beginning of the present debate, on 29 January [1687th meeting], I said that my delegation had some doubts as to whether the adoption of resolutions would be the most appropriate method for the Security Council to respond to the present situation. I must confess that during the debate that followed those doubts increased as, with some notable exceptions, so many of the contributions ranged over a wide span of familiar problems without suggesting any new solutions. When the two draft resolutions were presented yesterday, I began to feel that my fears were really justified and that there was danger of a wholly sterile outcome. I am therefore glad that the sponsors recognized that danger and agreed to certain modifications.

26. The occasion for the present debate was the closure by the Rhodesian régime of its border with Zambia. The Rhodesian authorities have said that they closed the border because of attacks, in some cases against civilians, which they claim have been launched from Zambian territory. The representative of Zambia has informed the Council of violent incidents that have occurred on the Zambian side of the border. We recognize in particular the long-term hazard that the laying of mines represents.

27. As I said in my opening remarks, my Government has always condemned the use of violence in pursuit of political ends. We believe, however, that the present situation must be viewed in the perspective of all the events since the illegal declaration of independence in Rhodesia. I have already told the Council of the comment by Sir Alec Douglas-Home that

“When a Government pursuing racist policies inside a country finds freedom fighters coming from outside, I am afraid that that is a situation which I have warned time and again would be bound to lead to conflict” [*Ibid.*, para. 117].

In our view, the real solution to all these problems lies in the achievement of a just and acceptable political settlement within Rhodesia.

28. In these circumstances, the purpose of all concerned ought to be to relieve the present tension on the border and to get back to a normal situation. The reason is simple and, I believe, accepted by everyone. The closure of the border has both economic and political effects. For the moment, leaving on one side the economic effects, it is undeniable that the continued border closure is dangerous because it carries a constant threat of increased tension and violence. Such tension, dangerous in itself, also endangers the prospects for a peaceful political settlement within Rhodesia.

29. The draft resolution in document S/10876/Rev.1, which we have just adopted, is concerned with economic developments that have taken place since the closure of the border. As I said on the first day of this debate, it is for the Zambian Government to decide its policy with regard to the resumption of the movements interrupted by the closure of the Rhodesian border, should it be reopened. We recognize that in this question, vital for its economy,

Zambia cannot allow itself to remain at risk. It is also right in such circumstances that the United Nations should be asked to undertake an expert examination of the economic consequences for Zambia of maintaining alternative trade routes. Such an examination should, as the representative of the United States pointed out [1689th meeting], draw on all the previous relevant studies. It should also cover all the relevant aspects, including the contributions made by existing aid programmes.

30. This is not the moment to go into details, but I can say that the United Kingdom has a substantial programme of economic aid for Zambia's developments. Some other Members of the United Nations have also been generous in this regard, and we hope that more will be ready to follow this example. We therefore voted in favour of the draft resolution in document S/10876/Rev.1.

31. The draft resolution in document S/10875/Rev.1, on the other hand, seems to my delegation unlikely to achieve any positive results. We are glad that its sponsors have been ready to remove the unjust and unjustified implications of the former operative paragraph 7. The fact that the replacement paragraph has now been moved up to follow immediately after paragraph 3 does not, in the view of my delegation, carry any implication that the United Kingdom is being singled out in what is now paragraph 4. My delegation was not informed of this change of order during this afternoon's consultations. If there had been any suggestion that paragraph 4 had particular application to my Government, I should have been obliged to oppose it. But we still feel that the resolution completely misses the mark as far as responding to the need of the present situation goes, or of assisting the prospects for a peaceful political settlement in Rhodesia. Such resolutions, on the contrary, tend to harden positions and perpetuate confrontation and an already dangerous situation, rather than allow freer play to the more positive elements to which I referred in my opening statement. For this reason my delegation was unable to vote in favour of the draft resolution in document S/10875/Rev.1.

32. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): I should like to make a brief explanation of vote on the two resolutions just adopted by the Council.

33. I can associate myself to a very large extent with what has just been said by the representative of the United Kingdom with reference to the draft resolution in document S/10875/Rev.1. Without reviewing the numerous points which we had discussed privately with the sponsors, I simply want to repeat that the resolution, regrettably, is not likely to achieve the desired results. It raises the question which my delegation has raised on numerous occasions in matters of this kind, namely, whether resolutions which, in all candour, seem unlikely to affect favourably the desired outcome—and, indeed, which can have the effect, as has been pointed out, of hardening relations and of increasing confrontations—are desirable. We abstained in the vote on that draft resolution for those reasons.

34. With respect to the second draft resolution [S/10876/Rev.1], we voted in favour of it because we deeply

appreciate the economic burdens which have been imposed on Zambia by the blockade and we recognize the common desire of Members to assist that Government in every appropriate way to meet the difficulties with which it is now confronted.

35. I must say, though, that we deeply regret that certain proposals we made with respect to paragraph 3 of that resolution were ignored by the sponsors. We felt that certain important matters of principle were involved. For one thing, it was our interpretation, at least, that the purposes of that resolution were to work to achieve certain practical ends—that is to say, to ascertain objectively the needs of Zambia which had arisen out of the consequences of the actions that had occurred in the area. We were not happy about implications of political overtones, if you will, which we read into the proposal to send an essentially political mission to oversee the work of a group of United Nations experts. We also regretted that what we would consider the appropriate role of the Secretary-General was not underscored with respect to that paragraph. It would have been appropriate, it seems to us, to request the Secretary-General to send the team of experts referred to to the scene to make their own objective evaluation of the needs and to report back to the Security Council the results of their objective studies. We feel sure that such an objective non-political analysis of the needs would have done a great deal to encourage Governments and provide them with a sense of objective understanding of the needs, which would, in the final analysis, be very much in the interest of Zambia.

36. I merely wished to make these points for the record in explanation of our vote.

37. Mr. SAFRONCIUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council, to wish you every success in that post and to assure you that the Soviet delegation will always be ready to co-operate with you in solving the problems confronting you.

38. We should also like to express our sincere gratitude and thanks to Mr. Anwar Sanj, representative of Indonesia, for his extremely effective efforts last month in guiding the work of the Council.

39. The Soviet Union has already had the opportunity, during the meetings of the Security Council, to express its position on the substance of the matter, namely, the complaint by the Government of Zambia concerning the acts of aggression by Southern Rhodesia against Zambia. At the same time, we should like once again to explain our position on the draft resolutions adopted today. We should like to emphasize that the tense situation in which Zambia now finds itself, brought about by Southern Rhodesia's acts of aggression supported by South Africa, is due primarily to the actions of racist régimes.

40. In his message, distributed today as document S/10877, Mr. Kaunda, the President of Zambia, quite rightly stresses that the main problem now confronting his country is that "the people of Zambia cannot continue in

this manner while Rhodesia and South African forces violate our territory, kill and maim our innocent people and destroy our property". In his message, President Kaunda quite correctly also raises the question of the responsibility of the United Kingdom for the situation that has arisen—the United Kingdom which, as he says, "has replied with a loud silence" at a time when the racists of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa are becoming more and more insolent. The main task of the Security Council, as the President of Zambia emphasizes, is to take urgent action to put an end to this critical situation, and he particularly stresses the need to ensure the withdrawal of South African troops from Southern Rhodesia.

41. We fully agree with the President of Zambia's appraisal of who is actually responsible for this state of affairs; we agree that the Security Council should take urgent and effective measures to eliminate this intolerable situation.

42. It is natural that in these circumstances the Security Council can and should react in only one way. First, it should place the responsibility for this situation on those States which bear the direct responsibility for the racist régime coming to power in Southern Rhodesia, and for supporting that régime; secondly, it should demand the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Southern Rhodesia; thirdly, it should decide on the immediate expansion of the mandatory sanctions of the Council against Southern Rhodesia; and fourthly, it should extend the sanctions to South Africa and Portugal, which, as is well known and as has been repeatedly stressed here in the debates, are taking an active part in violating the resolutions of the Council which provide for mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Finally, it would also be quite logical for the Security Council to take a decision to the effect that compensation for the damage caused to Zambia should be paid by those States which bear the real responsibility for the situation, that is, by the States which are responsible for the racist régime coming to power in Southern Rhodesia and which continue to maintain close contacts and economic, trade and other relations with that régime.

43. As the Soviet delegation has already stressed, any other approach could be interpreted as meaning that the Security Council was reconciled to the present situation—to the existence of the racist Smith régime and its acts of provocation against independent African States. It could also be interpreted as meaning that the Council had in fact concerned itself only with the consequences and not the causes of this alarming and dangerous state of affairs.

44. We should also like to point out that for the Security Council to engage in such activities as assessing the economic needs of or the damages suffered by specific countries—even if such damage is caused by their implementation of the Council's decisions relating to sanctions—would be contrary to the obligations of the Council under the Charter in this type of situation, where it is essential to rebuff and punish the aggressors as well as those who abet them.

45. Under such circumstances, the Soviet delegation supported draft resolution S/10875/Rev.1, although, as we

have said, it does not fully take into account the conditions that we laid down. Furthermore, we should like to note that the last-minute amendments to the original text merely weaken it and make it less effective.

46. We must also express our regret that draft resolution S/10876/Rev.1 contains no provisions for placing political or other responsibility, including compensation for damage, on those States which are directly responsible for the racist régime coming to power in Southern Rhodesia and which continue to this day to maintain close economic, trade and other contacts with that racist régime, thus helping it to survive. Furthermore, that draft unfortunately does not contain the other key provisions which we have just mentioned. For all these reasons, the Soviet delegation was unable to support that draft resolution and abstained in the vote on it.

47. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): Mr. President, allow me, before explaining my delegation's vote, to make some brief remarks in response to the flattering words with which you and other representatives on the Council referred to my presidency of the Council during the month of January. If my tenure of office was considered successful, that success was made possible only because of the understanding and co-operation extended to me by the representatives on the Council and by the most efficient manner in which the members of the Secretariat assisted me at all times in the discharge of my duties. For that my delegation and I are most grateful.

48. I should like to take this opportunity also to join previous speakers in congratulating you on assuming the presidency of the Council. I am certain that, under your wise and experienced guidance, the Council will be able to meet in a positive and effective manner the problems brought to its attention. With you in the Chair, we can be sure that the affairs of the Council are in competent hands. Your handling of the matter under consideration is more than sufficient proof of your competence. My delegation pledges you its full co-operation.

49. I turn now to the matter before the Council. It may be remembered that in the debate two days ago [1689th meeting] I stated my delegation's belief that the Security Council should act promptly to prevent the situation on the Zambian border from deteriorating, and that such preventive action should be undertaken with the full co-operation of the United Kingdom Government. The Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, legally has the responsibility to take the necessary action required to guarantee the indigenous people of Zimbabwe the full enjoyment of their fundamental freedoms. As long as those rights are denied to them, the situation in southern Africa will continue to remain explosive. That is clearly demonstrated by the fact that Zambia has become the target of military and economic pressure by the illegal racist régime in Salisbury. It was in that light that I stated two days ago in the Council that the proposals put forward by the representative of Zambia fully merited the serious consideration of this Council and that they should be used as a basis for decisions and for concrete measures to be taken by the Council.

50. The draft resolutions that were so ably introduced by the representative of the Sudan and have just been adopted by the Council entirely meet the views of my delegation. My delegation therefore decided to join Guinea, India, Kenya, the Sudan and Yugoslavia as a sponsor of those draft resolutions.

51. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation voted in favour of draft resolution S/10875/Rev.1 because of the improvements that were made in the original text. We should not have done so if those improvements had not been negotiated with the sponsors of the draft resolution. Those changes and improvements, we felt, dealt with an important point and established a better balance in the real responsibilities for a situation which we all deplore. The new over-all wording does not accuse the London Government, which has, in fact, endeavoured to prevent the situation on the spot from deteriorating and has endeavoured to aid Zambia. We therefore feel that the new text places better stress on the acts and responsibilities of the régime of Southern Rhodesia itself. Having noted those improvements with satisfaction on behalf of the French delegation, I would add that our affirmative vote does not mean that we approve of all the provisions of the draft resolution to an equal extent. As far as we are concerned, we do not think that it is for us to dictate to the administering Power its conduct in the region concerned. We have always felt that the administering Power should assume the responsibilities incumbent upon it, even if that task is difficult.

52. With regard to draft resolution S/10876/Rev.1, for which the French delegation also voted, we certainly should have preferred the Council to send, not a mission--which, to us, seems rather large--assisted by experts, but a team of experts alone or a somewhat smaller mission, since the authority of the mission and of the experts should be as great as possible and focus on the effectiveness of the efforts made by the Security Council to assist Zambia, its Government and its economy. However, we preferred not to abstain on the second draft resolution, basically because I think we all want to help Zambia to get out of its present serious difficulties. For that basic reason, we decided to support wholeheartedly the proposed effort to help the Government of Zambia.

53. Mr. JAIN (India): Mr. President, this is the first time that my delegation has taken the floor since your assumption of the presidency. Allow me, therefore, to offer you our warm congratulations and to assure you of our fullest co-operation in the discharge of your duties. In the context of close and friendly relations existing between India and Kenya, we are particularly delighted to see a distinguished representative of Kenya and a long-time friend of India as President of this important organ of the United Nations, the more so at a time when the Council is debating a serious problem arising out of the struggle against forces of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. We should like to express to you our admiration for the able and efficient manner in which you have already conducted our deliberations and brought to a successful end the protracted consultations which have now led to the adoption of the two resolutions.

54. May I also take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to Ambassador Anwar Sani of Indonesia for the distinction, skill, ability and persuasive style with which he presided over the proceedings of the Council during one of its busy months.

55. We are glad that these two resolutions have been adopted and that the Security Council has thus initiated action which we sincerely hope will have a positive effect on the present tense situation in southern Africa created by the aggressive activities of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia with the connivance of the South African Government. We have joined as co-sponsors of both resolutions with the confidence that, with their adoption by such an overwhelming majority, the Security Council should be able to initiate immediate action to be of effective assistance to Zambia in the crisis facing that country and in de-escalating the situation.

56. While these resolutions have been adopted, we should remind ourselves that the situation in that area remains critical. All of us have just seen the letter which the President of Zambia has addressed to the Secretary-General [S/10877] and in which he has pointed out that tension continues to rise and wanton acts of aggression underline the grave threat which the current crisis in southern Africa poses to international peace and security. Our concern for and anxiety over this situation and our great admiration of the people and Government of Zambia for their steadfastness and sacrifices in this crisis remain as before. The Zambian Government and people have shown commendable restraint and calm in the face of a very grave crisis, and done everything in their power to prevent escalation of tension.

57. We should like to express once again our sympathy and solidarity with Zambia in its hour of trial and our admiration for its people under the inspiring leadership of President Kaunda, a great humanist and fighter for freedom. We had been looking forward to welcoming him in our country on a State visit during which he was to have received the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for international peace and understanding, awarded to him in recognition of his services to that cause. While his visit was unavoidably postponed due to the present situation, we hope that we shall have an opportunity of welcoming him soon in our country.

58. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): Mr. President, as this is the first time that my delegation takes the floor under your presidency, may I briefly use this opportunity to express to you the congratulations of my delegation upon your assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of February and to express our satisfaction at seeing a distinguished representative of your experience and character occupy this most important post.

59. I should also like to express thanks and a tribute to the outgoing President of the Council for the month of January, the Ambassador of Indonesia, Anwar Sani, whose admirable skill, experience and wise leadership we have all come to appreciate during the past month as qualities that have been of tremendous help to all of us, and especially to the new members in mastering the difficult ways of the Security Council.

60. I should now like to explain briefly the vote of my delegation on the draft resolutions just adopted. As will have been noted, we voted in favour of both draft resolutions before the Council. The main motive for doing so—and I tried to explain this in my earlier statement in the Council [1689th meeting]—was our deep and sincere concern for the difficult situation in which Zambia was finding itself after the hostile acts of its neighbour to which it was exposed.

61. We were deeply impressed by the great degree of sympathy and solidarity expressed to Zambia by a great many countries in the Council, by the unanimous sympathy in the Council, and also by the concurrence and deep feelings of so many other non-members of the Council, Members of this Organization. It is not necessary here to point to the many motives expressed for this great show of sympathy and solidarity for Zambia, but as far as Austria is concerned, there is no doubt that, as a small country, we feel great sympathy for the period of trial in which another small country, Zambia, finds itself. Being a land-locked country, we have great sympathy for Zambia, which is itself a land-locked country, knowing full well the problems which may result from such a situation.

62. For that reason we felt that, in our deliberations, Zambia should occupy the main place in the resolutions adopted by us, and we felt that the unanimous expression of the sympathy and concern of this Council would be appropriate. We expressed the feeling, in consultations, that the two draft resolutions before us were not wholly conducive to this purpose at the first stage, and we did not hesitate to express our doubts. The modifications which have now been accepted have greatly reduced our hesitations and we feel that they represent progress over the text formerly presented. I cannot hide from the Council that a number of doubts still exist in the mind of my delegation on a number of provisions in the two resolutions, but I need not elaborate on these points inasmuch as I made our position clear in my previous statement.

63. Finally, we have been able to overcome whatever hesitations we felt and we are glad for the widely shared feeling that has now been expressed by this Council.

64. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, since this is the first time that we have spoken under your esteemed presidency, let me, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation, congratulate you and your delegation on your assuming the important post of President of the Security Council for the month of February. The traditional and deep ties of understanding and co-operation that bind our two countries—their membership and activity in the great movement of non-aligned countries which is so dedicated *inter alia* to the just and noble causes of Africa—make it a particular pleasure for me to do so. The warm working relations that our two delegations have always had in the United Nations are of particular importance to us. With your well-known abilities and distinguished experience, we know that the effective work of this Council during this month is assured. You will find us always ready to co-operate fully in your responsible endeavours.

65. To Mr. Anwar Sani of Indonesia, another friendly and non-aligned country, the President for the month of

January, we can only say that, whatever was said by us and by others at the time he assumed the presidency, was proven many times over by the most able and dedicated manner in which he guided us through our heavy responsibilities in the first month of the year, the first month of Indonesia's membership of the Council.

66. My delegation is particularly gratified by the almost unanimous and explicit support that Zambia, an independent African, non-aligned and forward-looking country, victim of racist and colonialist aggression, has been given here. We are also pleased to see the general admiration for its courageous conduct and the measures it has taken in a very difficult situation, the general commendation that its people and Government have received from almost everyone here for their decisive orientation to make a full and complete application of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia's illegal régime and, finally, practically everybody's understanding and acceptance of the principle that Zambia is entitled to be assisted by the international community—by us in the light of its assuming special additional economic and financial burdens in implementing mandatory decisions of the Security Council.

67. As for the resolutions sponsored by six non-aligned countries which the Council has just adopted, I should like to state the following. They meet several essential requirements over which there is a very wide measure of agreement here. They condemn Southern Rhodesia's aggressive actions and, *inter alia*, they require in particular that the dangerous presence of the South African armed forces in Southern Rhodesia be removed. They reaffirm the responsibilities of the administering Power and ask it to do what is necessary to undertake all possible measures commensurate with the situation and its responsibilities. They reaffirm the rights of the people of Zimbabwe whose struggle is our collective care. Finally, they recognize and commend Zambia for its noble decision and provide for the necessary action and machinery that will enable us to extend meaningful and adequate assistance to that brave State.

68. These are some of the reasons which led my delegation to co-sponsor both texts.

69. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Zambia.

70. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): Mr. President, may I associate myself and my delegation with those who have already congratulated you upon your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for this month. Our personal and official relations, which are very warm indeed, are a manifestation of the relationship between our two leaders and our two Governments. Your conduct of the Council meetings since yesterday has been highly commendable and this is a great tribute not only to you, as a dear son of Kenya and Africa, but to your Government as well.

71. May I at this stage, as we conclude the debate on the border situation in my own part of the country, extend my great thanks to Ambassador Anwar Sani of Indonesia for the very efficient manner in which he conducted the Council's meetings last month.

72. I should like to make a brief statement on this occasion of the conclusion of the Security Council's consideration of the acts of aggression committed against my country by the white minority and racist régime of Southern Rhodesia in collusion with the forces of South Africa. We regard the resolution in document S/10875/Rev.1, which has just been adopted by the Council, as falling far short of what the international community is entitled to expect from the body which, under the Charter of the United Nations is charged with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. What has been adopted this afternoon in that resolution is the barest minimum we could accept.

73. The vote of abstention by the United Kingdom delegation is, in the Zambian view; a vote of abstention concerning Smith's aggressive acts and it is, in our view a baptism extended to Ian Smith in the den of iniquity. As a matter of fact, it is a canonization of Ian Smith as a Nazi. The representative of the United Kingdom had referred to the question of reopening the border between Zambia and the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. I believe that the British delegation is aware of the instability of the situation. Only two years ago we had a situation which was disrupted by the illegal régime, and this very Council debated the issue.

74. Recently there was a blockade. As long as the root cause is not removed from Southern Rhodesia, who can expect the insane people in Salisbury to behave normally as human beings? One would only expect the obvious, as we see the trends today, and the obvious is that they would decide tomorrow to close the border. In any case, the suggestion that perhaps the border should be reopened means, in itself, as far as we can judge it in Zambia, that the British people, the British Government and the British delegation are trying to put pressure on us because of the trouble that Ian Smith is having, so that we can cushion him out of his troubles.

75. That is the situation as we judge it. The Government and people of Zambia are not surprised at the abstention of the United Kingdom delegation—nor, indeed, of that of the United States—and at its failure to respond decisively to the grave situation of which the Council has been seized during the debate on the item. For a long time now the Zambian Government and people have been suspicious of the real motives of the United Kingdom, not only with regard to its colony of Southern Rhodesia but also with regard to the entire region of southern Africa. The abstention by the British delegation which we have just witnessed is therefore not at all surprising to us. As I have said, it is a consecration of the aggressive acts now being committed by those people in Salisbury.

76. The Government and people of Zambia have taken note of the vote cast by the United Kingdom delegation. We wish at this stage, however, to express our sincere thanks to the 13 members of the Council which have supported us and also supported the cause of peace and justice in our region. My Government is ready to give the mission every assistance, as it deserves.

77. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): I shall not repeat our position, since I already placed it before the Council in my

statement two days ago [1689th meeting]. Having introduced the draft resolutions, however, I should like to make one or two brief comments.

78. I should like to refer particularly to the comment made by the British representative regarding paragraph 4 of the draft resolution in document S/10875/Rev.1, which I am glad to note has been adopted. It is true that we chose to insert our reworded paragraph 7 as paragraph 4. Although we negotiated the final text with the British delegation, it is true we did not inform it of the renumbering. We felt, however, that logic dictated where the paragraph should appear in the text—and I must say that we felt sure that the British delegation fully understood that. The original paragraph 7—which in a reworded form became paragraph 4, refers to Southern Rhodesia. For that reason we placed it after paragraph 3, which refers by name to Southern Rhodesia, where we feel Britain has failed to fulfil its responsibilities. Logic dictated our placement of the paragraph, for it has no reference to the original paragraphs 5 and 6, which refer only to South Africa. That explains why our reworded original paragraph 7 became paragraph 4.

79. In view of our flexibility and the long negotiations, we had hoped that this draft resolution would be adopted unanimously. We are slightly disappointed that there were two abstentions, but we are also pleased that it was actually adopted by 13 votes in favour.

80. I should now like to express the delight of the sponsors at the virtually unanimous adoption of the draft resolution in document S/10876/Rev.1. We know that the one delegation that abstained did so because it had expected a much stronger resolution. We hope that the resolution will be implemented in order to alleviate the critical situation which Zambia is facing at present because it has chosen to help the United Nations and the Security Council in making the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia more effective. In that way it is also helping the United Kingdom to fulfil its duty. We are therefore pleased that this draft resolution has been adopted.

81. To conclude, I should like to say that I agree with those who have suggested that resolutions in themselves do not mean much, but I should add that that is the case only if they are not implemented conscientiously by those who have the responsibility to implement them.

82. On behalf of the sponsors I should like to thank all those who co-operated with us during the long and protracted negotiations and helped us to achieve the final texts of the two draft resolutions.

83. The PRESIDENT: As head of the KENYA delegation, I wish to make only a few comments on the draft resolutions the Council has just adopted.

84. In the course of my main statement on the complaint of Zambia [1688th meeting], I pointed out that the situation in the southern part of Africa provoked by the

persistence of Portuguese colonialism, the practice of *apartheid* by the racist régime of South Africa and the persistence of the illegal Smith régime constituted one of the gravest threats to peace and security in that area today.

85. I regret to say that, in the course of the debate, we have witnessed efforts from certain quarters to belittle the seriousness and the explosive nature of the southern African situation. I should like merely to note again that, because the minority white régimes in southern Africa are oppressing our people, because they are imposing an ideology on our people—an ideology which we consider to be as repugnant as nazism and fascism were in Europe before the Second World War—and because we have noticed that these régimes are becoming progressively more aggressive, as is testified to by the situation we are now discussing, the African countries are not going to sit idly by and see aggression committed against Zambia.

86. We realize that we are not as powerful militarily as we should be, but I can assure this Council—and I should like to address these remarks particularly to those countries which still persist in aiding South Africa and in supporting the Smith régime—that there is still time to save the situation and to help us avoid bloodshed. But to the extent that those countries aid the Smith régime and the racist régime in South Africa, they are helping to create a situation which will end in confrontation between the peoples of Africa and the minority white régimes of southern Africa. I can say without any fear of contradiction that, to the extent that these minority régimes are aided and abetted, to that very extent the confrontation between the African peoples and the minority whites in southern Africa becomes inevitable.

87. That is a thought that makes many of us feel humble because we know that the African people are not going to sit with their arms folded when our own people are kept constantly and perpetually under white domination, when independent African States like Zambia are being surrounded by these illegal régimes. I think the African people have already taken a decision that, if these white minorities commit aggression against Zambia or any other independent African country, we shall go out and use any means or any tools within our reach to fight back to vindicate our freedom. That is the situation in a nutshell.

88. My delegation is happy that some of the vital provisions of the draft resolutions we co-sponsored have been adopted. What now remains is action to salvage the independence, economic sovereignty and dignity of the Zambian people.

89. Speaking now as the PRESIDENT, I should like to draw the Council's attention to the provisions of operative paragraph 9 of the draft resolution in document S/10875/Rev.1 and to inform the Council that, in response to the urgency that the situation demands, I intend to initiate consultations immediately with the aim of constituting the special mission and ensuring that it is dispatched to Zambia as soon as possible. It is my intention that by the middle of next week the special mission will be established; it should perhaps be ready to leave for Zambia by the following week-end.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.

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