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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.

FOURTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTEENTH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 23 April 1968, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Y. A. MALIK
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Algeria, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Hungary, India, Pakistan, Paraguay, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1415)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia: letters dated 2 and 30 August 1963 addressed to the President of the Security Council on behalf of the representatives of thirty-two Member States (S/5382 and S/5409):

Letter dated 12 March 1968 addressed to the President of the Security Council by the representatives of Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta and Zambia (S/8454).

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia: letters dated 2 and 30 August 1963 addressed to the President of the Security Council on behalf of the representatives of thirty-two Member States (S/5382 and S/5409):

Letter dated 12 March 1968 addressed to the President of the Security Council by the representatives of Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta and Zambia (S/8454)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): In accordance with the earlier decisions of the Security Council, and

if I hear no objection, I shall invite the representatives of Zambia and Jamaica to take places at the Council table to participate in the Council's debate on this question, without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. F. Aitken (Jamaica) and Mr. J. B. Mwemba (Zambia) took places at the Council table.

2. The Council will now resume its consideration of the question of the situation in Southern Rhodesia. Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to draw attention to the draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom and distributed today in document S/8554. The first speaker on my list is the representative of the United Kingdom, upon whom I now call.

3. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): More than a month ago I stated the position and policy of my Government in this Council on the question of Rhodesia. None of us, so I believe, wishes now to retrace our steps over very familiar ground or to look back at old disagreements. We understand each other well enough now. The time for talking is almost over. So I will say no more now about the past except to remind you in a few sentences of the course which my Government deliberately set and has consistently followed.

4. We declared and repeatedly confirmed the principles which we considered should form the basis of a just settlement. They were accepted by all parties in my country. Some people thought that the stated principles did not go far enough. Some thought they went too far. But these declared principles are, I am confident, widely recognized for what they are and what they represent—a genuine attempt to chart the right way forward to a fair settlement for all the people of Rhodesia. We have not shifted from those principles. We stand by them now.

5. One of the first acts of my Government in 1964 was to give a warning of the consequences of an illegal declaration of independence. No one can say that we failed to give that warning in time. No one can say that we did not give the warning in plain and unmistakable terms.

6. When nevertheless the illegal declaration was made on 11 November 1965, immediately—on the following day—we came to this Council. We set ourselves the aim of achieving our purposes by peaceful means and by international co-operation. We appealed to the Council and to all Members of the United Nations to join with us and support us in a joint effort. No one can say that we did not

immediately and continuously consult and co-operate with the United Nations. No one can say that we did not faithfully carry out the decisions of the Council. No country has done more than mine to put the Council's decisions into effect. We have done so at financial and economic sacrifice. We have gone well beyond the requirements of the Council's resolutions.

7. Many countries responded to our call and our lead. We are grateful to them. But that was not enough. Certainly, there have been delays, miscalculations, mistakes. There have been evasions and failures too. We have sought to deal with them. When there have been rare evasions by our own nationals, we have not hesitated to act and, to take one example, a fine of £27,000 was recently imposed by a British court on a firm which had exported goods to Rhodesia through South Africa. But the main evasions do not come from my country. They come from elsewhere, and we cannot deal with them alone by ourselves. We need the further help of many other countries and we need the further authority of the Council.

8. So it was that a month ago I placed myself at the disposal of the Council for urgent consultations. I recommended that we should at once undertake together a full and careful review of past action and future possibilities. I hoped that we should not do so in a defeatist or divisive spirit. I hoped that we could do so with a genuine and common desire not to dispute but to decide—to decide on positive and practicable action which we could all support. I was anxious, as I am sure we all were, to undertake an urgent search for common ground on which we could go forward together. That is the constant and compelling obligation of us all in the Council.

9. During recent weeks there have been urgent diversions and consequent delays. But I am glad to be able to report to the full Council that the recommendation I made for consultation was readily taken up and thoroughly followed up. The consultation has been in the best traditions of the Council, with frankness and courtesy and a desire to understand each other and a determination to discover ground for agreement. I know how deep are the feelings of all those who have participated in this consultation, and I acknowledge with respectful gratitude the thoroughness and thoughtfulness which members have brought to this consultation. No one could have asked for more constructive or for more candid co-operation.

10. It is not our practice in the Council to report on the processes and progression of private consultation between Council members. Rightly so. For if we were to go over in public each past step of private discussion, confidence in free and frank exchange would be destroyed. We deal here in full Council not with the steps but with the results. Consequently I shall not go back over the road. I shall only say that, while others have been ready to take into account what we have proposed, we on our side have most carefully and fully examined every proposal put to us and wherever we have been convinced, wherever we could, we have gone to meet and satisfy the ideas and views which others have put to us.

11. The draft resolution [S/8554] which we have drawn up and which I now put before the Council is consequently

the result of a joint and intensive examination of every aspect of the complicated and stubborn problem before us. I know very well that some members of the Council would wish to go further. But I claim that what we now propose to the Council represents the widest area on which agreement can be reached between us. It is on that solid ground that I recommend today that we should go forward.

12. What are the tests which we have throughout sought to apply? They are two tests, very simple and very important: the test of effectiveness and the test of effect. Each measure we decide should and must be capable of effective implementation. We must resist the temptation to take decisions which can easily be flouted or circumvented. Everything we do must satisfy that test. We believe that all our proposals do satisfy that test. Where we have not adopted some other proposals put to us, some of them superficially attractive, it was because they did not stand up to the test of effectiveness.

13. I turn to the other test, which I call the test of effect. Never let us forget the purpose. It is to show the illegal régime in Salisbury, and everyone else too, that the illegal course on which they have embarked cannot succeed, that it can lead only to political isolation and deeper economic stagnation.

14. We must show them and everyone else that there is no hope for them until and unless there is a return to legality and democratic advance. If we here together and in full agreement go forward by deliberate and measured action to reinforce what we have done before, we can give effect to our determination. But if on the other hand we were to divide and give to Salisbury and the world a picture of disageement and dispute we should ourselves destroy our common aims. We should not dismay but delight the illegal régime. We should give to them and any who support them comfort and encouragement. We should prolong the resistance. We should increase the dangers. I pray that we should not come to such a negative and defeatist conclusion.

15. Now let me turn to the draft resolution which I commend to you. I shall not attempt a detailed commentary. Members of the Council are fully familiar with the purposes and the methods we advocate. I would only say in general that each paragraph, each clause, indeed each word, in the draft resolution had been most fully discussed and most carefully weighed by my Government. The draft resolution represents the results of searching effort and careful formulation on questions full of detailed difficulties and technical complications. The draft resolution represents an instrument forged with the greatest care to give effect to comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions.

16. The draft resolution speaks for itself. It seeks to take practical action to intensify the pressure by the international community on Rhodesia in trade and in every field in which the test of effectiveness can be met. It deals with investment and remittances. It deals with airlines. It deals with passports and travel by supporters of the régime. It deals with emigration to Rhodesia. It deals with transport and shipping and carriage of goods generally.

17. Its main effect and its main purpose is to impose a total ban on all imports from Rhodesia, closing gaps which

previously existed and, subject to certain stated exceptions, mainly on humanitarian and educational grounds, to impose equally a total ban on all exports to Rhodesia. We have given special care in our consultations to the vital question of supervision and implementation. It is, I believe, well understood and agreed that the task of securing information and calling for the necessary reports should be vested in the Secretary-General. But we have also proposed that this Council should set up a committee of the Council to consider the reports obtained by the Secretary General; to evaluate the information so secured; to advise the Secretary-General on further action required and to report from time to time to the Council itself on its activities, all for the purpose of enabling the Council to secure the full implementation of the sanctions already imposed and now to be strengthened.

18. I return from a discussion of the provisions of the draft resolution to the general aims and considerations which I urge the Council to remember.

19. I trust that no one will conclude from studying the limited but effective action we propose that I do not understand the intensity of feeling which African members in particular bring to this problem. Nor do I fail to appreciate that the problem which we tackle today is part of a much larger problem of racial policy in southern Africa, a problem which carries dangers which I have long maintained threaten the whole of Africa and indeed the world.

20. I would ask the Council to accept my contention and my conviction that it is because the problem is so menacing and the mounting dangers so great that we must soberly assess what we can do and act within our clear capacity. It is not by declarations and generalizations and by empty threats that we shall progress and one day succeed. It is by effective, practical and persistent action. I sometimes say that this is a job not for the cavalry but for the sappers.

21. Here I should like to make reference to the outstanding speech of Ambassador Makonnen last week [1413th meeting]. My respect for the representative of Ethiopia is so great that I find it difficult to part company with him on any subject. But, clearly, I cannot accept or support all that he says. I would say in passing that there is no poison in the arrows of his attack, and when he wields his sharp sword in debate it is with such skill and elegance that the wound is clean. But though I cannot fully agree with him I must say—and I endeavour to match the steadiness and impressive moderation of his statement—that I do not ask him or anyone else to diminish the intensity of his feeling or to abandon or modify his convictions or his conclusions.

22. All I ask is that he and others should be prepared to meet us and act with us in what he and they may regard as a limited advance. I do not ask them to change or retreat from their own judgements, but I do ask them to join with us in the practical advance we propose. They may feel that what we propose does not go far enough. At least I hope that they will accept that it is in the right direction. I trust

that they will join with us if only because they accept that only a resolution carrying the support of most if not all the members of this Council can have full political impact. I trust that they will recognize the overriding importance of that consideration.

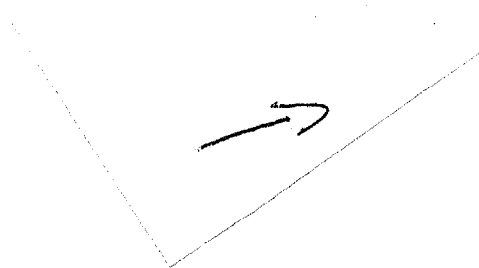
23. It is that argument which I wish to emphasize before I finish this morning. Permit me to repeat what I said last month. There are some who say that there is no way but by force, that the endeavour to use peaceful means was misguided from the start or that, even if that were not so, the methods we have employed under the authority of the Council have now no further part to play, that there is no additional measure, no new pressure, no stopping of loopholes, no prevention of evasions that is worthy of consideration. I am myself convinced that that is not so. I am sure that there are effective measures still to be taken.

24. I go further. I would say that in spite of the difficulties and limitations of which I am all too well aware we have a duty not to decide and declare that sanctions have failed, not to pronounce that one of the main weapons of international enforcement has proved useless. We have a duty to explore and to examine every effective and practicable method to supplement and sustain the measures we have already taken. This is not the time to give up; it is the time to go on. That is the decision which should go from this Council to Salisbury. We need to convince everyone, including particularly the illegal régime in Rhodesia, that we mean to go on. We need to convince them that in the end there will be no escape from the situation created by their illegal actions except by a return to the road of legality and democratic advance and free government which was so wantonly abandoned on 11 November 1965.

25. Let me end by saying this. Our obligation is to all the people of Rhodesia. Specially we have in mind more than 4 million Africans who are denied freedom to participate in the government of their own country. Many of us know personally the leaders who are kept in detention without trial. We think of them. We think of those who have spent years in condemned cells. We think of all the people of Rhodesia who must rely on us for positive action. I believe that we owe it to them not to raise hopes we have no power to satisfy. We owe it to them to take effective action within our clear capacity. We owe it to them to act in this Council together. Our deliberations have been sufficient. Our consultations have been productive. I earnestly hope that our action can now be unanimous.

26. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I have no more speakers on my list. I understand that it is the general view of the members that the meeting should now adjourn for further consultations and that the next meeting of the Security Council on this matter should be convened as soon as possible. As I have already stated, the meeting is adjourned.

The meeting rose at 11.30 a.m.



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