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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 TWENTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 29 May 1968, at 4 p.m.

President: Lord CARADON

(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Later: Mr. Arthur J. Goldberg (United States of America).

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/1428)

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: The Council is about to embark on a discussion of the question of Southern Rhodesia. I shall

have a later opportunity to speak on the substance of this important matter. At this stage I wish to confine myself solely to a question of procedure.

2. I have considered the possible application of rule 20 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council. This rule provides that:

“Whenever the President of the Security Council deems that for the proper fulfilment of the responsibilities of the Presidency he should not preside over the Council during the consideration of a particular question with which the Member he represents is directly connected, he shall indicate his decision to the Council.”

3. The Council will note that this provision places the matter entirely within the discretion of the President. After fully considering the exceptional circumstances of this case, I have come to the conclusion that I should act within the discretion which the rule provides, and accordingly I report my decision to the Council not to preside over the Council while the present discussion of the question of Southern Rhodesia is undertaken.

4. Consequently, in accordance with rule 20, I invite the representative of the United States to take the presidential Chair for the purpose of the consideration of the question on our agenda for today.

Mr. Goldberg (United States of America) took the Chair.

5. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken by the Council during its previous consideration of the item on the agenda, I propose now, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Jamaica and Zambia to take places at the Council table in order to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. H. N. Bonnick (Jamaica) and Mr. V. J. Mwaanga (Zambia) took places at the Council table.

6. The PRESIDENT: Before the Council proceeds to consider the item on its agenda, I should like to make a brief comment about the circumstances which place me, as the representative of the United States, temporarily in the President's Chair.

7. As my friend, the representative of the United Kingdom, has just reminded us, under rule 20 of the Security Council's provisional rules of procedure the President of the Security Council has in his sole discretion the matter of when to apply that rule by yielding his place as President.

In deciding to exercise that discretion Lord Caradon has again displayed the devotion to impartial procedure for which he is well known. I myself have no doubt whatsoever that this same quality would have enabled him, had he so decided, to continue to preside impartially during the discussion of the present item. But I have respected his decision and am glad to accept this temporary responsibility. At the conclusion of the consideration of the question before us, the Chair and the responsibility which I am temporarily filling will revert to Lord Caradon as this month's President of the Security Council.

8. I need not remind the members of the Council that the Security Council last discussed the question of Southern Rhodesia at its 1415th meeting on 23 April. At that time it was agreed that this Council should adjourn for further consultations and meet again on the matter as soon as possible. It may be recalled that when the Council last considered this question it had two draft resolutions before it. The first was submitted on 16 April 1968 by Algeria, Ethiopia, India, Pakistan and Senegal and is contained in document S/8545. The second was submitted on 22 April 1968 by the United Kingdom and is contained in document S/8554. A third draft resolution has been submitted and circulated today and is before the Council in document S/8601. This text has been arrived at after extensive consultations.

9. The Council will now resume its consideration of the question on our agenda. The first speaker on my list is the representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Malik, on whom I now call.

10. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): More than two months have now passed since the Security Council, at the request of a large group of African States, renewed discussion on the question of Southern Rhodesia. This matter was brought before the Council because the attitude of Southern Rhodesia gives cause for alarm to the peoples of Africa, and all peace-loving nations. Information reaching us shows that Southern Rhodesian racists are attempting, by means of terror and repression, to maintain in that territory a system of racial oppression and exploitation of the country's indigenous population and to strengthen the white population's political and economic domination over the African people of Zimbabwe. The racists, having committed brutal acts against so many African patriots, are still detaining in prisons and concentration camps thousands of fighters for freedom and independence, many of whom are under the imminent threat of death. They have brought their entire military and police system to bear against the African patriots and are using the most up-to-date types of weapons, including aircraft. To repress the growing national liberation movement of the Zimbabwe people, the Smith régime is being helped with military aid by the South African racists and the Portuguese colonialists. These partners in the unholy alliance, as the Africans rightly call it, are also carrying out hostile acts against neighbouring independent African States, particularly against the Republic of Zambia. A threat to peace is thereby created in Africa, thereby affecting the whole world.

11. In the year and a half that has elapsed since the Security Council adopted the previous resolution

[232 (1966)] on the question of Southern Rhodesia, events have finally dispelled any illusions, if anyone ever had any, that the Security Council's decision on so-called partial economic sanctions would suffice to weaken and overthrow the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia. Events have justified the views of those States, including the Soviet Union, which, from the time that these sanctions were introduced, have maintained for all to hear that it was impossible to take seriously the assurances of the United Kingdom Government—which bears the fundamental responsibility for the situation in Southern Rhodesia—to the effect that such half measures would make possible a radical change of the situation in that country.

12. The pattern of events since those decisions were taken by the Security Council has shown that the chief reason for their ineffectiveness is the active support accorded to the racist white minority régime in Southern Rhodesia by the most powerful capitalist monopolies of such countries as the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan. In those countries big business is openly flouting Security Council decisions by maintaining extensive economic and commercial ties with Southern Rhodesian racists, strengthening these ties both directly through the racist régime of the South African Republic and Portuguese colonialists.

13. It is common knowledge that, by a previous decision of the Security Council, a ban was placed on the supply of oil to Southern Rhodesia, but that the Smith régime is receiving this most important strategic material in more than sufficient quantities. From whom? From United States, United Kingdom and other Western oil monopolies who use Mozambique and the Republic of South Africa as intermediaries. We learn from the press that oil is being supplied at such a rate that the Salisbury régime has been able to amass reserves of petroleum products for more than fourteen months ahead, thus ensuring more than a year's supply.

14. The Security Council's decision banned the export of tobacco, the country's staple agricultural export, from Southern Rhodesia. Nevertheless, the annual Southern Rhodesian tobacco sales have once again opened in Salisbury this year as if nothing had happened. This is also widely reported in the Western press.

15. The same is true for export products of the Southern Rhodesian mining industry, which were also supposed to come under economic sanctions.

16. Now we see the result: not only does the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia have no serious economic problems but it is actually in a position to develop its economy intensively and to amass reserves of imported goods.

17. An important role in the support of the racist régime of Salisbury is played by British and United States capitalist monopolies, which have invested thousands of millions of dollars in Southern Rhodesia and South African economies. The activities of these monopolies are directly aimed at preventing the fulfilment of United Nations resolutions on Southern Rhodesia and making them worthless. The American magazine *U.S. News and World Report*, which can hardly be suspected of sympathy for the African

peoples' national liberation struggle, recently reported that the joint efforts of United States and South African companies were not only aimed at strengthening the South African economy, but were enabling South Africa, and consequently Southern Rhodesia, to withstand "any sanctions stemming from the United Nations".

18. What must one conclude? That the representatives of those States to whom the monopolies belong and who continue to be allies of the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia cannot pretend that it is impossible to control the activities of private capital. Nor can they absolve their Governments from responsibility for not carrying out Security Council decisions for economic sanctions. The responsibility for all this rests first and foremost with the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Japan, as well as the Federal Republic of Germany and several other States Members of the United Nations, which have not carried out the Security Council's decisions nor heeded its appeal to States to do everything in their power to sever economic relations with the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. This matter cannot be passed over in silence during the consideration of the current item on the Security Council's agenda.

19. Nor can the Security Council fail to take note, during discussion of this question, of the special responsibility borne by the United Kingdom Government. The latter, as the administering Power, is still obliged to take all possible measures, including the use of force, in order to overthrow the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom representative himself agrees that that régime is illegal; so much is implicit in the fact that he assisted in drafting the resolution on Southern Rhodesia submitted to the Security Council. However, it is not enough to acknowledge that the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia is illegal; it is necessary to take effective measures against it. The United Kingdom Government has every possibility of so doing. It has nevertheless rejected and continues to reject in General Assembly resolutions the appeal made to it by an overwhelming majority of United Nations Member States to use force against the illegal régime of the Southern Rhodesian racists. Instead, the United Kingdom Government periodically establishes contacts with the Smith régime with the evident intention of sounding the possibility of concluding some kind of further neo-colonialist arrangement. There is no need to prove that such a policy merely encourages the criminal racist clique in Salisbury to continue ignoring the decisions and demands of the Security Council and keeps the people of Zimbabwe under a reign of terror and oppression.

20. All these facts lead inescapably to one definite conclusion: namely, that in order to eliminate the threat to peace created in Africa as a result of the military and police actions of the illegal white minority racist régime against the people of Zimbabwe and of neighbouring African States, and to bring to this region implementation in that part of the world of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;¹ and to prevent the conclusion of a neo-colonialist accord at the expense of the Zimbabwe people, the Security Council must decide to take more effective measures with regard to

the matter now before it. Such a decision is expected by the people of Zimbabwe, all the African nations and the peoples of the whole world.

21. The Security Council has before it a draft resolution [S/8601] prepared in the course of prolonged consultations. The Soviet delegation would like to express its views on this draft. These views stem from the appraisal I have just made of the situation which has arisen in regard to the Southern Rhodesia question. These views are dictated by the Soviet Union's policy and unswerving principles and position, namely, that we render all possible aid and support to peoples struggling for their national liberation against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

22. It should be noted that this draft resolution constitutes a certain step forward by comparison with the previous Security Council decision. It contains a number of provisions which meet the needs of the situation and provides for measures which, if effectively implemented, would make a specific contribution towards attainment of the United Nations aims in Southern Rhodesia.

23. For example, the draft resolution reaffirms, with every justification, that the primary responsibility for settling the situation created in Southern Rhodesia and giving the Zimbabwe people the possibility of achieving self-determination and independence rests with the United Kingdom Government. This is an extremely serious responsibility which the United Nations charges the United Kingdom Government to fulfil, emphasizing once again that the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, has at its disposal all the necessary means to prevent the Southern Rhodesian racists from seizing power, but has neither done so nor halted the further illegal acts of the Smith régime in turning Southern Rhodesia into a racist State.

24. In accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Kingdom is obliged to create the necessary conditions for the attainment of self-determination and independence by the people of Zimbabwe and to establish them in power in Southern Rhodesia, and no longer under the domination of white racists. No one has removed or can remove that primary responsibility from the shoulders of the United Kingdom Government.

25. A further important feature of this draft resolution is that it includes a provision to the effect that all States are obliged to take measures for the immediate cessation of commercial, economic and other relations with the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. By comparison with the previous Security Council resolution of 16 December 1966 [232 (1966)], the economic sanctions and other forms of boycott provided for in the present draft resolution are of a broader nature, and this is a positive feature.

26. It should be noted, however, that these measures are still not fully comprehensive and, because of this, attempts may be made to sidestep the relevant provisions in order to reduce the effectiveness of the measures. In this connexion we cannot but note that the draft resolution does not envisage the complete severance of all relations with the Southern Rhodesian racists at State level, nor does it call for postal, telegraphic, telephonic, and other communica-

¹ See General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

tions to be severed. As far as regards the banning of emigration to Southern Rhodesia it allows a number of unjustifiable exceptions to the breaking of trade relations with that country.

27. - Nor, of course, can the failure of the draft resolution to name any of the major accomplices of the Salisbury régime be counted to its credit although it does express censure of them in general terms. Yet their identities are well known as they have been mentioned on more than one occasion in the Security Council. If these states were named in the resolution itself, it would unquestionably be more difficult for them to maintain their policy of collaboration and complicity with the Southern Rhodesian racists.

28. The draft resolution also draws attention to the fact that non-compliance by any State Member of the United Nations with the Security Council decision on the adoption of economic sanctions against the racist régime would be a violation of Article 25 of the Charter. This is a pertinent point, and in that connexion my delegation would like to reiterate that the Soviet Union has never had any economic or other ties with the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia.

29. One positive feature of the draft resolution, in our view, is that it also recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle being waged by the Zimbabwe people for their rights and urges all States to render moral and material support to their national liberation movement. This is a particularly important point because of the conditions of terror and military repression under which the Zimbabwe patriots are waging their noble and heroic fight for the liberation of their people. This point is consistent with numerous previous resolutions of the General Assembly on the abolition of colonialism. The Soviet Union, as is well known, has invariably given and continues to give moral and material aid and support to peoples struggling for their freedom and national independence.

30. The draft resolution also calls upon the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to take into account the views of the Southern Rhodesian people and its political parties. This also is an important and positive feature of the resolution. Unfortunately, however, it does not contain any provision for a ban on negotiations with the Smith racist régime and this is a serious deficiency.

31. If now, in the light of the foregoing remarks, we try to appraise the draft resolution as a whole it seems just to us to say that its content represents the strict minimum of those measures which the Security Council must necessarily take in order to put an end to the situation in Southern Rhodesia, which threatens peace and security. It does not, however, say everything, nor does it express everything with sufficient clarity and consistency. There is therefore no guarantee or assurance that a decision taken by the Security Council on the basis of this draft will suffice to solve the question of Southern Rhodesia in a manner consonant with the interests of the Zimbabwe people and the other peoples of Africa, or in the interests of world peace.

32. In view of the position of the African and Asian countries which consider it possible, in the present circumstances, for the Security Council to adopt this draft resolution despite all its shortcomings, the Soviet delegation has no intention of objecting to its adoption.

33. In this connexion, however, we think it necessary for us to comment on one particular paragraph of the draft, paragraph 15, which requests States Members of the United Nations and international organizations to extend assistance to Zambia with a view to helping it solve such special economic problems as it may be confronted with arising from the carrying out of this resolution. This formulation seems to me a somewhat over-simplified and inaccurate generalization of the essence of the Southern Rhodesian question as a whole. Naturally, the Soviet Union appreciates the situation in which Zambia may find itself, as a neighbour State of Southern Rhodesia's and the problems which may arise in Zambia as a result of the implementation of the Security Council's decisions in regard to economic sanctions against the Southern Rhodesian régime.

34. Zambia may indeed require certain economic assistance and support. However, the obligation to compensate that country for any losses it may suffer must be imputed, not to all States indiscriminately, but specifically to those States which bear the political, and, I would say, economic responsibility for the seizure of power and the retention of power for so long by the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, a régime which is creating problems fraught with serious consequences for the whole of that part of Africa. Which are these States? From the course of the discussion of this matter in the Security Council it is quite obvious that the political responsibility for the continuance in power of the Southern Rhodesian racist régime lies with those States which are aiding and abetting that régime, and with those which continue to maintain trade, economic and other relations with it, that is to say, first and foremost with such States as the United Kingdom, the Republic of South Africa, Portugal, and also with the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany. This contention is supported by the facts. Consequently, the Security Council should oblige these States to make good any loss which Zambia may suffer as a result of the implementation of the Security Council's decision, if it is adopted today, to apply economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. On the basis of the foregoing considerations, the Soviet delegation, on the instructions of the Soviet Government, submits the following amendment to the draft resolution now before the Security Council for consideration. This would replace paragraph 15 of the draft resolution with the following text:

"Decides that the material losses that may be inflicted on Zambia in connexion with the implementation of this decision of the Security Council shall be compensated by those States which, having failed to take the necessary measures to put an end to the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and, in particular, the measures provided for in the above-mentioned resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly, bear political responsibility for the continued existence of this régime in Southern Rhodesia." [S/8603.]

35. The Soviet delegation appeals to the members of the Security Council to consider carefully then and adopt this amendment.

36. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Malik, has submitted an amendment to the draft resolution in document S/8601. As I understand it

from the Secretariat, the text of this amendment has been circulated and is now before the members of the Council. After I say a few words about the situation in regard to voting, I shall put this amendment to the vote first, as required under rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure.

37. I have no further speakers on my list who have indicated a desire to speak before the vote. I should, however, point out that several members of the Council have indicated their desire to speak after the vote. I therefore take it that the Council is now ready to proceed to the vote. As a result of prior consultation, I understand that the sponsors of the draft resolutions previously before the Council, namely those contained in documents S/8545 and S/8554, do not intend to press for a vote on their proposals at this stage.

38. If there is no objection, I propose to put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/8601 and the amendment submitted by the Soviet Union and contained in document S/8603. As I have indicated, under the rules it will be necessary to vote first on the amendment submitted by the Soviet Union. If there is no objection, I shall therefore first put that amendment to the vote and shall then put the draft resolution to the vote. Since there is no objection, we shall proceed as I have outlined.

39. I now put to the vote the amendment submitted by the Soviet Union.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Algeria, Ethiopia, Hungary, India, Pakistan, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Paraguay, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The result of the vote was 7 in favour, none against, with 8 abstentions.

The amendment was not adopted, having failed to obtain the affirmative vote of nine members.

40. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I request a separate vote on paragraph 15 of the draft resolution now being put to the vote.

41. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Soviet Union has requested that a separate vote be taken on paragraph 15 of the draft resolution. Since there is no objection, the Council will now take a separate vote on paragraph 15.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Algeria, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, India, Pakistan, Paraguay, Senegal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Hungary, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Paragraph 15 of the draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

42. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution [S/8601] as a whole.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: 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, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.²

43. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who have indicated a desire to speak following the vote.

44. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): When I first spoke in this debate I asked that we should undertake a full and careful review of past action and future opportunities. I did not deny the practical difficulties or the real limitations. I restated them. But I greatly hoped that there would be a readiness to consult confidently together on the basis of the hard facts and the practical possibilities.

45. When I spoke again last month I was able to report to the full Council that the recommendation I had made for consultation had been readily taken up and thoroughly followed up.

46. I acknowledged with respectful gratitude the thoroughness and thoughtfulness which members had brought to this consultation. No one could have asked for or found more constructive or more candid co-operation. Since then consultations have proceeded with the same frankness, the same courtesy and the same determination to reach agreement. I speak with great respect when I say that it has been a most productive exercise in practical co-operation, and I pay my warm and grateful tribute to all those who joined in this sustained and successful endeavour and joined in the understanding we reached together.

47. The result of our efforts is set out in the resolution for which we have just voted, a result achieved in spite of the last-minute intervention of the Soviet Union, an intervention, and I speak with great restraint, which I can only describe as misinformed, misleading and mischievous, not to say malicious. By voting for the resolution not one of us has departed from the convictions which he holds, nor have we varied or detracted from the policies our different Governments pursue. No one has been expected or asked to abandon well-known national positions. Each one of us, no doubt, has reservations on some of the provisions included in the resolution. But what we have sought to do and what we have succeeded in doing is to find common ground. That is our achievement.

² See resolution 253 (1968).

48. We, on our side, have from the beginning clearly restated the basic position of the United Kingdom on the use of force and on our aim to secure a just settlement by peaceful means. We have moreover restated the reasons why we cannot contemplate an economic confrontation with South Africa. It is best that these things should be openly stated and honestly faced.

49. What then is our purpose? We advocated in respect of Rhodesia the imposition of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions. Previously we had faithfully taken action in accordance with the past decisions of the Council. We had done so at economic sacrifice. No country has done more than mine to put the past decisions of the Council into practical effect. We have in fact gone well beyond the requirements of the Council's past resolutions.

50. Now, we have ourselves put forward new proposals. They were set out in the draft resolution I presented to the Council on 22 April [S/8554]. They are incorporated in the resolution which we have now adopted. We shall faithfully and fully carry out the mandatory requirements of that resolution, and we call on every one else to do the same.

51. Where the resolution includes non-mandatory requests—for instance in operative paragraphs 9 and 10—we shall carefully consider what action we can take on the basis of the two tests; the test of effectiveness and the test of the effect on the illegal régime of which I spoke last month. We have to bear in mind the special responsibility of the United Kingdom as Administering Authority. That responsibility has been recognized and emphasized in the resolution itself. It has been accepted in our consultations that we will retain our own Mission and communications with Rhodesia.

52. With regard to paragraph 17 of the resolution, I wish to confirm that the principle that any settlement must be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole has throughout been declared and maintained by my Government.

53. For weeks past we have been dealing with close and anxious consultations, often on questions of wording and detail. Each paragraph and each sentence of the resolution has been under minute scrutiny and thorough discussion. That task is now completed.

54. Now for a few minutes I should like to stand back to look at what we have achieved as a whole, and to reflect on the political importance of what we have done together today.

55. I do not doubt that we have taken a decision of far-reaching consequence. Some may say that what we have done is limited and restricted. They may say that what we have done is mainly to confirm past purposes and reinforce past decisions and policies. That is true. Nor can we expect that what we have done will produce immediate results. As I have often said, this is a job not for the cavalry but for the sappers. We can hope for no speedy and spectacular victories.

56. What we have to do is to show a steady determination to succeed in the end. We have to show perseverance on

sound principle. We have to convince those in the illegal régime that the course on which they embarked on 11 November 1965 is hopeless. We have to convince them that their rebellion can lead nowhere but to economic stagnation and political isolation. We have to convince them and every one else that the only way out of the dead-end is a return to the high road of legality and democratic advance.

57. Some people have advocated an attempt to impose a military solution. They say that force should have been used and that the dangers of starting a conflict in southern Africa can be brushed aside. They have said that the endeavours to use peaceful means were misconceived from the start, and that, even if that was not so, the methods we have employed under the authority of this Council have no further part to play; that failing force we cannot succeed. They are impatient with practical progress, with new measures, new pressures, stopping of loopholes, prevention of evasions, reinforcement of our resolutions, and all the hard work which sanctions require.

58. I am convinced that such talk is unjustified. It is worse: it is defeatist. It is what the illegal régime wishes to hear. I am sure that we should not be so easily discouraged, so lacking in determination, so prone to surrender. This is not the time to give up: it is the time to press on.

59. On the other hand, there are those who say that we should abandon our principles—principles which we believe are fundamental—principles of democratic government and majority rule and self-determination and racial equality. To those who ask us to abandon those principles the answer is no.

60. It is in accordance with those principles that a quarter of the population of the world, previously under British administration, has advanced to independence. We have no intention of abandoning those principles now. Nor have we any intention of betraying the principle of the Charter which states that the interests of the inhabitants shall be paramount.

61. We all have worked well together. We have done so in the best traditions of the Council. We are glad that in consequence we can advance together on common ground. None of us would seek to make any exaggerated claim about the outcome of our efforts, but let no one underrate the result.

62. Today the Council has declared that there are principles which we will not abandon, that there are purposes which we are determined to pursue, that there are pledges which we will not break, that there are obligations which we will not betray. Those are not light decisions. It is well that we take them together.

63. Perhaps I may be allowed to finish what I have to say today by a well-known quotation. These are the words of a famous Englishman, Sir Francis Drake, when he said of any great endeavour: "Grant us to know that it is not the beginning but the continuing of the same unto the end until it is thoroughly finished which yieldeth the true glory."

64. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): The views of the Pakistan delegation on the question of ending the threat to

international peace and security resulting from the failure to bring to an end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia were set forth in my statement at the 1408th meeting of the Security Council, on 26 March.

65. We called for the adoption of drastic measures by the Security Council against the illegal racist régime, and the implementation of those measures under the direct and concurrent supervision of the Council in order to reinforce the supervision of the administering Power to prevent the history of voluntary and selective mandatory sanctions adopted in resolutions 217 (1965) and 232 (1966) from repeating itself.

66. In particular, we expressed our firm conviction that the United Kingdom should no longer rule out recourse, if necessary, to the use of force to end the rebellion.

67. On 16 April last, Pakistan joined with the delegations of Algeria, Ethiopia, India and Senegal in submitting the draft resolution contained in document S/8545. That draft resolution envisaged total and mandatory economic sanctions, under Chapter VII of the Charter against the usurper authority, as well as urgent, necessary measures by the United Kingdom as the administering Power, including the use of force, to end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly.

68. My delegation profoundly regrets that the administering Power did not find the African-Asian draft resolution acceptable as a basis for negotiations with a view to its unanimous adoption.

69. The African and Asian members of the Council were faced with a choice of proceeding to formulate a revised text with the co-operation and assistance of their Latin American colleagues which, though commanding a majority of votes, would not be implemented by the administering Power, or to work out a compromise text acceptable to the United Kingdom which could be adopted unanimously.

70. We had, perforce, to opt for the latter. We were also impelled to do so by the spirit of solidarity which animates consultations among the Asian, African and Latin American members of the Council. All of us shared the firm conviction that the administering Power must continue to bear the primary responsibility for taking the measures decided upon by the Council, to end the white rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and to enable its people to achieve independence. It is for this overriding reason that Pakistan has supported the compromise draft resolution in document S/8601.

71. This resolution, to our regret and disappointment, falls short of what, in our honest belief and judgement, is required to end immediately the agony of the Zimbabwe people—namely the suppression of the white rebellion by force. The United Kingdom Government has not only the right but the duty to use force against the illegal régime and its supporters and indeed to bring them to trial and punishment.

72. Nevertheless, the resolution, as compared to the provisions of resolution 232 (1966), reflects a considerable

advance in enlarging the scope of mandatory sanctions against the usurper régime and in tightening the measures of implementation.

73. In the view of my delegation, its provisions go a long way towards the goal of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the illegal régime.

74. Paragraphs 8, 9 and 10 of the resolution relate to emigration to Southern Rhodesia, further measures under Article 41 of the Charter and the withdrawal of all consular and trade representation in the Territory. My delegation would have preferred more categorical or mandatory provisions.

75. Also, we regret the failure to mention South Africa and Portugal by name in paragraph 12, which censures States that have persisted in trading with the illegal régime in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council and have given assistance to it. On the other hand, we consider important the inclusion of paragraph 11 which invokes Article 25 of the Charter, and paragraph 16, which particularly calls for the effective assistance of the permanent members of the Security Council in the implementation of the resolution. Paragraph 13, urging all Member States to render moral and material assistance to the people of Southern Rhodesia is, in our view, a recognition of their legitimate right to struggle for their freedom and independence.

76. The provision in paragraph 15 for assistance to Zambia is particularly welcome to us in view of the serious impact which comprehensive mandatory sanctions are bound to have on the struggling economy of Zambia, and to which Foreign Minister Kamanga so forcefully drew our attention in his statement to the Security Council at its 1408th meeting on 26 March.

77. We consider the provisions of paragraph 17 to be specially significant. We earnestly hope that the administering Power will refrain from granting independence to Southern Rhodesia until majority rule is established in the Territory.

78. In my statement at the 1408th meeting of the Security Council I invited the attention of the Council to the imperative need to reinforce the Secretary-General's supervision of implementation of comprehensive mandatory sanctions with supervision by the Council itself. Therefore, my delegation welcomes paragraphs 20 to 22 which provide for the establishment of the Security Council's own machinery without derogating in the least degree from the responsibility of the administering Power and the supervision of the Secretary-General.

79. The illegal régime has pitted itself against the entire world. Today, we have given our answer to that challenge. That is not all. The resolution that we have adopted is not the end of the road that we are prepared to travel. We are determined that further measures must and will follow, until the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia is ended and the people of Zimbabwe attain their legitimate aspirations.

80. Finally, I should like to pay a sincere tribute to Lord Caradon and his delegation for the great efforts and the

contribution made by them to bring our prolonged consultations to a fruitful end. If today we have been able to act with unanimity, it is in no small measure due to their readiness to move forward from their initial position, even though they have not been able fully to accommodate certain basic views that the African, Asian and Latin American members of the Security Council urged on them. The felicitous gesture of Lord Caradon in yielding the Presidency to you, Mr. President, on this occasion re-establishes a tradition of the Security Council and reflects the high-mindedness for which he is so well known.

81. Mr. President, it is indeed a happy coincidence that you, who will shortly be bidding us farewell, should be called upon to preside over this meeting of the Security Council at which we have once again been able to act unanimously. Unanimity is what you have always counselled. Unanimity is what you have always tried your best to promote.

82. Nothing could, therefore, be more appropriate than that the note of unanimity should be the finale to our debate under your distinguished presidency on the situation in Rhodesia, in tribute to your tireless efforts in this world forum to harmonize the actions of nations.

83. You have sought to temper the power and influence of the great country that you represent by bringing to bear on situations which threaten world peace and security the restraints enjoined upon Member States by the high principles of our Charter and the salutary procedures of our Organization.

84. There have been situations confronting the world and the Security Council when war and peace have trembled in the balance. Your insight, wisdom and experience of human affairs have been brought to bear against recourse to force in international relations and on the side of peaceful settlement. Your role has frequently been decisive in the deliberations of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

85. The Pakistan delegation sincerely wishes you many years of dedicated service to the cause of peace and service to your fellow men to which you have, for so long, given so much of your devotion and strength.

86. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Pakistan, our friend and colleague Ambassador Shahi, for his comments, and particularly for what he had to say about me. It is a mark of the friendship which Ambassador Shahi has displayed for me throughout our common service together. I can only appropriately say at this time that I reciprocate that friendship in full measure.

87. Mr. BERARD (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation has followed the debates in the Council on the subject of Southern Rhodesia most attentively and has carefully studied the draft resolutions which have been submitted.

88. We share to a considerable extent the feelings which prompted the sponsors of the draft resolution submitted to us, on behalf of five African and Asian delegations, by the Ethiopian representative. Like them, we cannot agree to the

perpetuation of the unlawful and unjust régime in which a minority has established its rule over 4 million Africans. Like them, we are anxious that a state of affairs of which the international community disapproves, and the continuation of which warrants the most serious concern, should be brought to an end as soon as possible.

89. It is clear, however, that such a draft resolution could not be effective unless the administering Power was able to support it. Consequently, only a text which could meet both the concern of the free African countries and the real possibilities of action on the part of both the United Kingdom and of the United Nations would seem to be capable of promoting a settlement of the Rhodesian crisis.

90. In fact, it is the United Kingdom, as administering Power, which bears the chief responsibility for settling the conflict which sets it at odds with a part of the population of a territory over which it still exercises sovereignty.

91. Confident that the United Kingdom Government would face the situation with determination, I stated on 20 March that, if it considered it necessary, the United Kingdom Government could count upon the aid of friendly countries which, like my own, had scrupulously applied the sanctions for which the United Kingdom had asked, at the cost of real sacrifices and despite some scepticism about their effectiveness.

92. In associating itself with the vast co-operative effort which London considered essential, France did, however, bear in mind that the aim was to solve a problem which came within the competence of the United Kingdom and that at the same time it was important that this course of action did not result in granting an illegal régime the international recognition to which it aspires.

93. This concern was clearly voiced by the French delegation when the selective sanctions were adopted and was the basis for its abstention in previous votes. It is still our concern now that, embarking on a new stage, the United Kingdom is considering the application of a total embargo on Southern Rhodesia.

94. The French delegation feels, however, that it must take seriously into account the great depth of emotion which the continuation of the Rhodesian crisis has aroused throughout the world, and particularly in Africa. Every month and every year that passes increases the legitimate impatience of the African countries, which are even more sensitive than others to the racial discrimination upon which the *de facto* Salisbury régime is based. Moreover, the entire world is aroused by our failure to find a remedy for this inadmissible situation. In short, the Rhodesian affair is increasingly taking on the aspect of a general crisis which affects the whole world.

95. The desire to meet that situation with realism and determination by decisions likely to obtain the unanimous support of the Council has led the delegations most directly concerned to join together in preparing the draft resolution on which we have been asked to vote today.

96. It is true that the practice of allowing twenty-four hours to elapse, in the case of important questions, between

the submission of a draft resolution and its adoption has not been adhered to. The vote which has just been taken was held in somewhat hasty circumstances and this should not constitute a precedent.

97. It is also true that the fact I have just mentioned does not in any way alter the nature of the question submitted to our Council or France's position regarding the competence of the United Nations in respect of the internal affairs of Member States. But in the face of so serious a situation, my Government has decided to express its views as plainly as possible. That is why, although we entirely abide by our position from the legal point of view, the French delegation voted in favour of the text submitted to us.

98. Although the text is the result of lengthy and painstaking negotiations, which were characterized by a praiseworthy spirit of compromise, it is not without defects. In particular, the provision in paragraph 5 (b), which would require States Members of our Organization to forbid their own nationals residing in Southern Rhodesia to enter their country scarcely seems compatible with the legislation of a number of countries, particularly that of France.

99. Despite these reservations, the French delegation supported the draft resolution which the Council has unanimously adopted. I hope that this unanimity, which reflects the will of the United Nations, will help to induce those in Salisbury who have set out on this blind path to ponder the matter and finally to give way.

100. The PRESIDENT: I should like to say a few words about the fact that we proceeded to the vote today.

101. The draft resolution contained in document S/8601, which was circulated officially this afternoon for the first time, was the result of broad, intensive and lengthy consultations stretching over a period of weeks. It was against that background of widespread consultations, combined with a sense of urgency to move forward as rapidly as possible, that there developed a general desire among the members of the Council to act upon this draft resolution at the earliest possible moment.

102. I believe that the point made by the representative of France about adequate time for the consideration of draft resolutions after their submission is widely shared as being the normal and proper practice of the Council. It is apparent from the vote as well as from the remarks of the representative of France that his delegation fully respected the desire to proceed urgently in this special case, and I appreciate his co-operation in that regard.

103. Lij Endalkachew MAKONNEN (Ethiopia): I wish to say, in explanation of the affirmative vote that my delegation cast this afternoon, that our position with regard to the grave situation in Southern Rhodesia remains the same as that outlined in draft resolution S/8545 which I had the honour to introduce in the name of my delegation and on behalf of the delegations of Algeria, India, Pakistan and Senegal.

104. My delegation considers the resolution approved today as an elaboration, albeit somewhat incomplete, of

paragraph 2 of our own draft, which called upon all States "to sever immediately all economic and other relations with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia", and further, in its paragraph 3, called upon all States "to carry out this decision of the Security Council in accordance with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations".

105. We continue to believe that the United Kingdom as the administering Power should urgently take all necessary measures, including the use of force, to bring to an end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and enable the people to exercise their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). We do not regard the resolution adopted today as a substitute for all effective action that the United Kingdom is required to take as the Power primarily responsible for Southern Rhodesia. We regard the decision of today as constituting measures intended to strengthen and supplement the steps that the administering Power is required to take by over-all action undertaken by the United Nations on behalf of the international community and in accordance with the Charter. We believe, furthermore, that the Council should condemn Governments like those of South Africa and Portugal for their co-operation with and assistance to the illegal racist minority régime in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council, and that in the event that these Governments persist in defying these Council decisions the Council should decide to take resolute and effective action against the said Governments in accordance with the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter.

106. Thus, we have lent our support to the resolution just adopted without in any way departing from our basic position as set forth in the aforementioned draft proposals which remain on the table of the Council and, likewise, without prejudice to the introductory statement of policy which I had the honour to make before the Council on 18 April 1968 [1413th meeting].

107. Mr. BOYE (Senegal) (*translated from French*): My delegation has already given its views on the question of Southern Rhodesia and I shall therefore not repeat them today. However, although we have just voted in favour of the draft resolution, my delegation is not completely satisfied, for we should have liked the sanctions to be more complete. The illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and those who assist it, particularly the Government of South Africa, persist in defying the international community, and in particular Her Britannic Majesty's Government, which in our opinion did not from the outset take all the effective steps which were called for.

108. Things being as they are, however, between what one wants, what is possible and what is impracticable, we were obliged to choose the possible, especially since the question will remain before the Security Council. When we meet again to discuss this matter, we shall be able to judge how the sanctions provided in the resolution have been applied. At that time all the responsibilities will be determined and we shall see the consequences of the attitudes adopted by the various States.

109. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): I should like to take this opportunity to refer to your forthcoming departure.

You have been an outstanding personality in the United Nations for nearly three years. Your valuable contribution to our work is well known and will indeed become a part of the history of this Council. My delegation has always had a high respect for your political vision and judgement. Your practical approach to the problems that we have faced and your patience in negotiations made it possible to carry on a fruitful dialogue with you at all times. We shall miss you around this chamber. We wish you every success in your future endeavours, which we are sure will be as significant and outstanding as they have been in the United Nations.

110. The Security Council has just approved unanimously a resolution on the situation in Southern Rhodesia. The fact that it was unanimously approved is significant in more ways than one. First, it set the seal of approval of the Council on comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions to help the Government of the United Kingdom put an end to the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia. Secondly, it puts on record its displeasure with those States which have in the past thwarted the attempts, limited though they were, to topple the illegal Smith régime and to restore to the people of Zimbabwe their fundamental rights. Thirdly, the resolution, by its very nature, is a compromise between the positions of those who believed that no measure available under the Charter should be excluded, and those who believed in graduated doses of the medicine. The exact position of my delegation on this question was set out in draft resolution S/8545 sponsored by the delegations of Algeria, Ethiopia, Pakistan, Senegal and my own country, and submitted to the Council on 16 April 1968. India continues to believe that the most effective and certain method of dealing with the rebellion would be resolute action by the administering Power, including the use of force. Even a clear unequivocal declaration by the administering Power that it does not rule out the use of force would in itself be sufficient to bring the illegal régime to its knees.

111. A compromise is, by its very nature, imperfect. However, the resolution just adopted by the Council does contain, for the first time, a scheme of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and thus constitutes a step forward in our common endeavour. My delegation hopes that the efforts of the Security Council will meet with universal support and co-operation, and build up sufficient pressure against the illegal régime. It is only with the co-operation of all States, whether Members of the United Nations or not, that the measures decided upon by the Security Council now can take the people of Zimbabwe in the direction of freedom and independence.

112. I should like to reiterate the hope of my delegation that the comprehensive sanctions proposed in the draft resolution will receive universal support. The actions of certain Powers were earlier instrumental in the failure of the selective sanctions approved by the Security Council. It is most likely that these very Powers will continue to counter the effects of the comprehensive mandatory sanctions proposed by us. I hesitate to voice pessimism in regard to the present resolution at its very outset. If experience is any guide, however, and if we are to be realistic and look at things the way they are rather than the way we would like them to be, we shall have to prepare ourselves for the contingency that the measures outlined in

the present resolution may not have the desired effect. We must proceed with cautious optimism but at the same time we must plan for all contingencies. Now is the time for the administering Power, in particular, to think constructively about what the next logical step might be if our present efforts do not succeed. The indomitable will of the people of Zimbabwe cannot be crushed and they will be free. It is only a matter of time. But timely action by the international community could help to avoid an explosion that may extend far beyond the frontiers of Zimbabwe.

113. It is important also for the international community to appreciate and recognize the special position of Zambia. This country has suffered immensely on account of the selective economic sanctions applied earlier; it is likely to suffer even more if the comprehensive sanctions envisaged in the present resolution are applied. It is not enough, however, for us merely to applaud the heroic sacrifices of the people of Zambia. It is the responsibility of the international community to render all possible assistance to Zambia at this juncture to enable it to overcome at least part of the hardships to which it will doubtless be subjected. It is with that in view that my delegation would strongly urge help to Zambia in a collective way through the United Nations and other international organizations.

114. The PRESIDENT: I wish to thank Ambassador Parthasarathi for his warm and generous remarks directed to me. They reflect his kindly and sympathetic nature, so characteristic of his great country. I have enjoyed our close co-operation as colleagues in very critical times and look forward to a continuing and warm friendship, notwithstanding my departure from my present post.

115. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): In explanation of the vote of the Canadian delegation, I need to add little to what I have already said, on 20 March, on Canadian policy regarding the Rhodesia question.

116. The objective of the United Nations, which is also the Canadian objective, has been put succinctly and well by the Secretary-General in the meantime in a press statement read on his behalf in London on 3 April at a dinner for the United Nations Association, which I think should be part of our record on this question. He said:

“In Southern Rhodesia, the United Nations seeks to give expression to the will of the overwhelming majority of the world community that no people shall be oppressed and tyrannized—in this case, a black majority by a small and totally self-centred minority.”

117. The Canadian authorities have repeatedly stated that Rhodesia must not be granted independence before majority rule and we have supported Security Council action directed towards change in the régime and return to legality in Rhodesia.

118. In its resolution 232 (1966) the Security Council embarked on a programme of economic sanctions. As I explained on 20 March, my delegation believed it right at this time to move from these selective measures, whose effect has been only partial, to a more severe programme based on a comprehensive trade embargo, with tighter implementation.

119. The resolution which we have just unanimously adopted corresponds to that concept and represents an accommodation of various points of view about what is the most effective programme of action that the Security Council can, at this stage, undertake in promoting the objective of ending the present situation in Rhodesia. My delegation has noted with satisfaction that past procedures for implementation and verification of measures taken against the illegal régime are to be strengthened in the manner proposed in paragraphs 18 to 22 of the resolution.

120. For those reasons, the Canadian delegation has voted in favour of the resolution.

121. Members of the Council will understand, I am sure, that the implementation of the provisions of this far-reaching resolution will require further action by Member Governments. My Government naturally intends to observe the provisions of the resolution which the Council has adopted. In respect to some paragraphs, such action may require new laws and regulations, and in such cases appropriate measures will be placed before the Canadian authorities concerned as soon as possible.

122. In conclusion, I should not like to miss this occasion to express the gratification of the Canadian delegation by the fact that this unanimous decision on this important question should have been registered under your chairmanship, Mr. President. We fully respect the reasons given by Lord Caradon for relinquishing the Chair temporarily. We only regret that, for reasons eloquently set out by several preceding speakers, you will not be among us in the Council as a colleague much longer. The Canadian delegation wishes to take this opportunity of thanking you for your signal and distinguished services in many ways to the United Nations.

123. The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Ignatieff for what he has said. In view of the fact that several of the delegations have said such nice things about me, I am impelled to say that I wish my mother and father were here, because my mother would have believed all the nice things my colleagues have said about me, and my father would have appreciated them.

124. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): Mr. President, first of all I wish to express my appreciation for the personal touch which has characterized your relations with your colleagues and has facilitated the settlement of difficult problems. I must admit that we have disagreed a number of times, but that did not affect our personal contacts and, in fact, your personality has helped to bridge the gap existing between political positions.

125. The Hungarian delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted by the Council in the expectation that as a result effective measures will be applied to bring an end to the illegal rule of the white minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. In the same spirit we have accepted and carried out the stipulations contained in Security Council resolution 217 (1965) and other relevant resolutions of the Council and the General Assembly on this matter.

126. We are well aware, as we have stated several times, that the effective implementation of the resolution depends

on the goodwill and co-operative determination of those Governments that are most directly interested in and connected with the area. In the past few years, unfortunately, we have experienced a great deal of hesitation as well as open resistance on the part of certain Powers with regard to those resolutions. Moreover, in this context, the racist Government of South Africa and the colonialist Government of Portugal have direct responsibility for maintaining the illegal Smith régime by rendering it economic and military assistance. As a result of the hesitant attitude of the United Kingdom towards Southern Rhodesia and the defiance of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions by other States, including the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, the Smith régime has not only survived the previous sanctions but has even been able to achieve significant economic development.

127. According to data well known in United Nations economic circles and, furthermore, published in British and other economic publications, in the first seven months of 1967 alone, the volume of the United Kingdom's exports to Southern Rhodesia amounted to £16 million sterling, twice as much as during the whole year of 1966. The gross national product of Southern Rhodesia rose as a result by 3.4 per cent in 1967 and it is expected to rise by another 4 to 5 per cent in 1968.

128. The Hungarian delegation cannot fail to note that, as a result of this economic co-operation and of very important investments, a further rise in Southern Rhodesia's economy is in progress. Some publications in Great Britain have clearly indicated that today, more than 180 British industrial and commercial firms have nearly 300 subsidiaries in Southern Rhodesia, including such monopolies as Imperial Chemical Industries, the BMC, Dunlop, etc.; and the yearly profit earnings of these firms from their approximately £200 million sterling worth of investments runs to about £20 million sterling.

129. If it is asked where the sources can be found to compensate Zambia and certain other countries for any losses they may sustain, it can readily be seen that such sources are easy to find, and that if we search further, even more means could be found to be put to good purpose.

130. In the view of the Hungarian delegation, in the resolution just adopted, paragraph 15, which was a matter for discussion and for separate voting, does not do full justice to those countries that have definitely and unreversibly complied with the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of our Organization. It conceals the fact that there are a great number of countries that have consistently violated and ignored those resolutions and that therefore bear the primary responsibility to avert any negative consequences that might ensue for the countries bordering on Southern Rhodesia as a result of sanctions. Paragraph 15 also ignores the fact that the existence of the Smith régime depends on the assistance of such Western Powers as the United Kingdom, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, and of such other States as South Africa and Portugal. This unholy alliance frustrates all serious measures aimed at solving the very difficult and delicate problem of Southern Rhodesia. On the contrary, it encourages the Smith régime to

continue with its outrageous violations of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, committed in complete disregard of world public opinion. The responsibility of these countries is clear, and we cannot condone any formula that would allow them to escape from that responsibility or that would attempt to distribute it among the whole community of the United Nations membership. There should be no attempt by anyone to relieve those States of their responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations.

131. The Hungarian People's Republic, on its part, maintains good and close relations with Zambia, and in the course of this co-operation my Government is rendering economic assistance to the people of Zambia. This policy we shall continue in the future as well, no matter what is contained in this resolution or what is not.

132. In view of all the above and many other facts, we believe it is high time that really effective and comprehensive sanctions are applied against the illegal régime in Salisbury. At the same time, those States, Members or non-Members of the United Nations, which bear the primary responsibility for the present situation in Southern Rhodesia should translate the lofty ideas they constantly advocate into resolute deeds in implementation of those sanctions. The Hungarian delegation, therefore, puts strong emphasis on, *inter alia*, paragraphs 9, 11, 12 and 16 of the present resolution.

133. In the view of my delegation, even though the resolution is not entirely satisfactory, those provisions, if properly implemented and carried out with the necessary determination, could contribute towards the achievement of self-determination and independence for the people of Zimbabwe. The Hungarian delegation will do everything within its ability to contribute, through its efforts, to the attainment of that goal.

134. The PRESIDENT: I wish to thank the representative of Hungary for his kind remarks. I have never conceived that differences between Governments—which are, perhaps, inevitable, certainly understandable, and which we all work to minimize and often to eliminate—should affect the very cordial relations that should and do exist between their representatives here. I have enjoyed those relations with the representative of Hungary very much and I hope to continue them.

135. Mr. BORCH (Denmark): Denmark has voted for the resolution in the belief that the Security Council has thereby taken a significant step towards independence for Southern Rhodesia under constitutional government and majority rule. The Council has thus once again manifested its protest against the illegal minority régime in Salisbury, against its systematic policies of separate racial development, and against its increasingly repressive measures which violate the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the people of Southern Rhodesia.

136. The Danish Government is gratified at the unanimous wish of this Council to see an end to the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, a wish reflected in the resolution now adopted. Consistent with the attitude of my Government over the years, Denmark welcomes the resolution adopted

today, which envisages the imposition of virtually total mandatory economic sanctions against the Salisbury régime and the establishment of the appropriate machinery to follow the implementation. We also note with satisfaction that all the members of the Council have been able to support the resolution, not by abandoning fundamental viewpoints or positions but by aiming at the widest possible area of agreement.

137. The resolution is the result of long and arduous negotiations among members of the Security Council, and we, for our part, pay a tribute especially to the responsible administering Power and to the Afro-Asian members for their goodwill and open-mindedness which made possible this compromise. The value of decisions of the Security Council is very much enhanced when we can act in unity, and in the present case the unanimous support for the resolution, as well as the extent of the sanctions, should clearly persuade the men in Salisbury of their isolation from the rest of the world and convince them that there is no future in persisting in their illegal course.

138. May I be allowed to make two concrete remarks. With regard to operative paragraph 5 (b) of the resolution, I just wish to make clear that my Government is not in a position to prevent the return to Denmark of Danish citizens from abroad.

139. With regard to paragraph 9 of the resolution, for the sake of good order I have to make a brief remark about the implications of the provisions of that paragraph. In so far as it deals with postal communications and telecommunications, we are faced with a complicated matter affecting international arrangements which would have to be studied with great care and which would be difficult for one country alone to deal with, irrespective of the attitude of other countries; another complication is the fact that the communications networks are governed by two of the specialized agencies of the United Nations: the Universal Postal Union and the International Telecommunication Union.

140. Denmark has always maintained that our support of enforcement measures under the Charter must be conditioned by a test of effectiveness. Instead of being taken unilaterally, therefore, the measures foreseen in paragraph 9 should be taken in concert with the larger countries which carry the bulk of communications. Indeed, the problem would appear to be international in nature and it would therefore seem natural to look for a multilateral approach.

141. I do not wish at this stage to go into further details on the provisions of the resolution. I only wish to welcome the establishment of the committee of the Council. It is our hope that that committee will prove a valuable instrument in ensuring full and effective implementation of the resolution.

142. My delegation realizes that sanctions are hardly a means of bringing about radical political changes swiftly. They may rather be a method whose effects, like those of most political measures, are somewhat slow to appear. Patience and perseverance are therefore of the essence—the kind of patience and perseverance which made this resolution possible. If we continue to act with decisiveness and

determination, we shall, however, prove that it is possible in today's world, by peaceful means and the concerted action of this body, to bring about respect for human rights and the rule of law.

143. Mr. President, I had not thought that this might be the last time you would be here, but since it seems that that is possible it would not be amiss for me to add my words of gratitude and appreciation to you personally before the meeting comes to an end.

144. It is somewhat difficult to find new ways in which to express that appreciation or to add to the characterizations which my colleagues have already given. I am helped by one thing, namely, the tendency of United States representatives on the Security Council to write books. Although you did not write the book I have in mind in your own name, so to say, it was compiled by someone else, all the words contained in it are yours. I should like to be permitted to quote from that book because I think this quotation gives a better characterization than I could give.

145. At a meeting of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on 23 July 1965, which you attended, you said:

"... I know full well that the search for world order, the pursuit of peaceful settlement, and the struggle toward the rule of law in international affairs must be our guiding star, and that is not an easy path to follow, particularly since our search for a rule of law in the world must be carried forward in a revolutionary setting for many nations of the world in which rapid change is not only likely but in many instances necessary.

"But I am sustained and emboldened by the thought that what Adlai Stevenson stood for, worked for, and when need be fought for valiantly, these things are imperishable. And others can and must stand for them, and work for them, and when need be fight for them with their own talents and in their own ways, however inadequate these talents may be."³

146. Allow me to say, in all modesty, that your part in the United Nations and particularly in this Council is testimony to the way in which you have followed up the principles you set for yourself. You said the other day at a luncheon which the Secretary-General gave in honour of you and Mrs. Goldberg, that you were proud of two things: to have served at the Court of Warren and the United Nations of U Thant. I am proud to have served at the Security Council of Goldberg.

147. The PRESIDENT: I thank you very much, Ambassador Borch, for your very warm remarks. I had two thoughts in mind as I heard them, I became a little worried when you mentioned a book. It is rather dangerous for Permanent Representatives, present or putative, to write books. Also, since you mentioned Adlai Stevenson, I was reminded of one of his remarks. He said that he did not mind a little praise provided it was fulsome. I very much appreciate what you have said.

³ D. P. Moynihan, Editor, *The Defenses of Freedom. The Public Papers of Arthur J. Goldberg*, New York, Harper and Row, 1966, p. XVI.

148. The representative of Ethiopia has asked to be allowed to speak in order to supplement his remarks.

149. Lij Endalkachew MAKONNEN (Ethiopia): Mr. President, when I spoke earlier on in our debate in explanation of my vote I was somewhat in the same position as my colleague and neighbour, the representative of Denmark. I was not aware that this might be the last opportunity for me to pay a tribute to you in formal session of the Council for your contribution to the United Nations effort. Since this may well be the only opportunity for me to do so, I wish, with your permission, to join my other colleagues, first in applauding and commending the magnanimous gesture of Lord Caradon who, by his noble act, has enabled us to benefit once more at this eleventh hour of your services at the United Nations, from your proven experience and competence in the affairs of the Council.

150. During the past three years you have served your country and the United Nations cause with a dedication and a zeal that is fully known and widely recognized. You have sought every opportunity to have the United Nations machinery utilized in the settlement of international disputes. You have, moreover, contributed to the pattern of common accord which has become a characteristic of our work during the past difficult months, never sparing any effort in the common endeavour to reconcile opposed views or to find an honourable compromise. Here in the Council, as indeed in the consultations that took place in the background, we have many times argued, sometimes agreed, and more often than not agreed to disagree on many complex problems and issues. It is a mark of your statesmanship that, like my colleague the representative of Hungary, I have never known you to allow the heated sentiments of political debate to interfere with our personal and mutual relationships in the great United Nations family to which we all belong.

151. Therefore, when you leave the United Nations, as you are to do soon, you will leave behind a host of friends, colleagues and well wishers, and I wish to seize this opportunity to join them in bidding you Godspeed and in wishing you the best for the future.

152. The PRESIDENT: I thank you very much, Ambassador Makonnen. I must say that I am really at a loss for words to express my appreciation for the warmth of what you have said, not only on this occasion, but on other occasions as well when we have had the opportunity to work together. I am deeply appreciative, not only of this expression, but of all you have done throughout the last three years to make me feel that what I have been doing here has been a contribution to the cause to which you are so devoted.

153. The representative of the United Kingdom, Lord Caradon, would like to exercise his right of reply, and I call upon him for that purpose.

154. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I would not, at this late hour, wish to delay the Council by endeavouring to reply to some of the comments made by the representative of Hungary, but I would not wish to allow the occasion to pass without telling him that, in my opinion, some of the statements he made to us were either inaccurate or

misleading; and I look forward to a subsequent opportunity to make my commentary on what he has said to us tonight.

155. I especially do not wish to pursue any acrimonious controversy at a time when we are about to terminate our proceedings in an atmosphere of general admiration for our President. On the latter subject I would content myself with saying that I refuse to believe that I shall not have other opportunities of referring to the qualities we have learned over the past three years to admire in you, Sir.

156. The PRESIDENT: I thank Lord Caradon very much for what he has said. I did not quite understand the implication of his remark, but I thank him anyway.

157. Mr. BOYE (Senegal) (*translated from French*): When I took the floor just now to explain my vote I found myself in the same position as that of my colleagues of Denmark and Ethiopia in failing to realize that this might be the last time we would see you sitting at this table. In any event, the elegant and noble gesture of Lord Caradon gives me an opportunity today to tell you of the high esteem in which my country, my Government and I myself hold you because of your work in the United Nations and—why not say it—in the service of the international community.

158. Because of the high post that you have held in your own country in the Supreme Court, a post which I have just held myself in the Supreme Court of Senegal—I am sure my colleagues will pardon me for saying this—I have a natural inclination to try and understand you and to grasp the subtleties of your reasoning.

159. In any case, now that you are about to leave our forum, I should like to express our hope that you will pursue the work that you have undertaken to the benefit of all the regions of the world.

160. The PRESIDENT: I thank you, Ambassador Boye, for what you have said. You and I have shared common experiences and a common dedication to the same ideals, and I am deeply appreciative of what you have said.

161. The next speaker on my list is the representative of China, Ambassador Liu, also a friend who has worked with me for three years in many situations, and it is with pleasure that I call on him.

162. Mr. LIU (China): As far as the position of my delegation on the Rhodesian question is concerned, it was made quite clear in my statement on 26 March, at the 1408th meeting of the Council, and I therefore do not find it necessary to reiterate it.

163. Whatever may have been said about the resolution we have just adopted, my delegation believes that it is a great step forward in dealing with the situation in Rhodesia.

164. Mr. President, I now come to the main reason for my asking to speak. The universal sentiment that has been expressed, both inside and outside this Chamber, on your impending departure would seem to make it superfluous for me to add any further tribute. But, if I may say so, I feel that you have brought to this Council some very rare qualities—outstanding juridical acumen and political

vision—that can only have come from your long experience on the bench and as a champion of the labour movement. Above all, I would say that I admire you for your sense of justice and for your unflinching faith in human nature which has not been dimmed by the frustrations and fatigue which I know have been the constant companions of all of us in this Council. My consolation is that although you may be leaving your post in the United Nations, you will long be with us, and I understand that you will be continuing a very strong association for the support of the principles and objectives of the United Nations. All power to you.

165. The PRESIDENT: I thank you, Ambassador Liu, very much for what you said and how you said it. I am running out of words with which to reply, so you will forgive me if I just say: thank you, from the bottom of my heart.

166. The next speaker is the representative of Paraguay, our colleague and friend, Ambassador Solano Lopez.

167. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (*translated from Spanish*): I had not intended to speak at this meeting until I suddenly became aware that this was indeed a unique opportunity to pay tribute to you, Mr. President, for your co-operation and for the great contribution you have made to the United Nations as a whole and to the Security Council in particular.

168. My feelings at this moment are mixed: on the one hand, I am gratified that we have unanimously adopted a resolution in this Council—always a difficult thing to achieve—after painstaking and time-consuming negotiations in which each and every member of the Council participated. On the other hand, I have a feeling of regret, because we know that this is one of the last times that you will sit with us at this table as the representative of the United States of America.

169. It is for this last reason in particular that I wish to speak—because it is a matter of elementary justice to pay you the tribute you deserve for your brilliant qualities, for the generous and loyal co-operation you have always given us and for the friendship with which you have honoured each and every one of us. It is a great pleasure for me, therefore, to offer you publicly this expression of admiration and respect.

170. The PRESIDENT: I thank you, Ambassador Solano Lopez, most sincerely for your comments. You will, I am sure, forgive me if at this stage I am not able to express my feelings as eloquently as a distinguished Latin American can.

171. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, I find myself in a rather special situation. As a newcomer to the Security Council I have not had the pleasure nor the opportunity to “share a peck of salt with you”, as the Russian saying goes, in this Council—in other words, to have spent a number of years, or any length of time, working with you. My present duties have given me the chance of working with you for only two months. I must say, and it is gratifying for me to do so, that during this short period of time I have had the opportunity for talks with you on general issues as well as

working contacts, and that on several occasions we arrived at mutual understanding on a number of topics. We did not, of course, achieve mutual understanding on all matters, but we did understand each other's position in regard to those matters on which we differed.

172. In particular I should like to mention your high qualities as a diplomat, as a servant of the United Nations and as a statesman.

173. In the course of my work, even during the coldest years of the cold war, I have always had the pleasure and the honour of not carrying over the mutual relations existing between the two sides into personal relationships with representatives. I have the pleasantest recollections of working in the Security Council with some of your eminent predecessors such as the late Senator Austin, the distinguished lawyer, Philip Jessup, Ambassador Gross, Ambassador Lodge and others. It will therefore be a pleasure for me to continue our work together and our contacts in the Security Council in the future.

174. I should like to think that this is not the last meeting of the Security Council in which you will take part and that you will be able to occupy once more the Chair as President and representative of the United States. We hope so. However, the situation is such that, in the view of our Danish colleague, this is your farewell meeting, and it is my duty to do as I promised and pay you my compliments.

175. I wish you every success in your future work for the strengthening of peace and the development of relations of friendship and co-operation between our two countries and all the other States Members of the United Nations, in order that the wish expressed by you at the recent luncheon given in your honour by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, that there should be no war, will be realized through the efforts of the United Nations and the Governments of States, and wars which are still going on will be brought to a speedy end.

176. In conclusion, I would like to express the hope that those positive qualities which have been shown by you here in your dealings with your colleagues and in the work of the Security Council, will be bequeathed by you to your successor.

177. The PRESIDENT: Ambassador Malik, I became worried because I was going to recall the promise that you made when Lord Caradon jumped the gun and had something kindly to say about me at an earlier meeting, but you have fulfilled my hopes, and I appreciate it very much. Of course, you have been no stranger to me. I do not mean in person, but I knew about your fine contribution towards solving international problems. It has been a great privilege and honour to work with you in the interests of world peace and in the interests of achieving the objectives of the Charter.

178. I express the same hope that I expressed to my other colleagues that my departure will not diminish the opportunities to maintain the friendship that we have developed in our very short stay together, and I am sure that you will continue to make the fine contribution that you have made during the last two months to the work of this Organization. I thank you very much for what you have had to say.

179. I have no further names on the list of speakers, and therefore I should like now to make a very brief statement on the resolution in my capacity as representative of the UNITED STATES.

180. The policy of my Government remains to seek a peaceful solution of the Rhodesian problem that will ensure political justice and equal opportunity for all Rhodesians, regardless of race. We have given, and will continue to give, our full support to the efforts of the United Kingdom and the United Nations directed to that end.

181. My Government is very much gratified that ten weeks of exceedingly difficult consultations have produced a resolution that commands the unanimous support of the Council and will contribute towards the attainment of our goal. Although all delegations on this Council have played a constructive role in the various discussions that have ensued, the major credit for the final product must go to the representative of the United Kingdom, the African and Asian members of the Council and the Latin-American members, all of whom displayed the most commendable negotiating skill and a sincere desire to preserve the Council's unanimity on this important issue, on which it is so difficult to achieve unanimity. It is very significant to me that in unanimously adopting this resolution we have for the first time achieved the affirmative vote of all permanent members of the Council for a resolution on Southern Rhodesia.

182. The measures contained in the resolution we have just adopted are consistent with United States policy on Southern Rhodesia. The resolution just approved extends mandatory economic sanctions from a selected list of products to all trade with Rhodesia. The United States will, of course, apply these mandatory provisions with the same vigour we have applied those of resolution 232 (1966).

183. The architects of the resolution have also shown wisdom in using phrasing that takes into account various practical, legal, humanitarian and other factors. Paragraph 5, for example, recognizes that many States do not have the legal possibility to bar entry to their territories of their own nationals, as several members of the Council have pointed out.

184. The language of paragraphs 9 and 10 is not of a mandatory character, being a request and an expression of need. The United States will give careful consideration to those paragraphs, and in so doing we will have to take into account our profound belief in a free flow of information and communication throughout the world, which we feel should apply to Rhodesia as well. I would also say that the United States has no trade representation there.

185. In closing, I wish to say that my Government deeply regrets and deplores that the régime in Salisbury has intensified its efforts to maintain its illegal control over the Rhodesian people. In these circumstances, there is no alternative but to undertake to make the sanctions programme as effective as possible, as we have done today.

186. Based on the history of the programme to date we are under no illusions that, even in the strengthened form, it will produce a quick and clear-cut solution. We do

expect, however, that the resolution the Council has just adopted, particularly those passages pertaining to the implementation of sanctions, which we welcome, will produce a tighter and more effective programme. I pledge that my Government will play its full part in bringing this about, and hopefully expects other Member Governments to do the same.

187. We hope that the Council's unanimous action today will bring nearer the day and time when a Government, representing all of the people of Rhodesia on sound democratic principles, will be welcomed into the community of nations.

188. Speaking again as PRESIDENT and before concluding this meeting I wish to call the attention of members to the fact that under paragraph 20 of the resolution just

adopted the Security Council has decided to establish a committee of the Security Council to undertake certain very important tasks. The President of the Security Council for this month, Lord Caradon, has suggested that, as I am the presiding officer for this meeting and since the Permanent Representative of the United States will be the Council President for June, it would be appropriate for my delegation to undertake consultations on the establishment of that committee. I have consulted with members of the Council on this point and, there being no objection, my delegation will therefore accordingly plan to undertake consultations on the establishment of the committee promptly and as soon as possible. There being no objection, it will be so decided.

The meeting rose at 8.35 p.m.

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