



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR

**1530**<sup>th</sup> MEETING: 6 MARCH 1970

NEW YORK

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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.*

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## FIFTEEN HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 6 March 1970, at 10.30 a.m.

*President:* Mr. Joaquín VALLEJO ARBELAEZ  
(Colombia).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States; Burundi, China, Colombia, Finland, France, Nepal, Nicaragua, Poland, Sierra Leone, Spain, Syria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Zambia.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1530)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:

Letter dated 3 March 1970 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9675).

### Expression of thanks to retiring Presidents

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to thank the Presidents for the months of January and February who preceded me in guiding the work of the Security Council: the representative of Burundi, Ambassador Terence, who so ably guided the Council's work during the month of January, and the representative of China, Ambassador Liu, who with great tact carried on during the month of February.

2. March is traditionally a month fraught with conflict. There is good reason for this month of March being linked with Mars, the god of war. The omens of the Ides of March have afflicted mankind ever since the times of Julius Caesar. I can only express the hope that this month of March will be a month of peace for us.

3. Mr. LIU (China): Mr. President, I thank you for your generous reference to me. I do not think I can take any credit since I did nothing, but I am sure that under your wise guidance the Council will be able, even in this difficult month of March, to accomplish much in the interest of peace. On behalf of my delegation I offer you my sincerest congratulations and best wishes.

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia

Letter dated 3 March 1970 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9675)

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before we begin the debate I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the fact that a draft resolution has been submitted for the consideration of the Council. It is sponsored by the United Kingdom and appears in document S/9676. The Council will proceed now to consider the item on its agenda.

5. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I wish first of all to thank Ambassador Liu for being restrained and modest enough to give us, with his customary consideration and courtesy, some breathing space during February.

6. At the same time I warmly welcome you, Sir, as our President for this month. Simón Bolívar once paid your country the compliment of saying that it was like a university—an unusual tribute. He meant by that, I am sure, that your nation seeks no narrowly national purpose and no merely material aim but always seeks to set the highest standards of human relations and aspiration and endeavour in wider freedom and brotherhood—standards and ideals of which Bolívar himself was the champion. Knowing how well you represent your country, we therefore greatly look forward to working this month under the beneficent direction and kindly instruction of a distinguished Colombian President.

7. I come to the Council, having asked for an urgent meeting, with a single, clear purpose. That purpose was set out in the draft resolution which was circulated earlier this week [S/9676].

8. In speaking today I wish to thank you, Sir, for the guidance you gave us, and also to thank other members of the Council for the understanding they showed in the consultations which preceded this meeting. The right of any member to request an urgent meeting was recognized and respected. I express my gratitude and appreciation for the courteous hearing given to me by other members of the Council during these consultations—consultations which were conducted in the best traditions of the Council.

9. I now wish to submit a revised text of the draft resolution I put forward earlier. The revised text<sup>1</sup> reads as follows:

*"The Security Council,*

*"Recalling and reaffirming its resolutions 216 (1965) of 12 November 1965, 217 (1965) of 20 November 1965, 221 (1966) of 9 April 1966, 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966 and 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968,*

*"1. Condemns the illegal acts of the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, including the purported assumption of a republican status;*

*"2. Decides, in accordance with Article 41 of the United Nations Charter, that all Member States of the United Nations shall refrain from recognizing this illegal régime or from rendering any assistance to it, and urges States not Members of the United Nations, having regard to the principles stated in Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, to act accordingly."*

10. The new draft resolution is, as the Council will at once see, in clear and strong terms. We thought it well to set out our purpose in this explicit and definite language which will, I trust, commend itself to the Council.

11. Having made that reference to the new draft resolution which will shortly be circulated, I go on to say that I have taken part in every debate in this Council on Rhodesia since the illegal declaration of independence was made in November 1965. I am very well familiar with the many questions which have been raised, with their far-reaching importance and with the intensity of feeling which they have aroused.

12. I have never wished to advocate delay and certainly have never wished to question either the gravity of the situation or the motives of those who have expressed their strong opinions in this Council.

13. I do not doubt that the question we consider is part of a much larger question—indeed it is part of one of the main problems which face the modern world. The issues involved are issues of equality and freedom and human dignity. It is right that these issues should top the agenda of the international community. They give special urgency to our proceedings today.

14. It is against the background of those broad issues that I trust that we can today concentrate on a single, immediate purpose. It is a purpose on which I strongly believe that we can unreservedly and urgently agree.

15. Why did the illegal régime in Salisbury seek to introduce a new constitution and why has it proceeded to dissolve its parliament, thereby seeking to assume a republican status? What were the reasons for that action? What did they wish to achieve? The answer to those questions is very clear. They wanted recognition.

16. No country in the world has recognized the illegal régime and what that régime wants more than anything

is to be recognized. The régime knows very well that without international recognition it cannot escape from the isolation in which it slowly sinks. The régime wants capital, it wants trade, it wants immigrants. It wants to achieve a weakening of international will to maintain and enforce the economic sanctions; but most of all it wants recognition. Indeed it believes that if it could obtain recognition it would be able thereby to pursue and secure its other purposes. In the long haul it has no hope without recognition.

17. It is of paramount importance that we should at once, firmly, and I hope unanimously, and on behalf of the whole world, make it clear that this minority régime will not be recognized, it will not be accepted, it will not be permitted to enter into the family of nations.

18. Recognition is what the minority régime wants more than anything else. It is recognition that we should unanimously deny.

19. I might add that, looking back over our past discussions on Rhodesia in this Council, I am struck by the fact that when we have agreed we have been able to act effectively. When we have disagreed, then progress has been frustrated. When we have disagreed we have done nothing here except to give comfort to the illegal régime. If we were to disagree now and fail to take the action which seems to me essential we should merely give comfort to a régime which all of us detest. I greatly hope that we shall not make such an unforgivable error.

20. I trust that the message which goes out from this Council to the world will be a clear rejection of the blatantly racist constitution, a constitution which offends against every principle of equality and justice.

21. I do not deny for a moment that there are awkward and intractable problems which we have to consider together. There may be honest differences of opinion between us; but in this matter of recognition I cannot see that there is any cause or room for doubt or difference or uncertainty. One thing at least we can be sure about and that is that the door of recognition should be shut and barred not only now but for the future. I trust that we can together make that unmistakably clear here and now.

22. My mind goes back to the debate in this Council which took place following the illegal declaration of independence in November 1965. I recall that it was my friend the Ambassador of Jordan who then spoke to us as I am speaking today. His argument was that, whatever else was done, it was necessary to take one immediate step. He introduced his draft resolution, very similar to the one which I now present. It was at once accepted. He used the arguments I now advance. He said on 12 November 1965:

*"We should make it clear that any State that recognizes this illegal régime is a partner to a responsibility—I would say a partner to an act of defiance towards every value for which the United Nations*

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently circulated as document S/9676/Rev.1.

stands. If all States co-operate, we shall be able to freeze all that régime's activities. Otherwise, we shall be opening the door to more acts of defiance, suppression and disorder, to more denials of the elementary principles of justice.

"... The text is not controversial. There is nothing in it that leaves room for disagreement or controversy. It is urgently and badly needed; it is needed now. I therefore hope that the Council will vote on the draft resolution before it proceeds with its deliberations." [1258th meeting, paras. 7 and 8.]

23. Those were the words of the Ambassador of Jordan in our debate here in this Council in 1965. Those words were heeded. The Council acted. The world paid attention. The result was that no Government in the world has recognized the illegal régime. That is what I am advocating now. We need to repeat, to endorse, to reinforce the action we took when we adopted resolution 216 (1965) in November 1965.

24. I have seen a number of statement and declarations by African leaders about the further illegal act now carried out by the illegal régime. They raise many issues; but on this issue of recognition they all speak with one voice and one mind and with one purpose. On this all of us, I believe, are fully agreed. No compromise. That is the message which we should all of us send out. No compromise with racial suppression; no compromise with racial supremacy; no compromise with racial inequality and racial injustice. These are issues on which we must never be on the wrong side. They are issues on which there must be no doubt, and there should be no division.

25. No doubt there will be and should be ample opportunities for views to be expressed and for our debate to continue; but whatever else we do and whatever else we say, I trust that we shall, in full agreement together, proceed without any delay to take the immediate action which I believe that we can all readily support. I trust that the Council will unhesitatingly and unanimously adopt the draft resolution which I present today.

26. Let us act together. Let us act without delay or hesitation. On this issue let our decision be agreed and clear and swift.

27. Mr. MUUKA (Zambia): Mr. President, allow me first of all to perform a very pleasant task, that of paying tribute to you upon your assumption of the office of President of this Council. We derive this pleasure at seeing you in that high office from our knowledge and conviction of the fact that your stature, both as a diplomat and a statesman, is second to none. More pertinent to this present meeting is your Government's known position with regard to the situation obtaining in southern Africa. Those of us who have had the opportunity of working with your delegation, either on the United Nations Council for Namibia or, indeed, within the Security Council on the previous resolutions concerning Zimbabwe, are gratified by the fact that your views and ours have been one and the

same. That being the case, my delegation can only assure you of our fullest co-operation in the performance of your very important task.

28. Permit me also to pay tribute to another distinguished statesman and diplomat, the Ambassador of Burundi, for the excellent manner and the vigour with which he conducted this Council's affairs during the month of January.

29. The Zambian delegation has requested the floor on a procedural point on behalf of the delegation of Burundi and Sierra Leone as well as on its own behalf. Members of the Council are no doubt aware of the importance that these three delegations attach to the question of Zimbabwe inasmuch as the Council is aware not only of the importance that the United Kingdom Government attaches to the same question, but also of the responsibility which that Government has over the Territory of Rhodesia.

30. It might have seemed strange, therefore, and to some extent misleading, when the international Press started to create the impression, following the delay in convening this meeting as a result of the usual consultations, that the delegations of Burundi, Sierra Leone and Zambia were in a way trying to obstruct the convening of the Security Council on the question of Rhodesia at the request of the United Kingdom. Indeed, apart from our own interest in this matter, we are fully aware and accept the fact that it is in the interest of the Council to be convened as urgently as possible whenever one of its members, or indeed any Member of the United Nations, requests such an urgent meeting. Indeed, the very suggestion itself that these three delegations were trying to stave off quick United Nations action called for by one of the permanent members is not only ridiculous but mischievous. For this reason, and if only to counter the irresponsible opinion created by the international Press, the delegations of Burundi, Sierra Leone and Zambia would like to make a brief explanation, an explanation with which the members of this Council are already conversant.

31. Almost at the same time as the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom was taking up this matter with the President of the Security Council, the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, representative of forty Member States, was considering what action to take in the Security Council on the same matter. At the end of that Council's deliberations, it was decided that the Foreign Ministers of Algeria, Senegal and Zambia, with the assistance of the African Group at the United Nations, should take up this matter in the Security Council. If I may give advance information, a letter requesting a meeting on the same problem is in fact on its way to you, Mr. President.

32. It was as a result of this decision that the African Group and, in particular, the African members of the Security Council requested a postponement in order to await much more specific instructions from the Council of Ministers.

33. In short, the question facing the delegations of Burundi, Sierra Leone and Zambia was whether it would not be appropriate, both as a matter of courtesy and as a matter of procedure, for the Council not to be convened until the Ministers designated by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity had arrived in New York. This position was made very clear to all our colleagues and we believe that there was no misunderstanding whatsoever about our reasons for requesting a delay of only a few days. We are very happy that, in his characteristically clear exposition, Lord Caradon explained that position to our satisfaction.

34. We certainly share the view that this matter is indeed a very urgent one. In fact, we tend to believe that this view is probably held more by these three delegations than by any other in the final analysis. Nevertheless, because of the explanation that I have made on behalf of the three African delegations, and while we naturally agreed to convene this meeting at the urgent request of the United Kingdom in order to afford the representative of the United Kingdom the opportunity to address this Council with a view to its taking further action in this matter, we still find ourselves in a somewhat difficult situation. As three of our Ministers have been given a mandate by the Council of Ministers to take up this matter with the Security Council as a matter of urgency, it would seem improper to us to proceed with the debate, especially as we have no intention of requesting a separate meeting to deal with the same problem. Besides, after the proposals of the representative of the United Kingdom we would consider it appropriate, even on that score alone, to adjourn the meeting until early next week to give us time to begin consultations on the proposals either made or to be made in the course of this debate. May I therefore formally request, on behalf of the delegations of Burundi, Sierra Leone and our own, that the meeting be adjourned until early next week?

35. Permit me at this stage briefly to outline the preliminary reaction of my own Government to the very limited proposals as submitted earlier by the delegation of the United Kingdom and as elaborated upon in the course of this meeting. In saying that, I am not in any way casting doubt on the concern of the United Kingdom Government over the unfortunate developments in Zimbabwe. The British delegation itself is aware that we have always tried to work together to find a solution to that problem both at the level of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and here at the Security Council.

36. Furthermore, my delegation still remembers the call made by the illustrious Lord Caradon on 24 June 1969, at the 1481st meeting, on the occasion of the holding of a referendum by the rebels to prepare for the step they took this week. These were the words of his Lordship: "The Council well knows that I have advocated that we should act together and act unanimously and act within our clear capacity. I greatly regret that we have not done so. We have not gone forward; we have gone backward." I was happy when I heard His Lordship repeat that call for unanimity and action.

37. It is the hope of my delegation that on this occasion we shall be able not only to act together in unanimity and within our capabilities but, most important, to do so on the understanding that our action will be a definite step forward.

38. What is that step forward? Allow me to say that again on this we would hope that the goal of the United Kingdom Government would be the same as that of my own Government, namely, to bring an end to the existence of an illegal régime in Zimbabwe and to grant independence to that Territory on the basis of the accepted principle of universal suffrage, with a constitution that is designed to protect the interests of all the people—and, I repeat, all the people—of Rhodesia. The question I would like to ask the Council, therefore, is whether or not, in its considered judgement, the proposals made today are in fact a step forward towards achieving that goal.

39. My delegation has time and again reminded this Council that the root cause of the problem is neither the referendum of June 1969 nor the declaration of an illegal republic this week. The British Foreign Secretary, the Honourable Michael Stewart, put it succinctly in the House of Commons only a few days ago when he said: "Rhodesia's self-declared republican status [is] as illegal as its unilateral declaration of independence in 1965." So we see eye to eye on that stand. It seems obvious, therefore, that the right course of action to take is not merely to condemn an act which, in any case, all of us know and accept as condemnable and illegal or merely to reiterate the appeals that we have been making to countries which have had dealings with Rhodesia since 11 November 1965. While we have no quarrel with efforts to perpetuate the so-called international isolation of the régime, we would be much happier if our efforts, even at this late hour, were directed towards the bringing down of that régime. That is a step forward we should like to see. It is also in that regard that we view the proposals made today, if I may be permitted to say so, as being extremely inadequate. This Council should not be content with merely creating uncomfortable pinpricks for the rebels in Zimbabwe, for to do so would be tantamount to an indirect licensing of a continuing abomination.

40. In our view, therefore, this Council should now embark on a serious search for ways and means of toppling the régime in Salisbury. It would be disastrous if this Council were to prefer to entertain peddling in rhetoric rather than to put an end to that régime.

41. As I stated before, these have been merely the preliminary observations of my delegation. I expect my Minister to be here to participate in this debate and I hope that the Council will accede to the humble request of the three members to adjourn. I have no doubt that my Minister will present the formal position of my Government in the course of the debate.

42. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is an honour for my delegation to be able to take part in the proceedings of the

Security Council under your distinguished guidance. The importance that we attach to the role you are to play impels me to defer what I have to say in regard to you until a later date, when I shall have occasion to speak again as the Security Council takes up the substance of the problem.

43. I should like to ask your indulgence, with respect to my delegation which, for compelling reasons relating to the convening of the Security Council, delayed its arrival. This request is also addressed to all the representatives in the Council. Far from being aimed at boycotting the work of the Council, it is rather bound up with the motives which necessitated this meeting, namely, that the necessary communications with my Government were the cause of this brief delay.

44. In first of all endorsing what has been said by the representative of Zambia and the position that he has made known to the Council as our spokesman, I should like in turn to State, on instructions from my Government and within the context of the African group, what our position is.

45. Despite the brevity of the prior consultations necessitated both by the nature and the importance of the Rhodesia question, certain circles have taken it upon themselves to suspect the African group of engaging in obstructionist manoeuvres. Such deductions undoubtedly fail to take account of the Press release of Monday, 2 March, which was circulated following an urgent meeting at which the African delegations reviewed the whole question of Rhodesia and pondered the various possible alternatives for dealing with this crowning act of illegality by Ian Smith.

46. Everyone knows, first of all, that any Member of the United Nations, and, *a priori*, a permanent member of the Security Council, has the right to request a meeting of this body. However, the established custom of the Council requires the President to set the date for the initial meeting on the basis of the results of consultations between himself and the other members.

47. In accordance with this procedure, undeniably established by tradition, it follows that the requesting State is subject to imponderables which are not always necessarily to its advantage. For example, it would have been difficult to hold a meeting of the Council yesterday afternoon inasmuch as the four great Powers were engaged in another matter of equal importance which, in certain respects, is of greater concern to the United Nations.

48. In applying this general principle to the particular case now before us, namely the calling of an urgent meeting of the Security Council by the United Kingdom delegation, the African Group, far from obstructing the meeting of the Council, engaged in intensive activity aimed at clearing the ground. As demonstrated by the contents of the press release circulated four days ago, certain factors prompted the African representatives to resist any attempt to short-circuit them, among them the following:

49. The Organization of African Unity, in its meetings at Addis Ababa, had just instructed three Foreign Ministers to bring the problem of Rhodesia before the Security Council. That decision was the outcome of the efforts urgently mobilized on behalf of a country at the mercy of colonial usurpers. One need hardly ask what would be the reactions of European Governments if their representatives at the United Nations should seek to take over the role and the powers of their Foreign Ministers. I hope the Council will forgive this digression, despite the difference that exists between the Council of African Unity and the Council of Europe. It was clearly the duty of the African Group not to let itself be carried away by hasty representations aimed at substituting it for the Council of Ministers of the entire continent.

50. Secondly, the African Governments are not unreasonably astonished at the eager zeal displayed by the Labour Government, whereas it was that very Government which, by its refusal to employ force—the only alternative—pushed Smith into the attitude of *alea jacta est*, the die is cast.

51. Finally, is it not proper to ask what motives could have impelled the African delegations to oppose a cause which is their own—their own not by reason of mere sentimental ties with the people of Zimbabwe, but rather by reason of the dictates of nature, of necessity and of reason? One need be no genius to recognize that it is we Africans who are most affected, since it is our own brothers that are the victims of colonial oppression in Rhodesia.

52. It would therefore be strange for the African Group to have raised obstacles to their own supreme interest.

53. The foregoing reasons, and others that are implied, constitute solid arguments against allegations that the representatives of Africa have sought to obstruct a meeting of the Security Council.

54. In the light this version, the only true one, it is for the Security Council and the world Press to decide what credence should be attached to prior allegations which represented only one side of the story.

55. In conclusion, the indivisible character of the Rhodesian problem, in both its nature and its scope, requires an examination as broad as it is deep. It would therefore be hazardous, to say the least, to confine the Council's debate to a condemnation of the dummy republic foisted on the rightful owners of Zimbabwe. To be sure, the crocodile tears are flowing freely, particularly in the Labour Party and Government. And on top of this, the Africans are described as lovers of "rhetoric", according to certain reports.

56. Thus, sensationalist oratory in British circles is supposed to appease and disarm the indignation felt throughout Africa on a mere wave of the magic wand.

57. It is our belief, however, that the problem must be placed in its proper context; that is to say, we simply

must change the lot of the Zimbabwe people instead of confining ourselves to a denunciation of the new status that the colonial clique in Rhodesia has arrogated to itself.

58. It is the enormous complexity of this situation and the activity that characterizes it which makes it necessary to postpone discussion of the problem until next week.

59. This is a formal proposal along the same lines as that just put forward by the representative of Zambia.

60. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I wish to speak very shortly with reference to the two statements to which we have just listened from African representatives.

61. First I wish to say that I do not think it would be profitable or useful for us to go over in this Council the consultations that were privately undertaken between members of the Council before we met. All I would say is that in discussions with other members of the Council what I had to say was very courteously considered. When there was a request for a postponement I readily agreed with it, and when I urged that we should meet today there was acceptance by those with whom I had those discussions. I had the opportunity of saying before that I appreciate the spirit in which those discussions were undertaken and I am grateful to those with whom I talked this matter over under your wise direction, Mr. President. Certainly I have no complaint.

62. Then, with reference to the statement made by the representative of Zambia, I would thank him for the spirit in which he spoke. There was much that he said with which I can readily agree, particularly with regard to the starting-point of our purposes: to see an end to the illegal régime and to see that the interests of all the people of Rhodesia are given full weight. I was glad to hear him speak as he did and I thank him for the way in which he referred to what I had said.

63. With regard to the statement made by the Ambassador of Burundi, I would merely say that I believe the question of recognition is of very great consequence; I do not think that it should be minimized, and I doubt if he would wish to minimize it. The purpose of the statement I made today was to say that here was a single purpose which I believed we should pursue, and that I myself felt that we should pursue it without delay. On that, at least, we could be fully agreed on immediate action.

64. I would go on to say, with reference to both speeches from the African representatives, that certainly we shall welcome the intervention of the Foreign Ministers who are to come here and who were previously in session in Addis Ababa. I am sure that their participation in our debate will facilitate our consideration of these vital issues. Since a proposal has been made by the two African representatives for a short postponement, I could certainly not oppose that propo-

osal. I repeat that I believe we should act on the question of recognition, on which we are all agreed immediately and I trust that when we meet again, which will be in only a day or two I believe, we shall take this subject first. I shall so urge when we meet again.

65. As I say, I would not oppose the proposal which was put forward by the representatives of Africa. In waiting for a day or two to resume our debate and in the hope that we can then deal with the question of recognition first, I would merely say that I have the confident belief that there is no member of this Council that does not agree that it is right that a call should go to the whole world that the illegal régime and the illegal Republic should be recognized by no one.

66. It is in that confidence that I am prepared to acquiesce in the proposal that our debate should be adjourned for a day or two for the purposes which have been stated.

67. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): In the light of the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom, I believe that in so far as possible I should explain the position of my delegation, which is also the position of the African delegations in this Council.

68. It goes without saying that no African Government would or could oppose the condemnation of Ian Smith's proclamation of the alleged Republic of Rhodesia. Neither would any African Government encourage or, much less, approve the recognition of the Republic which was just established at Salisbury. However, we believe that in the light of the situations that developed in the past—that is to say, from 11 November 1965 to 1 March 1970—the United Kingdom Government knew that the attitude of the Rhodesian settlers would force it into the position in the United Nations in which we find it today.

69. Thus, to rectify the positions taken previously, where we contented ourselves with condemnations, in my delegation's opinion, we must find an over-all solution which would come to grips with both the substance as well as the superficial aspects which, after all, serve only to compel us to keep this problem constantly on the Security Council's agenda.

70. The problem is indivisible. For when we condemned the Constitution of the Ian Smith régime, when we decreed selective sanctions and later general sanctions, were those remedies so effective that we can again adopt fragmentary and ineffective solutions? Would it not be in the interest of the Security Council and of the United Nations as a whole to put a final end to the situation we are dealing with?

71. We should therefore like to make our position abundantly clear. Far be it from us to maintain that it is not urgent to appeal to every Government in the world to ensure that no one ventures to recognize the republican Government of Ian Smith; but we are convinced that if the Security Council were again to adopt



the draft resolution as it has been submitted, to us this would again be a duplication of effort because within a few days we would have to take up the matter anew and try to consider it as a whole.

72. I think the representative of the United Kingdom will understand that we are not opposed to having this question, which on his initiative has been inscribed in the agenda, considered as an integral part of the entire question of Rhodesia.

73. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. Ambassador, briefly before turning to the question under discussion I should like on behalf of my delegation to welcome you as you assume the high office of President of the Security Council. May I say that we fully share your hope that, despite its history and the associations with its name, March will be a peaceful month? We are also firmly convinced that, with your distinguished diplomatic experience, tact and great practical knowledge of diplomatic affairs, you will discharge the responsible functions of the Presidency of the Security Council with the brilliant effectiveness that characterizes your work.

74. We listened very closely to the statements made by the representatives of Zambia and Burundi, which shed light on the behind-the-scenes aspects of the preparations for today's meeting and for the Council's discussion of this important question. We were most pleased to hear those representatives refer to the attention and courtesy they had shown the United Kingdom representative, who had taken the initiative in bringing this question before the Security Council.

75. Nevertheless, we cannot help feeling that it would have been natural and logical for the United Kingdom representative to show the same attention and courtesy with regard to the observations and wishes of the African representatives in the Security Council. There are three of them, but they speak on behalf of more than forty African States. When a clash of this kind takes place in the Security Council, it is obvious that both sides, or, more precisely, all members of the Council, must take account of such observations and wishes and must not reckon with those wishes alone, regardless of whether they emanate from a member of the Security Council, or from some other member or members of the Council having an interest in the question under discussion.

76. Three Ministers for Foreign Affairs of African States have been given special authority by a distinguished international organization, the Organization of African Unity, to represent Africa in the Security Council's discussion of the question of Southern Rhodesia, which is of very great importance for the whole of Africa and the entire world. They would unquestionably have been pleased to attend this meeting and hear Lord Caradon's statement. Unfortunately, this was not kept in mind, and Lord Caradon delivered his statement today in their absence. That, of course, will inevitably have an effect on the further course of our discussion. It seems to me that it would have been logical and natural if account had been taken of

this unusual situation which has arisen for Lord Caradon, for the African representatives in the Council and for all of us. I therefore feel that the explanations given by the representatives of Zambia and Burundi are fully justified and natural. The Security Council should unquestionably take them into account and express regret that the special circumstances that have arisen in connexion with the discussion on which we are about to embark have been disregarded and that today's meeting of the Security Council has begun in the absence of three Ministers for Foreign Affairs of African States who had received special authority to represent Africa and its international organization at this meeting for the discussion of such a critical and important question as the—I think we all recognize—unilateral and illegal acts of the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia vis-à-vis the African population of that country, the people of Zimbabwe.

77. The question of recognition and non-recognition has also arisen. The matter of refraining from recognizing this illegal régime is unquestionably of great international importance. However, it is also appropriate to approach the question from another point of view: is non-recognition alone sufficient? My delegation will have occasion at a later stage to state its views on the question under discussion. Even at today's meeting, however, the question inevitably arises: is it sufficient for all States to withhold recognition from this illegal régime? We share the opinion of the African States and their representatives that it is not sufficient. That goes without saying. We should therefore not pretend that this is some sort of particularly important political act. It is self-evident that the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia must not be recognized by any self-respecting State. However, that is not enough. I imagine that all of us, including the United Kingdom representative, would find it useful if we agreed to call a regular meeting on this question for next week. I will not name a day, because I do not know the wishes of the African representatives—we shall support them in this matter—but let us assume that it will be Tuesday. We can all put the time to good use by considering the question of what more effective measures must be taken in the present situation. We hope that the United Kingdom representative will also ponder this matter.

78. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I do not wish to prolong this discussion. I would say only that with regard to the speech made by the Soviet representative I am glad that he would publicly state his agreement with me that the question of recognition is important and urgent. I suspect that he did not intend to take part in our discussion this morning, but unfortunately the Soviet representative finds the temptation to make mischief irresistible. I would merely wish to say to him that his intervention today was misguided and misdirected.

79. What happened was—he was not aware of the fact, perhaps, but I will tell him—that the African representatives had asked for a postponement from the first day on which it was proposed that the Council

should be called. I agreed. Subsequently, in view of the importance and urgency of the recognition question, I asked that we should meet not later than today. They agreed. This is the way consultations are carried out and this is the way they should be conducted. I have no complaint and I paid tribute to the way in which the discussions had been undertaken.

80. I think it is unhelpful and unfortunate that, at this stage, when we have agreed together—and I have not raised objection to the postponement for a few days, although I believe we should act as soon as we can—we should be forced to consider and continue discussions which can bring no benefit, or indeed no prestige, to our Council.

81. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I can assure Lord Caradon that I made my brief comments not because I was yielding to temptation but out of a sense of justice. I do not believe that it is Lord Caradon's intention to deprive me of the right to have my own views on this question and on the situation that has arisen.

82. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As no one else wishes to speak at this time, allow me first to thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his very kind words concerning my country. For the people of Colombia, it will always be a source of pride that we should have been likened to a university.

83. I also wish to thank the representatives of Zambia, Burundi and the Soviet Union for the words of encouragement they expressed to me in my capacity as President of the Security Council.

84. The representatives of Zambia and Burundi have proposed that the meeting should be adjourned, and if I hear no objections I shall proceed accordingly. Pursuant to the consultations I have held with the members of the Council, the next meeting of the Council on the item before us will be held Tuesday, 10 March, at 3 p.m.

*The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.*

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