

UNITED NATIONS

UN LIBRARY

MAR 23 1976

UN/DA COLLECTION



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

COPY:  
DO NOT REMOVE  
FROM ROOM  
L-201 (WWBB)

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR

# 1654<sup>th</sup>

MEETING: 28 JULY 1972

NEW YORK

---

## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1654) .....	1
Adoption of the agenda .....	1
Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia: Special report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) (S/10632) .....	1

#### NOTE

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

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

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

## SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 28 July 1972, at 11.45 a.m.

*President:* Mr. Carlos ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Belgium, China, France, Guinea, India, Italy, Japan, Panama, Somalia, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1654)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:  
Special report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) (S/10632).

*The meeting was called to order at 12.10 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia

#### Special report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) (S/10632\*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the outset I should like to welcome our Secretary-General among us. May I tell him how happy we are to have him sitting here in the Council with us after the extremely important work that he has been doing in Europe and the important visits he has paid to different Member countries of the United Nations.

2. The Council will now take up consideration of the item on the agenda for today. I call first upon the representative of the Sudan, Mr. Abdulla, who is also Chairman of the Special Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968).

3. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): I should like to start by talking about you, Mr. President, because this is the first time that I have spoken during your term of office. I should like to congratulate you most heartily on your assumption of the Presidency, and also to express the delight of my delegation at seeing you in that office because of your qualities, which are known to everyone. During the short period when the Security Council was meeting in Addis

Ababa, and now during the present period I have observed your outstanding qualities and abilities, which are very helpful to the Security Council.

4. Mr. President, I should like also to join you in welcoming the Secretary-General after his very active tour in the service of world peace. He is surely most welcome amongst us.

5. I should like to say from the outset that I am presenting this report not in the name of my delegation but as Chairman of the sanctions Committee. In my intervention, I am going to explain the report itself briefly, and then, later on, when the subject has been clarified, we will introduce the draft resolution itself. Thus, in my capacity as Chairman of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968), it is my privilege to introduce to the Security Council the special report of that Committee [S/10632] of 9 May 1972, and later on it will be my privilege to submit the draft resolution appertaining thereto.

6. In introducing the report, I beg to make reference to paragraph 6 of Security Council resolution 314 (1972) of 28 February 1972 in which the Council :

*“Requests the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) to meet, as a matter of urgency, to consider ways and means by which the implementation of sanctions may be ensured and to submit to the Security Council, not later than 15 April 1972, a report containing recommendations in this respect, including any suggestions which the Committee might wish to make concerning its terms of reference and any other measures designed to ensure the effectiveness of its work”.*

7. To the best of my judgement, and as Chairman of the Committee, I should like to state, in all fairness, that the members of the Committee, during the 38 meetings devoted to the report, worked seriously and devotedly to arrive, by consensus, at the document under consideration. It was indeed very hard work for all the 15 members of the Committee since every paragraph of the report, indeed every word, led to long and protracted debates in order to reach a general consensus on its part III alone. Points of view were sometimes so far apart that it was impossible to reach an agreement. Hence, the Committee was finally reconciled to recording individual stands in part IV of the report.

8. The final position, as shown by the report itself, is this. Parts I and II and part III, paragraph 7, of the report have

\* See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1972.*

been accepted by all delegations, except for the delegation of the United Kingdom which entered a blanket reservation on all these parts, on paragraph 7, and on part IV as well. As indicated earlier, no general agreement was possible on part IV and, consequently, the individual position of representatives was recorded.

9. At this juncture, may I be permitted to give a general idea of part III of the report, namely the recommendations and suggestions, which has been accepted by all representatives except the United Kingdom representative. Paragraph 7 suggests giving the Committee a title relevant to the subject of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, since its present title does not give any indication of its relation to Southern Rhodesia. Some members, if I may be allowed to say so, spoke rather romantically about the new title in relation to the old one. However, the suggested name relates the Committee to Southern Rhodesia in the minds of those who may not be well informed.

10. The recommendations and suggestions contained in paragraphs 8-24 inclusive reflect the general desire of the Committee to find ways and means by which the implementation of sanctions may be ensured. They also suggest and recommend possible terms of reference, as well as some measures designed to ensure the effectiveness of the work of the Committee.

11. Ever since I joined the Committee early in March of this year, I have become convinced, like many of its members, that its method of work, its self-imposed restraint beyond the limits of the mandate, leave much to be desired.

12. Let me be more specific. On receiving any information on suspected cases of violation of sanctions, a colourless note, after prior approval of the Committee and by consensus, is sent by the Secretariat to the parties concerned with the goods or with the transport. The note requests the parties concerned—in that case the Governments—to clear themselves of this suspicion. Invariably, the parties concerned are taken at their own word as innocent of a breach of sanctions. They may even produce documentation which can be reasonably suspected of having been falsified as, for example, with the Governments of Portugal or South Africa.

13. To cut a long story short, at best it takes months, and sometimes years, to prove or disprove the suspicions in the minds of the Committee regarding a particular issue. The result is that the illegal régime of Ian Smith, except in matters of capital equipment and spare parts and perhaps credits from abroad, is conducting an appreciable amount of illicit commercial exchange which has enabled it to survive up to now.

14. In the face of this situation the Committee was not even in a position to inform public opinion of the existence of valid cases of evasions of sanctions as a factor that might discourage the offending countries. It does not even have a system of keeping itself informed about reliable statistics of trade or about inspection of suspected goods from Southern Rhodesia, to say nothing of the difficulty it has, under its present terms, in enlisting the co-operation of non-governmental organizations which have international standing and influence in the world of trade.

15. The recommendations and suggestions, in paragraphs 8-24 inclusive, attempt to make up for those handicaps under which the Committee suffers. Part IV, in the view of the African representatives and those who share their point of view, as shown in paragraph 29 of the report, is most relevant and important for the effective implementation of sanctions. In their view, economic and other sanctions, as covered by Security Council resolutions 253 (1968), 277 (1970) and 314 (1972), can only be meaningful when they can contribute effectively towards achieving "the inalienable rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia to freedom and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960" [*Ibid.*, para. 25]. They further believe that the Council resolutions are being undermined by States who continue to entertain economic and other relations with Southern Rhodesia. In the case of Portugal and South Africa, which openly and persistently refuse to implement sanctions against the illegal Ian Smith régime, these delegations want to see the Council consider appropriate and relevant action.

16. It will be noted that these delegations maintain that the Committee should recommend to the Security Council condemnation of the United States for violating the sanctions. There are others that maintain that sanctions should be extended to include Portugal and South Africa in addition to condemnation of those two countries.

17. Side by side with the aforementioned group of delegations, there is another group of delegations that generally agrees in principle with the representatives of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan and those who share their views but argues that the contents of part IV are beyond the mandate of the Committee and that objections which had been raised before to their substance or procedure or to the competence of the Committee in matters reserved to the Security Council remain still valid. One delegation in this group has expressed sympathy and support in principle for the objective and substance of part IV of the report but reserved its position and did not associate itself with it.

18. I have ventured to go into these details of the report in the hope that this exposé will throw enough light on the principles invoked in the preamble of the draft resolution which will be before the members in due course and on the operative paragraphs contained therein. In consideration of the desire of the African Group in the United Nations, as explained by the members of the Council during those consultations, the draft resolution *in toto* is an attempt to cover only the bare subject of sanctions and the related recommendations and suggestions in part III. The political side of the whole Rhodesian question will come at a later date to this Council. The members of the Council have been consulted informally and we hope that when the draft resolution is submitted at a later time it will meet with the agreement of all.

19. That ends my intervention as Chairman of the sanctions Committee, and I reserve the right of my delegation to speak again when the draft resolution is presented.

20. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of the Sudan for the very kind and generous words he has addressed to me, which I attribute more to his friendship towards me than anything else. I should like to thank him also for the presentation of the report he has just made as Chairman of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968).

21. Mr. HAKSAR (India): Mr. President, as I am speaking for the first time under your presidency, I should like at the outset to associate myself with the congratulations and tributes already extended to you by the representative of India at earlier meetings. My delegation would like also to join in the welcome to the Secretary-General.

22. We are considering today the special report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) on Southern Rhodesia. We have noted that this discussion is to be limited to the special report of the Committee and not to go into the background of the situation in Southern Rhodesia or the recent developments in that area. While abiding by these limits, we feel constrained to point out that it is difficult to separate the work of this Committee and its special report from the context of its political environment and the objectives of implementing the inalienable rights of the people of Zimbabwe which are enshrined in various United Nations resolutions. It is difficult to separate means from ends. Sanctions were decided on as a means for achieving the end, which is freedom and independence for the people of Southern Rhodesia. Any consideration of making sanctions more effective is meaningful only when related to their ultimate goal.

23. On earlier occasions the Indian delegation has emphasized the necessity of strengthening and widening the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, of publicizing violations, of preventing leakages and of strengthening to that end the machinery of the Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968). Therefore we supported resolution 314 (1972), which *inter alia* requested the Committee to prepare a report, which is before us today. We have taken our due part in the preparation of this report. I may add that this is the second occasion India has been a member of this Committee, as it had the privilege of serving as its Chairman during the first three months of its existence in 1968.

24. The Indian delegation has supported all the recommendations, suggestions and proposals contained in parts III and IV of the report. These proposals were worked out after long negotiations and there were a number of positive elements which were excluded in the process. Nevertheless, we feel that the implementation of the proposals now contained in the report would contribute to increasing the relevance and the effectiveness of the Committee's work.

25. It is a matter of regret that some delegations in the Committee could not agree to the proposals in part IV of the report and that one delegation entered a blanket reservation on the entire report. The first of the proposals contained in part IV emphasizes the relationship between means and objectives to which I have already referred. The

remaining three proposals touch upon the heart of the matter for making sanctions more effective. Their expansion and effective action against their violations are logical for this purpose.

26. In this connexion we cannot but view with great concern the repeated violations of sanctions by some nations and the lack of co-operation in implementation by several others. The open defiance by Portugal and South Africa is an even more serious matter requiring urgent action. The dilution of the effectiveness of sanctions which has been caused by all this is clear from the fourth report of the Committee.<sup>1</sup> The trade figures of Southern Rhodesia themselves establish that it could not have fared as well as it has done since sanctions were imposed without the co-operation, direct or indirect, of many Governments. It would nevertheless be wrong to suppose that sanctions have had no effects. Apart from the economic effects, which are important, they have demonstrated that international opinion is determined to deny any respectability to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and stands behind the rights of the Zimbabwe people.

27. We hope, therefore, that sanctions would be strengthened and universally and compulsorily applied with sincerity and scrupulousness by all countries. India has so applied them from the outset and even before. We feel indeed that the scope of sanctions should be extended and, apart from commercial transactions, the boycott of the illegal régime should be applied to communications, passports and postal services as well as cultural, social and other activities. In this context it would be useful if the administering Power could also decide to make sanctions permanent rather than extend them on a year to year basis. It would also be useful if the Secretariat could be asked to prepare an up-to-date list of existing legislation passed by various countries for implementing sanctions. We feel that these could contribute further to ensuring the effectiveness of the sanctions.

28. It is in the light of these considerations that my delegation will consider any proposals put forward with regard to the report which we are now considering.

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of India for the friendly comments which he addressed to me.

30. Mr. VAN USSEL (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has considered with all due attention the special report which has been submitted to the Council by the Committee which was established pursuant to resolution 253 (1968). Furthermore, we were very interested to hear the introduction made by the representative of Sudan, who directed the work of the Committee with skill and devotion to which I should like to pay a tribute.

31. In submitting this document to the Council, the Committee has fulfilled the terms of reference which were given to it in paragraph 6 of resolution 314 (1972) adopted on 28 February last.

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Special Supplement No. 2 and Corrigendum and Special Supplement No. 2A.

32. That was very arduous and represents the culmination of approximately two months of work and some 40 meetings which were held by the Committee. During that time the Committee was taken up almost entirely with the fulfilment of its mandate as well as with the question of its Chairmanship.

33. My delegation welcomes the report of the Committee with a satisfaction all the greater since, unlike the fourth report which was drafted last year, it contains recommendations and suggestions which, although they are not unanimously supported, have at least been supported by a very broad majority.

34. For its part, my delegation associates itself with the recommendations and suggestions which appear in part III of the report. However, one might have expected that this chapter would be presented in the order which was naturally dictated by paragraph 6 of resolution 314 (1972). In fact, it is not without some interest that the self-same recommendation or suggestion should be understood as a means to ensure the implementation of sanctions rather than as relating to the terms of reference of the Committee or to other measures to ensure the effectiveness of its work. My delegation regrets the ambiguity which surrounds that part of the report, not simply because we are anxious to be logical, but because certain recommendations and suggestions have a different purpose according to whether they are regarded as ways of applying sanctions or as links to the mandate of the Committee.

35. Furthermore, the fact that the Committee was able to agree almost unanimously on a number of proposals does not mean that all the difficulties have been resolved. That has not occurred. On the one hand, the delegations of Guinea, Somalia and Sudan submitted additional proposals on which the Committee was unable to agree. On the other, the Committee was divided on the extent of its mandate, which gave rise to fresh controversy.

36. Regarding the African proposals which are described in part IV of the report, my delegation associated itself with the reservations which were entered in that connexion by other members of the Committee. Our objections related to the very substance of certain proposals. In the case of others, reasons of principle prevented us from accepting them. This is true of those which appeared to us to be purely within the terms of reference of the Security Council.

37. The first proposal, which is described in paragraph 25, belongs to this latter category. We rejected it because it was alien to the mandate set out in resolution 314 (1972). But we do not object to the Council, whose prerogative it is, reaffirming the inalienable rights of the people of Rhodesia, Zimbabwe, at the same time as it reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle which they are waging for their freedom and independence.

38. We can also agree with the Council requesting States which continue to maintain economic and other relations with Southern Rhodesia to put an end to that immediately, as is stipulated in the first part of the second proposal, spelt out in paragraph 26 of the report. For its part, my country

has abided by the resolutions of the Security Council on this point and has not maintained any relations whatsoever with Southern Rhodesia.

39. Regarding the other African proposals, their sponsors apparently are seeking to have the Security Council take some time for reflection before considering them. My delegation therefore thinks that it is premature to say anything about them at the present time. We shall do so, of course, when the Council has these matters formally before it.

40. I must now refer to the debate which was once again provoked by the extent of the mandate given to the Committee in Council resolutions 253 (1968) and 277 (1970).

41. In our opinion, the Committee can only play an auxiliary role. Even if the Council would wish it so, it would not be free to delegate to a subordinate body the responsibilities which the Charter has made incumbent on it alone. Furthermore, it would not be useful either for the Committee to be simply a faithful reflection of the Council and to be competent, as the Council is, in relation to all aspects of the question of Southern Rhodesia. Conceived as it was to function as a standing body, the Security Council, unlike the General Assembly whose activities are intermittent, does not need organs to exercise its powers in its name and its place.

42. Finally, the Committee should not allow itself to be distracted from its essential task, which is to verify the implementation of sanctions, by inquiries about problems of method, however fundamental they may be. It would be unfortunate if after four years of existence the Committee were to continue endless controversy which has already excessively delayed its work.

43. I should like to conclude my statement by recalling how necessary it is for all States covered by resolution 253 (1968) to apply fully the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. For its part my country has complied with its obligations and will continue to do so as long as the sanctions remain in force. The attitude of some States which violate sanctions can only be a source of regret to us.

44. I should like to reserve my right to speak again when we have had the draft resolution presented to us.

45. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): We understand that this is a sort of partial, interim dealing by the Security Council with one aspect of the Rhodesian item on its agenda. Our task for today is a particular and specific one: to adopt a resolution through which the Council not only takes cognizance of or generally passes a favourable opinion on the special report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968), but also concretely adopts the new measures recommended by the special report and adds them to the already existing measures for the effective implementation of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

46. As for the over-all and most important political context of the Southern Rhodesian situation, especially

after the Pearce Commission's report,<sup>2</sup> it is our understanding that the Security Council will take up that aspect of the Southern Rhodesian issue not later than September this year. As far as we are concerned here, we should like to state quite clearly and with deep conviction that all the developments in and around Southern Rhodesia since we dealt with the question last in February this year have once more confirmed that we have to continue with the strictest implementation of sanctions against the illegal Ian Smith régime as one of the most significant ways in which we can support the legitimate struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for its self-determination and independence.

47. Before going more specifically into the contents of the special report, I should like here to compliment the Ambassador of the Sudan, Mr. Rahmatalla Abdulla, Chairman of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968), for the excellent work the Committee has done under his able, wise and patient chairmanship in producing a report of substance with substantive recommendations and suggestions which, if introduced into the living practice of all States, will constitute a significant contribution in our efforts for the implementation of sanctions.

48. In this connexion we regard it as the only natural and constructive way for the Security Council to approve all the recommendations and suggestions that are contained in section III of the special report. Let me briefly mention just some of the recommended measures which in my delegation's opinion are very important.

49. In paragraph 7 there is a recommendation concerning the change of the name of the Committee to one which would reflect its nature and its task more adequately than the existing name. Paragraphs 9 and 10 stress the need for the Committee to have information from more Member States and for them to be prompt in reporting cases of suspected sanctions evasions to the Committee, as well as the usefulness of information from intergovernmental organizations and specialized agencies on a continuing basis. Furthermore, the prerogatives of the Committee in dealing with non-governmental international organizations and persons competent for the purpose, in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, are outlined. Governments are urged to provide information or other forms of assistance and co-operation from all suitable sources in their territories and also to give prompt attention to requests for information from the Committee.

50. Circulation to all members of information from published sources, including press reports, regarding suspected violations of sanctions and consideration by the Committee of any appropriate action that might be required has already proved to be a very useful practice of the Committee. Setting the Committee's meetings to take place not less than twice a month, and in urgent cases at the request of any member, and establishing a system of periodic reminders and appropriate measures to ensure

<sup>2</sup> Rhodesia: Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972), Cmnd. 4964.

compliance with the Committee's requests for replies from Governments is intended to improve the effectiveness of its work.

51. With regard to the possibility of issuing a press release at the end of each meeting—as mentioned in paragraph 18 of the special report—this has already become a practice of the Committee, and a very useful one.

52. The Committee's request in paragraph 19 of the report to "all Governments to exercise closer scrutiny of such documents and to conduct an actual examination of cargoes to ensure that they are not of Southern Rhodesian origin", and its decision recorded in paragraph 20 to resume its studies concerning the examination of commercial documents in view of their falsification on a large scale can also greatly enhance the effective implementation of sanctions.

53. As for paragraph 22, citing the relevant subparagraphs of resolutions 253 (1968) and 277 (1970), it is our understanding that the scope of the Committee's responsibilities extends to all political aspects of the situation in and around Southern Rhodesia that affect the implementation of sanctions and not merely their technical aspects.

54. Lastly, let me just point out at this stage that we also strongly support the proposals of three African delegations, contained in part IV of the special report, regarding them as necessary measures for the implementation of the aforementioned recommendations and suggestions.

55. For these reasons, at this juncture in dealing with this problem, we shall support any proposal to endorse the special report of the Committee on sanctions and its main recommendations and measures.

56. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): I should first like to extend the appreciation of my delegation to my friend and colleague the representative of the Sudan for the excellent manner in which he presented the special report and also for the excellent leadership which he gave the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) during the marathon meetings which it held earlier this year.

57. When my delegation addressed the Security Council in February on this question of sanctions, I pointed out that it was my Government's view that, while sanctions alone would not bring a speedy end to the rebellion that had taken place in Southern Rhodesia, they were an important measure which had to be maintained with all the vigour at the disposal of the United Nations in order that pressures would be maintained on the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia so that it was forced to struggle for economic survival and forced into a position of insecurity. At that time I also emphasized on behalf of my Government that sanctions must be preserved and intensified to maintain the illegal régime's present international isolation and to sustain a world view of the unacceptability of the Smith régime. If there were no sanctions the drift towards recognizing it *de jure* would follow as surely as day followed night. Therefore my delegation appealed to the Security Council at that time to continue to act in concert on the basis of the

objectives established by the United Nations, to continue to apply the force of moral, political and economic pressures against the rebel régime and to remain committed to the proposition that the sure guarantee of justice for the African people of Southern Rhodesia lay in their being able to control their destiny through the full exercise of their political and human rights.

58. Speaking of human rights, although it is not really connected with the report now before the Council one cannot help mentioning the distressing report that appeared in today's issue of *The New York Times* concerning the ruthless persecution of Africans in Southern Rhodesia by the régime's evicting them from their ancestral land, the introduction of measures of *apartheid* and ruthless racial discrimination. All this causes us a great deal of anxiety and I trust that when we do consider the question of Southern Rhodesia in the light of the application of sanctions delegations not only will vote for the continuation of these sanctions but also will endeavour to ensure that the political will to enforce sanctions continues.

59. On the question of sanctions we have a whole pyramid of resolutions, and yet we know that the régime in Southern Rhodesia has been able to maintain itself economically and is doing so with the co-operation of Member States of this Organization.

60. As my colleagues informed the Council, it is the intention of the African Group to take up the political aspects of Southern Rhodesia in September and we hope that by then Member States that are still giving only marginal support to the implementation of sanctions and to other aspects of Security Council resolutions dealing with the putting down of the rebellion will certainly modify their attitudes and give their full co-operation.

61. The report before the Council, in the opinion of my delegation, stresses three important measures. First, the need for Member States, intergovernmental agencies and non-governmental organizations to provide the United Nations with information on cases of suspected violations. Hitherto, the Committee had taken cognizance only of reports which had been submitted to it by Member States and those were far too few. Indeed, the main provider of information has been the United Kingdom. Yet we know that there are many countries with economic interests in southern Africa, with an economic intelligence system at their disposal, that know quite well what is going on in the area but are not prepared to give their co-operation to the United Nations so that we would at least have at our disposal an adequate amount of information upon which to work. I am glad that the Committee has now entered into relations with intergovernmental organizations such as the Organization of African Unity and has invited that organization to provide it with all relevant information regarding the sanctions and methods for improving the effectiveness of sanctions. The same is true of the relationship which has now been established between the United Nations and the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee.

62. It has also been a source of satisfaction to my delegation to note that the recommendation contained in paragraph 11 has now enabled non-governmental organiza-

tions with an active interest in the affairs of Rhodesia to provide information on sanctions as and when they come to their notice. An excellent report has been received from the African Bureau in London; we have received excellent reports from the American Committee on Africa. Indeed, there are a number of other organizations which have shown that apart from governments people from all walks of life are interested in ensuring that justice is done in Southern Rhodesia and that the decisions of the Security Council should be supported not only by governments but even by the peoples of Member States of the United Nations.

63. The third part of the report touches on a very important aspect, namely, that any documentation coming out of southern Africa, particularly from the Portuguese-controlled Territories of Mozambique and Angola and from South Africa, "in respect of products and goods which are also produced by Southern Rhodesia should be considered *prima facie* suspect" [S/10632, para. 19]. This is necessary in view of the fact that Portugal and South Africa have openly refused to lend their co-operation to the United Nations. Of course, the question will arise—in fact, it is mentioned in one of the proposals made by the delegations of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan in part IV of the report, paragraph 27—that it is time that the Council now decided what action it should take against those countries in view of their refusal to co-operate with the United Nations on a mandatory decision of the Security Council.

64. If this Council is in earnest and is serious in its decisions it is difficult to conceive how it hopes to win respect for those decisions and to make them effective if it continues to act as if Portugal and South Africa had a special status in this Organization, as if they were above international law, above the decisions of this Council, above Article 25 of the Charter. Of course the action to be taken against Portugal and South Africa will certainly be brought into focus in September when the political aspects of the matter are discussed by the Security Council *in extenso*.

65. The final observation I have to make on the report relates to the fact that in its recommendations the Committee now recognizes the need for the employment of experts in various fields. Paragraph 20, which deals with "the large-scale falsification of commercial documents for goods originating from Southern Rhodesia", which is indeed the root of our troubles, recommends that expert advice should be provided "to assist in the examination and devising of additional measures for preventing the circumvention of sanctions." Hitherto, our Committee had not allowed itself this facility. We were a Committee of diplomats and not of technocrats and unable at times to understand the technical implications of the problem.

66. Paragraph 24 of the report addresses itself to the most important question "of the insurance of all cargoes of Southern Rhodesian origin and of all cargoes destined for Southern Rhodesia together with the question of the insurance of ships, aircraft, road and rail transport involved in the conveyance of those cargoes". Shippers and suppliers would think twice if insurance companies treated all cargo destined for Southern Rhodesia or coming from Southern Rhodesia as contraband. I am glad that the Committee



recommends in paragraph 24 that it should "request the Secretary-General to make available without delay the necessary expert advice which would clarify the role of insurance companies".

67. My delegation has these few observations to make on the report and we reserve the right to speak later on the question when the draft resolution is brought before the Council.

68. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): I still reserve my right to intervene on behalf of my delegation on the question under consideration. But since there are no speakers at present, and because of certain developments in our consultations, I

wish to move that we meet in the afternoon when a draft resolution will be presented to the Council after some further consultations.

69. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I do in fact feel that a suspension of our work until this afternoon might be well advised since it would permit the submission of a draft resolution which is now being prepared and its distribution in all the working languages.

70. Therefore, if there is no objection, the Council will adjourn until 3.30 this afternoon.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*

---

### كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب الى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

#### 如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

#### HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

#### COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

#### КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

#### COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.

---