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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.

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SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 28 July 1972, at 3.30 p.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/1655)

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 3.55 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*): We will now continue consideration of the item on the agenda. I would draw the Council's attention to document S/10747, which contains a draft resolution sponsored by the delegations of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan.
2. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): I am speaking to introduce, on behalf of the delegations of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan, the draft resolution contained in document S/10747, which pertains to the special report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968).
3. The draft resolution is a genuine attempt by the sponsors to rally all the members of the Security Council to accept unanimously the recommendations and suggestions contained in part III of the special report. The main idea behind it is too simple and too modest to be contested. It seeks only to tidy up this Committee and to provide it in a modest way with the possibility of being informed on matters of evasion of sanctions and with a possible

approach to sources of information that may be helpful to it in conducting its task.

4. The representative of Somalia has already indicated the relevant paragraphs and explained their aims [1654th meeting]. It is the belief of the sponsors that it is futile and meaningless for the Committee to deal with the question of sanctions as a matter of routine practice or as a matter not connected with the whole question of Southern Rhodesia, as is invariably the case. It is their strong belief that without the active and genuine co-operation of all States and non-governmental organizations the main purpose behind sanctions cannot be served, namely, the end of the illegal, repressive and racial régime of Ian Smith. This co-operation for the implementation of sanctions is a prerequisite to the independence of the Zimbabwe people through majority rule.

5. There is reliable information that, after the investigation of the Pearce Commission¹ and because of its revelations, Ian Smith is moving fast towards legalizing; *de facto* if not *de jure*, an *apartheid* system in order to preserve his white autocratic rule. There is evidence also that firm trade agreements and contracts have been signed with foreign firms. It is beyond doubt that a good deal of undetected evasion of sanctions is going on.

6. For these reasons it is the conviction of the sponsors and many other delegations in this Council that had it not been for the sake of enlisting the co-operation of every delegation the draft resolution and recommendations and suggestions to the Council would have been much stronger so as to befit the tightening and widening of the scope of sanctions. It is only because of our endeavour to acquire unanimity on the draft resolution that we have proposed operative paragraphs 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. It will be seen that paragraphs 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 are, in their totality, mild in dealing with sanctions, and are without the political importance that should be attached to sanctions as one facet of the Southern Rhodesian question. These paragraphs even avoid condemning Member States which breach sanctions. They make no mention of Portugal and South Africa, as they should, as States which obstinately defy international opinion in the question of sanctions. It is hoped that before September the relevant resolutions of the Security Council on the question of Southern Rhodesia, including sanctions, will be respected by all.

7. Finally, operative paragraph 10 requests the Secretary-General to provide all appropriate assistance to the Security

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

¹ See *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.

Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia in the discharge of its responsibilities. While on the subject of the Secretary-General, may I hasten to pay a tribute to the efficient members of the Secretariat and to the zeal and dedication which they demonstrated during the long and continuous meetings of the Committee. Despite their limited number and the frustrations imposed by the Committee itself, by the nature of its routine and meticulous task, they have done excellent work.

8. In conclusion, I wish to appeal to all members of the Council to vote unanimously in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/10747, dated 28 July 1972.

9. I should like to confine myself to this brief introduction of the draft resolution which is before the Council, limited in scope and non-polemical as it is.

10. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, disagreeable or uncomfortable though it may be to come back from holiday, it does give me great pleasure, at any rate, that I arrive back in time to be able to sit under your wise presidency of this Council for the last two series of meetings that we shall have this month. It gives me the greatest pleasure to be able to come and do this and to welcome you in your capacity as President.

11. As others have already pointed out, it has been agreed to restrict this debate to the examination of the special report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968), contained in document S/10632. The representative of the Sudan, to whom, I must add, we are all grateful for his untiring efforts as Chairman of the Committee, has set the example in this respect and, of course, I shall likewise confine my own remarks to this subject.

12. The purpose of the draft resolution before us is to approve the recommendations and suggestions contained in part III of the special report and to call upon all concerned to take the necessary action. Because of the timing and to some extent the manner of the presentation of various parts of the special report my delegation was obliged at the time to make a blanket reservation on the whole of it. That did not, of course, alter the fact that the objective of making the Committee an effective instrument for the application of mandatory sanctions is one that we have always put high on our list of priorities. Indeed, many of the reservations we have expressed about certain proposals connected with the Committee's work—for example, the proposal that its terms of reference should be further extended—were precisely because we feared that those proposals would hamper rather than increase the Committee's effectiveness.

13. Of the proposals that figure in part III of the present report several originated in suggestions which my delegation has made or been associated with in the past. Some of them indeed are repetitions of decisions previously taken, and we would have hoped that the Committee could already have proceeded with them on its own authority. However that may be, we are glad now to join with other members of the Council in endorsing these recommendations.

14. We all know that it is not enough for us to adopt resolutions here; what counts is how far they are complied with and how effectively they are followed up. The sanctions Committee has a number of cases and much material under investigation. My delegation hopes that it will now address itself to these cases and this material. There is much work to be done by the sanctions Committee in this area.

15. As for the question of the evasion of sanctions the views of my Government on this were set out by my Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons, and I should like to repeat them now. He said:

“In the successive annual reports of the United Nations sanctions supervisory Committee—the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968)—various countries have been mentioned in cases of suspected sanctions violations involving their nationals. For the most part the countries mentioned are those named in the approximately 170 notes which we have submitted to the United Nations sanctions Committee, not by way of accusation but so as to enable the Governments of the countries concerned to investigate whether a breach of sanctions has occurred. A list of the countries so named would be misleading. Our notes are no proof of an offence and in certain cases the reference to an individual country was purely incidental, for instance when a ship with suspect cargo called at a number of ports in different countries.

“The evidence for widespread sanctions evasions by other countries is in fact general rather than particular. It is of four main types.

“There is firstly and most importantly the calculation made by the United Nations sanctions Committee by reference to recorded trade statistics that at least one-third and possibly as much as half of Rhodesia's exports are reaching United Nations member countries which claim to be observing sanctions.

“Secondly, there are the Rhodesians' own published export figures. After a drop of 40 per cent in domestic exports by 1968 in comparison with 1965 as the relevant Security Council resolutions began to take effect, there was a steady increase until 1971 when the corresponding figure was only 2.5 per cent below that of 1965.

“Thirdly, there are the 170 specific cases of suspected evasions which we have reported to the United Nations sanctions Committee. It is inconceivable that all of those transactions were innocent, yet in no case that I know of has a prosecution resulted.

“Lastly, there is the inference to be drawn by the Rhodesians' apparent ability to import up to a level limited only by the availability of foreign exchange. Visitors to Rhodesia have commented on the extent to which traditional British exports have been replaced by supplies from other countries.

“Granted that an export to an innocent destination may eventually end up in Rhodesia without the export-

ter's knowledge, that an importer may in the majority of cases have no reasonable cause to suspect a Rhodesian origin and that the Rhodesians have in the course of time and increasing experience become more adept at covering their tracks, the over-all picture does nevertheless suggest that had the general application of sanctions been as conscientious as it has in Britain many more violations would have been detected and punished. It is in short the will on the part of a number of Governments to implement sanctions rigorously which appears to have been lacking."

16. That is what my Foreign Secretary said, and as the quotation from his statement which I have just read makes clear, the question of responsibility of Governments is a very delicate one. My Government would not wish in these circumstances to single out any particular Government for blame. The present draft resolution rightly does not do this. It is nevertheless essential that pressure should be maintained on the Rhodesian régime. This draft resolution sets out again clearly the responsibilities of Governments and of the United Nations to this end. It also makes certain practical suggestions to both for the ways in which these responsibilities may be carried out. My delegation will therefore be glad to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

17. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he said about me.

18. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): Mr. President, may I first join in the many appropriate comments that have been made about your leadership not just here in the Council but also in the effective way in which the sometimes difficult consultations have been carried out.

19. I wish also to express our apologies to our fellow members of the Council for having delayed the meeting this morning, but there were last minute, intensive consultations on the draft resolution on which the Council will vote. I am sure that we contributed more than our fair share of the delay, although it was in an effort, I might say, to try to achieve compromise.

20. The United States had been under the impression that the draft resolution concerning the special report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) would be a procedural one. Regrettably, while the Council could have acted expeditiously on such a procedural draft resolution, the present draft resolution to our mind is more substantive than procedural, especially in view of the inclusion of operative paragraphs 5, 6 and 7. We are however most grateful for the courtesies shown us in the consultations and negotiations that preceded this meeting.

21. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank Ambassador Bush for the words he addressed to me in his statement.

22. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): With regard to the question of strengthening sanctions against Southern Rhodesia I should like to make the following remarks.

23. First, the white racist régime of Southern Rhodesia is a direct outcome of British colonialist policy. The Chinese Government and people have consistently given firm support to the Zimbabwe people in their just struggle against colonialist rule and racial discrimination and for national independence. In order to support the just struggle of the Zimbabwe people, the Chinese Government has always refrained from having any diplomatic contacts with the white racist régime of Southern Rhodesia and long ago severed all economic and trade relations with it, direct or indirect. We firmly support the various resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and are ready to work together with justice-upholding countries for promoting the implementation of these resolutions. The Chinese Government has always been scrupulous in abiding by this just position.

24. Secondly, recently the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its ninth session held in June 1972 at Rabat adopted a series of important resolutions. At a time when the Security Council is discussing the question of Southern Rhodesia, special mention should be made of the Conference's resolution on Zimbabwe. This resolution reflected the firm determination of the Zimbabwe people to unite as one and fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for national independence. It also expressed the African countries' strong position for the strengthening of sanctions against the white racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. It condemned the United States Government for its continued importation of chrome ore from Zimbabwe in open contravention of Security Council resolutions 253 (1968), 277 (1970) and 314 (1972) and contrary to the obligations assumed by the United States under Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations. The Chinese delegation maintains that in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, the Council should support the Zimbabwe people's just struggle for national independence. The Council should also sternly condemn the United States for its recent continuous importation of chrome and nickel from Southern Rhodesia.

25. Thirdly, the Chinese delegation supports the four-point proposals submitted by the delegations of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan in the special report of the sanctions Committee [*S/10632, paras. 25-28*]. Over a long period, the South African authorities and the Portuguese colonialist Government, with the support of certain major Powers, have given support to the white racist régime of Southern Rhodesia by various means and have done their utmost to undermine the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. In order to give more effective support to the struggle of the Zimbabwe people, the Chinese delegation holds that the Council should widen the sanctions to cover South Africa and Portugal.

26. Having stated the above views, the Chinese delegation considers that the draft resolution submitted by Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan reflects the demand of the great majority of Member States for strengthening the sanctions. Therefore, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

27. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation has already had the pleasure of welcoming you, Mr. President, to your responsible post, and we should like to take this opportunity to associate ourselves with those delegations which have again welcomed you here today.
28. We should like to express our great satisfaction and pleasure at the return of the Secretary-General and we welcome him here to New York.
29. The Security Council has met today to consider the special report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) on Southern Rhodesia, submitted in pursuance of its resolution 314 (1972) which was adopted on 28 February 1972. This would seem to relate to one particular question, but in fact it reflects, as in a drop of water, the wider and more important problem of Southern Rhodesia as a whole, which is a cause of grave concern to world public opinion and to the Council.
30. The extent of the people's concern about the situation in Southern Rhodesia is demonstrated by the recent resolution adopted on the question at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Members of the Organization of African Unity held at Rabat in June of this year.
31. As we see it, the objective of the Security Council as far as Southern Rhodesia is concerned is the enjoyment of the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence. Recognition of the legality of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for freedom and independence has repeatedly been confirmed by the Council in its resolutions. The Council and, of course, the Committee which serves as the Council's working arm in the search for ways and means of carrying out the task in question, should direct their efforts towards the attainment of that objective, i.e. the freedom and independence of the people of Zimbabwe.
32. One important means of exerting influence on the racist Smith régime, which has usurped the rights of the people of Zimbabwe, is the system of mandatory sanctions. Consequently, it is one of the main tasks of the Committee to increase the effectiveness of such mandatory sanctions.
33. The Committee's special report submitted for consideration by the Council contains recommendations which permit us to take definite steps forward towards the achievement of those goals. The Soviet delegation considers that the positive significance of the Committee's report lies in the fact that it improves the functioning of that subsidiary body of the Council. In our opinion, the fact that the chairmanship of the Committee is on a permanent basis is a step in this direction. Clear affirmation of the correctness of this procedure, consideration of which, as we all remember, occupied us for some time in March of this year, is provided by the Committee report now before us, which was drawn up under the chairmanship of the representative of an African State, the Sudan—the distinguished Ambassador Rahmatalla Abdulla. A further positive development is that this report represents a new step in the process of restoring the Committee's terms of reference as envisaged in all the provisions of the relevant Council resolutions. The report also provides for a number of practical measures designed to increase the effectiveness of the sanctions against the Smith régime.
34. Of course, all this is still far from being enough to ensure the attainment of the basic and major objective of the United Nations with regard to Southern Rhodesia, which is to eliminate the rule of the racist régime of Ian Smith over the people of Zimbabwe and to secure the enjoyment by the people of Zimbabwe of their inalienable right to freedom and independence. In the Committee the Soviet delegation, together with the delegations of the African and other countries, insisted, when the draft report was being prepared, that the Security Council should be recommended to take more decisive and more effective measures. We considered, as we still do, that the Council should request all States continuing to have relations with the Smith régime to end immediately such commercial, economic and other ties. States which are openly violating the sanctions established by the Council, and above all the United States of America, should be condemned.
35. The Soviet delegation also considers that the Security Council should, without delay, extend the application of sanctions to Portugal and South Africa, whose role in the violation of sanctions and the provision of assistance to the Smith régime is well known to all. The Soviet Union, together with the African and other countries, also spoke out in the Committee in favour of the adoption of recommendations to the Council to the effect that sanctions against the racist régime of Ian Smith itself should be broadened.
36. Unfortunately, these just demands of the African countries, supported by the Soviet Union and by the majority of States Members of the Council, encountered opposition on the part of the colonialist Powers.
37. The Soviet delegation considers that the Security Council must take appropriate measures to ensure that the main objective, namely, the enjoyment by the people of Zimbabwe of their inalienable right to freedom and independence, is achieved as soon as possible.
38. Despite certain shortcomings, which are due to the causes we have mentioned, the Committee's report contains a large number of positive elements, enabling the Committee to move in the right direction in its work. As we know, the report was approved by the Organization of African Unity at its meeting at Rabat. In view of all this, the Soviet delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan, which recommends that the report should be approved.
39. At the same time, the Soviet delegation considers the approval of the recommendations contained in the Committee's report to be only the first step, one which must be followed by intensive work by the Committee itself and by substantive consideration in the Security Council of other, broader problems connected with the serious and dangerous situation in Southern Rhodesia and of measures which the Council could adopt in this respect.

40. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of the Soviet Union for his very warm words addressed to me.

41. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): The position of France with regard to the application of sanctions is well known. In 1968 we voted in favour of the institution of sanctions so as to bring to the administering Power the assistance it requested. On the national level we adopted legislation within the framework of our customs laws which would prevent and punish any infringement of the regulations. All know how severe this regulation is. We are vigilant. We have acted according to our conscience, our sense of responsibility and our duty to implement the measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

42. Although some results have been achieved, we recognize that the system which was set up continues to be imperfect. As a member since 1968 of the Committee called upon to verify implementation, we could see the insufficiencies of the system. Thus last February, we supported the initiative to increase the effectiveness of the Committee by inviting the Committee to prepare a report containing recommendations to this effect. That document is now before us, as is also a draft resolution. I would like to make certain comments in this connexion.

43. Concerning first of all the report of the Committee, particularly part III, which was agreed to unanimously, it goes without saying that we endorse the recommendations and suggestions calling upon Member States to co-operate more actively with the Committee which will attempt to define a more active policy in regard to seeking information and which would improve the working methods of the Committee. All these proposals would lead to greater effectiveness of the sanctions régime, an objective which we fully support.

44. With regard to the draft resolution which is now before us, we observe that this text demonstrates the effort of the sponsors to obtain support from the largest possible number of members of the Security Council for the recommendations of the Committee. However, along with those in part III of the report, which are generally supported, we now have some proposals which, when examined by the Committee gave rise to objections from my delegation concerning the competence they invest in the Committee to pass on matters which we thought were outside its competence. This particularly holds for the proposal in paragraph 25 of the report and reproduced in operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of the draft resolution. However, my delegation, which wishes to favour the strictest application of the sanctions régime and the most effective supervision of those sanctions, will vote in favour of the draft resolution that is now submitted here, especially in view of its general nature, and in the case of operative paragraphs 1 and 2 we should not wish to stand in the way of the decision of the administering Power, which did not oppose them.

45. Mr. RIOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): With regard to the draft resolution so brilliantly introduced by the representative of the Sudan, my delegation has instructions to vote in favour of it.

46. I will avail myself of this opportunity to say that Panama, for historic reasons and other reasons as well, is opposed to any form of oppression which would perpetuate régimes opposed to the self-determination of peoples. We are opposed to any sort of government which would constitute a negation of human rights, as is the case with the Salisbury Government. We support any measure which would replace the white minority Government of Rhodesia. We support the sanctions against the racist régime. Thus Panama long ago broke off any contacts with that régime. We believe that we are in duty bound to continue our worldwide campaign so that in Rhodesia there will be a régime corresponding to the most legitimate interests and aspirations of the majority of its people. In conclusion, it is clear that any régime which does not represent the wishes of the people constitutes a threat to world peace and flouts the Charter of the United Nations. To struggle against such systems is a legitimate task of the Security Council.

47. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): My delegation is a sponsor of the draft resolution currently before the Council. In formulating this draft resolution the sponsors endeavoured to take into account the views of all delegations and it comes as a matter of great disappointment to my delegation to find that exception has been expressed by the delegation of the United States to operative paragraphs 5, 6 and 7. It is true that the principal body of proposals contained in the special report relate primarily to procedural aspects of sanctions and also to the sanctions machinery. But it is difficult to speak of machinery in complete isolation from the objective for which that machinery is to be applied. What do operative paragraphs 5, 6 and 7 state? Operative paragraph 5 reads:

"Calls upon all States continuing to have economic and other relations with Southern Rhodesia to end such relations immediately".

Surely, this goes to the very heart of sanctions. Secondly, operative paragraph 6 reads:

"Demands that all Member States should scrupulously carry out their obligations to implement fully the provisions of Security Council resolutions 253 (1968), 277 (1970) and 314 (1972)".

If one, two or three States can find it convenient or feel that it is their right to be an exception, then what is to prevent other States from adopting the same attitude? The whole machinery of sanctions would just collapse. Operative paragraph 7 reads:

"Condemns all acts violating the provisions of Security Council resolutions 253 (1968), 277 (1970) and 314 (1972)".

If we do not condemn, are we here to applaud or to ignore? Surely, if we come out with a decision it is a decision which all Members of the United Nations without exception are bound by Article 25 of the Charter to observe scrupulously. There can be no exceptions and we cannot ignore violations, we cannot applaud violations. The least we can do is to condemn them.

48. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since there are no further speakers, we shall proceed to vote.

49. I put to the vote the draft resolution sponsored by Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan contained in document S/10747.

A vote was taken by a show of hands.

In favour: Argentina, Belgium, China, France, Guinea, India, Italy, Japan, Panama, Somalia, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention.²

50. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

51. Mr. DIOP (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation feels that the implementation of sanctions against Rhodesia and South Africa constitutes at the present time the only means available to the international community to put an end effectively to the cancer of racism which is virulent in that part of Africa. Thus, in order to be crowned with success, these sanctions, should be fully supported by the great Powers, by the trading partners of Rhodesia and South Africa and, of course, by international public opinion.

52. The great Powers have a special responsibility as regards the measures to be taken by the United Nations and their effective implementation. During the course of the meetings, various arguments have been adduced concerning the difficulties of applying economic sanctions, but it seems to be ignored that the efforts and sacrifices required are insignificant when compared to the dangers of inaction. The problem is not to know whether the world can undertake to impose economic sanctions, but whether the world can fail to take decisive measures, above all when the means that it must utilize to put an end to the conflicts are still possible.

53. The crisis which is brewing in southern Africa is very dangerous and entails grave consequences for the whole world. The African peoples and all peoples throughout the world who love peace, liberty and social justice have waited too long while certain great Powers continue to evidence a lack of decision as to the decisive measures that should be taken. Not to wish to recognize this betrays the African peoples. My delegation is convinced that the new measures elaborated by the Committee on sanctions will receive all the necessary support from all Member States of this international Organization and from the trading partners of Rhodesia and South Africa as well, and that is why my delegation sponsored the draft resolution which has just been adopted.

² See resolution 318 (1972).

54. Mr. YOSHIDA (Japan): My delegation wishes to express its heartfelt appreciation to the delegations of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan, and particularly to Ambassador Abdulla of Sudan, for their efforts in formulating the draft resolution which has just been adopted.

55. It is the understanding of my delegation, first, that the draft resolution was prepared on the basis of the special report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) and, secondly, that its main objectives are to approve the recommendations and suggestions contained in part III of the special report with a view to ensuring the effectiveness of the work of the Committee, and to call upon all States to co-operate fully with the Council in the effective implementation of sanctions.

56. With this understanding, my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution.

57. I wish to take this opportunity to reiterate the basic position of the Government of Japan towards the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

58. As soon as possible after the Security Council had decided upon the imposition of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, the Government of Japan adopted a whole series of measures in order to implement the provisions of the pertinent Council resolutions. As we have previously stated on a number of occasions, we have been fully and faithfully applying these measures and will continue to do so.

59. Mr. MIGLIUOLO (Italy): The Security Council has addressed its attention today to a specific aspect of the complex question of Southern Rhodesia, namely, the strengthening of the machinery for the full implementation of sanctions. We have examined the special report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968), so lucidly introduced and explained by the Chairman of the Committee, Ambassador Abdulla of the Sudan and we have adopted a resolution which approves the recommendations and suggestions contained in part III of that report.

60. My delegation has cast its vote in favour of the resolution consistently with the position of my country on the question of sanctions, a position which I shall briefly recall in explanation of my vote.

61. Italy has never recognized the rebel white régime in Southern Rhodesia and it has extended wholeheartedly its support to all the measures adopted by this Organization with a view to bringing the rebellion to an end. In particular, when the United Kingdom—which in its capacity as the administering Power has the primary responsibility for the destiny of that Territory—asked the United Nations to adopt mandatory sanctions against the régime in Salisbury, Italy fully supported both the United Kingdom and the United Nations. The Italian Government implemented resolution 253 (1968) and subsequent relevant resolutions by adopting and promulgating special legislation which contemplates criminal prosecution and punishment for violators of the sanctions. My delegation has given unreserved co-operation to the Committee established in

pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) in the investigation of suspected violations.

62. I wish to state that we fully share the position of the United Kingdom and of the African countries that these sanctions must be continued. Although it has been maintained in some quarters that the sanctions are not proving to be decisive for the solution of the Rhodesian question, we have had proof, through various sources and in particular through the Pearce Commission, that the sanctions are adversely affecting the rebel régime in so far as they prevent the development of the Rhodesian economy into a modern industrial economy. We therefore feel that the economic sanctions are an important means to help the United Kingdom to put an end to the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia.

63. In 1970 the Committee on sanctions developed a set of principles and rules to enhance its effectiveness. I refer to document S/9844/Rev.1.³ This year the same Committee has confirmed, and to a certain extent has completed and enlarged, this set of principles and rules, as is shown by the special report before us. We hope that this important preparatory work will enable the Committee to deal more rapidly and effectively with any concrete case of suspected violations.

64. The implementation of sanctions established by resolutions 253 (1968) and 277 (1970), in the view of my delegation, constitutes a clear obligation under the Charter for all member States, and the non-fulfilment by any State inevitably affects and may impair the efforts made by other States, at least in so far as doubts are cast on the mandatory nature of the sanctions themselves.

65. It is for this reason that my delegation feels it expedient once more to stress the necessity that all Members co-operate towards implementing the sanctions, in the first instance by adopting, as my country did, appropriate and effective legislation.

66. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): I have to apologize for being obliged to speak more than once, but the Council is aware that I have been speaking in different capacities. This time I shall speak as the representative of the Sudan, and I shall be brief. I merely want to take this opportunity to highlight certain aspects of the policy of my country and its outlook towards the question of Southern Rhodesia and, in particular, the question of sanctions.

67. To us, sanctions against Southern Rhodesia are only one facet of the whole Rhodesian crisis which has been created by the unilateral declaration of independence by Ian Smith and his repressive group in Southern Rhodesia. We feel that sanctions are only important in so far as they relate to the whole crisis of Southern Rhodesia. Therefore, our policy is to support very strong sanctions because we feel that this is a means of contributing to the removal of the obstacle which stands in the way of the Zimbabwe people achieving their inalienable right to independence through majority rule. We fully support, and we continue

fully to support, the legitimate struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for independence, and we believe that, in the ultimate analysis, it is the people of Zimbabwe who are going to achieve their independence through struggle.

68. In this connexion, we denounce vehemently the repressive and racial illegal minority régime of Ian Smith and condemn its refusal to recognize the general will, clearly testified by the findings of the Pearce Commission. We see no attempt on the part of the minority régime, representing only 5 per cent of the population of Zimbabwe, to respect the legitimate right of the majority to majority rule. On the contrary, repression and persecution are on the increase. Under such deplorable conditions, and pending future appropriate action by this Council, we believe that the tightening and the extension of sanctions remain the only weapon of pressure that can be applied by us.

69. At present the effectiveness of sanctions, since there have been overt and covert evasions, calls for the utmost co-operation of all States, as well as the strengthening of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968). Only then can we bring pressure to bear on the illegal minority régime and on the comforts and the privileges which the white minority insist on enjoying at the expense of 95 per cent of the African people. The stringent application of sanctions is very important in that respect. This is more or less the sort of policy and convictions we have.

70. If I may be permitted to do so, I should like to thank all the delegations which supported our fair, mild and delicate draft resolution. I should also like to mention something I became aware of during my presence in one Committee, and that is the excellent efforts made by the United Kingdom in providing us with a lot of information regarding possible evasions.

71. We are also happy to note that, after being in suspense concerning what the United Kingdom delegation would do during the discussion of the draft resolution, we were pleasantly surprised to have our reservations removed and to find that the United Kingdom is attempting to continue sanctions and also strongly recommends them. Of course, this is not to say that we are in favour of the whole British policy up to now towards the whole Rhodesian question. But for us that is a question of tomorrow, not of today.

72. In the meantime, I wish to mention something more, and that is in connexion with a visit I paid to the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee on my way here from Geneva. I must say that I found them very enthusiastic in trying to implement sanctions within their own community. In fact, they have various proposals which they very much hope the Security Council will follow—in particular, the question of trade statistics, which they feel would provide a very effective way of knowing how commerce and trade with Southern Rhodesia is going on. At the same time they feel that the Council should really find ways and means of actually having goods inspected and that there should be machinery for that. Those are the sort of ideas I heard which were very encouraging and which I wanted to take this opportunity to place before the Council.

³ *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fifth Year, Special Supplement No. 3.*

73. Having said that much, we wish to add that in September we shall take the first opportunity to express our views on the whole Rhodesian question.

74. Before concluding, I should like to say that it is also our policy not only that the Governments of Portugal and South Africa should really be condemned but that sanctions should really be extended to them if we are really trying to stand in the way of their helping Ian Smith avoid sanctions. We feel that those two countries are together working against the wishes of this Council and its resolutions regarding sanctions.

75. We therefore look forward to September and to the denouncing of the policy of UDI, but we are filled with hope that the suspected and overt evasions will by then have ended.

76. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): If no other member wishes to speak and with the Council's permission, I shall now speak as representative of ARGENTINA and explain our vote.

77. My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution which has become resolution 318 (1972) in the hope that the recommendations and suggestions contained in part III of the special report of the Committee created under resolution 253 (1968), relating to Southern Rhodesia, which we have just adopted, will serve to give greater effectiveness to the sanctions imposed by the Council against the Ian Smith régime.

78. The Government of Argentina has never doubted the inalienable right of the people of Southern Rhodesia to self-determination and independence. In that spirit we participated actively in the aforementioned Committee so that we might as far as possible implement all the measures invoked by this Council.

79. Under the expert and active chairmanship of Ambassador Abdulla of the Sudan, the Committee drew up the special report which served as the basis for resolution 318 (1972). The road to be followed now is to implement immediately and with great determination the recommendations and suggestions which form part of the resolution we have adopted. My delegation will continue in this effort, fully convinced that the fulfilment of the obligations emanating from the decisions of this Council constitute a vital part of the whole United Nations system.

80. In conclusion, I should like to repeat that Argentina will continue constantly to supervise the implementation of the measures of the Council, which should continue in full force until we achieve the objectives laid down in resolution 253 (1968).

81. Speaking now in my capacity as PRESIDENT, I am advising the Council that since there are no further speakers, it has concluded its consideration of the item on today's agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.

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