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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 FIFTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 10 November 1970, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. George J. TOMEH (Syria).

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/1556)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:
 - (a) Letter dated 6 November 1970 addressed to the President of the Security Council by the representatives of Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia to the United Nations (S/9975/Rev.1);
 - (b) Third Report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) (S/9844 and Corr.1 and 2 and Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1 and Add.2 and Add.2/Corr.1, 2 and 3 and Add.3).

Tribute to the memory of General Charles de Gaulle, former President of the French Republic

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): One of the most solemn moments of life for a man is when he confronts death and sees it strike. And when it takes away a great man—one of those who has made history, one of those whom the long centuries bring forth so rarely within a nation, but who by virtue of their human stature are in the end claimed by all mankind—the fatal yet inevitable event plunges the living witness into the profoundest meditation.
2. Today this painful moment has arrived. On this grey and rainy day our hearts are filled with sadness and affliction; we have an indefinable feeling of a sudden and immense emptiness: Charles de Gaulle of France is dead. And this passing is the cause of the mourning not only of the French people, of which he was President and an inspired guide; throughout the entire world the sudden news of his death has overcome us all.
3. The sign of a great man—of one who allows himself to act only at the highest level,—is to be ahead of and beyond his time. General de Gaulle belonged to that category of great men.

4. He was the head of the French Resistance, combating the nazi invasion; he acquired the support of the great French people who refused to bow to tyranny; he was an inspired and determined hero; he roused and directed the heroism of the French people until victory was won over the forces of evil and darkness.

5. His words will always be recalled, words of an almost prophetic vision, when France was defeated. He solemnly declared that the final word had not yet been spoken; that the very same means which had been used to conquer them might well be the means which would one day bring them victory. That war was not limited to the confines of their unfortunate country. It was a world war. Overwhelmed though they had been by mechanized force, they could in the future gain their victory by using greater mechanized forces. That was the destiny of the world. That vision was accurate indeed, and for that reason will remain a symbol of heroism in history.

6. As a statesman he brought not only stability, prosperity and greatness to France; he was also an arbiter in the world conflicts that have beset mankind. Who can forget that he was a great emancipator of peoples and that he forecast accurately that they would inevitably liberate themselves.

7. He understood the great truth that there is an extraordinary power in the will of a people, and when this power declares itself even those who would challenge it are overwhelmed and awestruck.

8. No one is free unless everyone is free. By making this truth a reality, in recognizing the legitimate rights of the Algerian Arab people, General de Gaulle will remain immortal in history.

9. France, which is great because of its history, great by virtue of its revolution, and great because of its culture and contribution to civilization, to values and to man's culture, today is adding another page to the books of its glorious history: the life of General de Gaulle, the hero, the statesman, the visionary.

10. I am sure that I am expressing the feelings of the Council when I ask the Ambassador of France, my good friend and esteemed colleague, Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, to accept our most sincere condolences and to convey them to the Government and the people of France and to the family of General de Gaulle.

11. I should like to ask members of the Council to stand and observe a minute's silence.

The representatives, standing, observed a minute of silence.

12. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I give the floor to the Secretary-General.

13. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: As soon as I heard the news of the passing of General Charles de Gaulle I sent the following message to the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations:

"I was grieved to hear the news of the death of General de Gaulle, whom I regard as one of the greatest soldier-statesmen of our time.

"General de Gaulle not only showed great wisdom and imagination in tackling the problems of his own country but also courage and vision in dealing with the difficult problem of the decolonization of French Africa, especially Algeria. By his courageous and forthright stand in this regard he has earned the respect of all friends of freedom.

"I had several opportunities of meeting him and I was struck by his clear perception in regard to many of the critical issues of war and peace which arose during his tenure as President of France and which continue to be with us today. I also appreciated the increased awareness on his part of the valuable role that the United Nations could play not only in crisis situations but also in promoting human progress.

"General de Gaulle's passing will be mourned not only by his native France but by the many who admire him the world over.

"May I request you to convey to the President, the Government and the people of France my profound sympathy and offer my respectful and sincere personal condolences to Madame de Gaulle."

14. Mr. YOST (United States of America): Our representative in the General Assembly this morning has already expressed to the French Government and people our most profound condolences at the death of General de Gaulle. I cannot refrain, however, from adding a very brief personal word. The twentieth century has, like most centuries, produced a relatively small number of truly great men, of giants whose stature, whose personality, whose grasp of the underlying forces of history have enabled them to make a lasting mark on their time. General de Gaulle was certainly one of those men. It is almost impossible to imagine the twentieth century without him and it is difficult to reconcile ourselves to the fact that we must face the rest of the century without him. We have, however, the satisfaction that through his actions and his writing he has shown us the high road which humanity must follow if it is to achieve the heights of which the General thought us capable.

15. I had the privilege of knowing the General personally; it was a privilege I shall never forget.

16. The emotion felt in my country by the passing of this great leader of our oldest ally is shown by the immediate decision of President Nixon to attend personally the memorial service for General de Gaulle.

17. May I join the President of the Council and the Secretary-General in asking the representative of France to convey to the French people and the family of General de Gaulle our most profound sympathy.

18. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): I have already paid the tribute of my delegation to General de Gaulle in the General Assembly this morning. There is little for me to add. My Prime Minister in the House of Commons today has said: "Over the centuries France has produced many great men and Charles de Gaulle stands amongst the greatest of all of them. At times he seemed to personify France."

19. I convey my delegation's deepest sympathy once again to our French colleague and his delegation, and through them to all their countrymen and the family of General de Gaulle.

20. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Early this morning tragic tidings spread throughout the world: General Charles de Gaulle, the great son of France and eminent statesman and military leader of our times, is dead.

21. The name of de Gaulle is linked with the most important landmarks in the development of France and in the history of international relations during the twentieth century, particularly during and after the Second World War. His outstanding role as one of the leaders of the struggle against fascism, against Hitler's tyranny, and for the freedom and independence of France and the freedom and independence of Europe during the Second World War has been universally acknowledged. General de Gaulle held a prominent place in the galaxy of distinguished figures of the period of the Second World War.

22. General de Gaulle also played a prominent role in the development of Franco-Soviet co-operation; as head of the Free French Committee during the Second World War, General de Gaulle took the initiative in establishing relations between the Committee and the Soviet Union early in the war. He highly appreciated the outstanding contribution made by the Soviet Union and its people to the defeat of fascist Germany. Thus in a statement made during the Second World War he said: "The French people welcome with enthusiasm the successes and the increase in the strength of the Russian people, because these successes bring France nearer to its desired goal—freedom and revenge."¹

23. As a great patriot of his country and a realist in politics, General de Gaulle clearly understood the tremendous importance of Franco-Soviet co-operation for the destiny of France, the destiny of the European continent, European security and universal peace.

¹ Charles de Gaulle, *Mémoires de guerre — L'Appel* (Paris, Librairie Plon, édit., 1954), p. 546.

"Unfortunately for everyone", said General de Gaulle, "efforts to forge an alliance between France and Russia have all too often over the centuries met with obstacles and opposition, born of intrigues or misunderstanding. Nevertheless, the need for such an alliance is obvious at every new turning-point in history."²

24. Consistently following his political course, an independent course, General de Gaulle responded to the proposal of the Soviet Government and the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance³ between France and the Soviet Union was signed during the Second World War.

25. The name of de Gaulle is also linked with the marked improvement in Franco-Soviet relations which came about at the end of the 1950s, when General de Gaulle became Head of the French State. He visited the Soviet Union and met the leaders of the Soviet State on a number of occasions. His visits to our country led to further mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and France. The recent visit to the Soviet Union by President Pompidou is a continuation of the policy of which General de Gaulle was a staunch advocate.

26. Mr. President, at this hour of universal mourning, I should like to state that there are extensive possibilities for the development of Franco-Soviet relations because these relations are based on friendship and on the fact that the fundamental interests of the Soviet and French peoples coincide.

27. The Soviet Union, in giving effect to the provisions of the Franco-Soviet agreements concluded in October 1970, will continue to strive consistently for the strengthening of the security of peoples and universal peace, for the strengthening of security and relaxation of tension in Europe, and for the expansion of Franco-Soviet co-operation.

28. The memory of General de Gaulle, who enjoyed special popularity among the Soviet people, will remain for ever in their hearts as that of a great son of the friendly French people.

29. The Soviet delegation would like to express to the French delegation its sincere condolences on the death of General de Gaulle and shares in its sorrow and in the sorrow of the Government and people of France and the family of the deceased.

30. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): For my country, the death of General de Gaulle has very special significance. He was a great friend of ours, and to demonstrate this, this year he made a long trip through Spain, as if to say good-bye. We have a lasting memory of his figure, great in history but humble at the time of his death. As the representative of France reminded us in the General Assembly this morning, he said that he did not wish to have a ceremonial funeral.

31. We extend our sympathy to his family and to the Government and people of France. The Chief of State of our country sent a message of condolence this morning, and on this occasion we would only express our wish to the Almighty that his soul will rest in eternal peace.

32. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): The news of the death of General Charles de Gaulle has cast a shadow over the whole world. With France, every nation mourns the death of the last of the great leaders during the Second World War, who, in his indomitable fight for the liberation and independence of his own country, became the embodiment of the national spirit for men everywhere.

33. In the more recent past, we in Finland were greatly encouraged and supported by the policy of France under President de Gaulle, a policy of European reconciliation and co-operation cutting across the dividing lines of ideologies and military blocs and based upon unswerving respect for the sovereign equality and independence of nations.

34. The life and example of General de Gaulle illustrate the profound truth of our time that fruitful co-operation between States in no way requires a dilution of national identity, but, on the contrary, recognition of the unique character of each nation as the only firm basis for genuine internationalism.

35. The message of General de Gaulle's life will remain a living force far beyond the borders of France.

36. I should like to join the President of the Council in requesting the representative of France to accept our condolences and expressions of profound sympathy.

37. Mr. ESPINOSA VALDERRAMA (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to associate my delegation with the grief of mankind over the passing of one of the great men of our time. On this solemn occasion I cannot fail to mention General de Gaulle's trip to the countries of Latin America. He came to Bogotá, Colombia, on that occasion and as the President of the Congress of my country I was able to extend the greetings of our people to the President of France and to tell him of the admiration which we felt for him, for the great genius of France, for the French people's love of freedom and constant struggle for the betterment of mankind. On that occasion we also told him that we welcomed him as a legendary hero to the land of our country.

38. Today he has passed on, and we would like once again to express our feelings of admiration. I say this personally and on behalf of my delegation, and I know that I am expressing the feelings of the Colombian people who are so close to the people of France and who have had such love and admiration for the hero who has just passed on.

39. Mr. LANG (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Nicaragua shares the sadness of the free

² *Ibid.*, pp. 546 and 547.

³ Signed at Moscow on 10 December 1944.

world over the passing of the wartime leader and glorious President of immortal France, who demonstrated his military valour in the field of battle and his political courage in the rebuilding of his country where he was always prepared to make any sacrifices that were necessary.

40. On behalf of the people and Government of Nicaragua we express our feelings of grief to the distinguished representative of France over this irretrievable loss. France's mourning is also that of Nicaragua.

41. Mr. KUŁAGA (Poland) (*interpretation from French*): We all learned the news of General de Gaulle's death with the deepest sorrow. In him, France and the world have lost a great statesman, a man of outstanding political calibre. I could scarcely add much to what my colleagues around this table have already said. May I, however, say that the memory of General de Gaulle will always remain particularly associated, in Poland, with the image of the fighter who personified France in her fierce resistance to nazi aggression. It will remain associated with his attitude towards Poland, with his friendship for us to which he gave expression in the speech he delivered during his last visit to Poland, at Zabrze, the town which he described as "the most Polish of Polish towns", thus indicating his positive attitude towards a fundamental problem for Poland, that of its frontiers. General de Gaulle's memory will always remain associated with his vision of a Europe living in conditions of co-operation, peace and security, of a Europe which would be a factor for stability in the world.

42. May I extend to the delegation of France the most heartfelt condolences of the Polish delegation.

43. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): A figure whose acts have marked the destiny of mankind is no more. We hold this meeting of the Security Council on the very day when General de Gaulle has left the world on the eve of the end of colonial empires. The French people, indeed the world, have thus had brutally snatched from their midst a hero, a genius whose role and influence were worldwide in their scope to the point of leaving their imprint on the destiny of mankind itself.

44. To France, with whose cause that giant among men identified himself, and to the prostrated family to whom he brought his enormous prestige, on behalf of my Government I extend our deepest sympathy.

45. May the magnificent work of decolonization be completed, a task to which Charles de Gaulle devoted himself and which he described in his own words when castigating the bitter colonial wars:

"But, in French Africa as in all the other Territories where men live under our flag, there could be no progress worthy of the name if men, on their native soil, did not enjoy its moral and material benefits, if they could not gradually raise themselves to a level where they will be capable of participating in their own country in the management of their own

affairs. It is the duty of France to see to it that it is so."

46. And in 1964 he capped his own denunciation of the colonial system in the following terms:

"Why then should France, which is itself in a period of vigorous growth, stand aloof from a movement of which its traditional genius is in large part the source and on which, in the final analysis, the peace and fate of the world depend?"

47. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): My delegation, acting on behalf of the Government and people of Zambia, had the opportunity of paying worthy tribute to the late President of France, General de Gaulle, in the General Assembly and in a number of Committees of the General Assembly.

48. At this stage I should like to associate my delegation with the sentiments of condolence which you, Mr. President, have expressed on behalf of the Council, together with those of other delegations which have preceded me.

49. General de Gaulle was a brave and outstanding world citizen who has left an indelible mark on the scene of the twentieth century. General Charles de Gaulle is dead, but may his spirit live.

50. Mr. NICOL (Sierra Leone): My delegation, on behalf of the Government and people of Sierra Leone, would like to express our condolences and deepest sympathy to the people of France on the loss of Charles de Gaulle, the great French leader and statesman.

51. One of the major achievements of his life, which will always be remembered, is the effective part he played in the decolonization of many countries in Africa and Asia. In fact, it was in Africa that, as a young and unknown brigadier-general, his potential greatness first made itself evident during the dark days of the Second World War thirty years ago. In that continent it was a leader of African descent, Governor Felix Eboué, who was first inspired by the genius of de Gaulle and who brought into the camp of the Fighting French many who were uncertain and hesitant. Eboué, who now lies in an honoured place in Paris, remains one of the great illustrations in the twentieth century of the heights to which a man of non-European race can rise when given free and unfettered opportunities of education and world civilization. Eboué's loyalty to de Gaulle was the beginning of a long and lasting alliance between Charles de Gaulle and the Afro-Asian world, an alliance which had no patronage or paternalism in it, but which was that of a man who recognized brilliance and leadership wherever he saw it, and in whomsoever he met it, regardless of race, colour or creed.

52. The subject of our debate this afternoon also has some relevance to the death of Charles de Gaulle. He was able in Algeria and in other African countries, with a high percentage of European settlers, equal to, if not higher than, that of Southern Rhodesia and Por-

tuguese Africa, to push through the process of decolonization with great vigour, risking his own life and personal safety.

53. My delegation mourns the passing of a great leader of France and of all humanity, and we ask that our deepest sympathy be transmitted to the delegation of France, and through them to their country and to his family.

54. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): Mr. President, I should like to associate myself with the profound sentiments of sympathy expressed by you, the Secretary-General and other speakers, for the people and Government of France on the sad occasion of the passing of President de Gaulle.

55. As the undisputed leader of the Free French Movement during the darkest hours of the Second World War, and later as the founder of the Fifth Republic, President de Gaulle won a unique place in the hearts of the great French people and also in the galaxy of history's outstanding personalities. He was truly a man of destiny.

56. The people and Government of Nepal share the deepest sorrow on the irreparable loss suffered by France and the entire world.

57. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, your very noble words, Mr. Secretary-General, your moving message, and, dear colleagues, the words you have uttered here will go straight to the hearts of the people of France. Since this morning we have heard many statements in the General Assembly, and friends known and unknown spontaneously have come to me to express their sorrow and show that it is not France alone that is in mourning but the entire world. For all Frenchmen personally, the loss of the person who gave us back our country, freedom and peace has created a great void.

58. But, as your words have shown, beyond our borders de Gaulle stood for much more, personifying as he did the independence of all peoples and nations. He stood for friendship and co-operation among nations.

59. All who approached him—and our Secretary-General has borne witness to this—were very much struck by his sovereign vision of things, his mastery of problems and his dazzling intuition as regards the future—always in the service of a noble cause, the cause of peace among men, peace based on profound respect for the independence and dignity of nations. That is why I can testify to his great faith in the actions of the Security Council.

60. As the Council is aware, he passed away in that simplicity and dignity to which he had retreated after spontaneously leaving office. He was determined that this simplicity should be maintained and that no speeches or eulogies be delivered upon his death.

61. Respecting that wish, I would only thank all members of the Security Council for their words, which have moved us very much. All who shared in his struggle from the very beginning will continue in the same direction—the direction of peace, reconciliation and understanding among all nations and men.

62. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Security Council and on my own behalf I should like to thank the representative of France for his kind words.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

63. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now wish to pay a tribute to Ambassador de Piniés of Spain, who served as President of the Security Council in October. His term was marked by his distinguished personal qualities, courtesy, elegance, his striving for peace, his sense of justice and his constant concern for the cause of mankind. In addition, the Foreign Minister of Spain, Mr. Lopez Bravo, presided over the Council with great skill during the periodic session held in that same month. To the people and Government of Spain, and to their distinguished Ambassador and Foreign Minister, I would express our sincere gratitude and friendship.

64. I know I speak on behalf of all members of the Security Council when I pay this well deserved tribute. We wish Ambassador de Piniés every success in the future.

65. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of my delegation, and also on behalf of my Foreign Minister, I should like to express to you, Mr. President, our gratitude and appreciation for the very kind words you have addressed to me, to my Foreign Minister, to my country and to my people.

66. I am not really very surprised because your country and mine have been sister States for many centuries and we share many traditions. I pay you, Sir, a tribute on your accession to the presidency of this distinguished body of the United Nations, and in so doing I should like to say that as you discharge your functions I shall always be at your disposal, as, indeed, will my delegation.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:

- (a) Letter dated 6 November 1970 addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Permanent Representatives of Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia to the United Nations (S/9975/Rev.1);
- (b) Third report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) (S/9844 and Corr.1 and 2 and Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1 and Add.2 and Add.2/Corr.1, 2 and 3 and Add.3)

67. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now proceed to consideration of the question brought before it in the letter of 6 November 1970, addressed to the President of the Security Council by the representatives of Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia. That letter is contained in document S/9975/Rev.1.

68. I would also point out to members of the Council that a draft resolution submitted by Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia has been circulated in document S/9976.

69. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): Mr. President, during my association with you I have come to respect you greatly for your wisdom, perception and sense of fairness. It is, therefore, with great pleasure that I extend to you the cordial congratulations of my delegation upon your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council. Please accept, Mr. President, our good wishes and assurances of our whole-hearted co-operation.

70. I should also like to pay the tribute of my delegation to the Ambassador of Spain for the conspicuous ability and authority with which he guided the Security Council during the month of October. We are particularly grateful for his role in the informal consultations last month which led to the convening of the first periodic meeting of the Security Council.

71. With regard to the question under consideration today, it has been not only the subject of discussion at a number of meetings of the Security Council over the past years, but also one of unprecedented action by the Council under Chapter VII of the Charter. My delegation, therefore, has joined with those of Burundi, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia in requesting this meeting of the Security Council to discuss the question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia in the light of developments which have taken place since the adoption of resolution 277 (1970) on 18 March 1970, in the firm belief that it remains the particular and continuing responsibility of the Security Council to keep the situation in that territory under close and constant review. At stake here are not only the peace and security of southern Africa, but also the authority and prestige of the Security Council.

72. Two important United Nations documents which have come out after the adoption of the last Security Council resolution on Southern Rhodesia give a fair and accurate picture of the state of affairs in that territory as well as an unbiased assessment of the effects of sanctions on the Southern Rhodesian economy.

73. I refer to the third report of the Security Council Committee on Sanctions,⁴ dated 15 June, and to the Secretary-General's introduction to his annual report,⁵ made available on the eve of the General Assembly

⁴ Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968).

⁵ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 1A.*

session. The incontrovertible evidence of the Committee on Sanctions and of the Secretary-General is that the situation in Southern Rhodesia continues to remain extremely grave. The evidence is clear, moreover, that the policies of sanctions have failed in their objective of bringing down the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia continues to enjoy a substantial volume of foreign trade. This has been possible owing, in the first place, to increasing covert evasions of sanctions; secondly, to insufficient vigilance on the part of certain Powers, particularly industrial and maritime Powers; and thirdly, to lack of co-operation on the part of Portugal and South Africa.

74. Recent reports appearing in the press show an increasing number of major violations of sanctions. They confirm that the illegal régime is tightening its policies of racism and strengthening its State machinery to enforce them. The leaders of the rebel régime remain as determined as ever ruthlessly to pursue those policies, which are designed, in the words of Mr. Ian Smith, "to retain Western civilization in Southern Rhodesia and to stem the tide of rampant black nationalism along the Zambezi". And that determination is reinforced by the support the régime receives from other colonial and racist régimes, such as those of Portugal and South Africa.

75. Though not surprising, those developments nevertheless are disturbing. It is the clear duty of the Security Council to take stock of the situation periodically and consider appropriate measures for the achievement of our common objective. That is why the five delegations have thought it necessary to call a meeting of the Security Council at this time.

76. In view of the preoccupation of delegations with the work of the current Assembly session, we hope to have a very short meeting, at which it may be possible for the Security Council to adopt a brief and non-controversial resolution on which we can all agree. To that end, the delegations of Burundi, Sierra Leone, Syria, Zambia and Nepal have further joined together in preparing a draft resolution which has already been made available to the members of the Security Council in document S/9976. I take this opportunity to present this draft resolution formally on behalf of the five sponsors.

77. The draft resolution is self-explanatory in nature. However, I may point out that the draft avoids contentious matters and is very simple and clear. Particular care has been taken to have the language in the draft proposal steer clear of both acrimony and equivocation. While the objective of the Security Council has been clearly stated, the sponsors have not sought to commit the Council to any course of action above and beyond that which it has already taken. No call for action beyond the clear capacity of the Security Council—or, for that matter, beyond the capacity of any Member State—has made.

78. The preamble of the draft resolution reaffirms previous Security Council resolutions adopted since the illegal declaration of independence five years ago.

as well as the primary responsibility of the administering Power to enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to achieve self-determination and independence and in particular its responsibility of bringing about the end of the rebel régime. It expresses grave concern that certain States have not complied with the provisions of the resolutions concerning application of sanctions contrary to their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter. In this connexion, I may recall paragraph 104 of the third report of the Committee on Sanctions, in which the Committee considers that the Security Council should again draw the attention of Member States to their obligations under the Charter, in particular the obligations to abide by the decisions of the Security Council. Lastly, the preamble would have the council act under Chapter VII.

79. The operative paragraphs are simply and clearly formulated. The present policies of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia are supported, and all States have been called upon to implement fully all Security Council resolutions pertaining to Southern Rhodesia. The draft resolution would also have the Security Council further urge all States not to grant any form of recognition to the illegal régime. The sponsors maintain the view that the passage of time does not give legality to an illegal régime, which was conceived in fear and hatred, born in rebellion and is being nurtured in racism.

80. The most important part of the draft resolution is paragraph 1. This paragraph seeks to clarify, and state without equivocation, the central issue involved in the situation in Southern Rhodesia. The central issue, in the view of the sponsors, is the existence of a racist minority régime which has denied the majority their inalienable right to self-determination. The responsibility of the United Nations and that of the administering Power do not end with the overthrow of this racist illegal minority régime. Our goal is to bring about the effective and full application of the principle of self-determination. The Security Council has recognized this overriding concern in paragraph 7 of resolution 217 (1965), in which a clear call was made to the administering Power to take immediate measures in order to allow the people of Southern Rhodesia to determine their own future consistent with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Paragraph 1 of the present draft resolution places the question in its proper perspective. It states that independence before majority rule will be inadmissible. Accordingly, the administering Power is requested not to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia without the fulfilment of majority rule. We know that the administering Power has not given up its unique tactic of confronting the armed rebellion with persuasion and talk—a tactic which has failed before, and will fail again in view of the postures and actions of the rebel régime.

81. I hope that the members of the Security Council will find it possible to support the draft resolution.

82. In conclusion, I should like to express once again our conviction that a more energetic action by the Council is needed to achieve the goal which we all

seek. I also wish to make it clear that the statement I have made today does not prejudice the view of my delegation that it is the primary responsibility of the administering Power, under its own constitutional law and the Charter of the United Nations, to put an end to the armed rebellion by all means at its disposal and to grant immediate independence to Southern Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule.

83. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Nepal for the kind words that he was good enough to address to me.

84. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): Mr. President, allow me to perform a very pleasant duty, that of conveying to you the warm congratulations of the delegation of Zambia on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council for the month of November. I was fortunate to visit your great country not too long ago, and I recall the warmth and hospitality which I received from your countrymen. Your personal qualities, Mr. President, give my delegation entire confidence that the proceedings of this Council will be conducted in an effective and satisfactory manner. You can count on our maximum co-operation and assistance.

85. I would be failing in my duty if I did not express the gratitude of my delegation to your outstanding predecessor, Ambassador de Piniés of Spain, for the wise counsel he brought to bear on our proceedings during the month of October. Two historical events occurred during the month of October which we would like to recall and underline: first, the admission of the island State of Fiji as the one hundred and twenty-seventh Member of the United Nations, and second, the holding of the first periodic meeting of the Security Council [1555th meeting]. A number of difficulties arose at these meetings, but thanks to the Spanish wisdom of Ambassador de Piniés and his Foreign Minister, Mr. Lopez Bravo, we were able to arrive at satisfactory solutions.

86. We have called this meeting for the following reasons: (i) to reaffirm our condemnation of the illegal declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia; (ii) to urge the Government of the United Kingdom not to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia before majority rule; (iii) to ensure that the Conservative Government in the United Kingdom continues the policy of sanctions against the illegal Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia; (iv) to urge all States to observe Security Council sanctions against Southern Rhodesia; (v) to deplore the attitude of those States which have persisted in giving moral, political and economic assistance to the rebel colony; and (vi) to urge all States not to grant any form of recognition to the illegal régime in Salisbury.

87. The Security Council last discussed the question of Southern Rhodesia eight months ago [1534th and 1535th meetings], and during the intervening period a number of disturbing developments have taken place. The Smith régime has consolidated its political, military and economic positions. It has embarked on a sys-

tematic campaign of genocide directed against leaders of liberation movements who are being held in detention camps without substantiated charges or trial. The list of breakers of the sanctions has grown considerably. One of the most disheartening developments has been the attitude of the Heath Government towards the question of mandatory sanctions against the rebel colony. To illustrate this point, I shall quote from a transcript which was issued by the Permanent Mission of the United Kingdom to the United Nations reporting on a press conference which was held by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, at the United Nations on 23 October 1970. Mr. Heath was asked to state the attitude of his Government towards the legality of the sanctions against Rhodesia and he replied in the following words:

"... the position as far as the State is concerned is that the British Government under British law is responsible for Rhodesia and therefore the views of the State were heard. We as a Party in the House of Commons opposed mandatory sanctions but that does not alter the fact that when they were discussed here in the United Nations by the last Government, the last Government was the State responsible. And therefore they were legal."

88. I am sure that many will agree that that does not represent any moral commitment on the part of the Heath Government to pursue a policy of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the rebel colony. We have noted the annual decision of the British Parliament taken last night to continue the present limited sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. We, on our part, stand ready to strengthen these sanctions and make them more effective.

89. In June 1970 the world was stunned to learn of the painful death of Mr. Takawira, a very well-known Zimbabwean freedom fighter who died in a Rhodesian concentration camp. Mr. Takawira was denied medical treatment by the Smith régime, as part of its policy of eliminating all people who are opposed to slavery and oppression. Only yesterday we were informed in a telegram by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU) that the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, the President of ZANU, and Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the President of ZAPU, and some of their colleagues are reported very sick and that they are being denied medical treatment. I should add that we hold the British Government as the administering Authority solely responsible for the lives of the black majority who are denied even the most elementary norms of democracy. Needless to say, we shall hold it responsible for whatever will happen to the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, Mr. Joshua Nkomo and their collaborators. We urge the Government of the United Kingdom as the administering Power to intervene directly and put an end to these acts of genocide.

90. When the white minority régime in Southern Rhodesia unilaterally declared independence in November 1965, Britain refused to enforce its authority by military means. Instead it imposed half-hearted

financial controls and an embargo on trade in certain commodities. The trade embargoes were gradually extended, and selective mandatory sanctions were imposed by the Security Council in December 1966 [resolution 232 (1966)] and extended in May 1968 [resolution 253 (1968)] and March 1970 [resolution 277 (1970)]. The African countries through the Organization of African Unity called for the total blockade of Rhodesia on 3 December 1965, but this fell on deaf ears.

91. As is publicly known, the British Government's declared purpose in its sanctions policy has been to bring down the illegal Government and to get the Territory to return to its status as a British colony. At one time the policy of no independence before majority rule was accepted at least in words by the then British Government, but it would now appear that the Heath Government would be willing to accept a "settlement" which would leave the African majority of the Territory under the control of the white minority. What matters in our opinion is the principle of no independence before majority rule, and we have co-operated in the British sanctions policies—and called for their extension—only as a means to that end. In our opinion, the policy of sanctions has failed dismally in its declared purpose. The Smith régime is more strongly entrenched now than it was in 1965. It receives active moral, political, economic and military support from South Africa and Portugal. Although, statistically, sanctions have caused some difficulty—especially in the tobacco industry—and have increased the cost of imports while decreasing the value of exports, the Rhodesian economy has survived without major difficulty being caused to the white community.

92. Nevertheless, it is important that sanctions should remain in force and that Southern Rhodesia should continue without any form of international recognition. Sanctions do make some difference; they have certainly prevented the Rhodesian economy from serious expansion, have weakened the Western bloc's interest in the continued existence of Rhodesia as a white-ruled State and have introduced a complicating and irritating element into Rhodesia's relationship with its southern neighbour. Sanctions against Rhodesia thus increase the element of international isolation which the whole of southern Africa fears, and their withdrawal would be universally recognized as inaugurating a new era of international support and co-operation for the racist régimes. The morale of the freedom fighters is boosted by the awareness that the international community supports their legitimate struggle for independence.

93. The support of all nations is indispensable if Africa is to make reasonable progress in its struggle to complete the task of winning freedom and dignity for all its citizens. The situation in Southern Rhodesia is such that we need to exert maximum pressure and influence which can strengthen those who stand for freedom, democracy and justice and which can prevent the opponents of freedom, democracy and justice from becoming any stronger than they now are. Individual States may have a particular pressure factor which they could exert—for example, a big contract or a

natural resource for which there is worldwide demand. It may be that joint action by particular groups of States, directed at those States which violate United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia, is possible. It may be that consultation between States Members of the United Nations could lead to concerted action, with each nation taking the action most appropriate to its circumstances and strength, but in a manner which would contribute to the over-all goal.

94. As I have had occasion to point out, it is important that we should not regard this matter of Southern Rhodesia as an affair calling only for resolutions to be passed here at the United Nations and at other international conferences—although such resolutions have their place. We must accept that continual moral, economic, political and military pressure on the Smith régime must be maintained. We must never waver in our opposition to the Smith régime and to the forces of evil. Therefore the Zambian delegation trusts that the Security Council will unanimously adopt the draft resolution contained in document S/9976, which has been so ably presented by Ambassador Khatri of Nepal. The draft resolution before the Security Council is a very simple one which calls for a reaffirmation on the part of the Council that there will be no independence for Rhodesia that is not based on majority rule. The Security Council must be seen to show a serious concern for the people of Zimbabwe and must not try to escape from the harsh realities of the unpleasant situation now confronting it. Refusing to confront unpleasant facts will not make the task of coming to terms with them in the future any easier.

95. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zambia for the very kind and generous words that he expressed towards my country, Syria, and towards myself.

96. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation is happy to work under your aegis at a time when the Security Council is called upon to consider the problem of Rhodesia, which is a human problem of extreme seriousness. We know how determined you are to serve the cause of decolonization and the cause of human rights—in brief, the cause of man. Consequently, we look to your skill and your dedication to ensure that this session of the Council may bring us to safe harbour and that the results may be not only satisfaction but in accordance with the rights of the Zimbabwe people. We are therefore glad to promise you in advance our full co-operation, no matter how modest it may be.

97. My delegation would also like to reiterate its congratulations and thanks to Ambassador de Piniés and to the Foreign Minister of his country for the decisive role played by the Government of Spain through Ambassador de Piniés during the past month. He overcame difficulties thanks to his dexterity in the consultations which preceded the historic periodic meeting of the Security Council, the first such to be held, and we pay tribute to him.

98. My delegation will now address itself to the basic problem before us, namely, the consummation of a

crime by celebrations to the sound of trumpets in Salisbury. The deafness of the Rhodesian settlers, who have defied world opinion, is indeed matched only by their arrant determination to push through the celebrations of the fifth anniversary of the crime.

99. Strengthened by the unfailing complicity of the Government of the United Kingdom, the masters of Salisbury do not of course hesitate to carry their insolence to the maximum in their attempt to perpetuate the fait accompli, despite the unvarnished condemnations of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

100. However, the arrogant stubbornness of Smith and his henchmen has only helped to run their heads against the wall. There have been shortcomings on the part of certain Governments, it must be said, but the Governments of the international community which for five years have refused to countenance an extorted independence, deserve the gratitude of Africa in general and of the Republic of Burundi in particular.

101. This merciless repudiation on the part of the world community, with the exception of Lisbon and Pretoria, so far from being a source of rejoicing for Smith and his entourage, is tantamount to a stinging rebuff to his temerity and his arrogant stubbornness.

102. Not knowing which way to turn, the impious Rhodesians have tried to conceal their resounding failure by drowning it in pompous celebrations.

103. Being themselves responsible for the political and legal snub they have suffered at the hands of the near totality of States, the champions of racial separatism in Rhodesia have devised an expedient to console themselves in their splendid isolation and to throw dust in the eyes of the world.

104. During the five years in which the settlers have bathed in the euphoria of an independence which they alone have recognized, they have deployed all their manoeuvres on all fronts; they have knocked on every door in order to secure acceptance for a Government born of irregularity, illegality and flagrant injustice. The results could be nothing other than the world-wide and persistent repudiation of the Smith régime by the family of nations.

105. The failure of the champions of racism to impose their régime and the systematic repudiation of that régime by all States are powerful trump cards for the London Government. Indeed the United Nations has a right to be set free from the perplexity into which the United Kingdom has plunged it during the past five years.

106. How are we to reconcile the inertia of the British leadership with the purity of its intentions? Do not the dilatory tactics of the British leaders suggest a certain complicity with Ian Smith?

107. If the generous gesture of those Governments that have refused all legal, diplomatic and political rec-

ognition deserves the praise of Africa, the fact remains that it is the same Africa that must deplore the failure of *all* States to comply with the economic sanctions ordered by the Security Council.

108. To attain the objective, political boycott must go hand in hand with the strengthening of the economic quarantine which the United Nations has decided to impose on those who have usurped power in Zimbabwe.

109. My Government must warn that the continual violation of the embargo by many of Rhodesia's trading partners may not only perpetuate the Smith régime's flouting of the most sacred human rights, but also its stubborn defiance of the supreme authority of this Council.

110. The Conservative Government has once again confounded common sense by its statements in the House of Commons yesterday, which reveal an attitude both contradictory and defeatist.

111. Indeed, what credence can the Security Council place in the London Government when its assurances that it will put an end to Rhodesian settler rule are juxtaposed with a candid admission of presumed defeat even before the battle is joined? This defeatism before the fact on the part of the United Kingdom is illustrated by something the head of the Foreign Office said on 9 November: "the evidence is that the chances of success are remote"^a. I might add that the messages exchanged between London and Salisbury are always veiled in secrecy and that it is not impossible that secret meetings are again taking place not only without the knowledge but also to the exclusion of the interested parties in Africa, whereas it is those whose interests are most directly involved who should be playing a preponderant part in any negotiations which might be undertaken.

112. According to the very terms used by the British Foreign Secretary, the impossibility of finding a solution is to be attributed to the dummy constitution introduced by a régime which is in every respect liable to have transplanted *apartheid* to Zimbabwe.

113. But it is the very roots of the evil that the administering Power is in duty bound to attack, that is to say, the institutionalization of a constitutional system which is nothing but the negation of all human morality.

114. It is therefore the business of the Security Council, using the powers and prerogatives entrusted to it by the Charter, to reaffirm with redoubled force the invalidity of the independence flaunted by Ian Smith. This reaffirmation of the powers of the Security Council can only be effected by the unanimous adoption of the draft resolution that the Afro-Asian members have submitted to the Council.

115. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Burundi for the very kind sentiments he has expressed about me.

^a Quoted in English by the speaker.

116. Mr. NICOL (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, it is a pleasure today to sit here under your able guidance, familiar as we all are with your profound scholarship and breadth of knowledge. We wish you a successful month of office and we promise you every possible support.

117. During October the Council was able to achieve several important goals. Amongst them were the introduction to membership of a new nation, Fiji, the first periodic meeting of foreign ministers under the chairmanship of His Excellency the Spanish Foreign Minister, Mr. Lopez Bravo, and, finally, the reactivation of the Committee on Sanctions, which is partly related to our agenda this afternoon. For all these we owe a debt of gratitude to the great experience and tact of our colleague, Ambassador de Piniés of Spain. We congratulate him for his very fine performance as President of the Council in October.

118. The aim of draft resolution S/9976 of 6 November 1970, before us today and so ably presented by the representative of Nepal, is to confirm the determination of the Council not to recognize the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. Together with others, we have repeatedly stated our views from this forum of world opinion on the different aspects of this matter. We do not wish to spend the valuable time of the Council repeating those views, but we should like to add a few observations.

119. It has been said in the past by the Government of the United Kingdom that it regards the matter of decolonization as one in which all its political parties have agreed that human rights and justice should prevail. It would be a mistake if, under pressure from the short-sighted viewpoint, for example, of some agents of trade and commerce or from sentiments of kith and kin, any British Government should depart from these high moral principles. The weakening of the effective sanctions has been a source of worry to my delegation and we very much hope that there is no truth in the rumour that some of the Afro-Asian States are participating in illegal trade with Rhodesia.

120. In this matter of sanctions we should like to see these applied to South Africa and Portugal if they continue to violate the sanctions imposed by the Council. We do not consider this impracticable if sanctions have been applied to countries fifty times larger in population and size than South Africa and Portugal combined.

121. We are impressed by the news we have received in telegrams of the overwhelming approval in the British Parliament of the continuation of economic sanctions against Rhodesia. My delegation will be gratified if the same approval can be given to the principle of no independence before majority rule. This was applied to Zambia, Malawi and Kenya, among others with large settler population, countries, in which those settlers who have chosen to remain feel safer than in the uneasy state of white supremacy.

122. The rebel leader, Mr. Ian Smith, stated a few days ago that he hoped his country would never sink to the level of one man, one vote. I suppose that by that he means that he feels that some citizens of his country should be hydra-headed, that they should have many heads to one man, whereas others should have only one head to one man. If so, we are determined to cut off the many heads of some of his citizens until only one head remains to one man—and, we hope, a sensible head.

123. He has also said that he hopes they will not sink to the degeneracy of the democratic principle of counting heads as if counting sheep.

124. By these irresponsible statements—if they are true—Mr. Smith exposes himself not only as a bad politician, but as an indifferent leader and shepherd of his people.

125. The question of refugees is one which concerns my delegation, as we were a member of an *ad hoc* group of the Special Committee on Decolonization⁷ which visited Africa earlier this year. In interviewing the courageous members of liberation movements—to whom we give support and whom we would encourage all members to support in their fight for freedom—we discovered that there was a great deal of room for more co-operation between Britain and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in order to make certain that unfortunate black Rhodesians are not left stranded outside their country and are not made to constitute a burden on neighbouring African countries with limited resources which have gladly and uncomplainingly offered them hospitality.

126. We recognize this anniversary as one in which the collective viewpoint of nations entrusted with the maintenance of peace and international security in this Council has made it clear, and will continue to make it clear, to the world that there can be no substitute for majority rule and true democracy with adequate safeguards for minorities.

127. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Sierra Leone for the kind words he said about me.

128. Sir COLIN CROWE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, may I begin by associating myself with the welcome that has been accorded to you as you take up this heavy task of President of the Security Council. I know that you will fulfil these duties with grace and skill, and I assure you of the co-operation of my delegation.

129. At the same time I should like to congratulate the representative of Spain for the manner in which he exercised the presidency last month. His skill, conciliatoriness and charm were all outstanding and it was a real pleasure for us all to work with him.

130. The sponsors of the draft resolution now before the Council have asked for a meeting on the ground

⁷ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

that a number of disturbing political and economic developments have taken place in Rhodesia which require the close examination and attention of the Security Council. In their speeches they have attempted to show what these developments are; but even before their speeches were made they circulated the draft resolution in document S/9976, and although that text reaffirms that primary responsibility lies with the Government of the United Kingdom, no effort was made beforehand by the sponsors to consult with or even inform the United Kingdom delegation of their intention to ask for a debate and to submit a draft resolution. It seems a curious procedure if the sponsors really wanted to achieve a constructive result.

131. I shall in due course have comments to make on this draft resolution. But first of all, it seems important that I should set this discussion in a more realistic context by describing the positive steps that my Government is taking to meet its responsibilities with regard to the Rhodesian problem.

132. As soon as the present British Government came to office it made clear its intention, which had formed part of its commitment to the British electorate during the preceding elections, "to make a further effort to see whether a settlement of the Rhodesian problem on the basis of the five principles is possible". That was said by my Prime Minister in the House of Commons on 2 July 1970.

133. That intention was restated at the United Nations by the United Kingdom representative who spoke at the 759th meeting of the Committee of Twenty-four on 25 August and by the United Kingdom representative at the 1885th meeting of the Fourth Committee on 20 October.

134. On 9 November 1970 my Government announced that the first step in that approach had been taken. Speaking in the House of Commons yesterday, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, announced that he had sent a communication of a preliminary nature to Mr. Smith through the channel of our Ambassador in Pretoria and Mr. Smith's representative there. He said:

"This is simply a first exploratory step in a process of trying to establish whether there is a realistic basis for a negotiated settlement at all within the ambit of the five principles subscribed to through the years by a majority on both sides of this House."

135. The first of those principles, as I need hardly remind the Council, is the principle and intention that unimpeded progress to majority rule would have to be maintained and guaranteed. My Foreign Secretary did not overestimate the prospect for successful negotiation, but he said: "however long the odds against a settlement, I do not believe that any new Government can simply let the matter lie where it is without a new attempt to see if a settlement is possible". Finally, he made it clear that "there will not be a settlement except within the five principles. Therefore if there is a settlement it will be within the five principles."

136. I have read out those quotations at some length so that there should be no misunderstanding. The British Government has a commitment to see whether a realistic basis for a settlement of the Rhodesian problem, in accordance with the five principles,⁸ exists or not. One of those principles is that any such settlement must be acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole. The British Government could not accept any fresh commitment in the Security Council which would restrict it in any way in reaching a settlement within this and other principles if this proved practicable. Nor do we consider it acceptable that the Security Council should at this juncture seek to lay down any conditions for a settlement.

137. I should also like to refer to the question of sanctions. I see that the third report of the Sanctions Committee is listed on our agenda. My delegation has participated as fully as any in the preparation of that report, and to the work of the Committee we have contributed all but a handful of the reports of possible violations of sanctions that have been made to it. We proposed, either ourselves or together with our Commonwealth partners, many of the decisions for future action contained in section IX of the report and we hope that they will be rapidly put into effect. We regret that sanctions have not yet achieved their immediate political objective. But no one can deny that they do in fact continue to exert pressure on the Rhodesian economy and to restrict the rate of development. Far from my Government relaxing on sanctions, as has been alleged, I can inform the Council that yesterday the British Parliament decided by an overwhelming vote to renew the annual legislation that imposes sanctions for another year.

138. I now come to the draft resolution in document S/9976. The draft resolution itself seems to be a classic case of something which is both too little and too much. In so far as this new draft resolution repeats previous obligations, it is unnecessary; in so far as it imposes fresh obligations, it is unacceptable. It is too little, or even worse, in that two of its operative paragraphs seem to repeat the steps the Security Council has already decided to take in regard to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, in either less emphatic or less precise terms.

139. Paragraph 2 refers vaguely to "the present sanctions", when these have already been clearly spelled out in the mandatory paragraphs of Security Council resolutions 277 (1970), 253 (1968) and their predecessors.

140. Paragraph 4 merely "urges all States . . . not to grant any form of recognition to the illegal régime"; whereas Security Council resolution 277 (1970), in paragraph 2, "*Decides* that Member States shall refrain from recognizing this illegal régime"; and in paragraph 9:

"Decides, in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter and in furthering the objective of ending the rebellion, that Member States shall:

⁸ See *Rhodesia: Proposals for a Settlement—1966* (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Cmnd. 3159).

“(a) Immediately sever all diplomatic, consular, trade, military and other relations that they may have with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, and terminate any representation that they may maintain in the Territory.”

141. What, on the other hand, is too much in every sense of the word is the attempt in paragraph 1 [S/9976] to bind the United Kingdom “not to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia without the fulfilment of majority rule”. Members of the Council will, I am sure, recall that a very similar suggestion was rejected by the Council on 16 December 1966. An amendment to what subsequently became Security Council resolution 232 (1966) called upon the United Kingdom “to make a categorical declaration that it will only grant independence to Southern Rhodesia under majority rule” [1340th meeting, para. 61]. At that time, my predecessor, Lord Caradon, said:

“I must make it quite plain that the paragraph as now proposed is, in our opinion, entirely out of place in this draft resolution. Moreover, it impinges on matters within the sovereignty of the British Parliament. It is for this reason that it cannot be accepted by my delegation as part of the draft resolution.” [Ibid.]

The Council rejected that suggestion by 7 votes to none, with 8 abstentions. There are, therefore, no grounds for the suggestion that this draft resolution, in particular paragraph 1, only reaffirms existing commitments. We have never accepted this commitment in a United Nations resolution and we cannot do so now.

142. To sum up, this draft resolution has been brought in order to lay down in advance the precise and only conditions on which the sponsors of the draft resolution would endorse a settlement of the Rhodesian problem. Yet the same sponsors, as I have already pointed out, reaffirm in their draft resolution the “primary responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom”. We have always accepted and we still accept that responsibility; we are now engaged, as I have explained, in trying to discharge it. We have already made clear the framework within which we would conduct negotiations if we found that the circumstances really warranted our entering into negotiations with the régime. I refer, of course, to the five principles.

143. We are not prepared to enter into negotiations with our negotiating position dictated to us publicly, from outside. No sovereign Government would be prepared to accept that. No serious negotiation has ever been or ever could be conducted in that way. It is for that reason that the draft resolution before us is unacceptable to my Government. If it is pressed to the vote in this form we shall therefore have to vote against it.

144. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, on an earlier occasion I congratulated you on your assumption of the Chair and thanked you for your kind words addressed to me then. I should like now to express my gratitude to the rep-

representatives of Nepal, Zambia, Burundi, Sierra Leone and the United Kingdom. I should like to express my appreciation and gratitude to all of you, on my own behalf and on behalf of my Foreign Minister.

145. My delegation has already had occasion to state its position on the problem of Southern Rhodesia both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. On the two occasions when the Council dealt with this matter my delegation stated that the international community could not continue to tolerate the situation created in Rhodesia by a few British settlers who have denied the inalienable rights of the Zimbabwe people over their territory. These British settlers have declared their independence, set up their Parliament and Government, held a referendum, drafted constitutional laws and proclaimed a Republic in violation of the provisions of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations. In the opinion of my delegation all these acts have been made possible by the passivity of the administering Power for which the interests of the British settlers take precedence.

146. Five years have already passed since these settlers, disregarding the interests and the rights of the genuine population of Rhodesia, illegally declared their independence and took possession of a Territory which did not belong to them without the administering Power doing what was necessary to prevent it.

147. In the opinion of my delegation the draft resolution which we have now before us contains three principal elements which give it a balanced and logical structure. First of all, it calls upon the administering Power to abide by its inescapable obligations towards the Zimbabwe people and not to give Southern Rhodesia independence which would constitute an illegal and unjust act contrary to the principles of the Charter and United Nations resolutions.

148. The draft then goes on to deal with the problem of sanctions which have already been decreed to put an end to the situation existing in Southern Rhodesia. Last month, in October, under my presidency, it was decided that the Committee on Sanctions should be expanded. All its members are now active. The Committee will continue with its task of seeing to it that all States strictly abide by their obligations arising from Security Council resolutions 253 (1968) and 277 (1970). My Government, which has scrupulously observed the tenets of these resolutions, and will continue to do so in the future, is in favour of the present system of sanctions continuing to exist and is in favour of its being observed by all States.

149. Finally, the resolution contains an appeal to all States to abide by resolutions on Southern Rhodesia, and, if possible, to put an end to the situation existing in the Territory. It would be of little avail for us to adopt another resolution if the administering Power which has primary responsibility did not help to put it into practice.

150. We have just heard that the United Kingdom delegation has received instructions to oppose this

draft. My delegation regrets that this decision has been taken. We trust that the British Government will change its decision or at least abstain in the vote and abide by the draft resolution which, in my opinion, should be supported unanimously.

151. For all these considerations my delegation can now say that it will vote in favour of the draft resolution which was so eloquently introduced by Ambassador Khatri, the representative of Nepal.

152. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): In extending our congratulations and thanks to Ambassador de Piniés we are not following a ritual. Rather, we believe that we should pay a deserved tribute to the tact, mastery and authority with which he presided over the Security Council last month. We are certain, Mr. President, that you will demonstrate the same qualities. We are familiar with your scholarly conscience, your objectivity, and we wish you every success in your task.

153. Appreciative of the concerns of our colleagues, particularly the African members, we gladly responded to your appeal even though my delegation had some doubts as to the need to call a meeting of the Security Council today to consider the situation in Rhodesia.

154. For might it not be feared that such a meeting marking the fifth anniversary of the rebellion of the Salisbury settlers would highlight the rebellion in a way it obviously does not deserve? We met last March [*1534th and 1535th meetings*] to weigh the implications of the latest steps by the rebels against the Administering Authority in Rhodesia, the United Kingdom. At that time, not without some difficulty, we adopted a near-unanimous resolution [270 (1969)] which was undoubtedly far from perfect but which at least had the merit, by strengthening the sanctions of not allowing the establishment of a so-called republic in Salisbury to go unanswered.

155. Since 18 March nothing has occurred in the territory to bring about any decisive change in the Rhodesian situation. Mr. Smith's attempts to institute official relations with other States, outside his neighbours to the south, have failed. Rhodesians have been denied access to a number of international sporting events in application of resolution 277 (1970). Christian churches have continued to oppose the law on land tenure which strengthens racial segregation at the expense of the indigenous inhabitants.

156. For its part, the new United Kingdom Government made known soon after taking office that it reaffirmed the five principles relating to the political future of Rhodesia, and in particular the one on the progressive application of majority rule. It has since maintained that position.

157. The Security Council, for its part, has taken cognizance of the third report of the Committee established under resolution 253 (1968). This document, which was rarely quoted and even more rarely analysed in the

Assembly's debates on southern Africa, deserves some comment because it does help to assess the effectiveness of the sanctions.

158. The report is disappointing on more than one point. For instance, although tourism presumably does not meet any vital need, 355,000 tourists visited the rebel territory in 1969. This is more than in 1965. Net immigration, too, is on the rise, although the authorities in the countries of origin are not without the means to stem the flood.

159. Finally, despite the inadequacies of the report on this subject, the information given in the paragraphs on the general economy show that investments have increased in recent years and made possible industrialization to counterbalance the losses sustained in agriculture.

160. For in this last field the sanctions have produced results, thanks in particular to the role played by managements in the former importing countries; Rhodesian tobacco exports have been sufficiently reduced to cause a costly build-up of stocks, discontent among the producers, and increased budgetary costs. The substitution of maize for tobacco has done little to reduce the effectiveness of the sanctions.

161. As far as trade is concerned, sampling in various quarters indicates that in 1969 it did not reach the volume of four years earlier (the main trading partners, by far, being South Africa and Mozambique). If we deduct from the total the exports to neighbouring countries of Southern Rhodesia that have not yet escaped Rhodesia's economic grip and still depend upon it for the transit of their own products, and if we also deduct exports under contracts concluded before sanctions, we see that the colony's trade with the rest of the world is quite clearly declining, which is a result.

162. Without exaggerating the scope of sanctions, and my delegation has always pointed out that sanctions alone cannot be expected to solve the Southern Rhodesian problem, it is at least gratifying that the rebel authorities of the Territory, although particularly favoured by nature, are, their reports of victory notwithstanding, being seriously affected by the measures that have been in force for the past three years.

163. On the other hand, we must regret that in the short term the populations on whose behalf the international community is acting in the long term also have to pay, sometimes perhaps more dearly than the others, for the obstinacy of a small group.

164. For these reasons, the Organization, like Member States, should prefer, to recommendations—some of which, excessive or inapplicable, do not bring us closer to the objectives sought—all concrete initiatives undertaken in concert with the administering Power responsible which there is reason to think may contribute to the peaceful and complete self-determination of the inhabitants of Rhodesia.

165. For in our eyes the United Kingdom is the responsible authority which is in duty bound to take measures that fit the circumstances in order to put an end to the Rhodesian rebellion. We do not think that we are entitled to tell the British Government what it should do.

166. In any case, would there not be some contradiction in stating that the United Kingdom Government is responsible and even sometimes reproaching it for not sufficiently exercising its responsibility and, in the same breath, dictating what it should do, that is to say, wrongly to try to substitute another responsibility for its own?

167. For our part, for the reasons that the acting permanent representative of France in the Security Council has already explained in his letter of 31 March 1970 [S/9732], we would have some difficulty in agreeing that Article 41 of the Charter empowers the Security Council to decide that Member States should refrain from recognizing as a State any particular political entity whose status is in dispute. Paragraph 1 of the draft resolution before us, therefore, seems to us to be legally questionable. We have no difficulty as to the substance: we do not recognize the Salisbury régime and obviously we hope that there will be an unimpeded advancement towards majority government. But the language here seems to us to go beyond our powers. It could perhaps be changed, and we would have wished that consultations might be held on this subject to reach an agreement which is not beyond our grasp. If, however, this language is maintained as it stands, and since we have no objection to the substance, we shall be content to abstain.

168. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of France for his kind words.

169. Mr. KUŁAGA (Poland) (*interpretation from French*): It is with special pleasure that I extend to you, Mr. President, the sincerest congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. We are pleased to see a representative of Syria, a country which is a friend of ours, occupying this important post. With your erudition, your experience and your wisdom, we are confident that you will occupy this post with the greatest dignity and with determination to carry out your various tasks this month.

170. You are succeeding Ambassador de Piniés, whose presidency was marked not only by his customary brilliance and courtesy, but also by a date which will go down in the history of the United Nations, the first meeting of Foreign Ministers, which was presided over by the Foreign Minister of Spain.

171. My delegation understands and shares the feelings of those delegations that proposed this meeting of the Security Council. Twenty-five years after the signing of the Charter of the United Nations and ten years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Declaration which we have just solemnly reaffirmed the existence of the minority racist régime.

in Southern Rhodesia cannot be considered as anything but an open challenge to the Zimbabwe people, to the African people, to the United Nations whose fundamental principles are at stake and to the cause of peace and security in Africa.

172. The General Assembly and the Security Council have considered these problems, all factors have been taken into account, a number of resolutions have been adopted and action has been taken and yet a minority régime representing a mere fraction of the people of Southern Rhodesia remains in place. Moreover, they are strengthening their position. They are hurling a series of challenges at the African countries, the people of Rhodesia, and to the international community as a whole. The situation is so paradoxical that we are bound to ask a few fundamental questions.

173. We question first of all the political will of the administering Power in discharging its responsibilities to the people of Southern Rhodesia and its determination to put into effect the Declaration of 1960. The United Kingdom has always stated that this was its responsibility and that it still has this responsibility. This is the key element, because no one can convince us that the determination of the administering Power to take the necessary steps could fail to overcome a minority of a few thousand whites.

174. If the administering Power had demonstrated its determination, then there would have been no political or military means which would have made it possible for the unilateral declaration of independence to be made in 1965, nor would the political steps have been taken which were taken afterwards, in particular, the proclamation of a republic.

175. Secondly, there would have been an appropriate response to these illegal acts; there would have been determined action and not a series of negotiations which, with the passage of time, have only strengthened the conviction of the Smith régime that it had nothing to fear from abroad which would put an end to the political and economic situation set up by it.

176. The determination of the administering Power remains vital. The United Kingdom must back up its words with deeds and actions.

177. We have always emphasized the need to put an end to all co-operation and economic assistance to the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, but, as the report of the Committee of Twenty-four⁹ states, South African, as well as British and American interests, continue to prevail in Southern Rhodesia. Foreign companies continue to work there, and as long as these activities continue the Smith régime can only feel economically more secure and, what is even more important, morally and politically secure.

178. We have likewise stressed the need to adopt measures which would take into account the entire

situation in southern Africa. The problem of Southern Rhodesia cannot, in our opinion, be considered independently from the situation in South Africa and the Portuguese colonies. That would be contrary to facts which show that the minority régime of southern Rhodesia is the vassal of South Africa, that it is part of the whole ideological, military and economic system of southern Africa. The adoption of measures against Southern Rhodesia without taking account of that reality, would only reduce the effectiveness of those measures. Sanctions under Article 41 have been adopted by the Security Council. At first selective, they were then expanded. We supported those sanctions; we continue to support them. However, they are still not complete, still not water-tight and above all they still leave open the possibility of their being circumvented through the medium of South Africa and the Portuguese colonies.

179. The situation is now such that regardless of the activity of the Council's Committee on Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, regardless of the measures taken by a great number of States, the sanctions decreed by the Council are not as effective as we would have wished. Hence we have called for the full application and the strengthening of sanctions against the minority régime. Hence our support for paragraph 3 of the draft resolution submitted by five Powers which calls on all States to act in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter.

180. We now revert to the question of the determination of all States to make those sanctions effective, to take the necessary steps to ensure such effectiveness. The debates on the question of Southern Rhodesia in March 1970, the two vetos cast against the Afro-Asian draft resolution¹⁰ at the time, the open attempts to set aside sanctions, which have been mentioned in today's press, indicate that that determination is now more than ever absolutely vital to the success of any action by the Security Council.

181. Let us not forget that the problem of Southern Rhodesia is first and foremost a human problem. It is not insoluble. It will be solved because it is impossible to impose on the Zimbabwe people for long a régime which is the very denial of the fundamental rights of all men, of all people. What the United Nations can and must do is to create all the necessary conditions for a solution of that problem, in accordance with the Declaration of 1960 and with the interests and wishes of the people of Southern Rhodesia.

182. Poland, for its part, has recognized none of the illegal steps taken by the minority régime, neither the so-called declaration of independence of 1965, nor the setting up of the so-called republic in 1970.

183. Poland has no relations with the illegal régime of Ian Smith. It has always said that it is in favour of any steps whose purpose it would be to put an end

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23*, chap. V.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fifth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1970*, document S/9696.

to that régime. In accordance with the principles of our foreign policy, we support and we shall continue to support the liberation movement of the Zimbabwe people. We shall also continue to give our full support to whatever resolutions may be adopted by the Security Council to bring about a just solution of the problem of Southern Rhodesia.

184. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Poland for the fraternal sentiments he was so kind to express about me.

185. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation would like to associate itself with the congratulations which have been extended by previous speakers to the outgoing President of the Security Council, Ambassador de Piniés, and to you, Mr. Ambassador, on your assumption of this important post. We express particular satisfaction over the fact that the current President of the Security Council is an eminent scholar, a distinguished diplomat and a worthy representative of a country which is friendly to us. We are confident that your outstanding abilities, great experience and political and scholarly erudition will enable you to discharge your duties in this responsible position brilliantly.

186. Turning to the question under consideration, the Soviet delegation considers it essential to make the following statement.

187. For the second time this year the Security Council is considering the question of the extremely serious situation which has arisen in Southern Rhodesia. The Soviet delegation has listened with great attention to the carefully reasoned statements of the representatives of African and Asian States at today's meeting of the Council. The representatives of the Asian and African countries have very convincingly analysed the events which are taking place in Southern Rhodesia at the present time and have asked the Security Council to pay due attention to this problem. We share fully, and with good reason, the justified alarm expressed by the representatives of those States and by other speakers over the fate of the Zimbabwe people and the fate of peace in Africa as a whole.

188. It is quite obvious that the situation in Southern Rhodesia is deteriorating. Instead of the racist régime being eliminated, as has been the aim of the Security Council's efforts and of all the decisions adopted by it despite the stubborn opposition of the friends of the racists in the Security Council and the General Assembly, the position of that régime is definitely being strengthened. That régime continues forcibly to maintain its control over the territory and people of Zimbabwe and to subject the population of the country to increasingly cruel colonial and racist oppression and bloody terror.

189. Again and again the question arises: what is the matter? What is the main reason for the situation which has arisen? Can it be that the United Nations has not paid sufficient attention to this question?

190. It is the general view that this question has been and is being considered with sufficient frequency and thoroughness in organs of the United Nations. Moreover, no one can say that decisions which on the whole point in the right direction have not been taken. It is a well-known fact that the Security Council, having noted that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security, has adopted a number of decisions directed against the racist régime which holds sway in that country, including decisions concerning the imposition of economic and other sanctions against that régime. Those decisions of the Security Council are well known to all and they are referred to in the draft resolution now submitted for the consideration of the Security Council by the delegations of five Afro-Asian countries, in document S/9976. As we are all aware, the Security Council has established a special Committee to supervise the application of sanctions against the régime in Southern Rhodesia. All fifteen members of the Security Council are now members of that Committee.

191. Why, then, have all these decisions proved ineffective, why have they not led to positive results? What is the secret, so to speak, of the ineffectiveness of the United Nations decisions? There is, in essence, no secret whatsoever: the Southern Rhodesian racists by themselves, if they were alone and had no outside support, if they were without the prop of foreign help, would not have been able to resist the turbulent onrush of the national liberation movement of the peoples of Africa, to challenge the United Nations or to ignore its decisions. The crux of the matter is that the racists in Salisbury have had, and so far still have, influential friends and protectors. Who it is that defends them, who protects them, is something which is also well known: in the first place, South Africa and Portugal, their direct partners and allies in the colonial bloc and in racist terror in southern Africa; secondly, the United Kingdom, which bears the primary responsibility for the rise and continued existence of the Southern Rhodesian régime; lastly, a number of the United Kingdom's allies in the NATO military bloc.

192. What, then, is happening in practice to the decisions of the United Nations, to the decisions of the Security Council concerning Southern Rhodesia? The overwhelming majority of States in the world are strictly observing those decisions and are not maintaining any relations or links with the Southern Rhodesian racists, whether economic, political or of any other kind. That is not, however, leading to the desired results since there are some States which are sabotaging the implementation of those decisions and the sanctions against the Southern Rhodesian racists are consequently failing and proving ineffective.

193. Southern Rhodesia is openly supported by South Africa and Portugal. The United Kingdom and a number of other Western States carry on extensive trade and, as before, maintain links of every kind with the régimes at Pretoria and Lisbon. In that way, through those racist colonialist régimes, they are in fact maintaining indirect links with Southern Rhodesia, too.

194. Furthermore, as can be seen from the relevant documents, particularly the official report of the Committee on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia submitted to the Security Council in June of this year, a number of States are continuing to trade directly with Southern Rhodesia and are even investing capital in the economy of that country in flagrant violation of the decisions of the Security Council on sanctions. That report shows that recently the number of cases of suspected sanctions-breaking has increased considerably.

195. A number of Western States are also giving the Southern Rhodesian régime direct political and moral support. We are all familiar with the continued manoeuvres to which the delegations of those States resort in order to prevent the adoption of the necessary strong measures by the Security Council and other United Nations organs, to prevent the adoption of decisions concerning full sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. A graphic example and confirmation of this can be found in the actions of the representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States in the Security Council in March of this year [*1534th meeting*] when they both used the veto at the same time in the vote on the draft resolution submitted by a large group of countries of Africa and Asia which, *inter alia*, provided for the extension of economic sanctions also to South Africa and Portugal as the main violators of the Security Council decisions on the application of sanctions against the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia.

196. It is perfectly clear that if the Salisbury régime did not enjoy the protection and support of those and other Western Powers, if it did not receive economic and military assistance directly from South Africa and Portugal and through them from the Western countries too, it could not continue to exist and to hold tyrannical sway over the Zimbabwe people.

197. The continuation of the current situation in Southern Rhodesia, which constitutes a serious threat to the security of the peoples of Africa and to international peace, cannot be tolerated. The United Nations and its Security Council, as the organ primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, must not, regardless of the difficulties which exist, abandon their efforts to deliver the Zimbabwe people from the tyranny of the racist régime which is in power in Southern Rhodesia. The overwhelming majority of States in the world are in favour of the adoption of decisive and effective measures against that régime. The Third Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held at Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970, adopted a special resolution concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia. That resolution contained a request that urgent and effective measures should be taken to assist the just struggle of the Zimbabwe people against racist tyranny.

198. The programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted not long ago at the twenty-fifth session of the General

Assembly [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*], contains a special appeal to the Security Council to take the necessary measures to widen the scope of the sanctions against the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. Among the measures proposed by the Assembly in this connexion there is one emphasizing the need to declare mandatory all the measures laid down in Article 41 of the Charter. The Assembly's resolution also contains a proposal that the Security Council should consider the question of imposing sanctions upon South Africa and Portugal in view of their refusal to carry out the relevant decisions of the Security Council.

199. The adoption of that programme by the Assembly was an expression of the will of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations in their noble aspirations and demands that measures should be taken against the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. Only the representatives of the racist régimes and the representatives of a small, narrow group of countries which protect those régimes voted against the adoption of that programme by the Assembly.

200. The Security Council has a duty to take account of these demands, which have been supported by the Assembly. It must seek and adopt effective measures and decisions by which it can change the course of events and deliver the peoples of the African continent from the danger threatening them, ensure peace on that continent and speedily free the Zimbabwe people from the colonial and racist yoke.

201. The Soviet Union, for its part, fully supports the resolutions concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia adopted earlier by the Security Council, and unswervingly complies with them. The Soviet people manifest full solidarity with the Zimbabwe people in their just struggle to win freedom and independence and are assisting them in that struggle.

202. The delegation of the USSR has carefully studied the draft resolution submitted for the consideration of the security Council by the group of Afro-Asian countries. We consider that this draft resolution is not sufficiently strong, although, as it appears from the statement by the United Kingdom representative, he intends to reject and vote against even this weak draft resolution. We must, however, draw attention to the fact that, for example, the wording of paragraph 1 might be interpreted as meaning that the Security Council is against independence for Southern Rhodesia and in favour of continuing colonial domination, which, of course, as we understand it, is by no means the intention of the sponsors of the draft resolution. We are firmly convinced of this.

203. In the view of the Soviet delegation, therefore, it would be advisable to have this paragraph worded in such a way as to indicate that the Security Council calls upon the United Kingdom to take the necessary measures to grant immediate independence to Southern Rhodesia with a democratic system of government in accordance with the aspirations of the majority of the population of that country. We are firmly convinced

that such a wording would correspond more closely to the expectations, hopes and aspirations of the 4 million people of that country, the 4 million people of Zimbabwe.

204. Since the agenda for the meeting also includes the question of the third report of the Committee on Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, it would obviously be appropriate to refer to that report in the preamble or in the operative part of the draft resolution, even if only by taking note of it.

205. In the light of these remarks, the USSR delegation considers the five-Power draft resolution in principle acceptable and supports it.

206. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the Soviet Union, in particular for the kind words he spoke in my regard, and I assure him that I was very touched.

207. Since there are no more speakers before the vote, I should like, as representative of SYRIA, to make the following statement.

208. My Government's firm support for draft resolution S/9976, so eloquently introduced by the Ambassador of Nepal, which my delegation has the honour to co-sponsor, is based on the principles of equality among peoples and their right to self-determination, principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter from its very first article.

209. However, a European minority whose settlement in Zimbabwe was facilitated, even encouraged, by the administering Power, has succeeded in usurping power and now seeks to deprive the majority of the inhabitants of their political and human rights. Under the very terms of the Charter the administering Power, is supposed to watch over the rights of the population, its progress and advancement towards independence; to be sure, it has condemned the racist minority in words, but in deeds has lamentably shrunk from using effective means to ensure the supremacy of law and morality. It is this failure of the administering Power to live up to its obligations that is at the root of the problem. That a fanatical and reactionary minority should apply the law of the jungle can of course happen; but that the duly vested authority should show itself complaisant and sometimes ready to engage in a dialogue with the usurpers on bases not determined by the rule of the majority—this it is that encourages the outlaws to persist in their defiance and to intensify their oppression of the African masses. While the illegal régime celebrates the anniversary of the unilateral declaration of so-called independence an "independence" in which the majority counts for nothing, in which the denial of law and justice is the rule—it is incumbent upon the Security Council to reiterate its decisions not to recognize that régime. It is likewise incumbent upon the Council to reaffirm the responsibility of the administering Power and to emphasize its shortcomings. Those are the principal elements of the draft resolution.

210. We harbour no illusion that a resolution can put an end to the oppression. Only the use of force can dissuade the usurpers from their illegal enterprise. However, the very authorities that are in a position to apply such pressure successfully are opposed to it. Nevertheless, it would be helpful for the international community to reaffirm its resolve. That is the least that is expected of it. But such a reaffirmation can bear fruit only if the previous decisions of the Council imposing economic sanctions on the Smith régime are no longer violated. Unfortunately, they are being violated, as is shown by the figures for the trade and investment that the illegal régime continues to enjoy, figures set forth in the report of the Sanctions Committee.

211. Our draft resolution therefore contains, through a simple reaffirmation of past decisions, a condemnation of such violations; it also implicitly emphasizes the inadequacy of the sanctions and the pressing need for more effective action by the Council. Such action remains essential if there is at last to be an effective remedy to the crisis in southern Africa, which poses a real danger to international peace and security.

212. Speaking now as PRESIDENT, I wish to say that I have no more speakers on my list. If no representative wishes to speak at this stage, I would propose to the Council that we proceed to the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/9976.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Burundi, China, Colombia, Finland, Nepal, Nicaragua, Poland, Sierra Leone, Spain, Syria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Zambia.

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: France, United States of America.

The result of the vote was 12 in favour, 1 against, with 2 abstentions.

The draft resolution was not adopted, the negative vote being that of a permanent member.

213. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Finland to explain his vote.

214. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): Mr. President, I am pleased to have this opportunity to extend to you the best wishes of my delegation. We know that you will conduct the affairs of the Council with the competence and fairness which we are accustomed to expect from you.

215. I am also happy to join in paying a tribute to last month's President of the Council, the Ambassador of Spain, who has made a consistently constructive contribution to the work of this Council.

216. The Finnish delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the five African and Asian

members of the Council in order to reaffirm our support for the policy of sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. Although this policy has not yet achieved its purpose it has had a number of important results. It has isolated the illegal régime diplomatically, economically, legally and morally. The Smith régime has been made an outcast without hope of gaining international recognition or establishing normal relations with members of the international community. International pressure against the illegal régime must be maintained and a further effort should be made to find ways and means by which sanctions can be applied more effectively.

217. At the same time, we must continue to keep in view the ultimate purpose of Security Council action in this matter, which is the upholding of the Charter principle of equal rights for all without distinction as to race, colour or creed, and the right of peoples to self-determination in accordance with that principle.

218. We very much regret that the unanimity which the Council has hitherto maintained on this issue has now broken down. This is all the more regrettable since nothing has happened to destroy the basic unity of purpose which has enabled the Security Council for the first time in history to initiate and maintain a worldwide system of economic sanctions for the purpose of putting an end to racial oppression in Southern Rhodesia.

219. Mr. YOST (United States of America): Mr. President, may I join my colleagues in congratulating you on your assumption of our presidency. We look on you both as a wise and experienced representative of your Government and as a widely admired member of our United Nations family. We are sure you will add to your high reputation as President of this Council.

220. I should also like to associate my delegation with the thanks that have been expressed to the President of the Security Council for October, the Ambassador of Spain, for his service, particularly in contributing in such a substantial way to the success of this Council's first periodic meeting of foreign ministers.

221. My Government's position in opposition to the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia is clear and of long-standing. Not only is this true in terms of statements made before this Council and other United Nations organs, but it is exemplified in my Government's staunch support for the economic and other sanctions which this Council has imposed on Rhodesia. Moreover, our support for these measures is not limited to United States citizens and firms. We have through our active participation in the Council's Sanctions Committee sought to increase the effectiveness of sanctions enforcement by all States.

222. It is for these reasons that my Government would have been pleased to be able to vote for the draft resolution which was before us and would have been able to vote for almost all of it, including four out of five operative paragraphs. However, my delegation has serious reservations regarding the first operative para-

graph. We have consistently made clear our support for the right of the people of Southern Rhodesia to self-determination and majority rule. This is the aim of this Council and, I am sure, of each of its members. But it seems most inconsistent to reiterate in the fourth preambular paragraph the prime responsibility of the United Kingdom for the achievement of self-determination in Southern Rhodesia, and immediately thereafter in the first operative paragraph to prescribe in advance under Chapter VII of the Charter how and when this goal is to be achieved. Such a binding injunction could only serve further to complicate an already most difficult situation.

223. We share the concern of all other members of this Council at the failure of the illegal régime to agree to majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. But we believe it unwise and unhelpful to impede the achievement of this objective by prescribing too rigid a framework and time-table for its pursuit.

224. Finally, in all frankness, I must say that we are concerned over the way in which this draft resolution was prepared and presented to us. The representative of Nepal, in presenting the draft, said that it was non-controversial, but, as far as we are aware, little or no effort was made to consult in advance all the members of the Council in order to determine whether the draft was in fact non-controversial. That seems to us a pity. Given the fact that the Council has again and again acted unanimously in regard to Rhodesia and has taken unanimously some of the strongest measures ever adopted by the United Nations, it should not have been too difficult to draft a resolution which all could have supported and which, it could be hoped, by reason of its unanimous support would have had some impact on the illegal régime in Rhodesia. Unfortunately, that effort was not made, and that end has not been achieved.

225. In the light of these considerations, both substantive and procedural, my delegation felt that it could not support the draft resolution. On the other hand, since we agreed with almost all of it, we did not wish to oppose it; therefore we abstained.

226. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United States for the very kind and courteous words he said about me, and I assure him they are reciprocal.

227. At this stage I wish to say that I have been given to understand that consultations are still proceeding on the question under consideration and that some Afro-Asian members may submit another draft resolution by tomorrow. So, if there is no objection, I shall call a meeting of the Council for tomorrow at 3 p.m.

228. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): I should like to suggest that before we fix a meeting of the Council, in order to avoid the sort of thing that happened today, we should have the text of the draft resolution, so that we can consult upon it before we move into a meeting. Otherwise—if, as I see it at the moment, there is no consultation and a draft resolution

is produced at about 2.30 p.m.— we shall find ourselves in the meeting at 3 p.m. in the same position. Let us please agree by consultation before we have the meeting. When we are ready, then let us have a meeting, and then we can go ahead, I hope, in unanimity, because, after all, the object of the exercise is surely to show we are as close together as possible and not to demonstrate our divisions.

229. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): I wish to declare in advance that my delegation has never obtained any malicious enjoyment from the misfortunes of the United Kingdom over the situation in Southern Rhodesia. Having said that, I wish to say that I have listened with great attention to what the representative of the United Kingdom has said. It is my delegation's feeling that agreement on this matter is not impossible and we feel that it is in the interests of the people of Southern Rhodesia that we should meet again—preferably tomorrow as you suggested, Mr. President—with a view to arriving at some kind of solution. Therefore I strongly support what you said in connexion with the holding of a meeting tomorrow.

230. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First I should like to thank all those delegations that said very kind things about my performance as President of the Council for October. I should particularly like to thank the representatives of France, Poland, the United States, Finland and the Soviet Union for the very kind things they said about me and my delegation.

231. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): In view of the late hour, my delegation will try to be very brief. The delegation of Burundi wonders how it was possible that the delegation of the United Kingdom was not contacted when consultations were proceeding for the meeting of the Security Council. Last Friday the sponsors of the draft resolution took the trouble to ask the Secretary-General of the United Nations officially to publish the draft resolution in question. We are surprised at all this, because we believe the representative of Zambia contacted the representative of the United Kingdom on the matter. We wanted to make the situation quite clear.

232. On behalf of my delegation and my Government and on my own behalf, I should like also to express our thanks to the twelve members that voted in favour of the draft resolution. I think this shows that, in spite of obstacles to the independence of the Zimbabwe people, justice still means something to the majority of Members of the United Nations. Our thanks go also to the delegations of France and the United States, which, while experiencing some difficulty, did not find it necessary to veto the draft resolution, as the United Kingdom did last March. That is some measure of success, and we should like to thank them for that.

233. The PRESIDENT: In view of the situation that has arisen, it seems to me that I should have consultations with the members of the Council and that I should convene a meeting after due consultations. As there is no objection, it is so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.

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