



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR

**1693<sup>rd</sup>** MEETING: 9 MARCH 1973

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## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1693) . . . . .	1
Adoption of the agenda . . . . .	1
Complaint by Zambia: Report of the Security Council Special Mission established under resolution 326 (1973) (S/10896 and Corr.1 and Add.1) . . . . .	1

## NOTE

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## SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-THIRD MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 9 March 1973, at 3 p.m.

*President: Mr. Aquilino E. BOYD (Panama).*

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, China, France, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1693)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Complaint by Zambia:  
Report of the Security Council Special Mission established under resolution 326 (1973) (S/10896 and Corr.1 and Add.1).

*The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### Complaint by Zambia

**Report of the Security Council Special Mission established under resolution 326 (1973) (S/10896 and Corr.1 and Add.1)**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with previous decisions of the Council [1687th meeting], and with its consent, I propose now to invite the representative of Zambia to take a place at the Council table.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. P. J. F. Lusaka (Zambia) took a place at the Council table.*

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Also in accordance with previous decisions [1687th, 1689th and 1690th meetings], and with the consent of the Council, I intend now to invite the representatives of Ghana, Morocco, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zaïre, Chile, Algeria, Senegal, Egypt, Somalia, Cuba, Cameroon and Guyana to take the places reserved for them in the Council chamber in order to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion of the item on our agenda under the terms of Article 31 of the Charter, it being understood that they

will be invited to take a place at the Council table when they wish to speak.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. Rahal (Algeria), Mr. R. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. A. Osman (Egypt), Mr. S. Samuels (Guyana), Mr. M. Fall (Senegal), Mr. J. Nur Elmi (Somalia), Mr. S. Chale (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Ipoto Eyebu Bankand'asi (Zaire) took the places reserved for them in the Council chamber.*

3. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): Mr. President, may I open this short statement on the report of the Security Council Special Mission established under resolution 326 (1973), by extending to you the sincerest congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of this Council for the month of March? In so doing, I wish to recall your constant co-operation and support for issues of vital significance to the future of Africa—whether in the southern or northeastern part of it—where international peace and security are being critically threatened. It is therefore a matter of great comfort to my delegation that you preside at this very moment when the situation in southern Africa is being assessed by the Council. My delegation extends to you the best of wishes and its co-operation for a successful term in the eventful month of March.

4. May I also congratulate your predecessor in the Chair, my dear colleague and brother, Ambassador Odera-Jowi of Kenya, for the efficient and diligent manner in which he guided the Council during February, and for his successful efforts in dispatching the Special Mission to Africa and attending to its business while it was away?

5. As a member of the Special Mission, it is my pleasant duty to join Ambassador Anwar Sani of Indonesia, Chairman of the Mission, in affirming that the composition of the Mission, namely, the four Security Council members, the economic experts and the members of the Secretariat, rendered our mission enjoyable as well as productive. For my part, I submit that it was mainly due to the admirable personal character and high intellectual qualities of Ambassador Anwar Sani that the Mission was successful in its investigations and in its unanimous assessment of the situation and the needs of Zambia.

6. The Chairman of the Special Mission submitted to the Council a statement [1692nd meeting] introducing the report in general terms on behalf of all the members of the Mission. My delegation fully endorses that statement and the assessments of the report. These assessments having been reached by the general consensus of the four

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently issued as *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, Special Supplement No. 2.*

members, my delegation requests the indulgence of the Council in highlighting certain aspects of the report.

7. I should like to start by making some general observations regarding the tour, to follow them with some comments on the assessments themselves, and to end with the views of my delegation on the implications of the situation.

8. While in Zambia, as the report specifies, we made an extensive tour of the frontier of Zambia, and from the plane we saw land clearances for military aeroplanes, military camps, military roads and gun positions along the frontiers of Angola, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique. On the Zambian side we visited sites of previous mine explosions and were nearly victims of newly planted bombs. During those tours we were left in no doubt that the colonial and racist régimes have committed and plan to commit acts of aggression and provocation against Zambia which could easily lead to a conflagration.

9. By contrast, Zambia has so far maintained a measure of restraint despite those provocations; yet my delegation wonders how long the Zambian authorities can maintain such restraint under mounting provocations and aggression against Zambian citizens whose lives and properties are constantly being threatened from across the border.

10. It is also important to observe that the decision of Zambia to close the border with Southern Rhodesia is irrevocable, and that it is its intention to forsake its exemption under mandatory sanctions against the illegal rebel régime of Ian Smith by implementing fully the decisions of the Security Council in this respect. The Council may therefore wish to take full note of this Zambian decision.

11. As a result of such concurrence with mandatory sanctions, the economic assessment of the report under review estimates the cost of physical requirements at \$124 million, plus \$6.5 million monthly for air freight to balance the normal traffic for essential materials and supplies. I refer to paragraphs 175 and 176. It is significant to note also that the estimated extra costs for using alternative routes amount to some \$50 million annually. Furthermore, in paragraph 178, the report shows that these higher costs will increase the price level in Zambia, the cost of structure in the mining sector and the government deficit and, notably, that the foreign exchange costs "will nearly double". The final paragraph of the economic assessment highlights the urgency of assistance necessary for the economy of Zambia to continue to develop in a normal way. By those quotations from the economic assessment of the needs of Zambia outlined in the report, my delegation hopes to impress on the Council and on all members of the international community that Zambia's sacrifice in implementing the Security Council mandatory sanctions against the rebel régime of Southern Rhodesia deserves every immediate assistance and appreciation.

12. In this connexion, my delegation notes with great satisfaction the assurances given by neighbouring African countries or States of full solidarity and support, even at national sacrifices, to Zambia, both politically and econo-

mically. I beg to point out, as an example, the reported prompt manifestation of such solidarity and support in the form of the \$1 million cheque transmitted to Zambia by President Mobutu of Zaïre. It is indeed an example to be followed. The Mission was also made aware of generous bilateral aid already committed by friendly countries in increasing the road, railway and harbour capacity in the United Republic of Tanzania, which capacity and facilities will assist Zambia in the alternative rerouting of its exports and imports. My delegation takes this opportunity to express its full appreciation to those countries.

13. On the political side, my delegation expresses its dismay and grave concern at the situation that dangerously continues to develop in Zimbabwe. In our view, the rebel régime, through the continuously mounting military presence of South Africans, is becoming not only more oppressive in the South African *apartheid* manner, but also increasingly dangerous to Zambia's security and national integrity.

14. It is a matter of great regret and concern that the administering Power, though reaffirming its responsibility, constantly declines to discharge it by failing to take appropriate and effective measures for the self-determination and independence of Zimbabwe. Everywhere it went in Africa the Mission was reminded that, to all intents and purposes, the United Kingdom is seeking recognition for the Ian Smith régime rather than majority rule; that the United Kingdom policy is guided by sentiments of kinship with the white minority and by economic interests in Zimbabwe itself, to the detriment of the African majority in Zimbabwe. My delegation will therefore insist that the United Kingdom Government be constantly reminded and prompted to fulfil its moral and political responsibility towards the whole people of Zimbabwe. By the Mission's findings it is also that Government's duty to effect the total withdrawal of South African armed forces from the colony.

15. On the question of the assessment of the situation in the area, the Mission has ascertained that "a considerable measure of tension continues to exist in the area covered by Security Council resolution 326 (1973)" [S/10896, para. 164]. That is evidently a mild way of describing the situation. Judging by what we saw across the borders of Zambia, by way of the massive military presence of South Africans in Southern Rhodesia, in Cape Caprivi and in the south of Angola, by the military camps, military roads, gun posts and the gallant fight of the liberation movements inside those territories, my delegation is more convinced than ever that those racist minority and colonial régimes constitute a real danger to international peace and security in southern Africa. It would pay for the Security Council to take preventive measures now rather than be faced with a military conflagration later on. Reports coming from south of the Zambezi river about creating a Viet-Nam in that part of Africa, and the determination of South Africa to send military forces at will towards the Zambezi, cannot be dismissed as empty words. The minorities, haunted by a fear which they themselves have created, are highly susceptible to mad acts, under the nervousness and tension in which they are living at the present time.

16. So far, President Kaunda has demonstrated remarkable self-restraint and statesmanship. Faithful to his peaceful

humanitarian political philosophy, he has successfully avoided retaliations against the aggressive and provocative acts of the régimes surrounding his country. The question remains, who but the Security Council, entrusted with international matters of peace, can insure Zambia, and indeed Africa, against those dangerous régimes and their designs which threaten international peace and security in that part of Africa?

17. On the basis of the short statement I have just made, my delegation fully endorses the contents of the report of the Special Mission and gladly joins the sponsors of the two draft resolutions which will be presented, in appealing to the members of the Council to vote unanimously in their favour.

18. Mrs. Jeanne Martin CISSE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of March, assure you of my delegation's co-operation and express the wish that success may crown the work that awaits you this month. I have had the privilege of appreciating, through our contacts in the Council and elsewhere in the United Nations, your outstanding diplomatic qualities. I have thus always enjoyed the relations of solidarity and friendship that unite our two countries and our two delegations. A happy accident sees you in the presidency of the Council as it faces one of the urgent problems of Africa, when only a week now separates us from a historic series of meetings of this Council in a country of the third world, your own country, Panama, whose dedication to the principles of peace, freedom and justice is well known beyond your national frontiers. We are thus convinced that under your wise presidency the work of the Council will be as successful as the peoples of the third world hope. We have not forgotten the very important contribution you made to the success of our work in Addis Ababa in January and February and again in New York in November of 1972.

19. I should like to associate myself with the preceding speakers in paying tribute to the wisdom of Mr. Odero-Jowi of Kenya, who presided over the Council last month. The fruitful consultations that he carried out with such skill were very happily reflected in the Special Mission, whose report is the subject of today's meeting. To Mr. Anwar Sani and his companions I would extend my delegation's gratitude for the mission they have successfully discharged.

20. Before turning to the agenda item before us, I should like to ask the delegation of the United States to convey our greetings to Ambassador Scali, who is replacing Mr. George Bush as representative of the United States in the Council. I should like to assure him of my delegation's intention of continuing, as in the past, to strengthen the good relations of co-operation and friendship that we maintained with his predecessor.

21. My delegation took note with satisfaction of the efforts of the Security Council to give prompt effect to resolution 326 (1973) in setting up a special mission to assess the situation resulting from the unhappy events in Zambia. We much appreciate the praiseworthy efforts of the Special Mission which proceeded to London, Zambia,

the United Republic of Tanzania and Kenya. Once again, we should like to pay a deserved tribute to all the members of that important Mission for the courage and the firmness they displayed in carrying out the difficult task entrusted to them. The success of the Mission, which might well have ended in tragedy in view of the explosions which took place only a few minutes before its arrival on the scene, would not have been possible without the spirit of courage and resolute firmness which prevailed.

22. The members of the Council will recall that when this problem was presented [*1687th meeting*], the representative of the Republic of Zambia, Ambassador Paul Lusaka, drew our attention to the criminal acts of the racist and illegal Government of Ian Smith. The Special Mission's report corroborates all the facts and considerations that had been reported to the Council. The acts of aggression perpetrated against the people of Zambia by Rhodesian forces, strengthened by those of South Africa, the unjustified incursions and the laying of land mines along the Zambian frontier by those forces have been proved. In this regard, the letter from Minister Muller of South Africa, denying the presence of South African forces in Rhodesia while, at the same time, recognizing the strengthening of the Rhodesian forces by contingents of the South African police, seems to be without foundation.

23. The Mission's report notes in tangible fashion the tension prevailing in the frontier zones along the Zambian-Rhodesian border area. My delegation regrets the deterioration of the already explosive situation along the Zambezi, marked by Rhodesian military preparations. Thus Zambia has not only to face the economic difficulties resulting from the closing of its frontier to the transit of its imports but must also confront aggression which is being prepared against it.

24. Zambia's geopolitical situation as a landlocked country, and particularly the assistance it is giving to the liberation movements, make of it, like of Guinea, the United Republic of Tanzania and other African countries, a standing target for imperialism.

25. Within this framework my delegation would like, as it already did in 1970, once again to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the provocations of Portugal against the Republic of Guinea, my own country. In a communication received from my Government our attention has been drawn to Portugal's preparation of new exploits by mercenaries. We have been informed that the vessel *Albatros*, carefully prepared by Portugal, has already left the port of Fuerteventura with subversive elements on board, with a view to carrying out further aggression against the Republic of Guinea. Following the dastardly assassination of the great PAIGC [*Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde*] fighter, Amílcar Cabral, Portugal is continuing its cynical attempts to divide the ranks of the liberation movement of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde.

26. I can assure the Council that no pressure and no force of any kind will prevail over the firm and resolute will of the peoples of Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania and other African States to assist their brothers struggling

against the forces of colonial domination in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Namibia and South Africa.

27. Part of this effort is the decision of the Government of the Republic of Zambia, which despite its implications for that country has remained true to the decisions of the Security Council concerning economic sanctions. In that effort the African countries are already prepared to afford Zambia all the necessary assistance it may need. The conclusions of the Special Mission show that, if adequate assistance is forthcoming from neighbouring African States, some 115,000 tons of imports and exports could be transhipped to Zambia through the United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire and Malawi. To this end we welcome the fortunate initiative of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, which is determined to help Zambia to take up this challenge by making available to it other port facilities in Dar es Salaam.

28. As was eloquently stressed by the Prime Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. R. M. Kawawa [S/10896, para 143], the Security Council and the United Nations system as a whole have the moral and legal obligation, under Article 50 of the Charter, to give Zambia material and other assistance in overcoming its present and future difficulties. By carrying out the decisions and resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on Southern Rhodesia, Zambia has undertaken considerable sacrifices. It is therefore essential that no effort be spared in coming to its assistance.

29. To promote and encourage that effort, my delegation believes that the Security Council must urgently take adequate measures and recommend all peace-loving and justice-loving countries to make available to Zambia all possible moral and material support, for the country's economy is now gravely affected.

30. My delegation regrets that the United Kingdom, the administering Power of the rebel colony of Ian Smith, did nothing to enable the Special Mission to proceed to Southern Rhodesia. We were somewhat surprised at this reaction, for we see from the talks held by the Mission with the United Kingdom Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Lady Tweedsmuir, that:

"Although [that is, the United Kingdom] had responsibility for Southern Rhodesia, it had had no responsibility internally for many years and could not force a settlement. It was for the 'Rhodesians' themselves to try and get together in their own country and to discuss a solution to the problem." [Ibid., para. 41.]

31. That last part is fully in keeping with my own delegation's analysis and that of all African States. What we want is for the Rhodesians, under majority rule, to accede to the exercise of this much vaunted sovereignty. Unfortunately—and this is where we part company with the United Kingdom—that country remains the administering Power. It is therefore its duty to induce its rebel colony to respect the exercise of that sovereignty and not to allow a handful of white racists to govern. Nevertheless, my delegation hopes that the spirit of responsibility that guides the United

Kingdom will assist the African countries and the United Nations to overcome the thorny problems of Southern Rhodesia.

32. The important document provided by the Special Mission, the additional information given at our last meeting by the representative of Zambia, Ambassador Lusaka, will, I am sure, enable our Council to devise prompt solution to the urgent and critical situation of Zambia pending the necessary measures to be taken as soon as possible in the months ahead. My delegation reserves the right to address the Council again later and to speak on the draft resolutions which it intends to submit together with the delegations of Kenya, Sudan and Yugoslavia.

33. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, allow me first of all to congratulate you on behalf of the Soviet delegation and on my own personal behalf on your accession to the high and responsible post of President of the Security Council. The USSR delegation in the Council works in close contact with the delegation of Panama. We have had the opportunity on a number of occasions to convince our selves of the important contribution made by the Panamanian delegation, headed by yourself, to the work of the Council and of the United Nations as a whole. Allow me to offer you my sincere wishes for your success in this far from easy post in carrying out the responsibilities conferred upon you, the range of which is constantly increasing in connexion with the impending historical event—the meetings of the Council to be held in the capital of your homeland—and to express my conviction that the guidance of the Council's work during the month of March is in experienced and reliable hands. The Soviet delegation would like to assure you of its readiness to co-operate with you in seeking solutions to the problems now before the Council.

34. The Soviet delegation would also like to express its gratitude and thanks to the Permanent Representative of Kenya to the United Nations, our distinguished colleague, Ambassador Odera-Jowi, for his extremely useful and effective work last month as President of the Council.

35. Mr. President, before coming to the substance of the item now under discussion by the Security Council, the Soviet delegation would like to express its views on the matters you touched upon in your introductory statement at the last meeting of the Council.

36. The Soviet Union welcomed the results of the Paris Conference which confirmed, at the international level, the cessation of the war and the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam, and reaffirmed the basic national rights of the Viet-Nameese people—*independence, sovereignty, and the unity and national integrity of Viet-Nam.*

37. The agreement reached in Paris was the result of a hard, long and courageous struggle by the Viet-Nameese people against aggression; it was a victory for justice, realism and reason. The agreement was made possible primarily through the heroic efforts of the Viet-Nameese people themselves who could not but command the sympathy of all to whom the ideals of freedom and

independence are dear. The combination of the tenacity of the Viet-Namese people and the international assistance, moral, political and material, given to Viet-Nam by countries in the socialist community and other peace-loving forces in the world was an important factor in bringing about an end to the war.

38. The signing of the Paris agreement is only the first step on the path towards a complete settlement of the Viet-Nam problem. The task now is to secure the complete implementation of the provisions of the Paris agreement. May I express my conviction that the solutions reached at the Paris Conference will serve the cause of establishing a stable peace in Viet-Nam, in Indo-China as a whole and throughout the world.

39. The whole world recently witnessed the latest criminal acts committed by the Israeli aggressors against the Arab peoples and against peace in the Middle East. The barbarous attack by the Israeli air force on a Libyan civil aircraft, which resulted in the tragic death of over 100 peaceful civilians, coincided with another piratical raid by Israeli armed forces against the peace-loving State of Lebanon, which once again took innocent civilian lives. These piratical acts by Israel have aroused just anger and condemnation not only in the Middle East but also throughout the world. The inhuman action of Israel in shooting down an unarmed civil aircraft cannot be regarded as a chance incident. This crime is just one of the tragic links in the chain of outrages committed by the Israeli troops in the Middle East for the purpose of implementing a policy of force in that region and aggravating an already tense situation in order to undermine the efforts being made by the Arab side towards a peaceful settlement.

40. Responsibility for the destruction of the Libyan aircraft and the death of completely innocent people, including women and children, must be placed squarely on the Government of Israel which has made mass terror and the escalation of aggression the main objective of its official policy. It is now perfectly clear to everyone that Israel is committing these criminal acts for the purpose of further increasing tension in the Middle East, just at a time when trends favourable to peace are apparent in the international situation and when the principle of the non-use of force in international relations is gaining increasing recognition and has already been recognized and confirmed in the historic decision taken by the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session [resolution 2936 (XXVII)].

41. The Israeli aggressors are wrong in thinking that nowadays it is possible to flout the rules of international law and the decisions of the United Nations with impunity. The interests of peace and justice in the Middle East urgently require that all Governments and, above all, all the Governments of the permanent members of the Security Council, should make every effort to restrain the Israeli aggressors and extremists, to achieve the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories seized by them in June 1967, and to ensure respect for the rights and legitimate interests of the Arab people of Palestine.

42. In connexion with the monstrous terrorist act committed against the diplomatic representatives of the United

States and Belgium in Khartoum, the Soviet delegation deems it necessary to make the following statement.

43. The Soviet Union is strongly opposed, on grounds of principle, to international terrorism which disrupts the diplomatic activities of States and their representatives, transport communication between them and the normal course of international contacts and meetings; it is strongly opposed to acts of violence that serve no political end and involve the death of innocent people. The major responsibility, however, for all acts of terrorism committed in connexion with the situation in the Middle East lies primarily with the Israeli aggressors who are continuing to pursue their criminal policy of aggression and are impeding a peaceful settlement. We strongly condemn the use of terrorist methods in international politics regardless of whether they are used against Soviet citizens or against citizens of other countries. The position of principle of the Soviet Union was stated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. A. A. Gromyko, at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. In his statement on 26 September last he said:

"We . . . support the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for the restoration of their inalienable rights, which have been recognized by the United Nations. At the same time, we cannot, of course, condone the acts of terrorism committed by certain elements among the members of the Palestinian movement. . . . Their criminal acts also strike a blow at the national interests and aspirations of the Palestinians and are used by the Israeli criminals to cover up their own piratical policy against the Arab peoples."<sup>2</sup>

44. Proceeding from that position taken by the Soviet Union, we express our regret in connexion with the murder of the diplomatic representatives of the United States and the *chargé d'affaires* of Belgium in Khartoum.

45. The Security Council, as you know, having considered an appeal by Zambia in January this year concerning acts of provocation and aggression committed by the illegal racist régime in Salisbury against Zambia, expressed grave concern at the situation that had developed and condemned all these acts of harassment, including economic blockade, blackmail and military threats against Zambia, committed by the illegal régime in Salisbury in collusion with the racist colonialist régimes of South Africa and Portugal.

46. A number of representatives pointed out in their statements in the Council that the racist régime in Salisbury was using economic blackmail and had committed numerous acts of subversion and sabotage in violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zambia in an attempt to force the Government and people of Zambia to refrain from sympathizing with and supporting the legitimate struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, to conceal the growing national liberation movement of the people of Zimbabwe, and to place the responsibility for the crisis brought about by its racist and colonialist policy on Zambia.

<sup>2</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 2040th meeting, para. 115.

47. The members of the Council can now see that the assessment made in January of the situation existing along the border between Zambia and Rhodesia has been fully confirmed in the official report of the Security Council Special Mission which has investigated the situation on the spot and submitted to the Council a report on the results of its visit to Zambia. The Mission, consisting of the representatives of Indonesia, Austria, Peru and the Sudan, under the experienced Chairmanship of Ambassador Anwar Sanj, did its job well.

48. The report of the Mission, as well as other material before the members of the Council, confirms that the situation in southern Africa has deteriorated still further recently and that tension on the borders between Rhodesia and Zambia has increased and been aggravated to a dangerous level. The Southern Rhodesian racist authorities are continuing to challenge Zambia and the whole of free Africa by their acts of aggression. Continuing their hostile provocation and pursuing a policy of aggression against Zambia, the Smith régime recently announced a blockade of postal communications with Zambia. Southern Rhodesian troops are continuing their armed actions against Zambia. These actions are accompanied by a campaign of threats.

49. The report of the Special Mission once again confirms that South Africa and Portugal are assisting Southern Rhodesia in its aggressive acts against Zambia. Several thousand soldiers and officers of the South African armed forces are still in the territory of Southern Rhodesia, despite the Security Council's condemnation of the presence of these troops in Southern Rhodesia and its demand, in the resolution adopted on 2 February last [326 (1973)], for the immediate and total withdrawal of South African armed forces from Southern Rhodesia.

50. The situation that has developed in this region is fraught with further complications and danger, as indicated in paragraph 166 of the Mission's report.

51. In his statement yesterday to the Security Council [1692nd meeting], the representative of Zambia, Ambassador Lusaka, quite rightly noted that the acts being committed by the racists were creating a direct threat to peace and security in this part of Africa. Thus we are dealing with the use of brute force by Southern Rhodesia and South Africa against a young independent African State, Zambia. Another ally of the Southern Rhodesian racists, the Portuguese colonialists, frequently and systematically resorts to the use of force also. It is no mere chance, therefore, that at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, South Africa and Portugal voted against the resolution on the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. The vote against that resolution, which was adopted, as you know, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, was clear proof and an indication of the fact that the South African and Portuguese racists and colonialists regard that resolution as a serious international impediment towards their implementation of a policy of aggression against young African States, which is a threat to the peace and security of the peoples of Africa.

52. It is quite obvious, even in the light of the facts which have been cited in the report of the Special Mission, that anyone who did not support such a resolution in the Assembly has, willingly or unwillingly, embarked on a course of supporting and covering up the policy of aggression and the use of force by the fascist and racist régimes in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal against Zambia and other States in Africa.

53. The aggression being committed by the Southern Rhodesian racists against Zambia, and the participation in it by South Africa and Portugal, simply confirms once again that there is an urgent need for the United Nations to adopt effective measures to restrain the aggressors and limit the possibilities open to those aggressors.

54. In this connexion, the importance attached by the non-aligned countries, the countries of the third world as they are called in the United Nations, to the affirmation of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations is significant. At the Conference in Georgetown (Guyana) in August last year, the non-aligned countries stated, as you know, that one of their most important tasks was to eliminate force from international relations, that is, to ensure the non-use of force in relations between States. Moreover, they placed particular stress on the fact that States must refrain from the threat or use of force in their international relations. At the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, in keeping with this position taken by the third world countries on this important international question, the well-known Declaration on the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of nuclear weapons was, as I have already said, adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union. That General Assembly decision contains the recommendation that the Security Council should take, as soon as possible, "appropriate measures for the full implementation of the present declaration of the General Assembly". The Secretary-General, on 5 December last, transmitted this resolution to the President of the Security Council for the Council to take the necessary measures [S/10844]. Unfortunately, however, the Council has not yet taken any measures on this matter. It is therefore essential for the President of the Council this month and for his successor next month to take the necessary measures.

55. Another important task which, if carried out, could help, first, to curb aggressors and, secondly, to release funds for development, in view of the fact that every year the world spends over \$220 thousand million on the arms race, is the preparation for and the convening of a world disarmament conference. At the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly ways and means were found and approved for preparations for convening such a conference, and a special committee was established for that purpose. And, here too, we can say quite definitely that the idea of convening such a conference receives wide support from the third world countries. This is quite clear from the position that was taken by the non-aligned countries both in Guyana and at the last session of the General Assembly. The resolution on that item was adopted by 105 votes in favour, with 1 abstention.

56. Those who oppose the convening of that conference, however, are inventing quite unjustified obstacles to pre-



vent the Special Committee from starting its work. It is essential to overcome these obstacles; the members of the Special Committee must be allowed to start their work. No one has the right to revise or amend decisions taken by the General Assembly and its President, except, of course, the General Assembly itself.

57. The President of Zambia, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, an outstanding African statesman and politician, whom I have had the honour of meeting and talking to personally, stated in his message which was circulated as a Security Council document [S/10877] that the people of Zambia could no longer continue in that manner while Rhodesian and South African armed forces violated Zambia's territory, killed and maimed innocent people and destroyed property. The message stresses that the main task of the Council is to consider seriously urgent action to put an end to the critical situation, and emphasizes in particular the need to ensure the withdrawal of South African troops from Southern Rhodesia.

58. The USSR delegation fully supports these proposals and demands made by the President of Zambia. These are legitimate and fair demands made by the head of a sovereign State in Africa, and the Security Council is obliged to give them all due attention and to take the necessary steps.

59. The question has frequently been asked in the Security Council, what is the reason for the explosive situation existing on the border between Zambia and Rhodesia and in the whole of southern Africa. Those directly responsible for the situation are, of course, Smith's Government, his ruling clique of white racists and the other colonialist and racist régimes in southern Africa.

60. In resolution 320 (1972), the Security Council described the policy of South Africa and Portugal as a refusal to co-operate with the United Nations in the observance and implementation of Security Council decisions against South Africa and sanctions against Southern Rhodesia; it condemned them for this and requested the Security Council Committee on Southern Rhodesia to prepare a report on actions that could be taken against those two countries. But the existence of the Smith régime is to be explained not only by this, but mainly and primarily by the support and assistance it receives openly and secretly from certain circles in Western countries and from the international imperialist monopolies whose sinister role in the world today was so cogently exposed and described by the President of Chile, Mr. Allende, in his brilliant statement at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.<sup>3</sup> Much of the responsibility for the existence of the régime in Salisbury and its anti-African evil and criminal activities and for the fact that the 5 million people of Zimbabwe are still, in the second half of the twentieth century, living in slavery under the power and racist oppression of the usurpers, is to be placed on ruling circles in the United Kingdom. The report of the Special Mission, which we are discussing, provides extremely convincing proof of this. The United Kingdom has not discharged its responsibilities towards the people of Zimbabwe and, in violation of United Nations

decisions, has allowed a clique of racists and usurpers who do not represent the people of that country to seize power and continue to hold power for a very long time. As is clear from the facts cited in the report of the Mission concerning the position of the British Government, the United Kingdom is now washing its hands of everything, and continues to refuse to take any measures against the racist rebels in Southern Rhodesia.

61. Thus, the aggravation of the situation on the borders between independent Africa and the racist régimes, in this case the Fascist régime in Southern Rhodesia, is a direct result of the connivance, bordering on encouragement, of certain Western countries, above all the United Kingdom, with these régimes. Instead of taking strong measures against the illegal Smith régime and its policy of aggression, violence and racism, London recommends a cautious and calm approach to the problem rather than a firm "no" to the rebel Smith régime. London is clearly just courting the régime and seeking allies for itself.

62. Such an approach on the part of the ruling circles of the metropolitan country to a rebel régime in a colony undermines any solution to the Southern Rhodesian question and other problems of southern Africa. It encourages the Smith régime, covers up its crimes and serves the interests of strengthening the position of the racist colonialist forces in that area.

63. In resolution 253 (1968), the Security Council imposed compulsory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia with a view to putting an end to the racist Smith régime. However, in spite of this and similar subsequent decisions by the Council, the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia are being violated by South Africa, Portugal and certain Western countries. This, of course, cannot but undermine the authority of the United Nations; it prevents it from being more effective and implementing the measures it has adopted to maintain peace and security and to hasten the elimination of colonialism and the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe and other peoples in southern Africa from racist and colonialist tyranny. Why are sanctions against Southern Rhodesia not achieving their aim? The answer is clear: certain States members of the Council that voted in favour of the application of sanctions had, and still have, no real intention of applying sanctions in practice and implementing the Council decision on sanctions. The resolutions applying sanctions are being violated both covertly and with cynical openness. The wide gates through which trade and economic co-operation with international monopolies—in which British and United States capital predominates—is still being carried on with the racist Smith régime are South Africa and Portugal.

64. The Security Council established a special committee on Southern Rhodesia. Its mandate includes promoting the effective implementation of sanctions by States and the preparation of recommendations to the Council on the type of action it could take against violations and against those who violate the sanctions. Proposals regarding the adoption of really effective measures which are consistently being submitted to the Committee by African and socialist countries and which could lead to real results in curbing the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, are met with fierce

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 2096th meeting.

opposition from representatives of certain Western countries. Consequently, the work of the Committee has been made more difficult, and limited to technicalities, and it has not been in a position to submit any concrete proposals to the Council. The Smith régime is taking things calmly. It has nothing to fear from sanctions. It is protected from sanctions by sympathetic strong protectors who act as its guardian angels in the Security Council Committee on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

65. The Security Council cannot remain indifferent to this challenge hurled by the colonialist and racist régimes of southern Africa at the African peoples and the whole world in disregard of United Nations decisions and in violation of its Charter. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, if this explosive situation is to be ended, it is essential that the Council not only broaden the compulsory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia but also take measures against it under Article 41 of the Charter, in order to ensure the compulsory observance by all States of the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and the immediate repeal of legislation permitting trade with Southern Rhodesia in violation of United Nations decisions. In view of the direct violation by Portugal and South Africa of the Council decision on sanctions and the stubborn refusal by those countries to co-operate with the Council in this matter, the Council should take measures to apply sanctions also against South Africa and Portugal.

66. The Soviet delegation fully supports the proposal made by another outstanding African statesman and politician whom I have also had the pleasure of meeting and talking with, the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Nyerere, at the session of the Organization of African Unity at Rabat in 1972, a proposal aimed at strengthening sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. He proposed that a boycott should be instituted against firms, companies and monopolies which violate sanctions against the racist Smith régime and that wider publicity should be given through the United Nations to those who violate sanctions. In supporting this proposal made by President Nyerere, we submit that that kind of action by the United Nations would be effective and would have some influence.

67. Lastly, it would be completely logical, justified and proper for the Security Council to take a decision to the effect that the material responsibility for the consequences of aggression against Zambia by the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, and for the losses incurred in Zambia as a result of these aggressive acts of the Southern Rhodesian régime, should be placed on those States and their monopolies—both national and multinational—which were responsible for the accession of the racist régime to power and which are continuing to support it through contacts, and through the maintenance of economic, trade and other relations.

68. To shift the responsibility for the damage caused by the racists of Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal to the world community would mean in fact lifting it from those who are mainly responsible for the accession to power and the continuation in power of the racist, colonialist régime in Southern Rhodesia.

69. The Soviet delegation has already stated that attempts to shift the responsibility of the racists and their protectors to the international community could be taken to indicate that the Security Council has come to terms with the fact of the existence of the racist régime in Salisbury and with its policy of aggression against independent African States. That would be nothing but a concession on the part of the Council to the illegal régime of the racists in Southern Rhodesia and an encouragement to those external forces that are protecting it and ensuring its survival. To all intents and purposes the Council would be addressing itself to a solution not to the essence of the problem itself, but only to some of its manifestations. The main task is to repulse the aggressor and eliminate the aggression, to stamp out the disease itself and not only its external symptoms. It is essential to place direct political and material responsibility on those who are responsible for the existence of a situation which encourages the survival of this racist régime. The Council must take measures to ensure that this régime is brought to an end.

70. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): Mr. President, first of all I should like to congratulate you very warmly on assuming the presidency of the Council for the month of March. My delegation's association with yours and my own personal contacts with you convince me that during this month we shall be in safe hands. We shall be in the hands of a fair, dedicated, internationally-minded, friendly Latin American statesman whose interest in the problems of the world, and particularly in the problems of the third world, are beyond reproach. We are confident that during your presidency serious matters such as the item we are discussing this afternoon will be given the weight they deserve and that solutions will be found to as many of those problems as possible.

71. Before introducing the two draft resolutions on behalf of the delegations of Guinea, India, the Sudan, Yugoslavia and my own delegation, I should like to congratulate the Special Mission to Zambia for the good work it accomplished. When we sent the Mission to Zambia we realized that it was going on a tricky mission. While it was moving around in the Republic of Zambia, it was reported all over the world that it missed a bomb explosion by a couple of minutes. We all prayed for its safe and speedy return, because we realized that the situation it was down there to investigate warranted quick action, was fraught with danger and was a serious challenge to the international community and to peace and security in the world. The report of the Mission speaks for itself and we thank the Mission, particularly its Chairman, for the good job it did on the instructions of this Council.

72. The two draft resolutions which I have the honour of introducing deal with two broad aspects of the situation that we are at present discussing.

73. The first draft resolution, in document S/10898, deals with political and military aspects of the situation in southern Africa, focused on Zambia. This draft resolution deals with four major aspects of the situation. It deals with the fact of continuance of rebellion in Southern Rhodesia; it deals with continued interference by the South African régime in the internal affairs of the colony of Southern

Rhodesia; it also touches on the responsibility of the United Kingdom in relation to the rebellion in Rhodesia; and, finally, it reaffirms the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

74. I think enough has been said about the situation in Southern Rhodesia; I think enough has been said about the threat to the peace and security of the Republic of Zambia posed by the Southern Rhodesian rebellion. It is the view of my delegation—and I am sure the sponsors of the two draft resolutions will agree—that the time has now come for action by the Council, by the United Nations and, indeed, by the international community. Continuance of the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia is a direct threat to peace and security in southern Africa, in Africa generally and in the world. I say that because I know the situation personally.

75. The white régime in South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia intend to perpetuate their domination over the majority of the African people in southern Africa. That is why the South African Government has deemed it fit to intervene in the situation in Southern Rhodesia—because the South African régime regards Southern Rhodesia as the northern bulwark for white domination. On the other side of the picture is the fact that we Africans are not going to tolerate domination and oppression by minority régimes in Africa any longer.

76. So we have a situation which is escalating seriously. It is a situation which has all the elements of danger, like the situation in the Middle East. We have a situation where the white minority régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia are working in collusion to oppress the independent African peoples through military might—indeed, to terrorize them, just as we see peoples in the Middle East being terrorized through military might. But the African peoples are determined to march for independence and to free those parts of Africa still under colonial rule and those still under minority régimes.

77. For quite some time it was hoped that the white régimes in southern Africa would change their minds and enter into meaningful dialogue and negotiations with the African peoples for some kind of rational settlement of the situation. That was the thrust of the Lusaka Manifesto.<sup>4</sup> It has been the thrust of a number of decisions by the Organization of African Unity. But the white minority régimes in southern Africa have rejected the hands and gestures of friendship of the African independent States. They have elected to entrust their future and their lives to the gun and military might. But we African people are not going to take that line because we owe it to our brothers and sisters in Southern Rhodesia to ensure that they will be independent and enjoy the dignity due them as human beings and as citizens of the great continent of Africa.

78. There is no doubt that the situation in southern Africa is fraught with danger. It is a threat to international peace and security as well as a situation of which this Council

must seize itself in earnest; otherwise, the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations will not be served.

79. Those are the four elements of the first draft resolution. They are contained in the fourth, fifth and sixth preambular paragraphs.

80. I shall now turn to the operative paragraphs of that draft resolution. In paragraph 1, we endorse the assessment and conclusions of the Special Mission—and, as I said earlier, we are most grateful for its very positive and timely assessment of the situation existing in that part of southern Africa. It is my delegation's view that the assessment and conclusions of the Mission are right. In paragraph 2, we reaffirm that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace. I have already spoken about that. In paragraph 3, as in paragraphs 6 and 7, we deal with the situation of rebellion in Southern Rhodesia. In the first place, we declare that the only effective solution to this grave situation lies in the exercise by the people of Zimbabwe of their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). We request all Governments to take stringent measures to enforce and ensure full compliance by all individuals and organizations under their jurisdiction with the sanctions policy against Southern Rhodesia.

81. I said earlier that, in this draft resolution, we were dealing with a rebellion in southern Rhodesia and our verdict on the rebellion is contained in operative paragraphs 3, 6 and 7. We should like sanctions to be enforced against Southern Rhodesia as a means of bringing down the rebel régime of Ian Smith.

82. The second element we deal with in this draft resolution concerns the role of South Africa in the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia. In operative paragraph 4 we condemn the South African régime "For its persistent refusal to withdraw its military and armed forces from Southern Rhodesia". I know that the Government of South Africa alleges that it has no armed forces stationed in Rhodesia but a close scrutiny of the report by the Special Mission leaves no doubt at all that South Africa has military and paramilitary forces stationed in Southern Rhodesia.

83. In operative paragraph 5 we reiterate our "demand for the immediate withdrawal of South African military and armed forces from Southern Rhodesia and from the border of that territory with Zambia", because it is due to the reinforcement of the Rhodesian forces by the South African armed forces that Rhodesia is threatening Zambia directly. I have seen press reports in which Smith is alleged to have said that he would bomb targets in Zambia. This reminds me of the situation that exists in the Middle East where the strong Powers continuously harass and oppress the weaker ones. This is not the world that the United Nations can countenance. It is directly against the Charter.

84. I mentioned earlier that African countries unanimously extended the hand of friendship to the white minority régimes in southern Africa but that this had been turned down. We should like to see peace reign on our continent and it is because of this that we are making an

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

appear in this forum to the international community to mobilize the opinion of the peoples of the world against the oppression of our people in Southern Rhodesia, in South Africa and in the other parts of Africa where minority régimes still reign.

85. The third element in this draft resolution deals with the responsibility of the United Kingdom. We still believe in the legal position that the United Kingdom is the administering Power in the colony of Southern Rhodesia. We are still persuaded that it has the power to exercise that authority in the colony of Southern Rhodesia. We are still convinced that it has not given its blessing to the rebellion. That would be against the whole legal tradition of the United Kingdom. Smith would be the only rebel in the history of the British Empire who had rebelled against the authority of the Queen and got away with it. We have not been told by the United Kingdom that it has given up working to bring down the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia. We therefore believe that, as the administering Power, it has certain responsibilities to carry out in order to bring the rebellion to an end. That is why in operative paragraph 8 we urge:

"the United Kingdom as the administering Power to convene as soon as possible a national Constitutional Conference where genuine representatives of the people of Zimbabwe would be able to work out a settlement relating to the future of the Territory for subsequent endorsement by the people through free and universal adult suffrage".

It is in pursuance of these beliefs and in support of this legal position that we urge the United Kingdom, in operative paragraph 9, to effect:

"(a) The unconditional release of all political prisoners, detainees and restrictees;

"(b) The repeal of all repressive and discriminatory legislation;

"(c) The removal of all restrictions on political activity and the establishment of full democratic freedom and equality of political rights".

86. I now move to the second draft resolution contained in document S/10899.

87. The report of the Special Mission makes it very clear that Zambia has been suffering economically for a long time because of its special geographical position in that part of southern Africa and that it has been in this negative situation since 1963. It makes it clear also that the recent closure of the border by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia is only one link in a whole chain, a whole train of events which have been affecting Zambia because of its special position in that part of southern Africa. The United Nations should have recognized the special economic problems of Zambia a long time ago. But it is comforting to know that in 1970, in resolution 277 (1970), the United Nations, for the first time, recognized the special position of Zambia. Zambia is waging a battle for the United Nations. Zambia is fighting against régimes which have been

condemned in the many forums of the United Nations. Zambia must therefore expect the United Nations to come to its aid, and in this draft resolution we are asking precisely for this. Operative paragraph 1:

"Commends the Government of the Republic of Zambia for deciding to abandon the use of the southern route for its trade until the rebellion is quelled and majority rule is established in Southern Rhodesia".

I think that we must pat Zambia on the back for fighting for the United Nations. Zambia is fighting to vindicate the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

88. In operative paragraph 2 we take note "of the urgent economic needs of Zambia as indicated in the report of the Special Mission and its annexes". In this respect I should like to draw the attention of the Council to the very clear exposition of the special economic difficulties Zambia is facing in the annexes to the report.

89. In operative paragraph 3 we are appealing "to all States for immediate technical, financial and material assistance to Zambia in accordance with resolutions 253 (1968) and 277 (1970)" and in accordance with a decision we ourselves took by implication when we agreed to send a special mission to Zambia.

90. Zambia needs the help of all peace-loving countries in the world, so that its economy may be salvaged from the ravages arising from Zambia's decision to abandon the southern route because that route is clearly unreliable. We are also appealing to the United Nations and its specialized agencies to take positive steps to involve themselves in the task of aiding Zambia.

91. Let me repeat that what is happening to Zambia has come about because Zambia is a faithful Member of the United Nations; it has come about because Zambia upholds the tenets of the Charter and because it supports all the resolutions regarding independence for colonial peoples, human rights and so forth. Zambia is indeed a loyal Member of the Organization, a Member in good standing, and a Member threatened by economic dislocation arising out of the situation in which it finds itself. That is why we appeal to the international community, through the United Nations and the specialized agencies, for special aid to Zambia.

92. Lastly, we are requesting that the Economic and Social Council be seized of this matter and that it discuss it from time to time so that the economy of Zambia may be kept in focus by the international community.

93. I should like to point out that, as a representative of an eastern African country, a country which has had relations with Zambia for as many years as we have been around in that part of the world, I know what the situation is; I know what dangers are inherent in that situation. The international community must not allow the racist régime of Ian Smith to commit aggression against Zambia at any time, because the States of eastern Africa and all the members of the Organization of African Unity are determined to resist any aggression against Zambia. Any aggres-

don against Zambia will be aggression against all of us. Perhaps we do not have the means to fight, but I can assure the Council that, if there is such aggression, all of us will get out, dust off our rusty guns and go out and defend the honour and dignity of Zambia.

94. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, today I shall only briefly congratulate you on assuming the presidency of the Council for the month of March, because I should like to reserve the full and proper words to express my delegation's deep satisfaction for a special and historic occasion, our meetings in the capital of your proud country, with which we enjoy most friendly and fruitful relations.

95. But I shall not wait to express our warmest thanks and appreciation to the representative of Kenya, our good friend Ambassador Odera-Jowi, for the skilful, resourceful and broad-visioned way in which he discharged the duties of President for the month of February, the month when the Council undertook important commitments and made far-reaching decisions concerning the complaint of the Republic of Zambia, the issue before us today.

96. As my delegation already set forth our clear and categorical views concerning this matter at the Council's meetings of 29 January [1687th meeting] and 2 February [1691st meeting], we shall refrain from repeating them now and shall address ourselves to the subsequent developments and requirements of the present situation only.

97. I shall start—and it is truly a great pleasure to do so—by stating how impressed my delegation is with the report of the Special Mission, reflecting the tremendous amount of work done by and the great understanding, political wisdom and realism of the Mission's members, the representatives of Indonesia, Austria, Peru and the Sudan. We have read their report; we have noted especially chapters VII and VIII concerning their assessments under resolutions 326 (1973) and 327 (1973) respectively, and we hope, indeed we urge, members of the Council to endorse the report fully and unanimously.

98. Turning to the political part of the situation, I would say that it is important to note that the impartial Mission of the Council has confirmed the assessments that have consistently motivated the Council in dealing with the situation created by the rebellion of the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and its collusion with the racist and colonial régimes in South Africa and Portugal. The report states that the developments with which the Council is dealing are, in great part, a result of the denial of the right of self-determination to the majority of the African countries ruled and terrorized by the above-mentioned régimes. It stresses, however, that the constant state of tension has been heightened to a measurable degree by the provocative and aggressive acts recently committed by the Smith régime against Zambia. The Mission has observed the military preparations confronting large portions of Zambia's border and views them as an important factor in increasing tension, a legitimate cause of concern for the Government of Zambia, and as fraught with the dangerous potential of escalation that could have an adverse effect on the attitude of restraint adopted so far by Zambia. In the

face of the categorical and first-hand finding of the Mission of the "continued deployment of South African armed forces in proximity to the border with Zambia and their undenied presence in other neighbouring territories" [S/10896, para. 167], some attempts of certain delegations and some Government officials to minimize either the numbers or the importance of the presence of those forces—poised to threaten, pressure, terrorize and intervene—strike my delegation, frankly, as a shortsighted position, hardly in consonance with what is called for by the situation and with what is expected of us. It is significant that the Mission's central political assessment is that:

"the key to the solution of the problem . . . lies in the application of majority rule in . . . Southern Rhodesia, the strict implementation of the . . . sanctions against the illegal régime . . . and the implementation of relevant resolutions of the Security Council with regard to the whole area." [Ibid., para. 168.]

99. It is very timely and most helpful for those who needed it, that the Mission has both praised the restraint of the Government of Zambia, even under extreme provocation, and laid to rest the spurious red herring of the racists and their supporters that the national liberation struggle and the guerrilla war that is on the increase in Southern Rhodesia had been somehow brought from outside, from Zambia and other countries. That is of course a regular excuse of all reactionary and oppressive régimes embattled against peoples who rise to arms to liberate themselves, in order to proceed with less impunity with terror, oppression and exploitation. In his able presentation in the Council yesterday [1692nd meeting], Ambassador Lusaka, the representative of Zambia, made enlightening comments on the true facts of the uprising of the people of Zimbabwe.

100. It is for all those reasons that any resolution dealing with the political aspects of these developments has to reaffirm in one way or the other all the basic elements of the position of the Council and the United Nations on the matter of Southern Rhodesia and related questions and to indicate what must be the political ways of dealing with the situation as it develops now. For that reason my delegation is sponsoring, together with Guinea, India, Kenya and the Sudan, the draft resolution contained in document S/10898 which was just so ably introduced by the representative of Kenya.

101. In that connexion we should be at least somewhat reassured, or at least some of our fears would be to some extent allayed, if we should learn from the administering Power what exactly it thinks it is prepared to continue doing in that respect. We have to hear more reassuring statements, not just statements harking back to the so-called proposals for settlement, which were so decisively rejected by the people of Zimbabwe, or repetitions of the presumed total impotence of the administering Power. If we continue to hear only expressions of hope that somehow, at some time Smith is going to talk to the people he oppresses, we—and not only we alone—should remain apprehensive of possible new attempts at enabling the racist minority to continue its rule while obtaining the attributes of legitimacy.

102. I think that it would be very wrong indeed if we considered the problem we are dealing with today—the Zambian needs—as one of or for just one country, or felt that we were facing just some Zambian-Southern Rhodesian confrontation. We completely share the views of Zambian President Kaunda which he expressed to the Special Mission, that “it was not Zambia’s battle alone, it was a battle for the cause of humanity, for the suffering masses in southern Africa” and that, consequently,

“the Special Mission’s work was not for the people of Zambia alone. Every internationalist who believed in the United Nations must accept that what Zambia was doing was not its affair alone but a matter for humanity as a whole.” [S/10896, para. 129.]

103. It is absolutely impossible not to see in the Zambian decision, fully to apply sanctions against the illegal régime, a major and noble decision on the part of an outstanding Member of the United Nations in contributing its utmost, and against overwhelming difficulties, to the United Nations struggle for assuring the peoples of southern Africa self-determination, independence and majority rule. That remains the only way in which we can remove the hotbed of tension and war threatening international peace and security. One would have hoped that all the Members of the United Nations, especially big, rich and industrialized Members, would follow suit and not help the Smith régime through breaking the sanctions. It is for those reasons that we find totally unacceptable the views expressed to the Special Mission by high officials of some Governments that “the fact that Zambia had itself decided to close the border was entirely a matter for its own decision” and that “the closure was expected to bring some difficulties for Zambia, but the matter remained Zambia’s internal affair.” [Ibid., para. 39.]

104. While we are glad that somewhat different views on this point were expressed in similar quarters, we are disturbed by the advocacy by some of going back to the so-called *status quo ante*, of merely resuming trade and communications with the illegal régime instead of welcoming anything and everything that makes that régime’s survival more difficult, which both the spirit and the letter of many unanimously adopted resolutions of the Council ask us to do. Again, we are somewhat heartened by the fact that there are, in similar quarters, those who welcome the Zambian decision as a major strike for the more stringent application of mandatory sanctions. The report directly and honestly states that “the evasions of the sanctions by certain powerful industrialized countries, as well as by Southern Rhodesia’s neighbours, were quite significant” but that, “in the long term, sanctions, particularly financial sanctions, had a cumulative and increasing effect.” [Ibid., para. 55.]

105. It is in that context, and in the context of the item on the agenda today, and because it is very relevant to the decisions we are about to take, that my delegation attaches particular importance to the work of the Security Council’s Committee on Southern Rhodesia, which is to submit to us a special report as required by resolution 320 (1972). My delegation will continue to do all it can to make the Committee’s forthcoming recommendations to the Council

a substantive step forward in our battle for the effectiveness of the sanctions.

106. The Mission’s report also quotes the view of Commonwealth officials on the desired effect of Zambia’s action against the Smith régime’s economy to the effect that it was:

“in line with one of the basic objectives of the sanctions policy, and it illustrated the need for appropriate international assistance to Zambia, so that it could play its full part in implementing that policy.” [Ibid., para. 57.]

To that we would add the concluding assessment of the report—the very last sentence—where it is stated that “only adequate and timely assistance will make it possible for the economy of Zambia to continue to develop in a normal fashion.” [Ibid., para. 179.]

107. For these reasons we urge the Council to adopt also the second draft resolution contained in document S/10899, submitted by Guinea, India, Kenya, the Sudan and Yugoslavia, because it adequately meets the needs and objectives of the moment in our common effort, together with Zambia, in keeping with the basic United Nations policy in Africa.

108. We are sure that the Council will continue to be seized of this item, and my delegation will support reconsideration of the matter of adequate international assistance to Zambia if and whenever that should be required.

109. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, before dealing with the subject before us, may I say, Sir, that we are particularly gratified to see you preside over the work of the Security Council and we wish to congratulate you most warmly on this occasion? My delegation is convinced that, thanks to your ability and experience, our meetings here and in Panama will be presided over with authority and in the most effective possible fashion.

110. May I also pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Odero-Jowi, the representative of Kenya? He earned that tribute for the way in which he presided over our debates during the month of February. It was under his enlightened presidency that the Council, *inter alia*, adopted those resolutions that led to the sending to Lusaka of the Mission whose report we are now examining.

111. The Special Mission that went to Zambia, pursuant to the terms of resolution 326 (1973), has submitted a long report. We wish to congratulate it for the considerable work it has done in record time. This is, in fact, an extremely complete and precise document which doubtless will serve as one of the most useful instruments in the work and meetings of the Council. Unfortunately, we have not had sufficient time to study this document in detail; and at this stage of our debate we can only permit ourselves a few very general comments.

112. The political findings reached in the field by the envoys of the Council do not surprise us. They confirm, if such confirmation were necessary, that the tension existing

in the region—which at times gives rise to incidents of killing that we deplore, since we know that the use of force leads nowhere—is not due only to the closing of the frontier between the two countries. This last act has merely aggravated the situation. The true causes lie elsewhere; they lie primarily in the refusal of the Ian Smith régime to comply with the decisions of the Council concerning the political future of Rhodesia.

113. The French delegation has unceasingly stated that the problem is political and that the basic responsibility lies with the administering Power. There can be no solution unless it is accepted by the majority. And thus the failure of the Pearce Commission should not discourage us. As we have stated before in the Council chamber, it had a two-fold merit. On the one hand it showed that the United Kingdom was determined not to shirk its responsibilities; and, on the other, it allowed the establishment of direct contacts between the administering Power and the population and, in so doing, gave some hope to the indigenous majority. We also have stated in the past that sanctions must be implemented. Although we should not overestimate the effectiveness of such measures, for which France has voted ever since 1968, and with which we scrupulously comply, they do contribute to placing the illegal régime in an embarrassing situation and do help in the search for a solution.

114. The report of the Special Mission is to a large extent devoted to an assessment of the needs of Zambia to maintain its trade relations. I wish once again to pay tribute to the determination shown by President Kaunda who, despite the difficulties confronted by his country, decided nevertheless to take up the challenge of Ian Smith, refusing to take advantage of the re-opening of the frontier and deciding to apply the sanctions fully, despite the close economic dependence that ties Zambia to Rhodesia because of a common past.

115. The experts stress the fact that the needs are great. Obviously, their study is of interest mainly to the principal trading partners of Zambia and the foreign companies that have invested in that country. The report speaks not only of the immediate needs of the country but also of the more long-term consequences of Zambia's giving up of the Beira railroad for the import and export of its products. Perhaps we ought not to lose sight of the fact that, within three years, thanks to Tanzam, Zambia will have a more direct access to the sea.

116. The very brief time that has been given us to examine this report of the Special Mission obviously does not allow us to take a position now on the requests it contains. These must first be referred to our Governments, especially since any decision with financial implications presupposes consultation with the different responsible departments. But we can assure the representative of Zambia that the concern felt by the French Government about the difficulties confronted by his Government will lead us to study the document with the best possible spirit of understanding and to examine how best we can respond to the appeal made by the Zambian Government to the international community. It is in this spirit that the French delegation is ready to take note of the report before it.

117. Therefore, it appears that, from this standpoint, our meeting has been useful. The Council has taken direct cognizance of the difficult situation in which Zambia finds itself. We will have measured its needs, and Governments can then undertake a more thorough study of the conclusions to which the report has led.

118. The French delegation will bear all these facts in mind when considering the draft resolutions that have just been submitted to the Council.

119. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, we shall have the proper opportunity to congratulate you on the assumption of the office of President when we meet in Panama; we shall be happy then to do so. Now I would simply express my pleasure at your presence in the Chair and assure you of our co-operation in the conduct of your arduous duties.

120. I should also like to congratulate our outgoing President, Ambassador Odera-Jowi, for his decisive and efficient conduct of our business last month.

121. Coming to the substance of the matter, I should first of all like to associate myself with those who have congratulated the Special Mission on the speed and efficiency with which it has prepared its extremely comprehensive and admirable report. We are all grateful to the individual members of the Mission, whose unsparing and conscientious efforts have enabled us to receive and discuss their report in the relatively short time before the Council leaves for Panama.

122. No one would describe the Rhodesian question as a simple one, but I think it would help to clarify our approach to the present situation if we distinguished two main aspects: the immediate effects of the events which began in January with the closure of the Rhodesian-Zambian border by the Smith régime, on the one hand, and the implications which those events may have for the wider question of a settlement of the Rhodesian problem, on the other. Obviously, the two are inter-connected, but it is better to consider them one at a time. On both these questions I described my Government's position in the Council on 29 January [1687th meeting] and 2 February [1691st meeting].

123. As regards the events connected with the closing of the border, my Government's views are again described in paragraphs 39 and 46 to 48 of the report of the Special Mission. We deplored the closure of the border by the Rhodesian régime. Not only was this a blow at the economy of Zambia, but also this move and other actions at about the same time represented a heightening of tension. We therefore welcomed the reversal of the Rhodesian régime's action. This was a move towards a less tense situation. But, of course, we recognized that this did not eliminate the difficulties which faced the Government of Zambia. We sympathized with the Government of Zambia in these difficulties and recognized that, concerning a question vital for its economy, Zambia could not allow itself to remain at risk.

124. We therefore understand Zambia's decision to free itself of the danger in future of any interference with its

trade. We welcomed the proposal that an expert examination should be undertaken by the Special Mission of the economic consequences for Zambia of maintaining alternative trade routes. Now that we have received that report, my Government will study it closely and consider its recommendations with sympathy.

125. My Government's views on the longer-term effects of these developments have also been made quite clear and I was sorry to see, from the speech of the representative of Zambia yesterday [1692nd meeting], and from that of the representative of the Sudan today, that there still appears to be some misunderstanding about them. My Government does not regard the *status quo* in Rhodesia as satisfactory nor is it trying to protect the Smith régime. My Government has already given proof of its desire to achieve a settlement acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

126. We do indeed fear that a worse situation could develop. It was precisely because of this danger that we deplored the action of the Rhodesian régime in closing the border with Zambia. We are concerned that incidents such as this may prejudice the more positive signs that there have been of developments in relations between all parties within Rhodesia itself, on which we are dependent for further progress in the solution of the Rhodesian problem. That is a very different thing from wishing to maintain or sanctify the *status quo*, as I would have hoped that anyone who had studied my Government's statements on the subject would realize. The report of the Special Mission also records our views on this point, though I must admit that paragraph 41

might have been more clearly expressed. It would have been in closer conformity with what was actually said by my Minister and with the actual position if this paragraph had begun on the following lines:

"The Minister of State recalled that the United Kingdom regarded the 1971 Proposals for a Settlement as a good beginning, particularly since they had enshrined for the first time recognition of the principle of majority rule. Although the United Kingdom Government had responsibility for Southern Rhodesia, it had not been in a position to exercise responsibility internally for many years and could not force a settlement."

I think that would have been a rather more accurate representation of what the Minister said.

127. I must stress again: only those who live in Rhodesia can bring about a peaceful settlement, and it must be the aim of everybody else to give them every opportunity to do so.

128. Against that background, my delegation will study the two draft resolutions which have been submitted this afternoon. My delegation will wish to play as helpful and constructive a part as possible, and I have already made some preliminary comments to the sponsors. I shall, of course, seek instructions and hope to be in a position tomorrow to discuss the draft resolutions further.

*The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.*