

UNITED NATIONS



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR

**1694<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 10 MARCH 1973

NEW YORK

---

## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1694) .....	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

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

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

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

## SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-FOURTH MEETING

Held in New York on Saturday, 10 March 1973, at 10.30 a.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/1694)

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 noon.*

### 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)<sup>1</sup>

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the previous decision 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 of the Council [1687th, 1689th and 1690th meetings], and with its consent, I shall invite the representatives of Ghana, Morocco, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire, 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. Ratal (Algeria), Mr. R. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. A. Osman (Egypt), Mr. M. Fall (Senegal), Mr. S. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Ipoto Eyebu Bakand'asi (Zaire) took the places reserved for them in the Council chamber.*

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have received a letter from the representative of Spain in which he asks to be allowed to participate in the debate without the right to vote, in accordance with Article 31 of the Charter. As there is no objection, I take it that the Council agrees to the request of the representative of Spain and I accordingly invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement, which relates to a statement made at yesterday's meeting [1693rd meeting].

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. J. Alba (Spain) took a place at the Council table.*

4. Mr. ALBA (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all I wish to express my gratitude to you for being so gracious as to allow me to speak in the Council. I also wish to express my feelings of high regard for all the members of the Security Council, the supreme organ of the United Nations apart from the General Assembly.

5. I am addressing the Council not in order to have any disputes with anyone, but simply in order to explain and make perfectly clear the correct attitude of the Government of Spain in the matter of the ship *Albatros*, to which a representative referred yesterday.

6. In accordance with its policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, with many of which we have ties of brotherhood and with all of which my country wishes to maintain the most cordial and friendly relations—and I am referring to the countries of the African continent—I shall limit myself to reading out the official communiqué of the Government of Spain on the case of the ship *Albatros*, a communiqué which was made public several weeks ago. It reads as follows:

"The British Embassy in Madrid communicated officially to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Spain that its information services had news that a landing in Fernando Po was being prepared by a group of white mercenaries with the assistance of another group, of African origin, for some time after 20 January. The operation would be

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

carried out by the ship *Albatros*, an assault vessel that used to belong to the British Navy, and that had left the port of Olhao on 10 January bound for the Canary Islands. There it would join the ship *Claudio*, registered in Corsica and carrying a cargo of weapons coming from Barcelona or Valencia. It would refuel in Cape Verde, where it would pick up a group of 50 Africans. It had previously picked up, in an unknown place, the contingent of white mercenaries. From Cape Verde it would go to Fernando Po for the landing."

7. That was the information initially received by the Spanish Government. The communiqué goes on to say:

"In accordance with the policy agreed to by the Council of Ministers of the Government of Spain on 4 February, which deemed it to be in accordance with Spanish interests to 'eliminate completely any attempt against the territorial integrity of Equatorial Guinea carried out from Spain', the Ministry of Foreign Affairs warned the Ministries of Government and the Navy. As a result, the *Albatros* was intercepted in the port of Arrecife at Lanzarote at dawn on the 17th, and its crew, as well as all other persons on board, were arrested.

"From the interrogations and searches carried out on the ship, it was learned that in fact a landing in Fernando Po had been planned, the purpose of which was to do away with President Macías and his main assistants, because a plan of operations was found, as well as photographs of the most outstanding governmental figures and of public buildings on the island. No cargo of weapons was found.

"The Government of Spain decided simply to expel from its national territory the crew and passengers of the *Albatros*, with the exception of the captain, the engineer and the cook, who were detained, and orders were given to the ship to leave the port of Arrecife, since there were not sufficient grounds for proceeding to legal action. The *Albatros* gave as its point of destination the port of Casablanca, so it was deemed appropriate to escort it, with a Spanish patrol, within our jurisdictional waters and then to follow it in free waters in order to ascertain its real destination.

"The Ministry for External Affairs of Spain has reported all this to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to the Government of Morocco and to the President of Equatorial Guinea. Both the Government of Morocco and President Macías have expressed their profound gratitude for the action taken by Spain, which led to aborting an attempt which, if carried through, would have created a serious threat to Spanish relations and interests in Equatorial Guinea"

and, I should add, in the rest of Africa.

8. The note I addressed to the Secretary-General, to which the text of the communiqué of the Government of Spain refers, is dated 19 January.

9. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Council will now continue consideration of the item on its agenda.

10. I wish to draw the attention of members of the Council to the two draft resolutions which were submitted for its consideration yesterday [*S/10898 and S/10899*] by the delegations of Guinea, India, Kenya, the Sudan and Yugoslavia. It is my understanding that the delegation of Indonesia has joined the sponsors.

11. Mr. SEN (India): Mr. President, we offer to you our warmest compliments and congratulations on your becoming the President of the Council for this month of March. I shall reserve for a future date a full tribute to your qualities as a man and a diplomat, for it is right that your countrymen should hear directly from your colleagues what they think of the Panamanian representative to the United Nations, and more particularly to the Security Council. Meanwhile we assure you of our fullest co-operation in your work as President and of our sincerest friendship to you, your delegation and your country. May I, in this context, say how much we appreciated the work of your predecessor, our friend and colleague, Ambassador Odero-Jowi of Kenya.

12. The problem that the Council is discussing now is relatively simple and straightforward. A Member State, Zambia, complained to us that it was being subjected to economic pressure of intolerable severity from Southern Rhodesia and to frequent military harassment by South Africa and Rhodesia, involving death and injury to Zambian citizens and destruction of Zambian property. Zambia alleged that, as a result of these activities, the tension in the area, which was already very great indeed and which constituted a threat to international peace and security, had increased to a point where open and large-scale hostilities appeared imminent unless the Council took effective and immediate action. Zambia further claimed that it was being penalized for no other reason but that it had attempted to carry out faithfully the numerous resolutions of the United Nations imposing sanctions against the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith in Zimbabwe.

13. The Council, in order to deal with the Zambian complaint, followed a simple and classical procedure. It appointed a special mission which visited the area and other countries immediately involved, including the United Kingdom, the administering Power, heard opinions of a large number of leaders, saw the border areas and drew its own conclusions and made its own assessment. If it could not visit Southern Rhodesia, it was simply because the administering Power stated that such a request could not be implemented "since the United Kingdom had no power on the ground" [*S/10896 and Corr. 1, para. 43*]. South Africa, of course, did not co-operate because, in its opinion, the United Nations had not satisfied the South African test of objectivity and impartiality.

14. The Special Mission has produced, after weeks of painstaking work, a commendable report which is both detailed and analytical. It contains much valuable information and has both political and economic assessments. Two days ago [*1692nd meeting*] the Chairman of the Mission, Mr. Anwar Sani of Indonesia, competently introduced the Mission's report and asked us to read it with care. We have done so and we congratulate the members of the Mission on a job well done. We are now to take action on the report and two draft resolutions are before us.

15. The most valuable feature of the report is that it is unanimous. Secondly, it confirms fully that the Zambian complaint was entirely justified. Thirdly, it makes absolutely clear that the present problem of Zambia is closely connected with the wider question of Ian Smith's continuing to exercise illegal and brutal power over a large number of Africans, and that these two issues cannot be separated. Lastly, as the African leaders have repeatedly pointed out, the sufferings and agonies which Zambia faces are not Zambia's alone; they are shared by the whole of Africa and should be the concern of men and women all over the world and certainly must be the concern of men and women all over the world and certainly must be of the utmost concern to the United Nations.

16. Two concrete points require brief comments. The first relates to the presence of South African troops—or call them by any other name you like—in the border areas, particularly on the frontiers between Zambia and Southern Rhodesia. The flat denial of the South African Government—although it is noteworthy that it does not deny that armed police are there in indeterminate numbers—does not stand up to the evidence the Special Mission has collated and included in its report. I shall cite but one example: this is from the briefing by Mr. Zulu, the Minister of Defence of Zambia:

"The representative of the Ministry of Defence concluded by saying that if a thing walked like a duck, looked like a duck and quacked like a duck, it must be a duck. These so-called policemen wore boots like soldiers, carried rifles like soldiers, rode in military vehicles and did military jobs, so they must be military men." [S/10896, para. 87.]

That may not satisfy some obtuse brand of philosopher, but it is enough for men of common sense.

17. The second point I should like to mention is also included in the report. It is the view of the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth in London, Mr. Arnold Smith, who must be credited with much sophistication and erudition. I should like to quote the paragraph in question:

"The Secretary-General of the Commonwealth pointed out that the Zambian Government had not taken the initiative in the new confrontation with the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. On the contrary, that régime had unilaterally introduced an economic blockade and then had lifted the blockade. The Zambian Government, very understandably, was taking the position that it could not be expected to rely, for essential imports and exports, on a route that could be opened and shut irresponsibly and without consultation. It wished, therefore, to develop further all alternative routes, thus allowing it to comply more completely with the sanctions policy reached at the meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government in 1966, and with the mandatory resolution of the Security Council." [Ibid., para. 51.]

18. Given these facts and this assessment, we can now proceed to action. In the political field, quite clearly, there will be no solution until the principle of majority rule in Southern Rhodesia has been fully accepted and imple-

mented. Most of us are aware what the present evil and oppressive system in southern Africa implies in terms of human misery and turmoil. The Special Mission has emphasized the factors which have recently aggravated an already desperate situation. It says:

"The continued deployment of South African armed forces in proximity to the border with Zambia and their undented presence in other neighbouring territories is a very important factor in the continuation of the current state of tension." [Ibid., para. 167.]

So one of our principal objectives should be to ensure that these troops are withdrawn.

19. On the long-term solution of the problem, the Council has repeatedly affirmed the primary responsibility of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to an end and to secure for the people as a whole their inalienable rights to independence and self-determination. My delegation has on a number of occasions pointed out the air of fiction and unreality which surrounds this responsibility, which the United Kingdom continues to claim, but the power to discharge which it disclaims on all possible occasions. However, as I stated in Addis Ababa:

"as long as the United Kingdom Government itself maintains that it has responsibility for Zimbabwe, we hold it to its commitment for carrying out all the recommendations and decisions of the United Nations, as also for measures necessary for the welfare of the people of Zimbabwe as a whole." [1635th meeting, para. 88.]

It is in view of this position, which is generally accepted by the Council, that we have in our draft resolution indicated specific responsibilities for the United Kingdom and indicated briefly how the principles can be best served through the action of that Government.

20. The resolution of the economic problems facing Zambia is directly related to the proclaimed desire of the United Nations to impose full sanctions on Southern Rhodesia and to make them effective. From time to time we hear complaints from this country or that country that some other country has violated the sanctions or circumvented them in a variety of ways. Here then is a country which comes to us and tells us that it is determined to apply the resolutions of the United Nations and asks for our help in reducing the difficulties it will face because of its special geographical position and because of its past economic history and dependence on southern Africa. It is not asking for profits, nor quibbling about infinitely small economic burdens which richer countries can easily bear. How great the burden it will have to face in implementing fully the policy of sanctions is clear from the Special Mission's report itself. The immediate need of nearly \$150 million seems to be about a third of the amount the Zambian Government collects as its yearly revenue. If, in these circumstances, the United Nations, its Member Governments and specialized agencies cannot, according to their means, give relief to Zambia in order to overcome its present difficulties and eliminate its dependence on southern territories, our claim that we wish to make the

sanctions effective will be totally false. It is in this spirit that the draft resolution in document S/10899 has been drafted.

21. My delegation has gladly joined the delegations of Guinea, Kenya, the Sudan, Yugoslavia and now Indonesia, in submitting the two draft resolutions. We have always accepted the fact that, on the problem of Zambia, as indeed on all other problems before the Council, the strength of our decision lies in its being accepted by the principal parties involved, in this particular case Zambia and the United Kingdom as the administering Power. The sponsors have, on their own, tried to make the draft resolutions acceptable to both sides, and we are always willing to revise them—and indeed we have been working to that end even this morning with every prospect of success—to meet particular concerns of any delegation provided, of course, that the major principles which the United Nations has accepted all along are not eroded, deflected or defeated in any way.

22. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): Mr. President, earlier on you announced the delegation of Indonesia's co-sponsorship of the two draft resolutions. I should like to thank you for that and to thank the delegation of Indonesia for joining with us in trying to find a solution to this very tricky and difficult problem. I also have the distinct pleasure of announcing that the delegation of Peru also has agreed to join us in sponsoring these two draft resolutions.

23. The fact that more delegations are now co-sponsoring these two draft resolutions is, in a way, a small effort on the part of those countries—some of them Latin American countries, some countries on the European continent—to join together in an effort to find a solution which holds the key to the relationship between the people of the African continent and of the continents of Europe and America. I am glad that the call for justice is so clear and that so many delegations represented in this Council are beginning to respond to it. They are responding to the call for justice for the people of Zimbabwe; they are responding to the call for the preservation of freedom and dignity of the people of Zambia. We are happy that so many delegations have responded to that call and that, as a result, we have a larger sponsorship of these two draft resolutions.

24. Following the introduction of the two draft resolutions yesterday, we had consultations with various delegations, particularly with the delegation of the United Kingdom. I must say that our consultations were very cordial and we achieved a compromise on a number of issues. But there are one or two aspects of the draft resolutions on which we have not found any mutual accommodation.

25. I draw the Council's attention first to the draft resolution contained in document S/10899, operative paragraph 5 of which we have agreed to modify by deleting the words "and the Economic and Social Council" and the words "including the possible establishment of a special fund for Zambia" and inserting a small phrase, so that paragraph 5 will read:

*"Requests the Secretary-General in collaboration with the appropriate organizations of the United Nations*

*system, to organize with immediate effect all forms financial, technical and material assistance to Zambia enable it to carry out its policy of economic independence from the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia*

*Those are the only modifications that we have accepted with respect to the draft resolution.*

26. As regards the draft resolution in document S/10899 we have accepted the following modifications. The first affects operative paragraph 2. We have split that paragraph into two sections, the first of which is now contained in new fourth preambular paragraph. It reads as follows:

*"Reaffirming that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security*

*The new paragraph 2 reads as follows:*

*"Affirms that the state of tension has been heightened following the recent provocative and aggressive acts committed by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia against Zambia".*

The next modification affects operative paragraph 6. Following the words "resolution 320 (1972) of 29 September 1972," that paragraph now reads as follows:

*"taking into account all proposals and suggestions extending the scope and improving the effectiveness of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)".*

The other modifications affect operative paragraph 8. The first is the insertion of the phrase "as a whole" between the words "Zimbabwe" and "would". A semi-colon should be inserted after the word "Territory", and the words "subsequent endorsement by the people through free universal adult suffrage" should be deleted. Paragraph 8, as modified, reads as follows:

*"Urges the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power, to convene as soon as possible a national constitutional conference where genuine representatives of the people of Zimbabwe as a whole would be able to work out a settlement relating to the future of the Territory".*

27. Those are the only modifications, and I hope that the two draft resolutions will now commend themselves to the members of the Council.

28. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation would like to say a few words on the question now under consideration by the Security Council.

29. At the meeting of the Council held on 30 January [1688th meeting], the Chinese delegation made a fairly comprehensive statement on the question of the racist régime committing crimes of provocation and aggression against Zambia. The Chinese delegation wishes to take this opportunity to reaffirm that the Chinese Government and people firmly support the Zambian Government and people in their solemn stand of defending their nation

independence and sovereignty and resisting the provocation and aggression by the Rhodesian racist régime. We firmly support the Zimbabwe people in their just struggle for national independence. The Chinese delegation listened carefully to the speech made by the representative of Zambia on 8 March [1692nd meeting], and we support his just demand.

30. In pursuance of Security Council resolutions 326 (1973) and 327 (1973), the Special Mission, composed of the representatives of Indonesia, Austria, Peru and the Sudan, after on-the-spot investigation and study, have submitted to the Council a remarkable report which reflects the actual state of affairs. The Chinese delegation appreciates the arduous efforts made by all the members of the Special Mission and endorses the assessment of the situation contained in the report.

31. The Chinese delegation has studied the two draft resolutions which will be put to the vote. The Chinese Government has consistently held that the United Kingdom should immediately put an end to the colonialist rule by the Rhodesian white racist régime so that the people of Zimbabwe may achieve national independence free from any outside interference. This is the universal desire and sacred right of the Zimbabwe people.

32. The Chinese delegation considers that, in the main, the two draft resolutions reflect the legitimate desire of the African countries and peoples to defend their national independence, support the just struggle of the Zambian Government and people and assist the Zimbabwe people's struggle for national liberation. Based on the above-mentioned understanding, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the two draft resolutions.

33. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): I do not have much to add to my introduction of the report on behalf of the Special Mission [1692nd meeting]. My delegation would like, however, to refer particularly to the Mission's assessment that a considerable measure of tension continues to exist in the area. We are in no doubt whatsoever that these conditions of instability will continue to prevail until the root cause of the disease is eradicated. It is clear to us that the root cause lies in the continued existence of colonialism, racism and illegal minority régimes in southern Africa, constituting a constant threat not only to the independence and territorial integrity of Zambia, but also to the independence and territorial integrity of other progressive African nations as well. If such conditions are allowed to persist, they may sooner or later erupt into armed encounters.

34. I had the opportunity to visit the sites of the landmine incidents that had occurred in those areas, causing death and injury to innocent people. One of these incidents even took place only 20 minutes before the arrival of the Special Mission at Chillimanga near the Zambian border with Southern Rhodesia, thereby providing the members of the Mission with the opportunity to observe personally the injuries caused to innocent women and children. Photographs of the victims have been circulated; they were taken by a member of the Secretariat who accompanied the Mission. One woman had to have both legs amputated and a

child lost an eye; three others, a woman and two children, were seriously wounded. I witnessed the angry reaction of the people to the maiming of their innocent women and children. If these senseless and murderous acts of the white minority régime in Southern Rhodesia against the people of Zambia cannot be halted soon, then at some point their patience will become exhausted; they will reciprocate and it will be difficult to stop the conflagration that will result from such a confrontation. That is why the Security Council, as the guardian of international peace and security, should act now and act effectively. In this connexion, I should like to place it on record that, when President Kaunda of Zambia received the Mission immediately after its return from the scene of the incident, I was highly impressed by the restraint he showed under serious provocation, and I am highly impressed also by the deep humanism with which he faces the whole problem of southern Africa.

35. My delegation believes that it is not yet too late to reverse the trend towards disastrous collision between the peoples of Africa and the minority racist and colonialist régimes in southern Africa. There is the Lusaka Manifesto<sup>2</sup> which can be used for further action. In this connexion, preparedness by the Government of the United Kingdom to fulfil its moral, legal and political responsibility towards the people of Zimbabwe is called for. The United Kingdom cannot fail to be aware of the serious doubts entertained, not only by the peoples of Africa but also by many other countries, with regard to its real intentions concerning its colony of Southern Rhodesia. The only way to dispel those doubts and suspicions is for the United Kingdom to take concrete actions to end the white minority rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and establish majority rule in that Territory.

36. My delegation takes particular note also of the considerable sums required to meet the specific needs of Zambia to maintain alternative systems of road, rail and sea communications. A tremendous amount of technical assistance will also be needed to assist Zambia in handling the major task of rerouting its imports and exports.

37. The international community owes it to the courageous people of Zambia to assist them to overcome their economic difficulties resulting from bearing the brunt of the imposition of sanctions under the provisions of several Security Council resolutions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. We have no doubt that the people of Zambia, as well as the neighbouring progressive countries, are willing to bear the consequences of the imposition of sanctions. They deserve the profound appreciation of the international community. We also feel, however, that the difficult economic situation which Zambia is now facing is plainly too serious to be disposed of with mere acknowledgement. Zambia needs help and needs it soon. I do not need to remind the Council that, under the provisions of its resolutions 253 (1958) and 277 (1970), the Member States of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other international organizations are requested to extend assistance to Zambia as a matter of urgency. We share the regret

<sup>2</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

of many that this call for assistance remains largely unheeded. My delegation urges that United Nations assistance to Zambia be speeded up. We are naturally aware that the whole burden of providing assistance to Zambia cannot be borne by the United Nations system alone. It is the hope of my delegation that the report of the Special Mission may somehow persuade Member States of the necessity to associate themselves with all efforts, bilateral and multilateral, to strengthen Zambia's capability of coping with the unfavourable effects on its economy of the imposition of sanctions by Zambia against the illegal Smith régime.

38. Based upon the considerations which I have just expressed, my delegation considers it an honour to join the delegations of Guinea, India, Kenya, the Sudan, Yugoslavia and Peru in sponsoring the draft resolutions in documents S/10898 and S/10899, which were so ably introduced by the representative of Kenya. My delegation hopes that the draft resolutions, as amended, will have the unanimous support of the members of this Council.

39. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): Sir, I should like first of all to welcome you, as previous speakers have done, to the presidential Chair of the Council and to say that I look forward to the occasion next week when I shall, as I hope, be able to pay a proper tribute to you as our presiding officer in your own country.

40. Let me also express my admiration for the manner in which your predecessor, Ambassador Odero-Jowi of Kenya, like me a new member of the Council, emulated the highly efficient performance of his predecessor, still another new member, Ambassador Anwar Sani of Indonesia.

41. Turning to the subject that is before us, let me begin by commending the Chairman, Ambassador Anwar Sani, and the other members of the Special Mission on the speed with which they and their team of experts have prepared and presented their very helpful and comprehensive assessment of the situation in the border area between Zambia and Southern Rhodesia, and of Zambia's economic needs arising from that situation. My delegation has been very conscious of the pressure of time under which the Mission has had to work and we can only say that the result does it great credit. Its report, together with the annexes, contains a great deal of important and detailed information which all our Governments will need more time to study before they can decide how best to contribute individually or jointly towards helping Zambia to overcome the grave difficulties it faces.

42. As I said in my earlier statement on 31 January [1689th meeting], we have great sympathy indeed for Zambia in the intolerable situation in which it finds itself. We can fully understand the decision of the Zambian Government not to allow the greater part of its export and import trade to remain subject any longer to the unpredictable whims of its hostile neighbour, but to develop alternative routes for its external commerce. My Government will take careful note of the assessment of the critical border situation made by the Special Mission in chapter VII of its report and will certainly share its view that a key to the solution of the problem dealt with in resolution 326 (1973) lies in the strict implementation of the man-

datory sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia.

43. This brings me to the two draft resolutions that were submitted yesterday afternoon under the sponsorship of Guinea, India, Kenya, the Sudan and Yugoslavia, now joined by Indonesia and Peru.

44. As I said a moment ago, the Special Mission's report and annexes together make up a lengthy and complicated document which my Government will need to study with great care before all its implications can be defined. Thus, as regards the draft resolution in document S/10898, my delegation finds some difficulty at this stage over the word "Endorses" in operative paragraph 1 and would have preferred the words "Taken note". We should also have had some reservations about certain other paragraphs, notably operative paragraph 6, but these have been removed as a result of the changes introduced this morning by the representative of Kenya.

45. As regards the draft resolution in document S/10899, its general thrust is unexceptionable and it, too, has been improved this morning, we believe. But, again, its full implications will need to be carefully considered.

46. Having said this, my delegation finds itself able to vote in favour of both draft resolutions.

47. Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cisse (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): At this stage of our debate, my delegation would not wish to enter into polemics—as the representative of Spain put it so well earlier—because, being co-sponsors of draft resolutions S/10898 and S/10899, we are rather impatient to see these two draft resolutions adopted, since they relate to the interests of a sister country which confronts problems similar to those confronted by the Republic of Guinea.

48. With your permission, Mr. President, I want to thank the representative of Spain for the very important information that he has conveyed to the Council. Indeed, the fact that this representative has provided more information on a continuous aggression which is being perpetrated against independent African States does not require any comment on our part.

49. I have no wish to delay the Council, but I wanted once again to draw the attention of this august assembly to the criminal insistence of imperialism in its actions against the nationals and leaders of the independent States of Africa, and especially against the leaders of the progressive countries.

50. What the representative of Spain said was perfectly clear. Certain independent States of Africa are being particularly victimized because they have made their choice and have refused to play the role of horse to someone else's horseman, as it were. The time has come for the African States to join together, as they did in the Organization of African Unity, and to confront imperialism; and the opinion of this Council has now been enlightened against all the manoeuvres and statements of those States which want to abolish both the Republic of Guinea and the Republic of

Equatorial Guinea and to overthrow the United Republic of Zambia, Tanzania and other States which do not want to shake hands with imperialism.

51. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now address the Council as the representative of PANAMA since there are no more names on the list of speakers.

52. On 9 January of this year, the illegal régime of Ian Smith decreed an economic blockade against Zambia on the pretext that that country was serving as a refuge for aggressive forces. The white minority in Rhodesia, through its Government, thus tried to strangle Zambia and so deal a hard blow to the anti-colonialist forces which are fighting for the liberation of Zimbabwe.

53. The Government in Salisbury did not measure the consequences of its action and this was its grave error. It underrated the spirit of solidarity of the African peoples who are today united together with Zambia. All Africa rises to assist a country which is deprived of its most vital supply routes in order to strengthen the fight against foreign domination.

54. In the face of aggression Zambia had recourse to the Security Council. The representative of Zambia, Ambassador Paul Lusaka, formally and firmly complained of the aggression [S/10865]. The representatives of Guinea, Kenya and the Sudan requested an urgent meeting of the Council in order "to consider the explosive situation along the Zambian border which threatens the peace and security of the whole area" [S/10866]. The representative of Yugoslavia drew attention to the grave situation that had been created [S/10869].

55. The Council considered the question. After a very complete debate, it was decided to send immediately to Zambia a special mission made up of four members of the Council to study the situation and report back to the Council. At the beginning of February, Ambassador Odera-Jowi of Kenya, as President of the Council, appointed the members of the Mission: Ambassadors Anwar Sani of Indonesia, who presided, Peter Jankovitsch of Austria, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar of Peru and Rahmatalla Abdulla of the Sudan.

56. This mission and a qualified group of advisers and experts did very effective and responsible work in the discharge of their duties. The report submitted to us contains the most minute details of the record of the disquieting situation and makes recommendations which we should approve. My delegation wishes to express its sincere gratitude to the Special Mission and to announce that it will lend full support to the recommendations contained in the report for the benefit of Zambia.

57. As regards the two draft resolutions before us, my delegation not only supports them but also wishes to announce that Panama is joining the sponsors of those draft resolutions as proof of my country's desire to give its enthusiastic support to the just demands of Zambia and Zimbabwe.

58. Before concluding, I wish to express my gratitude, on behalf of the delegation of Panama, for the kind words of support from our colleagues in the Security Council on our having assumed the office of President of the Council for the month of March. We regard these generous expressions of friendship as a tribute to my country, which is constantly trying to reach reasonable arrangements that will bring to mankind the peace and security to which we all aspire.

59. As PRESIDENT, I would say that the Council must now take a decision on whether we should now proceed to the vote on the draft resolutions, with the modifications so brilliantly explained by Ambassador Odera-Jowi of Kenya, or should wait until 1.30 p.m. when the revised texts of the draft resolutions will be available.

60. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): I should like to propose that the meeting be suspended until 1.30 p.m., because there are just one or two points on which I should like to make a telephone call to London.

61. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of the United Kingdom has proposed that the meeting be suspended until 1.30 p.m. As I hear no objection, it is so decided.

*The meeting was suspended at 1.05 p.m. and resumed at 2.15 p.m.*

62. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those delegations that have expressed the wish to explain their votes before the vote.

63. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): First of all, Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you on the assumption of your functions as President of this Council and I am particularly pleased to know that I shall have a most welcome opportunity to extend our congratulations and pay a tribute to you and to your country more fully when the Council meets at Panama City next week.

64. May I also pay a tribute to the efficient, skilful and competent stewardship of Ambassador Odera-Jowi as the President of the Council who guided our work during the month of February?

65. As our debate draws to a close may I, as a member of the Special Mission, express my gratitude to all those here in the Council who have commented favourably on the way in which the Mission discharged its mandate and on the report which we had the honour to submit to the Council? I personally considered it a privilege to serve on this important assignment and to be under the chairmanship of such a distinguished and accomplished diplomatic representative as Ambassador Anwar Sani of Indonesia.

66. As to the matter which Zambia has brought to the Council, I had the occasion to put forward my Government's view at a previous meeting of the Council, on 31 January [1689th meeting]. It is as a consequence of this position of sympathy, understanding and support for the difficult situation in which a small country finds itself, that my delegation will fully support the two draft resolutions

now before us. The texts of these two draft resolutions, as revised, testify to the spirit of accommodation which has governed our discussions on the subject, and I wish to pay a particular tribute to all those delegations which by their persistent effort and understanding have made the elaboration of these draft resolutions possible.

67. Certainly, in view of the urgency of the problem and, consequently, of the relatively short time available to delegations and to the Council to study our report thoroughly, a number of details, especially in the economic report and its annexes and the economic draft resolution, will require further study. My Government, for its part, is ready to give its favourable attention to the findings and recommendations of the report.

68. May I just say that we are pleased that the economic draft resolution before us—which seeks to provide the means Zambia will need in order to assure its economic independence and development, and will enable it to reinforce considerably the policy of sanctions adopted by the Council against the régime of Southern Rhodesia—also provides most valuable guidelines for organizing the vast international effort facing us?

69. The responsibility placed on the Secretary-General points to the most valuable services which this Organization can provide, and undoubtedly the report itself contains many useful clues to the kind of technical assistance and services it can offer. May I say that such a United Nations effort will respond greatly to the immense hopes placed by the people of the African countries concerned, and especially the people of Zambia, in the role the Organization can play for them? The Mission was greatly impressed by this expression of hope, especially by the people of Zambia, in the United Nations effort in their favour.

70. Finally let me say that my delegation is gratified to note that the needs of a small country, a faithful Member of the United Nations, have received speedy and prompt consideration and that the draft resolutions on which the Council will now vote provide the necessary framework for international action and assistance.

71. Mr. PEREZ DE CUELLAR (Peru) (*Interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I do not believe that it is necessary to dwell on how pleased I am to see you as our President because of the very close connexion between our countries and the friendship between our delegations. I would also congratulate the Ambassador of Kenya, Mr. Odero-Jowi, who presided over our deliberations during the month of February with so much distinction.

72. The Chairman of the Special Mission has asked me to express, on behalf of the Mission, our gratitude for the words of appreciation of our work spoken by many delegations. The four members of the Mission who are present this afternoon in the Council regard this as an expression of the fact that we purely and simply did our duty.

73. Although I was a member of the Special Mission, I have refrained from participating in the debate because the clear and sober introduction of the report by the Chairman of the Special Mission, Ambassador Anwar Sani, had our

complete endorsement, therefore making it unnecessary for me to speak.

74. I now wish to say just a few words on the two draft resolutions which Peru now co-sponsors, in the light of the modifications made to the texts. My delegation believes that, in conformity with the report of the Special Mission, we must now proceed to adopt measures designed to reach a political solution of the problem and to alleviate the economic situation in Zambia. Of course, draft resolution S/10898/Rev.1, which has resulted from lengthy negotiations, barely hints at a solution. The solution depends fundamentally on the adoption of measures which, for reasons that are known, it does not seem feasible to adopt. Our decision today will therefore be somewhat preambular or interim in nature. It is our hope that, at the beginning of next month, when we consider the report of the Committee on Sanctions established under Security Council resolution 253 (1968), it will be possible to go into the deeper roots of and the actual reasons for the tense situation we have been considering, which, as we have noted, is part of a discouraging situation in southern Africa that it is up to all of us to resolve.

75. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): I should like to say at the outset that the delegation of the USSR will vote in favour of the two draft resolutions submitted by a number of sponsors. In this connexion, we should like to draw attention to the provision in draft resolution S/10899/Rev.1 concerning the economic consequences for Zambia of the aggressive policy and acts of the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia.

76. We fully understand the humanitarian motives that guided the sponsors in submitting the draft resolution for the consideration of the Security Council. It is a well-known fact that the Soviet Union consistently supports developing States and actively participates in providing assistance and help to them. It co-operates extensively with a large number of developing countries, including Zambia, in the economic, scientific and technological fields by providing them with help and assistance for economic and scientific development. Co-operation between the USSR and Zambia is also developing in accordance with the 1967 agreement between the USSR and Zambia on economic and technical co-operation.

77. The aforementioned draft resolution and the report of the Special Mission, however, do not deal with the question of providing aid and assistance to Zambia in developing its economy; they deal with the question of compensating it for losses incurred as a result of acts of aggression and the policy of aggression of the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia. Yet everyone knows who helps that régime and thereby encourages it to indulge in such acts of aggression against Zambia and other African States. It is the racist colonialist régimes of South Africa and Portugal, and also the United Kingdom itself, as the metropolitan country, and certain other Western countries, as well as the large international monopolies.

78. The Soviet delegation has already stated and we should like to stress this once again—that this is what

supports, strengthens and encourages the Southern Rhodesian régime to take the kind of action which causes extensive material and economic damage to Zambia and to other African States and thus deliberately sets obstacles in the way of their normal economic, scientific and technological development.

79. The conclusion is therefore quite obvious. The whole political and moral responsibility for the acts of aggression committed by the Southern Rhodesian régime against Zambia which cause material and economic damage, and the whole political and moral responsibility for other anti-African acts, should be placed squarely on those who are responsible for the emergence, survival and continuing existence of the régime in Southern Rhodesia. For it is those forces that are continuing to support the illegal régime and to help it to survive, and are maintaining contacts and developing broad economic, trade and other relations with it. It would be logical and just for the Security Council to adopt a resolution containing a provision to the effect that compensation for the losses incurred in Zambia should be provided by all those States and monopolies. That approach is fully justified in the case of the monopolies, too, since it is the monopolies which have derived and are still deriving vast profits from the exploitation of the natural resources in Southern Rhodesia.

80. In connexion with the provision in the aforementioned draft resolution approving the assessment and conclusions contained in the report of the Special Mission, we should like to make the following statement. The Charter of the United Nations, as we all know, contains no provision for the Council to carry out such activities as assessing economic needs or the economic losses inflicted on any particular State, even if such losses result from the implementation of a Security Council decision on sanctions. The involvement of the Council in such problems would inevitably divert its attention from the political tasks entrusted to it under the Charter, and from fulfilling its main function in resolving the matters under its consideration, namely, to repulse aggression and the aggressor, to take measures to restore peace and ensure security for the victims of the aggression and, in this case, to take effective steps towards eliminating the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia in view of the official statement by the United Kingdom that it is unwilling to do this itself in implementation of the Council decisions.

81. There are, as we all know, special organs for the consideration of economic problems in the United Nations system. It is particularly important to bear this in mind at the present time when economic problems and problems relating to development take up so much space and attention in the work of the United Nations. According to the calculations of the former Secretary-General, U Thant, United Nations activities in the economic field constituted approximately 80 per cent of its total activities, although, of course, the United Nations was established as a political organization with the principal objective of maintaining international peace and security.

82. Those are our comments on the substance of draft resolution S/10899/Rev.1. Since this draft resolution, and

draft resolution S/10898/Rev.1 are, in our opinion, acceptable, we shall vote in favour of both.

83. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As there are no more names on the list of speakers I take it that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the revised draft resolutions S/10898/Rev.1 and S/10899/Rev.1 in the order in which they were submitted.

84. I now put to the vote the draft resolution sponsored by Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, the Sudan and Yugoslavia in document S/10898/Rev.1.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* Australia, Austria, China, France, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, the Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.<sup>3</sup>*

85. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now put to the vote the revised draft resolution sponsored by Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, the Sudan and Yugoslavia in document S/10899/Rev.1.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.<sup>4</sup>*

86. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call upon representatives wishing to speak in explanation of their votes.

87. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): Permit me first to associate my delegation with the words of appreciation which have been expressed by many other delegations on the report prepared by the Special Mission under the distinguished leadership of Ambassador Anwar Sani. This is an important document which contains much useful information and, as such, it deserves our careful consideration. Members of the Mission and of the Secretariat are to be commended for this report, especially considering the short time they had to prepare it.

88. In its political section, the report notes the existence of tension in the region. This we were well aware of before the Mission was dispatched, but it takes on greater reality as the result of the discussions held by the Mission with officials of the Zambian Government and other interested parties.

89. The economic section of the report is comprehensive and detailed in its analysis of the problems facing Zambia. It provides an extensive assessment of the situation and of

<sup>3</sup> See resolution 328 (1973).

<sup>4</sup> See resolution 329 (1973).

the magnitude of requirements if Zambia is to be compensated for the disruptions of its economy caused by the resort to alternative routes for its exports and imports.

90. As members will recall, the United States supported the sending of a team of United Nations experts to Zambia to assess the economic situation. We were confident that such a group would provide the Council with a detailed analysis of the situation in Zambia. Our expectations are confined in the voluminous report that has been submitted to this Council.

91. Although we understand the need for early consideration of this matter, we do believe that a minimum time is required to permit Governments to study such a complex report. It contains, as I have said, much material which can assist Governments in studying the economic problems now faced by Zambia, but it is unrealistic to expect most Governments to be able to determine their specific views on such short notice.

92. I wish briefly to explain the votes of my delegation on the two draft resolutions which have just been adopted. In voting in favour of the revised draft resolution in document S/10899/Rev.1, we did so with certain serious reservations, and I should be less than candid were I not to place them on record. First, as I have already pointed out, we do not believe that the Security Council has had a reasonable opportunity to study and digest the voluminous material presented to us by the team of experts. Certainly my Government has not. We therefore do not believe it was appropriate, in the third preambular paragraph, to suggest that the Council had truly considered the report of the Special Mission. We had hoped that the sponsors might have amended this sentence to reflect more accurately the actual situation, namely, that the Council had received the report of the Special Mission.

93. In view of the inadequate time my Government has had to study the extensive implications of this report, we are of course not in a position to undertake any commitments regarding the extension of assistance it calls for.

94. With respect to paragraphs 4 and 5, we are seriously concerned about the possible implications of this language for the role and activities of the specialized agencies. We do not interpret these paragraphs as implying a demand by the Security Council that the specialized agencies undertake new commitments for projects and programmes without regard to the ongoing commitments of these organizations or the resources available to them. Any other interpretation, we feel, could establish serious precedents for the long-term activities of the agencies, much to the detriment of many beneficiary Governments.

95. We tried unsuccessfully to persuade the sponsors to accept certain amendments which, in our judgement, would have clarified the situation. This could have been accomplished, we believe, by striking out paragraph 4 and replacing the text of paragraph 5 by the following:

*"Requests the Secretary-General to initiate close contacts with the Government of Zambia and appropriate United Nations bodies concerned in order to facilitate the*

*preparation of a programme of material and financial assistance."*

The effect of these amendments, had they been adopted, would have in no way derogated from the common objective we all share, of mobilizing international support for assistance to Zambia, but they would have avoided any possible ambiguity as to the appropriate role of the specialized agencies.

96. With regard to the draft resolution in document S/10898/Rev.1, the members of the Council will recall that my delegation abstained in the vote on resolution 326 (1973), because we felt that the resolution was not likely to achieve the desired results and could have the effect of increasing confrontation. We find, unfortunately, the same to be true of the draft resolution in question; it contains certain elements which the United States has been unable to accept in the past, particularly the idea that the scope of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia might be extended, as distinct from strengthening existing sanctions.

97. But we do agree with the assessment by the Special Mission, that the situation in southern Africa, and particularly in Southern Rhodesia, is in large part a result of the denial of the right of self-determination to the majority of the African people.

98. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*Interpretation from French*): We voted in favour of the political draft resolution because we can in general subscribe to the conclusions of the Special Mission as they appear in the report. We were also able to vote in favour of it because of the amendment made in paragraph 6, which implies no obligation on our part as far as the work of the Sanctions Committee is concerned. We observe that the text of the resolution refers to a resolution for which the French delegation did not vote at the time; it goes without saying that our vote of today does not imply any change in our attitude in regard to that resolution.

99. As far as the economic draft resolution is concerned, we also voted in favour of it as a result of the changes which were introduced. The French delegation simply wishes to make it clear that we interpret the words "*Takes note*" in their exact sense and on the basis of the statements we made yesterday in the general debate [*1693rd meeting*]. We mentioned that the short time allowed for consideration of the report of the Special Mission did not enable us to take a position immediately. In so saying, I wish to emphasize that, in our statement yesterday, we also announced that a study of the conclusions of the report would be undertaken by the French authorities in the best spirit of understanding.

100. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution in document S/10899/Rev.1 because, as I said yesterday [*ibid.*], we have the greatest sympathy for Zambia in the economic difficulties which it faces and, of course, it had every right under Article 50 of the Charter to bring the matter to the Council. We welcomed the establishment of the Special Mission, we applaud the way in which it has accomplished its task and we support the general sense of the resolution

that ways and means of providing Zambia with the necessary assistance should be urgently examined, both within the United Nations system and outside it.

101. My delegation has a reservation on paragraph 1 of the resolution, where we should have preferred to use the same language in describing Zambia's original decision as was used in paragraph 1 of resolution 327 (1973), rather than to introduce what appears to be a new and far-reaching political interpretation of that decision. In general, however, we consider that the resolution addresses itself properly and reasonably to the main problem that caused the present series of Security Council meetings to be called, and we are glad to have supported it.

102. In the view of my delegation, the draft resolution in document S/10898/Rev.1, however, which has just been adopted, is in a different category, in that it addresses itself to the long-term political problem of Southern Rhodesia, as opposed to the events of January and their aftermath. Whether such a resolution is necessary or desirable is, in the view of my delegation, very doubtful; and, in any case, this resolution does not tackle the need to reduce tension and promote a settlement in Southern Rhodesia in the same constructive and realistic manner as the economic resolution tackles the economic problem facing Zambia.

103. My delegation is therefore very doubtful whether this resolution is likely to produce positive results. However, we respect the position of the sponsors, who take a different view, and I reciprocate the remarks of the representative of Kenya about the friendly spirit in which our consultations were conducted. My delegation is grateful to the sponsors for agreeing to make changes in the draft in certain passages which gave us particular difficulty. At the same time, the resolution still contains paragraphs addressed to my Government which call upon us to take action of various kinds which, as I have previously explained, it is unrealistic to suppose we could perform. In these circumstances, I believe it will be readily understood that my delegation could not support this text nor regard itself as committed by it.

104. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): My delegation voted for the draft resolution in document S/10898/Rev.1 because it is our desire to contribute to a peaceful settlement of the situation in southern Africa. As I indicated when introducing the two draft resolutions, we should like to ensure that South African intervention in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia is brought to an end; we should like to ensure that the people of Zimbabwe are accorded their full right to self-determination; and, lastly, we should like to see an end to threats of aggression against the Republic of Zambia. We voted for this draft resolution in solidarity with the Republic of Zambia and its people and in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of the African people.

105. We voted for the draft resolution contained in document S/10899/Rev.1 for the following reasons. As I said before, we should like to see an end to this economic aggression against the Republic of Zambia. We should like to help Zambia regain its economic posture. Above all, we voted for this draft resolution because it supports the spirit and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

106. Some doubt is being cast on the authority of the Security Council to enter the fields of economic relations or economic development. In our opinion, Article 55 of the Charter makes it clear that, to the extent that the economic relations lead to political friction and bad relations between States in the world, to that extent the Security Council has a right under the Charter to pronounce itself on the matter, although the operational aspect is the responsibility of the Economic and Social Council. Article 55 reads: "With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations. . .". In this case, the closure of the border between Zambia and Rhodesia has had two effects on Zambia. It has dislocated the economy of Zambia and it has heightened political and military tension between the two countries. It is the view of my delegation that the Security Council has a perfect right to pronounce itself and take a decision on a matter like this in accordance with the Charter.

107. Doubt has been expressed also regarding paragraph 4 of the resolution, and it has been implied that the Security Council has no right to request specialized agencies to respond in matters such as the one we are discussing. My delegation is of the view that that interpretation of the relationship between specialized agencies and the Council is wrong. In the agreements reached between the Economic and Social Council and various specialized agencies, it is very clearly stated that these agencies can respond to directives or requests by the Economic and Social Council. For example, the agreement between the United Nations and the Universal Postal Union states in article VI:

"The Union agrees to co-operate with and to give assistance to the United Nations, its principal and subsidiary organs, so far as is consistent with the provisions of the Universal Postal Convention".

The agreement between the United Nations and the International Telecommunication Union States in article VI:

"The Union agrees to co-operate with and to render all possible assistance to the United Nations, its principal and subsidiary organs, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the International Telecommunication Convention, taking fully into account the particular position of the individual members of the Union who are not Members of the United Nations."

108. I do not wish to burden the Council with quotations, but I think it must be made clear that the Security Council has a constitutional right to call upon these specialized agencies to perform certain functions allotted to them by the Security Council. I should like to quote only two more agreements. The first is the agreement between the United Nations and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which states in article VI:

"The Bank takes note of the obligation assumed, under paragraph 2 of Article 48 of the United Nations Charter, by such of its members as are also Members of the United Nations, to carry out the decisions of the Security Council through their action in the appropriate special-

ized agencies of which they are members, and will, in the conduct of its activities, have due regard for decisions of the Security Council under Articles 41 and 42 of the United Nations Charter."

The last is the agreement between the United Nations and the World Health Organization, which follows the same lines. In article VII of the agreement the following is stated:

"The World Health Organization agrees to co-operate with the Council in furnishing such information and rendering such assistance for the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security as the Security Council may request."

109. Therefore I repeat that the doubt being cast on the action of the Council at this time has no foundation in the constitution of the United Nations.

110. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Zambia has asked to be allowed to make a brief statement and I now call upon him.

111. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): It was with a sense of distress and serious concern that my delegation listened to the statements of the United Kingdom representative both yesterday and today. As I pointed out in my statement to the Council on 8 March [1692nd meeting], the United Kingdom appears to pursue a policy deliberately calculated to hoodwink and confuse the international community as regards London's real intentions towards Southern Rhodesia. One sees a catalogue of contradictions in British policy with regard to Southern Rhodesia. On the one hand, the British Government continues to claim responsibility for Southern Rhodesia. On the other, it is labouring to persuade the international community to accept London's professed impotence to influence any positive change in Southern Rhodesia. At this point I wish to ask this question. Why does the United Kingdom Government continue to claim responsibility for Southern Rhodesia? The logical answer, I submit, is that Britain is deliberately bent on inhibiting positive and effective action by the international community against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia in the interest of the *status quo*. Indeed, if this were not so and if Britain were genuinely interested in a progressive change, the United Kingdom Government would have long renounced its claim of responsibility over Rhodesia, and would therefore have handed it over altogether to the United Nations. In that way the British Government would not find itself in two worlds—it would not have its cake and eat it at the same time.

112. The refusal of the United Kingdom Government to take effective measures, which my delegation is convinced London would do only if it had the will to quell the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, confirms the interest of the United Kingdom in the *status quo*. The presence of South African armed and military forces in Southern Rhodesia and the heavy foreign investments in the rebel colony certainly cannot be described as being conducive to the solution of the problem. These are realities that the United Kingdom has tolerated in order to perpetuate the *status quo*. If South African troops were removed from Southern Rhodesia and if the United Kingdom ensured, as it can, that

South Africa did not interfere in the affairs of the British colony, if foreign investments were curtailed and if sanctions were fully implemented, Smith and the other rebels would not last a month. I am sure that the United Kingdom is aware of this fact.

113. The abstentions of the United Kingdom and United States in the vote on the political draft resolution contained in document S/10898/Rev.1 reveal in the most authoritative way the attitudes of those Governments towards the plight of the non-whites in general and of the masses in southern Africa in particular. It is most revealing also that some countries which voted affirmatively on resolutions 253 (1968) and 277 (1970), relating to Zambia's urgent need for assistance in order to enable it to comply fully with the Security Council's decisions, have chosen to make reservations today. My Government will be fully apprised of this development.

114. I should now like, on behalf of my delegation, to thank those delegations that have given their unequivocal support to the case of Zambia, and indeed to the cause of justice in southern Africa. We thank the 13 delegations for their positive votes on the political draft resolution.

115. May I end my brief comments in this debate by stressing my delegation's deep appreciation to the eight sponsors of the two draft resolutions? That is a pleasant record, where more than half the Security Council members were co-sponsors. They and those that voted affirmatively on both draft resolutions have clearly identified themselves with the cause of peace and justice in southern Africa. We look forward to the urgent implementation of today's decisions of the Council.

116. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): After listening carefully to the concluding statement made by the representative of Zambia, the delegation of the USSR is even more convinced of the correctness of its position that it is essential to seek redress for the consequences of economic losses inflicted on the victims of aggression by an aggressor from the aggressor and from those who help and co-operate with him. I should like to place particular stress on this, for in the future it seems that we will be returning, in the Security Council, to consideration of the question of Zambia and will also be considering acts of aggression committed in other places and in other regions. With all due respect to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the agreements concluded between the United Nations and the specialized agencies, the Security Council has even more right and authority to place the political and moral responsibility for the consequences of aggression on the aggressor and on those who co-operate with him and help him.

117. I am deeply convinced that, if the draft resolution the Council has adopted today on the economic consequences for Zambia of the aggression by the Southern Rhodesian racists had included a provision on the material responsibility of the real, the actual aggressors for the consequences of the aggression, the resolution would have carried far more weight and would have been far more valuable; it would be good if in future sponsors of similar draft resolutions would bear this in mind.

118. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since our debate has now come to an end, I should like to state on behalf of the delegation of Panama that I am grateful to members of the Council for their co-operation in working during the week-end to conclude the agenda item on Zambia in a satisfactory manner. Members of the Council can now concentrate their attention on the questions which will be before them at the series of meetings in Panama.

119. I am leaving tomorrow for my country to assist, as far as I can, in preparing for the Council's work and in order to have the pleasure of receiving you with all the cordiality that you deserve. It has been said that warm and tropical lands produce affectionate and warm people. It only remains for us to show you the kind of welcome Panamanian hospitality really provides.

*The meeting rose at 3.10 p.m.*

### كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم. استلم منها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى الأمم المتحدة قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف.

#### 如何购买联合国出版物

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

#### HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

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

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

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

#### КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

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

#### COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

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