



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR

# 1609<sup>th</sup>

MEETING: 8 DECEMBER 1971

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#### NOTE

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

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

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 NINTH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 8 December 1971, at 3 p.m.

*President:* Mr. I. B. TAYLOR-KAMARA (Sierra Leone).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Belgium, Burundi, China, France, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Poland, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syrian Arab Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1609)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Admission of new Members:
  - (a) Letter dated 2 December 1971 from the President of the United Arab Emirates to the Secretary-General (S/10420);
  - (b) Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members (S/10430).
3. Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:
  - (a) Letter dated 24 November 1971 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10396);
  - (b) Fourth report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) (S/10229 and Add.1 and 2);
  - (c) Interim report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) (S/10408).

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

#### Admission of new Members:

- (a) Letter dated 2 December 1971 from the President of the United Arab Emirates to the Secretary-General (S/10420);
- (b) Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members (S/10430)

1. The PRESIDENT: At its 1608th meeting, on 6 December, the Security Council referred the application of the United Arab Emirates for membership of the United Nations to the Committee on the Admission of New Members for examination and report in accordance with rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure.

2. The report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members had been submitted to the Council in document S/10430. In its report the Committee recommends that the Council should have recourse to the provisions of the last paragraph of rule 60 of the provisional rules of procedure and that it should adopt a draft resolution recommending to the General Assembly that the United Arab Emirates be admitted to membership of the United Nations.

3. As no member of the Council wishes to speak at this stage, I shall put the draft resolution recommended in paragraph 4 of the Committee's report to the vote.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

4. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic wishes to take this opportunity, when the Council has just taken a decision on the request for admission of the United Arab Emirates, to congratulate this brother Arab State for having been able to form itself into an independent and sovereign State. The union of patriots of that region, their determination to overcome the barriers and artificial frontiers that had separated them from each other and scattered their ranks, their resolution to exploit their own natural resources and to devote them to serving the well-being of all their citizens and the development of all localities, and the support they are receiving from their brother Arab countries—all these are outstanding features of a political, social and cultural renaissance which is an excellent augury for the future of the region.

5. The new State will have to make creative efforts and show particular diplomatic capability in order to surmount the various difficulties inherited from the long era of dependency. Furthermore, this new State is faced with the bounden duty of training, as soon as possible, its own national technical experts who will make it possible for them not only to ensure a better utilization of their wealth, but also to guarantee that they exercise genuine sovereignty over their resources. This, as a matter of fact, is one of the main ways—and perhaps the most important way—of avoiding the effects of any foreign interference or covetousness, should it exist. Its affiliation to the league of Arab States also makes it possible for it to reinforce its personality and consolidate its independence, while at the same time conferring upon it an important and beneficial role to play.

6. We are full of hope that the union of Arab Emirates, thanks to the new awareness of its sons and their faith in

social justice and progress, will successfully discharge its tasks to its own credit.

7. To the people of the United Arab Emirates, to its Government and, in particular, to its President, Zaid bin Sultan Al Nahayyan, we offer our best wishes. It is also a pleasure for us to welcome its special representative, the Minister of State, Mr. Adnan Pachachi, our friendly and dynamic colleague whose contribution here in the United Nations and in serving its cause is indeed unequalled.

8. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation can only commend the request for admission submitted by the United Arab Emirates. This request shows the attraction our Organization has for newly independent States and at the same time reaffirms the universality of this Organization.

9. We welcomed with equal satisfaction the favourable report of the Committee on admissions on its candidacy and the adoption of the resolution in which the Security Council recommends to the General Assembly the admission of the new State as a member of our Organization.

10. My delegation voted in favour of that recommendation because we are convinced that the United Arab Emirates will, as it has undertaken to do, discharge its obligations as a Member of the United Nations.

11. The circumstances surrounding the birth of the new State can only reassure us concerning its devotion to the purposes and principles of the Charter. The six Emirates of the Persian Gulf have chosen to accede to independence by peaceful means and to share a common destiny by forming themselves into a federation. The desire that they have shown since they have become independent to enter into the family of nations is another earnest that they will not disappoint the expectations of the international community.

12. With the entry of the United Arab Emirates into our Organization, the group of Arab countries will be honoured with a new member which is part, like themselves, of the Islamic civilization and shares the same ideals.

13. In the name of my Government, I should like to wish the new State a peaceful and prosperous future and to tell it how pleased we shall be to see it soon seated among us and finally to assure it that our country will give great attention to the problems which affect its interests.

14. In conclusion, it remains for me only to pay a tribute to the United Kingdom, which, through its enlightened policies, has to a large extent contributed to bringing the United Arab Emirates to the full sovereignty which they enjoy today.

15. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): The unanimous adoption of the resolution recommending to the General Assembly that the United Arab Emirates be admitted to membership of the United Nations is a most auspicious event, and on behalf of the Japanese delegation, I am very happy to express our warmest feelings of sincere congratulation to the Government and the people of the United Arab

Emirates. We are entirely confident that the United Arab Emirates is a peace-loving State, able and willing to carry out the obligations incumbent upon Member States under the Charter.

16. We are also confident that this emerging nation in the Gulf area, which in this century has achieved a rapid and miraculous degree of economic and social progress, will participate as fully as possible in the collective efforts of the United Nations to create a peaceful and prosperous world and that it will play a constructive and significant role to that end.

17. Our delegation is most happy to support the entry of the United Arab Emirates into the United Nations.

18. Japan announced its formal recognition of the United Arab Emirates on 3 December. We have very friendly relations with the Emirates comprising the new State, and trade and other economic relations are also growing.

19. We recall with great pleasure that His Highness Crown Prince Khalifa of Abu Dhabi visited Japan last year on the occasion of the Emirate's participation in the World Exposition at Osaka. The Government and people of Japan look forward to increasingly close and friendly relations, both within and outside the United Nations, with the Government and people of the United Arab Emirates.

20. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): My delegation was glad to vote in favour of the draft resolution which the Security Council has just adopted, recommending to the General Assembly that the United Arab Emirates be admitted as a Member of the United Nations. As in the case of Bahrain, Qatar and Oman, my delegation was particularly happy at the decision of the Council in view of the long history of friendship between the British Government and these States.

21. It was with the individual member States of that Union that Britain concluded, as long ago as 1820, the first of the treaties which eventually governed our relationship with all the Arab Emirates—or sheikdoms as they used to be known—of the Gulf, and which enabled them to evolve in stability and prosperity, and also independence, over 150 years. Nowhere has this evolution been more remarkable than in the States which comprise the United Arab Emirates.

22. Ten years ago, outside the flourishing trading port of Dubai, they were largely dependent for economic and social development upon foreign assistance provided by the United Kingdom and, in generous measure, by their sister State of Kuwait. Today, thanks to oil discovery and development, principally in the State of Abu Dhabi, whose ruler Sheikh Zaid bin Sultan has been elected President of the new Union, there is spectacular evidence of economic and social progress in which all six States have shared, and it now has perhaps the highest *per capita* income in the world.

23. The termination of those treaties last week, when the union of Arab Emirates was formally established, to be followed later this month by the withdrawal of the last

British forces from the Gulf, marks the end of the old era and the beginning of a new. As far as Britain is concerned we have signed with the new State a Treaty of friendship, as we did early this year with Bahrain and Qatar, and we look forward to a continuation, on a basis of equality, co-operation and mutual respect, of the close ties of friendship which we have always enjoyed.

24. At the same time we are glad to see the new State about to take its place as an equal member of the international community. We extend to the President and the people of the United Arab Emirates a cordial welcome and good wishes for the future.

25. Mr. KULAGA (Poland) (*interpretation from French*): The Polish delegation itself supported the unanimous decision taken by this Council to recommend to the General Assembly that the United Arab Emirates be admitted to the United Nations.

26. Today we should, therefore, like to welcome a new State which shortly will become a fully fledged Member of the United Nations. We are very gratified to be able to do so. We have always supported the right of peoples under colonial domination to self-determination and to independence. We are pleased when that right finds concrete expression, as in the case on which we have just taken a decision, that of the United Arab Emirates. We resolutely support those who continue to struggle to ensure their freedom and independence from colonialism. We are not unmindful of the difficulties faced by new States in overcoming the effects of colonialism and neo-colonialism; and we also support them in this process.

27. We have taken note of the fact that the agreements concluded on 1 December 1971 between the Emirates and the United Kingdom put an end to the relations which previously existed between the Emirates and the United Kingdom pursuant to the special Treaty and to the promulgation of the Constitution of the United Arab Emirates.

28. We have also noted the declaration in which the President of the United Arab Emirates accepts, on behalf of the Emirates, the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and solemnly pledges to fulfil them.

29. It only remains for me to fulfil the pleasant duty of expressing our conviction that the United Arab Emirates will contribute to the efforts of the United Nations to achieve its goals, that is, to preserve international peace and security, especially in their own region, and to bring about the most fruitful co-operation possible among nations. We also hope that the Emirates will be successful in the economic and social development of their new State.

30. As representative of Poland, once again I should like to welcome the United Arab Emirates and to assure them of our desire to maintain the best relations of friendship and co-operation with them.

31. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is with profound satisfaction that my delegation has taken note of the letter of 2 December 1971,

signed by the President of the United Arab Emirates, Zaid bin Sultan Al Nahayyan, in which he states that in accordance with the agreements concluded between his Government and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, pursuant to which Abu Dhabi, Sharjah, Umm Al Quwain, Ajman and Fujairah, united under the name of the United Arab Emirates, has acceded to independent life and become part of the international community as a sovereign State.

32. The fact that the situation of dependence has been ended in accordance with a well-ordered process, and the accession to international existence of the United Arab Emirates is a source of particular satisfaction to my Government. Thus the eighteenth member is joining the family of Arab States. And as we did in the case of Qatar, Bahrain and Oman, my delegation would like to tender them our warmest congratulations. The links of friendship which united all Arab States to Argentina are well known. We hope, therefore, that with the admission of this new Member State—we have voted in favour of recommending this admission to the General Assembly—Argentina will have an opportunity, through its delegation at the United Nations, to maintain very friendly and co-operative relations with this new State. We should like to welcome it and to express our good wishes for the prosperity of this new, friendly State.

33. I should like, with your permission Mr. President, to conclude on a personal note. I should like to welcome the presence among us of my very old and respected friend, Ambassador Pachachi. When I see him I cannot fail to recall the work that we did together 11 years ago in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly. At that time he showed clearly how skilful he was as an Arab representative, and today as a Minister of an Arab State he has shown how he has been able to help to emerge these six Emirates into a single union and to secure the admission of his union to the United Nations. I should like to congratulate him on this and at the same time extend heartfelt salutations.

34. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation, which in the course of recent months has had the satisfaction of welcoming three new States from the Gulf region, can today only express its gratification at seeing the culmination, as it were, of the representation within our Organization of that region of the world. Convinced as we are that the new union of Emirates is capable of fulfilling the obligations deriving from the Charter and that it is sincerely prepared to do so, we are particularly pleased at the recommendation which has just been adopted. We are quite certain that the General Assembly will take the hoped-for decision and will soon make it possible for this new Arab State to be seated among us.

35. I should not like to fail to take this opportunity of welcoming its representative, Mr. Pachachi who, as Ambassador Ortiz de Rozas of Argentina has just recalled, is well known in this Organization and is an old friend of ours. He has come here again to give us further proof of his long and fruitful experience.

36. For the country which I represent and although long-standing ties link us with the Gulf region, the very

names of the Emirates which today make up the union still have the same fascination. They evoke the image of a mysterious Orient, where the sands of the Arab peninsula merge on the shimmering horizon with the limpid waters of the Gulf. We know that this idea which we have of that part of the world, faithful to its traditions and attached as it is to its own spiritual values, is still true, although today those sands and those waters are bristling with metallic towers which show the riches which were hidden under the austere surface of the earth and in the depths of the sea. Its resources promise to lend themselves to the sort of exploitation and development we are prepared to collaborate in and which, as has been already accomplished in neighbouring States, will help to improve living conditions and the social welfare of the population.

37. In this connexion we should like to express our pleasure that the accession to independence of the six Emirates of Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Umm Al Quwain, Ajman and Fujairah has terminated the agreement which previously bound them to the United Kingdom and has led to their federation. We consider this a very wise decision on the part of their leaders, who correctly gauged the need to unite their efforts in order to establish a State which would be capable of assuming its responsibilities, both internally and internationally.

38. At a time when the United Arab Emirates is preparing to become the 132nd Member of this Organization, we should like to express to this State, its President, its Government and its people the very sincere wishes for peace, prosperity and progress. We are convinced that the wisdom which has been displayed by its leaders in uniting shows that they desire to maintain all the significance of the old name of "Trucial States".

39. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): The United States Government was pleased to support the proposal that the Government of the United Arab Emirates become the 132nd Member of the United Nations, as a single entity representing several component members. Furthermore we heartily congratulate those member States of the union on their co-operation with the United Kingdom and with each other which led to the termination of the former Treaty relationship and culminated in their achievement of full independence on 2 December 1971. My Government formally recognized the United Arab Emirates on 3 December.

40. Although the United Arab Emirates is itself a new entity, its member States are one people, some 200,000 strong, bound by long-standing ties of friendship and co-operation. In recent years its member States have made remarkable progress towards building a modern administrative structure and in co-operating with each other and with neighbouring countries.

41. The United Arab Emirates comes before the United Nations as a State qualified in terms of population, resources and policy to play a useful contributing role in the deliberations of this body. It has also given firm evidence of its support for the principles of the United Nations Charter and has pledged to be a constructive and co-operative Member of the United Nations.

42. We are also confident that the United Arab Emirates will make a significant contribution to the stability and progress of the entire Gulf area.

43. For those reasons the United States Government warmly supports the application of the United Arab Emirates for membership of the United Nations.

44. Mr. VINCI (Italy): My delegation supported wholeheartedly the resolution just adopted which recommends the admission of the United Arab Emirates to the United Nations. A new Arab Member is going to join in our Organization and we draw particular satisfaction from the event for several reasons.

45. The first is that we see in this admission a further significant step towards the achievement of universality, which my country has consistently fostered for a long time. We are convinced, in fact, that the fulfilment of this principle may enable this forum to offer greater opportunities for improved relations and closer peaceful co-operation among nations.

46. A second reason is that we believe that membership of this Organization will help the federation of the six Emirates to come into the mainstream of international life. The new Member will thus be more closely associated with the other 17 sister Arab States, in the centre of the international community. It will contribute to its activity as well as to the renaissance of the Arab world.

47. Finally, the admission of the six Emirates as a federation is proof of the far-seeing and successful efforts of their leaders to prevent a political fragmentation of the region which would have been disastrous for the progress and the peace and security of their peoples. I wish to convey to the federation my Government's desire to see the United Arab Emirates progress steadily in unity in all fields and to see our relations with them flourish. To this effect the new State could not have made a better choice than to entrust its first contact with the world Organization and with Member States to a statesman of the calibre of Minister Adnan Pachachi, who is well known in my country as well as in these circles, in which he gained the confidence, the respect, the esteem and the affection of so many of his former colleagues. That is why I associate myself with those who have expressed esteem and friendship for Minister Pachachi.

48. My Government is confident that the federation will contribute positively to the work of the United Nations. We look forward to co-operating with its delegation in all bodies of the United Nations.

49. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation supported the proposal for the admission to the United Nations of the new State, the United Arab Emirates. The founding of this State and its admission to the United Nations is yet another step forward in the historic process of the liberation of the peoples of the Arab peninsula from their colonial past. The Government of the Soviet Union has always given and will continue to give the broadest and the most comprehensive assistance to colonial countries and peoples in their struggle

for independence, and to young countries which have received their independence in their struggle for the strengthening of their sovereignty and the development of an independent national economy. This position of principle of the Soviet Union has frequently aided the peoples of many countries, including the Arab States, to stand firm and not to yield to the pressure put upon them by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

50. This policy of the Soviet Union is a firm basis for the establishment, development and consolidation of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and other States.

51. In connexion with the declaration of the independence of the United Arab Emirates, the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Podgorny, on 8 December this year, sent the following message to the President of the United Arab Emirates, Sheikh Zaid bin Sultan Al Nahayyan:

"Your Highness, please accept our sincere congratulations on the occasion of the declaration of the independence of the State of the United Arab Emirates and our good wishes for the well-being and progress of the people of the United Arab Emirates on the path of independent development. The Soviet Union, whose policy is unchangingly based on the principles of equality and the self-determination of peoples and which supports the development of friendship and business-like co-operation between all countries, hereby declares its recognition of the State of the United Arab Emirates as an independent and sovereign State and expresses its willingness to establish diplomatic relations with it and to exchange ambassadors.

52. Mr. LANG (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation was pleased to support the admission of the United Arab Emirates to membership of the United Nations. We would like to congratulate that country on its presence in this the most important world Organization. We have no doubt that in future this area will offer its best and most effective contribution to advance the interests of world peace and co-operation.

53. Mr. MAGENGE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Republic of Burundi voted with the greatest pleasure in favour of the admission of the new State. By our positive vote we wanted to testify to our devotion to the principle of the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, as recommended by the General Assembly in its resolution 1514 (XV). Apart from the fact that that principle is endorsed specifically in a written provision of the resolution, freedom and independence are the inherent natural rights of all men. Those are the reasons that led us to cast a favourable vote and to support the application for admission to membership of the United Nations of the United Arab Emirates.

54. May I be permitted, through that delegation, to convey my Government's most sincere congratulations to the Government of the United Arab Emirates. The congratulations that we are addressing to the first President of that united State are extended also to the United Kingdom

Government, which has just made a generous gesture by granting independence to one of its many colonies. The United Kingdom still has a great deal to do in the field of decolonization, but my delegation would be remiss in its duty if it did not congratulate that country for the work it has already accomplished.

55. On 2 December the six Emirates came into being as a single State, in accordance with the principle of unity and also with the principle of co-operation with the former metropolitan country, the United Kingdom, with which the federation signed a Treaty of friendship on 7 December of this same year. Those two acts—the unification of the six Emirates and the signing of the Treaty with the United Kingdom viewed from this angle—are the first signals that the new State has got off to a good start, and augur well for its success, for the trend towards co-operation is the manifest concern of the decolonized countries and of those which are in the process of decolonization. That is why my delegation often wonders with astonishment why the colonial Powers and the apologists for *apartheid* still doubt the universal desire to try to forget the causes which divide men in order to embrace the ideals which unite us.

56. Mr. CHEN (China) (*translated from Chinese*): With regard to the application of the United Arab Emirates for admission to membership of the United Nations, during the Committee meeting held on 7 December I stated clearly the position of the Chinese delegation, which is as follows.

57. The Chinese delegation agrees to the admission of the United Arab Emirates to membership of the United Nations. However, we are informed that there exist some differences among certain Arab States in this connexion. The People's Republic of China enjoys friendly relations with many Arab States, and it is our fervent hope that they will proceed with consultations and negotiations among themselves in order to reach an agreement on this question, because that would be in the interest of the solidarity of the Arab States and in the interest also of the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

58. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): The endorsement by this Council of the application of the United Arab Emirates to join this Organization concludes an exciting phase in the life of the Arab peninsula and in the political development of the many States which compose that important and strategic area of the world. When the General Assembly gives its stamp of approval in the next few days the voices of all the representatives of the Gulf States for the first time will be adequately heard in this Organization. I am sure that together they will make an excellent and constructive contribution to the ideals and objectives which we have set ourselves.

59. Of course my country, Somalia, has always valued its long historical and cultural relationship with the people of the Gulf States. Many Somalis have lived and worked in that region and many intrepid merchants from the Gulf have throughout the centuries sailed to our ports, bringing their wares and, what is more important, associating our people with their rich cultural heritage.

60. The United Arab Emirates will begin their role in the life of the international community with two very important assets. The first is political unity which has been manifested by the success of the rulers and the representatives of these six Emirates in forming a federation which will enable them to speak with one voice on all matters affecting their external relations. In this respect my delegation is pleased to convey to Sheikh Zaid bin Sultan Al Nahayyan, the first President of the federation, our sincere and brotherly wishes for the progress and the unity of the people. The second important asset, which will certainly help the new State to ride out the stormy international seas, is the great natural wealth which it possesses and the natural tolerance and abilities of its people.

61. My delegation is confident that in the challenging years ahead during the stage of nation-building the new Government will utilize these assets to the maximum so that it can build for its people a State in which all of its inhabitants can find true self-fulfilment and happiness.

62. The PRESIDENT: I should now like to make a statement as the representative of SIERRA LEONE.

63. I would now wish, on behalf of my Government, to congratulate the United Arab Emirates on the unanimous adoption of the draft resolution recommending to the General Assembly that the new State be admitted to membership of the United Nations.

64. Our rich and rewarding relations with our Arab friends and neighbours of both Africa and the Middle East are important considerations in the execution of our country's foreign policy. The United Arab Emirates has fulfilled all requirements for admission to the United Nations and applied for membership under the conditions stipulated in the Charter. My delegation supports this recommendation in the sure expectation that a State of some 40,000 square miles and about 300,000 persons, endowed with tremendous natural resources and significant human potential, will be accorded an opportunity to participate actively in the activities of the United Nations.

65. May I also take this opportunity to welcome in our midst the special envoy of the President of the new sovereign State, Mr. Adnan Pachachi, who is no stranger to many of the members of the Council?

66. The Government and the people of Sierra Leone look forward to very friendly relations with the Government and the people of this union for many years to come.

67. Speaking now as PRESIDENT, I should like to say that in accordance with the second paragraph of rule 60 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council I shall immediately request the Secretary-General to transmit to the General Assembly the text of the resolution just adopted, together with the verbatim record of this meeting. At the same time I shall draw attention to the Council's decision to make this recommendation subject to the expiration of the time-limit set forth in the fourth paragraph of rule 60.

Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:

- (a) Letter dated 24 November 1971 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10396);
- (b) Fourth report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) (S/10229 and Add.1 and 2);\*
- (c) Interim report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) (S/10408)

68. The PRESIDENT: I wish to draw attention to the fact that an interim report of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) was submitted to the Council on 3 December 1971 in document S/10408 and has been included in the agenda for this meeting.

69. In accordance with the decision taken previously by the Council I invite the representatives of Saudi Arabia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Kenya, Zambia and Ghana to participate without the right to vote in the discussion of the present item.

70. In view of the limited number of seats available at the Council table, I invite the representatives to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber on the understanding they will be invited to the Council table whenever called upon to speak.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. J. M. Baroody (Saudi Arabia), Mr. S. A. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. J. Odera-Jowi (Kenya), Mr. V. Mwaanga (Zambia) and Mr. R. Akwei (Ghana) took the places reserved for them in the Council chamber.*

71. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): I have no statement to make to the Council today, but I should like to inquire, in order that progress can be made on this question of Southern Rhodesia, whether the delegation of the United Kingdom is in a position to provide answers to the many questions that were raised at the last two meetings of the Council on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

72. I should also like to inquire whether other members of the Council now feel in a position to let the Council have the benefit of their views so that the Council can proceed to formulate a draft resolution necessary to deal with the question.

73. Mr. CHEN (China) (*translated from Chinese*): I should like to make a statement on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

74. The essence of the question of Southern Rhodesia is the Zimbabwe people's struggle against foreign colonialist rule and for national independence. On 11 November 1965 the colonialist authorities of Southern Rhodesia, with the connivance and the support of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and in defiance of the firm opposition of

\* Subsequently issued as *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Special Supplement Nos. 2 and 2A.*

the people of Zimbabwe and the rest of Africa, flagrantly declared the so-called independence of Southern Rhodesia.

75. Since then, the colonialist authorities of Southern Rhodesia have become even more unbridled in enforcing their fascist rule of the South African type over the people of Zimbabwe and have intensified their suppression of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for national independence. Furthermore, the colonialist authorities of Southern Rhodesia have stepped up their military, political and economic collusion with South African and Portuguese colonialists in carrying out threats and plotting various schemes of subversion and aggression against African countries, thus posing a grave menace to the independent African States and peoples.

76. The British Government should be held responsible for the question of Southern Rhodesia. The British Government has all along obstinately rejected the demand of the Zimbabwe people for independence on the racist pretext that the people of Zimbabwe have not undergone the "training for self-government". Furthermore, the British Government has collaborated with the Ian Smith colonialist authorities in contriving behind the backs of the people of Zimbabwe and the rest of Africa a so-called proposal for the settlement of the question of Southern Rhodesia, which they attempt to impose on the people of Zimbabwe. Flaunting the signboard of "majority rule by the Africans", this proposal is in fact a big fraud.

77. As a result of the prolonged brutal rule and plunder by the foreign colonialists, the people of Zimbabwe are poor and backward economically. The experience of Afro-Asian countries proves that without political independence it is impossible to achieve independence in the economic field. As long as colonialist rule and plunder exist, development of the national economy is impossible.

78. In these circumstances, how many people in Zimbabwe can possibly meet the economic and educational qualifications as stipulated in the "proposal"? How can one expect the people of Zimbabwe, who are being oppressed and plundered, to reach the same level as the colonialists in the economic field? This is indeed a mockery of common sense. Therefore the "majority rule by the Africans" referred to in the proposal is but a mirage which can never be realized. Small wonder that Ian Smith should say with certainty after the publication of this proposal that "no European need harbour any anxiety about the security of his future in Rhodesia".

79. Then what, after all, is the proposal aimed at? After the Southern Rhodesian colonialist authorities have revised the Constitution in accordance with this proposal, which cannot possibly be realized, Britain will "confer independence on Rhodesia as a republic" and "will also terminate its economic and other sanctions". That is the essence of the question. In other words, it is aimed at legalizing the fascist and racist rule over the Zimbabwe people by the Ian Smith colonialists, and openly cancelling the "sanctions" against the colonialist authorities of Southern Rhodesia by the British, the United States and other colonialists, old and new. In this way Southern Rhodesia will be made into another South Africa—a hatchetman

assisting the colonialists and neo-colonialists in carrying out aggression, suppression and plunder against the independent African countries and peoples. The only solution to the question of Southern Rhodesia is the realization of the national independence of the Zimbabwe people.

80. The Chinese Government and people totally reject this fraud devised by the British Government and the colonialist authorities of Southern Rhodesia, and firmly support the Zimbabwe people and other African countries and peoples in their just struggle against the colonialist rule in Southern Rhodesia and for national independence. The Zimbabwe people is a great and staunch people. Its struggle against colonialist rule will surely win the support of all the countries and peoples in the world that love peace and uphold justice.

81. We are deeply convinced that the Zimbabwe people, strengthening their national unity and persevering in a protracted struggle, will surely overthrow the colonialists rule and win national independence and freedom.

82. The PRESIDENT: After the statement I shall now make as the representative of Sierra Leone, the representative of the United Kingdom may wish to answer some or all of the questions raised by the representative of Somalia on the item we are now discussing.

83. Speaking now as the representative of SIERRA LEONE, I should like to say a few words on behalf of my delegation.

84. My delegation listened very attentively to the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom on 25 November [1602nd meeting] in which he outlined the proposals for a settlement<sup>1</sup> reached between Sir Alec Douglas-Home and the rebel leader Mr. Ian Smith. The proposals constitute an attempt by the British Government to break the deadlock which has existed for six years, but leave very much to be desired and also leave unanswered a number of vital questions which have been at the centre of the Rhodesian problem.

85. When the Smith régime unilaterally declared Rhodesia independent on 11 November 1965, the Security Council was convened the following day on the request of the then Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom. Among the points made by the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, Mr. Michael Stewart, were the following:

"A group of persons who were until recently the Government of Southern Rhodesia have purported to make a declaration that Southern Rhodesia is independent of Britain. The British Government regards this as illegal and invalid since only the British Parliament has the right and authority to accord independence to Southern Rhodesia. This illegal act has been performed in the hope and with the intention of establishing a form of Government which would ensure that power to control the future of Southern Rhodesia remains in the hands of

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10405.

a white minority comprising only one twentieth of the population."<sup>2</sup>

The Secretary of State went on to say,

"Now that this illegal declaration has been made, the only lawful Government of Southern Rhodesia is the Government of the United Kingdom. That Government, however, has no physical presence in Rhodesia, and in Southern Rhodesia there is therefore now no rule of law. It is, clearly and unmistakably, a British responsibility to re-establish the rule of law in Southern Rhodesia so that in due time that country may enjoy not the mere name of independence but the full substance of freedom for all its peoples."<sup>3</sup>

86. When, in 1969, the Smith régime held a so-called referendum and adopted the Whaley Constitution, which sealed the fate of the 5 million blacks in the country, and then proclaimed itself a republic in March 1970, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Commonwealth and Foreign Affairs, who again was Mr. Michael Stewart, put it succinctly in a speech in the House of Commons when he said, "Rhodesia's self-declared republican status is as illegal as its unilateral declaration of independence in 1965."

87. Yet in spite of these declarations we see in the proposals of the British Government, as outlined by Sir Colin Crowe on Thursday, 25 November, that in the negotiations culminating in the proposed constitutional arrangements the illegal and iniquitous Constitution of 1969, which the British themselves have denounced, formed the basis for discussion. By revolving the discussions around the 1969 Constitution and declaring that the Constitution of Rhodesia will be that adopted in Rhodesia in 1969 as modified by the present arrangements, the British Government clearly gave recognition to the present illegal constitutional state of affairs in Rhodesia.

88. My delegation unreservedly submits that any negotiation with the Smith régime should have taken as its base the 1961 Constitution, which is the only legal Constitution in Rhodesia and which offered greater scope for progress compared with that of 1969.

89. In his frank and lucid presentation of the proposals some two weeks ago, Sir Colin Crowe admitted that the proposed constitutional arrangements "are rather complex, and I must ask you to follow me in an exercise in arithmetic" [1602nd meeting, para. 26]. We have always known the United Kingdom, the mother of Parliaments, which has played a key role in the preparation of the Constitutions of a large number of Member States of the United Nations, to be always in favour of simple straightforward constitutional documents. But in this instance it has chosen to hand out a rather complex document. Why has it done so? Is it the result of connivance with the Smith régime? One may well ask.

90. My delegation would at this point attempt an analysis of the United Kingdom White Paper on Southern Rhodesia.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Twentieth Year*, 1257th meeting, para. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 19.

The main points of the proposal may be summarized as follows.

91. First, a complicated new voting system will be set up to allow eventual parity between European and African members in the Rhodesian House of Assembly. At the point of parity each of the two main races will have 50 seats.

92. Secondly, once parity has been achieved provision is made for the creation of 10 additional seats to be elected on a common roll of European voters and qualified African voters. If adopted, it is argued, this would open the way for a potential and ultimate majority of 10 African seats.

93. Thirdly, it provides for a declaration of rights which would be justiciable.

94. Fourthly, a commission is to be set up to look into racial discrimination. It will have an advisory role, and the Land Tenure Act will remain unchanged.

95. Finally, the United Kingdom will provide a £50-million aid programme to be spread over a period of 10 years "to be matched appropriately by sums provided by Rhodesia" and to be used for African educational and economic advance.

96. Under the existing Rhodesian Constitution, which according to the United Kingdom representative, will now be amended, provision is made for parity between Europeans and Africans on the basis of African contributions to income tax. Since the Africans were estimated to contribute only 1 per cent, it was calculated that on that basis parity could not be achieved for 100 years. Majority rule was completely ruled out because it was impossible to achieve. In the existing House of Assembly, there are 50 European and 16 African members. Of the 16 Africans, 8 are directly elected and the other 8 are indirectly elected by electoral colleges consisting of chiefs, headmen and councillors.

97. The new proposals remove the income-tax qualification and substitute one based on a permutation of property, income and educational qualifications. A new roll—the "higher African roll"—is to be added to the already existing European and African rolls. It will permit Africans with the same property, income or educational qualifications as Europeans to be registered. As the number of Africans registered in this roll increases, additional African seats will be created on the basis of two seats for every registered 6 per cent of the European roll in the House of Assembly, up to 50 seats. At the point of parity, that is, 50 African seats to 50 European seats, all the registered Africans are to decide by referendum whether their 24 indirectly elected representatives should be replaced by directly elected representatives.

98. At the parity stage also, a Government-appointed commission will ascertain whether the next stage—that is, African advance beyond parity—is acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. When this is ascertained, then a common roll for Africans and Europeans, based on the same income, educational and property qualifications, will be created to elect 10 additional members.

99. It is quite conceivable that unless there takes place a remarkable and immediate economic and educational advancement among the Africans, very few will qualify to vote for the common roll seats that are supposed to provide them with the ultimate political majority to govern the country. We have no doubt of Britain's intention to make these 10 seats automatic, but are we certain that Ian Smith and his régime would consider them in the same manner? Already we are told that Mr. Smith has said in Salisbury that when parity is attained the commission appointed by the Rhodesian Government would have to ascertain whether the creation of the post-parity common roll would be acceptable to the people as a whole "or whether some alternative arrangement such as, for example, the retention of the parity concept, would be preferable". Does this not clearly indicate that Mr. Smith does not see the agreement as guaranteeing unimpeded progress to majority rule? It would seem so to my delegation.

100. As can be seen from the foregoing, the arrangements proposed for increasing African representation in the House of Assembly set no fixed date as to when parity is to be achieved. It leaves the suggestion that it will be a very long time from now and gives no clear indication that the Africans will be able to go on even then to obtain a parliamentary majority. In the view of my delegation, the constitutional arrangements proposed under the first principle do not correspond to the "principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule". As was stated earlier, the maximum majority the Africans will ever be able to win is 60 seats over 50 European seats, and at an unspecified time in the future.

101. Nor are we certain, once independence has been conceded to the white-settler Government, that the necessity to reduce racial discrimination, and particularly to amend the Land Tenure Act, will be deemed necessary since it has been relegated to a Rhodesian commission whose recommendations will be accepted only, to quote Mr. Smith, "subject to considerations that any Government would be obliged to regard as of an overriding character". For purposes of recapitulation, I should point out that the Land Tenure Act divides Rhodesia 50-50 between 250,000 whites and more than 5 million blacks and provides a legal basis for many acts of racial discrimination, such as the current attempt by the Smith régime to remove some 3,000 long-established African families from mission lands in the so-called white areas.

102. According to the Home-Smith agreement, until the commission, composed of two Europeans and one African, reports on the matter, no further evictions of Africans from "white" lands, under the *apartheid*-style Land Tenure Act, we are told, will take place. But is this good enough? My delegation does not think so. Abundant evidence exists to show that the Smith régime has evicted a large number of Africans from their God-given land in the past and has embarked on a policy of carving out Bantustans on the South African pattern.

103. The proposals, regrettably, make no mention of a reversal of the harm that has already been done, and the agreement reached between the British Foreign Minister and the Rhodesian rebel leader on this all-important

question of racial discrimination is merely a declaration of intention. Sir Colin Crowe asserted that the "Rhodesian authorities have intimated their firm intention within the spirit of the proposals to make progress towards ending racial discrimination," [*ibid.*, para. 45]. In our view, any settlement in this connexion should include an immediate end to racial discrimination. It is necessary for an agreement to be reached with regard to the immediate repeal of the Land Tenure Act as part of any just settlement.

104. It is extremely difficult for my delegation not to harbour misgivings over the agreement in general when we are made to understand that the entire negotiations were carried out over the heads of the African leaders. It is true that Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the leader of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), was whisked from detention in a remote area to hold a one hour and ten minute discussion with Sir Alec. But Mr. Nkomo was not allowed to communicate with members of his party. Mr. Sithole, formerly leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), was prevented from meeting the British Foreign Minister on the ground that he was serving a prison term. According to the Rhodesian authorities, there were 93 detainees and 2 restrictees. Only 31 of these will be released as soon as arrangements are completed. What will happen to the rest? Are they to be left to rot in detention because they oppose the Smith régime's illegal acts?

105. One wonders whether it is not the normal practice to release political prisoners and detainees in order to enable free participation of all shades of public opinion at an opinion sounding of this magnitude where the future of millions of persons are in the balance. Both the United Kingdom Government and the illegal régime of Ian Smith seem to think otherwise.

106. I now come to the question of guarantees against retrogressive amendment of the Constitution. The United Kingdom White Paper made mention of the institution of a blocking mechanism which will provide that any proposed amendments to the specially entrenched provisions of the Constitution should have the approval of two thirds of the members of both the Senate and the House of Assembly voting separately, and also of a simple majority of each race in the House of Assembly. In the view of my delegation, the agreement looks rather thin in this connexion. Who will guarantee these so-called guarantees? In the absence of any effective external guarantee, it is the fear of my delegation that once Rhodesia is granted independence legally and becomes a sovereign State, it can retrogressively amend the Constitution. Any attempts by the United Kingdom, or for that matter any other Government, to question its authority to do so would be tantamount to interference in its internal affairs. This constitutes a legitimate ground for fear for the black people of Southern Rhodesia and for black Africans as a whole.

107. The British representative has stated categorically that his Government will not change its policy with regard to the present Rhodesian régime until the opinion of the people of Rhodesia as a whole has been consulted and the proposed Constitution accepted by them. My delegation understands this to mean that there will be no change in their policy with regard to the mandatory sanctions

instituted against Southern Rhodesia by resolution 253 (1968) of May 1968.

108. The fourth report of the sanctions Committee [S/10229 and Add.1 and 2] brought to light certain violations of the sanctions committed by three countries with the knowledge and approval of their respective Governments. I have in mind the importation of graphite to the Federal Republic of Germany and of meat to Switzerland, and the exportation of wheat from Australia, notwithstanding the Council's resolution preventing such transactions.

109. Only last month we learned that the United States Congress enacted a law, which has now obtained Presidential approval, to end the embargo on purchases of Rhodesian chrome. Although the law is designed to come into effect on and after the end of January next year, the United States Congressional action, which at this stage constitutes an intent, may well become the most important single action by a permanent member of the Security Council towards the erosion of the sanctions. As usual, the United States justification for its decision rests on the dubious arguments that others have been violating the sanctions.

110. Another disappointing aspect of the proposals lies in the selection of Lord Pearce to head the United Kingdom Government "test of acceptability" Commission. It is well known that Lord Pearce was one of the five law lords sitting on the Privy Council when the one and only constitutional case concerning Rhodesia since the unilateral declaration of independence came before it. The case concerned the legality of the Smith régime's power of detention. Although the other four judges ruled that the detention was illegal, Lord Pearce nevertheless differed and proffered a dissenting opinion. In the considered opinion of my delegation, the record of this appointed Royal Commissioner has so far evinced no sympathetic understanding of the cause of the black Rhodesians. What guarantee do we now have that his lack of understanding will alter? None whatever.

111. The document presented last Thursday by the United Kingdom representative falls far short of Cecil Rhodes' motto: "Equal rights for every civilized man south of the Zambezi". Rhodes' definition of a civilized man as one "whether white or black, who has sufficient education to write his name, has some property or work, in fact is not a loafer", if adhered to, is sufficient to qualify the Africans for immediate majority rule. How far from this concept of civilization the Smith régime has veered can be clearly seen in the various illegal acts undertaken over the past 30 years to deprive the Africans of their God-given rights and to discourage them systematically from the pursuit of higher education.

112. Black Rhodesians, civilized or otherwise, will have to wait for a very long time without even a sniff of Cecil Rhodes' equal rights. No one can deny that they have shown the patience of Job and have reposed an often touching faith in Britain's desire to see fair play in their country. These hopes will now, no doubt, be dashed to the ground.

113. My delegation holds the position that the Africans of Southern Rhodesia constitute the overwhelming majority of the Rhodesian population as a whole, and that they are therefore the people primarily and most seriously affected by the British pronouncement and the British proposals. At this stage we are anxious—and rightly so—to know how they, our brothers and sisters of that land, feel on this all-important and very crucial matter.

114. The United Kingdom representative has said that a test of the acceptability of the proposals will be carried out by a Royal Commission. Like the representative of Somalia, my delegation is also anxious to know whether serious efforts will be made to educate the African masses as to the ramifications of the proposals. We would have expected the composition of such a commission to include at least some members of Commonwealth countries and representatives of the United Nations as well, in view of the very active role this Organization has played in the entire Southern Rhodesia problem in particular.

115. We would no doubt have liked to know what the African leaders think of the proposals and what their collective reaction is towards them. My delegation would like to have it placed on record that these proposals for a settlement were negotiated between Sir Alec Douglas-Home, on behalf of the British Government, and Ian Smith, on behalf of the rebel régime in Salisbury representing a total of less than 250,000 whites. No African nationalist leader, representing the more than 5 million blacks, was allowed to participate in the negotiations. The Africans are not to be made a pawn in the game of ideological posturing and power politics.

116. The least the United Kingdom could now do is to act immediately on the Soviet proposal and bring both Mr. Joshua Nkomo and Mr. Ndabaningi Sithole to present their views to the Council here in New York.

117. My delegation reserves the right to intervene at a later stage of the debate.

118. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I should like to point out that the Security Council correctly took a well-founded decision to invite the leaders of the ZAPU and ZANU parties, Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole, to attend a meeting of the Security Council in order that the Council could hear them and receive from them information about the true situation in Southern Rhodesia and about their assessment of the Home-Smith agreement.

119. In this connexion, we should like to ask you, Mr. President, when you plan to hold a Council meeting with the participation of Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole, and also to ask the representative of the administering Power, the representative of the United Kingdom, to inform us of the current situation with regard to the invitation to Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole.

120. We all noticed during the statement by the representative of Somalia, Ambassador Farah, that he correctly pointed out that we should all state our views and consider the adoption of some form of resolution. We support this

remark by Ambassador Farah, but we can, of course, only take a decision if we hear the representatives of the Zimbabwe people. At the 1605th meeting we were in essence refused an opportunity to study the documents and memoranda received by Home from the leaders of the African parties under the pretext that they could not be published. In those circumstances we cannot know and shall never know the opinion of the representatives of the Zimbabwe people. What kind of decision can we then take?

121. In this connexion, the Soviet delegation insists that the voice of the Zimbabwe people should be heard, that its point of view should be made known both through oral statements by the representatives of the two progressive parties and in the form of the documents whose existence is known to us and which should be brought to the notice of the members of the Security Council. Only in those conditions of course could the Security Council make an informed and valid judgement on this matter.

122. The PRESIDENT: I should state that on 2 December 1971 I addressed a letter to the representative of the United Kingdom referring to the decision taken by members of the Council.

123. I am prepared to call on the representative of the United Kingdom if he has something to say about this.

124. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): I am afraid I have not very much to say, Mr. President.

125. At our meeting on 2 December, it may be recalled, I gave an answer to the representative of Somalia on this question. At that meeting, I gave the answers to a number of questions which had been asked and also said that I did not wish to interrupt the expression of views by members by continually intervening—and, of course, a number of the questions still required answers from my Government; but some of the questions asked are answered in fact in the text of the proposals. At the moment, therefore, I have not a further intervention to make.

126. As far as the question of invitations to Mr. Nkomo and Reverend Sithole is concerned, Mr. President, I have indeed referred your letter to my Government and I await its instructions. But, of course, you will realize that—as you will recall I explained in our consultations—we are not in a position to require that the Rhodesian authorities should act on this. I shall let you have the reply of my Government just as soon as it comes in.

127. As far as the question of the memoranda is concerned, equally I explained in my intervention last time the reasons why it was not possible to make those memoranda available.

128. The PRESIDENT: As soon as the reply referred to by the representative of the United Kingdom is received, a meeting will be convened.

129. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): When the representative of the United Kingdom addressed himself to the question of the circulation of statements which had been handed to Sir Alec Douglas-Home when he was in Rhodesia, and also to the record of interviews he held with particular African

leaders, he did say that because they had been handed to the British Foreign Minister in confidence they could not be disclosed for that reason. However, is it not possible for those persons who were interviewed by Sir Alec Douglas-Home to be contacted by the administering Power and asked whether they would have any objection to their memoranda or the record of their interviews being made public so they could then be presented to this Council?

130. Secondly, when France, in 1958, allowed its Territories to choose whether or not they wished to have independence within the framework of the French community and they were given the right to express themselves they were told what benefits they would get if they said "yes", and they were told exactly where they would stand if they said "no". Is not such a choice necessary also for the people of Southern Rhodesia? Should they not be told at this stage what to expect? We know, for example, that if they say "yes" what they would get is what is contained in the White Paper published by the United Kingdom. But if they say "no", they are left in complete darkness. Surely on this very elementary point one would have thought that the British Government, in all fairness to the people of Rhodesia, would make its position quite clear.

131. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation finds the answer/given by the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom completely unsatisfactory. We are, of course, prepared to wait until the representative of the United Kingdom has received instructions in answer to the inquiry he made concerning the decision of the Security Council about the invitation to Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole. But, on the other hand, it is perfectly clear, as the representative of Somalia said, that we cannot consider the question on the agenda if we do not hear the representatives of the Zimbabwe people. We are all well aware of the position of the Zimbabwe people in Southern Rhodesia and we wish to know their opinion. We are told that the leaders of the most powerful progressive parties are in prison and that the administering Power cannot apparently exert influence on the Rhodesian authorities to secure their release. And, at the same time, the administering Power, which has at its disposal documents received from those leaders, claims that those documents are confidential and that it cannot show them to us. This gives the impression that the administering Power is quite simply deliberately unwilling to acquaint the Security Council with the opinions of the representatives of the largest parties of the Zimbabwe national liberation movement.

132. The Soviet delegation, therefore, once more repeats its position, which is that the Security Council, when discussing this item, must of necessity hear the opinion of the Zimbabwe people.

133. The PRESIDENT: As a result of consultations with the Members of the Council, it appears to me that there is a general willingness to meet again tomorrow afternoon in order to discuss the matter referred to by the representatives of four Arab States in their letter dated 3 December [S/10409].

134. Since there is no objection, we shall meet again then.

*The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.*

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