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THIRTY-FIRST YEAR

DEC 20 1984

1907<sup>th</sup> MEETING: 6 APRIL 1976

UN/1907/1976

NEW YORK

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#### NOTE

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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.

## 1907th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 6 April 1976, at 3.30 p.m.

*President:* Mr. HUANG Hua (China).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Benin, China, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1907)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:  
Special report of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia on the expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia (S/11913).

*The meeting was called to order at 4.10 p.m.*

### Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): It is my first duty to discharge the pleasant obligation of expression on behalf of all the members of the Security Council the sincere appreciation we all feel for the services rendered to the Council by the President for March, Ambassador Thomas S. Boya of Benin, and for the able assistance of his colleagues on the delegation of Benin. I ask the representative of Benin, Mr. Paqui, to be so kind as to inform Ambassador Boya of the sentiments expressed here today.

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:  
Special report of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia on the expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia (S/11913)

2. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The Council has just included in the agenda the special report of the Committee established in pursuance of its resolution 253 (1968) on the expansion of sanctions

against Southern Rhodesia [S/11913]. In paragraph 13 of that report, the Committee has forwarded certain recommendations to the Council which have been the subject of intensive consultations. Members of the Council have before them a draft resolution [S/12037] which has emerged from those consultations. This draft resolution has been sponsored and submitted by all 15 members of the Council.

3. In accordance with the arrangements worked out in the course of our consultations, I propose now to put the draft resolution to the vote, after which delegations will be free to make whatever statements they wish.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.<sup>1</sup>*

4. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to make statements following the adoption of the resolution.

5. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, at the very outset of this first meeting of the Council in April, I should like to express to you, Mr. President, the warm congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the high office of President. Your assumption of that office this month, when the first issue to be discussed is the method of intensifying the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe, is a coincidence which we warmly welcome. You, Sir, represent a country, the great People's Republic of China, which has always been in the forefront in solidly supporting the liberation struggle in Africa. Your own personal commitment to the struggle for freedom and human dignity, your great experience in the field of international diplomacy and your energetic contribution to the work of the Council are all factors which ensure a dynamic leadership for this Council. You can be assured of the full and whole-hearted co-operation of the Tanzanian delegation as you carry out your important responsibilities.

6. Allow me also to convey our highest appreciation to our colleague and brother, Ambassador Boya, the representative of the sister Republic of Benin, who served as President of the Council last month with such distinction. Ambassador Boya presided over the Council when it was seized of very serious issues involving principles which are very dear to us. His

diplomatic skill, his patience and exemplary leadership facilitated the work of the Council in tackling what are commonly admitted as important and, in some cases, controversial issues.

7. The resolution that the Council has just adopted is a logical follow-up of a special report from the sanctions Committee of the Council, a Committee over which I had the privilege of presiding in the course of last year. I believe the Committee's report reflects the seriousness with which the Committee did its work. Hampered by the different political attitudes in the Council, the Committee nevertheless managed to come to a unanimous recommendation on the issue of expanding sanctions. Although that recommendation does not go far enough, my delegation nevertheless believes that it is a step in the right direction and an important one too. Tanzania has repeatedly stated that sanctions cannot be effective unless they are comprehensive and are effectively supervised and fully implemented by the whole international community. We are still very far from achieving that goal. Resolution 253 (1968) and other resolutions are not yet comprehensive. The provisions of Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations have not been exhausted. The largest loophole for sanction-breaking still exists in the Republic of South Africa. Other States still present excuses, as the annual report of the sanctions Committee shows,<sup>2</sup> as reasons for their failure effectively to implement the letter and spirit of the sanctions resolutions. We believe that these sanctions cannot be as effective as we want them to be as long as these loopholes and excuses exist. We believe that sanctions will have to be extended to cover South Africa as long as the régime there continues to support the rebel régime in Zimbabwe and as long as it continues to provide facilities to the régime in Rhodesia enabling it to evade sanctions. We also believe that the full force of the provisions of Article 41 of the Charter should be applied.

8. It is important to stress once again that all States should vigorously enforce the sanctions already decided upon by the Council. The report of the sanctions Committee clearly points out that in this context there is a lot to be desired. I do not intend to take the time of the representatives here to enumerate the various violations of sanctions. I should, however, like specifically to appeal to the Government of the United States to halt the importation of chrome from Rhodesia, which takes place in flagrant contravention of the sanctions resolution. That resolution constitutes a treaty obligation which all Members undertook to perform. In so failing to carry out that obligation, the United States only gives political encouragement to the illegal minority régime in Rhodesia. In this respect, my delegation has noted with satisfaction that the United States delegation has not only voted for the current resolution, but in fact co-sponsored it. It would, therefore, only be logical that this demonstration of opposition to the Smith régime, which we welcome, be followed up by the scrupulous observance

of decisions for the adoption of which the United States itself is also responsible.

9. The appeal I have made reflects the concern of the international community regarding the grave situation in Zimbabwe. It reflects the wish of the international community that the problem of Zimbabwe be solved. It was with this objective in mind, namely, the termination of minority rule in Rhodesia, that the Commonwealth countries meeting at Kingston last year at the level of heads of Government agreed to recommend the expansion of the scope of sanctions. That was an important agreement that took into account the views previously expressed on that matter. And the General Assembly, as well as its subsidiary body, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, has repeatedly called for the expansion of sanctions. The most recent recommendations were made by that Committee in its meeting at Lisbon last year and endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 3397 (XXX), in which the Assembly called on the Council to widen sanctions to include all measures envisaged in Article 41 of the Charter. That is a call which my delegation fully endorses.

10. The international community must send a clear message to the illegal régime in Salisbury to the effect that pressure will continue to be exerted until such time as majority rule is achieved. My delegation will also continue to support all proposals which have the effect of tightening sanctions to the full extent. It is in that context that I should like to take this opportunity here specifically to associate my delegation with the Swedish proposal, as it appears in paragraph 7 of the special report, that all aircraft of whatever nationality be denied landing rights if they also land in Rhodesia.

11. As I have indicated, the resolution falls far short of the objectives and the goal which we should be striving to reach. But, as I said, it is a step in the right direction. That is why my delegation was happy to be associated with its drafting. That is why also my delegation was a sponsor of the draft resolution just adopted. It continues to be the hope of the Tanzania delegation that the sanctions Committee will in the course of this year explore other possibilities for expanding sanctions so that we may eventually get not only comprehensive mandatory sanctions but also sanctions which are effectively supervised and fully implemented, so that they may achieve the results we want. In this connexion, I wish to salute the People's Republic of Mozambique for the courageous decision which it took recently and to point to it as a shining example for the rest of the international community.

12. The importance of the decision of Mozambique is that it sends a message to Ian Smith that the illegal régime will not find peace so long as it continues

to violate the wishes of the majority in Zimbabwe. That should be the message of the international community as a whole. The resolution unanimously adopted today is very significant in that context. It is an unprecedented demonstration of total solidarity on the part of the international community, for it is, to my knowledge, the first time that the Security Council has adopted a draft resolution sponsored by all 15 members. The international community has therefore once again registered its intention resolutely to oppose the illegal régime in Rhodesia and to support majority rule there. It is our earnest hope that this action will be followed by scrupulous implementation by all States of the letter and spirit of the sanctions resolutions. Only by such action can the international community help to achieve the desired objective in Zimbabwe, namely, majority rule, with a minimum of sacrifices.

13. It must be stressed that the struggle in Zimbabwe continues with the maximum determination of the African people there under the leadership of the African National Council. Faced with the intransigence and obduracy of the desperate racist authorities in Salisbury, the freedom fighters have now resorted to the intensification of the armed struggle to secure their rights and regain their freedom and human dignity. This struggle will be won by the Zimbabweans. Time has run out for the illegal minority régime in Rhodesia. The decision which the Council has adopted today, though limited in scope, is an important contribution to the cause of freedom and justice for all Zimbabweans. It is a significant reaffirmation, at this crucial moment, of the unity of purpose of the international community to see justice triumph in Zimbabwe.

14. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): Mr. President, it gives my delegation great pleasure to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for April. The people and the Government of my country greatly value and cherish the bonds of friendship and mutual co-operation which exist between our two countries. My delegation assures you of our support in the discharge of the onerous responsibility which you have assumed and is confident that the Council will benefit greatly from your wise and dedicated guidance. I should like to express my delegation's deepest appreciation to your predecessor, the representative of Benin. He presided over our deliberations during an exceptionally difficult period. The successful outcome of the Council meetings during March owes much to his patient and tactful handling of the proceedings.

15. The Council's Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) did my delegation the great honour yesterday of electing me its Chairman for the current year. In entrusting me with this task the members of the Committee have shown me a mark of their confidence, which I greatly appreciate. In asking me to succeed Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, they have placed upon me a

responsibility of which I am only too conscious. Ambassador Salim's contribution to the work of the sanctions Committee and as chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization stands in need neither of introduction nor of commendation. I do not, however, wish to miss this opportunity to thank him once again for his valuable contribution to the work of the sanctions Committee and to say that the Committee will continue to look to him for guidance and assistance.

16. It gives my delegation great satisfaction to find that all the members of the Council view the question of Southern Rhodesia in the same light. The unanimous sponsorship and adoption a short while ago of the draft resolution on the extension of sanctions is a proof of the world's common and increasing concern at the situation which prevails there. The unanimity with which the draft was sponsored and adopted is a fact of great significance which, we hope, will not be lost on Mr. Ian Smith.

17. The situation in southern Africa is evolving rapidly. The day is indeed not far off when the majority people of Zimbabwe will regain their inalienable national rights. Whether this will happen through peaceful means or violence is material to developments elsewhere in Africa. The question is still open. Many wise and far-sighted leaders of Africa have striven and are still striving to seek a positive answer to this question so that the fundamental rights of the people of Zimbabwe can be peacefully recognized and restored.

18. Unfortunately, the short-sighted rulers in Salisbury seem oblivious to the facts of history and even to events which have taken place at their door step. Their persistence in a policy which will lead to their eventual downfall does not encourage hope for the future.

19. Yet if recourse to force is to be avoided in Zimbabwe, as in the rest of southern Africa, then sanctions against Southern Rhodesia must be made more effective. They must be reinforced in impact and extended in scope so as to become a decisive factor. Moves to by-pass sanctions encourage the minority régime in Salisbury, prejudice attempts at negotiations and make more certain a violent outcome.

20. The fact is that United Nations sanctions have not succeeded in convincing the minority régime in Salisbury of the necessity to search seriously for a peaceful solution. The negotiations held so far by Mr. Ian Smith with the representatives of the Zimbabwe people have proved to be an exercise in futility and prevarication. This is not for lack of vigilance on the part of the sanctions Committee, whose task and responsibilities will increase and become more extensive as the situation develops. Security Council action of this kind can become really effective only when it is universal. I should like, in this context, to endorse the appeal addressed to the United States by the previous speaker, the representative of the

United Republic of Tanzania. We must try to close all loopholes which enable the illegal régime in Salisbury to survive.

21. Above all, the Council must make the Government of South Africa aware of its own role and responsibility. My country will continue to co-operate in faithfully enforcing the United Nations sanctions. We express the hope that all other Members of the Organization will be able to join soon in making the system of sanctions weigh effectively on Southern Rhodesia. The people of Pakistan are convinced that the system of oppression in Zimbabwe and elsewhere is on the retreat despite its apparent obstinacy before the struggle of the people for freedom and in face of the United will of the international community. Prime Minister Bhutto stated at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly that "injustice imposed on the weak by the strong... breeds conflict and is the greatest impediment to peace".<sup>3</sup> My country is determined to contribute in its own small way towards the removal of injustice and causes of conflict.

22. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): Here, I should like to express congratulations to Ambassador Akhund upon his election to the chairmanship of the sanctions Committee. I also wish to express our appreciation to Ambassador Salim for his efforts and contributions during his term of chairmanship of the Committee.

23. Mr. THOMAS (United Kingdom): Mr. President, although the witching hour of midnight had just passed when we were concluding our debate on Angola last week, and you, Sir, were like Cinderella destined to assume your proper station when that hour struck, this is the first occasion on which my delegation has had the opportunity to congratulate you on assuming the presidency of the Council, and we do so with confidence in your wisdom and in your experience. We also trust, notwithstanding that confidence, that the Council may be just a little less active in April than it was in March.

24. At the same time it would be quite wrong not to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the representative of Benin, for the patience, good humour and skill with which he guided the Council through what would, but for the conduct of the President, have been a much more difficult month.

25. I also take this opportunity to add the warm congratulations of my own delegation to Ambassador Boyd of Panama upon his appointment as Minister for External Relations.

26. The sanctions Committee has over the past few months most carefully been considering the question of the extension of sanctions against Rhodesia. As its special report makes clear, the Committee considered a wide range of possible extensions, and not all the suggestions put forward were acceptable to all delega-

tions. But I am glad to say that the specific proposals in the resolution which the Council has just adopted are ones on which all Council members are agreed, and on the merit of these proposals there can be no dispute.

27. From my delegation's point of view, the subject of today's debate is quite straightforward. We are very glad that these recommendations, unanimously put forward by the sanctions Committee, have now been unanimously adopted by the Council. Since the issue before us is specific and technical, my delegation does not regard this as the appropriate occasion for a lengthy debate on the political developments in the area.

28. The Council is well aware of the developments of great significance taking place now in southern Africa. It recently voted unanimously, in resolution 386 (1976), to assist Mozambique in consequence of the decision by that country to apply existing sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Mozambique's decision was warmly welcomed by my delegation, since in our view it was bound to intensify the pressures on the illegal régime of Mr. Ian Smith.

29. The then British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary recently made public a number of conditions which would enable the United Kingdom to play a specific role in the supervision of a peaceful settlement. These conditions were that Mr. Smith should accept the principle of majority rule; that he should agree to elections for majority rule within a period of 18 months to two years; that he should agree that there would be no independence before majority rule; that the negotiations must not be long drawn out; and that there would be assurances that the transition to majority rule and to an independent Rhodesia would not be thwarted and would be orderly. Mr. Smith's first reaction to these proposals has, I am afraid to say, been negative, but this does not come as any particular surprise to my Government, since we had doubts about Mr. Smith's willingness to be convinced of the need for an urgent settlement. However, we hope that when Mr. Smith and his colleagues reflect on the consequences of rejecting Mr. Callaghan's proposals, they will come to see that those proposals provide the only alternative to a much more destructive solution. In the changing political climate of southern Africa, we believe that they offer the only way towards a peaceful settlement.

30. The United Kingdom Government has long held the view that sanctions are, despite their shortcomings, an important weapon in the international community's armoury against the illegal régime in Salisbury. Only last week the nine members of the European Community, in deploring the fact that recent events in Southern Rhodesia had made more difficult the peaceful transfer of power to the majority, confirmed that they would continue strictly to apply the decisions of the Council concerning Rhodesia [S/12039]. We are

convinced that if existing sanctions had been more efficiently and universally applied they would have had a considerably greater direct impact in the economy of Southern Rhodesia, and thus on Mr. Smith and his colleagues, than any possible extensions.

31. None the less, we recognize the importance of bringing within the scope of mandatory sanctions areas of economic activity which have not clearly been covered by previous resolutions of the Council. We share the belief that by adopting such measures now the Council has taken a step of double significance. First, it brings an additional category of commercial transactions, namely, insurance, trade names and franchises, clearly within the category of prohibited activity and should therefore put an end to them. Secondly, it should serve to bring home to the illegal authorities in Salisbury and their supporters that the international community has now decided to increase its pressure by applying an extension of sanctions. My delegation believes that these new measures will provide an additional warning and disabuse those elements in Salisbury who may still naïvely believe that sanctions will slowly be relaxed and will eventually disappear.

32. It is for these reasons that my delegation supported the resolution we have just adopted.

33. Mr. SCRANTON (United States of America): Mr. President, I join with the others in offering you my congratulations upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for April. You are assured of the full co-operation of the United States delegation. I immediately congratulate you on bringing in as the first resolution under your régime one that is unanimous and therefore unique. I also extend our appreciation to Ambassador Boya of Benin, our President during the Council's hyperactive month of March.

34. This is the first Council meeting convened specifically on the question of Rhodesian sanctions since 1973. I welcome this meeting because it provides an opportunity further to strengthen those sanctions. It offers an opportunity as well to reaffirm our strong opposition to the illegal Smith régime in Rhodesia and to express the Council's full support for the urgent transfer of power to the majority of Rhodesia's citizens.

35. For these reasons, the United States was pleased to join other members of the Council in sponsoring and adopting unanimously the resolution before us. We support fully the extension of sanctions against the illegal Government in Rhodesia to include insurance, trade names and franchises.

36. The United States has scrupulously enforced sanctions against Rhodesia, except with regard to the importation of Rhodesian minerals under the so-called Byrd Amendment. The United States reports to the Security Council's sanctions Committee in detail

every shipload of these minerals imported into the United States under this domestic legislation. From its very first days in office the Administration of President Ford has supported the repeal of the Byrd Amendment. This continues to be United States policy. We wish once again to be able to say that the United States is in full compliance with United Nations sanctions. We recognize the need to repeal the Byrd Amendment not only for the intended effect in Southern Rhodesia but also in the interest of upholding our international obligations. In the same spirit, my delegation urges the Governments of those nations whose major violations are less well publicized to take all appropriate steps to tighten their administration of the sanctions imposed by Council resolution 253 (1968).

37. The United States remains firm both in support of United Nations resolutions which have condemned the illegal Smith régime and in our commitment to the implementation of the principles of self-determination and majority rule in Rhodesia. The position of the United States on this matter was stated most recently by President Ford in Chicago when he said, "The United States is totally dedicated to seeing to it that the majority becomes the ruling power in Rhodesia." The President added, "If we believe in the right of the majority to rule in that situation, there has to be a change in the power as far as the Government is concerned".

38. The Council's unanimous adoption of this resolution must constitute a signal to the Smith régime that it cannot expect support from anyone in the international community in pursuing a policy which is morally and politically wrong.

39. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, let me first of all congratulate you on your assumption of the important post of President of the Security Council and also to wish you success in your responsible work. Permit me too to express my gratitude to your predecessor, the representative of Benin, Mr. Boya, for his skilful conduct of the proceedings of the Council last month.

40. The question of the situation in Southern Rhodesia, which is today before the Council, is an extremely clear question. The fact is that for almost 12 years now the African people of Zimbabwe have been oppressed by the white racist minority régime, and the Security Council and the General Assembly have acknowledged the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Both the Council and the Assembly have recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to ensure that they can exercise these rights. Finally, by decisions of the Council, enforcement measures of an international legal character have been adopted against the Smith régime, and the Council has adopted binding sanctions against that régime.

41. Unfortunately, these Council decisions relating to sanctions have not been fully complied with. There are overt violators of these sanctions, for instance, the United States, which, in spite of Council decisions, has continued to carry out massive imports of chrome and other raw materials from Southern Rhodesia. There are also numerous covert violations of sanctions on the part of certain other Western Powers known to members of the Council. First among the violators is South Africa, which is an inveterate and, as recent events have demonstrated, extremely dangerous enemy of all African peoples.

42. Of course, the Council's first task is to put an end to this violation of the sanctions and thus to strengthen the blockade of the racist Southern Rhodesian régime. The Council's second important task is the intensification and expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, and there are very good grounds for this. If so far the Council has not been in a position to do this, the responsibility for that fact lies with those Western Powers which, by abusing the veto, have repeatedly undermined more effective measures. It is well known that the United Kingdom nine times and the United States twice have unjustifiably applied the veto in defence of the Smith régime. This should be particularly recalled in circumstances where certain Powers in words claim the role of friends of Africa, although their deeds testify something different. Accordingly, although we could agree with the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom that the witching hour has passed, it would be wrong to suppose that the witches referred to do not remain among us. Such connivance with regard to the racist régime of Salisbury should be ended.

43. As we know from its special report on the expansion of sanctions which is now before the Council, the sanctions Committee studied in detail the question of applying against Southern Rhodesia all the measures provided for in Article 41 of the Charter; in other words, the complete interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraph, radio and other means of communication with the Smith régime. These proposals were supported in the Committee by 10 delegations. We also know that the General Assembly, in resolution 3397 (XXX), once again stated its conviction that the scope of sanctions against the illegal Smith régime should be expanded to include all the measures provided for pursuant to Article 41 of the Charter.

44. The Soviet delegation believes that these considerations are entirely justified. In the light of these well-known and obvious facts, the Soviet delegation would have preferred to see the Council adopt today a stronger, more comprehensive resolution against the racist Smith régime. However, since the initiators of the resolution, the African countries themselves, view it only as an interim measure, pending the Council's future adoption of more decisive measures against the racist Smith régime, the Soviet delegation supported this resolution. We did so in the belief that

the Council in the very near future should reconsider this question and adopt more far-reaching measures against the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia.

45. We should bear in mind in this connexion that the Council's task is not only the strengthening of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Another and even more important task is to achieve one of the major goals of the United Nations in this regard, that of ridding the people of Zimbabwe of the tyranny of the white racists. This is an important part of the final elimination of the last hotbeds of colonialism and racism in the world.

46. The Soviet Union's position of principle has always been, and remains, one of whole-hearted co-operation with the national liberation movements and colonial peoples struggling for their freedom and national independence. Only recently, at the twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a foreign policy programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of peoples was adopted. Along with the measures contained in this programme with regard to the further struggle for the strengthening of international peace and the development of co-operation among States, there is also the following statement of principle with regard to the struggle for freedom and the independence of peoples:

"To consider as crucial the international task of completely eliminating all vestiges of the system of colonial oppression, infringement of the equality and independence of peoples and all seats of colonialism and racialism."

It is precisely this that will be the guiding principle of the Soviet Union in its relentless struggle against colonialism and racism.

47. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): Mr. President, let me begin by expressing my delegation's particular satisfaction at seeing you, the representative of the People's Republic of China, over this meeting. I do so with the full knowledge that your great qualities will be fully and beneficially applied to the Council's work. My delegation pledges its fullest co-operation with you.

48. I wish also to express my appreciation to Ambassador Boya of Benin who so genially, impartially and skilfully guided our long and difficult deliberations during the month of March.

49. The unanimous decision the Council has just taken on the question of the expansion of sanctions against the illegal Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia is of especial relevance and should be seen against the background of the intensification of the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe.

50. That the downfall of the racist Smith régime is inevitable is now widely acknowledged. Thus, as we



observe the efforts of that régime to cling desperately to its mythical notion of racial superiority and to continue its domination over the people of Zimbabwe, we recognize that the time is ripe for the Council—indeed, for the international community as a whole—to articulate a programme of action which would supplement the efforts of the people of Zimbabwe to bring the racists to heel. It is in this context that my delegation is of the view that the régime of sanctions established by the Council through its resolutions 253 (1968) and 277 (1970) can only be considered as a partial measure and that it is as timely as it is appropriate for the Council to take decisions which will widen the scope of sanctions imposed upon the régime in Southern Rhodesia.

51. During the course of discussions in the sanctions Committee, my delegation fully favoured the adoption of measures which would have effected the expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in accordance with all the provisions of Article 41 of the Charter. We would have been more satisfied had the Council been able to reach agreement with regard to other proposals made in the Committee.

52. But, as we widen the scope of sanctions against the Smith régime, we must redouble our efforts to secure the effective implementation of existing measures. Vigilance, not relaxation, is required. For the Smith régime, which has managed to survive sanctions for 10 long years, has been buttressed by the actions of some States whose economic and other interests have been accorded pre-eminence over the expressed aspirations of the majority of the oppressed people of Zimbabwe to the right to rule their own land and to live in it with dignity. If all States took the appropriate steps to ensure at the national level that the application of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia is fully effective, our work would be rendered less difficult.

53. My delegation is fully aware of the spirit of compromise which was an intrinsic element in the unanimity of our decision today. The resolution we adopted earlier expands the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia to include the areas of insurance, trade names and franchises. My delegation is convinced that the scrupulous observance of these and other sanctions by all countries would help in the achievement of the ultimate goal of bringing to an end the domination of Southern Rhodesia by the illegal minority régime and the frustration of the will of the people of Zimbabwe.

54. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to begin by stating how pleased my delegation is to see, you, Sir, presiding over the work of the Security Council. I should like to extend to you, on behalf of the Romanian delegation, our warmest congratulations as you take up the duties of President of the Council and to assure you that we will fully co-operate with you in the discharge of your duties. We are convinced that, under the enlightened

and competent guidance of Ambassador Huang Hua of the People's Republic of China, the Council will make new progress towards fulfilling its responsibilities.

55. My delegation would like to congratulate Ambassador Boya of Benin for the patience, impartiality and distinction he demonstrated as he presided over our work during March, a month during which the Council took up questions both important and difficult.

56. We should like also to congratulate our good friend Ambassador Boyd of Panama on his appointment as Minister for External Relations of his country. While we are sincerely sorry that he is to leave, we are pleased that he has been called to take up that important governmental duty and that he will thus be able to place all his talents at the service of his country, whose interests he defended with brilliance, dignity and devotion at the United Nations and in particular in the Security Council. We extend to him our best wishes for success in his new duties.

57. The Security Council met today to adopt new measures against the minority racist régime of Southern Rhodesia, which in 1965 unilaterally declared the independence of the territory. Romania stated at that time that it did not recognize the so-called Republic of Rhodesia, illegally proclaimed by the racist authorities of Salisbury. The position of my Government in this connexion remains unchanged.

58. We scrupulously and completely respect all United Nations resolutions, including decisions of the Security Council, concerning mandatory sanctions against the régime of Southern Rhodesia. As is known, Romania maintains no relations whatever with the illegal régime of Salisbury.

59. My country has consistently advocated recognition of the rights of the people of Zimbabwe to self-government and the establishment of a Government reflecting the composition of the population of the territory which would guarantee broad democratic freedoms and ensure the accession of the country to independence.

60. The prospects for decolonization in other parts of southern Africa have been enhanced by the accession to independence of Mozambique and Angola. My country has warmly welcomed the decision of the People's Republic of Mozambique to apply economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

61. We believe that the Security Council has the duty to pursue relentlessly its action against the minority racist régime of Southern Rhodesia in order to ensure the freedom and independence of the people of Zimbabwe. Now, 10 years after the Council adopted the first embargo measures against Southern Rhodesia, we are obliged to admit that the Council's action has not succeeded in putting an end to the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia. The fact that the minority régime

is still in power there demonstrates that the sanctions imposed by resolutions 232 (1966), 253 (1968) and 277 (1970) have either proved to be insufficient or have been violated by some States interested in maintaining the *status quo* in Rhodesia. The sad reality is that the illegal régime of Salisbury maintains itself by means of foreign aid given to it by some States, in particular by South Africa, in violation of the mandatory sanctions decreed by the Council.

62. In view of the fact that the situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security, the Romanian delegation believes that the political and economic pressures brought to bear on the illegal régime of Salisbury should be increased. We must therefore strengthen the measures that have been undertaken in order to establish a complete and efficient system of sanctions that would compel the régime of Ian Smith to renounce its unilateral action of 1965 and to transfer political power to a Government representing the whole of the population of the territory.

63. The Romanian delegation therefore supports with satisfaction the sanctions Committee's recommendations to expand the scope of the mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Committee and, in particular, its former Chairman, Ambassador Salim of Tanzania, as well as its new Chairman, Ambassador Akhund of Pakistan, for their tireless efforts to achieve a consensus on the measures to be recommended to the Council.

64. Of course, the extension of sanctions to insurance, trade names and commercial franchises is a very important measure towards the establishment of a more effective sanctions system. That is why the Romanian delegation supported the draft resolution which has just been unanimously adopted. It is pleased that the draft was sponsored by all Council members.

65. At the same time, and after having studied the special report of the sanctions Committee, the Romanian delegation would like to state that it shares the position expressed by the majority of the Committee members with regard to the need for the Council to apply all the measures stipulated in Article 41 of the Charter and to extend sanctions to South Africa.

66. In conclusion, I should like to state that Romania will do everything in its power to work towards the recognition of and respect for the right of the peoples of southern Africa to freedom and independence and towards the elimination of the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. I should like to assure the Council that my country will act resolutely in the future to implement United Nations resolutions, including resolutions establishing mandatory sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia.

67. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like to associate

myself with the congratulations offered you by other members of the Council who have already expressed satisfaction at seeing you, the representative of China, a country with which France is happy to enjoy the most friendly relations, assume the presidency of the Council for April. I am convinced that under your authority our proceedings will be conducted with effectiveness and wisdom.

68. Permit me too to request Mr. Paqui to be good enough to convey to Ambassador Boya our particular gratitude for his having with such impartiality and courtesy conducted our extremely delicate proceedings in March.

69. I should like to take this opportunity to convey my best wishes for success to Ambassador Boyd, whose Government has just appointed him Minister for External Relations, an office of very great responsibility. The distinguished diplomatic qualities displayed by Ambassador Boyd at the United Nations are the best earnest of his success in the important office to which he has been called.

70. The position of France with regard to the application of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia is well known. On 29 May 1968 we voted in favour of imposing mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia [resolution 253 (1968)] in order to provide the administering Power with the assistance it sought. We established nationally a system of regulations and penalties designed to deter and punish all infractions. The system is well known for its severity. We have striven since that time to keep a very close watch. We felt that action incumbent upon us because of the justice of the cause we were defending, our sense of responsibility and our obligation to apply the measures taken within the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter. Some results have been obtained. They remain imperfect. As a member of the sanctions Committee since 1968, the French delegation has been in a position to appreciate the inadequacies of the system we established. Accordingly, on many occasions we have supported initiatives to increase the Committee's effectiveness. Similarly, we determined to give our entire support to the new proposals for expansion just adopted.

71. However limited the effect of sanctions on the evolution of the Rhodesia question, we share the view of those who believe that, far from easing pressure on the Salisbury authorities, the international community should maintain and even intensify it. The French delegation therefore had no difficulty in supporting the draft resolution the Council has just adopted unanimously. We were even willing to sponsor it, as the text demonstrates a genuine effort to obtain the broadest possible support within the Council. The French delegation has already had occasion to say in the sanctions Committee that it approved the recommendations submitted to us, and we do feel that the cancellation of insurance policies relating to goods coming from or entering Southern Rhodesia is entirely

justified because it concerns international transactions forbidden under resolution 253 (1968). We also most willingly supported the recommendations relating to the extension of sanctions to franchises and trade names.

72. The unanimous adoption of the recommendations submitted by the sanctions Committee leads me quite naturally to address myself to its former Chairman, Ambassador Salim of Tanzania. I should like to convey to him the sincere congratulations of my delegation. It was thanks to his constructive and effective approach that the Committee was able to conclude its work successfully. I should also like to congratulate Ambassador Akhund, who has just been unanimously elected to the chairmanship of the Committee for 1976. I should like to assure him of the whole-hearted support of the French delegation in his new tasks.

73. The technical aspect of the text we have adopted should not allow us to forget the political dimensions of the problem involved. Our objective in imposing sanctions is nothing less than the restoration of justice by the implementation of majority rule in Rhodesia. Need I remind members that as far as the Council is concerned it is the United Kingdom, the administering Power, that has the primary responsibility of taking measures appropriate to the circumstances to put an end to the Rhodesian rebellion.

74. It will surprise no one that France and its partners in the European Community "vigorously support the objectives laid down by the British Government on 22 March and the efforts it is making to achieve them" [S/12039]. I am using the terms of the joint declaration recently adopted by the European Council, which has already been referred to by my colleague from the United Kingdom. Of course, my delegation will support all the efforts of the administering Power to put an end to a state of affairs we all find reprehensible.

75. In conclusion, I should like to express the strong hope that the Council's unanimous vote, which reflects the determination of the world community, will help make the Salisbury authorities understand that it is time finally to choose the path of justice and reason.

76. Mr. STAGG (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, at the very outset let me express to you our delegation's satisfaction at seeing you serve as President of the Security Council during the month of April. We know you are an experienced and talented diplomat, and we are convinced you will guide our work efficiently and to a good end.

77. We should also like to acknowledge the wisdom with which Mr. Boya, representative of Benin, guided the debates during March, and particularly during the discussion of the Angola question.

78. I wish also to express my delegation's thanks for the words of appreciation uttered by various speakers

on the occasion of Ambassador Boyd's appointment as Minister for External Relations. He will be with us next week and will have an opportunity to express his thanks personally.

79. With regard to the resolution just adopted unanimously, I would once again like to note that the delegation of Panama has not changed its conduct over the year and has always made its position clear: it wishes to co-operate so that all resolutions adopted with regard to the present Government of usurpers in Southern Rhodesia will be effectively complied with.

80. Given its position against colonization, the Government of Panama wishes once again to state that it condemns all kinds of discrimination and feels solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe in its desire to put a speedy end to the illegal régime that has been imposed upon the majority of the population of Southern Rhodesia by a racist minority.

81. As the Council can observe from our letter to the Secretary-General, distributed as document S/12027 on 29 March, Panama is itself experiencing a similarly unjust situation because of a tiny group of people living in the Canal Zone

"who are pressing for the maintenance of sinecures and discriminatory practices in a colonial situation that is clearly unfair to the Government and people of Panama and contrary to the letter and spirit not only of the Charter of the United Nations but also of several General Assembly resolutions."

Thus our people feels great brotherhood with the people of Zimbabwe.

82. Mr. VINCI (Italy): Mr. President, since this is our first meeting in April, please accept my warm personal congratulations and those of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month. We have full confidence in your wisdom, in your balanced judgement and in your long experience. Those, together with your well-known talents, give us full assurance that the Council under your leadership will continue to work in the constructive and fruitful manner in which it has started its work today.

83. I should also like to express my delegation's sincere appreciation and pay my own personal respects to Ambassador Boya, who served with such distinction and equanimity as President of the Council during March, a month which kept the Council, and especially the delegation of Benin, quite busy with many difficult questions.

84. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Boyd on his recent appointment as Minister for External Relations of Panama. I, for one, having been associated with our former Panamanian

colleague for so many years in several bodies of the United Nations, including the Council, will miss him very much. I ask the delegation of Panama to convey to him our best wishes for the discharge of his present higher responsibilities for the benefit of his country and of the international community.

85. The decision we have just taken could not be more timely. It comes indeed at a time when a deep and justified concern is more and more felt in the international community about the situation in southern Africa, and in Southern Rhodesia in particular. The meetings we recently had on Mozambique and Angola were the first natural reflection of this increasing concern, as well as of the reaction of the African countries and the world community as a whole to the course of events taking place in the area. Whatever the differences in the views we may hold as individual members of the Council on some aspects of the situation, I believe we all agree that southern Africa is now at the centre of attention in the body of the United Nations mainly responsible for peace and international security. Our unanimous decision of today bears witness to this commonly shared sense of responsibility.

86. The position of my own Government on the latest developments in southern Africa has already been set forth in the statements I made on 17 March [1891st meeting] and again on 31 March [1905th meeting], when the question of Angola was considered.

87. The Council has acted today on the basis of the special report of the sanctions Committee. This is a commendable document which stands as evidence of the concurrence of all Council members in a common effort which draws its strength from the conviction that we are pursuing the right course and aiming at the right goal.

88. Indeed my delegation considers very positive the fact that, overcoming some differences of view on the approach to be followed, the sanctions Committee was able to come up with a number of practical measures broadening and strengthening the sanctions currently applied by Member States against the Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia. I refer, in particular, to the broad consensus reached on measures suggested by the delegation of Tanzania concerning insurance, trade names and franchises. My Government firmly supported the adoption of such measures, as appears in paragraphs 16, 17 and 18 of the annex to the report and as was indicated by the representative of Italy at the 253rd meeting of the Committee on 30 October 1975.<sup>4</sup>

89. I may recall here that before giving its open support to the specific proposals of the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, my Government had carefully verified that they were compatible with its current legal and commercial system. It is well known that in the field of sanctions some countries

encounter legislative limits in taking the necessary steps to implement or expand sanctions. Such was the case with Italy, as shown by the fact that for the implementation of the provisions of resolution 253 (1968) the Italian Parliament had to adopt specific legislation on the subject in order to amend previous laws. As a result of the inquiry undertaken by the Italian authorities in view of the new proposals suggested by the representative of Tanzania, the Italian Government came to the conclusion it was in a position to agree to the extension of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia to trade names, franchises and insurance. My delegation has thus been glad to sponsor the draft resolution with the other 14 members of the Council, the more so since, in our opinion, it lends additional impetus to the action decided upon in resolution 253 (1968) and supplements that resolution. If during the implementation of these sanctions further legislative action appears to be required for technical reasons, the Italian Government will not fail immediately to submit to Parliament the necessary proposals for its approval.

90. The sanctions imposed on Southern Rhodesia by the Council have shown the impressive cohesion of the international community in its struggle against Ian Smith's illegal minority régime. Sanctions have given his minority régime concrete evidence of its complete isolation, providing the majority at the same time with a clear demonstration of the support it receives from the international community.

91. At the same time, sanctions have been a tangible test for each country to verify its capacity to conform to standards of solidarity, without which no international action can be efficient. Thus they continue to represent a highly meaningful test case for Member States. The opportunity is there for all to respond by demonstrating, in applying the sanctions firmly, their clear will to support the Charter and the ideals contained therein at whatever cost to national firms or individuals. That was the will of my country, which used to have a large number of economic interests and exchanges of goods with Southern Rhodesia prior to its breakaway from the United Kingdom. All trade relations have been drastically forbidden by Italian law in particularly restrictive terms. Suffice it to say that any transgressor of sanctions is punished with two years' imprisonment. That was the will also of the nine countries of the European Community, as stated explicitly a few days ago by the European Council in its declaration on Rhodesia, to which the representatives of the United Kingdom and France have already referred in their statements. The nine after confirming their statement of 23 February and indicating their support of the objectives and the efforts of the British Government, declared:

“[The Nine] appeal solemnly to the Rhodesian minority, which at present is opposing a system of majority rule, to accept a rapid and peaceful transition to such a system.

"They confirm that they will continue to apply strictly the Security Council decisions concerning Rhodesia." [S/12039.]

92. Speaking for my delegation, I should like in conclusion to assure the President and members of the Council that Italy will faithfully fulfil the new obligations proposed in the report submitted by the sanctions Committee and embodied in the resolution which the Council has unanimously adopted.

93. Mr. KANAZAWA (Japan): I should like to begin my statement by congratulating you, Sir, upon your assumption of the presidency for the month of April. In view of the friendly relations and the close co-operation existing between our two countries, my delegation feels particularly happy to see you presiding over the Council. I am confident that your outstanding qualities as an experienced diplomat will enable you to guide our deliberations smoothly and that with you in the chair the Council will be able to discharge its responsibilities successfully.

94. I wish also to pay tribute to Ambassador Boya of Benin for his admirable service as President of the Council last month, a very busy month when, as we all know, the Council dealt with questions affecting Africa and the Middle East almost continuously. As a distinguished diplomat, Ambassador Boya made most valuable contributions to the Council's success in dealing with these important questions. We were all most fortunate to have him as President.

95. I wish also to take this opportunity to join the previous speakers in congratulating Ambassador Boyd of Panama on his accession to the high post of Minister for External Relations of his country and to wish him every success in his new post.

96. The sanctions Committee considered last year the question of the expansion of mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. In considering the proposal in the Committee that the current scope of sanctions be expanded under Article 41 of the Charter, my delegation shares the belief that, in view of the lack of progress in reaching a solution in Southern Rhodesia, additional international pressure, both political and economic, was needed to induce the Smith régime to seek a negotiated settlement for the termination of minority rule. Therefore, my delegation took an active part in the Committee's consideration of the question of the expansion of sanctions. We wish to express our satisfaction that the Committee accommodated divergent views and finally decided unanimously to recommend to the Council the agreed areas for the expansion of sanctions.

97. Today the Council unanimously adopted the draft resolution in document S/12037 and thereby included the areas of insurance, trade names and franchises within the scope of the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. This decision, following the

Council's adoption last month of the proposal on Mozambique, has provided a further manifestation of the determination of the United Nations to do all that is necessary to help establish a constitutional Government based on majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. Although it may not go as far as some Member States would have liked, my delegation considers it practical and useful and a step in the right direction. We are convinced that all States will support the proposal and that their full enforcement of the new prohibitions contained in the resolution will once again demonstrate their continued support of the just cause of the people of Zimbabwe.

98. To our regret, the recent talks between Mr. Ian Smith and Mr. Joshua Nkomo of the African National Council have broken down. Mr. Smith, contrary to all our hopes, still seems far from agreeing to the principle of majority rule to be achieved within a reasonable time and in accordance with acceptable procedures. In the present circumstances, under which the frustration of the people of Zimbabwe is increasing, it is more urgent and necessary than ever for the international community to help create conditions which will bring a peaceful transition from minority rule to majority rule.

99. Japan has faithfully enforced the existing sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, and we shall enforce with equal vigour the new sanctions now imposed. In this spirit we were happy to become a co-sponsor of the draft resolution just adopted and voted in favour of it. My delegation hopes that these additional sanctions will help compel the Smith régime to realize that the historical evolution in Southern Rhodesia is irreversible and that no real solution is possible except that of the establishment of majority rule.

100. Finally, I wish to reaffirm that the Government and people of Japan will fully support the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and will continue to co-operate with other Member States to achieve United Nations objectives in Southern Rhodesia.

101. Mr. SUNDBERG (Sweden): Mr. President, first of all my delegation would like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. We pledge our unreserved co-operation with you in your important task. Your wide diplomatic experience and imperturbable calm will certainly be great assets in the Council's work.

102. My delegation would also like to express its gratitude to Ambassador Boya of Benin, who had the heavy task of presiding over our deliberations during the very busy month of March.

103. Further, on this occasion I should like to express our special thanks also to Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, under whose wise and

skilful chairmanship the sanctions Committee laid the groundwork for the decision we have taken here today.

104. Economic sanctions are one of the most important means which the Charter puts at the disposal of the Security Council for the preservation of international peace and security. It is the duty of the Council and its sanctions Committee to see to it that the system of sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia becomes as effective an instrument of pressure as possible.

105. With regard to the scope of the sanctions, the Swedish Government has consistently advocated that they be extended to cover further fields, as envisaged by Article 41 of the Charter. Together with other delegations in the sanctions Committee, we devoted considerable effort to this end during 1975. The efforts resulted in the Committee's report to the Council, which in turn formed the basis for the resolution just adopted. It is my delegation's hope that the Council, in taking this decision unanimously, will in its measure have contributed to a further tightening of the screws on the illegal minority régime. It is also a warning to that régime that the United Nations is firmly committed to continuing and intensifying its action until that régime gives way to a Government which is representative of the will of the people. My delegation also proposes that the search for agreement on still further extensions of the sanctions should continue in the Committee during the forthcoming year, and we shall contribute actively in that search.

106. The decision of the Government of Mozambique some time ago to close its borders with Southern Rhodesia represents a most important step forward. It should serve as an example for those countries which by deliberately failing to apply the sanctions in part or in full bear a grave responsibility for the failure so far to achieve the intended result. It imposes an added obligation on the Council and its sanctions Committee to intensify further its supervision of the sanctions in order to close as far as possible all loopholes and lacunae.

107. But time is short. The Secretary-General's words some time ago about an escalating crisis and possible bloodshed in the area should serve as a warning to the world. The rising tensions within Southern Rhodesia and the very understandably growing impatience of the majority there make it imperative for the Council to continue exploring all avenues towards bringing maximum pressure to bear on the present rulers in Salisbury. I should like to conclude by pledging my delegation's full co-operation with all members in this quest. It is now more than ever important to demonstrate the full solidarity of the United Nations with the majority in its struggle for a free and independent Zimbabwe.

108. Mr. PAQUI (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I do not believe that I am

saying anything that the outgoing President would not say when I tell you and the other members of the Council who spoke kindly of him that his efforts and the results obtained have been overestimated. Having recently assumed its role in the Council the Beninese delegation has only tried to do its best. It humbly believes that all that was achieved during the preceding month can be ascribed to all the members of the Council in general and to the members of the non-aligned movement in particular. In any case, please be assured that the message that you have addressed to the outgoing President will be faithfully relayed to him.

109. I should like to take this opportunity to discharge a pleasant duty, that of extending to you, Mr. President, the most sincere congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of April. Your long experience both in the political life of the People's Republic of China and in diplomacy constitute, I am convinced, a sure guarantee that under your presidency our work will be crowned with success. We should like to assure you of the full co-operation of our delegation.

110. It is a particular pleasure for me to extend to Ambassador Boyd of Panama our most sincere congratulations on the occasion of his appointment to serve as Minister for External Relations of his country. We are convinced that in that high post he will be successful because of the talent and the tact that he demonstrated during the time we had the advantage of getting to know him and to appreciate him.

111. The resolution which has just been unanimously adopted is, to be sure, limited in scope, but by expanding the sanctions against the illegal régime of Ian Smith it eloquently demonstrates that all members of the Council condemn the minority racist régime of Ian Smith and wish to move forward by a further tightening of the screws on the illegal régime in Zimbabwe.

112. In looking through the report of the sanctions Committee, my delegation is extremely pleased to see the steps which led to the unanimous adoption of the draft resolution contained in document S/12037. Coming after the courageous political act taken by Mozambique when it decided to implement fully the sanctions against Rhodesia, this decision should make the white minority régime of Zimbabwe realize that it would be in its interest to abandon its habitual political short-sightedness.

113. My delegation is pleased to see the United States among the sponsors of the draft resolution. Its presence there demonstrates the desire of this country not only to implement the sanctions against the illegal Smith régime but also to ensure that the spirit and letter of Article 41 of the Charter will be respected, for, in fact, what is important is not sponsoring a text and even less voting for it, but ensuring that it is strictly respected. That is why my delegation interprets

the action of the United States as a solemn commitment to do everything to see to it that the sanctions will no longer be violated.

114. The unanimous decision of the Council is, in my delegation's view, the best way to make the illegal minority régime installed in Salisbury see reason and the best way to give the struggling people of Zimbabwe effective support which will help it in achieving final victory, namely, the establishment of a black majority Government in Zimbabwe, a Government which all Africans hope to see.

115. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Republic): Mr. President, first of all I should like to express to you the congratulations of the Libyan delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for April. We are sure that under your wise guidance our work will end in success. I should also like, on this occasion, to stress the existence of the good relations between my country and yours, the great country of China and the great Chinese nation, which contributed to the shaping of political history in ancient and modern times.

116. On behalf of the Libyan delegation, I should like to pay a tribute to our brother, Ambassador Boya of Benin, for his able conduct of our work during the month of March, and also to take this occasion to express to our ex-colleague, Ambassador Boyd of Panama, our congratulations on his assumption of the responsibilities of his new office of Minister for External Relations of Panama and to wish him success. I reiterate on this occasion the solidarity of the Government and people of the Libyan Arab Republic with his country, Panama, in its fight to put an end to the colonial situation in its region.

117. Mr. President, I should also like to join with you and other colleagues in a tribute to the work done by our brother, Mr. Salim, as the Chairman of the sanctions Committee and also to congratulate the new Chairman, our brother from Pakistan.

118. In connexion with the draft resolution on which we have just adopted, I limit myself to reiterating the position of Libya, which continues the fight against the illegal racist régime in Rhodesia. The Libyan Arab Republic, as always, is prepared to undertake any necessary actions to terminate the rule of the minority racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. We believe that such a racist régime must be eliminated and that the people of Zimbabwe be given their freedom and independence. Also I should like to express the hope of the Libyan delegation that all those who sponsored and voted for this draft will join with us in our sincere actions and in our fight against the illegal racist régime, because we Africans believe that these racist régimes are our bitter enemies in Africa, and we think that this international hypocrisy must come to an end and others must finally choose between us and our enemies.

119. Also, I should like to express our satisfaction at the fact that the United States was among the delegations which sponsored and voted for this draft resolution. On this occasion I repeat the appeals made to the United States by other delegations concerning the application of sanctions against Rhodesia. I also express our satisfaction that the United States delegation at least voted on the side of the black majority in Rhodesia without feeling that this special majority was engaged in any kind of conspiracy against democracy.

120. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): Now allow me, speaking as the representative of CHINA, to make a statement on the extension of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

121. The Chinese Government has always stood for strict sanctions against the Southern Rhodesian authorities. We consider that this is the unshirkable responsibility of the Security Council as well as a support for the just struggle of the Zimbabwe people for independence and liberation. Nearly eight years have passed since the Council adopted resolution 253 (1968) on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. However, the result of the sanctions has not been satisfactory. According to the incomplete data compiled by the Secretariat as of 7 May 1975,<sup>5</sup> the value of exports from Southern Rhodesia has been increasing annually, reaching \$640 million in 1973, an increase of more than \$166 million over the year 1972. The Council should pay full attention to these serious violations of the sanctions and take effective measures to prevent them.

122. Earlier last year, some third world countries put forward in the sanctions Committee several concrete proposals on the expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. The Chinese delegation supports these proposals. Regrettably, however, these reasonable proposals have thus far not all been adopted. This state of affairs has been reflected in the special report submitted by the Committee.

123. In the opinion of the Chinese delegation, the measures adopted by the Council on the expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia are far from adequate. In order to make the Council sanctions against Southern Rhodesia more effective, it is necessary to expand them to cover South Africa and to ask the United States to cease immediately its importing of chrome, nickel and other materials from Southern Rhodesia in violation of the resolution on sanctions.

124. In our view, the facts show that sanctions are not the fundamental solution to the question of Southern Rhodesia. With the strengthening of the struggle of the Zimbabwe people and the African countries against the Southern Rhodesian racist régime, that régime, with the abetment of its supporters, is bound to step up its counter-revolutionary dual tactics of deception and rabid repression to

undermine the just struggle of the Zimbabwe people. A fundamental solution to the question of Southern Rhodesia can be found only by relying on the strength of the Zimbabwe people persevering in unity and struggle, guarding against the new super-Power schemes of division, disintegration, infiltration and control and carrying through to the end the struggle against the Southern Rhodesian racist régime and for the national liberation of the Zimbabwe people with the support of the people of Africa and the rest of the world. We hold that the Council should call upon all the justice-upholding countries and peoples to give political and material assistance to the just struggle of the Zimbabwe people.

125. The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the Zimbabwe people in their

struggle against colonialism and racism and for national liberation. We will always stand together with the Zimbabwe people and render them assistance within our capabilities until they win final victory.

*The meeting rose at 6 p.m.*

*Notes*

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 388 (1976).

<sup>2</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Special Supplement No. 2.*

<sup>3</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2122nd meeting, para. 36.*

<sup>4</sup> S/AC.15/SR.253.

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Special Supplement No. 2, vol. II, annex VII, para. 1.*