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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.

2011TH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 27 May 1977, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Thomas S. BOYA (Benin).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, Canada, China, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2011)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia:
Second 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/12296)

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia

Second 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/12296)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the two documents before them. First, there is the second 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, of 31 December 1976 [S/12296]. Secondly, there is the draft resolution circulated in document S/12339.

2. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): At a time, Sir, when your presidency for this month is drawing to its end, it is a matter of great fortune that the Council has been able to include in its agenda for today the question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia. This has been a very busy month, during which the Council has been called upon to consider matters of great urgency, and this is a proud

moment for me to express to you my compliments on the expertise and diligence with which you have guided the Council in its deliberations. It is all the more fitting, therefore, that it should still remain within your ambit to preside over the Council during its consideration of this notorious question which, for more than 10 years, has frustrated the aspirations of the African people, withstood the concerted efforts and express decisions of this body, thwarted the intentions and purposes of the international community as a whole and outraged the morals of right-thinking people generally. For my part, I am naturally gratified at the privilege of introducing the subject for the Council's consideration today. Nevertheless, on account of the dismal success—if any at all—achieved in the matter so far, I take no pride at this late hour in being counted among those still groping for a solution to his vexatious problem.

3. The item on the agenda consists of the second special report on the expansion of sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, submitted to the Council in document S/12296 by the Council's Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968). The report contains a recommendation for the expansion of sanctions in the field of the transfer abroad of funds from Southern Rhodesia. In particular, the recommendation aims at suppressing the propaganda, promotional and similar activities performed abroad by the various offices and agencies of the illegal racist régime that depend on funds transmitted to them by that abhorrent régime.

4. In this connexion, I should also like to draw the Council's attention to the draft resolution in document S/12339, which, in a show of exemplary unanimity, has been sponsored by all the members of the Council. It is a clear and straightforward text. It is my great expectation, therefore, that the Committee's special report will be approved and the draft resolution adopted without difficulty. Given the spectrum of political attitudes that exist in the Committee, as well as in the Council itself, it is laudable that the Committee, for its part, has risen to the occasion by demonstrating its grave concern at the deteriorating situation in Zimbabwe and the threat that that situation poses daily to international peace and security.

5. Indeed, the seriousness and diligence with which the Committee pursues the mandate entrusted to it are amply exemplified in the nine regular reports and eight special or interim reports that it has submitted to the Council since its establishment in May 1968. Although its regular reports have hardly been considered formally by the Council, the Committee's special and interim reports have provided fertile ground for the adoption of no less than four

resolutions on Southern Rhodesia. I trust that the draft resolution before the Council today will result in the fifth such resolution.

6. Yet, what is the scope and what is the purpose of the present draft resolution? I must hasten to say that, regrettably, at least in my personal view, the present draft resolution does not go far enough. I would prefer a draft resolution that covered all the peaceful measures of coercion instanced within and conceivable outside Article 41 of the Charter. My delegation would particularly welcome positive action by the Council against those States which deliberately and adamantly continue to stifle its purposes by accommodating the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia or by facilitating its international trade and services. Nevertheless, given the sadly inelastic lack of consensus in the Committee, the present draft resolution is all we have. Despite its inadequacies, it is a step in the right direction. If adopted, it will be the eighth resolution by the Council imposing progressive sanctions, most of them mandatory, against the rebel, racist régime in Southern Rhodesia.

7. However, the purpose of the Council in adopting this draft resolution should not consist merely in increasing the number of such resolutions. Rather, it should serve notice to the illegal régime and all those supporting it that the international community is still alive to the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe and that the Council has further peaceful measures in reserve against the misguided rebels in physical control of the Territory of Zimbabwe.

8. There are those who argue that the present scope of sanctions is wide enough and would bring down the illegal régime if faithfully implemented. We have heard this line repeated scores of times. Indeed, the optimism inherent in it at one time caused naïve expectations in certain government quarters of the capitulation of the régime within not months but weeks. That was more than eight years ago. Some of us believe that the best way to achieve the desired result is by applying the full force and the entire extent of all the sanctions, not only against the rebel régime but also against those shoring it up.

9. We, of course, welcome any measures that may resolve the problem through peaceful negotiations. We are therefore watching with interest the joint initiatives which we hear are being undertaken by the United Kingdom and United States Governments. But talk of negotiated settlement cannot go on indefinitely. For that reason, the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe and all their supporters have become convinced that it is worth while to try any other possible means, whether at the conference table or on the battlefield, for, whatever the means used to achieve the desired goal of majority rule in the shortest possible time, they will have been nobly justified.

10. We are baffled by the elusiveness of consensus in the Committee, and also in the Council, resulting in the adoption of mandatory measures only progressively or in doses. This affords the illegal régime an opportunity to adjust its economic programme and also provides convenient loopholes through which the sanctions can be effectively evaded. The mandatory sanctions established by

resolution 253 (1968) made several exceptions. We are told by the Committee in one of its annual reports, for instance, that one Government exported several thousand tons of wheat to Southern Rhodesia, under the humanitarian exceptions of that resolution, on the alleged ground that wheat was an indispensable ingredient in the diet of the majority of the people of Zimbabwe. Well, everybody knows that the staple food of the African people of Zimbabwe is cornflour.

11. The resolution adopted by the Council last year—388 (1976)—prohibiting, among other things, the insurance of goods exported from or intended for importation into Southern Rhodesia, excepted the prohibition of the insurance of persons travelling to or from Southern Rhodesia, and the present draft resolution does not appear to cover transfers of funds by individuals or bodies in Southern Rhodesia or even by the illegal régime itself, for use by, or benefit of, persons or bodies abroad not connected with the illegal régime. It is those types of loopholes that contribute to the subsistence of the illegal régime.

12. In advocating the plugging of such loopholes and the expansion of sanctions against the illegal régime, the Committee on Sanctions is not the only body calling the tune. The Committee of 24¹ of the General Assembly various governmental and non-governmental organizations and prominent individuals in the world at large have similarly made incessant appeals. As an instance of this, the Programme of Action adopted by the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia recently held at Maputo recommended certain measures against the “illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia”. Those measures included, among others, the following recommendations:

“The Conference calls upon the United Nations:

“(a) To reiterate its conviction that the scope of sanctions against the illegal régime must be widened to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations—the Conference also requests the Security Council to consider, as a matter of urgency, taking the necessary measures in that regard;

“(b) To extend sanctions to marine and air insurance in order to prevent ships, aircraft carrying passengers or cargo destined to or coming from Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) from being insured.” [S/12344/Rev.1, annex V, para. 47.]

13. Furthermore, as evidence of the vigilance being exercised by private individuals and non-governmental organizations, the Committee on Sanctions was gratified by the information it received from the Anti-apartheid Movement of the United States and the Church of Christ Center for Social Action in New York—among the several non-governmental organizations, to which it is greatly indebted—concerning possible violations of sanctions through the supply of oil and oil products to Southern Rhodesia by certain oil companies in the United States, the United

¹ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Kingdom, France and the Netherlands, using elaborate and clandestine manoeuvres. Despite initial denials by the Governments of the companies concerned, there is mounting evidence to show that those companies have actually been regularly supplying oil and oil products to Southern Rhodesia through their subsidiaries in South Africa.

14. Another pair of non-governmental organizations in the United Kingdom, the Haslemere Group and the Anti-apartheid Movement there, have come up with a strong deposition to the commission of inquiry in the United Kingdom into the involvement, if any, of British oil companies. The Netherlands Government is also reputed to have pledged its co-operation with the commission in its inquiries. It is greatly hoped that the United Kingdom Government will soon conclude its investigations and forward its findings to the Security Council Committee on Sanctions, while the findings of the United States investigating authorities are equally eagerly awaited.

15. Such details and future prospects are the proper functions of the Committee on Sanctions. For that reason, the present draft resolution contains operative paragraph 3 which, among other things, requests the Committee to examine the application of further measures under Article 41 and to report to the Council in time for its further meeting on the matter before the inglorious anniversary this year of the infamous unilateral declaration of independence by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia.

16. With these few words, and with due appreciation for the indulgence extended to me by you, Mr. President, and all my other colleagues around this table, I appeal to the Council to adopt the draft resolution before it which, though limited in scope, is an important contribution to the cause of freedom and justice of all the people of Zimbabwe.

17. Mr. MIRZA (Pakistan): Permit me first of all to express our gratitude to the members of the Security Council who did my country and Ambassador Iqbal Akhund a great honour by electing him Chairman of the Sanctions Committee for 1976.

18. As a result of the diligence and devotion of its members during 1976—as, indeed, during previous years—the Sanctions Committee worked efficiently and discharged its responsibilities well under the mandate entrusted to it by resolution 253 (1968). The report² of the Committee as well as the special report on the expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia [S/12296] are a testimony of that fact, and we felicitate all the members and supporting staff of the Secretariat for so ably performing the task assigned to the Committee.

19. Last November, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania proposed in the Committee that the Security Council should expand the scope of mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia so that Article 41 of the Charter could be applied in its entirety. My delegation, along with some others, extends its full support to that proposal.

² Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Special Supplement No. 2.

20. We note that, while the Tanzanian proposal in its original form could not be adopted, it is encouraging that, upon the suggestion of non-aligned and other countries, including Pakistan, operative paragraph 3 has been included in the draft resolution [S/12339], providing for consideration by the Security Council, before 11 November 1977, of the application of further measures under Article 41 of the Charter.

21. This draft resolution sponsored by all the members of the Council, is the outcome of the efforts of the United Kingdom supplemented by those of the non-aligned and other members. It represents, in our view, the unanimity of all members of the Council on the basic issue under consideration and we recognize the fact that it deals mainly with the stoppage of the outflow of capital from Southern Rhodesia and represents a limited, but important, measure which the members of the Council have agreed to take. It is our ardent hope that this decision will be implemented expeditiously and without exception by all the concerned States.

22. While it is heartening to take note that all members of the Council view the question of Southern Rhodesia in the same light, it is a matter of regret that differences still persist regarding the extension of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. The sanctions that have been imposed so far have been somewhat limited and have not succeeded in achieving their objective, namely, the dislodging of the illegal Smith régime, which continues to defy the will of the international community and persists in short-sighted and repressive policies directed at keeping the majority of the people of Zimbabwe in a state of subjugation and domination.

23. We have no doubt about the fact that the people of Zimbabwe will one day regain their inalienable rights, and that that day is not far away. It is extremely desirable that this should happen through peaceful means with the help of the concerted will and action of the international community as a whole. The determination of the international community can be manifested by widening progressively the scope and effectiveness of the sanctions under Article 41 of the Charter in their entirety.

24. Lastly, we are of the view that those countries that have influence at Salisbury must make renewed efforts towards the attainment of independence and majority rule that is the undeniable birthright of the people of Southern Rhodesia. My delegation is therefore happy that the expected unanimous adoption of the draft resolution before us will strengthen the hands of such States and serve at the same time as another strong call to the Smith régime to abandon its obdurate stance and agree to the changes that would bring majority rule, equality, peace and prosperity to all the people of Zimbabwe.

25. Mr. BADI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): Once again the Security Council is meeting to discuss the grave situation caused by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia.

26. From the very beginning, the Council condemned the unilateral declaration of independence made by the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia and determined that the situation resulting from that illegal act was extremely grave

and constituted a serious threat to international peace and security. Therefore the Council, in its resolution 217 (1965), called upon the United Kingdom to quell the rebellion by the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia, to take all appropriate measures for the elimination of the authority of the usurpers and to put an end to the illegal minority régime.

27. More than 11 years have elapsed since the Smith clique illegally took power in Rhodesia. Every year since then, the Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted resolutions aimed at rectifying the situation and affirming the inalienable rights of the Zimbabwean people to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. The legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to achieve their inalienable rights as set forth in the Charter has also been affirmed.

28. The situation in Southern Rhodesia has further deteriorated since Smith and his racist clique refused to come to an agreement with the Zimbabwe national liberation movement to achieve a peaceful solution based on majority rule. The racist minority régime continues in its defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, as well as of the Charter and world public opinion. The racist Ian Smith régime continues to escalate its campaign of brutal oppression against the people of Zimbabwe and has in fact committed and continues to perpetrate abominable acts of brutality and aggression against the neighbouring countries, Members of the United Nations.

29. At this critical stage, the Security Council can no longer delay the adoption and implementation of those concrete measures that will put an end to the domination of Southern Rhodesia by the illegal racist régime. The existing sanctions imposed by the Council must be made more comprehensive and must be fully implemented by all Member States if the sanctions instrument is to remain effective. In this regard I should like to draw the attention of the Council to the Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia [see S/12344/Rev. I, annex V] adopted by the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia recently concluded at Maputo, Mozambique. That Programme of Action specifically calls for the adoption of a number of concrete and effective measures against the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. In the view of my delegation, the Council must meet the challenge presented by the continued defiance of the illegal Ian Smith régime by intensifying and making more effective the sanctions imposed against that racist régime in full compliance with Article 41 of the Charter.

30. Furthermore, the Council cannot remain indifferent to the continued defiance of the Pretoria régime in its non-implementation of the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Council on the illegal Smith régime. Those mandatory sanctions should be extended to cover the racist minority régime of South Africa, which continues to support the rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia, providing it with facilities that enable it to evade sanctions. The unholy alliance of those two racist minority régimes in southern

Africa has been further strengthened and consolidated since the attainment of independence by the People's Republic of Mozambique and since the decision of that State to close completely its borders with Southern Rhodesia. The illegal Smith régime has found itself with only one outlet to the outside world, namely, through South Africa. This total reliance of the racist Salisbury régime on the *apartheid* régime in South Africa was confirmed in a *New York Times* article of 8 May 1977 in which a Southern Rhodesian exporter was quoted as saying: "Without South Africa—our only transport link, after all—we'd have been sunk a long time ago."

31. In view of the fact that the Vorster régime openly defies United Nations resolutions and world public opinion, my delegation demands and will endorse the widening of the mandatory sanctions to include the racist régime in South Africa in order to compel that régime's compliance with the mandatory sanctions imposed by the United Nations.

32. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm the position of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in its continuing support of the people of Zimbabwe in their just struggle against the illegal racist minority régime of Ian Smith in order to achieve their freedom and self-determination.

33. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The maintenance of the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia is fraught with the most dangerous consequences for peace in Africa and throughout the world. The Security Council, in its resolutions, has repeatedly reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence. It has condemned and outlawed the racist régime of Ian Smith and proclaimed mandatory sanctions against it. Nevertheless, the régime continues to exist to this day. Not only does it exist; it is blatantly violating the lawful rights and interests of the people of Zimbabwe, attempting to crush its national liberation movement and perpetrating armed attacks on neighbouring African States. This means that the international struggle against the racists in Southern Rhodesia must also embark upon a new stage.

34. As has already been indicated by the delegation of the USSR in the Security Council and in other organs of the United Nations, the Soviet Union strongly condemns the policies pursued by the Southern Rhodesian régime and calls unreservedly for genuinely effective measures aimed at the isolation and boycott of that régime and at strict compliance with the decisions of international forums demanding that the people of Zimbabwe should at last enjoy the opportunity of determining their own destiny without impediment and of living in conditions of peace and freedom. That is also the position we take in regard to mandatory sanctions vis-à-vis the racist régime.

35. The Council now has before it for consideration the second special report on the expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia submitted by the Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968). In our view, this document, which is the result of lengthy discussions in the Committee, reflects evident weaknesses that are in-

herent in that organ of the Council. In fact, the attempt to depoliticize the Committee and to give it the nature of a purely technical organ which has been repeatedly made by certain delegations at meetings of the Committee could not but divert the Committee from its main task which has been clearly set forth in Council resolutions. It is therefore not surprising that the draft resolution recommended by the Committee to the Council on the initiative of the United Kingdom is virtually destitute of any major new elements in regard to the expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

36. We consider that the just demands of the Zimbabwe people can be satisfied only through the adoption against the Smith régime of all measures under Article 41 of the Charter, including the complete or partial interruption of road, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication with Southern Rhodesia. That is the road that the Security Council should take if it and all its members really wish quickly and effectively to put an end to the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia.

37. That is why we cannot fail to note that, thanks to the initiative of the African States and a number of other States members of the Council, the drawbacks of the initial draft resolution have, to some extent, been corrected. The Council, for the first time in many years, now has before it a draft resolution [S/12339] which raises the question of the application against Southern Rhodesia of sanctions under Article 41 of the Charter. This is, of course, not yet an action by the Council, but it is an obligation to consider such action within a certain specified period of time.

38. The Soviet Union, like many of the African countries, is firmly convinced that the time has long been ripe for such action ensuring the complete implementation of Article 41. One cannot fail to refer in this connexion to the fact that the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, recently held at Maputo, appealed to the United Nations once again to reiterate its conviction that the scope of sanctions against the illegal Southern Rhodesian régime must be expanded to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41. The Conference called on the Security Council to consider, as a matter of urgency, the question of adopting the necessary measures in this connexion [S/12344/Rev.1, annex V, para. 47].

39. Since the draft resolution which is before the Council represents a certain decisive step in that direction—albeit an insufficient one—the Soviet delegation supports it. Operative paragraph 3 may have the further positive feature of fostering a correct orientation of the work of the Committee by entrusting it with a concrete and important task.

40. It seems to us that today's discussion of the problem of Southern Rhodesia is of cardinal importance. We hope that the decision to be taken by us will make it more difficult in future to opt again for a further delay in the application of effective measures against the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. If anyone does employ such tactics in the future, it will only serve to bear out the well-founded warnings of those who clearly see that delays and reservations of any kind play into the hands of the Smith régime

and are detrimental to the people of Zimbabwe. The patience of the peoples of Africa is becoming exhausted, and the members of the Council must bear that in mind if they really want this organ of the United Nations to discharge the role assigned to it by the Charter.

41. So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, its position remains unchanged. In this connexion, I cannot but draw attention to the following sentence in the message of congratulations sent by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the African States and peoples on the occasion of Africa Liberation Day:

"The Soviet Union will continue to oppose the attempts of imperialist forces and racist régimes to impose a neo-colonialist solution on the problems of southern Africa and to call for the immediate exercise of the inalienable rights of the peoples of southern Africa to self-determination, for the liquidation of *apartheid* and racism in the Republic of South Africa, for the immediate withdrawal of that State from Namibia and for the unreserved and complete transfer of all power to the people of Zimbabwe."

42. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The unilateral declaration of independence by the colonialist and racist minority in Southern Rhodesia in 1965 remains today, as indeed it was 12 years ago, an illegal act contravening the right to self-determination of the African people of Zimbabwe and represents a growing threat to international peace and security. To remove that threat and to restore the inalienable right of the Zimbabwe people to self-determination, the Security Council, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, established a system of sanctions against the illegal régime in Salisbury. However, today, 11 years after the first embargo measures were adopted by the Council, we must agree that the action taken by the Council has not led to the expected result, that is, to put an end to the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia.

43. The continuation in power of the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, despite the sanctions that have been imposed, can be explained by the fact that the measures adopted have proved inadequate and, in addition, have been systematically and broadly violated by the political and economic circles interested in the maintenance of the *status quo* in Rhodesia. There can no longer be any doubt that the illegal régime of Ian Smith remains in power thanks to the assistance it receives, openly or in a camouflaged way, from certain States, and above all South Africa, in violation of the binding sanctions laid down by the Council.

44. The undeniable truth is that at present Southern Rhodesian trade is being fraudulently carried out through South Africa, which has joined hands with Ian Smith. That is why the present sanctions will not have the expected effect so long as the measures adopted against Southern Rhodesia are not extended to South Africa.

45. In view of the inadequate results that we have been witnessing for the past 11 years in the application of sanctions against the minority régime of Southern Rhodesia, the Romanian delegation believes that the Council,

on the one hand, should eliminate all the loopholes in the present measures, among other ways by extending these measures to South Africa, and, on the other hand, should apply all the provisions of Article 41 of the Charter.

46. Obviously, the draft resolution [*S/12339*] now before the Council does not fully meet those requirements. Nevertheless, it does express the common decision of the members of the Council to reconsider this question not later than 11 November 1977, in order to take other measures in conformity with the provisions of Article 41 of the Charter. The unanimous adoption of this draft must be regarded as final notice to the illegal Salisbury régime.

47. Despite the temporary failure of the sanctions applied thus far against Southern Rhodesia, the Romanian delegation continues to believe that this peaceful method could yield results. To that end, the sanctions must be equal to the objectives proclaimed and pursued. In other words, the medicines and the doses must be sufficient to cure the disease; they must be, above all, commensurate with the gravity of the disease. That is why the Romanian delegation stresses that the peaceful method provided for in Article 41 of the Charter should be explored and used to the very end. The credibility of the United Nations would indeed be damaged if the measures taken against Southern Rhodesia were to fail. Such a failure would also undermine the system provided for in the Charter to combat threats to international peace and security.

48. My country has consistently come out in favour of recognizing the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-government, to the establishment of a government which would reflect the structure of the population of the Territory and would guarantee broad democratic freedoms and ensure the country's accession to independence. We believe that the United Nations, including the Security Council, has the duty to pursue unrelentingly the action set in motion against the minority racist régime of Southern Rhodesia, in order to ensure freedom and independence for the people of Zimbabwe. Of course, the fall of the Ian Smith régime and the accession of Zimbabwe to independence will be the result of the struggle waged by the people of that Territory and its political organizations, a struggle enjoying the warm support of the Romanian people. But if we want the United Nations to assist that struggle, then a complete and effective system of sanctions must be established that can force the Ian Smith régime to yield political power to a government representing all the people of the Territory.

49. In conclusion, I should like to state once again the well-known position of Romania: firm action, in the future as in the past, for the faithful implementation of the United Nations decisions on Southern Rhodesia, for the elimination of the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* and for the attainment of respect for the right of the peoples of southern Africa to freedom, dignity and independence.

50. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*translation from Chinese*): With regard to the question of sanctions applied by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia, the position of the Chinese Government has been most explicit. We have

always stood for the application of strict sanctions against the Southern Rhodesian authorities. This is also the unshirkable responsibility of the Council.

51. Nine years have elapsed since the adoption of resolution 253 (1968) on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. On 6 April last year, the Council adopted another resolution, resolution 388 (1976) on the expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Regrettably, however, the result of the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia remains far from satisfactory.

52. At a meeting of the Sanctions Committee last November, the delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania put forward a number of concrete proposals on further strengthening the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. The Chinese delegation fully supported them. Nevertheless, these proposals have so far not been adopted by the Committee in their entirety.

53. The measures to be adopted by the Security Council this time on the expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia are still far from adequate. An abundance of evidence shows that, in repeated violation of the sanctions, some countries are carrying on trade with Southern Rhodesia through covert or overt means. As for the South African authorities, they have been working hand in glove with the Southern Rhodesian régime in committing serious violations of the sanctions. The Declaration adopted at the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held recently at Maputo, also unequivocally called for the further strengthening and expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

54. In view of all that, the Security Council should have strengthened and expanded the sanctions. In order that its resolutions can be really put into effect instead of being reduced to mere pieces of paper, we hold that the Council should seriously consider the question of expanding the sanctions to cover South Africa. Meanwhile, all States Members of the United Nations, and above all the permanent members of the Security Council, should strictly implement the sanctions and should not pay mere lip-service while acting differently.

55. More and more people have now come to realize that sanctions do not provide a fundamental solution to the question of Southern Rhodesia. In the past year, with the rapid development of the armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people, the Smith régime has been working hard to step up its counter-revolutionary dual tactics. While resorting to the fraud of a so-called "internal settlement", the Smith régime is making desperate efforts to expand its military strength, intensify its repression of the patriotic armed forces of Zimbabwe and carry out repeated armed provocations against the neighbouring independent African States in an attempt to perpetuate its criminal rule. The facts prove that a fundamental solution to the question of Southern Rhodesia can be found only by relying on the strength of the Zimbabwe people who are themselves persevering in struggle, particularly armed struggle, and carrying through to the end the struggle against the Southern Rhodesian racist régime and for the national liberation of Zimbabwe, with the support of the people of Africa and the rest of the

world. In the meantime, when the two super-Powers are stepping up their fierce rivalry in southern Africa, the Zimbabwe people have also come to realize ever more clearly that it is essential to combine their struggle against racism and colonialism closely with that against hegemonism and that only by so doing will they be able to lead their liberation struggle to final victory.

56. 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, as always, render them assistance within our capabilities until they win complete victory. We are convinced that by strengthening their unity, heightening their vigilance, persevering in struggle and "guarding against the tiger while repelling the wolf", the Zimbabwe people will certainly be able to attain their great goal of State independence and national liberation.

57. Mr. BRUCE (Canada): For over a decade the international community has demonstrated its opposition to the illegal minority Government in Rhodesia through the imposition of sanctions. Today's draft resolution [S/12339] closes a comparatively small loophole in the existing regulations, but we welcome it none the less because it proves that the Council, representing all regions of the world, remains united in its opposition to the minority régime.

58. We note with great satisfaction that the United States of America is now in a position to enforce the embargo as it applies to chrome, and we believe that this will further demonstrate the extent of the Smith Government's isolation.

59. We have already had one opportunity this year to explain Canada's policy towards Zimbabwe in the debates on Botswana's complaint, and we will probably have other occasions to do so again this year. I shall not, therefore, say anything further about it now. I should, however, like to underline my Government's dismay at the fact that the illegal Government has not been willing to continue serious negotiations.

60. It is clear that there will, some day, be a Government at Salisbury which represents the majority of the people of Zimbabwe. The question is whether such a Government will come to power as a result of negotiations and an orderly transition, or only after further bloodshed and disruption. We hope the draft resolution today will help to serve as a warning to the Rhodesian Government that it has no option but to return to the negotiating table. We are very pleased that a consensus has been reached on this draft resolution and that all members of the Council have joined in sponsoring it.

61. Mr. BYATT (United Kingdom): The second special report of the Sanctions Committee which is before us today is the outcome of long and detailed discussions by the Committee, and the draft resolution also before the Council [*ibid.*] is, with the exception of operative paragraph 3, the fruit of the Committee's work.

62. Adoption of the draft resolution will represent a further step in increasing the scope and effectiveness of the

sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. It will impose additional restrictions on the movement of capital by the illegal régime and will enable Member States to take action to frustrate the operations of offices or agencies maintained outside Southern Rhodesia by the illegal régime, except offices or agencies established exclusively for pensions purposes.

63. Operative paragraph 3, referring to further action which the Council may take, has been the subject of intensive informal discussions between various members of the Council, in which the United Kingdom delegation has taken an active part. It is well known that there are elements of Article 41 of the Charter which, in relation to Southern Rhodesia, pose difficulties for some members of the Council, including the United Kingdom. There are, however, many elements in Article 41, and we will be ready, as we have been in the past, to seek ways in which the application of the economic sanctions which the Council has adopted can be improved.

64. The text of operative paragraph 3, is a compromise probably not regarded as ideal by any member of the Council. But my delegation is glad that a spirit of compromise has prevailed and that the discussions to which I have referred have resulted in a text which I understand all can accept.

65. It is in that spirit of compromise, rather than as an expression of total satisfaction with the wording, that my delegation has joined with others in sponsorship. The agreement which has been reached will enable the Council to adopt unanimously a further resolution on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. That action will be a clear warning to the illegal régime at Salisbury that, until a satisfactory solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia has been found, the application of sanctions by the international community will not be relaxed but, rather, strengthened.

66. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): For more than 11 years an illegal racist minority régime in Rhodesia has defied the Council, stood in open rebellion against the British Crown and flouted world opinion. The result of that rebellion has been widespread suffering on the part of the people of Zimbabwe, suffering which threatens to expand if majority rule is not achieved in Zimbabwe and the minority régime consigned to oblivion.

67. It is with particular satisfaction that my delegation has joined in drafting and sponsoring the draft resolution [*ibid.*] and will join in its adoption.

68. The reasons for our satisfaction are numerous. As is well known to the members of the Council, my delegation was privileged to play one of the leading roles in the tightening of sanctions contained in operative paragraphs 1 and 2. We believe that the elaboration and adoption of this draft come at an important time and must be viewed in the context of such other important developments as the elimination of the Byrd amendment and the spirit of harmony and co-operative effort toward a common goal that characterized the recent meetings at Maputo. The decisions taken in the draft resolution will facilitate

tightening the sanctions so that the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia may no longer take advantage of loopholes to further its goals.

69. The adoption of this draft resolution, along with the other recent actions to which I have referred, can leave no doubt in the minds of any of the leaders at Salisbury or elsewhere of the commitment of the international community to the attainment of a government in Southern Rhodesia based on the consent of the governed. The unanimous nature of the action today will underline the strength of the international commitment. The efforts made by the members of the Council to achieve this unanimous result augur well for continuing international co-operation to solve the many and serious problems of southern Africa.

70. In agreeing to meet no later than 11 November "to consider the application of further measures", we are committing ourselves to continue, in accordance with our often-stated position of principle, to explore ways and means of closing loopholes whose existence may diminish the impact of the economic sanctions programme.

71. We are furthermore pleased that the formulation of this draft resolution has carefully preserved the existing functions of the Sanctions Committee. For, as matters now stand, the sanctions régime is sufficient to impose a crushing burden on the economy of Southern Rhodesia. The need is to examine further the functioning of the system in order to prevent its circumvention. After almost nine years, the minority Government at Salisbury is still in power and economic conditions there have not declined appreciably. There are reasons for this, and those reasons certainly lie in the fact that some nations allow violations of the sanctions imposed by the Council.

72. The Committee's examination of particular cases has, therefore, become more important than ever. We hope that, before November this year, important steps will have been taken to bring about a government in Rhodesia based on the free consent of the governed. We pledge ourselves to continue to work to that end through all available means.

73. Mr. VON HASSELL (Federal Republic of Germany): My delegation is pleased to go along with the consensus on the draft resolution [*ibid.*] which is aimed at tightening the mandatory sanctions against the régime in Southern Rhodesia and at bringing within the scope of those sanctions an area of economic activities which up to now has not been clearly covered by previous Council resolutions. We are equally glad to be among the sponsors of this draft resolution. It is encouraging to see that a consensus has been reached within the Council in a constructive and understanding spirit. That spirit was shown in particular by our friend Ambassador Ramphul of Mauritius, and I should like to thank him for his co-operative efforts.

74. The Council may be aware that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany applied the sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia as early as 1968. We enacted the necessary domestic regulations in order to make sure that those sanctions were enforced effectively. Since then, my Government has consistently co-operated

with the Sanctions Committee in its difficult task. As we ourselves are now a member of that Committee, it is our view that the Committee should continue its work of examining specific cases in order to ensure the implementation of the existing sanctions.

75. We do not consider this debate the appropriate occasion for a detailed presentation of our views on the complex political issues in southern Africa. We already outlined our position recently in another context. But I should like to stress once again that the Federal Republic of Germany is ready to join in any serious and promising attempt to bring about an overall political solution to the problems besetting that part of the world. It is our conviction that that solution should be achieved by peaceful means. We are therefore closely all efforts towards the establishment of a constitutional government based on majority rule and the ultimate independence of Zimbabwe. An extension of the existing sanctions is only a modest but, I believe, a significant contribution to those efforts. The decisions we are going to take should be understood as an expression of the strong disapproval and justified concern of the world community over the intransigent attitude of the Salisbury authorities.

76. We are all looking forward to the day when sanctions will no longer be necessary and when we may enter into a free and unhindered commercial exchange with an independent Zimbabwe in the interests of the well-being and future development of that country.

77. Mr. CONSALVI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The unanimous support received by the draft resolution before us [*ibid.*] is a further proof of the unwavering determination of the United Nations to put an end to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. Nine years have elapsed since resolution 253 (1968) was adopted and it is regrettable that, for reasons that are all too well known, the sanctions imposed against the régime in Salisbury have not yielded the desired results. The open violations of the sanctions and connivance at such violations have made it possible for that illegal régime to survive over such a long period of time.

78. While the general picture has been frustrating, it is encouraging that the tenacious and steadfast independence forces of Zimbabwe have succeeded in putting the Smith Government in a position that is increasingly more difficult to defend. Moreover, the position of the people of Zimbabwe has been strengthened by the material and moral support increasingly being given by the members of the international community to the cause of its liberation.

79. Negotiations are proceeding in an effort to produce a solution to the problem. But the truth of the matter is that, because of the intransigence of the illegal régime, our hopes are not particularly high. What is being done, however, does seem to suggest that some Powers do recognize the urgency of the problem. If a solution reflecting the sacred right of the majority of the people of Zimbabwe is not found in the near future, the situation in southern Africa will become increasingly dangerous, thus posing a serious threat to international peace and security.

80. So this is a critical stage, and all sides must put increased pressure on the illegal Smith régime to agree on a speedy and peaceful solution. The Government of Venezuela is therefore fully in agreement with the proposals to intensify sanctions. The decision that we are taking today is a significant step in the right direction, namely, that of the peaceful solution which depends exclusively on the Smith régime.

81. Still very much in the air is the atmosphere that was created at Maputo, where the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia has just concluded. There another significant stage in the struggle for human dignity was reached and the Conference reaffirmed the majority will of the Organization to put an end to colonialism and racial discrimination in southern Africa. The Programme of Action and the Declaration adopted at the Conference commit us to further concrete steps in support of a majority régime in Zimbabwe.

82. Furthermore, Mr. President, I should like to say that the delegation of Venezuela is pleased by the fact that it is under the presidency of a worthy representative of Africa that the Council is deciding to adopt this draft resolution.

83. Mr. RIOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The white minority régime which subjugates the majority in Zimbabwe represents a real threat to peace, and for that reason the United Nations must take effective action to eliminate that threat.

84. Up to now, the Organization has paid close attention to the problem. It could never be accused of being negligent in the face of the suffering of the people of Zimbabwe; quite the contrary. This is shown by an endless number of resolutions, among them Security Council resolution 253 (1968), by the tireless efforts of the Sanctions Committee, by the special missions, by the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and the report in document S/12296 which we have before us.

85. Regrettably, the illegal régime has brazenly refused to heed appeals for wisdom and restraint. It continues to act irresponsibly in disregarding the demands of the international community, and the international community is today obliged to act more vigorously and more decisively in order to force the racists at Salisbury to relent.

86. The delegation of Panama wishes to invoke the spirit of Maputo as a moral force that will encourage us to use all the resources available to us under the Charter and go to the rescue of the Zimbabwean people, the victims of oppression at the hands of those who, at this stage of the twentieth century, still continue to practise slavery, an activity which the entire world has long abhorred and repudiated.

87. Let me turn to the draft resolution in document S/12339, sponsored by all the members of the Council, including the five permanent members. It represents a truly vigorous step. The full application of Article 41 of the Charter against the Ian Smith régime is no joking matter; its consequences will be felt very soon. The stubborn resistance of the racists will be dealt a heavy blow which will

undoubtedly force them to yield. A government that represents the interests, aspirations and hopes of the majority of the people of Zimbabwe must come into power soon. That is the message that I read into the draft resolution that we shall be adopting in a few minutes. I am sure that it will make Mr. Ian Smith and his group of oppressors understand that the end of the illegal régime is at hand. The racists at Salisbury will surely perceive the significance of this draft, for, if they do not, it will be too bad for them and we would much regret it for the loss of human life is always to be deplored.

88. Mr. President, I should like to conclude this brief statement by paying a tribute to the brilliant manner in which you have conducted the proceedings of the Council during the month that is about to come to an end. We consider it highly significant that it has been under your presidency that the Council has met to expand the sanctions and make them undoubtedly much more effective.

89. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation supports and is a sponsor of the draft resolution [S/12339] that is before us and whose aim is to forbid the use or transfer of funds in the territories of Member States by the illegal régime in Rhodesia. In unanimously adopting this draft resolution, the Council will have taken another step towards tightening the circle of sanctions around Rhodesia. Of course, one might have different views about this step. For its part, the French Government believes that the international community must keep up its pressure on the authorities at Salisbury and even intensify it. This is the purpose of the draft resolution.

90. The technical aspects of the draft resolution that we are about to adopt must not cause us to lose sight of the political dimensions of the Rhodesian problem. The application of sanctions, useful though it may be in weakening the Salisbury régime, will not of itself suffice to put an end to the ongoing rebellion and to bring about the independence of Zimbabwe and the establishment of majority rule in that country. Those objectives can be attained only through political initiatives which it is naturally up to the United Kingdom to take. France, like its partners in the European Community, has in the past supported the actions taken by the United Kingdom Government within the framework of its responsibilities. We support today the efforts undertaken by Mr. Owen jointly with the United States to put an end to the *de facto* situation that has existed since 1965 and to clear the way for a satisfactory solution in Southern Rhodesia.

91. The illegal Salisbury régime can still effect a peaceful transition to an independent and democratic Zimbabwe. There is still time for the voice of justice and reason to be heeded. The new appeal made today by the international community has the force of a solemn warning.

92. Mr. MULYE (India): Mr. President, since this is probably the last time the Council will meet under your presidency, allow me to place on record my delegation's profound satisfaction and happiness at the sagacious manner in which you have conducted the deliberations during

the month of May. It is indeed a tribute to your dynamic stewardship that the Council was able to achieve what it did during this month.

93. My delegation, which was not a member of the Council or, consequently, of its Sanctions Committee last year, has attentively gone through the Committee's report contained in document S/12296. We have noted with particular care the observations contained in section II of the report. It is curious that, in spite of the fact that a number of proposals enjoyed broad support in the Committee, the Committee could not reach agreement on them. We believe that some of those proposals are worthy of very serious consideration and earnestly hope that the Committee will, after further discussion, be able to reach a measure of agreement on them. I think that is not too much to expect, given the fact that none of the States represented around this table recognizes the illegal minority Smith régime and that all are committed diligently to applying existing sanctions and also to considering further measures against it with a view to making it see the light of reason. As the years go by, however, it is increasingly difficult to be optimistic about the illegal régime's paying heed to the voice of reason, and this is reflected in the growing frustration of freedom fighters seeking to liberate their country and to establish majority rule there.

94. The draft resolution [S/12339] before us is clearly a step forward in the sense that it attempts further to widen the scope of mandatory sanctions against the rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia. However, it is only a tentative and halting step. We share the view of those who have spoken before us that the actions of the Council in this matter have come to be regarded by many as too little, too late. Under the Charter, the Council has a responsibility and, indeed, a duty to act to terminate the rule of the Smith régime. Given the seriousness of the problem and the threat it poses to international peace and security, the Council must act and act quickly and decisively. If, for whatever reasons, it is seen as failing in the performance of that duty, the consequences for the world could be incalculable. We hope that the Sanctions Committee and the Council itself will not lose sight of that fact in the future deliberations on this subject.

95. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Since there are no further speakers on the list, I shall now make a statement as the representative of BENIN.

96. The fact that the illegal minority racist régime established on 11 November 1965 by the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia under the leadership of Ian Smith constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security no longer needs demonstrating.

97. The imperialists know perfectly well that the illegal régime of Ian Smith is fragile. They know that the elimination of that illegal régime is only a question of time. That is why, since the Geneva scenario, they have recently been intensifying all sorts of diplomatic manoeuvres.

98. In reality the imperialist West, always true to form in regard to decolonization, has launched a propaganda arsenal in order to achieve the sordid objectives of the neo-colonialist strategy in Southern Rhodesia.

Their aim is to bypass the fundamental interests of the people of Zimbabwe, who are resolved to eliminate the colonialist régime of Southern Rhodesia. The aim is to circumvent the legitimate revolutionary aspirations of the intrepid people of Zimbabwe quite simply by replacing the colonialist and racist régime of Smith by a puppet neo-colonial régime ready to protect the interests of the capitalist monopolies operating in Rhodesia.

99. My delegation would like to address itself to those who are promoting this neo-colonialist strategy and to say that, like all other attempts of the same kind, it is inevitably doomed to failure. It can only strengthen the determination of the people of Zimbabwe completely and definitively to eliminate the Smith régime and to replace it freely with the political and social régime of their choice.

100. If the imperialist West, which is Smith's protector, is sincere in its wish to avert a blood-bath, the only honest alternative is to oblige Smith and his clique to give up the power they have usurped, thus allowing the authentic representatives of the people of Zimbabwe to set up the governmental institutions of their choice. If the imperialist West is sincere, it must accept the expansion of the sanctions in terms of the entirety of the measures advocated in Article 41 of the Charter.

101. The text before us is not perfect. My delegation associates itself with it in the spirit of co-operation and solidarity which we scrupulously observe among the non-aligned and others in the Council. The Council, whose *raison d'être* is the maintenance of international peace and security, must inevitably expand the scope of the sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia under the terms of Article 41 of the Charter.

102. Speaking now as PRESIDENT, if no other representative wishes to speak at this stage, may I take it that the Council is ready to take a decision on the draft resolution appearing in document S/12339 without a vote? If that is the case and if there is no objection, I shall take it that the draft resolution is adopted unanimously without a vote.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.³

103. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): The Security Council has today unanimously decided on further measures to tighten the screw on the rebel illegal racist régime of Ian Smith. We have also decided on an important tactical procedural step regarding measures under Article 41 of the Charter. However, we have not taken any effective action merely by adopting yet another resolution. That was rightly pointed out by Mr. Troyanovsky, representative of the Soviet Union. Actions can be taken only by our respective Governments. I hope that they will take the necessary prompt and effective action and implement the decisions of the Council in their entirety with a sincerity of purpose. I thank all my colleagues around this table for their co-operation.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

³ See resolution 409 (1977).