

mentioned resolution of the Organization of African Unity;

"5. *Requests* all States to assist the Organization of African Unity in the attainment of this objective;

"6. *Requests* the Organization of African Unity, in accordance with Article 54 of the Charter of the United Nations, to keep the Security Council fully informed of any action it may take under the present resolution;

"7. *Requests* the Secretary-General of the United Nations to follow the situation in the Congo and to report to the Security Council at the appropriate time."

The question remained on the list of matters with which the Security Council is seized.⁴⁰⁵

SITUATION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Decision of 6 May 1965 (1202nd meeting):

- (i) *Requesting the United Kingdom Government and all Member States not to accept a unilateral declaration of independence for Southern Rhodesia by the minority government;*
- (ii) *Requesting the United Kingdom to take all necessary action to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence;*
- (iii) *Requesting the United Kingdom Government not to transfer under any circumstances to the colony of Southern Rhodesia, as at present governed, any of the powers or attributes of sovereignty, but to promote the country's attainment of independence by a democratic system of government in accordance with the aspirations of the majority of the population;*
- (iv) *Further requesting the United Kingdom Government to enter into consultations with all concerned with a view to convening a conference of all political parties in order to adopt new constitutional provisions acceptable to the majority of the people of Rhodesia, so that the earliest possible date may be set for independence;*
- (v) *Deciding to keep the question of Southern Rhodesia on its agenda*

By letter ⁴⁰⁶ dated 21 April 1965 the representatives of Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta and Zambia, requested the President of the Security Council to convene an urgent meeting of the Council to examine "the very serious situation" existing in Southern Rhodesia.

In the explanatory memorandum attached to the letter it was stated that the situation in Southern Rhodesia was such as to endanger international peace and security in Africa and throughout the world, and that

it was necessary that the Council should consider the situation as a matter of urgency. It further stated that despite resolutions 1747 (XVI), 1760 (XVII), 1883 (XVIII) and 1889 (XVIII) of the General Assembly, the efforts of the Special Committee established under resolution 1654 (XVI) and of the United Nations Secretary-General, and the repeated appeals made by the African Heads of State and Government, the United Kingdom had done nothing to apply resolution 1514 (XV) to "its colony of Southern Rhodesia". Moreover, the intensification of repressive measures against the African nationalist leaders, the decision to hold elections on the basis of the Constitution of 1961, and the threats of "the so-called Prime Minister of the Territory to proclaim the independence" of Southern Rhodesia without regard for the opinion of the African inhabitants, had resulted in a deterioration of the situation, and had been characterized as constituting "a threat to international peace and security".

At the 1194th meeting on 30 April 1965, after the representative of the United Kingdom had reaffirmed reservations made at the 1064th meeting regarding the lack of competence of the Council on the matter,⁴⁰⁷ the Council adopted⁴⁰⁸ its agenda and considered the question at the 1194th to 1202nd meetings, held between 30 April and 6 May 1965. The representatives of Senegal and Algeria were invited to take part in the discussion.⁴⁰⁹

Speaking on behalf of all the States members of the Organization of African Unity, the representatives of Senegal* and Algeria* stated at the 1194th and 1197th meetings that recent events and statements clearly indicated that Southern Rhodesia had proceeded along the path of illegality, injustice and outrageous repression and that the objective of the Government of Southern Rhodesia was to obtain a comfortable majority in the elections which were set for 7 May 1965, so that they would be able to proclaim independence. They accused the United Kingdom of strengthening the capabilities of the "racist" Government of Southern Rhodesia by putting at its disposal the air power of the Federation of Central Africa after the dissolution of that Federation in December 1963; and of placing the interests of the settlers over those of the African majority. As a result, a minority had been given the power to legislate and to decide the destiny of the African majority. Their adoption of certain "racist and repressive legislation" clearly indicated the policy that would be pursued.

The representatives saw the recent agreements that Southern Rhodesia had concluded with Portugal and South Africa as an attempt by Mr. Smith "to provide against all kinds of foreseeable difficulties". Recalling that by resolutions 1747 (XVI), 1760 (XVII), 1883 (XVIII) and 1889 (XVIII), the General Assembly had requested the Administering Authority of the Territory of Southern Rhodesia to take a certain number of measures to restore security in the interior of the country, they asserted that it was "high time" for the United Kingdom to take action in conformity with those resolutions. They further contended that since Southern Rhodesia was still a British colony and subject to the Crown, the United Kingdom could legally use force as it had done in the past; "to admit the contrary would be to recognize the right of accession for a colony which does not yet fulfil the conditions

⁴⁰⁷ 1194th meeting: para. 6.

⁴⁰⁸ 1194th meeting: para. 7.

⁴⁰⁹ 1194th meeting: para. 8.

⁴⁰⁵ The following were subsequent communications on this question received during the period covered by this Supplement: S/6138 of 5 January 1965 and S/6172 of 3 February 1965. O.R., 20th yr., Suppl. for Jan.-March 1965, pp. 6, 41-42.

⁴⁰⁶ S/6294 and Add.1, O.R., 20th yr., Suppl. for Apr.-June 1965, pp. 45-47.

for normal accession to independence". In suggesting measures that might be employed they recalled the proposals set forth in the draft resolution drawn up by the Special Committee (S/6300), namely that: (1) the elections of 7 May should be prevented from taking place; (2) all persons who had been arbitrarily arrested should be released and all discriminatory laws promulgated under the 1961 Constitution should be abolished; and (3) public freedoms and civil liberties should be restored and Southern Rhodesia should be prepared for independence by convening a constitutional conference. On the other hand, if the United Kingdom allowed Mr. Smith to set up a régime based on white supremacy, thereby creating a South Africa type situation with its inherent danger to international peace and security, then the United Kingdom should bear full responsibility for the serious consequences which would emerge.⁴¹⁰

At the 1194th and 1197th meetings held between 30 April-4 May 1965, the representative of the United Kingdom outlined the policy of his Government regarding Southern Rhodesia in the following terms: (1) the British Government must be satisfied that any basis on which it is proposed that independence should be granted was acceptable to the people of the country as a whole; (2) it was not by unconstitutional or illegal action that a way forward must be sought, but by negotiation; and (3) no one must be left in any doubt of the true constitutional position or of the political and economic consequences which would flow from an illegal declaration of independence. Those principles were reaffirmed in a statement on 27 October 1964, which concluded as follows:

"In short an illegal declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia would bring to an end relationships between her and Britain, would cut her off from the rest of the Commonwealth, from most foreign governments and from international organizations, would inflict disastrous economic damage upon her, and would leave her isolated and virtually friendless in a largely hostile continent."⁴¹¹

He recalled the efforts of his Government to get negotiations started and suggested that so long as there was any prospect of negotiation aimed at avoiding or preventing disaster it should be pressed to the very end. He further stated "to abandon negotiation now would surely be an act of irresponsibility. To do anything in this Council or any where else to make negotiation more difficult, to wreck what hopes there are for peaceful progress, to take any action here which might contribute to the very disaster we most want to prevent—surely that would be a course to be universally condemned". Moreover, the British Government considered that while the responsibility for bringing Rhodesia forward to independence rested with the United Kingdom alone, Rhodesia was self-governing in its internal affairs. Consequently, the decision to hold elections on 7 May was a decision for the Rhodesian Government, and the United Kingdom Government had no responsibility and no authority over that matter. In conclusion, the representative of the United Kingdom warned "that no good but only harm

could come from calling for unconstitutional action", which his Government would not take.⁴¹²

At the 1199th meeting on 5 May 1965, the representative of the Ivory Coast introduced a draft resolution⁴¹³ jointly sponsored by Jordan and Malaysia. As revised on the same date⁴¹⁴ the draft resolution provided that the Council would *inter alia*, request the United Kingdom Government and all United Nations Members not to accept a unilateral declaration of independence for Southern Rhodesia by the minority Government, and would further request the United Kingdom Government to implement certain other measures.

At the 1201st meeting on 5 May 1965, the representative of the USSR introduced amendments⁴¹⁵ to the joint draft resolution. As revised⁴¹⁶ the amendments called for deletion of operative paragraphs 3 and 4 of the draft resolution, and their replacement by a request to the United Kingdom to cancel the elections set by the Government of Southern Rhodesia for 7 May on the basis of the Constitution of 1961; and for the deletion from paragraph 5 of the words "not to transfer under any circumstances to its colony of Southern Rhodesia, as at present governed, any of the powers or attributes of sovereignty, but to promote the country's attainment", and their replacement by the words "to take the necessary measures for the immediate granting to Southern Rhodesia . . ."

At the 1202nd meeting on 6 May 1965, the Council voted upon the draft resolution and the amendments before it. The USSR amendments were not adopted. There were one vote in favour, 2 against with 8 abstentions.⁴¹⁷

The joint draft resolution was adopted by 7 votes in favour to none against, with 4 abstentions.⁴¹⁸ It read as follows:⁴¹⁹

"The Security Council,

"Having examined the situation in Southern Rhodesia,

"Recalling General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, 1747 (XVI) of 28 June 1962, 1760 (XVII) of 31 October 1962, 1883 (XVIII) of 14 October 1963 and 1889 (XVIII) of 6 November 1963, and the resolutions of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, especially its resolution of 22 April 1965 (A/AC.109/112),

"Endorsing the requests which the General Assembly and the Special Committee have many times addressed to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to obtain:

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

"(b) The repeal of all repressive and discriminatory legislation, and in particular the Law and

⁴¹² 1194th meeting: paras. 91-103, 109, 110 and 117; 1197th meeting: paras. 39-43.

⁴¹³ S/6329, 1199th meeting: paras. 61-76.

⁴¹⁴ S/6329/Rev.1. Same text as S/RES/202 (1965), *O.R.*, 20th yr., *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*, 1965, pp. 6-7.

⁴¹⁵ S/6332, 1201st meeting: paras. 31-40.

⁴¹⁶ S/6332/Rev.1, 1202nd meeting: para. 85.

⁴¹⁷ 1202nd meeting: para. 86.

⁴¹⁸ 1202nd meeting: para. 87.

⁴¹⁹ S/RES/202 (1965), *O.R.*, 20th yr., *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*, 1965, pp. 6-7.

⁴¹⁰ For texts of relevant statements, see: 1194th meeting: Algeria,* paras. 51-88; Senegal,* paras. 14, 20-48; 1197th meeting: Algeria,* paras. 89-98; Senegal,* paras. 72-80.

⁴¹¹ A/AC.109/L.187, annex I, appendix I, para. 8.

Order (Maintenance) Act and the Land Apportionment Act,

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

“Noting that the Special Committee has drawn the attention of the Security Council to the grave situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia and, in particular, to the serious implications of the elections announced to take place on 7 May 1965 under a constitution which has been rejected by the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia and the abrogation of which has repeatedly been called for by the General Assembly and the Special Committee since 1962,

“*Deeply disturbed* at the further worsening of the situation in the Territory due to the application of the aforementioned Constitution of 1961 and to recent events, especially the minority Government’s threats of a unilateral declaration of independence,

“1. *Notes* the United Kingdom Government’s statement of 27 October 1964 specifying the conditions under which Southern Rhodesia might attain independence;

“2. *Notes further and approves* the opinion of the majority of the population of Southern Rhodesia that the United Kingdom should convene a constitutional conference;

“3. *Requests* the United Kingdom Government and all States Members of the United Nations not to accept a unilateral declaration of independence for Southern Rhodesia by the minority Government;

“4. *Requests* the United Kingdom to take all necessary action to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence;

“5. *Requests* the United Kingdom Government not to transfer under any circumstances to its colony of Southern Rhodesia, as at present governed, any of the powers or attributes of sovereignty, but to promote the country’s attainment of independence by a democratic system of government in accordance with the aspirations of the majority of the population;

“6. *Further requests* the United Kingdom Government to enter into consultations with all concerned with a view to convening a conference of all political parties in order to adopt new constitutional provisions acceptable to the majority of the people of Rhodesia, so that the earliest possible date may be set for independence;

“7. *Decides* to keep the question of Southern Rhodesia on its agenda.”

Decision of 12 November 1965 (1258th meeting):

- (i) *Condemning the unilateral declaration of independence made by a racist minority in Southern Rhodesia;*
- (ii) *Deciding to call upon all States not to recognize this illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and to refrain from rendering any assistance to this illegal régime*

By letter ⁴²⁰ dated 11 November 1965, the permanent representative of the United Kingdom informed the President of the Security Council that the authori-

⁴²⁰ S/6896. O.R., 20th yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1965, p. 354.

ties in Rhodesia had made an announcement, purporting, illegally and unilaterally to declare independence for Rhodesia. The United Kingdom Government wished to inform the Security Council of the situation which had been created and of the steps which it was taking to meet the situation. Consequently, an urgent meeting of the Council was requested.

On 10 November 1965, the President of the General Assembly transmitted to the Security Council the texts of two resolutions (2012 (XX) and 2022 (XX)) adopted by the General Assembly on 12 October 1965 and on 5 November 1965 respectively, concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia. In his letter ⁴²¹ to the Council, the President of the General Assembly referred to paragraphs 12 and 13 of resolution 2022 (XX), in which the General Assembly “draws the attention of the Security Council to the threats made by the present authorities in Southern Rhodesia . . .” and “to the explosive situation in Southern Rhodesia which threatens international peace and security.”

By letter ⁴²² dated 11 November 1965, the representatives of Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta and Zambia, requested the President of the Security Council to convene an “emergency meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation created in Southern Rhodesia as a result of the unilateral declaration of independence” by the white minority Government there. The letter stated that the unilateral declaration of independence of Southern Rhodesia had created “a threat to international peace and security”.

By letter ⁴²³ dated 11 November 1965, the representatives of Afghanistan, Ceylon, Cyprus, Ghana, India, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Madagascar, Mauritania, Morocco, Pakistan, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey and Uganda requested the President of the Security Council to consider the grave situation in Southern Rhodesia arising out of the unilateral declaration of independence by the “white minority Government”. The letter stated that the unilateral declaration of independence aggravated an already explosive situation and threatened international peace and security.

By letter ⁴²⁴ dated 11 November 1965, the President of the General Assembly transmitted to the Security Council the text of resolution 2024 (XX) of the General Assembly adopted on 11 November 1965, in which it was recommended that the Security Council consider the situation in Southern Rhodesia as a matter of urgency.

At the 1257th meeting on 12 November 1965, the Security Council decided to include the question on its agenda ⁴²⁵ and considered it at the 1257th to 1265th

⁴²¹ S/6897, O.R., 20th yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1965, p. 355.

⁴²² S/6902, O.R., 20th yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1965, pp. 357-358.

⁴²³ S/6903, O.R., 20th yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1965, pp. 358-359.

⁴²⁴ S/6908, O.R., 20th yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1965, p. 359.

⁴²⁵ 1257th meeting, para. 5. For discussion on participation, see chapter III, Case 3 and Case 18.

meetings held between 12 and 20 November 1965. The representatives of Algeria, India, Pakistan, Ghana, Zambia, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Mali, Nigeria, Portugal, South Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania, and later, the representatives of Guinea, Ethiopia, Mauritania, Gambia, Jamaica, Somalia and Sudan were invited to take part in the discussion.⁴²⁰ Portugal⁴²⁷ and South Africa⁴²⁸ declined the Security Council's invitation to participate in the discussion of the question.

In his initial statement before the Council at the 1257th meeting on 12 November 1965, the representative of the United Kingdom explained that the United Kingdom had asked for the immediate meeting of the Security Council in connexion with the situation in Southern Rhodesia resulting from the declaration of independence made by a racist minority. The British Government regarded that as illegal and invalid since only the British Parliament had the right and authority to accord independence to Southern Rhodesia. He pointed out that the attempt to establish in Africa an illegal régime based on minority rule was a matter of world concern. That was the main reason why the question had been brought before the Security Council. After describing the measures which the United Kingdom had taken to deal with the illegal declaration and restore the rule of law in Southern Rhodesia, he asked for the goodwill, co-operation and active support of all those who accepted the principles set out in the resolution adopted by the General Assembly. The representative made it clear that the British Government did not "believe the use of military force can solve this problem". He called on every State Member of the United Nations to refuse to recognize the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, to prohibit all export of arms to that country, to impose exchange control restrictions, to deny all the advantages in trade and to ban the import of Southern Rhodesian tobacco and sugar. He considered that "If all Members of the United Nations support us sincerely in applying these measures, the effect on the Southern Rhodesian economy will be severe indeed".⁴²⁹

At the same meeting, speaking on behalf of the African States, the representative of Ghana* reviewed the history of the problem and pointed out that by his unilateral declaration of independence, Mr. Ian Smith and his "racist accomplices" had precipitated a serious crisis which posed a threat of immense proportions to peace and security in the world. He observed that the act had not come as a surprise. The African States had warned the United Kingdom, as far back as 1963, of the dangerous consequences of transferring powerful armed forces to the "racist minority" Government of Southern Rhodesia. The African States had then requested the Security Council to call upon the Government of the United Kingdom not to transfer to its colony of Southern Rhodesia any powers or attributes of sovereignty until the establishment of a fully representative Government, and not to transfer to the colony of Southern Rhodesia the armed forces and aircraft, as envisaged by the Central African Conference of 1963. However, the Government of the

United Kingdom showed disregard for those apprehensions and warnings by vetoing the draft resolution then submitted by Morocco, Philippines and Ghana. He declared that the "unilateral declaration of independence would have serious repercussions in Africa" and further stated that at the recent African summit conference, held in Accra from 21 to 25 October, the Heads of State and Government adopted a resolution on Southern Rhodesia, operative paragraph 3 of which read:

"Calls upon the United Nations to regard any such unilateral declaration of independence as constituting a threat to international peace, and to take the steps that such a situation requires in accordance with the Charter and to help to establish a majority Government in Southern Rhodesia."

In pursuance of that resolution, the African States had come to the Security Council and called upon the Council to take appropriate action under Chapter VII⁴³⁰ of the Charter, since events in Southern Rhodesia definitely constituted a threat to international peace and security. The African representatives had not come to the Council to endorse half-hearted measures of doubtful efficacy which the United Kingdom Government intended to take. What were required were stronger and more and more effective measures to be taken to crush the rebellion.⁴³¹

At the same meeting the representative of Senegal* stated that the act perpetrated by the Government of Southern Rhodesia was a true act of international piracy. If the rebellion went unpunished it would damage the moral standing of the British Commonwealth; it would undermine the authority of the United Nations Charter and international peace and security in Africa. He observed that the steps the United Kingdom proposed were economic sanctions. He appealed to all Member States to support the actions of the United Kingdom but asserted that "the most vigorous measures, including resort to force" should be used.⁴³²

At the 1258th meeting on 12 November 1965, the representative of Jordan proposed that the Council adopt a preliminary resolution⁴³³ condemning the illegal action of the minority group in Salisbury. The Security Council adopted the draft resolution by 10 votes to none, with 1 abstention.⁴³⁴

The resolution read:⁴³⁵

"The Security Council,

"1. *Decides to condemn* the unilateral declaration of independence made by a racist minority in Southern Rhodesia;

"2. *Decides to call upon* all States not to recognize this illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and to refrain from rendering any assistance to the illegal régime."

Decision of 20 November 1965 (1265th meeting):

(i) *Determining that the situation resulting from the proclamation of independence by the illegal authorities in Southern Rhodesia is extremely grave, that the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Nor-*

⁴³⁰ For discussion concerning the applicability of Chapter VII of the Charter, see chapter XI, Cases 3 and 6.

⁴³¹ 1257th meeting, paras. 38-72.

⁴³² 1257th meeting, paras. 95-107.

⁴³³ 1258th meeting, paras. 4-8.

⁴³⁴ 1258th meeting, para. 29.

⁴³⁵ S/RES/216 (1965)/Rev.1, O.R., 20th yr., Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 1965, p. 8.

⁴²⁰ 1257th meeting, paras. 6-7; 1258th meeting, paras. 1-2; 1259th meeting, paras. 1-2; 1261st meeting, paras. 1-2; 1263rd meeting, paras. 1-2.

⁴²⁷ S/6938, O.R., 20th yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1965, pp. 366-367.

⁴²⁸ S/6935, *ibid.*, p. 365.

⁴²⁹ 1257th meeting, paras. 10-36.

thern Ireland should put an end to it and that its continuance in time constitutes a threat to international peace and security;

- (ii) *Reaffirming its resolution 216 (1965) of 12 November 1965, and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960;*
- (iii) *Condemning the usurpation of power by a racist settler minority in Southern Rhodesia and regarding the declaration of independence by it as having no legal validity;*
- (iv) *Calling upon the Government of the United Kingdom to quell this rebellion of the racist minority;*
- (v) *Further calling upon the Government of the United Kingdom to take all other appropriate measures which would prove effective in eliminating the authority of the usurpers and in bringing the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia to an immediate end;*
- (vi) *Calling upon all States not to recognize this illegal authority and not to entertain any diplomatic or other relations with this illegal authority;*
- (vii) *Calling upon the Government of the United Kingdom, as the working of the Constitution of 1961 has broken down, to take immediate measures in order to allow the people of Southern Rhodesia to determine their own future consistent with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);*
- (viii) *Calling upon all States to refrain from any action which would assist and encourage the illegal régime and, in particular, to desist from providing it with arms, equipment and military material, and to do their utmost in order to break all economic relations with Southern Rhodesia, including an embargo on oil and petroleum products;*
- (ix) *Calling upon the Government of the United Kingdom to enforce urgently and with vigour all the measures it has announced, as well as those mentioned in the previous paragraph;*
- (x) *Calling upon the Organization of African Unity to do all in its power to assist in the implementation of the present resolution, in conformity with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations;*
- (xi) *Deciding to keep the question under review in order to examine what other measures it may deem necessary to take*

The representatives of Mali, * India, * Nigeria, * and the USSR, speaking at the 1258th meeting recalled resolutions 1747 (XVI), 1755 (XVII) and 1760 (XVII) of the General Assembly, and pointed out that the General Assembly reaffirmed the fact that Southern Rhodesia was a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter, and that the United Kingdom was completely responsible for the Territory. They then enumerated the efforts deployed at the United Nations and by the Organization of African Unity, to lead the United Kingdom to change the course of the dangerous evolution of that situation in Southern Rhodesia.

Considering the situation in Southern Rhodesia as "a threat to international peace and security", they requested that the Council should examine it in the light of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, and invite the United Kingdom to take effective measures, including recourse to force, to restore normal conditions in Southern Rhodesia so that the Zimbabwe people might benefit fully from the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The measures taken by the United Kingdom were inadequate and inappropriate in the context of the Southern Rhodesian problem. Economic sanctions alone were not enough. The measures did not include a total embargo on British exports to Southern Rhodesia, including especially oil. The embargo on tobacco would not have any immediate effect on the economy of Southern Rhodesia inasmuch as the recent harvest of tobacco had already been sold. Moreover, it was pointed out, for economic sanctions to have any visible effect on Southern Rhodesia it would be necessary to ensure that both South Africa and Portugal would not undermine the whole undertaking. In conclusion it was declared that the fact that the matter had been before the Security Council should not be interpreted as an intention on the part of the African countries to abandon any initiative for taking action if the Security Council were to abdicate its responsibilities or if any action by the Council were to be blocked by a veto, as had happened in September 1963. At their various meetings, the African Heads of State or Government had taken decisions on the question of Southern Rhodesia, and it would be very wrong indeed to think that those decisions would not be carried out.⁴³⁶

The representatives of Pakistan, * Algeria, * the Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, * Ethiopia, * the United Republic of Tanzania, * Zambia, * Malaysia, Mauritania, * Jamaica, * Sudan, * Somalia, * and Jordan at the 1259th to 1264th meetings, held between 13 and 19 November 1965, stated that the illegal unilateral declaration of independence made by the Southern Rhodesian authorities had threatened international peace and security. The developments and events in Southern Rhodesia had given cause for the serious concern which had been expressed in the resolution passed by the Heads of African States and Governments at their conference at Accra in October 1965, which had called upon the United Kingdom to regard any such unilateral declaration of independence as constituting a threat to international peace, and to take the steps that such a situation required in accordance with the Charter in order to help to establish a majority Government in Southern Rhodesia. They pointed out that the United Nations, in its Committee of Twenty-Four, in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, had been seized of the question of Southern Rhodesia for a considerable time. The present state of affairs in Southern Rhodesia was the responsibility of the United Kingdom, which did not comply with resolutions 1747 (XVI), 1760 (XVII) 1889 (XVII) and 2022 (XX) of the General Assembly. They stated that the Council should conduct its deliberations in the light of Chapter VII under the terms of Articles 39 to 51. Noting that the measures proposed by the United Kingdom for dealing with crises were inadequate, they advocated "the most vigorous measures", including resort to force, to counter "the

⁴³⁶ 1258th meeting: paras. 31-136.

act of international piracy committed by the Government of Mr. Ian Smith".⁴³⁷

At the 1259th meeting on 13 November 1965, the representative of the United Kingdom introduced a draft resolution⁴³⁸ under the operative paragraphs of which the Security Council would: (1) refuse to recognize the unilateral declaration of independence by the former régime in Southern Rhodesia as having any legal validity; (2) reiterate its call to all States to refuse to recognize the illegal régime and unconstitutional régime in Southern Rhodesia; (3) call upon all States to refrain from any action which could give aid and comfort to that régime; and (4) call upon all States to lend all necessary assistance and support to the United Kingdom Government in making effective the measures, taken by that Government, including the financial and economic measures, to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to an end.

At the same meeting on behalf of the African delegations the representative of the Ivory Coast introduced a draft resolution⁴³⁹ under the operative paragraphs of which the Security Council would: (1) determine that the situation resulting from the declaration of independence constitutes a threat to international peace and security; (2) declare illegal the seizure of power by the racist minority settler régime in Southern Rhodesia; (3) call upon the United Kingdom and all other States to take immediate steps to protect the lives of the 4 million Africans and other inhabitants of the Territory who oppose this rebellion; (4) further call upon the United Kingdom Government, in addition to the measures it had proposed to take with regard to the situation in Southern Rhodesia, to suspend the 1961 Constitution; (5) call upon all States not to recognize the racist minority settler régime and to withdraw recognition of any State recognizing that régime; (6) demand that the rebellion by the racist minority settler régime be immediately crushed and law and order established in that African Territory; (7) demand further that majority rule be established in the Territory on the basis of the principle "one man, one vote"; (8) call upon all States to enforce on the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia a complete interruption of economic relations, including an embargo on supplies of oil and petroleum products, and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication and severance of diplomatic and consular relations, in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter; (9) decide to take all the enforcement measures provided for under Articles 42 and 43 of the Charter against the racist minority settler régime; and (10) authorize the Secretary-General to ensure the immediate implementation of that resolution and to report as soon as possible.

At the 1264th meeting on 19 November 1965, the representative of Uruguay introduced a draft resolution⁴⁴⁰ jointly sponsored by Bolivia and Uruguay.

The Council agreed that it should be given priority of consideration.⁴⁴¹

At the 1265th meeting on 20 November 1965, the President (Bolivia) informed the Council that Bolivia and Uruguay had modified operative paragraph 1 of their draft resolution.⁴⁴²

At the same meeting the Council voted upon the joint draft resolution before it. The joint draft resolution was adopted by 10 votes in favour to none against with 1 abstention.⁴⁴³ The resolution⁴⁴⁴ read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Deeply concerned about the situation in Southern Rhodesia,

"Considering that the illegal authorities in Southern Rhodesia have proclaimed independence and that the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power, looks upon this as an act of rebellion,

"Noting that the Government of the United Kingdom has taken certain measures to meet the situation and that to be effective these measures should correspond to the gravity of the situation,

"1. Determines that the situation resulting from the proclamation of independence by the illegal authorities in Southern Rhodesia is extremely grave, that the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland should put an end to it and that its continuance in time constitutes a threat to international peace and security;

"2. Reaffirms its resolution 216 (1965) of 12 November 1965 and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960;

"3. Condemns the usurpation of power by a racist settler minority in Southern Rhodesia and regards the declaration of independence by it as having no legal validity;

"4. Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom to quell this rebellion of the racist minority;

"5. Further calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom to take all other appropriate measures which would prove effective in eliminating the authority of the usurpers and in bringing the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia to an immediate end;

"6. Calls upon all States not to recognize this illegal authority and not to entertain any diplomatic or other relations with it;

"7. Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom, as the working of the Constitution of 1961 has broken down, to take immediate measures in order to allow the people of Southern Rhodesia to determine their own future consistent with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

"8. Calls upon all States to refrain from any action which would assist and encourage the illegal régime and, in particular, to desist from providing it with arms, equipment and military material, and to do their utmost in order to break all economic relations with Southern Rhodesia, in-

⁴³⁷ For texts of relevant statements see:

1259th meeting: Pakistan,* paras. 1-14; Algeria,* paras. 34-46; Ivory Coast, paras. 44-71; Sierra Leone,* paras. 73-88.

1260th meeting: Ethiopia,* paras. 3-28; the United Republic of Tanzania,* paras. 30-64; Zambia,* paras. 66-86, Malaysia, paras. 87-107; Guinea, paras. 109-125.

1261st meeting: Mauritania,* paras. 4-31.

1262nd meeting: Jamaica,* paras. 9-34.

1263rd meeting: Sudan,* paras. 25-41; Somalia,* paras. 43-58.

1264th meeting: Jordan, paras. 10-18.

⁴³⁸ S/6928, 1259th meeting, para. 31.

⁴³⁹ S/6929, 1259th meeting, para. 70.

⁴⁴⁰ S/6955, 1264th meeting, paras. 8-9.

⁴⁴¹ 1264th meeting, para. 3.

⁴⁴² 1265th meeting, para. 3.

⁴⁴³ 1265th meeting, para. 4.

⁴⁴⁴ S/RES/217 (1965), O.R., 20th yr., Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 1965, pp. 8-9.

cluding an embargo on oil and petroleum products;

"9. *Calls upon* the Government of the United Kingdom to enforce urgently and with vigour all the measures it has announced, as well as those mentioned in paragraph 8 above;

"10. *Calls upon* the Organization of African Unity to do all in its power to assist in the implementation of the present resolution, in conformity with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations;

"11. *Decides* to keep the question under review in order to examine what other measures it may deem it necessary to take."

In view of the adoption of the draft resolution of Bolivia and Uruguay, the representatives of the Ivory Coast⁴⁴⁵ and the United Kingdom⁴⁴⁶ stated that they would not press for a vote on the draft resolutions which they had respectively introduced.

SITUATION IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

INITIAL PROCEEDINGS

By letter⁴⁴⁷ dated 1 May 1965, the permanent representative of the USSR requested the President of the Security Council to convene an urgent meeting in order "to consider the question of the armed interference by the United States in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic."

At the 1196th meeting on 3 May 1965, the Council decided⁴⁴⁸ to include the question in the agenda. The representative of Cuba was invited to participate in the discussion.⁴⁴⁹

The Council considered the question at its 1196th, 1198th, 1200th, 1202nd to 1204th, 1207th to 1209th, 1212th to 1223rd, 1225th to 1233rd meetings held between 3 May and 26 July 1965.

Decision of 14 May 1965 (1208th meeting):

- (i) *Calling for a strict cease-fire;*
- (ii) *Inviting the Secretary-General to send, as an urgent measure, a representative to the Dominican Republic for the purpose of reporting to the Council on the situation;*
- (iii) *Calling upon all concerned in the Dominican Republic to co-operate with the representative of the Secretary-General in the carrying out of that task.*

At the 1196th meeting on 3 May 1965, the representative of the USSR stated that the Council had been convened to deal with an armed intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic. Under the "false pretext of protecting American lives" fourteen thousand United States troops had already been landed on the territory of the Dominican Republic, and the city of Santo Domingo had actually been taken over by the United States forces. On 28 April, over 405 United States marines landed on Dominican territory and even if the United States version of its actions was to be accepted those troops would have been more than sufficient to evacuate United States citizens whereupon they would have been removed from that country. But even after the

question of convening the Security Council to consider the matter had been raised, 1700 more marines and 2,500 paratroopers were sent to the Dominican Republic. Moreover heavy armaments and even tanks had been utilized by the United States units in engagements with "patriotic" Dominican forces. It was thus clear that what was intended to be saved was a "reactionary dictatorship of the militarists" against which the Dominican people had taken up arms. Besides, no longer was a secret being made of plans to keep United States troops in the Dominican Republic even after order had been re-established in that country.

Furthermore, the representative of the USSR maintained that in sending troops to the Dominican Republic, the United States had not ascertained beforehand the view of the members of the Organization of American States (OAS), but had put before it a *fait accompli* as it had only been convened after their landing in Santo Domingo. Under those circumstances the concern and apprehension with which the other countries of the Americas viewed the interference by the United States troops was understandable.

The "aggression" committed by the United States against the Dominican Republic was fraught with the most serious consequences for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council should therefore condemn the armed intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic as a violation of international peace and as an action incompatible with the obligations assumed by the United States under the United Nations Charter. The Council should further call upon the Government of the United States immediately to withdraw its troops from the territory of the Dominican Republic.⁴⁵⁰

At the same meeting the representative of the United States explained that despite the efforts of his Government and the Organization of American States to build a stable and free society capable of economic, social and political development, the people of the Dominican Republic had suffered from constant turmoil and political conflict since the overthrow of the Trujillo dictatorship. During the previous week that instability "erupted" and officials who had governed that country for a year and a half were violently forced out. As rival groups strove to capture power fighting broke out between and among them and the Dominican Republic was left without effective government for some days. As the situation deteriorated certain of the contending forces indiscriminately distributed weapons to civilians and as armed bands began to roam the streets of Santo Domingo, looting, burning and sniping, law and order completely broke down, and several foreign embassies were violated.

In the face of uncontrollable violence, the Government which had replaced the Reid Cabral Government also quickly crumbled in a few days. In the absence of any governmental authority, Dominican law enforcement and military officials informed the United States Embassy that the situation was completely "out of control", that the police and other authorities could no longer give any guarantee concerning the safety of citizens of the United States or of some thirty other countries. Faced with that emergency, the United States on 28 April had dispatched the first of its security forces sent to Dominican territory. Since their arrival, nearly 3,000 foreign nationals from thirty

⁴⁴⁵ 1265th meeting, para. 38.

⁴⁴⁶ 1265th meeting, para. 63.

⁴⁴⁷ S/6316, O.R., 20th year, Suppl. for April-June 1965, p. 70.

⁴⁴⁸ 1196th meeting: preceding para. 1.

⁴⁴⁹ 1196th meeting: para. 1.

⁴⁵⁰ 1196th meeting, paras. 11-30, 44, 51, 52.