

"3. *Extends* once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a further period ending 15 June 1969, in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force."

#### SITUATION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

**Decision** of 9 April 1966 (1277th meeting):

- (i) *Determining that the resulting situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to the peace;*
- (ii) *Calling upon the Portuguese Government not to permit oil to be pumped through the pipeline from Beira to Southern Rhodesia;*
- (iii) *Calling upon the Portuguese Government not to receive at Beira oil destined for Southern Rhodesia;*
- (iv) *Calling upon all States to ensure the diversion of any of their vessels reasonably believed to be carrying oil destined for Southern Rhodesia which may be en route for Beira;*
- (v) *Calling upon the Government of the United Kingdom to prevent, by the use of force if necessary, the arrival at Beira of vessels reasonably believed to be carrying oil destined for Southern Rhodesia, and empowering the United Kingdom to arrest and detain the tanker known as the "Joanna V" upon her departure from Beira in the event her oil cargo is discharged there*

By letter <sup>89</sup> dated 7 April 1966, the representative of the United Kingdom requested the convening that afternoon of an emergency meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation in Southern Rhodesia, in connexion with the arrival at Beira of an oil tanker destined for Southern Rhodesia and the approach to the same port of a second tanker, also believed destined for Southern Rhodesia. The letter expressed the concern of the United Kingdom Government that this might result in substantial supplies of oil reaching Southern Rhodesia, in contravention of the oil embargo it had imposed in conformity with Security Council resolution 217 (1966) of 20 November 1966. The letter also stated that during the meeting, the United Kingdom would make proposals to meet the situation.

In a second letter <sup>90</sup> dated 8 April 1966, the representative of the United Kingdom, having drawn the attention of the President of the Council to rule 2 and Article 28 of the Charter, expressed dissatisfaction that the Council had not been convened the day before, in spite of the formal and urgent request he had made in his letter of 7 April. He also regretted that no relevant formal explanation had been given by the President and, in the circumstances, insisted that the meeting of the Council be convened without further delay.

At the 1276th meeting on 9 April 1966, the Council adopted the agenda and considered the question at the 1276th and 1277th meetings, both held on 9 April 1966. The representatives of Algeria and Sierra Leone,<sup>91</sup>

Kenya <sup>92</sup> and Greece <sup>93</sup> were invited to take part in the discussion.

At the same meeting, the representative of the United Kingdom referred to a procedural question concerning the urgency of the request for the convening of the meeting, and objected to the fact that such a request for an emergency meeting of the Council had not been accepted. <sup>94</sup> He then drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution <sup>95</sup> which his delegation had submitted and stated that what he was doing was not to raise a new subject, but to report a serious challenge to the authority of the United Nations, on which both the Security Council and the General Assembly had pronounced themselves within recent months. His delegation was seeking the authority of the Council to respond to that challenge with vigorous and immediate action. The United Kingdom Government, pursuant to Council resolution 217 (1965), had taken action with regard to the oil embargo against Southern Rhodesia. But as the Council was meeting, an oil tanker, the *Joanna V*, with a full cargo of oil, was in the port of Beira, while another tanker, the *Manuela*, also with a full cargo of oil, had been close to Beira and could put in at that port very soon. Other tankers might follow, and would surely do so, unless the Council acted now. If the oil carried by such ships were pumped through the pipeline to the refinery at Umtali, which had been closed since December 1965, the normal system of supply of petroleum products to Southern Rhodesia would resume. Moreover, if the oil from these and other tankers reached Rhodesia, the oil embargo effected by the Council would be severely prejudiced, the illegal régime in Salisbury encouraged, and the United Nations purposes most seriously frustrated. His delegation therefore came to the Council to seek its help and authority to prevent this from happening. If the Council failed to take the required action, it would be helping the illegal régime and reduce the authority of the United Nations, which no Council member wished to do.<sup>96</sup>

At the same meeting, the representative of Uganda introduced the following amendment,<sup>97</sup> submitted jointly with Mali and Nigeria, to the revised United Kingdom draft resolution: (1) after the first preambular paragraph, insert the following paragraphs: "*Noting* that economic measures have failed to produce the desired political results; *Deeply concerned* at the reports that oil had been reaching Southern Rhodesia;" (2) in operative paragraph 1, delete the words "the resulting situation" and insert "the situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia," and after the word "peace" add "and security"; (3) after operative paragraph 3, insert the following paragraph: "*Calls upon* the Government of South Africa to take all measures necessary to prevent the supply of oil to Southern Rhodesia;" (4) Delete operative paragraph 5, and replace it by the following paragraph: "*Calls upon* the Government of the United Kingdom to prevent by all means including the use of force, the transportation

<sup>92</sup> 1277th meeting, para. 1.

<sup>93</sup> 1277th meeting, para. 127.

<sup>94</sup> For the procedural discussion, see chapter I, Case 1.

<sup>95</sup> S/7236/Rev.1. For the consideration of the provisions of article 39, see chapter XI, Case 1; for the consideration of the applicability of article 42, see chapter XI, Case 7.

<sup>96</sup> 1276th meeting, paras. 13, 14, 19 and 20.

<sup>97</sup> S/7243, OR, 21st yr., Suppl. for April-June 1966, pp. 32-33.

<sup>89</sup> S/7235, 1276th meeting, para. 10.

<sup>90</sup> S/7238, OR, 21st yr., Suppl. for April-June 1966, pp. 30-31.

<sup>91</sup> 1276th meeting, para. 8.

into Southern Rhodesia of oil or other merchandise and empowers the United Kingdom to take measures necessary for the immediate implementation of this resolution;" and (5) add the following two paragraphs at the end of the draft resolution: "*Calls upon* all States to apply measures for the complete interruption of economic relations and of communications with the settler minority régime and any other means in conformity with Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter," and "*Calls upon* the United Kingdom Government to employ measures including the use of force to bring down the settler minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and to implement forthwith resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly".

In submitting the amendments which, he observed, had been produced in close collaboration with African Members of the United Nations, the representative of Uganda stated that the sponsors had no intention of going against the United Kingdom draft resolution, as the amendments were designed to strengthen the hand of the United Kingdom in dealing with the situation in Southern Rhodesia.

At the 1277th meeting on 9 April 1966, the representative of the United Kingdom stated that as the amendments proposed contained important proposals, he could not comment on them without consultation with his Government. That did not mean that the proposals could not be considered at some other time. He believed, however, that the Council should at that stage adopt a practical action which carried the support of all members, namely, to stop the ships. The Council could subsequently pursue the important matters envisaged in the amendments.<sup>98</sup>

At the same meeting, the Council voted upon the draft resolution and the amendments before it. The first three amendments were not adopted,<sup>99</sup> the vote being 7 in favour, none against, with 8 abstentions. The last two amendments were also not adopted,<sup>100</sup> the vote being 6 in favour, none against, with 9 abstentions. The revised draft resolution was adopted<sup>101</sup> by 10 votes in favour, none against, with 5 abstentions.<sup>102</sup> It read as follows:<sup>103</sup>

*"The Security Council,*

*"Recalling* its resolutions 216 (1965) of 12 November 1965 and 217 (1965) of 20 November 1965 and in particular its call to all States to do their utmost to break off economic relations with Southern Rhodesia, including an embargo on oil and petroleum products,

*"Gravely concerned* at reports that substantial supplies of oil may reach Southern Rhodesia as the result of an oil tanker having arrived at Beira and the approach of a further tanker which may lead to the resumption of pumping through the Companhia do Pipeline Moçambique Rodésias pipeline with the acquiescence of the Portuguese authorities,

<sup>98</sup> 1277th meeting, paras. 149-153.

<sup>99</sup> 1277th meeting, paras. 174-176.

<sup>100</sup> 1277th meeting, paras. 177-178.

<sup>101</sup> 1277th meeting, para. 179.

<sup>102</sup> Subsequently, in communications addressed to the Secretary-General, Portugal and South Africa expressed their reservations concerning the validity of the resolution. See, respectively, S/7271, *O.R.*, 21st yr., *Suppl. for April-June 1966*, pp. 59-62, and S/7392, *ibid.*, *Suppl. for July-Sept. 1966*, pp. 16-17. For reply of the Secretary-General to the communication from Portugal, see S/7373, *ibid.*, *Suppl. for April-June 1966*, pp. 208-209.

<sup>103</sup> Resolution 221 (1966).

*"Considering* that such supplies will afford great assistance and encouragement to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, thereby enabling it to remain longer in being,

*"1. Determines* that the resulting situation constitutes a threat to the peace;

*"2. Calls upon* the Portuguese Government not to permit oil to be pumped through the pipeline from Beira to Southern Rhodesia;

*"3. Calls upon* the Portuguese Government not to receive at Beira oil destined for Southern Rhodesia;

*"4. Calls upon* all States to ensure the diversion of any of their vessels reasonably believed to be carrying oil destined for Southern Rhodesia which may be en route for Beira;

*"5. Calls upon* the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to prevent, by the use of force if necessary, the arrival at Beira of vessels reasonably believed to be carrying oil destined for Southern Rhodesia, and empowers the United Kingdom to arrest and detain the tanker known as the *Joanna V* upon her departure from Beira in the event her oil cargo is discharged there."

**Decision** of 23 May 1966 (1285th meeting):

*Rejection of the joint draft resolution submitted by Mali, Nigeria and Uganda*

By letter<sup>104</sup> dated 10 May 1966, the representatives of Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta and Zambia requested that the Council be convened immediately to examine the situation in Southern Rhodesia. In the letter, it was further stated that the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia was still holding out, and that the measures adopted by the Council had proved ineffective in bringing it down. As a result of the violation of the embargo on oil and petroleum products, the Council had decided to authorize the use of force to ensure the observance of the embargo, thus making use of the provisions found only in Chapter VII of the Charter to ensure observance of its oil embargo against Southern Rhodesia. However, that use of force covered only one relatively minor sector, while substantial quantities of oil and petroleum products were entering Rhodesia through other sectors, in violation of the embargo, and preparations were said to be in progress for a permanent supply system through those sectors. Furthermore, it was regrettable that no effort had been made by the administering Power to open negotiations with the leaders of the African political parties with a view to establishing in Southern Rhodesia a Government consistent with the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. Any arrangements arrived at between the United Kingdom and the Salisbury racist régime, during any negotiations envisaged by the parties, which excluded the genuine representatives of the Zimbabwe people and which failed to guarantee the rights of the majority, would only aggravate an already explosive

<sup>104</sup> S/7285 and Add.1 and 2, *O.R.*, 21st yr., *Suppl. for April-June 1966*, pp. 80-81.

situation and would thus lead to a racial conflict that would envelop all southern Africa. The situation thus constituted a threat to international peace and security and the Security Council should examine, under Chapter VII of the Charter, the necessary measures to establish majority rule in Southern Rhodesia in accordance with the Declaration<sup>106</sup> set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

On 11 May 1966, Mali, Nigeria and Uganda submitted a joint draft resolution<sup>106</sup> whereby the Council would (1) determine that the situation in Southern Rhodesia continued to constitute a threat to international peace and security;<sup>107</sup> (2) call upon all States to apply measures with a view to the complete severance of economic relations and communications with Southern Rhodesia in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter;<sup>108</sup> (3) invite the Portuguese and South African Governments, in particular, to take forthwith the necessary measures under Article 41 of the Charter to sever economic relations and communications with Southern Rhodesia; (4) call upon all States, and particularly the Portuguese and South African Governments, to take all necessary measures to prevent the supply of oil and petroleum products to Southern Rhodesia; (5) call upon the United Kingdom to take the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter in order, by the use of air, sea or land forces,<sup>109</sup> to prevent any supplies, including oil and petroleum products, from reaching Southern Rhodesia; (6) reaffirm the inalienable rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia to freedom and independence in accordance with the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and recognize the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations; (7) call upon the United Kingdom to hold consultations with the leaders of African political parties with a view to the establishment of a régime consistent with the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe; (8) draw the attention of the United Kingdom Government to the harmful consequences which the present negotiations might entail for the establishment of a régime based on universal suffrage; and (9) call upon the United Kingdom Government to take all necessary measures, including the use of force, to abolish the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and to ensure the immediate application of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

At the 1278th meeting on 17 May 1966, the Council included the item in its agenda,<sup>110</sup> and considered the question at the 1278th to 1285th meetings, held between 17 and 23 May 1966. The representatives of Algeria, India, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Zambia were invited to take part in the discussion.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

<sup>106</sup> S/7285/Add.1, *OR*, 21st yr., *Suppl. for April-June 1966*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>107</sup> For the consideration of the provisions of Article 39, see chapter XI, Case 2.

<sup>108</sup> For the consideration of the applicability of Article 41, see chapter XI, Case 4.

<sup>109</sup> For the consideration of the applicability of Article 42, see chapter XI, Case 8.

<sup>110</sup> 1278th meeting, preceding para. 3.

<sup>111</sup> 1278th meeting, para. 4.

At the same meeting, the representative of Zambia\* stated that the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia continued to threaten the peace and security of Zambia, Africa and the world. In asking the convening of the meeting, his Government was convinced that the Council would take a firm hand, and call for concrete and effective measures to quell the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia at the earliest date. Since Zambia was the only democratic African State having a common border with the colony of Southern Rhodesia and since the necessary trade measures which had to be taken had created great hardships in the economic life of Zambia, the rebellion was of foremost concern to the Zambian nation, which was not prepared to tolerate indefinitely the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom Government had created a climate suitable for the birth of the illegal racist régime, and, after its establishment, had undertaken the dubious policy of "economic sanctions" known from the start to be futile and ineffective as a weapon against a racist minority colonialist régime. The United Kingdom Government should stop shirking its responsibility and duty in Southern Rhodesia and should take immediate measures, as it had done in other colonies, by using force to quell the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia. In calling for the use of military action, Zambia was not motivated by a desire to destroy lives in Southern Rhodesia. It was rather guided by a genuine desire to avoid a more dangerous situation which would lead to a greater loss of human life. Immediately after the liquidation of the rebels, the United Kingdom Government should suspend the 1961 constitution, release all political leaders who had been detained, and call a constitutional conference in which representatives of all political parties should take part, with a view to making a new constitutional arrangement on the basis of universal adult franchise and fixing the earliest possible date for independence. In the joint draft resolution before the Council the United Kingdom was called upon to use force, as was necessary, to quell the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, and all States were called upon to sever all economic relations with the rebel minority régime. In connexion with the use of force by the United Kingdom, the Government of Zambia was prepared, should it be necessary, to accommodate the British military presence which would have as its objective the liquidation of the racist minority régime.<sup>112</sup>

At the 1280th meeting on 18 May 1966, the Secretary-General in a statement made in reply to a question by the representative of Nigeria, reported that he had received a request from Salisbury to allow a member of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia to participate in the debate of the Council under Article 32 of the Charter. He observed that since the Security Council had labelled the régime in Southern Rhodesia as illegal, and since it had been the policy of the Secretariat not to enter into correspondence with illegal régimes, he did not reply to the various telegrams he had received from Salisbury.<sup>113</sup>

At the 1280th meeting on 18 May 1966, the representative of the United Kingdom stated that in pursuance of the Council's November 1965 resolution, his Government had prohibited all exports to Southern Rhodesia,

<sup>112</sup> 1278th meeting, paras. 8, 10, 17, 21, 22, 24.

<sup>113</sup> 1280th meeting, paras. 3-8. Also see chapter III, Case 4.

including capital and arms, denied Commonwealth preferences to that Territory and banned all imports from it. While acknowledging the Council's response to its appeal, his Government felt that no one should underrate the efforts it had pursued. His Government had constantly maintained that Southern Rhodesia had been its responsibility. To achieve the purposes it had publicly declared, it had taken the lead, faced the costs and undertaken the action against Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom understood the eagerness of those who advocated the use of force, but it had set itself to achieve its declared purpose if possible without bloodshed. As to the informal talks in London, the representative of the United Kingdom stated that they were designed merely to see whether a basis for negotiations existed, without commitment on either side. His Government had declared that it would not accept a settlement which condoned an illegal act and which failed to fulfil the principles it had laid down, including the safeguarding of British responsibilities for African interests. The various decisions which his Government had taken—which included comprehensive economic sanctions and the policy of keeping the door open to a return to constitutional rule—were deliberately planned to achieve the objectives it had set itself from the start. To have taken the extreme step of resorting to the use of force, as had been urged during the Council discussion, would have entailed grave dangers. If it should prove impossible to achieve a just settlement through the talks being pursued, then a new situation would arise, and the matter should be further considered.<sup>114</sup>

At the 1281st meeting on 18 May 1966, the representative of the United States noted that the proper procedure for the Council to follow at that stage of its discussion was to remain seized of the question of Southern Rhodesia and then to follow closely the progress of the talks then going on in London and to determine whether or not they showed the proper solution of the Rhodesia question. He added that the Council obviously had the right to expect the United Kingdom to keep it adequately informed, so that, being seized of the matter, it could determine in the light of the circumstances what further appropriate steps might be required to achieve the goal which all Council members supported.<sup>115</sup>

At the 1282nd meeting on 19 May 1966, the representative of Japan held that since Southern Rhodesia had been under British administration, the primary responsibility lay with Britain. It was evident that the United Kingdom Government intended to carry out that responsibility. It was therefore difficult to see how any decision the Council might adopt could be fully implemented without the complete endorsement of the United Kingdom. The Council should call upon all, and especially the immediate neighbouring States, to carry out its resolution 217 (1965) with increasing vigour and faithfulness.<sup>116</sup>

At the 1284th meeting on 20 May 1966, the President, speaking as the representative of the Netherlands, expressed the view that both the adoption and the rejection of the draft resolution before the Council would have harmful effects. The question arose, therefore,

whether the better course of wisdom would not be for the Council to postpone further consideration of the issue and action upon the draft resolution to a time when there would be more clarity about the possibility of a peaceful settlement. In the meantime, the Council would continue to follow the situation closely.<sup>117</sup>

At the 1285th meeting on 23 May 1966, the representative of Nigeria stated that nothing that had been stated during the discussion had made the African delegations feel that they were wrong in considering that the measures taken so far against Southern Rhodesia were inadequate. They felt therefore that the Security Council should take a stand, and demonstrate that the only way to make sanctions effective was to make them mandatory. For that reason, the African delegations, having given careful consideration to the suggestions that had been made, had come to the conclusion that the Council should proceed to vote on the draft resolution.<sup>118</sup>

At the same meeting, the Council voted upon the joint draft resolution which was not adopted.<sup>119</sup> The vote was 6 in favour, 1 against and 8 abstentions.

**Decision** of 16 December 1966 (1340th meeting):

- (i) *Determining that the present situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security;*
- (ii) *Deciding that all States Members of the United Nations shall prevent:*
  - (a) *The import into their territories of certain commodities originating in Southern Rhodesia;*
  - (b) *Any promotion of the export of these commodities from Southern Rhodesia;*
  - (c) *Shipment in vessels or aircraft of their registration of any of these commodities from Southern Rhodesia;*
  - (d) *Any promotion of the sale or shipment to Southern Rhodesia of arms, military equipment and materials for the manufacture of arms in Southern Rhodesia;*
  - (e) *Any promotion of supply to Southern Rhodesia of all other aircraft and motor vehicles; the shipment in vessels and aircraft of their registration of any such goods destined for Southern Rhodesia; and any promotion of the manufacture or assembly of aircraft or motor vehicles in Southern Rhodesia;*
  - (f) *Participation in the supply of oil or oil products to Southern Rhodesia;*

*notwithstanding any contracts entered into or licences granted before the date of the present resolution;*

- (iii) *Reminding Member States that the failure to implement the present resolution shall constitute a violation of Article 25 of the United Nations Charter;*

...

- (v) *Calling upon all States not to render financial or other economic aid to the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia;*

...

- (vii) *Urging, having regard to the principles stated in Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, States*

<sup>114</sup> 1280th meeting, paras. 21-22, 30-31, 43, 57, 58 and 61.

<sup>116</sup> 1281st meeting, para. 25.

<sup>118</sup> 1282nd meeting, paras. 58-59.

<sup>117</sup> 1284th meeting, paras. 78-79.

<sup>118</sup> 1285th meeting, paras. 7-8.

<sup>119</sup> 1285th meeting, para. 33.

not Members of the United Nations to act in accordance with the provisions of the second paragraph of the present resolutions;

- (viii) Calling upon States Members of the United Nations or members of the specialized agencies to report to the Secretary-General the measures each has taken in accordance with the provisions of the second paragraph of the present resolution;
- (ix) Requesting the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution, the first report to be submitted not later than 1 March 1967;

...

By letter <sup>120</sup> dated 5 December 1966, the representative of the United Kingdom requested the President of the Security Council to convene an early meeting of the Council at which the United Kingdom Government would propose certain additional measures to be taken against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. The letter recalled a statement by the representative of the United Kingdom before the Council in May that if a just settlement was not achieved through the talks which were then pursued by his Government, a new situation would arise.<sup>121</sup> It added that since the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia had not been brought to an end, and following consultations with other Commonwealth Governments, the United Kingdom had requested the convening of the meeting.

By letter <sup>122</sup> dated 7 December 1966, the Deputy Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity transmitted to the Secretary-General, for the information of the Security Council, the text of the resolution on Southern Rhodesia adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its session held at Addis Ababa from 5 to 9 November 1966.<sup>123</sup>

At the 1331st meeting on 8 December 1966, the Security Council adopted <sup>124</sup> its agenda and considered the question at the 1331st to 1333rd and 1335th to 1340th meetings held between 8 and 16 December 1966. The representatives of Algeria, India, Pakistan, Senegal and Zambia were invited to take part in the discussion.<sup>125</sup>

At the 1331st meeting, the representative of the United Kingdom introduced a draft resolution <sup>126</sup> under which, after reaffirming its previous resolution on the question and invoking Articles 39 <sup>127</sup> and 41 <sup>128</sup> of the Charter, the Security Council would, in part, (a) decide that all States Members of the United Nations shall prevent:

- (i) the import into their territories of asbestos, iron ore,

chrome, pig-iron, sugar, tobacco, copper, meat and other products originating in Southern Rhodesia; (ii) any promotion of the export of those commodities from Southern Rhodesia and any dealings in their territories in any of these commodities, including in particular any transfer of funds for that purpose to Southern Rhodesia; (iii) shipment in vessels or aircraft of their registration of any of those commodities from Southern Rhodesia; (iv) any promotion of the sale or shipment to Southern Rhodesia of arms, military aircraft and equipment for the manufacture of arms in Southern Rhodesia; (b) call upon all States Members of the United Nations to carry out this decision of the Security Council in accordance with Article 25 <sup>129</sup> of the United Nations Charter; (c) urge, having regard to the principles stated in Article 2 of the Charter, States not Members of the United Nations to act in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 above; and (d) call upon States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies to report to the Secretary-General the measures taken by each in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 above.

In introducing the draft resolution, the representative of the United Kingdom reviewed the aims which his Government had set itself and the actions it had taken since the illegal declaration of independence on 11 November 1965, and asserted that it had sought to bring the rebellion to an end by peaceful means. He then asked the Council to place upon all Member States the obligation to carry out with the same intensity the measures which had been taken by the United Kingdom since the illegal declaration of independence. The United Kingdom representative subsequently explained the two main issues which were explored in the informal talks with the illegal régime: the way in which the rebel régime could be replaced by a broad-based and legal representative government with whom an independent constitution could be agreed; and the constitutional provisions needed to give effect to the six principles which should be the basis of the future independent constitution of Southern Rhodesia. However, the recalcitrant attitude of the rebel régime diminished any hope of its willingness to end the rebellion on just and equitable terms. A final and decisive round of informal talks had taken place in the previous week on a British warship, *H.M.S. Tiger*, off Gibraltar. A working document had been jointly prepared by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Smith, containing proposals for an immediate political advancement for the Rhodesian Africans, including guarantees of unimpeded progress towards majority rule and a broadly representative legal government which, however, had been rejected by the Smith régime, and that fact had created a new situation. The dangers to peace and stability in the whole region of central and southern Africa thus became acute. The Council could not permit the situation to deteriorate further, and should invoke certain measures under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter. The United Kingdom draft resolution proposed that the Council should take decisions pursuant to those Articles, which would then become binding upon Member States by virtue of Article 25. As to the use of force, the United Kingdom had held that it was easy to start to use force, but often very difficult to see just where it would lead or how it would be possible to control or stop it. The

<sup>120</sup> S/7610, *OR*, 21st yr., *Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1966*, p. 109.

<sup>121</sup> See para. 15 above.

<sup>122</sup> S/7614, *OR*, 21st yr., *Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1966*, pp. 159-160.

<sup>123</sup> The Organization of African Unity resolution, in part, condemned the current talks between the United Kingdom Government and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia as a conspiracy aimed at recognizing its independence; demanded the United Kingdom to bring about the downfall of that régime by any means, including the use of force; and called for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

<sup>124</sup> 1331st meeting (PV), pp. 2-5.

<sup>125</sup> 1331st meeting (PV), pp. 2-5.

<sup>126</sup> S/7621, *OR*, 21st yr., *Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1966*, pp. 169-170.

<sup>127</sup> For the consideration of the provisions of Article 39, see chapter XI, Case 3.

<sup>128</sup> For the consideration of the provisions of Article 41, see chapter XI, Case 5.

<sup>129</sup> For the consideration of the provisions of Article 25, see chapter XII, Case 9.

economic measures proposed in the United Kingdom draft resolution were more certain of success and far more susceptible of proper control.<sup>130</sup>

At the 1332nd meeting on 9 December 1966, the representative of Zambia\* stated that the solution of the question of Southern Rhodesia had been purposefully delayed by the United Kingdom Government. The British policy of economic sanctions had failed and the talks between the United Kingdom and the rebels, in addition to being illegal, were not in the interests of the majority in Southern Rhodesia and were designed as delaying tactics to circumvent the issue. The United Kingdom draft resolution proposed yet another ineffective formula: the so-called mandatory selective sanctions. It sought to tackle only half of the problem, as it was directed mainly at the export industries of Southern Rhodesia and at the imports of arms and ammunition and did not include oil, which was the vital element in the whole issue of sanctions. Zambia would support the draft resolution only if it included complete embargo on oil coming from all sources, including South Africa, Mozambique and overseas sources, and a mandatory prohibition on all imports and exports. The United Kingdom, moreover, must bring to a halt all financial operations with or for the Smith régime and close its banks in Southern Rhodesia.<sup>131</sup>

At the same meeting, the representative of Argentina observed that the time had passed for appeals to those who had failed to abide by the Council resolution 217 (1965) and that the Council should go beyond that stage and call for binding measures on all Members, in accordance with their obligations under the Charter. In the view of his delegation, the situation in Southern Rhodesia had become a threat to peace.<sup>132</sup>

At the 1333rd meeting on 12 December 1966, the representative of Senegal said that his delegation had no faith in the effectiveness of the measures proposed in the United Kingdom draft resolution, for the reasons that their selective character weakened and invalidated them, and their mandatory character was an illusion.<sup>133</sup>

At the 1335th meeting on 13 December 1966, the representative of Uganda introduced amendments<sup>134</sup> to the United Kingdom draft resolution, which had been jointly submitted by Mali, Nigeria and Uganda. As subsequently revised<sup>135</sup> the amendments read as follows:

"(1) After the first preambular paragraph, insert the following:

*Deeply concerned* that the Council's efforts so far and the measures taken by the administering Power have failed to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to an end,

"(2) Before operative paragraph 1, insert the following two paragraphs and renumber paragraph 1 as paragraph 3:

<sup>130</sup> 1331st meeting, paras. 4-5, 16-17, 23-27.

<sup>131</sup> 1332nd meeting, paras. 4-7, 42.

<sup>132</sup> 1332nd meeting, paras. 52 and 53.

<sup>133</sup> 1333rd meeting, paras. 33 and 38.

<sup>134</sup> S/7630 and Corr. 1, *OR*, 21st yr., *Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1966*, pp. 178-179.

<sup>135</sup> S/7630/Rev. 1, *OR*, 21st yr., *Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1966*, pp. 180-181. 1338th meeting (PV), pp. 62-66.

1. *Determines* that the present situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security;

2. *Deploras*:

(a) The refusal of the United Kingdom to use every means including force to bring about the downfall of the Ian Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia;

(b) The action of States, notably Portugal and South Africa, which have been rendering support to the rebel régime in contravention of Security Council resolution 217 of 20 November 1965;

"(3) Amend sub-paragraph (a) of former operative paragraph 1 as follows:

In the third line, insert between 'leather' and 'originating' the following: 'coal and all manufactured goods'.

"(4) After sub-paragraph (d) of former operative paragraph 1, insert the following sub-paragraph:

(e) Participation in their territories or territories under their administration or in land or air transport facilities or by their nationals or vessels of their registration in the supply of oil or oil products to Southern Rhodesia.

"(5) After former operative paragraph 1 (now paragraph 3), insert the following five paragraphs:

4. *Calls upon* the United Kingdom to withdraw all offers previously made to the illegal régime and to make a categorical declaration that it will only grant independence to Southern Rhodesia under majority rule;

5. *Invites* the Government of the United Kingdom to prevent by all means the transport to Southern Rhodesia of oil or oil products;

6. *Reminds* Member States that the failure or refusal by any of them to implement the present resolution shall constitute a violation of Article 25 of the United Nations Charter;

7. *Reaffirms* the inalienable rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia to freedom and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960; and recognizes the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations;

8. *Calls upon* all States not to render financial or other economic aid to the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia;.

"(6) After former operative paragraph 4 (now paragraph 11), insert the following two paragraphs:

12. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution, the first report to be submitted not later than 1 March 1967;

13. *Decides* to keep this item on its agenda for further action as appropriate in the light of developments."

In introducing the amendments, the representative of Uganda stated that they constituted the minimum proposals to improve on the United Kingdom draft resolution. Some of the amendments would enlarge the list of items contained in the United Kingdom draft resolution so as to include, in addition to oil and oil products,

which were vital to the success of the sanctions, coal and manufactured goods originating in Southern Rhodesia. The other amendments constituted exhortations and requests to the United Kingdom as the administering Power to declare positively that there would be no "talks about talks" with the rebel régime, that there would be no further offers of independence, and that whatever promises had been made to it, had now been withdrawn. He also stated that the only effective measure to be taken by the Security Council in dealing with the question under the circumstances was a total banning of oil regardless of origin and whether or not it would involve a confrontation with South Africa. As a Member of the United Nations, South Africa had to abide by the Charter, and the sanctions imposed by the Security Council being mandatory, South Africa, under Article 25 of the Charter, had to obey the rules. The call upon all States not to render any sort of financial or economic aid to the illegal racist régime was directed particularly to banks operating a lucrative trade in Southern Rhodesia, as it was felt that the co-operation of all financial interests from all parts of the world was essential for the success of the sanctions.<sup>136</sup>

At the 1339th meeting on 16 December 1966, the representative of the United Kingdom introduced the following addition<sup>137</sup> to the United Kingdom draft resolution:

"1. (e) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the supply to Southern Rhodesia of all other aircraft and motor vehicles and of equipment and materials for the manufacture, assembly or maintenance of aircraft and motor vehicles in Southern Rhodesia: the shipment in vessels and aircraft of their registration of any such goods destined for Southern Rhodesia: and any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the manufacture or assembly of aircraft or motor vehicles in Southern Rhodesia."

At the 1340th meeting on 16 December 1966, after the representative of the United Kingdom stated that useful consultations among Council members had shown that many of the three-Power amendments were acceptable, the Council proceeded to vote<sup>138</sup> on the revised draft resolution and the revised amendments before it.

The first amendment, to replace the second preambular paragraph in the United Kingdom draft resolution, was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

The amendment to insert a new operative paragraph 1 was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

The amendment to insert a new sub-paragraph 2 (a) received 6 votes in favour, none against and 9 abstentions, and was not adopted having failed to obtain the necessary majority.

The amendment to insert a new sub-paragraph 2 (b) received 7 votes in favour, none against and 8 abstentions, and was not adopted, having failed to obtain the necessary majority.

The third amendment, to include "coal and all manufactured goods" in former paragraph 1, received 8 votes

in favour, none against and 7 abstentions, and was not adopted, having failed to obtain the necessary majority.

The fourth amendment, to include a new sub-paragraph (f) relating to oil and oil products, was adopted by 14 votes to 2, with 1 abstention.

The amendment to include a new operative paragraph 4, received 7 votes in favour, none against with 8 abstentions, and was not adopted, having failed to obtain the necessary majority.

The amendment to include a new paragraph 5 received 7 votes in favour, none against and 8 abstentions, and was not adopted, having failed to obtain the necessary majority.

The amendment to include a new paragraph 6 was adopted by 14 votes in favour to none against, with 1 abstention.

The amendment to include a new paragraph 7 was adopted by 12 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.

The amendment to include a new paragraph 8 was adopted by 14 votes to none with 1 abstention.

The amendment to include a new operative paragraph 12 was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

The amendment to include a new operative paragraph 13 was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

The United Kingdom draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 11 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.

The resolution<sup>139</sup> read as follows:

"*The Security Council,*

"*Reaffirming* its resolutions 216 (1965) of 12 November 1965, 217 (1965) of 20 November 1965 and 221 (1966) of 9 April 1966, and in particular its appeal to all States to do their utmost to break off economic relations with Southern Rhodesia,

"*Deeply concerned* that the Council's efforts so far and the measures taken by the administering Power have failed to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to an end,

"*Reaffirming* that to the extent not superseded in the present resolution, the measures provided for in resolution 217 (1965) of 20 November 1965, as well as those initiated by Member States in implementation of that resolution, shall continue in effect,

"*Acting* in accordance with Articles 39 and 41 of the United Nations Charter,

"1. *Determines* that the present situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security;

"2. *Decides* that all States Members of the United Nations shall prevent:

"(a) The import into their territories of asbestos, iron ore, chrome, pig-iron, sugar, tobacco, copper, meat and meat products and hides, skins and leather originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of the present resolution;

"(b) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the export of these commodities from Southern Rhodesia and any dealings by their nationals or in their territories in any of these

<sup>136</sup> 1335th meeting, paras. 3, 8, 10, 15, 19 and 20.

<sup>137</sup> S/7621/Rev.1, 1339th meeting (PV), pp. 3-20.

<sup>138</sup> 1340th meeting (PV), pp. 56-80.

<sup>139</sup> Resolution 232 (1966).



commodities originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of the present resolution, including in particular any transfer of funds to Southern Rhodesia for the purposes of such activities or dealings;

- “(c) Shipment in vessels or aircraft of their registration of any of these commodities originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of the present resolution;
- “(d) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the sale or shipment to Southern Rhodesia of arms, ammunition of all types, military aircraft, military vehicles, and equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition in Southern Rhodesia;
- “(e) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the supply to Southern Rhodesia of all other aircraft and motor vehicles and equipment and materials for the manufacture, assembly, or maintenance of aircraft and motor vehicles in Southern Rhodesia; the shipment in vessels and aircraft of their registration of any such goods destined for Southern Rhodesia; and any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the manufacture or assembly of aircraft or motor vehicles in Southern Rhodesia;
- “(f) Participation in their territories or territories under their administration or in land or air transport facilities or by their nationals or vessels of their registration in the supply of oil or oil products to Southern Rhodesia;

“notwithstanding any contracts entered into or licences granted before the date of the present resolution;

“3. *Reminds* Member States that the failure or refusal by any of them to implement the present resolution shall constitute a violation of Article 25 of the United Nations Charter;

“4. *Reaffirms* the inalienable rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia to freedom and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and recognizes the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations;

“5. *Calls upon* all States not to render financial or other economic aid to the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia;

“6. *Calls upon* all States Members of the United Nations to carry out this decision of the Security Council in accordance with Article 25 of the United Nations Charter;

“7. *Urges*, having regard to the principles stated in Article 2, of the United Nations Charter, States not Members of the United Nations to act in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 of the present resolution;

“8. *Calls upon* States Members of the United Nations or members of the specialized agencies to report to the

Secretary-General the measures each has taken in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 of the present resolution;

“9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution, the first report to be submitted not later than 1 March 1967;

“10. *Decides* to keep this item on its agenda for further action as appropriate in the light of developments.”

**Decision of 29 May 1968 (1428th meeting):**

...

*Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter;*

...

(ix) *Requesting all States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies to take all possible further action under Article 41 of the Charter to deal with the situation in Southern Rhodesia, not excluding any of the measures provided in that Article;*

...

(xi) *Calling upon all States Members of the United Nations to carry out these decisions of the Security Council in accordance with Article 25 of the United Nations Charter and reminding them that failure or refusal by any one of them to do so would constitute a violation of that Article;*

(xii) *Deploing the attitude of States that have not complied with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter, and censuring in particular those States which have persisted in trading with the illegal régime in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council, and which have given active assistance to the régime;*

...

(xiv) *Urging, having regard to the principles stated in Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, States not Members of the United Nations to act in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution;*

...

(xvi) *Calling upon all States Members of the United Nations, and in particular those with primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, to assist effectively in the implementation of the measures called for by the present resolution;*

(xvii) *Considering that the United Kingdom as the administering Power should ensure that no settlement is reached without taking into account the views of the people of Southern Rhodesia, and in particular the political parties favouring majority rule, and that it is acceptable to the people of Southern Rhodesia as a whole;*

(xviii) *Calling upon all States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies to report to the Secretary-General by 1 August 1968 on measures taken to implement the present resolution;*

(xix) *Requesting the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the implementation of this resolution, the first report to be made not later than 1 September 1968;*

(xx) *Deciding to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, a committee of the Security Council to undertake the following tasks and to report to it with its observations:*

(a) *To examine such reports on the implementation of the present resolution as are submitted by the Secretary-General;*



(b) To seek from any State Member of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies such further information regarding the trade of that State (including information regarding the commodities and products exempted from the prohibition contained in operative paragraph 3 (d) above) or regarding any activities by any nationals of that State or in its territories that may constitute an evasion of the measures decided upon in this resolution as it may consider necessary for the proper discharge of its duty to report to the Security Council;

(xxi) Requesting the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to give maximum assistance to the committee, and to provide the committee with any information which it may receive in order that the measures envisaged in this resolution and resolution 232 (1966) may be rendered fully effective;

(xxii) Calling upon all States Members of the United Nations, or of the specialized agencies, as well as the specialized agencies themselves, to supply such further information as may be sought by the Committee in pursuance of this resolution;

(xxiii) Deciding to maintain this item on its agenda for further action as appropriate in the light of developments

By letter<sup>140</sup> dated 12 March 1968, the representatives of Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, 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 an urgent meeting of the Security Council to examine the situation in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The letter stated that it was by then obvious that the selective mandatory sanctions of resolution 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966 had failed, as had been demonstrated by "the recent tragic assassination of political prisoners by the racist régime in Rhodesia". It added that more such assassinations were also planned and expected. No effort had been made in the meantime by the administering Power to enter into negotiations with leaders of the African political parties with a view to establishing a Government meeting the legitimate aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. Having regard to those facts and the recent deterioration of the situation, the representatives of African Member States believed that it was incumbent upon the Council to examine the continuing grave situation which still constituted a threat to international peace and security, and to envisage the necessary measures and action under Chapter VII of the Charter with a view to enabling the people of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

At the 1399th meeting on 19 March 1968, the Council decided<sup>141</sup> to include the question in its agenda. It was considered at the 1399th, 1400th, 1408th, 1413th, 1415th and 1428th meetings held between 19 March and 29 May 1968. The representatives of Jamaica and Zambia were invited to take part in the discussion.<sup>142</sup>

At the 1399th meeting, the representative of Algeria noted that although many countries had demonstrated their determination to implement the sanctions called for by the Security Council, some non-African neighbours of Rhodesia continued to have fruitful relations with that Territory. That situation was one of the direct consequences of the so-called policy of economic boycott, which in fact was fragmentary and allowed those countries not only to increase greatly their commercial relations but also to undertake clandestine trade. One of the essential conditions for a successful policy of sanctions was the economic isolation of Southern Rhodesia from its immediate neighbours, a policy which the United Kingdom would be capable of carrying out and which the Security Council would not hesitate to follow. The United Kingdom had, however, shown a certain diffidence in a policy that might imply a confrontation with the colonialist minority. This attitude explained why the United Kingdom brought the Southern Rhodesian question to the Security Council in 1965 and asked for the application of selective sanctions, an act that had already offered the United Kingdom a chance of watering down its own responsibilities. The United Kingdom attitude consisted thereafter in a calculated delay in the search for a solution likely to enable the people of Zimbabwe freely to choose its own destiny, in accordance with the principle of self-determination. The United Kingdom had, in effect, given assurances to the Salisbury régime which was actually strengthening its position. The constantly provocative attitude of Ian Smith was based only on the conviction, shared by all, that in no circumstances would force be used for the re-establishment of law. However, the sole problem confronting the Council was to know whether or not the United Kingdom, with international support for its legally recognized responsibility, would refuse much longer to consider the elimination of the minority racist régime of Salisbury, regardless of the means to be applied. The Security Council must enjoin the United Kingdom and the community of nations to treat those responsible for the Salisbury murders as international criminals. Some means to establish the effectiveness of total sanctions should be considered. A last and serious warning must be addressed to South Africa and to Portugal. All Member States must be asked to implement all the measures provided for in Article 41 of the Charter. Finally, the international community should consider all necessary measures for the defence of Zambia, in order to prevent an attack on it by the illegal régime on the pretext that it was serving as a sanctuary for the Rhodesian movement.<sup>143</sup>

At the same meeting, the representative of the United Kingdom stated that he could not accept the assertion that by adopting selective sanctions, the United Kingdom had sought to minimize its responsibilities. Neither had the United Kingdom sought to delay the search for a solution, nor given assurances to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. His Government shared the view that all the people of Southern Rhodesia had the right to be consulted and to participate in the government of their country and that the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia should be brought to an end. The first and overriding duty of the Security Council was to make clear in unmistakable and unanimous terms its condemna-

<sup>140</sup> S/8454, O.R., 23rd yr., Suppl. for Jan.-Mar. 1968, pp. 258-259.

<sup>141</sup> 1399th meeting (PV), pp. 2-5.

<sup>142</sup> 1399th meeting (PV), pp. 2-5.

<sup>143</sup> 1399th meeting (PV), pp. 8-11, 15, 17, 18-20.

tion of the recent illegal executions in Southern Rhodesia, and to demand that no more illegal hangings be carried out. The Council should then proceed to consider the entire question of what further action could be taken to restore the situation in Rhodesia, to end the rebellion and to prepare for the advance to free, democratic government. The Council should not run away from its responsibility by resorting to sweeping declarations and demands that could not be met. There were effective measures still to be taken. The Council had a duty not to decide that one of the weapons of international enforcement—the sanctions—had proved useless, and to embark on a detailed and thorough consultation on effective and practicable measures which could still be feasible. The Council needed to convince everyone, including particularly the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, that there would be no escape from the situation created by their illegal actions except by a return to the road of legality, democratic advance and free government which had been abandoned on 11 November 1965.<sup>144</sup>

In the course of the discussion, several statements were made<sup>145</sup> with regard to the censure of the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, and the assistance to the national liberation movement of the Zimbabwe people, enabling it to exercise its right to self-determination. A draft resolution<sup>146</sup> including, in part, provisions concerning those measures was introduced<sup>147</sup> at the 1413th meeting on 18 April 1968 by the representative of Ethiopia. It was jointly sponsored by Algeria, India, Pakistan and Senegal, and under its operative paragraphs, the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, would, in part, (a) call upon the Government of the United Kingdom to take immediately all requisite measures to stop the political executions in Southern Rhodesia; (b) call upon all States to sever all economic and other relations with Southern Rhodesia;<sup>148</sup> (c) censure the Governments of Portugal and South Africa for their assistance to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia; (d) decide to take effective action against these Governments should they persist in defying the decisions of the Security Council; (e) urge the United Kingdom as the administering Power to take urgently all necessary measures, including the use of force,<sup>149</sup> to bring an end to the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, and enable the people to exercise their right to self-determination; and (f) call upon all Member States and in particular those with primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, to assist effectively in the implementation of the measures called for in the resolution.

<sup>144</sup> 1399th meeting (PV), pp. 23-26, 28-32.

<sup>145</sup> For texts of relevant statements, see:

1399th meeting (PV): Ethiopia, pp. 34-48;

1400th meeting (PV): Canada, pp. 13-16; Denmark, pp. 28-31; India, pp. 3-13; Jamaica\*, pp. 22-28; United States, pp. 31-36; USSR, pp. 36-52;

1408th meeting (PV): Brazil, pp. 32-35; China, pp. 41-43; Hungary, pp. 2-10; Pakistan, pp. 36-41; Senegal, pp. 46-51; Zambia\*, pp. 11-31; see also *annex*, pp. 1-2;

1428th meeting: USSR, pp. 11-25.

<sup>146</sup> S/8545 and Corr.1, *O.R.*, 23rd yr., *Suppl. for April-June 1968*, pp. 120-121.

<sup>147</sup> 1413th meeting (PV): pp. 11-15.

<sup>148</sup> For the consideration of the applicability of Article 41, see chapter XI, Case 6.

<sup>149</sup> For the consideration of the applicability of Article 42, see chapter XI, Case 10.

At the 1415th meeting on 23 April 1968, the representative of the United Kingdom introduced a draft resolution<sup>150</sup> which, he stated, was the result of joint consultations among Council members, and was designed to give effect to comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions. Its main purpose was to impose a total ban on imports from, and exports to, Southern Rhodesia. The draft resolution, he noted, represented the widest area on which agreement could be reached.

At the 1428th meeting on 29 May 1968, the Council had before it a draft resolution<sup>151</sup> the text of which, as stated by the President (United States),<sup>152</sup> had been arrived at in extensive consultations.

At the same meeting, the representative of the USSR submitted an amendment<sup>153</sup> to the text of operative paragraph 15 of that draft resolution, according to which Member States of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies would be requested to extend assistance to Zambia with a view to helping her meet possible economic losses in carrying out the decisions of the Security Council under the proposed draft resolution. Under the USSR amendment, such material losses should be compensated only by those States which, having failed to take the necessary measures against the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, and, in particular, the measures provided for in relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, bore the political responsibility for the continued existence of that illegal régime.

The Council proceeded then to vote upon the draft resolution and the USSR amendment before it. The USSR amendment was not adopted.<sup>154</sup> There were seven votes in favour, none against and eight abstentions.

A separate vote was then taken<sup>155</sup> on operative paragraph 15 of the draft resolution, which was adopted by thirteen votes in favour, none against, and two abstentions.

The draft resolution, as a whole, was subsequently adopted unanimously.<sup>156</sup> It read as follows:<sup>157</sup>

*"The Security Council,*

*"Recalling and reaffirming its resolutions 216 (1965) of 12 November 1965, 217 (1965) of 20 November 1965, 221 (1966) of 9 April 1966, and 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966,*

*"Taking note of resolution 2262 (XXII) adopted by the General Assembly on 3 November 1967,*

*"Noting with great concern that the measures taken so far have failed to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to an end,*

*"Reaffirming that, to the extent not superseded in this resolution, the measures provided for in resolutions 217 (1965) of 20 November 1965, and 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966, as well as those initiated by*

<sup>150</sup> S/8554, *O.R.*, 23rd yr., *Suppl. for April-June 1968*, pp. 133-136.

<sup>151</sup> S/8601, same text as resolution 253 (1968).

<sup>152</sup> The President of the Council during May (United Kingdom) had invoked, at the beginning of the meeting, rule 20 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, and invited the representative of the United States, next in the alphabetical order, to replace him in the presidential chair at that meeting. See chapter I, part III, Case 19.

<sup>153</sup> S/8603, 1428th meeting (PV), pp. 23-25.

<sup>154</sup> 1428th meeting (PV), p. 26.

<sup>155</sup> 1428th meeting (PV), pp. 26, 27.

<sup>156</sup> 1428th meeting (PV), p. 27.

<sup>157</sup> Resolution 253 (1968).

Member States in implementation of those resolutions, shall continue in effect,

"*Gravely concerned* that the measures taken by the Security Council have not been complied with by all States and that some States, contrary to resolution 232 (1966) of the Security Council and to their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations, have failed to prevent trade with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia,

"*Condemning* the recent inhuman executions carried out by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia which have flagrantly affronted the conscience of mankind and have been universally condemned,

"*Affirming* the primary responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom to enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to achieve self-determination and independence, and in particular their responsibility for dealing with the prevailing situation,

"*Recognizing* the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Southern Rhodesia to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

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

"*Acting* under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter,

"1. *Condemns* all measures of political repression, including arrests, detentions, trials and executions which violate fundamental freedoms and rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia, and calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom to take all possible measures to put an end to such actions;

"2. *Calls upon* the United Kingdom as the administering Power in the discharge of its responsibility to take urgently all effective measures to bring to an end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, and enable the people to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

"3. *Decides* that, in furtherance of the objective of ending the rebellion, all States Members of the United Nations shall prevent:

"(a) The import into their territories of all commodities and products originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of this resolution (whether or not the commodities or products are for consumption or processing in their territories, whether or not they are imported in bond and whether or not any special legal status with respect to the import of goods is enjoyed by the port or other place where they are imported or stored);

"(b) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which would promote or are calculated to promote the export of any commodities or products from Southern Rhodesia; and any dealings by their nationals or in their territories in any commodities or products originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of this resolution, including in particular any transfer of funds to Southern Rhodesia for the purposes of such activities or dealings;

"(c) The shipment in vessels or aircraft of their registration or under charter to their nationals, or the carriage (whether or not in bond) by land transport facilities across their territories of any commodities or products originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of this resolution;

"(d) The sale or supply by their nationals or from their territories of any commodities or products (whether or not originating in their territories, but not including supplies intended strictly for medical purposes, educational equipment and material for use in schools and other educational institutions, publications, news material and, in special humanitarian circumstances, food-stuffs) to any person or body in Southern Rhodesia or to any other person or body for the purposes of any business carried on in or operated from Southern Rhodesia, and any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote such sale or supply;

"(e) The shipment in vessels or aircraft of their registration, or under charter to their nationals, or the carriage (whether or not in bond) by land transport facilities across their territories of any such commodities or products which are consigned to any person or body in Southern Rhodesia, or to any other person or body for the purposes of any business carried on in or operated from Southern Rhodesia;

"4. *Decides* that all States Members of the United Nations shall not make available to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia or to any commercial, industrial or public utility undertaking, including tourist enterprises, in Southern Rhodesia any funds for investment or any other financial or economic resources and shall prevent their nationals and any persons within their territories from making available to the régime or to any such undertaking any such funds or resources and from remitting any other funds to persons or bodies within Southern Rhodesia except payments exclusively for pensions or for strictly medical, humanitarian or educational purposes or for the provision of news material and in special humanitarian circumstances, food-stuffs;

"5. *Decides* that all States Members of the United Nations shall:

"(a) Prevent the entry into their territories, save on exceptional humanitarian grounds, of any person travelling on a Southern Rhodesia passport, regardless of its date of issue, or on a purported passport issued by or on behalf of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia; and

"(b) Take all possible measures to prevent the entry into their territories of persons whom they have reason to believe to be ordinarily resident in Southern Rhodesia and whom they have reason to believe to have furthered or encouraged, or to be likely to further or encourage, the unlawful actions of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia or any activities which are calculated to evade any measure decided upon in this resolution or resolution 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966;

"6. *Decides* that all States Members of the United Nations shall prevent airline companies constituted in their territories and aircraft of their registration or under charter to their nationals from operating to or from Southern Rhodesia and from linking up with

any airline company constituted or aircraft registered in Southern Rhodesia;

"7. *Decides* that all States Members of the United Nations shall give effect to the decisions set out in operative paragraphs 3, 4, 5 and 6 of this resolution notwithstanding any contract entered into or licence granted before the date of this resolution;

"8. *Calls upon* all States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies to take all possible measures to prevent activities by their nationals and persons in their territories promoting, assisting or encouraging emigration to Southern Rhodesia, with a view to stopping such emigration;

"9. *Requests* all States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies to take all possible further action under Article 41 of the Charter to deal with the situation in Southern Rhodesia, not excluding any of the measures provided in that Article;

"10. *Emphasizes* the need for the withdrawal of all consular and trade representation in Southern Rhodesia, in addition to the provisions of operative paragraph 6 of resolution 217 (1965);

"11. *Calls upon* all States Members of the United Nations to carry out these decisions of the Security Council in accordance with Article 25 of the United Nations Charter and reminds them that failure or refusal by any one of them to do so would constitute a violation of that Article;

"12. *Deplores* the attitude of States that have not complied with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter, and censures in particular those States which have persisted in trading with the illegal régime in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council, and which have given active assistance to the régime;

"13. *Urges* all States Members of the United Nations to render moral and material assistance to the people of Southern Rhodesia in their struggle to achieve their freedom and independence;

"14. *Urges*, having regard to the principles stated in Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, States not Members of the United Nations to act in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution;

"15. *Requests* States Members of the United Nations, the United Nations Organization, the specialized agencies, and other international organizations in the United Nations system to extend assistance to Zambia as a matter of priority with a view to helping her solve such economic problems as she may be confronted with arising from the carrying out of these decisions of the Security Council;

"16. *Calls upon* all States Members of the United Nations, and in particular those with primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, to assist effectively in the implementation of the measures called for by the present resolution;

"17. *Considers* that the United Kingdom as the administering Power should ensure that no settlement is reached without taking into account the views of the people of Southern Rhodesia, and in particular the political parties favouring majority rule, and that it is acceptable to the people of Southern Rhodesia as a whole;

"18. *Calls upon* all States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies to report to the Secretary-General by 1 August 1968 on measures taken to implement the present resolution;

"19. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the implementation of this resolution, the first report to be made not later than 1 September 1968;

"20. *Decides* to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, a committee of the Security Council to undertake the following tasks and to report to it with its observations:

"(a) To examine such reports on the implementation of the present resolutions as are submitted by the Secretary-General;

"(b) To seek from any States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies such further information regarding the trade of that State (including information regarding the commodities and products exempted from the prohibition contained in operative paragraph 3 (d) above) or regarding any activities by any nationals of that State or in its territories that may constitute an evasion of the measures decided upon in this resolution as it may consider necessary for the proper discharge of its duty to report to the Security Council;

"21. *Requests* the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to give maximum assistance to the committee, and to provide the committee with any information which it may receive in order that the measures envisaged in this resolution and resolution 232 (1966) may be rendered fully effective;

"22. *Calls upon* all States Members of the United Nations, or of the specialized agencies, as well as the specialized agencies themselves, to supply such further information as may be sought by the Committee in pursuance of this resolution;

"23. *Decides* to maintain this item on its agenda for further action as appropriate in the light of developments."

#### THE PALESTINE QUESTION

**Decision of 3 August 1966 (1295th meeting):**

*Rejection of the joint draft resolution submitted by Jordan and Mali*

By letter<sup>158</sup> dated 21 July 1966, the permanent representative of Syria requested the President of the Security Council that an urgent meeting of the Council be convened to consider "the grave situation arising from the act of aggression committed by Israel against Syrian territory on the afternoon of 14 July 1966", which seriously threatened peace and security in the area and which was the subject of his letter,<sup>159</sup> of 18 July 1966.

<sup>158</sup> S/7419, OR, 21st yr., Suppl. for July-Sept. 1966, pp. 38-39.

<sup>159</sup> S/7412, *ibid.*, pp. 30-32. In the letter the representative of Syria stated that at 1710 hours local time, a number of Israel jet fighters and bombers had violated the Syrian airspace, shelled seven Syrian areas situated on the site of the Jordan River development scheme, hit mechanical and engineering equipment, destroyed bulldozers with napalm bombs, wounded nine civilians and killed one. It was stated further in the letter that Syria could not be held responsible for the activities of the Palestinian Arab organization El Fatah and El Essefa striving to liberate their conquered and