

Taking note of the reports 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,

Considering that the Organization of African Unity recognizes the liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique as the legitimate representatives of the peoples of those Territories,

Having heard the statements of the representatives of Member States and of Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, Mr. Gil Fernandes and Mr. Manuel Jorge, who were invited under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure to participate in the consideration of the question,

Conscious of the urgent need to avert further human suffering and material losses by the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique and to achieve a negotiated solution to the armed confrontation that exists in those Territories,

1. *Reaffirms* the inalienable right of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique to self-determination and independence, as recognized by the General Assembly in its resolution 1514 (XV), and the legitimacy of the struggle by those peoples to achieve that right;

2. *Calls upon* the Government of Portugal to cease forthwith its military operations and all acts of repression against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique;

3. *Calls upon* the Government of Portugal, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), to enter into negotiations with the parties concerned, with a view to achieving a solution to the armed confrontation that exists in the Territories of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and Mozambique and permitting the peoples of those Territories to exercise their right to self-determination and independence;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to follow developments in the situation and to report periodically to the Security Council;

5. *Decides* to remain actively seized of this matter.

COMPLAINT BY ZAMBIA

Decisions of 2 February 1973 (1691st meeting): resolution 326 (1973) and 327 (1973)

By letter⁷²⁸ dated 24 January 1973 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Zambia informed the Council that on 9 January 1973 the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia closed the border between Southern Rhodesia and his country and imposed an economic blockade against it. Since that date the illegal régime also had committed numerous acts of subversion and sabotage against Zambia and deployed its troops, together with 4,000 from South Africa, along the border. Those troops had committed a series of violations against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of his country. In view of those acts of aggression, constituting a serious threat to international peace and security, he requested that a meeting of the Security Council should be convened as a matter of urgency.

In a letter⁷²⁹ dated 23 January 1973 addressed to the President of the Council, Guinea, Kenya and the Sudan associated themselves with Zambia's request for a meeting of the Council to examine the situation on the Zambian border, subsequently, Yugoslavia also associated itself with that request.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁸ S/10865, *OR*, 28th yr., *Suppl. for Jan.-March 1973*, p. 31.

⁷²⁹ S/10866, *Ibid.*

⁷³⁰ S/10869, *Ibid.*, p. 38.

In a letter⁷³¹ dated 26 January 1973 addressed to the President of the Council, the representative of South Africa transmitted a message from the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs drawing attention to a statement by his Prime Minister regarding the complaint by Zambia. The statement emphasized South Africa's non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and denied the charge that South African troops had been deployed along the border between Zambia and Southern Rhodesia.

In a letter⁷³² dated 29 January 1973 addressed to the Secretary-General the representative of Zambia transmitted a message from the President of Zambia stating that tension had continued to rise as more people were killed by land mines on Zambian soil by forces of the Smith régime and South Africa. The Zambian President urged the Council to put an end to the critical situation and to ensure the withdrawal of South African troops.

At the 1687th meeting on 29 January 1973 the Security Council adopted⁷³³ the agenda and considered the question at the 1687th to 1691st meetings between 29 January and 2 February 1973. At the 1687th meeting on 29 January the representatives of Zambia, Algeria, Chile, Egypt, Ghana, Morocco, Senegal, Somalia, United Republic of Tanzania and Zaire were invited, at their request to take part in the discussion without the right to vote.⁷³⁴ Subsequently, at the 1689th meeting on 31 January the representative of Cuba⁷³⁵ and at the 1690th meeting on 1 February the representatives of Cameroon and Guyana⁷³⁶ were also invited to participate.

At the 1687th meeting on 29 January 1973, the representative of Zambia* stated that the closure by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia of its border with Zambia on 9 January was an act of aggression aimed at inflicting serious damage to Zambia's economy in order to put pressure on Zambia not to support the liberation movement of the people of Zimbabwe. The current crisis had been exacerbated by the collusion of the Salisbury and Pretoria régimes. South African troops had moved into Southern Rhodesia in 1967 and had remained there as an occupation force. Both régimes had repeatedly carried out military incursions into Zambia. He described a series of nine incidents perpetrated in January 1973, that had involved border crossings, firing against villagers and the laying of mines inside Zambia, all of which had resulted in loss of life and serious injuries. Referring to the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Council against Southern Rhodesia he said that his Government had decided to establish permanent alternative routes for its trade and to abandon the southern route altogether. His delegation recommended that the Council should: (1) condemn Southern Rhodesia's acts of aggression against Zambia, including economic blockade and military threats; (2) condemn the Government of South Africa for the presence of its forces in Southern Rhodesia; (3) demand the immediate withdrawal of South African forces from Southern Rhodesia;

⁷³¹ S/10870, *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

⁷³² S/10877, *OR*, 28th yr., *Suppl. for Jan.-March 1973*, p. 41.

⁷³³ 1687th meeting, preceding para. 1.

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.*, paras. 1-3.

⁷³⁵ 1689th meeting, para. 3.

⁷³⁶ 1690th meeting, para. 7.

(4) deplore the failure of the British Government to end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia; (5) call upon the British Government as the administering Power to convene immediately a constitutional conference representative of all the people of Zimbabwe to determine the political future of the colony; (6) call upon the British Government to take effective measures aimed at creating favourable conditions necessary for free expression and political activity by the people of Zimbabwe, including the immediate release of all political prisoners and detainees and restrictivees and the repeal of all racist and repressive discriminatory legislation; (7) call upon all Member States to implement the sanctions policy fully and request the Committee to complete its report for the purpose of tightening sanctions against Southern Rhodesia under the full force of Chapter VII of the Charter in view of the changed circumstances; (8) reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the United Nations Charter; (9) reaffirm the principle that there should be no independence before majority rule in Southern Rhodesia; (10) reaffirm the principle of non-recognition of the rebel régime by Member States; (11) in recognition of the serious threats to peace and security on the Zambian borders immediately request the Secretary-General to send a special representative to assess the political and military situation in the area; (12) in recognition of the urgent need of Zambia for economic assistance, request the Secretary-General immediately to dispatch a team of experts to assess the needs of Zambia in maintaining an alternative system of road, rail, air and sea communications for sustaining its economy in accordance with the relevant paragraphs of Security Council resolutions 253 (1968) and 277 (1970).⁷³⁷

The representative of Ghana*, speaking on behalf of the group of African States, noted that by erecting a border blockade against Zambia, the Smith régime had sought to frustrate Zambia's economic efforts. The blockade was a provocative act and the United Kingdom, as the administering Power had an obligation to ensure that it was rolled back. In the meantime, Zambia was entitled to international assistance under Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter. The United Kingdom Government had refused to comply with Article 73 of the United Nations Charter which enjoined colonial and administering Powers to transmit each year information on their Territories to the Secretary-General. Insofar as the United Kingdom found itself unable to take the necessary effective measures against the rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia, it should have given way to the United Nations and the international community to consider taking action under Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter. There was also abundant evidence that the sanctions imposed by the Security Council were being breached in many devious ways. The continued importation by the Government of the United States of chrome and nickel from Zimbabwe was in open contravention of the provisions of Security Council resolutions 253 (1968), 277 (1970), 288 (1970) and 314 (1972) contrary to the specific obligations assumed by the United States under Article 25 of the United Nations Charter. The international community should assist the process leading to the formation of

a Government based on majority rule in Zimbabwe. Only then the acts of aggression against Zambia would cease.⁷³⁸

At the same meeting the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania* suggested that in order to counter-balance the effect of the economic blockade against Zambia, the Council should examine the best ways of assisting Zambia, in particular, the possibility of establishing a special economic assistance fund. It should also ask the Government of the United Kingdom to compensate Zambia for the losses it was incurring because of that Government's failure to bring down the rebellion. Tanzania expected the Council to broaden its current mandatory sanctions against the Smith régime in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter, including those in Chapter VII.⁷³⁹

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that his Government deplored the closure by the Rhodesian régime of the border with Zambia and expressed the hope that the Council would not have any difficulty in urging all concerned to do all in their power to prevent further acts of violence across the border. He drew a distinction between extending the sanctions and making them more effective. The trouble with the sanctions was that they were not rigorously applied, not even by those States that professed to comply fully with them. The whole question had been sent to the Committee on sanctions for study and it was for that body to produce any necessary recommendation. The current situation was not conducive to a solution of the political problem of Southern Rhodesia, which was at a crucial point. If a peaceful political settlement could be reached for Southern Rhodesia all the other related problems would solve themselves. Therefore, the Council must make certain that nothing said or done by it hindered the chances of peaceful solution.⁷⁴⁰

The representative of Yugoslavia pointed out that the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia had justified its aggression against Zambia on the grounds that the Zimbabwe freedom fighters were receiving assistance, though the legitimacy of their struggle had been recognized by the United Nations. The Council must condemn all acts of aggression by Southern Rhodesia, request the removal of any foreign military personnel sent to Salisbury to help the Smith régime and make the implementation of the sanctions more effective. Under Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter and Security Council resolutions 253 (1968) and 277 (1970) Zambia was entitled to economic assistance; therefore, it would be helpful for the Council to send a mission, or a team of experts or a representative of the Secretary-General to review Zambia's needs on the spot.⁷⁴¹

The representative of the USSR stated that the Salisbury régime had intensified its oppression of the Zimbabwe people and its acts of aggression against other independent African States, in spite of United Nations full support to their struggle for independence. That state of affairs threatened international peace and security and remained possible only because the régime had the support of Portugal and South Africa and their Western allies. The

⁷³⁸ 1697th meeting, paras. 51-78.

⁷³⁹ *Ibid.*, paras. 95-100.

⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, paras. 112-125.

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.*, paras. 138-146.

⁷³⁷ 1687th meeting, paras. 8-40.

Soviet Union demanded that an end be put to the illegal Smith régime in order to eliminate the threat to peace in Africa. To that end the Security Council should extend and strengthen the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and decide to decree corresponding sanctions against Portugal and South Africa.⁷⁴²

At the 1688th meeting on 30 January the representative of Egypt, speaking on behalf of the Arab countries, stated that a transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule was the only solution of the situation in Southern Rhodesia. To achieve that goal the Council must assist the peoples of Rhodesia to liberate themselves and should take suitable measures under the Charter to preserve the rights of Zambia.⁷⁴³

At the same meeting the representatives of Chile*, Algeria*, China, Senegal*, Zaire*, Kenya and India expressed solidarity with Zambia in its struggle against the racist régime in Rhodesia. The representative of Chile* stated that the Council should condemn the actions of Rhodesia and South Africa and ponder the need to grant status to the people of Zimbabwe by creating for them a council similar to the United Nations Council for Namibia.⁷⁴⁴

The representative of China said that the Security Council must demand the withdrawal of South African troops from Rhodesia, further strengthen its sanctions and extend them to South Africa and Portugal and call for active support for Zambia and the people of Zimbabwe.⁷⁴⁵

The representative of Zaire* noted that the convention on Transit Trade of Landlocked states rested on the principle of equality of treatment for coastal and landlocked states and the Council should continue to discuss Zambia's complaint until a suitable solution has been found.⁷⁴⁶

The representative of Kenya stated that Kenya supported all the recommendations contained in the statement of the representative of Zambia and urged the Council to invoke Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter and to send a mission to ascertain the needs of Zambia.⁷⁴⁷

At the 1689th meeting on 31 January the representative of Austria stated that Zambia, as the result of severing its last economic ties with Southern Rhodesia, was faced with a grave situation. Therefore the request expressed by Zambia, based on Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter and on the provisions of Security Council resolutions 253 (1968) and 277 (1970) for economic assistance deserved serious consideration. The success of any further action depended on the continued co-operation of all parties concerned, in particular the strict compliance with the sanctions imposed by the Council, and careful examination was required to determine whether such action could contribute effectively to eliminating the threat to peace in the area.⁷⁴⁸

At the same meeting the representative of the United States noted that the border closing had forced Zambia to seek alternate routes for its goods and the resulting plight underscored the need to examine carefully ways in which Zambia might be assisted. His Government had long considered that the problem of Southern Rhodesia should be resolved by peaceful means, one of them being the imposition of sanctions which it felt should be maintained and tightened. His delegation was in favour of sending a team of United Nations experts to determine Zambia's needs or of asking the UNDP resident representative to undertake that task.⁷⁴⁹

At the 1690th meeting on 7 February the representative of the Sudan introduced two draft resolutions jointly sponsored by Guinea, Kenya, the Sudan and Yugoslavia.⁷⁵⁰ He noted that the first draft resolution (S/10875) contained proposals regarding the political aspects of the complaint by Zambia and the second draft resolution (S/10876) concerned economic assistance to Zambia.

At the 1691st meeting on 2 February 1973 the representative of the Sudan stated that as a result of consultation among the members of the Council, the sponsors of the two draft resolutions had decided to amend them in order to have the approval of all delegations.⁷⁵¹ In the first draft resolution (S/10875) the word "régimes" in paragraph 3 had been replaced by the word "régime" and the words "that of" had been inserted between "and" and "South Africa". That paragraph read as follows:

Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom to take all effective measures to put an end to such actions by the illegal and racist régime of Southern Rhodesia and that of South Africa.

The original paragraph 7 which read "Deplores the failure of the United Kingdom Government to take effective measures to bring to an end the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia" had been deleted and replaced by a new paragraph 4 reading "Regrets that the measures so far taken have failed to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to an end." The remaining paragraphs had been renumbered.⁷⁵²

At the same meeting the President put to the vote the revised draft resolution (S/10875/Rev.1) which was adopted⁷⁵³ by 13 votes to none with 2 abstentions. The resolution⁷⁵⁴ read:

The Security Council,

Taking note of the letter dated 24 January 1973 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations (S/10865), and having heard the statement made by the Permanent Representative of Zambia concerning recent acts of provocation against Zambia by the illegal régime in Salisbury,

Gravely concerned at the situation created by the provocative and aggressive acts committed by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia against the security and economy of Zambia,

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, paras. 67-77.

⁷⁵⁰ 1690th meeting, paras. 40-49. S/10875. *OR*, 28th yr., *Suppl. for Jan.-March 1973*, pp. 40-41; S/10876, adopted with minor changes as resolution 327 (1973). India and Indonesia subsequently joined the four delegations in sponsoring the two draft resolutions.

⁷⁵¹ 1691st meeting, para. 16.

⁷⁵² *Ibid.*, paras. 17-18.

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*, para. 20.

⁷⁵⁴ Resolution 326 (1973).

⁷⁴² 1687th meeting, paras. 148-170.

⁷⁴³ 1688th meeting, paras. 52-77.

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 22.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, para. 49.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, paras. 113-116.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, paras. 143-146.

⁷⁴⁸ 1689th meeting, paras. 52-66.

Reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of such rights, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling its resolution 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966, in which it determined that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security,

Convinced that the recent provocative and aggressive acts perpetrated by the illegal régime against Zambia aggravate the situation,

Deeply concerned that measures approved by the Council have failed to terminate the illegal régime and convinced that sanctions cannot put an end to the illegal régime unless they are comprehensive, mandatory and effectively supervised and unless measures are taken against States which violate them,

Deeply disturbed by the continued illegal presence and by the intensified military intervention of South Africa in Southern Rhodesia, contrary to Security Council resolution 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970, and also by the deployment of South African armed forces on the border with Zambia, which seriously threatens the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zambia and other neighbouring African States,

Deeply shocked and grieved at the loss of human life and damage to property caused by the aggressive acts of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and its collaborators against Zambia,

Reaffirming the primary responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland over its colony of Southern Rhodesia, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions,

1. *Condemns* all the acts of provocation and harassment, including economic blockade, blackmail and military threats, against Zambia by the illegal régime in collusion with the racist régime of South Africa;

2. *Condemns* all measures of political repression that violate fundamental freedoms and rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), in particular, the recent measures of collective punishment;

3. *Calls upon* the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to take all effective measures to put an end to such actions by the illegal and racist régime of Southern Rhodesia and that of South Africa;

4. *Regrets* that measures so far taken have failed to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to an end;

5. *Condemns* the continued presence of South African military and armed forces in Southern Rhodesia, contrary to Security Council resolution 277 (1970);

6. *Demands* the immediate and total withdrawal of South African military and armed forces from Southern Rhodesia and from the border of that Territory with Zambia;

7. *Calls upon* the Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to ensure the effective implementation of paragraph 6 of the present resolution;

8. *Requests* the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia to expedite the preparation of its report undertaken under Security Council resolution 320 (1972) of 29 September 1972, taking into account the recent developments in Southern Rhodesia;

9. *Decides* to dispatch immediately a special mission, consisting of four members of the Security Council, to be appointed by the President of the Security Council after consultations with the members, to assess the situation in the area, and requests the mission so constituted to report to the Council not later than 1 March 1973;

10. *Calls upon* the Government of Zambia, the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of South Africa to provide the special mission with the necessary co-operation and assistance in the discharge of its task;

11. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

At the 1691st meeting on 2 February the representative of the Sudan informed further that in the second draft resolution the words "in paragraph 9 of resolution 326 (1973)" have been added.⁷⁵⁵ After that the revised draft resolution (S/10876/Rev.1) was put to the vote and adopted by 14 votes to none with 1 abstention.⁷⁵⁶ The resolution read:

The Security Council,

Having heard the statement of the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations,

Recalling its resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia, in particular resolution 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966, in which it determined that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security,

Recalling further resolutions 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968 and 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970 imposing mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, particularly the respective provisions therein requesting the international community to extend assistance to Zambia in view of such special economic problems as it may be confronted with arising from the carrying out of the decisions of the Security Council,

Taking into account the decision of the Government of Zambia to sever immediately all remaining trade and communication links with Southern Rhodesia in compliance with the decisions of the Security Council and in strict observance of economic sanctions,

Recognizing that such a decision by the Government of Zambia will entail considerable special economic hardships,

1. *Commends* the Government of Zambia for its decision to sever all remaining economic and trade relations with Southern Rhodesia in compliance with the decisions of the Security Council;

2. *Takes cognizance* of the special economic hardships confronting Zambia as a result of its decision to carry out the decisions of the Security Council;

3. *Decides* to entrust the Special Mission, consisting of four members of the Security Council, referred to in paragraph 9 of resolution 326 (1973), assisted by a team of six United Nations experts, to assess the needs of Zambia, in maintaining alternative systems of road, rail, air and sea communications for the normal flow of traffic;

4. *Further requests* the neighbouring States to accord the Special Mission every co-operation in the discharge of its task;

5. *Requests* the Special Mission to report to the Security Council not later than 1 March 1973.

Following the voting, the President of the Council drew the Council's attention to the provisions of paragraph 9 of the resolution in document S/10875/Rev.1 and informed the Council that he intended to initiate consultations immediately with the aim of constituting the special mission and ensuring that the special mission was dispatched to Zambia.⁷⁵⁷

Decisions of 10 March 1973 (1694th meeting): resolutions 328 (1973) and 329 (1973)

On 5 March 1973 the Special Mission established in accordance with Security Council resolution 326 (1973) submitted its report⁷⁵⁸ to the Security Council. In its

⁷⁵⁵ 1691st meeting, para. 22.

⁷⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 23. Adopted as resolution 327 (1973).

⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 89. In a note (S/10880) *OR*, 28th yr., *Suppl. for Jan.-March 1973*, p. 44, issued on 5 February 1973 the President of the Council reported that following consultations with the members of the Council agreement had been reached that the Special Mission to Zambia would be composed of the representatives of Austria, Indonesia, Peru and the Sudan.

⁷⁵⁸ S/10896/Rev.1, *OR*, 28th yr., *Special Supplement No. 2*.

assessment of the situation the Special Mission stated that from the consultations with cabinet members and experts in each of the countries it had visited, as well as from its own inspection visits in Zambia, it was clear that the state of tension in the area had been greatly increased following the aggressive acts committed against Zambia by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. The effect of those actions had been felt in the political, military and economic sectors. The Zambian Government had maintained a policy of restraint towards its hostile neighbour and had no influence on the activities of liberation movements inside the Territories subjected to racism and minority rule. Therefore it could not be held responsible for developments occurring there. The Mission had been able to observe the military preparations confronting Zambia's frontier along the Zambezi River and considered that the deployment of South African forces near the Zambian border was an important factor in the continuation of the current tension. In the opinion of the Special Mission, the key to the solution of the problem lay in the application of majority rule in Southern Rhodesia, the strict implementation of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, as well as implementation of relevant Council resolutions regarding the whole area. As to the needs of Zambia in maintaining alternative systems of communications the Mission reported that of 120,000 tons of monthly imports previously brought into Zambia through Southern Rhodesia, 105,000 tons could be transported by alternative routes through Zaire, Malawi and Tanzania and the remaining 15,000 tons by air. It noted that the overland routes could carry the increased tonnage, if facilities and manpower were provided. The cost of those requirements was estimated at \$124 million. The cost of air freight of 15,000 tons would be about \$6.5 million per month.

The Mission concluded that in the coming four to six months the economy of Zambia would be affected by shortages of imports, depletion of stocks and higher costs. Accordingly, only adequate and timely assistance would make it possible for Zambia to continue to develop its economy in a normal fashion.

At the 1692nd meeting on 8 March 1973 the Security Council adopted⁷⁵⁹ its agenda, which included the above report and considered the question at the 1692nd to 1694th meeting held between 8 and 10 March 1973. At the 1692nd meeting on 8 March the representatives of Algeria, Cuba, Egypt, Guyana, Senegal, United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia, Chile, Ghana, Morocco and Cameroon⁷⁶⁰ and at the 1694th meeting on 10 March the representative of Spain⁷⁶¹ were invited to participate in the discussion.

At the 1692nd meeting on 8 March 1973 the representative of Indonesia in his capacity as Chairman of the Special Mission introduced the report and stressed that the Mission had ascertained that a considerable measure of tension existed in the area, the root-cause of which lay in the existence of colonialism, racism and illegal minority régimes in southern Africa. The provocative and aggressive acts and the continued military preparations by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia had only increased the tension

in the border area. A recurrence of those events could lead to a dangerous escalation and adversely affect Zambia's attitude of restraint. The Special Mission believed that the key to the solution of those problems lay in the implementation of mandatory sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia as well as other relevant resolutions of the Security Council with regard to the whole area and in the application of majority rule in the Territory of Southern Rhodesia. Considerable sums were required to meet the specific needs of Zambia to maintain alternative systems of road, rail and sea communications. The technical assistance would also be needed to assist Zambia in handling the major task of rerouting its imports and exports.⁷⁶²

At the same meeting the representative of Zambia* stated that since the visit of the Special Mission, additional incidents had occurred in the border area which again had resulted in civilian casualties. Enumerating the underlying causes of the tension in the area, he noted that the presence of South African military forces in Southern Rhodesia contributed to the escalation of tension. Therefore, pressure must be brought to bear on South Africa to remove those forces immediately. The rebellion of the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia must be put to end and a representative constitutional conference convened by the United Kingdom. Zambia reaffirmed its decision not to use the southern route while the Smith régime remained in power. Zambia also appealed to the international community for assistance in carrying out its share of obligations to bring about the necessary political change in Southern Rhodesia and the elimination of tension throughout southern Africa.⁷⁶³

At the 1693rd meeting on 9 March 1973 the representative of the USSR stressed that the report of the Special Mission confirmed that the situation in southern Africa had further deteriorated. It also established that South Africa and Portugal were helping Southern Rhodesia in its aggressive acts against Zambia. A large part of the responsibility for the continued existence of the Salisbury régime, the report indicated, rested with the ruling circles of the United Kingdom.

The Council should put an end to the situation by taking measures under Article 41 to strengthen the sanctions and extend them to South Africa and Portugal, which were directly violating the Council's decisions. In that respect the USSR supported the proposal for the institution of boycott against companies violating the sanctions. The material liability for the consequences of the aggression against Zambia should be placed on those States and monopolies responsible for the coming to power of the racist régime which were continuing to maintain contact and carry on trade with it.⁷⁶⁴

At the same meeting the representative of Kenya introduced two draft resolutions⁷⁶⁵ jointly sponsored by Guinea, India, Kenya, the Sudan and Yugoslavia. He then explained that the first draft resolution (S/10898) dealt

⁷⁵⁹ 1692nd meeting, following para. 12.

⁷⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, paras. 13-14.

⁷⁶¹ 1694th meeting, para. 3.

⁷⁶² 1692nd meeting, paras. 19-29.

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*, paras. 35-72.

⁷⁶⁴ 1693rd meeting, paras. 45-69.

⁷⁶⁵ S/10898 and S/10899, *OR*, 28th yr., *Suppl. for Jan.-March 1973*, pp. 54-55.

with political and military aspects of the situation in southern Africa, focused on Zambia and with the continuing rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, the responsibility of the United Kingdom in that regard, the interference by South Africa in the affairs of Rhodesia and the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination. The second draft resolution (S/10899) dealt with the question of assistance to Zambia and contained an appeal to the international community for special aid to Zambia through the United Nations and its specialized agencies.⁷⁶⁶

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that the closure of the border by the Rhodesian régime had been a blow to Zambia's economy and represented a heightening of tension. His Government had therefore welcomed the reversal of the Rhodesian régime's action as a measure leading towards a less tense situation. It did not regard the *status quo* in Southern Rhodesia as satisfactory; nor was it trying to protect the Smith régime. The Government of the United Kingdom desired to achieve a settlement acceptable to all the people of Rhodesia, but only the Rhodesians themselves could bring about a peaceful settlement.⁷⁶⁷

At the 1694th meeting on 10 March the representative of India emphasized that one of the principal objectives of the Council should be to ensure the withdrawal of South African troops from Southern Rhodesia. He recalled that the specific responsibilities of the United Kingdom to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to an end were set forth in the draft resolution dealing with the political and military aspects of the situation (S/10898). As to the economic problems facing Zambia they were directly related to the desire of the United Nations to impose effective sanctions on Southern Rhodesia.⁷⁶⁸

At the same meeting, as a result of informal consultations among the members of the Council, the representative of Kenya introduced two revised draft resolutions⁷⁶⁹ co-sponsored additionally by Indonesia, Panama and Peru.

The first draft resolution (S/10898/Rev.1) included the following amendments:

- (1) Paragraph 2 which had read "reaffirms that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security and that the state of tension has been heightened following the recent provocative and aggressive acts committed by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia against the Republic of Zambia" had been divided into a fourth preambular paragraph reading "Reaffirming that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security" and a new paragraph 2 reading "Affirms that the state of tension has been heightened following the recent provocative and aggressive acts committed by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia against the Republic of Zambia";
- (2) In paragraph 6 the phrase "taking into consideration the need to widen the scope of sanctions against the illegal régime and the desirability of the application of

Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter" had been replaced by the phrase "taking into account all proposals and suggestions for extending the scope and improving the effectiveness of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)";

- (3) In paragraph 8 the words "as a whole" had been inserted following the words "people of Zimbabwe" and the final phrase reading "for subsequent endorsement by the people through free and universal adult suffrage" had been deleted.

The second draft resolution (S/10899/Rev.1) had been modified by the following changes in paragraph 5: the words "and the Economic and Social Council" had been deleted from the first line; the words "including the possible establishment of a special fund for Zambia" had been deleted from the fourth and fifth lines; and the words "for carrying out" had been replaced by the words "to enable it to carry out".⁷⁷⁰

The representative of Peru, commenting on the draft resolutions before the Council, said that his delegation believed that the Council should proceed to adopt measures designed to reach a political settlement and alleviate Zambia's economic plight. However, the first draft resolution (S/10898/Rev.1) barely hinted at such a solution. The Council's decision would therefore be somewhat interim in nature. He hoped that the Council would be given a further opportunity to discuss the problem when it had received the report of its Committee on sanctions.⁷⁷¹

The President then put to the vote the first revised draft resolution (S/10898/Rev.1) which was adopted⁷⁷² by 13 votes to none with 2 abstentions. The resolution⁷⁷³ read:

The Security Council,

Having considered with appreciation the report of the Security Council Special Mission established under resolution 326 (1973) of 2 February 1973 (S/10896 and Corr.1 and Add.1),

Having heard further the statement of the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations,

Recalling its resolutions 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970 and 326 (1973),

Reaffirming that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Gravely concerned at the persistent refusal of the régime of South Africa to respond to the demands contained in resolutions 277 (1970) and 326 (1973) for the immediate withdrawal of its military and armed forces from Southern Rhodesia and convinced that this constitutes a serious challenge to the authority of the Security Council,

Bearing in mind that the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power, has the primary responsibility for putting an end to the illegal racist minority régime and for transferring effective power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of the principle of majority rule,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of their right as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Endorses the assessment and conclusions of the Special Mission established under resolution 326 (1973);

⁷⁶⁶ 1693rd meeting, paras. 72-93.

⁷⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, paras. 121-128.

⁷⁶⁸ 1694th meeting, paras. 12-21.

⁷⁶⁹ S/10898/Rev.1 and S/10899/Rev.1, adopted without change as resolutions 328 (1973) and 329 (1973).

⁷⁷⁰ 1694th meeting, paras. 22-27.

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid.*, paras. 72-74.

⁷⁷² *Ibid.*, para. 84.

⁷⁷³ Resolution 328 (1973).

2. *Affirms* that the state of tension has been heightened following the recent provocative and aggressive acts committed by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia against Zambia;

3. *Declares* that the only effective solution to this grave situation lies in the exercise by the people of Zimbabwe of their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

4. *Strongly condemns* the racist régime of South Africa for its persistent refusal to withdraw its military and armed forces from Southern Rhodesia;

5. *Reiterates* its demand for the immediate withdrawal of South African military and armed forces from Southern Rhodesia and from the border of that Territory with Zambia;

6. *Urges* the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia to expedite the preparation of its report undertaken under Security Council resolution 320 (1972) of 29 September 1972, taking into account all proposals and suggestions for extending the scope and improving the effectiveness of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe);

7. *Requests* all Governments to take stringent measures to enforce and ensure full compliance by all individuals and organizations under their jurisdiction with the sanctions policy against Southern Rhodesia and calls upon all Governments to continue to treat the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia as wholly illegal;

8. *Urges* the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power, to convene as soon as possible a national constitutional conference where genuine representatives of the people of Zimbabwe as a whole would be able to work out a settlement relating to the future of the Territory;

9. *Calls upon* the Government of the United Kingdom to take all effective measures to bring about the conditions necessary to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise freely and fully their right to self-determination and independence including:

- (a) The unconditional release of all political prisoners, detainees and restrictees;
- (b) The repeal of all repressive and discriminatory legislation;
- (c) The removal of all restrictions on political activity and the establishment of full democratic freedom and equality of political rights;

10. *Decides* to meet again and consider further actions in the light of future developments.

The second revised draft resolution (S/10899/Rev.1) was adopted⁷⁷⁴ unanimously. The resolution⁷⁷⁵ read:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968 requesting assistance to Zambia as a matter of priority,

Recalling further its resolution 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970, as well as resolutions 326 (1973) and 327 (1973) of 2 February 1973 by which it decided to dispatch a special mission to assess the situation in the area and the needs of Zambia,

Having considered the report of the Special Mission (S/10896 and Corr.1 and Add.1),

Having heard the statement of the Permanent Representative of Zambia,

Affirming that Zambia's action to divert its trade from the southern route reinforces Security Council decisions on sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia,

1. *Commends* the Government of Zambia for deciding to abandon the use of the southern route for its trade until the rebellion is quelled and majority rule is established in Southern Rhodesia;

2. *Takes note* of the urgent economic needs of Zambia as indicated in the report of the Special Mission and the annexes thereto;

3. *Appeals* to all States for immediate technical, financial and material assistance to Zambia in accordance with resolutions 253 (1968) and 277 (1970) and the recommendations of the Special Mission, so that Zambia can maintain its normal flow of traffic and enhance its capacity to implement fully the mandatory sanctions policy;

4. *Requests* the United Nations and the organizations and programmes concerned, in particular the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the United Nations Development Programme, as well as the specialized agencies, in particular the International Labour Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the Universal Postal Union, the International Telecommunication Union, the World Meteorological Organization and the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization, to assist Zambia in the fields identified in the report of the Special Mission and the annexes thereto;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General in collaboration with the appropriate organizations of the United Nations system, to organize with immediate effect all forms of financial, technical and material assistance to Zambia to enable it to carry out its policy of economic independence from the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia.

6. *Requests* the Economic and Social Council to consider periodically the question of economic assistance to Zambia as envisaged in the present resolution.

CONSIDERATION OF MEASURES FOR THE MAINTENANCE AND STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY IN LATIN AMERICA IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PROVISIONS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER

Decision of 21 March 1973 (1704th meeting)

Rejection of the eight-Power draft resolution

Decision of 21 March 1973 (1704th meeting): resolution 330 (1973)

By letter⁷⁷⁶ dated 9 January 1973 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Panama stated that his Government had decided, on the basis of Article 28, paragraph 3, of the Charter to propose that the Security Council should meet at Panama City from 15 to 21 March 1973 to consider an agenda that would have as its general theme the "consideration of measures for the strengthening of international peace and security and the promotion of international co-operation in Latin America, in accordance with the provisions and principles of the Charter and the resolutions related to the right to self-determination of peoples and strict respect for the sovereignty and independence of States."

At its 1686th meeting on 26 January 1973 the Security Council adopted resolution 325 (1973).⁷⁷⁷ Paragraph 1 of that resolution read as follows:

⁷⁷⁶ S/10858, OR, 28th yr., Suppl. for Jan.-March 1973, pp. 27-28.

⁷⁷⁷ For the proceedings leading to the adoption of this resolution and the discussions in connexion with the application of Article 28, paragraph 3, of the Charter and rule 5 of the *Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Security Council*, both dealing with meetings of the Security Council away from Headquarters, see chapter I of this *Supplement*.

⁷⁷⁴ 1694th meeting, para. 85.

⁷⁷⁵ Resolution 329 (1973).