

CHAPTER VIII

QUESTIONS RELATING TO AFRICA

MATTERS CONCERNING SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID POLICIES

In July 1970, the Security Council again considered the question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

The Council—on 23 July—condemned the violations of the arms embargo it had called for in 1963 and 1964, and it called on States to take a series of measures to strengthen the embargo.

Also during the year, the General Assembly's 11-member Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa continued to consider various aspects of the question, reporting to the Assembly and to the Security Council in October. The Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council also examined a number of aspects of the question and made several recommendations to the General Assembly.

The Assembly considered these reports and recommendations at its twenty-fifth session, which opened on 15 September 1970. The Assembly acted first on the question of violations of the arms embargo which had been called for by the Security Council. On 13 October, it adopted a resolution calling on all States to take immediate steps to implement fully the provisions of the Security Council's resolution of 23 July 1970 concerning the sale of arms to South Africa and supply of technical assistance to South Africa in the manufacture of arms.

Later, on 8 December 1970, the Assembly took a series of decisions on the question of the apartheid policies of the South African Government.

Among other things, the Assembly declared that the policies of apartheid were a negation of the United Nations Charter and constituted a crime against humanity. The Assembly re-

affirmed its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa to eliminate by all means at their disposal apartheid and racial discrimination and to attain majority rule in the country as a whole, based on universal suffrage.

The Assembly also condemned the establishment of Bantustans—the so-called homelands—as fraudulent and prejudicial to the territorial integrity of the State and the unity of its people.

Once again, it drew the attention of the Security Council to the grave situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole and recommended that the Council resume urgently the consideration of effective measures, including those under Chapter VII of the Charter.¹ States were urged to terminate official relations and all military, economic, technical and other co-operation with South Africa, to end tariff and other preference to South African exports and facilities for investment in South Africa and to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges.

The Assembly also adopted resolutions by which it: asked the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to promote as appropriate, economic, social and humanitarian assistance to the oppressed South African People; and called for a United Nations information campaign against apartheid assisted by Member States, specialized agencies, regional organizations, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations.

By another resolution, which sought to focus international attention on apartheid during the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (1971), the Assembly asked the Secretary-General to promote the widest possible campaign against apartheid in 1971. At the same time, the Assembly invited national and regional trade-union organizations to observe the International Year by organizing

various types of activities against apartheid.

Still another resolution appealed for contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and authorized aid to voluntary organizations engaged in providing relief and assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia to the extent that additional voluntary contributions were received for that purpose.

Many other decisions taken by the General Assembly also referred to the question of the apartheid policies of the South African Government. Included among these were resolutions dealing with the elimination of racial discrimination, the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, measures to be taken against nazism and racial intolerance, the punishment of war criminals and persons who had committed crimes against humanity, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, the co-operation of the specialized agencies and international institutions in achieving the goals of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the programme of action for the full implementation of that Declaration.

The Assembly also adopted a resolution referring to the credentials of the representatives of South Africa.

Finally, the Declaration adopted by the Assembly on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the coming into force of the United Nations Charter reaffirmed the determination of the Organization to secure the elimination of apartheid in South Africa.

These and other decisions of United Nations organs are described in the sections below.

¹ See APPENDIX II, for text of Chapter VII of the Charter.

Political and Related Developments

CONSIDERATION BY SECURITY COUNCIL

On 2 July 1970, the Chairman of the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic

of South Africa informed the President of the Security Council that the Special Committee had decided to bring to the Council's attention the question of the arms embargo against South Africa. The Committee also was transmitting

to the Council a note on the military forces and equipment of South Africa.

Recalling the Security Council's decision of 18 June 1964² by which the Council had reaffirmed its previous call upon all States to observe the arms embargo against South Africa, the Special Committee pointed out that the arms embargo had not been fully implemented by all States and that South Africa had continued to receive technical assistance and foreign capital to expand the manufacture of military equipment. The Special Committee therefore recommended that the Security Council call on all States to implement fully, without reservations and restrictive interpretations, the previous Council resolutions concerning the arms embargo against South Africa and cease other forms of military assistance.

On 15 July 1970, the representatives of 40 Member States requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to resume consideration of the question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa with a view to examining in particular the situation arising from the violations of the arms embargo called for in Security Council resolutions. Those violations, the 40-power request stated, had enabled the South African Government to amass considerable military power which it used not only to impose its racist policies but also to flout United Nations decisions concerning Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese-occupied territories of Angola and Mozambique.

The Security Council considered the matter at five meetings held between 17 and 23 July 1970. Ghana, India, Mauritius, Pakistan and Somalia were invited, at their request, to participate without vote.

At the outset of the discussion, the representative of Mauritius, speaking on behalf of the African group of States at the United Nations, said that the arms embargo had been the only concrete measure the Security Council had taken on the question of apartheid since 1960, when the question came before it following the Sharpeville massacre.

Despite that embargo, South Africa had continued to receive arms, military equipment and spare parts, as well as licences and technical

and other assistance to expand the manufacture of arms, ammunition, military vehicles and other equipment. The Mauritian representative stated that France, which had been the major supplier, according to material prepared by the Special Committee on Apartheid, had argued—along with other Western countries—that the embargo covered only arms which could be used for internal repression and did not apply to arms and equipment for external defence.

The African States, he continued, considered that such a distinction was not valid, since South Africa had committed itself not only to repressing organized opposition to its own racial policies, but also to a policy of military and economic support of the white minority regimes elsewhere in southern Africa. The African States hoped that those who were contravening the embargo would realize that they were sowing the seeds of a violent conflict in the whole of Africa which would certainly involve other nations.

The representative of Mauritius said the African States were disturbed by recent press reports that the newly elected British Government might lift the arms embargo and resume the sale of arms to South Africa. Other press reports indicated that France and the Federal Republic of Germany were preparing to supply South Africa with arms if the United Kingdom did not. The action reportedly contemplated by the United Kingdom, he said, would seriously prejudice efforts to uphold the purposes of the United Nations Charter and fundamental freedoms and human rights in South Africa. The African States hoped the Security Council would face up to its responsibilities and take all necessary steps to strengthen its arms embargo and make it mandatory.

Similar views were expressed by representatives of other African and of Asian States. Ghana, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Zambia maintained that the arms embargo against South Africa had been weakened from the start by the reservations of some States and had been made virtually ineffective by the non-compliance of others. Among the points

² See Y.U.N., 1964, pp. 119-20, text of resolution 191(1964).

made by the representatives were the following:

The Security Council should discredit attempts to undermine the force of the arms embargo by unrealistic distinctions among types of weapons; arms sent to South Africa were used against the liberation movements.

There was no external threat against South Africa; the only threat to its security came from the vast majority of Africans in that country who were determined to put an end to white supremacy and exercise their inalienable right to freedom and independence.

To furnish arms and military equipment to the South African regime on whatever ground was an act of international irresponsibility and showed a callous disregard of world public opinion, especially since South Africa had extended its apartheid policies to the international territory of Namibia.

These States urged the Security Council to strengthen the embargo and eliminate the many loop-holes in its application, secure universal adherence to the embargo and call upon those States which had violated it to refrain from doing so.

Somalia suggested two measures in addition to several which had been recommended to the Security Council by the Special Committee: a prohibition on the supply of military patents to South Africa; and effective action by all States to discourage skilled technicians from emigrating to South Africa to work in the armaments industry. Somalia's representative maintained that the authority of the Security Council had been flouted by defiance of the arms embargo. If the Council remained indifferent to these violations, its moral and constitutional position would be seriously impaired.

The representative of India, referring to debate in the British House of Lords on the intended plan of the United Kingdom to renew arms supplies to South Africa, stated that arguments advanced to justify that plan were not convincing. For example, he said, the Simons-town Agreement (an exchange of letters of 30 June 1955) on defence matters between the United Kingdom and the Republic of South Africa was out of date and irrelevant and the argument that there was a communist threat or a threat by the USSR in the area was not credible.

The only threat to peace and security in the southern half of Africa came from the South African regime's covert aggression and subversion against neighbouring independent countries and colonial peoples struggling for their freedom. United Nations action against South Africa had proved unsuccessful because of exports of armaments by certain States to that country.

India proposed measures that the Security Council should take to implement its previous resolutions on the arms embargo, as follows.

First, it said, effective steps should be taken to prevent the flow of arms and military hardware to South Africa directly or through third parties. Second, the supply of and spare parts for all vehicles and equipment for the South African armed forces should be withheld. Third, all kinds of investment and technical assistance, including licences, should be prohibited, and, fourth, all military training of South African forces should be discontinued. Also, the Security Council might consider the establishment of a sub-committee to keep the question of the embargo under constant review.

The representative of Syria said the Council should respond to the just and minimal request of the African countries for the strengthening of the arms embargo, so as to diminish the capabilities of the Pretoria regime to inflict more harm on the African majority subjected to the practice of apartheid, on the Namibians subjected to foreign rule and denied their rights, and on the neighbouring African States.

The representative of Ghana declared that his Government would regard the United Kingdom's resumption of the sale of arms to South Africa as a racist alignment aimed at buttressing Western European supremacy in southern Africa. He said that while the socialist countries of Eastern Europe had scrupulously complied with the arms embargo resolutions, Western countries had generally violated them whenever it suited their purpose. He criticized France, which, he said, had become the principal arms supplier to South Africa and he asserted that other countries involved in such supplies were Belgium, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland.

Pakistan said that any increase in South Africa's capability for external defence would

inevitably and automatically strengthen its means for enforcement of its apartheid policies. The permanent members of the Security Council must make unqualified commitments on the arms embargo, for to interpret these commitments as partial, to admit loop-holes in the Council's resolutions on the embargo and subject it to changing doctrines or strategic defence was to thwart the objectives and undermine the basis of those resolutions. Pakistan believed it was entirely within the power of the Security Council to act decisively and prevent the situation in southern Africa from becoming worse.

The representative of the USSR said that the Security Council, while condemning the racist regime in South Africa, should draw attention to the economic and military policies of the Western powers, which promoted the survival of that regime and enabled it to maintain its racist policies by force. As was clear from the data cited in the Council, the Western powers had never fully complied with the embargo; however, the reported intention of the United Kingdom to resume arms sales to South Africa opened the way to all kinds of military assistance to South Africa and represented a challenge to the principles of the United Nations Charter and a total disregard of the Council's decisions. The USSR supported the African States' call for the strengthening of the arms embargo and its full implementation.

In the course of the Security Council discussions, the representative of the United Kingdom read to the Council a statement made in Parliament by the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom. The statement expressed the United Kingdom's intention to consider the export to South Africa of certain categories of arms for the specific purpose of maritime defence related to the security of the vital sea route around southern Africa in order to give effect to the purposes of the Simonstown Agreement. The statement added that under no circumstances would there be sales of arms for the enforcement of the policies of apartheid or internal repression. It indicated that consultations were being held with Commonwealth Governments and with the South African Government, and no decisions would be taken pending completion of those discussions.

The representative of the United Kingdom

emphasized that no decision had yet been taken and said that some of the fears expressed in the Council had gone far beyond any actions his Government had in mind. There was no question, he said, of lifting the arms embargo as a whole; or of selling arms to South Africa for the enforcement of apartheid or internal repression.

France reaffirmed its opposition to apartheid and said it fully understood the feelings of the African countries that had felt it necessary once again to draw the Council's attention to the deplorable situation in South Africa.

However, France's position, explained to the Council in 1963, had been that if the Council were to adopt enforcement measures and interfere directly in the international affairs of a Member State, it would exceed its authority under the United Nations Charter. So far, the Council had avoided recourse to Chapter VII of the Charter.³ Member States had replied to the appeal to end sales of military material to South Africa and some had made reservations to their commitments, doubtless feeling that a Member State could not be denied the right to self-defence recognized by Article 51 of the Charter.⁴ They had therefore drawn a distinction between arms for external defence and arms for internal repression.

France's original undertaking to take all steps necessary to prevent the sale to South Africa of arms which might be used for repression had subsequently been expanded to cover equipment and material for the manufacture of such weapons. France, therefore, could not accept the assertions made in the Council that it had violated the arms embargo against South Africa.

The French representative said he was authorized to state that his Government was anxious to avoid anything that could jeopardize the security of the African countries, particularly of Zambia, and would accordingly consider whether it was appropriate to take additional steps along those lines.

On 23 July 1970, the Security Council decided to reiterate its call on States to observe

³ See APPENDIX II for text of Chapter VII of the Charter.

⁴ *Ibid.*, text of Article 51 of the Charter.

strictly the arms embargo. The Council also took decisions on several other aspects of the question.

Again condemning the policies of apartheid and the measures being taken by South Africa to enforce and extend those policies beyond its borders, the Council recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for their human and political rights as set forth in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Council expressed grave concern at the persistent refusal of South Africa to abandon its racist policies and to abide by the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions relating to southern Africa. The Council also expressed grave concern at the situation arising from the violation of the arms embargo and was convinced that the embargo should be strengthened.

Further, it was convinced that the situation resulting from the continued application of the policies of apartheid and the constant build-up of the South African military and police forces constituted a potential threat to international peace and security. The Council also felt that the extensive arms build-up of the military forces of South Africa posed a real threat to the security and sovereignty of independent African States opposed to South Africa's racial policies, especially neighbours.

The Council then reiterated its total opposition to the South African Government's policies of apartheid; reaffirmed its previous resolutions on this question; and condemned the violations of the arms embargo.

The Council called on States to strengthen the arms embargo by: (a) implementing fully the arms embargo against South Africa unconditionally and without reservations whatsoever; (b) withholding the supply of all vehicles and equipment for use of the armed forces and paramilitary organizations of South Africa; (c) ceasing the supply of spare parts for all vehicles and military equipment used by the armed forces and paramilitary organizations of South Africa; (d) revoking all licences and military patents granted to the South African Government or to South African companies for the manufacture of arms and ammunition, aircraft and naval craft or other military vehicles and by refrain-

ing from further granting such licences and patents; (e) prohibiting investment in, or technical assistance for, the manufacture of arms and ammunition, aircraft, naval craft or other military vehicles; (f) ceasing provision of military training for members of the South African armed forces and all other forms of military co-operation with South Africa; (g) undertaking the appropriate action to give effect to the above measures.

The Council asked the Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of these decisions and to report to it from time to time.

These decisions were set forth in the Council's resolution 282(1970), adopted by a vote of 12 to 0, with 3 abstentions (France, the United Kingdom and the United States). The resolution was proposed by Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia.

(For text, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

Prior to the vote, the representative of Zambia, appealing to all Council members to join in condemning apartheid, said the sponsors had modified the text to meet the objections of certain members. Particularly, in the preambular part, he said, the situation resulting from the continued build-up of South African military and police forces was described as constituting a "potential" threat to international peace and security, rather than a "serious" threat.

The representative of the United States, explaining his abstention, said his country abhorred and rejected the doctrine of apartheid. It considered that policy and its repressive implementation as violations of South Africa's undertakings under the United Nations Charter. For that reason, the United States, which in 1962 had voluntarily prohibited the sale to South Africa of arms which might be used to enforce apartheid, had voted for the 1963 Council resolution establishing the embargo,⁵ had fully carried out its obligations and intended to continue to do so. Current deliveries of arms to South Africa, he said, consisted entirely of spare parts supplied under contracts made before 31 December 1963, the effective date of the United States embargo.

⁵See Y.U.N., 1963, p. 20, text of resolution 181 (1963).

With regard to the resolution before the Council, the United States supported its basic intent and many of its specific provisions, but it could not support the text in its entirety. The more sweeping provisions went beyond the limits to which the United States could commit itself; they could not command the wide support in the Council needed to make them effective and might, on the contrary, weaken the measure of compliance required to give practical effect to the recommendations of the Council.

The representative of the United Kingdom said it was clear that the provisions of the resolution did not involve Chapter VII of the Charter.⁶ The United Kingdom was not opposed to the mention of a "potential" threat to international peace and security, as that adequately reflected the real and understandable fears of South Africa's neighbours concerning that country's intentions towards them. However, the use of the term "violations" (of the arms embargo) was not suitable in referring to Security Council recommendations. Furthermore, when the Council made those recommendations in 1963, the United Kingdom had made known its views on how it would carry them out.

Nothing was further from the facts, the United Kingdom spokesman added, than the impression created by some speakers that the British Government's operation of the embargo was more formal than real. As had been made clear by the study that the Special Committee on Apartheid had transmitted to the Security Council (see above), the United Kingdom currently supplied only a small proportion of the arms received by South Africa and had willingly forgone orders worth tens of millions of pounds.

With reference to the specific measures to strengthen the embargo called for by the Council, the United Kingdom representative said that the wide-ranging nature of these measures would conflict with the United Kingdom's existing commitments. For those reasons, the United Kingdom had abstained in the vote.

The representative of Mauritius, speaking on behalf of the African group of States at the United Nations expressed regrets at the abstentions by France, the United Kingdom and the United States, but hoped that they would co-

operate in the implementation of the resolution or, at least, not hamper its implementation.

On 9 October 1970, the Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) sent to the President of the Security Council the texts of two resolutions on the situation in southern Africa adopted at the seventh session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in September 1970.

By one resolution, pertaining to the supply of arms to South Africa, the OAU Assembly had, among other things, asked its Chairman to write to the Heads of Governments concerned strongly deploring their action of selling arms to South Africa and requesting them to cease forthwith all actions contravening the resolutions of the Security Council relative to southern Africa.

By the second resolution, the OAU Assembly had, among other things, called for more effective measures against South Africa and condemned the Governments and international financial interests which collaborated with that Government.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID

The General Assembly's Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa submitted its report to the Security Council and the General Assembly on 10 September 1970. The report reviewed the Special Committee's work during 1970 and new developments in South Africa in the past year. The report also presented the Committee's conclusions and recommendations for consideration by the Assembly and the Council.

The Special Committee noted with concern that the South African Government had, in violation of relevant United Nations resolutions, continued to subject the leaders of the oppressed people of South Africa and the militant opponents of apartheid to its repressive laws. It further noted that that Government's pursuit of the widest and severest application of the measures of racial separation and segregation had intensified racial bitterness and increased

⁶ See footnote 3.

the dangers of violent conflict inside South Africa. The threat of a violent racial conflict was all the more serious because the South African Government's rejection of the peaceful means advocated by the United Nations for an equitable settlement of the situation had deepened the conviction of the oppressed South African people and their liberation movement that their inalienable rights and freedoms could be achieved only through armed struggle and underground activities.

Further, the South African Government, by committing itself to the military support of the white minority regimes in southern Africa, had threatened the security of neighbouring independent States which supported the opponents of apartheid.

The Special Committee pointed out that the South African Government had been encouraged to undertake its aggressive policies in the area by the assistance it had received from other States in building up its military and police forces. In a report of 2 July 1970 to the Security Council on that subject, the Special Committee had emphasized the growth of South Africa's military power despite the Security Council's arms embargo, and had rejected the distinction drawn by States that had contributed to the military build-up in South Africa between arms for internal repression or enforcement of the policies of apartheid and arms for external defence.

While noting with satisfaction that the Security Council, on 23 July 1970, by the terms of resolution 282(1970) (see pp. 146-47 below for text), had expressed its concern about the situation arising from the violations of its arms embargo, the Special Committee nevertheless expressed regret that three permanent members of the Council—France, the United Kingdom and the United States—had abstained during the voting on that resolution. The Special Committee also expressed regret that the Council's resolution of 23 July had not been made mandatory on all Member States. It felt that the situation was sufficiently grave to merit measures of a mandatory character under the Charter of the United Nations.

The Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid further stated that countries maintaining economic and trade relations with

South Africa were contributing to the consolidation of the regime through their economic co-operation. It suggested that until such time as the Security Council imposed effective universally applied mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter,⁷ the international community should institute other measures which would have some impact on that country's economy.

Recommending increased moral, political and material assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa, the Special Committee suggested that part of such assistance should cover technical training in various fields and should include the provision of printing and other equipment that would enable the liberation movement to conduct an effective information campaign.

In the framework of the international campaign against apartheid, the Special Committee drew attention to the insidious propaganda of the South African Government aimed at making its racial policies internationally acceptable. The Committee suggested that studies of South African propaganda and its operation in countries which still maintained relations with South Africa, as well as appropriate measures to counteract it, be undertaken. In the meantime, the General Assembly should appeal to all States to intensify their scrutiny of, and take appropriate measures in line with their domestic laws against the activities of all organizations which were acting as overt and covert lobbies for South African and pro-apartheid propaganda.

While considering that all the mass media should be used in promoting the international campaign, the Special Committee recommended in particular the wider use of radio and urged the provision of adequate assistance to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for undertaking regular broadcasts on apartheid to southern Africa. The Special Committee also suggested that publications on various aspects of apartheid should cover a wide range of subjects and be issued in more languages.

Finally, the Special Committee reaffirmed its conviction that the success of the struggle of the non-white population of South Africa for equality and justice would depend on United

See footnote 3.

Nations Member States taking strong and resolute action in support of that struggle. The Committee attributed lack of progress on that score to two factors: the intransigence of the South African Government; and the uncooperative attitude of those States that continued to maintain diplomatic, economic and other relations with it.

The Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid also reported on its 1970 observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination—21 March. A special meeting in New York on 20 March was attended by representatives of virtually all Member States, the specialized agencies of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

After hearing statements by the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, the Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the Chairman of the Special Committee, the meeting observed a minute of silence in memory of all victims of apartheid and racial discrimination the world over.

The International Day was also observed at governmental and non-governmental levels in many parts of the world. Thirteen Governments announced pledges or contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa on the occasion of the International Day.

(See also pp. 504-5.)

DECISIONS OF COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

DECISIONS OF COMMISSION

At its meetings in February and March 1970, the Commission on Human Rights took several decisions concerning the policies of apartheid. By a decision dealing with the programme for observance in 1971 of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the Commission included the policies of apartheid among the aspects of racial discrimination which it intended to review in 1971, in order to identify obstacles to eliminating racial discrimination. The Commission declared, in this connexion, that it found the

apartheid policies to be the most reprehensible manifestation of racial discrimination, and it urged Governments as part of their observance of the International Year to declare their abhorrence and condemnation of apartheid and racial discrimination, particularly in southern Africa.

The Commission also asked specialized agencies to launch a world-wide campaign to publicize the evils of apartheid; it asked States to sign relevant international conventions and to bring pressure to bear on those States that violated United Nations resolutions dealing with the elimination of racism, including apartheid, nazism and colonialism. (See also p. 499.)

Another Commission decision, which referred to measures to be taken against nazism and racial intolerance, included apartheid among the ideologies and practices to be eradicated. (See also pp. 508-9.)

By still another decision, the Commission approved the text of a resolution on the question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid, with particular reference to colonial territories. This resolution was proposed for adoption to the Economic and Social Council; it set forth the text of a resolution which the Council would ask the General Assembly to adopt. (See below pages 127 and 141-42 for Council and Assembly decisions.)

DECISIONS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

On 6 June 1969, the Economic and Social Council had asked the Secretary-General to prepare a report setting forth the terms of reference of the United Nations organs dealing with violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in southern Africa, a brief survey of the relevant activities so far undertaken by the different organs and also a statement of the activities in this connexion undertaken by the specialized agencies, particularly the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The report was requested in connexion with the Council's interest in co-ordinating United Nations activities relating to apartheid in southern Africa.

The Secretary-General submitted the report to the Council in May 1970. He reviewed the terms of reference and activities in this respect of the General Assembly, the Security Council, its subsidiary organs, the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary organ, the Commission on Human Rights. Also reviewed were the activities of two subsidiary organs of the Human Rights Commission—Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts appointed by the Human Rights Commission.

In addition, the report covered the terms of reference of the Secretariat and the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the activities of the specialized agencies concerned.

On 27 May 1970, the Economic and Social Council took note of this report.

Other Council decisions which referred to the policies of apartheid dealt with the punishment of war criminals and of persons who had committed crimes against humanity, with the question of violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and with allegations of infringements of trade-union rights.

The Council, by the adoption of resolution 1500(XLVIII), recommended that the General Assembly adopt a draft resolution which, among other things, would condemn war crimes and crimes against humanity being committed as a result of aggressive wars and the policies of racism, apartheid and colonialism and would call upon the States concerned to bring to trial persons guilty of such crimes. (See below, pp. 143, for General Assembly action, and 571-72, for further details.)

The Council also asked the General Assembly to adopt a resolution on violations of human rights which would be concerned in some detail with various aspects of the policies of apartheid. It took this action in adopting resolution 1501 (XLVIII). See below, pp. 141-42, for General Assembly action and pp. 517-19 for further details.)

The third Council resolution—1509(XLVIII)—was concerned with the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on allegations of the infringements of trade-union rights. The Council condemned the continuing suppression of

trade-union rights in southern Africa, and, among other things, authorized further investigation of this situation. (For further details, see pp. 564-65.)

CONSIDERATION BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY

GENERAL ASPECTS

An item relating to the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa was included in the agenda of the twenty-fifth (1970) session of the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Assembly's General Committee.

During the discussion regarding the adoption of the agenda, the representative of South Africa, reaffirming the reservations on the item which his Government had expressed in the past, stated that its inclusion in the agenda and its subsequent consideration would contravene Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter, which precludes the United Nations from intervening in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.⁸

The Assembly, however, approved the inclusion of the item in the agenda, allocating it to the Special Political Committee.

The Rapporteur of the Special Committee on Apartheid (the shortened nomenclature approved by the Assembly in 1970; see below, page 140) presented the Committee's report to the Special Political Committee, saying that the continuing deterioration of the situation in South Africa was a source of grave concern to the international community. He declared that the efforts of the United Nations over the past 25 years had proved fruitless, the arms embargo was being violated, and the South African Government continued to receive the support of some major powers and its principal trading partners, most of them Member States. Further,

⁸ Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter states: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII."

South Africa had intensified its policies of segregation and had achieved a phenomenal growth in its military equipment of all kinds. The Rapporteur drew attention to the more stringent measures for racial separation and discrimination which had been enforced in South Africa since the general election of April 1970, with franchise restricted to whites.

Although the anti-apartheid Labour Party had won a majority in the elections to the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, the Government had packed the Council with its own nominees, the Rapporteur said. Among the new laws aimed at further eroding the rights of the majority non-white population was the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act (Act No. 26 of 1970) which was intended to bind every African legally and constitutionally to his own ethnic and cultural group.

Harassment, house arrest, imprisonment, exile or deportation continued to be the lot of opponents of apartheid, he continued. Accordingly, the proportion of prisoners in relation to South Africa's total population was probably the highest in the world. The intensification of apartheid had resulted in such increased racial bitterness and antagonism that it posed a serious threat of a large-scale conflict in the area. It was only by applying effective coercive measures, such as economic sanctions, against South Africa that the threat could be averted.

The Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, who also addressed the Special Political Committee, referred to published evidence which indicted the practice of apartheid as a crime against humanity. The elimination of apartheid constituted the greatest moral challenge of the times. He emphasized the urgent need for the United Nations to continue and extend its efforts to combat apartheid and pointed out the danger that some Member States would drift into apathy and frustration as a result of the refusal of several industrial countries to comply with relevant United Nations resolutions on the subject.

Some States, he continued, hoped that dissemination of pertinent information would in time induce peoples to force their Governments to act against apartheid, but there might not be time for such hopes to materialize before a racial conflict erupted in South Africa. It was

vital to disseminate information about the conditions in that country so as to counteract the insidious South African racist propaganda that pretended all was well.

Citing parallels between apartheid and slavery, the Chairman declared that the complex of laws and regulations which enforced apartheid ensured that the privileges and profits of the white minority would be perpetuated while the black majority lived in subjection and misery. Apartheid was the South African Government's solution to the problem of how to dispossess the African in his own land and at the same time create a permanent, abundant and cheap labour force. The success of this attempt amounted to the enslavement of a people.

The Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid rebutted a claim which had been made by the South African Foreign Minister that since his Government acceded to power in 1948 it had promoted self-determination for the disenfranchised of that country. Emphasizing the inequity of apportioning 13 per cent of the territory to 70 per cent of the population, he referred to a study prepared for the Special Committee on Apartheid which showed that the so-called homelands (Bantustans) for the black population were all over-populated and in very poor areas where the economy was based almost entirely on subsistence agriculture. In contrast, the white community, though constituting only 19 per cent of the population, occupied 87 per cent of the best and richest parts of the territory. This arrangement had been imposed upon the blacks by the racist regime, which meted out ruthless punishment to anyone who opposed it.

Turning to another claim by the South African Foreign Minister that all peoples in South Africa possessed self-government in varying forms and at varying levels of development, the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid stated that outside the Bantustans black people had no political rights of any kind. Even within the Bantustans the political activity of the non-whites was of the most elementary kind, directed by the whites and characterized by complete subordination to the will and power of the white regime. It must be concluded, he said, in the face of such clearly established evidence, that the aim of the Bantu-

Stan policy was not self-determination but the gradual and systematic extermination of the black people of South Africa.

The Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid observed that the trading partners of South Africa sustained the regime by their material and moral support. As in the past, the representatives of France, the United Kingdom and the United States had resolutely condemned apartheid, but beyond words the situation demanded a resolve by the great powers to withdraw from the web of greed that had been woven in South Africa. Investment in apartheid yielded the world's highest dividends; for example, in 1969, the United States journal, *Business Week*, reported that United States investments there yielded a return of between 17 and 26 per cent. It was not surprising, therefore, that the most enthusiastic lobbyists in Western capitals for the South African regime were business and finance groups.

The success of sanctions, the Chairman declared, depended on a decision by South Africa's main trading partners to implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. He suggested that the States involved meet, either informally or under the auspices of the United Nations, to discuss concerted action to implement the trade embargo while softening the impact of such action on the more vulnerable economies.

Continuing, he emphasized the need to isolate South Africa completely—by the severance of diplomatic and other links—until it changed its racist policies. United Nations inertia, he warned, would lead inevitably to greater conflict within the country which, in turn, could well endanger international peace and security. The realization of the futility of depending on the international community for action against apartheid had crystallized in the liberation movement of South Africa, which was growing in effectiveness.

The Chairman noted two developments in the campaign against apartheid. One was the determination of the South African people to resort to armed struggle, and the other was that people, as opposed to Governments, were becoming more and more aware of the implications of apartheid and of their moral obligations in the matter.

He cited the action of the World Council of

Churches in voting a substantial sum for the support of the liberation movements in Africa and said it served to underline the fact that the minority racist regimes had effectively barred any alternatives to armed struggle. The strong stand taken against apartheid by many international and national sports organizations was also encouraging. Further, university students all over the world were raising protests against apartheid.

The dissemination of knowledge about apartheid and the consequent development of anti-apartheid attitudes in non-governmental organizations and in all those who would, he hoped, influence Governments, was a long-term process. Given the prevailing trends, a terrible racial conflict might erupt within and outside southern Africa before that process had had time to work.

The Special Political Committee began its discussion of the question of apartheid by considering methods to strengthen the arms embargo against South Africa. In this connexion, reference was made to the fact that during its seventh session (held in September 1970 at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia), the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) had decided to send a mission of Foreign Ministers, led by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, to countries selling arms to South Africa or thought to be potential arms suppliers to that country. Reference was also made to the recent announcement that the newly elected Conservative Party Government in the United Kingdom would rescind the limited arms embargo instituted by the former Labour Government.

A 52-power draft resolution by which the Assembly would call for full implementation of the arms embargo was put before the Special Political Committee on 8 October 1970. It was approved by the Committee the following day and adopted by the Assembly at a plenary meeting on 13 October.

The Assembly thus expressed serious concern at reports that the Security Council's resolution of 23 July 1970 calling on all States to strengthen the arms embargo against South Africa (see pp. 146-147 for text) was not yet being implemented by some States. It expressed also its grave concern about the continued build-up of the South African military and police forces and the con-

sequent aggravation of the situation in southern Africa, and it took note of the OAU Assembly's decision to mandate a delegation of five African States to urge the Governments concerned to stop selling arms to South Africa and also to stop assisting in the manufacture of arms in South Africa.

The Assembly then called upon all States to take immediate steps to implement fully the provisions of the Security Council's resolution of 23 July 1970 and asked the Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of this Assembly resolution and to report not later than 10 December 1970.

These decisions were contained in resolution 2624 (XXV).

(For text, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

After voting separately on the preambular paragraphs referring to the build-up of South African military and police forces and the decision of the OAU Assembly, and also on the operative paragraph calling on all States to implement fully the Security Council's decision, the Special Political Committee approved the text of the resolution as a whole by a roll-call vote of 94 to 2, with 7 abstentions. The Assembly adopted the text by a roll-call vote of 98 to 2, with 9 abstentions.

The sponsors of the resolution were: Afghanistan, Algeria, Barbados, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

During the discussion of this Assembly resolution, the representative of Finland stated that his Government understood that the purpose of the text was not to pronounce on the substance of the matter, but rather to reaffirm the overwhelming support of Member States for the Security Council's resolution of 23 July 1970.

Denmark, Indonesia, Nigeria, Somalia and

the USSR were among others who spoke in support of the resolution.

The Canadian representative stated that while Canada fully sympathized with the principles underlying the text, it had no choice but to abstain from voting on it because the essence of the question it referred to was then under review by the Canadian Government. His country had not violated the general arms embargo imposed by the Security Council against South Africa by its resolution of 23 July 1970. Nevertheless, Canada still furnished some spare parts for military equipment that it had supplied to South Africa prior to the adoption of the Security Council's resolution of 7 August 1963.⁹

The representative of Malawi contended that an arms embargo should also be applied to certain parts of Africa which were receiving arms from countries in Eastern Europe as it would be unwise to ignore the balance of power in southern Africa. He said Malawi would vote against the resolution.

Following approval of the resolution concerning the arms embargo against South Africa, the Special Political Committee returned to a general discussion of the policies of apartheid of the South African Government. These policies were unanimously condemned as a violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter as well as of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

A majority of the Members deplored the failure of the United Nations to take effective measures to end the policies of apartheid, particularly as the Organization had been considering the question in one form or another for 25 years. They maintained that the responsibility for such failure rested with South Africa's main trading partners—the traditional ones as well as the new. They held that by refusing to implement various United Nations resolutions calling for the severance of economic political and other ties with South Africa, that country's main trading partners—most of them Members of the United Nations and three of them permanent members of the Security Council—had ensured the survival of the apartheid regime. Those countries, it was stated, had given

⁹ See footnote 5.

more weight to economic considerations than to moral principles. Their refusal to co-operate in implementing United Nations resolutions had not only emboldened the South African Government to increase its recalcitrant and defiant attitude towards the United Nations but was also undermining the prestige and authority of the Organization.

A number of representatives, among them those of Ghana, Haiti, Hungary, Iraq, Kenya, Mexico, Morocco and Sudan, held the view that the United Nations should consider the possibility of either suspending or expelling South Africa from membership of the Organization, as that country's continued violation of its obligations under the Charter, manifested by its gross denial of human rights to the majority of the population, jeopardized the continued authority and effectiveness of the United Nations.

The representative of Mexico stated that since it had proved impossible to implement provisions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter,¹⁰ it was pointless to go on insisting on it, especially as the Charter contained provisions for other effective ways of bringing pressure to bear on South Africa with a view to forcing it to end its universally condemned policy of apartheid. Referring to Article 5 of the Charter, which provided for the suspension of a Member State against which preventive or enforcement action had been taken by the Security Council,¹¹ he maintained that suspension from membership, while not relieving the State from any of its obligations, would deprive it of the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership. Preventive and enforcement action had been taken against South Africa under the Security Council's resolutions of 7 August 1963, 4 December 1963 and 23 July 1970.¹² In Mexico's view, therefore, nothing debarred the General Assembly, in the exercise of its powers under Article 11 of the Charter, from inviting the Security Council to consider a recommendation to suspend the rights and privileges of the Republic of South Africa.¹³ Under Article 5 of the Charter, the Security Council could restore those rights once the South African Government had abolished its policy of apartheid.

Mexico preferred suspension of South Africa under Article 5 of the Charter instead of ex-

pulsion, its representative added, since under the former sanction South Africa's obligations under the Charter to uphold human rights would remain unaffected and thus binding on it.

The representative of Venezuela gave qualified support to the idea of suspending South Africa's membership but expressed the fear that such an action might prove to be counter-productive because it would remove the only existing restriction on that country's freedom of action—its annual appearance before the General Assembly, where the great majority of nations repudiated its conduct. He felt that so long as there were nations which refused to comply with United Nations resolutions regarding trade and other relations with the South African Government, suspension would be as ineffective as those measures already adopted by the General Assembly.

Venezuela proposed that consideration be given to the possibility of preparing a specific, legally binding multilateral instrument on international measures relating to the South African Government's policy of apartheid, embracing the provisions laid down in the various resolutions adopted by the United Nations and supplementing them where appropriate. Such an instrument would then be submitted for the consideration of Governments and opened for signature by them. Some States had explained that one of the factors which made it difficult to comply with United Nations decisions was that it was impossible to ensure that they would be respected as legally binding domestically. That difficulty would be obviated if the rele-

¹⁰ See footnote 3.

¹¹ Article 5 of the Charter states: "A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council."

¹² See Y.U.N., 1963, p. 20, for text of resolution 181(1963) of 7 August and pp. 22-23 for text of resolution 182(1963) of 4 December 1963. See below, pp. 146-47, for text of resolution 282(1970) of 23 July 1970.

¹³ Article 11 of the Charter describes certain powers of the General Assembly. For text of this Article, see APPENDIX II.

vant provisions of United Nations resolutions were embodied in an instrument which would be transformed into law by the signatory countries in accordance with their different constitutional procedures. The instrument Venezuela envisaged could, among other things, provide for the progressive withdrawal of investments from South Africa over a reasonable period to reduce any unfavourable effects on the economies of signatories, and also alleviate the material losses such a step might entail for some States.

Norway's spokesman held that any decision to suspend South Africa from exercising its rights and privileges of membership would cut off channels of communication which might still influence its Government and people. Suspension would also violate the principle of universality which was so strongly advocated at the current session of the General Assembly.

A number of representatives, among them those of Libya, Malaysia, Morocco, Poland, Trinidad and Tobago, and the United Republic of Tanzania, believed that the only step likely to produce any results in the desired goal of eliminating apartheid was the imposition of total mandatory and universally applied economic sanctions. It was further suggested that such sanctions be backed by force, if need be.

Italy's spokesman said that, under the Charter, sanctions and related measures were the prerogative of the Security Council; such measures should be decided on in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

The representative of the USSR held that apartheid in South Africa was not a local phenomenon; the racist regime had extended its aggressive policies to the non-white population of the occupied territory of Namibia and was suppressing the national liberation movement on the African continent. The forces of South African racism were uniting with Southern Rhodesian racism and Portuguese colonialism in an effort to maintain the supremacy of the white minority. All those regimes employed the same military and political strategy for ensuring their supremacy. They represented a direct danger to neighbouring African States and, particularly in the case of South Africa, constituted a threat to international peace and security.

The USSR representative went on to say

that South Africa was able openly to defy the generally accepted principles of international law and humanity and to repudiate its obligations under the United Nations Charter because of the increasing political, economic and military support that it received from a number of Western States. In that connexion, the intention of the United Kingdom Government to resume the sale of arms to South Africa was nothing less than a challenge to public opinion, the principles of the Charter and the decisions of the Security Council.

The amount of foreign investments in South Africa and the profits derived by foreign monopolies from the exploitation of the African population were well known, the USSR representative continued. The foreign monopolies and the South African racists were united by a common bond of material interests which prevailed over moral or humanitarian principles.

The progressive forces of the world were trying to compel the racists of South Africa to abandon their scandalous policy and the imperialist powers to end their support of the South African regime, the USSR spokesman said. The USSR had always favoured the adoption of the most effective measures, in conformity with the Charter, to eliminate racial discrimination and apartheid.

A number of Members including Algeria, the Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Iraq, Morocco, Nigeria and Poland, pledged continued moral, material and military assistance for the oppressed peoples of southern Africa. Others, among them Cuba and Sudan, argued that an armed struggle was the only solution to the evils and endless exploitation and humiliation of apartheid. The representative of Ethiopia said that if the alternatives were either to use force or to abandon the cause of freedom and justice, force must be resorted to as the lesser of two evils.

On the other hand, some Members, including Denmark, Norway and Japan, contended that the United Nations could not be a party to violence and the use of armed force. They said that non-violent means might in the long run be more effective and that the primary task of the United Nations was peace-keeping.

Cameroon and Ceylon commended the World Council of Churches on its decision to contrib-

ute funds to the liberation movements in southern Africa and expressed the hope that its example would be emulated by like-minded international organizations.

Senegal suggested a high level dialogue with the authorities of the countries that were supplying arms to South Africa and sustaining that country in other ways in order to explain to them the serious situation and the consequences of their actions.

The Netherlands proposed that sustained efforts be made to persuade the Government of South Africa to adopt a more enlightened outlook in its racial policies. It was essential to maintain contacts on the official level, as well as with the churches, the press, youth organizations or other groups that might be capable of influencing public opinion.

Several representatives, among them those of Colombia, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Norway and Sweden, emphasized the importance of the dissemination of information on apartheid, thereby mobilizing world public opinion against it. They expressed support for activities aimed not only at promoting greater international awareness of the evils of apartheid but also at securing better understanding of the international community's efforts to eradicate apartheid.

The representative of Malawi maintained that the solution to apartheid was not to be found in the propagation of strongly worded resolutions. While he did not oppose the dissemination of information on apartheid, he pointed out that publications and news broadcasts reached only those already informed about apartheid. He also said that it would be wishful thinking to believe that anti-apartheid documents ever reached South Africa. He expressed doubts as to the effectiveness of the proposed radio programmes to be broadcast to that country, adding that only programmes broadcast by the Government radio stations could be received there.

The outcome of the general debate was set forth in six resolutions adopted by the Assembly on 8 December 1970. One of these—resolution 2671 E (XXV)—dealing with the United Nations Trust Fund is reported in another section of this chapter (pp. 154-56). The others are described below.

By the first of these resolutions, the Assembly, recognizing the need for greater co-ordination of efforts by the United Nations to promote concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid in South Africa, requested the Special Committee on Apartheid constantly to review all aspects of the policies of apartheid in South Africa and its international repercussions. This review was to include: (a) legislative, administrative and other racially discriminatory measures in South Africa and their effects; (b) repression of opponents of apartheid; (c) efforts by the South African Government to extend its inhuman policies beyond the borders of South Africa; and (d) ways and means of promoting concerted international action to secure the elimination of apartheid. The Committee was asked to report from time to time, as appropriate, to the General Assembly or the Security Council, or both.

The Assembly drew the attention of all United Nations organs concerned to this decision so that undue duplication of efforts might be avoided. It decided to expand the membership of the Special Committee on Apartheid by not more than seven additional members and requested the Assembly President to appoint the additional members taking into account the principle of equitable geographical distribution.

This resolution—2671 A (XXV)—was adopted by the General Assembly by 105 votes to 2, with 6 abstentions, on the recommendation of the Special Political Committee, which approved the text on 4 November 1970 by a roll-call vote of 97 to 1, with 5 abstentions. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The sponsors of this resolution were: Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Ceylon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

The second resolution adopted by the Assembly called for assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa. On 29 October 1970, the rep-

representative of Zambia introduced a draft of the text in the Special Political Committee.

By the operative part of this draft resolution, the Assembly would: (1) request the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to take all appropriate steps to promote assistance by Governments, organizations and individuals, to the oppressed people of South Africa, in their legitimate struggle against apartheid; (2) appeal to Governments, organizations and individuals to contribute generously, in consultation with OAU, towards such assistance; (3) request the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly, from time to time as appropriate, on the implementation of this resolution.

On 4 November, a revised version of the text was submitted, which specified the nature of the assistance contemplated for the oppressed people of South Africa to be in the "economic, social and humanitarian fields."

The Special Political Committee approved the revised draft resolution by 103 votes to 1, with 1 abstention, on 4 November and the Assembly adopted it on 8 December as resolution 2671 B (XXV), by a vote of 111 to 2, with 1 abstention. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The sponsors of the resolution in the Special Political Committee were: Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Ceylon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

The third Assembly resolution dealt with an information campaign against apartheid. On 29 October 1970, the representative of Malaysia submitted a draft resolution in the Special Political Committee eventually sponsored by the following 45 States: Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Ceylon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, India, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Rwanda,

Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

By the operative part of the resolution, the Assembly would (1) request the Secretary-General to take appropriate steps to ensure the widest dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of apartheid, taking into account the recommendations of the Special Committee on Apartheid; (2) invite Member States to lend their co-operation to the Secretary-General in dissemination of information in their countries and in territories under their administration; (3) invite specialized agencies, regional organizations, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations to help the United Nations information campaign against apartheid; (4) request the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee on Apartheid, to arrange for the preparation of special studies and papers on the evils of apartheid and, through the Secretariat's Office of Public Information and Unit on Apartheid, to increase their dissemination in various languages; (5) request the Secretary-General, in the light of the Assembly's resolution of 20 November 1969 (welcoming the Manifesto on Southern Africa and expressing its intention, acting in co-operation with OAU, to intensify efforts to find a solution to the grave situation in southern Africa)¹⁴ to make arrangements with OAU and provide appropriate assistance to OAU as necessary, for initiating broadcasts to southern Africa of programmes on international concern over apartheid and the objectives of the United Nations; (6) authorize the Secretary-General to encourage and assist anti-apartheid movements, United Nations associations and other non-governmental organizations to publish and disseminate widely information provided by the United Nations on the evils and dangers of apartheid and of international efforts against apartheid; and (7) request the Secretary-General to report to the Assembly in 1971 on the implementation of this resolution.

On 17 November, a revised version of the text was put before the Special Political Com-

¹⁴See Y.U.N., 1969, p. 152, text of resolution 2505 (XXIV).

mittee. This draft provided for the inclusion of a preambular paragraph, by which the Assembly would take note of the recommendation by the Special Committee on Apartheid that the United Nations should co-operate with OAU in undertaking regular broadcasts on apartheid to South Africa and to southern Africa as a whole and of the statement of the Assistant Secretary-General for Public Information on the consultations with OAU on this subject.

The operative paragraph calling for the initiation of these broadcasts was revised so that the Assembly would request the Secretary-General, in the light of the declaration set forth in the Assembly's resolution of 20 November 1969,¹⁵ to make appropriate arrangements in co-operation with OAU to initiate regular broadcasts to southern Africa of programmes on international concern over apartheid and on the objectives of the United Nations.

A new operative paragraph would have the Assembly authorize the Secretary-General to incur initial expenditures up to a maximum of \$20,000 in 1971 for assistance to OAU for the production and distribution of such programmes in the languages of southern Africa and request him to make a special report to the General Assembly in 1971 on such arrangements.

Several representatives, including those of Hungary and the USSR, expressed reservations about the financial implications of the draft resolution.

The representative of Somalia, commenting on the proposed financial assistance to OAU for radio broadcasts to southern Africa and the reservations of Members on the question, held that OAU was a regional organization recognized under the United Nations Charter. It was therefore a partner of the Organization and not an alien body. The apostles of apartheid, he said, horrified at any gathering of whites and blacks under the banner of justice and the rule of law, had, through the South African radio, increased their campaign of vilification and systematic propaganda against the United Nations, OAU and any individual or group which rose to the defence of the oppressed peoples of South Africa. The United Nations was in duty bound to counteract such propaganda by radio since every anti-apartheid publication was banned in South Africa.

The representative of Somalia added that the

sponsors sought to authorize the Secretary-General to pursue his negotiations so that broadcasts could begin as soon as possible, preferably in the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (1971). The proposal was in fact for mutual assistance in the context of common action to achieve a common goal. He reaffirmed the conviction of the sponsors that the activities envisaged were not only desirable but essential to the success of the international campaign against the policies of apartheid.

A second revision of the draft text was submitted to the Special Political Committee on 23 November. It was sponsored by the same 45 States. The two operative paragraphs of the former text referring to the initiation of broadcasts to southern Africa were replaced by three paragraphs by which the Assembly would: (1) welcome the readiness of OAU to undertake, in co-operation with the United Nations, weekly broadcasts to southern Africa; (2) request the Secretary-General to take appropriate steps to continue to make available an adequate number of radio programmes and material to Member States willing to provide facilities on their national broadcasting stations for broadcasts to southern Africa of programmes on international concern over apartheid and on the objectives of the United Nations; and (3) request the Secretary-General, in the light of the Assembly's resolution of 20 November 1969, to continue consultations with OAU on means for collaboration between that organization and the United Nations in order to intensify the international information campaign against apartheid, and to report with proposals to the 1971 session of the General Assembly on all aspects of the matter, including any required technical co-operation and financial arrangements.

Prior to voting, Canada proposed—and the sponsors accepted—the addition, in the operative paragraph welcoming the readiness of OAU to undertake broadcasts, of the words "United Nations material" after the words "weekly broadcasts."

Speaking before the vote in the Special Political Committee, France announced it would be able to vote for the draft, and added that the

¹⁵ Ibid.

United Nations had sound reasons for enlightening populations about apartheid. The French spokesman stated that in improving the methods of imparting information—a work of persuasion and conversion—the necessary attention must be paid to the Charter, which must not be violated in the process of inducing a Member State (South Africa) to stop violating it. It was on the condition that the Secretary-General would not yield his responsibility to OAU and that he would confine his assistance to the lending of current documents that France would support the operative paragraph welcoming OAU's readiness to undertake, in co-operation with the United Nations, weekly broadcasts of United Nations material to southern Africa.

France hoped that the adoption of the resolution would facilitate changes in the methods used by the Secretariat for dissemination of information, since it had hitherto spent considerable amounts of money on distribution of documents written in a language unintelligible to hundreds of millions of people. France considered that the changes contemplated in the draft resolution would lead to a quantitative improvement of information, would entail the elimination of an excessive number of documents written in one language only, and result in substantial economies.

The Special Political Committee approved the revised text on 24 November 1970, by 89 votes to 0, with 7 abstentions. The text was adopted by the General Assembly on 8 December, by a vote of 107 to 2, with 6 abstentions, as resolution 2671 C (XXV).

The Assembly thereby asked the Secretary-General to take appropriate steps to ensure the widest dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of apartheid, taking into account the recommendations of the Special Committee on Apartheid. It invited Member States to cooperate in the dissemination of such information and invited specialized agencies, regional organizations, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations to help the United Nations information campaign against apartheid.

The Assembly also asked the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee on Apartheid, to arrange for the preparation of special studies and papers on the evils of

apartheid and, through the Office of Public Information and the Unit on Apartheid of the Secretariat to increase the dissemination of such information in various languages.

Also, the Assembly welcomed the readiness of OAU to undertake, in co-operation with the United Nations, weekly broadcasts of United Nations material to southern Africa. It asked the Secretary-General to take appropriate steps to continue to make available an adequate number of radio programmes and material to Member States willing to provide facilities on their national radio stations for broadcasts to southern Africa of programmes on international concern over apartheid and on the objectives of the United Nations.

Further, the Assembly asked the Secretary-General, in the light of the General Assembly resolution of 20 November 1969,¹⁶ to continue consultations with OAU on the means of collaboration between that organization and the United Nations in order to intensify the international information campaign against apartheid and asked him to report in 1971 on all aspects of the matter, including any required technical co-operation and financial arrangements.

The Secretary-General was authorized to encourage and assist anti-apartheid movements, United Nations associations and other non-governmental organizations to publish and disseminate widely information provided by the United Nations on the evils and dangers of apartheid.

(For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES **below**.)

Still another resolution was concerned with aspects of the international campaign against apartheid during the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (1971).

By this resolution, the Assembly asked the Secretary-General to take appropriate steps, in consultation with the Special Committee on Apartheid, to promote the widest possible campaign against apartheid during the International Year.

The Assembly asked and authorized the Special Committee, within the budgetary provision

¹⁶ Ibid.

to be made for this purpose at the current session: (a) to hold consultations with experts and representatives of the oppressed people of South Africa as well as anti-apartheid movements; (b) to send a mission from United Nations Headquarters to consult with specialized agencies, regional organizations and non-governmental organizations on means to promote further concerted international action against apartheid; (c) to send representatives to the United Nations seminar at Yaounde (Cameroon), as well as to international conferences on apartheid during the International Year.

The Assembly invited all national and regional trade-union organizations to observe the International Year by organizing seminars, symposia, conferences and other activities against apartheid and to report to the Special Committee on ways and means by which the international campaign against apartheid could best be promoted through the trade-union movement.

The Assembly also asked the Special Committee, in consultation with OAU and the International Labour Organisation, to report in 1971 on the possibility of holding an international conference of trade unions in 1972 and on any alternative proposals from principal trade-union federations for promoting concerted action against apartheid by the trade-union movement at the national and international levels.

Finally, it urged all States and organizations to observe the International Year in solidarity with the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

(For text of resolution (2671 D (XXV)), see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

This resolution was eventually sponsored by Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, the People's Republic of the Congo, the Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

The Assembly adopted the text on 8 December 1970, on the recommendation of the Special

Political Committee, by 106 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions, as resolution 2671 D (XXV). It was approved by the Special Political Committee on 4 November by 94 votes to 1, with 8 abstentions.

By a final resolution on the subject of apartheid policies, also adopted on 8 December 1970, the Assembly—in the preambular parts—expressed grave concern over the aggravation of the situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole because of the inhuman and aggressive policies of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa in defiance of United Nations resolutions, in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in contravention of its obligations under the United Nations Charter.

The Assembly expressed deep concern over the increasing military build-up of South Africa, which constituted a grave danger to the cause of peace and security on the African continent, and it noted with indignation the continued persecution and torture of African patriots and other opponents of apartheid by the Government of South Africa under the Terrorism Act of 1967 and other ruthless repressive legislation.

Also, the Assembly was convinced that the establishment of Bantustans in South Africa was designed to deprive the majority of the people of their inalienable rights and to destroy the unity of the South African people.

It noted that a number of States continued to maintain official relations with the South African regime despite United Nations resolutions and expressed its recognition that the adoption by the Security Council of appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter¹⁷ and their full implementation were essential.

By the operative parts of the resolution, the General Assembly declared that the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa were a negation of the United Nations Charter and constituted a crime against humanity. It reaffirmed its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa to eliminate, by all means at their disposal, apartheid and racial discrimination and to attain

¹⁷ See footnote 3.

majority rule in the country as a whole, based on universal suffrage.

The Assembly condemned the establishment by the racist minority Government of South Africa of Bantustans in so-called African reserves as fraudulent, a violation of the principles of self-determination and prejudicial to the territorial integrity of the State and the unity of its people.

It again called upon the South African Government to end all repressive measures against African patriots and other opponents of apartheid, and to liberate all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restriction for their opposition to apartheid.

Also, the Assembly strongly deplored the continued co-operation by certain States and foreign economic interests with South Africa in the military, economic, political and other fields, as such co-operation encouraged the South African Government in the pursuit of its inhuman policies.

It again drew the attention of the Security Council to the grave situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole and recommended that the Council resume urgently the consideration of effective measures, in the light of relevant General Assembly resolutions, including measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

The Assembly urged all States: (a) to terminate diplomatic, consular and other official relations with the South African Government; (b) to terminate all military, economic, technical and other co-operation with South Africa; (c) to end tariff and other preferences to South African exports and facilities for investment in South Africa; and (d) to ensure that companies registered in their countries and their nationals complied with United Nations resolutions on this question.

Further, it requested all States and organizations to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organizations or institutions in South Africa which practised apartheid; and it commended the international and national sporting organizations for their contribution to the international campaign against apartheid by their boycott of South African teams selected under apartheid policies.

The Assembly asked the Special Committee

on Apartheid to report to it in 1971 on continued collaboration by States with the South African Government, with particular reference to requests it had made on 21 November 1969,¹⁸ namely: (a) to desist from collaborating with the Government of South Africa by taking steps to prohibit financial and economic interests under their national jurisdiction from co-operating with the Government of South Africa and companies registered in South Africa; (b) to prohibit airlines and shipping lines registered in their countries from providing services to and from South Africa and to deny all facilities to air flights and shipping services to and from South Africa; (c) to refrain from extending loans, investments and technical assistance to the Government of South Africa and companies registered in South Africa; (d) to take appropriate measures to dissuade the main trading partners of South Africa and economic and financial interests from collaborating with the Government of South Africa and companies registered in South Africa.

The Assembly also asked the Secretary-General to convene, early in 1971, a joint meeting of the Special Committee on Apartheid, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the United Nations Council for Namibia, in order to consider the interrelationship of the problems of southern Africa and propose measures for greater co-ordination and more effective action, so that the three bodies could take the results of the meetings into account in their programmes of work.

Finally it asked the Secretary-General to report to it in 1971 on the implementation of its recommendation to the Security Council and its request to States regarding termination of official and economic relations with South Africa and suspension of cultural, educational and sporting exchanges.

Also, the Secretary-General was asked to report on the requested joint meeting of the bodies concerned with southern Africa.

¹⁸See Y.U.N., 1969, pp. 109-10, text of resolution 2506 B (XXIV).

(For text of resolution (2671 F (XXV)), see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The text adopted by the General Assembly was recommended to it by the Special Political Committee, which approved it on 24 November 1970 by a roll-call vote of 76 to 5, with 17 abstentions. Prior to voting on the text as a whole, the Special Political Committee took separate roll-call votes on the operative paragraph condemning the establishment of Bantustans and on that asking the Secretary-General to convene a joint meeting of the three organs concerned with the situation in southern Africa in order to consider measures for greater co-ordination. These paragraphs were approved.

The Assembly adopted the text as its resolution 2671 F (XXV), by a recorded vote of 91 to 6, with 16 abstentions.

The sponsors of the resolution were: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syria, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

During the discussion of the text in the Special Political Committee, the representative of Colombia expressed concern about the operative paragraph of the text which would authorize the people of South Africa to use "all means at their disposal" to eliminate apartheid. Nevertheless, Colombia would vote in favour of the resolution as a whole, in order to reaffirm its complete repudiation of apartheid.

Uruguay raised a similar objection to the same provision.

The representative of Sweden, speaking in explanation of abstentions by Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, expressed gratification that some of the Committee's resolutions had been adopted almost unanimously. He found it particularly encouraging that a wide measure of agreement had been reached on the resolutions concerning the arms embargo and the question of humanitarian aid to southern Africa. The objections of the five Nordic countries related to the paragraphs calling on States to adopt sanctions against South Africa in practically every aspect of international relations and also to the paragraphs endorsing the use of force and violence.

The United Kingdom spokesman said the United Kingdom had voted against the resolution because it considered some of its provisions to be inappropriate, particularly those advocating measures under Chapter VII of the Charter and the appeal for the isolation of South Africa.

Instead of the use of force and the isolation of South Africa, the United Kingdom considered that contacts, dialogue and persuasion had always been an effective means of bringing about lasting changes.

He also made reference to resolutions relating to the policy of apartheid which had been recommended by other Main Committees of the General Assembly and said there was some confusion with regard to a concerted approach towards eliminating the policy of apartheid.

Other Members, including Canada, Iran, Ireland, Japan, Mexico and Turkey, had reservations on certain provisions of the resolution.

Canada, expressing regret that it had been obliged to abstain in the vote, said it had serious reservations with regard to those paragraphs in which Member States were urged to isolate South Africa. Isolation would strengthen the South African Government in its determination to apply its policy of apartheid, in Canada's view. Also, Canada considered that only the Security Council could determine whether measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter should be applied. While Canada supported various practical, peaceful measures to combat apartheid, it was unable to support measures that might lead to an armed conflict in South Africa and southern Africa.

An additional draft resolution, concerning the implications of the crime of apartheid in the terms of international law, was introduced in the Special Political Committee. By the operative part of this text the Assembly would have requested the Special Committee on Apartheid to arrange for an expert study to be made on the implications of the policy and practice of apartheid in the terms of international law.

The proposal was sponsored by Burma, Cyprus, Guinea, India, Senegal, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Syria, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

The sponsors withdrew the draft text, stating that they did so pending the result of a study

of the question of apartheid as a crime against humanity, a study which a group of experts had been requested to carry out by the Commission on Human Rights.

By a decision taken on 8 December 1970 without adoption of a resolution, the Assembly shortened the name of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa to "Special Committee on Apartheid." This decision was taken on the recommendation of the Special Political Committee, supporting a recommendation of the Special Committee on Apartheid.

OTHER GENERAL ASSEMBLY DECISIONS

The General Assembly, at its twenty-fifth session, adopted a number of other resolutions which referred to apartheid and racial discrimination. These are described below.

DECLARATION ON GRANTING INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Two resolutions of the Assembly's twenty-fifth session referred to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

One of these was concerned with a programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration. Among the provisions was one whereby the Assembly drew the attention of the Security Council to the need to continue to give special attention to the problems of southern Africa by adopting measures to ensure the full implementation of the General Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples¹⁹ and of its own resolutions, and in particular to give careful consideration to the question of imposing sanctions upon South Africa and Portugal, in view of their refusal to carry out the relevant decisions of the Security Council. Also the Assembly drew the attention of the Council to the need to give urgent consideration to the question of imposing fully and unconditionally, under international supervision, an embargo on arms of all kinds to the Government of South Africa and the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia.

The Assembly also declared that Member States should intensify their efforts to oppose collaboration between the regimes of South

Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist regime of Southern Rhodesia and to end the political, military, economic and other forms of aid received by the above-mentioned regimes, which enabled them to persist in their policy of colonial domination.

These decisions were set forth in resolution 2621 (XXV) adopted on 12 October 1970. (For details, see pp. 706-8.)

By the second resolution dealing with the Declaration on the granting of independence, the Assembly reiterated its conviction that the continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations—including racism, apartheid and activities of foreign economic and other interests which exploited colonial peoples—and the attempts of some colonial powers to suppress national liberation movements by repressive activities against colonial peoples were incompatible with the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the granting of independence and posed a threat to international peace and security.

Strongly deploring the attitude of those States which continued to co-operate with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and with the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, the Assembly among other things asked all States, as well as the specialized agencies and international institutions, to withhold assistance of any kind from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and from the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia until they renounced their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination.

These decisions were contained in resolution 2708 (XXV) adopted on 14 December 1970. (For details, see pp. 709-10.)

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY DECLARATION

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the coming into force of the United Nations Charter—24 October 1970—the General Assembly adopted a Declaration by which, among other things, it strongly condemned the evil policy of apartheid.

Describing apartheid as a crime against the

¹⁹ See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV).

conscience and dignity of mankind and, like nazism, contrary to the principles of the Charter, the Assembly reaffirmed its determination to spare no effort, including support to those who struggled against it, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Charter, to secure the elimination of apartheid in South Africa. The Assembly also condemned all forms of oppression and tyranny wherever they occurred and racism and the practice of racial discrimination in all its manifestations.

In other provisions of the Declaration, the Assembly referred to serious violations of human rights in several regions of the world and pledged a continuing and determined struggle against all violations of the rights and fundamental freedoms of human beings.

The Assembly's Declaration was set forth in resolution 2627(XXV).

(For details, see pp. 116-17.)

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

On 15 December 1970, the General Assembly took a series of decisions concerning violations of human rights, with particular reference to the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. The Assembly took these decisions in adopting a resolution recommended to it by the Economic and Social Council and by its own Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee.

The Assembly reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggles of the peoples of southern Africa to oppose the policies of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism and to assert their right to self-determination.

It again condemned any and every practice of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners and detainees in prisons and in police custody in South Africa, and it reaffirmed that the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, of 30 August 1955, applied to all political prisoners or detainees, in prison or in police custody throughout South Africa, Namibia—a territory under direct United Nations responsibility and at present under illegal South African occupation—the rebel United Kingdom colony of Southern Rhodesia and the African territories under Portuguese domination.

Also condemned was the trial of the 22 Africans held under the Suppression of Communism

Act and their subsequent re-arrest under the Terrorism Act of 1967.

Continuing, the Assembly reaffirmed the following, among other things:

(i) The condition of political prisoners in South Africa continued to cause alarm.

(ii) The increasing co-operation between the Government of South Africa and the illegal racist regime in Southern Rhodesia posed a further and continuing threat to the opponents of the two regimes and to captured freedom fighters.

(iii) Sections 10 and 29 of the (South African) General Law Amendment Act, 1969, concerning the Bureau of State Security, not only constituted one of the most sinister pieces of legislation in recent years, but also contributed decisively towards making South Africa a complete police State, and the working of that law was also contrary to article 11, paragraph 1, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, since it prevented the accused from proving his innocence.²⁰

(iv) Many political prisoners and detainees had died in South African prisons during 1969, in conditions which warranted a full inquiry.

(v) James Lenkoe, a political prisoner in South Africa, did not commit suicide as reported, but died as a result of electric shocks administered to various parts of his body.

(vi) The practice of compelling prisoners to testify against their erstwhile comrades was reprehensible.

The Assembly called upon the Government of South Africa to implement the recommendations contained in earlier reports of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (on the treatment of political prisoners in South Africa) and also to take the following actions: (a) to disband immediately the Bureau of State Security; (b) to discontinue the practice by which political detainees were compelled to testify against their former colleagues; (c) to release immediately and unconditionally the 22 Africans re-arrested

²⁰ Article 11, paragraph 1, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: "Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence."

on 16 February 1970 under the Terrorism Act; (d) to grant full access at all trials of political opponents of the regime to independent outside observers; and (e) to permit a full and impartial investigation into the deaths of political prisoners and detainees in the gaols as well as to indemnify fully the families of the deceased.

In addition, the Assembly condemned once again the actions of those Governments which continued to maintain diplomatic, economic, cultural and other relations with the Government of South Africa and with the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia in violation of United Nations resolutions. The Governments in question were called upon urgently to consider breaking off such relations.

These Assembly decisions were contained in resolution 2714(XXV).

(For further information., see pp. 514-17.)

ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION

Two General Assembly resolutions dealt with the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

The preambular section of the first of these resolutions expressed the Assembly's conviction that apartheid constituted a crime against humanity and its awareness that racism and apartheid continued to be instruments of colonialism, imperialism and economic exploitation and were a total negation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

Further, expressing alarm that South Africa blatantly continued to pursue its policy of racial discrimination and apartheid in flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and relevant United Nations resolutions, the Assembly considered that the extensive arms build-up of the military forces in southern Africa posed a real threat to the security and sovereignty of independent African States opposed to racial discrimination and to the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Assembly, in the operative part of the resolution, reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of all oppressed peoples everywhere, and in particular those of South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and territories under Portuguese colonial domination, to obtain racial equality by all possible means, and it called for

increased and continued moral and material support to them.

The Assembly condemned the unholy alliance between South Africa, Portugal and the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia designed to suppress the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa against racism, apartheid, economic exploitation and colonial domination. It declared that any State whose official policy or practice was based on racial discrimination, such as apartheid, contravened the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and should therefore have no place in the United Nations.

Condemning the activities of those States, which by political, economic and military collaboration with the racist regimes of southern Africa enabled and encouraged those regimes in the enforcement and perpetuation of their policy of apartheid and other forms of racial discrimination, the Assembly called upon Governments which continued to maintain official relations with the Government of South Africa and other racist regimes in southern Africa to terminate such relations immediately in accordance with Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

These decisions were embodied in resolution 2646(XXV), adopted on 30 November 1970, on the recommendation of the Assembly's Third Committee. (For details, see pp. 506-7.)

The second of the Assembly resolutions on the subject of the elimination of racial discrimination—2647(XXV)—was also adopted on 30 November on the recommendation of the Third Committee.

The Assembly thereby solemnly reiterated its condemnation of all forms of racial discrimination wherever they might occur, and particularly of apartheid, as a flagrant contradiction of the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It deplored the persistence of such practices.

The Assembly appealed to Governments of countries where forms of racial discrimination persisted and to Governments which officially applied such policies as apartheid to take without delay all measures necessary to end them and to ensure respect for human rights in accordance with the Charter.

A number of other decisions were contained

in this resolution. The Assembly, for instance, vehemently affirmed the need for all men to be given an equal chance and to be enabled to live and work together in an atmosphere of mutual trust and tolerance, without discrimination and with full respect for the national and cultural identity of peoples or distinct ethnic groups. It also urged Member States to do their utmost to eliminate racial discrimination in community life and to encourage the development of multiracial activities.

(For details, see pp. 507-8.)

MEASURES TO BE TAKEN AGAINST
NAZISM AND RACIAL INTOLERANCE

On 15 December 1970, the General Assembly—in a decision concerning measures against nazism and racial intolerance—resolutely condemned nazism, racism, apartheid and other totalitarian and colonial ideologies and practices which were based on terror and racial intolerance. It called on States during 1971, the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, to take all effective measures to combat contemporary manifestations of nazism and other forms of racial intolerance.

This decision was embodied in resolution 2713 (XXV), adopted on the recommendation of the Third Committee.

(For details, see pp. 510-11.)

PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS

Another Assembly resolution, dealing with the question of punishment of war criminals and of persons who had committed crimes against humanity, condemned the war crimes and crimes against humanity being committed as a result of aggressive wars and the policies of racism, apartheid and colonialism and called upon the States concerned to bring to trial persons guilty of such crimes.

This Assembly resolution—2712 (XXV)—was adopted on 15 December 1970, on the recommendation of the Assembly's Third Committee.

(For details, see pp. 572-73.)

CO-OPERATION OF SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

One of the General Assembly's decisions on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was concerned with the co-

operation of the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations.

Among the provisions of this decision was one whereby the specialized agencies and the organizations concerned were urged to take steps for full implementation of relevant resolutions relating to assistance to national liberation movements and discontinuance of all collaboration with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, as well as with the minority regime in Southern Rhodesia.

Also, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in particular the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, were urged again to take steps to withhold financial, economic, technical and other assistance from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they renounced their policies of racial discrimination and colonial domination.

This decision was set forth in resolution 2704 (XXV), adopted on 14 December 1970 on the recommendation of the Assembly's Fourth Committee.

(For details, see pp. 711-13.)

CREDENTIALS

At a plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 23 October 1970, the representative of Somalia stated that Somalia did not recognize the South African delegation as representative of all peoples of South Africa, black and white. Citing rule 29 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure,²¹ he challenged the credentials of the South African representatives and moved that the Assembly request its Committee on Credentials to consider as a matter of urgency the credentials of the delegation currently occupying the seat of South Africa and make a special report on the matter by 27 October.

The representative of Nigeria supported the Somali motion to examine the credentials of

²¹ Rule 29 of the Assembly's rules of procedure states: " Any representative to whose admission a Member has made objection shall be seated provisionally with the same rights as other representatives, until the Credentials Committee has reported and the General Assembly has given its decision."

the representatives of the apartheid regime, bearing in mind the provisions of Article 4, paragraph 1, of the United Nations Charter.²²

The President of the Assembly drew attention to rule 80 of the rules of procedure which, among other things, stipulated that copies of proposals should be circulated to all delegations not later than the day preceding the meeting at which action on such a proposal would be sought. To forestall a procedural debate, he suggested that the Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs be requested to draw the attention of the Credentials Committee to the motion. This was agreed.

At the Credentials Committee meeting on 26 October 1970, the Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs and Legal Counsel referred, *inter alia*, to the oral motion made by Somalia and Nigeria. The USSR representative, supporting the Somali view, suggested that the Credentials Committee should place on record in its report to the Assembly that it had been informed of the motion challenging South Africa's credentials. The representative of Poland associated himself with this position.

The representative of Greece observed that the Assembly had expressed the wish that the Committee look into the matter of the South African delegation's credentials as a matter of urgency, and that had been done. He added that the Committee had earlier approved all credentials properly submitted, including those of the representatives of South Africa.

The Chairman of the Credentials Committee said that by holding its meeting that day, the Committee had met the request made in the Somali proposal and had accordingly fulfilled its mandate. He suggested that the Committee's report to the Assembly should include reference to the fact that the Committee had been apprised of the Somali proposal and should also refer to the support that proposal had received from other Members.

The Chairman further proposed that the Committee should recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution approving the first report of the Credentials Committee. The Chairman's proposal was approved by 6 votes to 0, with 2 abstentions.

At a plenary meeting of the Assembly on 11

November 1970, an amendment to the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee was proposed by 10 Members: Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Guinea, Mauritania, Nigeria, the People's Republic of the Congo, Senegal, Somalia and the United Arab Republic. By this amendment, the General Assembly would approve the first report of the Credentials Committee, "except with regard to the credentials of the representatives of the Government of South Africa."

The Assembly also had before it a statement by the United Nations Legal Counsel on the scope of "credentials" in rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.²³ This statement was submitted at the request of the President of the General Assembly.

Defining General Assembly credentials, the Legal Counsel pointed out that, unlike the acceptance of credentials in bilateral relations, the question of recognition of a Government of a Member State was not involved and substantial issues concerning the status of Governments did not arise, with the exception of certain instances involving rival claimants.

Also, regarding questions raised in the past with respect to the credentials of the representatives of South Africa and Hungary, where there was no rival claimant, the representatives were not precluded from participation in meetings and the General Assembly had decided to take no action on the credentials of those representatives.

Should the Assembly, where there is no question of rival claimants, reject credentials satisfying the requirements of rule 27 for the purpose

²² Article 4, paragraph 1 of the Charter states: "Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations."

²³ Rule 27 of the Assembly's rules of procedure states: "The credentials of representatives and the names of members of a delegation shall be submitted to the Secretary-General if possible not less than one week before the date fixed for the opening of the session. The credentials shall be issued either by the Head of the State or Government or by the Minister for Foreign Affairs."

of excluding a Member State from participating in the meetings, the Legal Counsel went on to state, this would have the effect of suspending a Member State from the exercise of rights and privileges of membership in a manner not foreseen by the Charter.

After recalling Article 5 of the Charter, which set out requirements on action to suspend a Member State from the rights and privileges of membership, the Legal Counsel held that participation in Assembly meetings was quite clearly one of the important rights and privileges of membership and that suspension of this right through the rejection of credentials would not satisfy the requirements of Article 5 and would therefore be contrary to the Charter.²⁴

The President of the General Assembly, in replying to a question by the representative of Saudi Arabia, stated that a vote in favour of the 10-power amendment would mean a very strong condemnation of the policies pursued by the Government of South Africa, and constitute a very solemn warning to that Government. The amendment did not seem to him to mean that the South African delegation would be unseated or that it could not continue to sit in the Assembly. He added that as he understood it, the adoption of the amendment would not affect the rights and privileges of membership of South Africa.

A number of representatives, among them those of Cameroon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Mauritania, Nigeria, the People's Republic of the Congo, Somalia, Syria, Yugoslavia and Zambia, spoke in support of the amendment. They contended that by its illegal occupation of Namibia, as well as its continued adherence to and enforcement of apartheid in South Africa, the white minority Government of South Africa had not only frustrated the work of the United Nations but had also shown that it was unwilling to and indeed incapable of fulfilling its obligations under the Charter.

On the other hand, Australia, Canada, France, the United Kingdom, the United States and Venezuela, among others, maintained that the question at issue (with respect to credentials) was whether or not the requirements under rule 27 of the Assembly's rules of procedure had been fulfilled. They expressed the belief that the con-

sideration of credentials was strictly a technical and legal matter. They also felt that if the credentials of delegations were challenged on the grounds that some Member States disapproved of the domestic policies of other States they would create precedents which could jeopardize the existence of the United Nations.

On 13 November, the representative of Saudi Arabia submitted a sub-amendment. By the sub-amendment, as orally revised, the Assembly would note that notwithstanding the authenticity of the signature appended to the credentials of the representatives of the Government of South Africa, the authorities of South Africa who issued those credentials did not represent a large segment of the population of South Africa which the said authorities claimed to represent.

The Assembly rejected a request that the Saudi Arabian amendment be voted upon first and it then approved the 10-power amendment by a roll-call vote of 60 to 42, with 12 abstentions. The Saudi Arabian text was then withdrawn.

The text proposed by the Credentials Committee, as amended, was then adopted by the Assembly by 71 votes to 2, with 45 abstentions as resolution 2636(XXV).

The Assembly thereby approved the first report of the Credentials Committee, except with regard to the credentials of the representatives of the Government of South Africa.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING ABROAD OF SOUTH AFRICANS

During 1970, a total of 179 South African students were studying abroad in 22 countries on scholarships granted under the consolidated United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, established by the General Assembly in 1967.²⁵

Applications received from South Africans during the period 1 October 1969 to 31 October 1970 totalled 178. Forty-nine new awards were granted and 130 were extended.

²⁴ See footnote 11.

²⁵ See Y.U.N., 1967, pp. 649-50, text of General Assembly resolution 2349(XXII) of 19 December 1967.

The General Assembly reviewed the consolidated programme at its 1970 session and appealed to all States, organizations and individuals to make generous contributions to it.

(For additional information on the Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the decisions of the Assembly thereon, see pp. 705-6.)

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

CONSIDERATION BY SECURITY COUNCIL (JULY 1970)

SECURITY COUNCIL, meetings 1545-1549.

- S/9858 and Corr.1. Letter of 2 July 1970 from Chairman of Special Committee on Policies of Apartheid of Government of Republic of South Africa to President of Security Council.
- S/9867. Letter of 15 July 1970 from Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Dahomey, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, People's Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Zambia (request to convene Council), later joined by Chad.
- S/9872-S/9874, S/9876, S/9877. Letters of 16, 17 and 20 July 1970 from Mauritius, India, Somalia, Ghana and Pakistan (requests to participate in Council's discussion).
- S/9882 and Rev.1.2. Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria, Zambia: draft resolution and revisions.

RESOLUTION 282(1970), as proposed by 5 powers, S/9882/Rev.2, adopted by Council on 23 July 1970, meeting 1549, by vote of 12 to 0, with 3 abstentions (France, United Kingdom, United States).

The Security Council,

Having considered the question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, as submitted by forty Member States,

Reiterating its condemnation of the evil and abhorrent policies of apartheid and the measures being taken by the Government of South Africa to enforce and extend those policies beyond its borders,

Recognizing the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa in pursuance of their human and political rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Gravely concerned by the persistent refusal of the Government of South Africa to abandon its racist policies and to abide by the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on this question and others relating to southern Africa,

Gravely concerned by the situation arising from violations of the arms embargo called for in its reso-

lutions 181(1963) of 7 August 1963, 182(1963) of 4 December 1963 and 191(1964) of 18 June 1964,

Convinced of the need to strengthen the arms embargo called for in the above resolutions,

Convinced further that the situation resulting from the continued application of the policies of apartheid and the constant build-up of the South African military and police forces, made possible by the continued acquisition of arms, military vehicles and other equipment and of spare parts for military equipment from a number of Member States and by local manufacture of arms and ammunition under licences granted by some Member States, constitutes a potential threat to international peace and security,

Recognizing that the extensive arms build-up of the military forces of South Africa poses a real threat to the security and sovereignty of independent African States opposed to the racial policies of the Government of South Africa, in particular the neighbouring States,

1. Reiterates its total opposition to the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa;

2. Reaffirms its resolutions 181(1963), 182(1963) and 191(1964);

3. Condemns the violations of the arms embargo called for in resolutions 181(1963), 182(1963) and 191(1964);

4. Calls upon all States to strengthen the arms embargo

(a) By implementing fully the arms embargo against South Africa unconditionally and without reservations whatsoever;

(b) By withholding the supply of all vehicles and equipment for use of the armed forces and paramilitary organizations of South Africa;

(c) By ceasing the supply of spare parts for all vehicles and military equipment used by the armed forces and paramilitary organizations of South Africa;

(d) By revoking all licences and military patents granted to the South African Government or to South African companies for the manufacture of arms and ammunition, aircraft and naval craft or other military vehicles and by refraining from further granting such licences and patents;

(e) By prohibiting investment in, or technical assistance for, the manufacture of arms and ammunition, aircraft, naval craft, or other military vehicles;

(f) By ceasing provision of military training for members of the South African armed forces and all other forms of military co-operation with South Africa;

(g) By undertaking the appropriate action to give effect to the above measures;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to follow closely

the implementation of the present resolution and report to the Security Council from time to time;

6. Calls upon all States to observe strictly the arms embargo against South Africa and to assist effectively in the implementation of the present resolution.

OTHER COMMUNICATIONS
(JULY-DECEMBER 1970)

- S/9887. Letter of 23 July 1970 from Jamaica.
 S/9889. Letter of 25 July 1970 from Barbados.
 S/9899. Letter of 4 August 1970 from Cameroon.
 S/9900. Letter of 31 July 1970 from Trinidad and Tobago.
 S/9909. Telegram of 10 August 1970 from Minister of Foreign Affairs of German Democratic Republic.
 S/9914. Letter of 19 August 1970 from Brazil.
 S/9938. Letter of 9 September 1970 from Argentina.
 S/9939 and Add.1 (A/8022/Rev.1). Report of Special Committee on Policies of Apartheid of Government of Republic of South Africa.
 S/9946. Note of 22 September 1970 by President of Security Council (transmitting letter of 15 September 1970 from Permanent Observer of Federal Republic of Germany).
 S/9962. Letter of 9 October 1970 from Executive Secretary of Organization of African Unity (OAU) (transmitting, inter alia, texts of resolutions on situation in southern Africa, adopted at 7th session of Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU).
 S/9974. Letter of 29 September 1970 from France, United Kingdom and United States.
 S/9978. Letter of 10 November 1970 from USSR.
 S/10042. Letter of 8 December 1970 from Poland.
 S/10049. Letter of 16 December 1970 from Secretary-General to President of Security Council (transmitting extracts of General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970).
 S/10051. Letter of 21 December 1970 from Secretary-General to President of Security Council (transmitting text of resolution 2671 F (XXV), adopted by General Assembly on 8 December 1970).

REPORT OF SPECIAL
COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID

A/8022/Rev.1 (S/9939 and Add.1). Report of Special Committee on Policies of Apartheid of Government of Republic of South Africa. (Annex IV: List of documents of Special Committee.)

DECISIONS OF COMMISSION
ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL—48TH SESSION
 Social Committee, meetings 636-645.
 Plenary Meeting 1693.

E/4816. Report of Commission on Human Rights on its 26th session, 24 February-27 March 1970, Chapters II, V and X and Chapter XXIII (resolutions 3(XXVI), 4(XXVI) and 8(XXVI)).

E/4817 and Corr.1. Co-ordination of United Nations activities with regard to policies of apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa. Report by Secretary-General.

E/4868. Report of Social Committee, para. 25 (a) and (e).

E/4832/Add.1. Resolutions adopted by Economic and Social Council during its resumed 48th session, 11-28 May 1970. Other decisions, p. 15 (on report of Commission on Human Rights), paras. (a) and (e).

CONSIDERATION BY
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

GENERAL ASPECTS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—25TH SESSION

Special Political Committee, meetings 692-715, 724, 725, 730, 731.

Fifth Committee, meeting 1401.

Plenary Meetings 1843, 1864, 1921, 1933.

A/8001. Report of Secretary-General on work of the Organization, 16 June 1969-15 June 1970, Part One, Chapter IV E.

A/8001/Add.1. Introduction to report of Secretary-General, September 1970, Chapter VII.

A/8002. Report of Security Council, 16 July 1969-15 June 1970, Chapter 14.

A/8022/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee on Policies of Apartheid of Government of Republic of South Africa.

A/SPC/L.181. Report of Special Committee on Apartheid (transmitting texts of relevant resolutions adopted by Council of Ministers of OAU at its 15th ordinary session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 24-31 August 1970, and by Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Lusaka, Zambia, 8-10 September 1970).

A/SPC/L.182. Afghanistan, Algeria, Barbados, Burma, Cameroon, Ceylon, Cyprus, Guinea, India, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution, orally co-sponsored by Burundi, Chad, Chile, Democratic Republic of Congo, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guyana, Hungary, Indonesia, Kuwait, Liberia, Nepal, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Southern Yemen, Upper Volta, Yemen.

A/SPC/L.182/Rev.1. Revised draft resolution, sponsored by above 52 powers, approved by Special Political Committee on 9 October 1970, meeting 696, by roll-call vote of 94 to 2, with 7 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Democratic Republic of

Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, People's Republic of Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Malawi, Portugal.

Abstaining: Australia, Canada, France, Italy, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States.

A/8106. Report of Special Political Committee (part D).

RESOLUTION 2624(xxv), as recommended by Special Political Committee, A/8106, adopted by Assembly on 13 October 1970, meeting 1864, by roll-call vote of 98 to 2, with 9 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Republic of Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Australia, Canada, France, Italy, Malawi, New Zealand, Swaziland, United Kingdom, United States.

The General Assembly,

Taking note of the report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa,

Recalling its resolution 2505 (XXIV) of 20 November 1969 expressing the firm intention of the United Nations, acting in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to intensify its efforts to find a solu-

tion to the present grave situation in southern Africa,

Recalling further Security Council resolution 282 (1970) of 23 July 1970 calling upon all States to strengthen the arms embargo against South Africa,

Seriously concerned at reports that this resolution of the Security Council is not yet being implemented by some States,

Gravely concerned about the continued build-up of the South African military and police forces and the consequent aggravation of the situation in southern Africa,

Taking note of the resolution adopted on 2 September 1970 by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, mandating a delegation of five African States to urge the Governments concerned to stop selling arms to South Africa and also to stop assisting in the manufacture of arms in South Africa,

Taking note also of the resolution on apartheid and racial discrimination adopted by the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970,

1. Calls upon all States to take immediate steps to implement fully the provisions of Security Council resolution 282(1970);

2. Requests the Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of the present resolution, as he has been doing with regard to Security Council resolution 282(1970), and to report to the General Assembly not later than 10 December 1970.

A/8208 and Add.1. Implementation of General Assembly resolution 2624(XXV). Report of Secretary-General.

A/SPC/L.183. Afghanistan, Burma, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Malaysia, Morocco, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Zambia: draft resolution.

A/SPC/L.183/Rev.1. Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Ceylon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia: revised draft resolution, approved by Special Political Committee on 4 November 1970, meeting 714, by roll-call vote of 97 to 1, with 5 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia,

Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, People's Republic of Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal.

Abstaining: France, Malawi, Netherlands, United Kingdom, United States.

A/SPC/L.189. Administrative and financial implications of 16-power draft resolution, A/SPC/L.183. Statement by Secretary-General.

A/8106/Add.1. Report of Special Political Committee (part II), draft resolution A.

RESOLUTION 2671 A (xxv), as recommended by Special Political Committee, A/8106/Add.1, adopted by Assembly on 8 December 1970, meeting 1921, by 105 votes to 2, with 6 abstentions.

The General Assembly,

Taking note of the work of the Special Committee on Apartheid,

Considering it essential to intensify United Nations efforts to promote concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid in South Africa,

Recognizing the need for greater co-ordination of efforts by the United Nations towards this end and for the elimination of duplication, in order to utilize the resources for a more effective international campaign against apartheid,

1. Requests the Special Committee on Apartheid constantly to review all aspects of the policies of apartheid in South Africa and its international repercussions, including:

(a) Legislative, administrative and other racially discriminatory measures in South Africa and their effects;

(b) Repression of opponents of apartheid;

(c) Efforts by the Government of South Africa to extend its inhuman policies of apartheid beyond the borders of South Africa;

(d) Ways and means of promoting concerted international action to secure the elimination of apartheid; and to report from time to time, as appropriate, to the General Assembly or the Security Council, or both;

2. Draws the attention of all United Nations organs concerned to this decision, so that any undue duplication of efforts may be avoided;

3. Decides to expand the membership of the Special Committee by not more than seven additional members;

4. Requests the President of the General Assembly to appoint the additional members of the Special Committee, taking into account the principle of equitable geographical distribution;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance to the Special Committee in the discharge of its mandate.

A/SPC/L.184. Afghanistan, Burma, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Malaysia, Morocco, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Zambia: draft resolution, orally co-sponsored by Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Ceylon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, India, Kenya, Kuwait, Madagascar, Mali, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Singapore, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda and Yugoslavia.

A/SPC/L.184/Rev.1. Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Ceylon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, India, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia: revised draft resolution, orally co-sponsored by Hungary, as orally amended by sponsors, approved by Special Political Committee on 4 November 1970, meeting 714, by 103 votes to 1, with 1 abstention.

A/8106/Add.1. Report of Special Political Committee (part II), draft resolution B.

RESOLUTION 2671 B (xxv), as recommended by Special Political Committee, A/8106/Add.1, adopted by Assembly on 8 December 1970, meeting 1921, by 111 votes to 2, with 1 abstention.

The General Assembly,

Recalling its appeals for moral, political and material assistance to the national movement of the oppressed people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle against apartheid,

Considering the need to take steps to increase such assistance in view of the intensification of racial oppression by the Government of South Africa in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly,

1. Requests the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to take all appropriate steps to promote assistance in the economic, social and humanitarian fields by Governments, organizations and individuals to the oppressed people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle against apartheid;

2. Appeals to Governments, organizations and individuals to contribute generously, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, towards such assistance;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the

General Assembly, from time to time as appropriate, on the implementation of the present resolution.

A/SPC/L.185 and Rev.1. Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Ceylon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, India, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution and revision.

A/SPC/L.185/Rev.2. Revised draft resolution, sponsored by above 45 powers, as orally amended by Canada, approved by Special Political Committee on 24 November 1970, meeting 731, by 89 votes to 0, with 7 abstentions.

A/SPC/L.192. Administrative and financial implications of draft resolution A/SPC/L.185. Statement by Secretary-General.

A/SPC/L.192/Rev.1, A/C.5/1340, A/8008/Add.7, A/8200. Administrative and financial implications of draft resolution C recommended by Special Political Committee in A/8106/Add.1. Statements by Secretary-General and reports of Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) and Fifth Committee.

A/8106/Add.1. Report of Special Political Committee (part II), draft resolution C.

RESOLUTION 2671c(xxv), as recommended by Special Political Committee, A/8106/Add.1, adopted by Assembly on 8 December 1970, meeting 1921, by recorded vote of 107 to 2, with 6 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen,* People's Republic of Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Australia, Botswana, Malawi, Netherlands, United Kingdom, United States.

* On 30 November 1970, Southern Yemen informed the United Nations that it had changed its name to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The General Assembly,

Convinced of the importance of keeping world public opinion fully informed of the evils and dangers of apartheid in South Africa, and of United Nations efforts to secure the elimination of this policy,

Considering the contribution that specialized agencies, regional organizations, Member States and non-governmental organizations can make in this respect,

Taking note of the relevant recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee on Apartheid,

Taking note, in particular, of the recommendation of the Special Committee that the United Nations should co-operate with the Organization of African Unity in undertaking regular broadcasts on apartheid to South Africa and to southern Africa as a whole, and the statement by the Assistant Secretary-General for Public Information on the consultations with the Organization of African Unity on this matter,

Recognizing the need for special studies on apartheid to be made available to the international community,

Expressing its appreciation to the Secretary-General for the dissemination of information on apartheid through the Office of Public Information and the Unit on Apartheid of the Secretariat,

Considering that these efforts should be intensified during 1971, the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

1. Requests the Secretary-General to take appropriate steps to ensure the widest dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of apartheid, taking into account the recommendations of the Special Committee on Apartheid;

1. Invites Member States to lend their co-operation to the Secretary-General in the dissemination of such information in their countries and in Territories under their administration;

3. Invites specialized agencies, regional organizations, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations to help the United Nations information campaign against apartheid;

4. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee, to arrange for the preparation of special studies and papers on the evils of apartheid and, through the Office of Public Information and the Unit on Apartheid of the Secretariat, to increase the dissemination of such information in various languages;

5. Welcomes the readiness of the Organization of African Unity to undertake, in co-operation with the United Nations, weekly broadcasts of United Nations material to southern Africa;

6. Requests the Secretary-General to take appropriate steps to continue to make available an adequate number of radio programmes and material to Member States willing to provide facilities on their national

radio stations for broadcasts to southern Africa of programmes on international concern over apartheid and on the objectives of the United Nations;

7. Requests the Secretary-General, in the light of General Assembly resolution 2505 (XXIV) of 20 November 1969, to continue consultations with the Organization of African Unity on the means of collaboration between that organization and the United Nations in order to intensify the international information campaign against apartheid, and to submit a report, including proposals, to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session on all aspects of the matter, including any required technical co-operation and financial arrangements;

8. Authorizes the Secretary-General to encourage and assist anti-apartheid movements, United Nations associations and other non-governmental organizations to publish and disseminate widely information provided by the United Nations on the evils and dangers of apartheid and on international efforts against apartheid;

9. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session on the implementation of the present resolution.

A/SPC/L.186 and Rev.1,2. Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, India, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution and revisions.

A/SPC/L.186/Rev.3. Revised draft resolution, sponsored by above 43 powers and Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mauritius, People's Republic of Congo and Southern Yemen, approved by Special Political Committee on 4 November 1970, meeting 714, by 94 votes to 1, with 8 abstentions.

A/SPC/L.191. Administrative and financial implications of 43-power draft resolution, A/SPC/L.186/Rev.2. Statement by Secretary-General.

A/C.5/1337, A/8008/Add.7, A/8200. Administrative and financial implications of draft resolution D recommended by Special Political Committee in A/8106/Add.1. Statement by Secretary-General and reports of Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and Fifth Committee.

A/8106/Add.1. Report of Special Political Committee (part II), draft resolution D.

RESOLUTION 2671D(xxy), as recommended by Special Political Committee, A/8106/Add.1, adopted by Assembly on 8 December 1970, meeting 1921, by 106 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions.

The General Assembly,

Noting with grave concern that the racist Government of South Africa has intensified its inhuman and aggressive policies of apartheid,

Recognizing the need for the implementation of

more effective measures to secure the speedy elimination of apartheid in South Africa,

Noting that the year 1971 has been proclaimed the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination,

Recognizing further the valuable role which non-governmental organizations can play in the international campaign against apartheid,

Believing that it would be desirable to hold an international conference of trade unions to promote concerted action by trade unions against apartheid,

1. Requests the Secretary-General to take appropriate steps, in consultation with the Special Committee on Apartheid, to promote the widest possible campaign against apartheid during the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination;

2. Requests and authorizes the Special Committee, within the budgetary provision to be made for this purpose at the present session:

(a) To hold consultations with experts and representatives of the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as anti-apartheid movements;

(b) To send a mission from United Nations Headquarters to consult with the specialized agencies, regional organizations and non-governmental organizations on means to promote further concerted international action against apartheid;

(c) To send representatives to the United Nations seminar at Yaounde, as well as to international conferences on apartheid, during the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination;

3. Invites all national and regional trade-union organizations to observe the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination by organizing seminars, symposia, conferences and other activities against apartheid and to report to the Special Committee on ways and means by which the international campaign against apartheid can best be promoted through the trade-union movement;

4. Requests the Special Committee, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and the International Labour Organisation, to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session on the possibility of holding an international conference of trade unions in 1972, and on any alternative proposals which it may receive from the principal trade-union federations, for promoting concerted action against apartheid by the trade-union movement at the national and international levels;

5. Urges all States and organizations to observe the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in solidarity with the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

A/SPC/L.188. Afghanistan, Ghana, India, Morocco, Pakistan, Somalia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution.

A/SPC/L.188/Rev.1. Afghanistan, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Paki-

Stan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syria, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia: revised draft resolution, approved by Special Political Committee on 24 November 1970, meeting 731, by roll-call vote of 76 to 5, with 17 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, China, Democratic Republic of Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, People's Republic of Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Australia, France, Portugal, United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, Guatemala, Italy, Japan, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden.

A/SPC/L.195. Administrative and financial implications of 11-power draft resolution, A/SPC/L.188. Statement by Secretary-General.

A/8106/Add.I. Report of Special Political Committee (part II), draft resolution F.

RESOLUTION 2671 F (xxv), as recommended by Special Political Committee, A/8106/Add.I, adopted by Assembly on 8 December 1970, meeting 1921, by recorded vote of 91 to 6 with 16 abstentions:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Barbados, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, China, Colombia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, People's Republic of Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Australia, France, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Botswana, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden.

The General Assembly,
Recalling its resolutions and those of the Security Council on the question of apartheid,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee on Apartheid,

Taking note of the resolutions adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its seventh ordinary session and by the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries on the question of apartheid,

Gravely concerned over the aggravation of the situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole, because of the inhuman and aggressive policies of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa in defiance of United Nations resolutions, in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in contravention of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations,

Expressing deep concern over the increasing military build-up of South Africa, which constitutes a grave danger to the cause of peace and security on the African continent,

Noting with indignation the continued persecution and torture of African patriots and other opponents of apartheid by the Government of South Africa under the Terrorism Act of 1967 and other ruthless repressive legislation,

Convinced that the establishment of "Bantustans" in South Africa is designed to deprive the majority of the people of their inalienable rights and to destroy the unity of the South African people,

Noting that, as reported by the Special Committee, a number of States continue to maintain diplomatic, consular and other official relations with the South African regime despite United Nations resolutions,

Recognizing that the adoption by the Security Council of appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the Charter and their full implementation are essential,

1. Declares that the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa are a negation of the Charter of the United Nations and constitute a crime against humanity;

2. Reaffirms its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa to eliminate, by all means at their disposal, apartheid and racial discrimination and to attain majority rule in the country as a whole, based on universal suffrage;

3. Condemns the establishment by the racist minority Government of South Africa of "Bantustans" in so-called African reserves as fraudulent, a violation of the principle of self-determination and prejudicial to the territorial integrity of the State and the unity of its people;

4. Again calls upon the Government of South Africa to end all repressive measures against African patriots

and other opponents of apartheid and to liberate all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for their opposition to apartheid;

5. Strongly deploras the continued co-operation by certain States and foreign economic interests with South Africa in the military, economic, political and other fields, as such co-operation encourages the Government of South Africa in the pursuit of its inhuman policies;

6. Again draws the attention of the Security Council to the grave situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole and recommends that the Council resume urgently the consideration of effective measures, in the light of relevant General Assembly resolutions, including those under Chapter VII of the Charter;

7. Urges all States:

(a) To terminate diplomatic, consular and other official relations with the Government of South Africa;

(b) To terminate all military, economic, technical and other co-operation with South Africa;

(c) To end tariff and other preferences to South African exports and facilities for investment in South Africa;

(d) To ensure that companies registered in their countries and their nationals comply with the United Nations resolutions on this question;

8. Requests all States and organizations to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organizations or institutions in South Africa which practise apartheid'.

9. Commends the international and national sporting organizations for their contribution to the international campaign against apartheid by their boycott of South African teams selected under apartheid policies;

10. Requests the Special Committee on Apartheid to prepare reports for the General Assembly, at its twenty-sixth session, on continued collaboration by States with the Government of South Africa, with particular reference to the requests contained in paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 2506 B (XXIV) of 21 November 1969, namely:

(a) To desist from collaborating with the Government of South Africa, by taking steps to prohibit financial and economic interests under their national jurisdiction from co-operating with the Government of South Africa and companies registered in South Africa;

(b) To prohibit airlines and shipping lines registered in their countries from providing services to and from South Africa and to deny all facilities to air flights and shipping services to and from South Africa;

(c) To refrain from extending loans, investments and technical assistance to the Government of South Africa and companies registered in South Africa;

(d) To take appropriate measures to dissuade the main trading partners of South Africa and economic and financial interests from collaborating with the Government of South Africa and companies registered in South Africa;

11. Requests the Secretary-General to convene, early in 1971, a joint meeting of the Special Commit-

tee on Apartheid, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the United Nations Council for Namibia, in order to consider the interrelationships of the problems of southern Africa and to propose measures for greater co-ordination and more effective action, so that the three organs can take the results of the meeting into account in their programmes of work;

12. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session on the implementation of paragraphs 6, 7, 8 and 11 above.

A/SPC/L.190. Burma, Guinea, India, Somalia, Syria, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution, orally co-sponsored by Ethiopia, Cyprus, Senegal and Southern Yemen.

A/SPC/L.190/Rev.I. Burma, Cyprus, Guinea, India, Senegal, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Syria, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia: revised draft resolution.

TITLE CHANGE

A/8106/Add.1. Report of Special Political Committee (part II), para. 31.

A/8028. Resolutions adopted by General Assembly during its 25th session, 15 September—17 December 1970. Other decisions, p. 37.

CREDENTIALS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—25TH SESSION

Credentials Committee, meeting 54.

Plenary Meetings 1839, 1882, 1900, 1901, 1905.

A/8142. First report of Credentials Committee containing draft resolution suggested by Chairman and adopted by Committee on 26 October 1970, meeting 54, by 6 votes to 0, with 2 abstentions.

A/8160. Scope of "credentials" in rule 27 of rules of procedure of General Assembly: statement by Legal Counsel submitted to President of General Assembly at his request.

A/L.608 and Add.1 and Rev.1. Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Guinea, Mauritania, Nigeria, People's Republic of Congo, Senegal, Somalia, United Arab Republic: amendment and revised amendment to draft resolution submitted by Credentials Committee in A/8142, adopted by Assembly on 13 November 1970, meeting 1905, by roll-call vote of 60 to 42, with 12 abstentions.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Barbados, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, People's Republic of Congo, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra

Leone, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Abstaining: Botswana, Ceylon, Chile, Dahomey, Fiji, Lebanon, Lesotho, Nepal, Peru, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey.

A/L.613. Saudi Arabia: amendment to draft resolution submitted by Credentials Committee in document A/8142.

RESOLUTION 2636 A(xxxv), as recommended by Credentials Committee, A/8142, and as amended by 10 powers, A/L.608/Rev.1, adopted by Assembly on 13 November 1970, meeting 1905, by 71 votes to 2, with 45 abstentions.

The General Assembly

Approves the first report of the Credentials Committee, except with regard to the credentials of the representatives of the Government of South Africa.

MEMBERSHIP

A/8094. Letter of 14 December 1970 from Costa Rica.

A/8274. Note by Secretary-General.

United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa

REPORTS OF SECRETARY-GENERAL AND COMMITTEE OF TRUSTEES

On 13 October 1970, the Secretary-General and the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa stated in a report to the General Assembly that in the year since the last report, the Fund had received contributions from 21 Governments totalling \$218,232. Several pledges were outstanding. Four grants totalling \$216,000 were made during the period under review.

A register was opened at United Nations Headquarters on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March) for the receipt of contributions from the public for the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. This action had been recommended by the Commission on Human Rights. Including the contributions to this register, the total of contributions to the Trust Fund since its inception was \$1,081,720, and the total of grants made from it, \$1,000,400.

The Committee of Trustees noted that the financial requirements of voluntary organizations had continued to increase because of the continued discriminatory and repressive actions of the South African Government, notably the persecution of persons under the Terrorism Act of 1967, and it hoped that more generous contributions would be forthcoming.

The Committee suggested that Member States and organizations should consider making annual special contributions on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and also and especially during 1971—the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

The Committee called for continued dissemination of information on the repression of opponents of apartheid by the South African Government and the increasing hardships faced by victims of the repression and their families. It felt that this would encourage organizations and individuals to contribute.

A second report by the Secretary-General to the 1970 session of the General Assembly dealt with the question of enlarging the scope of the Trust Fund. On 11 December 1969, the Assembly had asked the Secretary-General to study the question of enlarging the scope of the Trust Fund to cover persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and also those victims of Portuguese colonial practices in Africa.²⁶

In his report, the Secretary-General stated that he and the Committee of Trustees shared the view that contributions to the Trust Fund

²⁶See Y.U.N., 1969, pp. 508-9, text of resolution 2547 A (XXIV).

had not been adequate to cover increasing need in South Africa; enlargement of the scope of the Trust Fund might thus oblige the Committee to reduce the level of grants for victims of apartheid in South Africa.

In view of this, it was suggested that the Assembly might authorize the Committee of Trustees to decide on grants to voluntary organizations aiding such persons and their families in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, to the extent that additional voluntary contributions were received for this purpose.

With regard to victims of Portuguese colonial practices, the Secretary-General and the Committee of Trustees noted that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was already engaged in promoting assistance for the large number of refugees from Portuguese colonial territories and that provision for other pressing needs in those territories was under consideration by competent organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies concerned. It therefore seemed neither practicable nor desirable to expand the scope of the Trust Fund with respect to those territories. Instead, new appeals should be made for more generous contributions to the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees.

CONSIDERATION BY
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The report of the Secretary-General and the Committee of Trustees was discussed in 1970 mainly in the General Assembly's Special Political Committee. The Acting Chairman of the Committee of Trustees told the Special Political Committee that during the past year the cumulative total of contributions to the Trust Fund and of grants made had exceeded \$1 million. Those contributions and grants represented international condemnation of the ruthless actions of the South African Government against opponents of apartheid, as well as world-wide sympathy for its victims and their families.

The Acting Chairman said that repression in South Africa had been intensified during the five years of the Trust Fund's existence, and he cited the case of 22 Africans, including Mrs. Winnie Mandela, who had been detained incommunicado for long periods in 1969 under

the Terrorism Act. Even though the charges against these persons had been dismissed in February 1970, the police had immediately re-arrested the defendants in court and again detained them in solitary confinement. It was after mass protests by lawyers, professors and students in both South Africa and abroad that the Government charged 19 of them, together with another prisoner, Benjamin Ramotse, who had been in detention for two years. The Courts had acquitted the 19 once again, but sentenced Mr. Ramotse to 15 years imprisonment. After the court decision, the Government had arbitrarily proceeded to issue banning orders against those who had been acquitted, prohibiting them from attending meetings and subjecting them to other restrictions.

It was in situations of that nature, the Acting Chairman said, that the Trust Fund endeavoured to help organizations to provide a minimum of relief to the victims of such inhuman treatment. The Committee of Trustees had taken every possible precaution to see that the grants from the Fund were used only for the humanitarian purposes of the Fund.

Increasing demands for humanitarian assistance had outpaced contributions to the Fund, leaving it with no reserve for emergencies. The Acting Chairman therefore appealed urgently to all Members for increased contributions, especially during 1971.

Drawing attention to the Secretary-General's report on the question of enlarging the scope of the Trust Fund, he stated that the Committee of Trustees would have great misgivings about that proposed measure unless additional contributions were forthcoming, since such an expansion of the terms of reference of the Fund might otherwise lead to a reduction in assistance to South Africans.

On 8 December 1970, the General Assembly decided to authorize the Committee of Trustees to decide on grants from the Trust Fund to voluntary organizations engaged in providing relief and assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia and to their families, to the extent that additional voluntary contributions were received for that purpose.

The Assembly appealed for generous direct

contributions to voluntary organizations engaged in providing relief and assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia and again appealed to all States, organizations and individuals for generous contributions to the Trust Fund in order to enable it to meet the increasing needs.

The Assembly's decisions on this matter were embodied in resolution 2671 E (XXV) adopted by 111 votes to 2, with 1 abstention. The text was adopted on the recommendation of the Special Political Committee, which approved it on 4 November 1970, by 97 votes to 1. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The following 20 States sponsored the resolution in the Special Political Committee: Cameroon, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Senegal, Somalia, Sweden, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

In 1970, Governments contributed as follows:

COUNTRY	AMOUNT (In U.S. dollars)
Austria	10,000
Belgium	20,092
Bulgaria	1,000
Cyprus	120
Denmark	60,012
Finland	10,000
Ghana	1,000
Iran	5,000
Iraq	1,400
Ireland	1,500
Jamaica	840
Japan	10,000
Liberia	1,000
Morocco	4,024
Netherlands	15,000
Nigeria	1,400
Norway	25,052
Pakistan	3,000
Somalia	502
Sweden	57,665
Trinidad and Tobago	625
Yugoslavia	1,000

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—25TH SESSION
Special Political Committee, meetings 692-715.
Plenary Meetings 1843, 1864, 1921.

A/8109. United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. Report of Secretary-General. (Annex: Report of Committee of Trustees of United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa.)

A/8117. Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination: measures for effectively combating racial discrimination and policies of apartheid and segregation in southern Africa. Question of enlarging scope of United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa: Report of Secretary-General.

A/SPC/L.187. Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Nigeria, Norway, Somalia, Sweden, Zambia: draft resolution, orally co-sponsored by Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iran, Mali, Morocco, Pakistan, Senegal, Yugoslavia, approved by Special Political Committee on 4 November 1970, meeting 714, by 97 votes to 1.

A/8106/Add.1. Report of Special Political Committee (part II), draft resolution E.

RESOLUTION 2671 E(xxv), as recommended by Special Political Committee, A/8106/Add.1, adopted by Assembly on 8 December 1970, meeting 1921, by 111 votes to 2, with 1 abstention.

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 2054B (XX) of 15 December 1965, 2202 B (XXI) of 16 December 1966

and 2397 (XXIII) of 2 December 1968 concerning the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General, to which is annexed the report of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa,

Considering it appropriate and essential to continue and increase humanitarian assistance to the victims of the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa,

Having considered also the report of the Secretary-General on the question of enlarging the scope of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa,

1. Expresses its appreciation to the Governments, organizations and individuals that have contributed to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa;

2. Authorizes the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa to decide on grants from the Fund to voluntary organizations engaged in providing relief and assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia and to their families, to the extent that additional voluntary contributions are received for this purpose;

3. Appeals for generous direct contributions to voluntary organizations engaged in providing relief and assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia;

4. Again appeals to all States, organizations and individuals for generous contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa in order to enable it to meet the increasing needs.

THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

During 1970, the situation in Southern Rhodesia continued to receive the consideration of United Nations bodies, including the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights, as well as the Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the (1960) Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

These bodies were concerned with bringing to an end the situation in Southern Rhodesia created by the white minority regime of Ian Smith—which had unilaterally declared its independence from the United Kingdom in 1965 and, early in March 1970, had declared itself a republic—and with enabling the African people of the territory to exercise their basic human rights, in particular their inalienable right to freedom and independence in accordance with the 1960 Declaration on granting independence.²⁷

At meetings in March 1970, the Security Council failed to adopt two resolutions on the question—one put forward by the United Kingdom and the other by five African and Asian States—and then adopted a Finnish proposal by which, among other things, it "condemned the illegal proclamation of republican status" of the territory by the illegal regime and decided that Member States should refrain from recognizing the illegal regime or rendering any assistance to it. The Council also reaffirmed its previous decisions calling for sanctions against the illegal regime.

On 17 November 1970, the Security Council adopted another resolution on the question whereby, among other things, it called upon the United Kingdom, as the administering power, to take urgent and effective measures to bring to an end the illegal rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and enable the people to exercise their right to self-determination. It decided that the sanctions against the territory would remain in force, deplored the attitude of States which persisted in giving assistance to the illegal regime and urged all States not to grant any form of recognition to it.

The General Assembly's Special Committee

on implementation of the Declaration on granting independence to colonial countries and peoples adopted a consensus on 9 March 1970 by which, among other things, it strongly condemned the purported assumption of republican status and other illegal acts by the racist minority regime. The Special Committee also adopted a resolution on the question of Southern Rhodesia later in 1970.

The Commission on Human Rights, in a consensus adopted on 3 March 1970, also condemned the establishment of a republic by the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia, regarding such an act as being fraught with serious danger to the existence of the human rights of the vast majority of the territory's population.

At its twenty-fifth session, later in 1970, the General Assembly on 3 December adopted a resolution by which, among other things, it declared illegal all measures taken by the racist minority regime, including the purported assumption of republican status; condemned the failure of the United Kingdom to take effective measures to bring down the illegal regime and to transfer power to the people of Zimbabwe [Southern Rhodesia] on the basis of majority rule; and drew the Security Council's attention to the need for widening the scope of the sanctions against the illegal regime and imposing sanctions against South Africa and Portugal, whose Governments had refused to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council.

Details of these decisions and other related matters are described in the sections below.

CONSIDERATION BY
SECURITY COUNCIL
(3-18 MARCH 1970)

On 3 March 1970, the United Kingdom informed the President of the Security Council that "the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia has purported to declare the dissolution of its illegal parliament and the assumption of republican status." That declaration, like the 1965 declaration of independence²⁸ and subsequent

²⁷ See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV).

²⁸ See Y.U.N., 1965, p. 124, for details.

acts, was illegal, the United Kingdom said, and it requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the question.

When the Security Council met on the matter on 6 March, it had before it a draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom by which the Council would, after recalling its resolution of 12 November 1965,²⁹ condemn the illegal acts of the racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia since 1965, including the purported assumption of republican status, and again require all States not to recognize that illegal regime and to refrain from any assistance to it.

Opening the Council's debate, the United Kingdom representative introduced a revised text of his draft resolution according to which the Council, after recalling its previous resolutions on the question, would: (1) condemn the illegal acts of the racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, including the purported assumption of republican status; and (2) decide, in accordance with Article 41 of the United Nations Charter,³⁰ that all Member States of the United Nations should refrain from recognizing that illegal regime or from rendering any assistance to it, and urge States not Members of the United Nations, having regard to the principles stated in Article 2 of the Charter,³¹ to act accordingly.

The United Kingdom representative then asked the Council to concentrate on a single, immediate purpose—namely, to deny firmly and unanimously, on behalf of the whole world, recognition of the republican status purportedly declared by the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia. That regime, he said, wanted capital, trade, immigrants. It wanted to achieve a weakening of international will to maintain and enforce the economic sanctions against it. Most of all, it wanted recognition. Members of the Council, he added, should act together without delay by adopting the United Kingdom's draft resolution.

At the request of Zambia, the Council adjourned until 11 March. It then took up a letter dated 6 March from the representatives of 39 African Member States also requesting an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the deteriorating situation in Southern Rhodesia resulting from the proclamation of a so-called republic by the illegal racist minority regime. During the

discussion, Algeria, India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Yugoslavia were invited, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The Foreign Minister of Zambia—speaking, he said, on behalf of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)—expressed disappointment at what he called the extremely limited nature of the action requested by the United Kingdom; the African people were not interested in merely condemning the declara-

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 132, text of resolution 216 (1965).

³⁰ Article 41 of the Charter states: "The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations."

³¹ Article 2 of the Charter states:

"The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

"1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.

"2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.

"3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

"4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

"5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

"6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

"7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII."

tion of republican status. The crux of the matter was the rebellion itself, he said, and he appealed to the United Kingdom, if it genuinely shared with the African countries the goal of bringing down the rebel regime, to hold serious discussions with them about the future of Zimbabwe. The African countries believed that the United Kingdom was eminently capable of adopting more effective measures to achieve that goal, including the use of force. The United Kingdom, he said, had a duty to explain its real intentions on the question, as its policy appeared to be one of duplicity and prevarication.

The Zambian Foreign Minister said that at the direction of OAU, he was specifically requesting the Council to condemn the illegal regime and deny it recognition; to require all States, the specialized agencies and other organs of the United Nations to ensure that no act was performed by anyone or any institution whatsoever on behalf of that regime; and to require all States, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter,³² to sever immediately all consular, economic, military or any other relations with the illegal regime, including all means of communication.

The United Kingdom stressed it had never maintained that the matter before the Council was solely a question of recognition; the United Kingdom did not retract from any of the Council's decisions on the question, which should be fully and energetically implemented, its representative said.

During the discussion, the other members of the Council and the representatives invited to participate in the debate agreed that recognition ought to be denied to the regime, and that the widest possible support ought to be given to any measures the Council might decide to take. However, several speakers who did not regard the United Kingdom draft resolution as going far enough also considered that more drastic measures would have to be taken against South Africa and Portugal because of the intransigence of those two countries in blatantly and openly defying the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

The African and Asian representatives in particular felt strongly that the situation had reached a stage where only the use of force which they said the United Kingdom had frequently em-

ployed in many of its colonial territories, could dislodge the illegal regime.

The USSR representative, describing the failure of the sanctions policy, quoted figures showing a high level of investment by Western countries in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa and of trade with South Africa.

On 12 March, Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia submitted a draft resolution which was subsequently amended.

By the preambular part of this text, the Council would: reaffirm its previous resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia, and in particular its resolution of 16 December 1966,³³ by which it determined that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security; and express concern that the situation in Southern Rhodesia had deteriorated further as a result of the proclamation of a so-called republic and that the measures so far taken had proved inadequate to resolve the situation.

The Council would further express concern that the Council's decisions had not been fully complied with by all States, and note that South Africa and Portugal, in particular, in contravention of Article 25 of the Charter,³⁴ had not only continued to trade with the illegal racist minority regime—contrary to the terms of the relevant Council resolutions—but had in fact given active assistance to that regime, enabling it to counter the effects of measures decided upon by the Council.

By this text, the Council would also note in particular the continued presence of South African forces in the territory of Zimbabwe. It would affirm the primary responsibility of the United Kingdom to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right of self-determination and independence and reaffirm their inalienable right to freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle for that right.

³² For text of Chapter VII of the Charter, see APPENDIX II.

³³ See Y.U.N., 1966, pp. 116-17, text of resolution 232(1966).

³⁴ Article 25 of the Charter reads: "The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter."

Stating that it was acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council would, by the provisions of the operative part of the text:

(1) condemn the proclamation of a so-called republic in Zimbabwe by the racist minority regime in Salisbury and declare null and void any form of government not based on the principle of majority rule;

(2) decide that all States Members of the United Nations should refrain from recognizing that illegal regime and urge non-Member States to act accordingly;

(3) call upon all States to take measures as appropriate, at the national level, to ensure that any act performed by officials and institutions of the illegal regime or by persons and organizations purporting to act for it or in its behalf should not be accorded any official recognition, including judicial notice, by the competent organs of their State;

(4) emphasize the responsibility of the United Kingdom, as the administering power, with regard to the situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia;

(5) condemn the persistent refusal of the United Kingdom to use force to end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right to self-determination and independence;

(6) decide that all States should immediately sever diplomatic, consular, economic, military and other relations with the illegal racist minority regime, including railway, maritime, air transport, postal, telegraphic and wireless communications and other means of communication;

(7) request the United Kingdom to rescind or withdraw any existing agreements on the basis of which foreign consular, trade and other representation might at that time be maintained in or with Southern Rhodesia;

(8) condemn the assistance given by Portugal, South Africa and other imperialist powers to the illegal regime in defiance of Security Council resolutions and demand the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from the territory;

(9) decide that Member States and members of the specialized agencies should apply against South Africa and Portugal the measures set out

in the Council's resolution of 29 May 1968³⁵ and in this resolution;

(10) call upon all Member States and members of the specialized agencies to carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with their obligations under the Charter;

(11) 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 by the resolution;

(12) urge all States to render moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe to enable them to regain their freedom and independence;

(13) ask all States to report to the Secretary-General on the measures taken to implement the resolution; and

(14) ask the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the progress made in implementing the resolution.

Introducing the five-power resolution, the Syrian representative said that its sponsors still believed in the ability of the United Kingdom to fulfil its obligations with regard to Southern Rhodesia, given the material and moral backing of the United Nations. They urged the Council, nevertheless, to adopt the draft resolution, which would ensure the end of the racist regime and grant to all the people of Zimbabwe their right to an independent government based on majority rule and equal citizenship among its people.

Discussion of the draft resolutions submitted by the United Kingdom and by the five powers continued during meetings of the Security Council on 13 and 17 March.

The United States representative doubted the wisdom of extending sanctions to South Africa and Portugal or of imposing a communications ban against Southern Rhodesia—a move inconsistent with his country's long tradition of freedom of movement and speech. His country would not contemplate leaving its citizens stranded anywhere in the world without the means of travel or communication. Such un-

³⁵ See Y.U.N., 1968, pp. 152-54, text of resolution 253(1968).

realistic courses of action, he said, would over-extend the capacity of the United Nations and merely demonstrate its limitations.

The spokesman for the United Kingdom reaffirmed his Government's position against the use of force and the extension of sanctions. The United Kingdom, he said, was no longer in a position to use force in a non-self-governing territory where there had not been a British army or administrative official since 1923. Nor could the United Kingdom go beyond the arms embargo already imposed against South Africa, because a full campaign of economic sanctions backed by a blockade would require resources beyond the capacity of the United Nations and would mean economic suicide for the United Kingdom.

The representative of Finland urged the Council to respond to the appeal made by the Foreign Minister of Zambia by taking further measures to increase international pressure on the illegal regime. He pointed out, however, that neither of the draft resolutions before the Council appeared to ensure the unanimity necessary to make the pressure more effective. Consequently, he put forward certain suggestions. These were later incorporated in a draft resolution (see below).

Before proceeding to a vote, on 17 March, the Council rejected two requests for adjournment by the United Kingdom and the United States, respectively. The Council then voted on the draft resolutions submitted by the United Kingdom and by the five powers. The United Kingdom draft received 5 votes in favour, 0 against, with 10 abstentions, and was not adopted, having failed to receive the required majority.

Before the vote on the five-power draft, Spain asked for separate votes on the eighth operative paragraph—by which the Council would condemn the assistance given by Portugal, South Africa and other imperialist powers to the illegal regime and demand the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from the territory—and on the ninth operative paragraph—by which the Council would decide that the sanctions provided for in this resolution and in the Council's resolution of 29 May 1968³⁶ should also be applied against South Africa and Portugal. Each paragraph received 7 votes in favour to 0

against, with 8 abstentions, and were thus not adopted, having failed to obtain the required majority.

The vote on the remainder of the five-power draft resolution as a whole was 9 in favour, 2 against (United Kingdom, United States), with 4 abstentions, and was not adopted, owing to the negative votes of two permanent members of the Council.

The United Kingdom representative expressed regret that the Council had been pressed to vote at once rather than making a further effort to find common ground.

The sponsors of the five-power draft rejected that view and said they had tried unsuccessfully to obtain the United Kingdom's support for their text, which encompassed the proposals made by the United Kingdom. They also expressed regret that the vetoes cast by the United Kingdom and the United States had defeated the only measures that had a chance of bringing down the rebel regime. Similar views were expressed by Poland and the USSR.

The representative of Finland then formally introduced a draft resolution which the Council considered and decided to vote upon the following day.

By the preambular part of the Finnish text, as later revised, the Security Council would, among other things, reaffirm previous resolutions on the question and would note with grave concern that: (a) the measures so far taken had failed to bring to an end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia; (b) some States, contrary to Council decisions and their obligations under the Charter, had failed to prevent trade with the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia; (c) Portugal and South Africa had continued to give assistance to the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia, thus diminishing the effects of the measures decided upon by the Security Council; and (d) the situation in Southern Rhodesia continued to deteriorate as a result of the introduction by the illegal regime of new measures, including the purported assumption of republican status, aimed at repressing the African people in violation of the General Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 (containing

³⁶Ibid.

the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples).³⁷

The Council would then recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Southern Rhodesia to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter and in conformity with the objectives of the Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960,, and would reaffirm that the current situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security.

Stating that it was acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Council would then, by the operative parts of the text:

(1) condemn the illegal proclamation of republican status of the territory by the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia;

(2) decide that Member States should refrain from recognizing or rendering assistance to that regime;

(3) call upon Member States to take appropriate measures, at the national level, to ensure that any act performed by officials and institutions of the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia should not be accorded any recognition, official or otherwise, including judicial notice, by the competent organs of their State;

(4) reaffirm the primary responsibility of the United Kingdom Government for enabling the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and urge that Government to discharge its responsibility;

(5) condemn all measures of political repression, including arrests, detentions, trials and executions, which violated the fundamental freedoms and rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia;

(6) condemn the policies of South Africa and Portugal, which continued to have political, economic, military and other relations with the illegal regime in violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions;

(7) demand the immediate withdrawal of South African police and armed personnel from the territory of Southern Rhodesia;

(8) call upon Member States to take more stringent measures to prevent any circumvention by their nationals, organizations, companies and other institutions of the decisions taken by the Security Council in its resolutions of 16 December 1966³⁸ and 29 May 1968;³⁹

(9) decide, in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter⁴⁰ and in furthering the objective of ending the rebellion, that Member States should: (a) immediately sever all diplomatic, consular, trade, military and other relations with the illegal regime and terminate any representation they might maintain in the territory; and (b) immediately interrupt any existing means of transportation to and from Southern Rhodesia;

(10) ask the United Kingdom, as the administering power, to rescind or withdraw any existing agreements on the basis of which foreign consular, trade and other representation might at present be maintained in or with Southern Rhodesia;

(11) ask Member States to take all possible further action under Article 41 of the Charter to deal with the situation in Southern Rhodesia;

(12) call upon Member States to take appropriate action to suspend any membership or associate membership that the illegal regime had in specialized agencies of the United Nations;

(13) urge member States of any international or regional organizations to suspend the membership of the illegal regime from their respective organizations and to refuse any request for membership from it;

(14) urge Member States to increase moral and material assistance to the people of Southern Rhodesia in their legitimate struggle to achieve freedom and independence;

(15) ask specialized agencies and other international organizations concerned, in consultation with OAU, to give assistance to refugees from Southern Rhodesia and those suffering from oppression by the illegal regime;

(16) ask Member States, the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other international organizations in the United Nations system to make an urgent effort to increase their assistance to Zambia as a matter of priority to help it solve such special economic problems as it might be confronted with arising from the carrying out of Security Council decisions on this question;

³⁷ See footnote 27.

³⁸ See footnote 33.

³⁹ See footnote 35.

⁴⁰ See footnote 30.

(17) call upon Member States, 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;

(18) urge non-Member States to act in accordance with this resolution, having regard to Article 2 of the Charter,⁴¹

(19) call upon Member States to report to the Secretary-General by 1 June 1970 on measures taken to implement this resolution;

(20) ask the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the implementation of the resolution, the first report to be made not later than 1 July 1970;

(21) decide that the Committee of the Security Council established in pursuance of its resolution of 29 May 1968 be entrusted with the responsibility of: (a) examining the reports submitted by the Secretary-General; (b) seeking from Member States such further information regarding the effective implementation of the resolution as the Committee might consider necessary for the proper discharge of its duty to report to the Security Council; and (c) studying ways and means by which Member States could carry out more effectively the Security Council's decisions regarding sanctions against the illegal regime and making recommendations to the Council;

(22) ask the United Kingdom to continue to give maximum assistance to the Committee and to provide the Committee with any information it might receive in order that the measures envisaged in this resolution, as well as in the Council's resolutions of 16 December 1966 and 29 May 1968, might be rendered fully effective;

(23) call upon Member States, as well as the specialized agencies, to supply such information as might be sought by the Committee in pursuance of this resolution; and

(24) decide to maintain the question on its agenda for further action as appropriate in the light of developments.

The Council adopted the revised Finnish draft resolution on 18 March by 14 votes to 0, with 1 abstention (Spain), as resolution 277 (1970). (For text, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

CONSIDERATION BY
SPECIAL COMMITTEE

The General Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at meetings held between 6 March and 25 August 1970.

On 6 March, the Special Committee, on a proposal by India, decided as a matter of urgency to request its Chairman to submit a draft consensus dealing with a specific aspect of the question—namely, the intention of the minority regime in Southern Rhodesia to proclaim a republic.

The Special Committee adopted the draft consensus on 9 March. Among other things, by this consensus, it strongly condemned the purported assumption of republican status and other illegal acts by the racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia. While the Special Committee had no doubt whatsoever about the illegality of these acts, it expressed concern at the extraordinarily far-reaching and arbitrary powers which the regime had now arrogated to itself to intensify the oppression of the African majority by the racist minority.

By the consensus, the Special Committee also noted that recent developments had led to a further worsening of the situation in southern Africa, constituting a dangerous threat to international peace and security, and called upon the United Kingdom, as the administering power, to take all necessary measures to put an end to that regime and to restore to the people of Zimbabwe their right to self-determination and independence.

The Special Committee also called on all States to co-operate in bringing the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to an end by complying fully with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Further, the Special Committee, having regard to the latest developments, requested all States not to extend recognition to, or to entertain diplomatic or other relations with, the illegal regime, and to refrain from any action

⁴¹ See footnote 31.

that would assist or encourage that regime.

The Special Committee went on to state that in view of the further aggravation of the situation—which had previously been determined by the Security Council to be a threat to international peace and security—it felt that the Council should urgently consider taking further appropriate measures under the United Nations Charter to bring the rebellion to an end and to ensure the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Prior to adoption of the consensus, the representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States, Norway and Italy expressed reservations about the statement in the consensus that the situation in southern Africa constituted a dangerous threat to international peace and security. The Security Council was the body to determine a threat to international peace and security; it had done so with respect to Southern Rhodesia but not with respect to southern Africa as a whole. They also explained that since they had not voted for several resolutions on Southern Rhodesia, they objected to that part of the consensus calling for full compliance with the relevant resolutions adopted on the question by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

The Special Committee decided that the reservations expressed would be reflected in the record of the meeting, and authorized its Chairman to transmit the consensus to the Security Council, which was then discussing the question of Southern Rhodesia.

The Special Committee subsequently considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at meetings held between 14 May and 28 July, and discussed a draft resolution on the question between 20 and 25 August. It had before it several written petitions, as well as the report of the Ad Hoc Group it had established on 21 April 1970.

The Ad Hoc Group visited Africa during May and June to establish contact with representatives of national liberation movements from colonial territories in that continent, in connexion with the Assembly's request (on 4 December 1969⁴²) to prepare a programme of action relating to the tenth anniversary of the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial

Countries and Peoples. Their report included, among other things, the views expressed by the following representatives of the liberation movements from Southern Rhodesia: Charles K. D. Chikerema, G. B. Nyandoro and T. F. Silundika of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU); and Henry Hamadziripi and S. V. Mtamhanengwe of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

The petitioners said that sanctions against Southern Rhodesia could never be effective as they did not include South Africa. The United Kingdom had pressed for sanctions merely to provide a false sense of complacency to well-wishers of the Zimbabwe people.

The petitioners also felt that the United Kingdom had failed to honour its moral responsibilities towards the Zimbabwe people and that, while force must be used to bring down the minority regime, that force should be used by the people of Zimbabwe themselves and not by the United Kingdom.

Members of the Southern Rhodesian liberation movements urged that the Smith regime be isolated in all fields, whether economic, cultural or that of international sports.

All the representatives from liberation movements felt that the United Nations, which had recognized the legitimacy of their struggle, should provide them with direct material assistance.

During the discussion in the Special Committee, many representatives of African and Asian States, in particular those of Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Madagascar, Sierra Leone, Syria and the United Republic of Tanzania, considered that the situation in Southern Rhodesia had worsened. Despite the adoption of several resolutions by the General Assembly and the Security Council, the illegal regime in Salisbury had taken steps to entrench itself in power by adopting a new constitution and declaring the country a republic. The sanctions recommended by the United Kingdom and imposed by the United Nations had failed. The United Kingdom must reappraise its policy towards Southern Rhodesia and discharge its obligations towards the people of the territory.

⁴² See Y.U.N., 1969, p. 655, text of resolution 2521 (XXIV).

The representative of Yugoslavia expressed similar views and added that the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia were violated not only by South Africa and Portugal—which should bear the consequences—but by certain other countries, with important economic interests in Southern Rhodesia and with clear influence in international relations, which had not taken measures to prevent their citizens from trading with the illegal regime.

The representatives of Bulgaria, Poland and the USSR said the sanctions had failed because South Africa and Portugal had openly defied the United Nations and established broad economic, political and military links with Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom and other Western powers did not respect the sanctions, they said. Western monopolies were expanding their activities and reaping fantastic profits from exploiting the Africans in southern Africa.

On 25 August 1970, the Special Committee adopted a resolution on the question of Southern Rhodesia, sponsored by Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Sierra Leone, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia. The vote was 16 to 2 (United Kingdom, United States), with 2 abstentions (Italy, Norway).

By this, the Special Committee, among other things:

(1) reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to attain that right in conformity with the provisions of the General Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 (containing the Declaration on granting independence);⁴³

(2) condemned the purported assumption of republican status by the illegal racist minority regime and other illegal measures to deprive the people of Zimbabwe of their legitimate rights;

(3) condemned the policies of Governments, particularly the Governments of South Africa and Portugal, which continued to have political, economic, military and other relations with the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, in defiance of the relevant United Nations resolutions and contrary to their obligations under the Charter;

(4) condemned the continued intervention of South African armed forces in Southern Rhod-

esia in violation of the Security Council's resolution of 18 March 1970 (see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below for text of resolution 277 (1970));

(5) condemned the failure and refusal of the United Kingdom, as the administering power, to take effective measures to bring down the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia and to transfer power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of universal adult suffrage and majority rule, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

(6) called upon the United Kingdom to take effective measures, including the use of force, to put an immediate end to the illegal regime, to transfer all powers to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule, and to ensure the immediate release of freedom fighters detained by the illegal regime;

(7) called upon all States, the specialized agencies and other international institutions associated with the United Nations, to extend, with the co-operation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), all moral and material assistance to the national liberation movement of Zimbabwe;

(8) urged all States to work towards the isolation of the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia in all aspects, including the severance of political, economic, military and other relations, as well as of contacts in the fields of culture and sports;

(9) drew the attention of the Security Council to the increasingly dangerous situation in the territory because of the further repressive measures taken by the illegal racist minority regime;

(10) stressed the necessity of extending sanctions to South Africa and Portugal, whose Governments, by refusing to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council, were primarily responsible for the continuance of the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia; and

(11) decided to keep the situation in Southern Rhodesia under review.

Explaining his negative vote, the United Kingdom representative observed that the resolution referred several times to his Government

⁴³ See footnote 27.

and stated how it should carry out its obligations as administering power. These demands, he said, were all very familiar, as was his Government's position. He reiterated that the United Kingdom was making a further effort to reach a settlement based on five principles it had originally enunciated in 1966—including the principle of unimpeded progress to majority rule—and that any settlement was to be acceptable to the people of Southern Rhodesia as a whole.

The spokesman for the United States said his Government's position was and continued to be that there should be self-determination for all people of all races of Southern Rhodesia. The United States, he said, could not vote for the resolution as it contained unrealistic features that were present in resolutions adopted in the past by the Special Committee and the General Assembly which his Government had not supported then and could not support now.

Norway's representative said his Government stood ready to support any realistic and effective attempt to bring about the downfall of the illegal regime. Norway could not, however, support the call for the use of force by the United Kingdom and had abstained.

The Italian representative said he favoured an early solution of the problem and was ready to support concerted action in the United Nations decided upon by the Security Council. Italy had abstained in this vote, he said, because it could not support the Special Committee's call for the use of force by the United Kingdom.

DECISIONS OF COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

At its meetings in February and March 1970, the Commission on Human Rights took decisions bearing on the situation in Southern Rhodesia.

On 3 March, the Commission adopted a consensus by which it: (1) condemned the establishment of a "republic" by the illegal, racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia; (2) regarded the proclamation of such a "republic" as fraught with serious danger to the existence of the human rights of the vast majority of the population of Southern Rhodesia; (3) called on the United Kingdom, the administering power,

to intervene immediately with a view to establishing constitutionality and to restore to the peoples of Zimbabwe their inalienable human rights; and (4) requested all States to refrain from extending recognition to the illegal regime or establishing any kind of relations with that regime, since such an act would substantially contribute to further entrenching the regime and intensifying its acts of repression.

The consensus was based on a proposal submitted in the Human Rights Commission by the United Arab Republic. Although some Commission members expressed doubts regarding the Commission's competence to consider a question that was under consideration in the Security Council, the consensus was approved on the understanding that the reservations advanced would be reflected in the Commission's records.

In another decision, the Commission approved the text of a resolution on the question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories. This resolution, which included specific provisions concerning Southern Rhodesia, was proposed for adoption by the Economic and Social Council; it set forth the text of a resolution which the Council would ask the General Assembly to adopt.

On 27 May 1970, in adopting resolution 1501(XLVIII), the Economic and Social Council asked the General Assembly to adopt the above-mentioned resolution. (See page 179 for General Assembly action, and pp. 513-21 for further details.)

COMMUNICATIONS AND REPORTS TO SECURITY COUNCIL (MARCH-OCTOBER 1970)

In communications during March and early April 1970, the representatives of Pakistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the USSR, Romania, Mongolia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Israel, Haiti, Iraq and Hungary transmitted statements by their Governments or national leaders condemning and refusing to recognize the purported republican status declared by the rebel regime in Southern Rhodesia.

On 17 March, Belgium informed the Secre-

tary-General that following the proclamation of the so-called republic of Rhodesia, Belgium had decided to break off all consular relations with Southern Rhodesia and to close its Honorary Vice-Consulate at Bulawayo.

On 14 April, in connexion with the Security Council's resolution of 18 March 1970 (277 (1970)) (see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below for text), the Foreign Minister of Portugal informed the Secretary-General that his Government continued to await clarifications as requested in earlier letters regarding certain matters of a juridical and procedural nature pertaining to earlier resolutions of the Security Council on the question of Southern Rhodesia, from which the recent resolution resulted.⁴⁴

On 28 April, the representative of Botswana informed the Secretary-General of the great strains that would be imposed upon Botswana's economy if it were to implement the Council's resolution of 18 March to the letter. In particular, he said, Botswana was currently negotiating a loan with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for an infrastructure project in mining development, which would inevitably involve some economic contacts with Southern Rhodesia, especially in the field of transport.

Botswana's representative trusted that the Security Council would again show understanding of the actions of Botswana—a land-locked country whose economy was bound up with that of its neighbours. Botswana, he said, was continuing to carry out the sanctions called for by the Security Council to the limit of its capacity, notwithstanding the adverse effects on its own economic development.

On 15 June 1970, the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968⁴⁵ submitted its third report to the Council, covering its work since the submission of its second report on 12 June 1969. The report said that during that period the Committee, following the lines indicated in its second report, had:

(1) examined the reports submitted by the Secretary-General on the implementation of the resolution of 29 May 1968:

(2) considered the information provided by Member States or members of the specialized agencies in response to requests by the Com-

mittee made through the Secretary-General concerning: (a) trade of Southern Rhodesia; (b) Southern Rhodesian tobacco held in bond in various countries; (c) tobacco exported from Mozambique; (d) Southern Rhodesian tobacco exported as Malawi tobacco under forged certificate of origin; (e) television material; (f) consular and trade representation in Southern Rhodesia; and (g) airlines operating to and from Southern Rhodesia;

(3) considered the detailed trade statistics of Southern Rhodesia for the first half of 1969, as well as a note submitted by the United Kingdom containing its assessment of the effects of sanctions on the economy of Southern Rhodesia;

(4) devoted considerable attention to investigating a number of specific cases of suspected violations of the sanctions brought to its attention by States; and

(5) considered other relevant information from States concerning their actions on violations of sanctions and other related matters.

In view of the great difficulty faced by Governments in determining the true origin of goods suspected to be of Southern Rhodesian origin, the Committee had approved, on 2 September 1969, a memorandum on the application of sanctions, subsequently submitted at its request by the Secretary-General to Member States or members of the specialized agencies, indicating some points which the customs authorities of importing countries might bear in mind when investigating the origin of suspected goods. The memorandum was reproduced as an annex to the report.

Annexes to the report also included: a note on Southern Rhodesian trade, together with statistical data for 1968 and January to June 1969; and a note by the United Kingdom, dated 2 June 1970, assessing the effects of sanctions on Southern Rhodesia's economy since the illegal declaration of independence, as well as the outlook for 1970.

Other annexes contained information supplied by Governments concerning stocks of Southern Rhodesian tobacco in bond in their countries: tobacco exported from Mozambique;

⁴⁴See Y.U.N., 1969, pp. 113-14, for further details.

⁴⁵ See footnote 35.

Southern Rhodesian tobacco imported under false certificate of origin; export of television material to Southern Rhodesia; additional information on the 13 specific cases of suspected violations of the sanctions reported previously by the Committee; and information on 60 new cases brought to the Commission's attention since the submission of its second report.

The Committee reported that it was finding it increasingly difficult to determine precisely the magnitude of Southern Rhodesia's trade, owing to a great disparity between the data submitted by Member States and that released by the illegal regime. There was also difficulty in determining the direction of the trade, owing to the suppression of such information by the illegal regime.

However, based on all the information available to it from all sources, the Committee noted that Southern Rhodesia's export trade in 1968 was practically unchanged from the level of 1967, at \$256 million. This was 42 per cent below the level of 1965—the last normal year before the illegal declaration of independence. It was estimated that exports were distributed as follows: to South Africa, \$80 million; to other countries, as disclosed by recorded trade statistics, which included Southern Rhodesia's trading partners, \$75 million; and to world markets not recorded by the trade statistics and probably under false certificates of origin, \$100 million.

Southern Rhodesia's imports in 1968, the Committee reported, amounted to \$290 million—an increase of slightly more than 10 per cent over 1967, but a decrease of 13 per cent compared with 1965. These imports were composed of \$44 million traced in international trade statistics, while the remainder, which did not figure in recorded statistics, was imported from or through neighbouring countries.

For the period January to June 1969, the Committee's report stated, the data made available by the reporting countries showed imports into those countries from Southern Rhodesia of \$25 million, and exports from those countries to Southern Rhodesia of \$8 million.

The Committee took note of its additional responsibilities under the Security Council's resolution of 18 March 1970—in particular, that of studying ways and means by which Member

States could more effectively carry out Security Council decisions regarding sanctions against the illegal regime and make recommendations to the Council.

Noting that the measures taken by the Council, including the sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia, had not been fully effective and had not had the desired results, the Committee agreed upon a number of observations and recommendations, including a plea that, despite the increased number of suspected cases of violations of sanctions brought to its attention, it was nevertheless highly desirable that more Member States should report such cases in detail to the Committee.

The Committee also regretted the lack of co-operation on the part of certain countries. In particular, it noted that South Africa and Portugal were continuing to trade with Southern Rhodesia, thereby considerably reducing the effectiveness of the sanctions. It recommended that the Security Council should again draw the attention of Member States, particularly those two countries, to their obligations under the Charter.

Noting that Southern Rhodesian products found markets in many countries other than South Africa and Portugal, the Committee further stressed the need for more co-operation on the part of the main maritime powers, and said it intended to consider whether the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) could play a useful role in that regard.

On 1 July 1970, the Secretary-General issued a report containing 61 replies he had received from States Members of the United Nations or members of the specialized agencies and from the agencies or other international organizations to his requests for information on implementation of the Security Council's resolution of 18 March 1970 concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia. An addendum to the report containing 10 additional replies was issued on 1 October.

On 5 October 1970, the representative of Brazil informed the President of the Security Council that, as an additional step taken to comply with relevant Security Council resolutions, the Brazilian Government—in order to prevent the entry into Brazil of any goods of

suspected Rhodesian origin—had decided to adopt the exceptional measure of re-establishing the requirement of a certificate of origin for all goods imported from South Africa, Angola and Mozambique.

CONSIDERATION BY
SECURITY COUNCIL
(NOVEMBER 1970)

On 6 November 1970, Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia requested an early meeting of the Security Council to discuss the question of Southern Rhodesia in the light of what they called disturbing political and economic developments which had taken place in that rebel territory and which required the Council's attention.

The Security Council considered the question at two meetings held on 10 and 17 November 1970.

At its meeting on 10 November, the Council had before it a draft resolution submitted by the same States which had requested the meeting.

By the preamble to this text, the Security Council would reaffirm its previous resolutions on the question and express grave concern that certain States had not complied with the provisions of the resolutions concerning the application of sanctions, contrary to their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter.⁴⁶ It would also reaffirm the primary responsibility of the United Kingdom to enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to achieve self-determination and independence, and in particular its responsibility for bringing the illegal declaration of independence to an end. The preamble would also state that the Council was acting under Chapter VII of the Charter.

By the operative part of the draft, the Council would:

(1) call on the United Kingdom, as the administering power, not to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia without the fulfilment of majority rule;

(2) decide that the present sanctions against Southern Rhodesia would remain in force;

(3) urge all States to implement fully all Security Council resolutions on Southern Rhodesia in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter, and deplore the atti-

tude of those States which had persisted in giving moral, political and economic assistance to the illegal regime;

(4) urge all States in furtherance of the objectives of the Security Council not to grant any form of recognition to the illegal regime; and

(5) decide to remain actively seized of the matter.

Introducing the draft resolution, Nepal's representative said the situation in Southern Rhodesia remained extremely grave. The third report—of 15 June 1970—of the Council's Committee on sanctions, established in pursuance of resolution 253(1968),⁴⁷ gave, in his view, clear evidence that the policies of sanctions had failed in their objective. Southern Rhodesia continued to enjoy a substantial volume of foreign trade, owing mainly to increasing covert evasion of sanctions, insufficient vigilance on the part of certain industrial and maritime powers, and the lack of co-operation of Portugal and South Africa.

The Nepalese representative went on to say that the leaders of the illegal regime were tightening their policies on racism and strengthening further the machinery for their enforcement. It was therefore the Council's duty to take stock of the situation and consider appropriate measures to achieve the Council's common objective.

The draft resolution that the five delegations had submitted was, he said, clear and non-controversial and did not commit the Security Council to any action beyond that which it had already taken. He pointed out that the most important part of the draft resolution was the first operative paragraph (by which the Council would call on the United Kingdom, as the administering power, not to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia without the fulfilment of majority rule); this paragraph sought to clarify and state unequivocally the central issue involved in the situation in Southern Rhodesia—namely, the existence of a racist minority regime which had denied the majority their inalienable right to self-determination. The responsibility of the United Nations and of the administering

⁴⁶ See footnote 34.

⁴⁷ See footnote 35.

power did not cease with the overthrow of the racist regime, but with the full and effective application of the principle of self-determination as recognized by the Security Council in its resolution of 20 November 1965 (217(1965)),⁴⁸ He and the other sponsors remained convinced that more energetic Council action was required to achieve that common goal.

Other co-sponsors of the draft resolution who spoke stressed that since the Security Council had last discussed the question of Southern Rhodesia, in March 1970, the Smith regime had consolidated its political, military and economic position and had embarked on a systematic campaign of genocide directed against leaders of the liberation movement, some of whom were dying in Rhodesian concentration camps.

They went on to say that although, statistically, sanctions had had some effect, the economy of Southern Rhodesia had survived without causing the white community any major difficulty. One of the most disturbing developments was the attitude of the new British Government towards the question of sanctions against the rebel colony and its policy in negotiations with the Smith regime.

According to Zambia, the United Kingdom appeared to be willing to accept a settlement that would leave the African majority under the control of the white minority. What mattered, in Zambia's view, was that there should be no independence which was not based on majority rule.

Support for the five-power draft resolution was expressed by the USSR and Poland. The USSR said the Security Council's decisions on Southern Rhodesia had been ineffective because the Salisbury regime received direct economic and military assistance from South Africa and Portugal and, through those countries, from Western States which continued to maintain extensive trade and other relations with those regimes. Furthermore, a number of States continued to trade directly with Southern Rhodesia and were even investing capital in that country. It was obvious that without that support the illegal regime could not maintain its tyrannical rule over the Zimbabwe people.

The USSR noted that in a General Assembly resolution (2621(XXV)) adopted on 12 October 1970, on a programme of action for the

full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Assembly made a special appeal to the Security Council to take measures necessary to expand sanctions against the illegal regime and asked the Council to consider the question of imposing sanctions against South Africa and Portugal in view of their refusal to carry out the relevant decisions of the Council. (For text, see pp. 706-8.) It was the duty of the Council, he said, to heed those demands and adopt measures to ensure peace in Africa and free the people of Zimbabwe from the colonial yoke.

The French representative believed that the United Nations should prefer concrete initiatives taken in concert with the administering power to recommendations that would not facilitate attainment of the objectives sought. The Council could not tell the British Government what it should do. While he had no objection to the substance of the draft resolution, he found the first operative paragraph (by which the Council would call on the United Kingdom, as the administering power, not to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia without the fulfilment of majority rule) legally doubtful; its language seemed to go beyond the powers of the Council and, if it were not changed, he would have to abstain in the vote.

The United Kingdom representative said the British Government had a commitment to see whether or not there was a realistic basis for settlement of the Rhodesian problem in accordance with the five principles it had formulated. The first of those principles was that unimpeded progress to majority rule would have to be maintained and guaranteed. Another was that any settlement must be acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole. It was unacceptable to his Government that the Security Council should at that juncture seek to lay down any conditions for a settlement.

On the question of sanctions, the United Kingdom representative regretted that these had not achieved their major political objective. However, it was undeniable that sanctions con-

⁴⁸See Y.U.N., 1965, p. 133, text of resolution 217 (1965).

tinued to exert pressure on the Rhodesian economy and to restrict its rate of development. Far from relaxing its attitude towards sanctions, as had been alleged, the British Parliament had decided by an overwhelming vote to renew the annual legislation to impose sanctions for another year.

As to the draft resolution before the Council, he continued, it was a classic case of both too little and too much. It was too little in that two of its operative paragraphs seemed to repeat in less precise terms steps which the Council had already taken; it was too much in that the first operative paragraph attempted to bind the United Kingdom not to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia without the fulfilment of majority rule. His Government would not accept that commitment in a United Nations resolution, nor was it prepared to enter into negotiations with its negotiating position publicly dictated from outside. For those reasons, the draft resolution was unacceptable to his Government and, if it were pressed to the vote, the United Kingdom would have to vote against it.

At the same 10 November Council meeting, the five-power draft resolution was put to the vote and received 12 votes in favour to 1 against (United Kingdom), with 2 abstentions (France, United States). Because of the negative vote of a permanent member of the Security Council, the draft resolution was not adopted.

In explanation of vote, the United States representative said his Government's opposition to the illegal minority regime was clear and of long standing. The United States, he said, would have been able to vote for most of the draft resolution, but it had serious reservations about the first operative paragraph (by which the Council would call on the United Kingdom as administering power not to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia without the fulfilment of majority rule).

It seemed inconsistent to the United States, he said, to reiterate—in the preamble—the primary responsibility of the United Kingdom for self-determination in Southern Rhodesia and then in the first operative paragraph to prescribe in advance under Chapter VII of the Charter how and when that goal was to be achieved. Such a binding injunction could only complicate further an already difficult situation.

The United States, its representative continued, shared the concern of other Council members over the failure of the illegal regime to agree to majority rule, but considered it unwise to impede the achievement of that objective by prescribing too rigid a framework and time-table for its pursuit. Finally, his Government was concerned that no effort had been made to consult in advance all the members of the Council to see whether the draft resolution was, as the representative of Nepal had said, non-controversial. In the light of those substantive and procedural considerations, the United States had abstained.

On 17 November 1970, the Security Council met again to discuss the question of Southern Rhodesia and the President announced that, during consultations held since the previous meeting, a draft resolution had been prepared which appeared to have the support of all Council members. The new text was then adopted unanimously as resolution 288(1970).

By the preambular part of the text, the Security Council reaffirmed its previous resolutions on the question and expressed grave concern that certain States had not complied with the provisions of the resolutions concerning the application of sanctions, contrary to their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter.⁴⁹ It also reaffirmed the primary responsibility of the United Kingdom to enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to achieve self-determination and independence, and in particular its responsibility for bringing the illegal declaration of independence to an end. The Council took into account the report of its Committee on sanctions; it also stated that it was acting in accordance with previous Council decisions on Southern Rhodesia, taken under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

By the operative part of the resolution, the Council:

(1) reaffirmed its condemnation of the illegal declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia;

(2) called upon the United Kingdom, as the administering power in the discharge of its responsibility, to take urgent and effective meas-

⁴⁹ See footnote 34.

ures to bring to an end the illegal rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and enable the people to exercise their right to self-determination, in accordance with the Charter and in conformity with the objectives of the General Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 (containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples);⁵⁰

(3) decided that the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia would remain in force;

(4) urged all States to implement fully all Security Council resolutions on Southern Rhodesia, in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter, and deplored the attitude of those States which had persisted in giving moral, political and economic assistance to the illegal regime;

(5) further urged all States, in furtherance of the Security Council's objectives, not to grant any form of recognition to the illegal regime; and

(6) decided to remain actively seized of the matter.

After the vote, the representative of Zambia expressed his disappointment that the Security Council had been unable to pronounce itself on the question of no independence before majority rule. He had voted for the resolution because it reaffirmed all previous Council resolutions on the matter and on the understanding that it would serve to support the armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people.

Burundi said the resolution contained a clear reference to the rights of the people of Zimbabwe and the responsibility of the British Government to grant them independence as soon as possible, in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

The United Kingdom representative said that the resolution, unlike its predecessor, took account of his Government's position that it could not accept any fresh commitment in the Security Council which would restrict its attempts to discharge its responsibility for Southern Rhodesia.

The USSR representative said the Council had once again reaffirmed its condemnation of the illegal declaration of independence, had appealed to the United Kingdom to discharge and not evade its responsibility to take urgent measures to bring to an end the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia, and had rejected the posi-

tion taken by those States that continued to extend support to the racist regime. The resolution contained no new elements but it showed, he said, that the States of Africa and Asia did not intend to reconcile themselves to the situation created in Southern Rhodesia by the ruling racist regime.

In a telegram of 17 November to the President of the Security Council, the Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic noted the Council's renewed discussion of the situation in Southern Rhodesia and condemned the disregard by a number of imperialist States for the Council's decisions against the racist minority regime of Southern Rhodesia.

CONSIDERATION BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY

GENERAL ASPECTS

At its twenty-fifth (1970) session, the General Assembly referred the question of Southern Rhodesia to its Fourth Committee, which decided to consider the item together with the questions of Namibia and the territories under Portuguese administration. It further decided to hold a general debate covering all three items, it being understood that individual draft resolutions on the items would be considered separately after the conclusion of the general debate and following the hearing of petitioners. On this basis, the Fourth Committee considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at meetings held between 5 October and 20 November.

During its consideration of the question, the Fourth Committee heard a statement by George Houser, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa. The petitioner said his organization was impressed by the attention the United Nations had given to the role of foreign economic interests in supporting the status quo of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. He also noted the appeal by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for concerted action to discourage the activities of foreign companies and monopolies operating in the territories of the southern African minority regimes. In line

⁵⁰ See footnote 27.

with those trends, the American Committee on Africa had engaged in research and public education on the extent of United States public and private involvement in support for the southern African regimes and had called for disengagement. A campaign to eliminate foreign economic interests in minority-ruled southern Africa could, in the petitioner's view, have great impact. He suggested that specific and limited targets for action should be chosen rather than the general appeals made in most resolutions.

Following the general debate, a draft resolution was put forward in the Fourth Committee on 16 November by Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, the People's Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Sudan, Syria, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

On 18 November 1970, the Fourth Committee voted on the draft resolution. A proposal by the representative of France for a separate vote on the third operative paragraph (affirming that attempts to negotiate the future of Zimbabwe with the illegal regime would be contrary to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples) was rejected by 59 votes to 19, with 27 abstentions. The Committee then approved the draft resolution by a roll-call vote of 90 to 10, with 11 abstentions. The text was adopted on 3 December by the General Assembly as resolution 2652 (XXV), by a recorded vote of 79 in favour to 10 against, with 14 abstentions.

By the preambular part of this text, the General Assembly among other things expressed grave concern at the deteriorating situation in Southern Rhodesia, which the Security Council by its resolution 277(1970) of 18 March 1970 had reaffirmed as constituting a threat to international peace and security, resulting from the introduction by the illegal regime of new measures, including the purported assumption of republican status. (For text of resolution 277 (1970), see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The Assembly also noted with regret that the sanctions adopted by the Security Council had so far failed to put an end to the illegal regime,

owing primarily to the continued assistance that regime received from some States, in particular South Africa and Portugal, in violation of Article 25 of the Charter,⁵¹ and of the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. The Assembly reaffirmed its conviction that the sanctions would not put an end to the illegal regime unless they were comprehensive, mandatory, effectively supervised, enforced and complied with, particularly by South Africa and Portugal.

The Assembly also considered that the United Kingdom had the primary responsibility for putting an end to the illegal regime and for transferring effective power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule.

By the operative part of the text, the Assembly:

(1) reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence in conformity with the provisions of its resolution of 14 December 1960⁵² (containing the Declaration on granting independence) and the legitimacy of their struggle to attain that right by all the means at their disposal;

(2) declared illegal all measures taken by the racist minority regime, including the purported assumption of republican status, to deprive the people of Zimbabwe of their legitimate rights and to entrench its policies of apartheid in Southern Rhodesia;

(3) affirmed that any attempt to negotiate the future of Zimbabwe with the illegal racist minority regime would be contrary to the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

(4) condemned the failure and refusal of the United Kingdom to take effective measures to bring down the illegal regime and to transfer power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and called upon that Government to take such measures without further delay in fulfilment of its responsibility as the administering power;

(5) condemned the intervention of South

⁵¹ See footnote 34.

⁵² See footnote 27.

African armed forces in Southern Rhodesia in violation of the Security Council's resolution of 18 March 1970 (277(1970));

(6) condemned the policies of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and other Governments that continued to maintain political, economic, military and other relations with the illegal regime in contravention of the relevant United Nations resolutions, thus violating their obligations under the Charter, and called upon those Governments to discontinue all such relations;

(7) deplored the failure of the United Kingdom to report to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples on action taken in the implementation of the Assembly's resolution of 21 November 1969,⁵³ and called upon the United Kingdom to report to the Special Committee during its next session;

(8) called upon the United Kingdom, as the administering power, to ensure the immediate expulsion of all South African forces from Southern Rhodesia;

(9) called upon all States to ensure, under the terms of the Security Council's resolution of 18 March 1970, the immediate interruption of any existing means of transportation to and from Southern Rhodesia;

(10) called upon all States, specialized agencies and other international organizations concerned, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to extend all moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe;

(11) called upon the United Kingdom, in view of the armed conflict in the territory and the inhuman treatment of prisoners, to ensure the application to that situation of the 1949 Geneva Conventions relative to the treatment of prisoners of war and to the protection of civilian persons in time of war;

(12) drew the Security Council's attention to the gravity of the situation arising from the intensification of suppressive activities against the people of Zimbabwe and from the armed attacks perpetrated against neighbouring States in violation of international peace and security;

(13) further drew the Council's attention to

the urgent necessity of applying the following measures envisaged under Chapter VII⁵⁴ of the Charter: (a) widening the scope of the sanctions against the illegal racist minority regime to include all the measures laid down in Article 41⁵⁵ of the Charter; and (b) imposing sanctions against South Africa and Portugal, whose Governments had blatantly refused to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council; and

(14) requested the Special Committee to keep the situation in the territory under review.

(For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

During the debate in the Fourth Committee, many of the resolution's sponsors said there had been no progress towards the attainment of the legitimate rights of the Zimbabwe people and that the minority regime in Salisbury had consolidated itself, proclaimed a republic and imposed its discriminatory constitution on the more than four million Africans living in Southern Rhodesia. The proposed sanctions against the illegal regime had been unsuccessful, they said, and the Security Council had failed to achieve unanimity on mandatory sanctions.

These speakers went on to say that the situation in Southern Rhodesia was deteriorating because of the continued support given to the illegal regime by South Africa and Portugal, as well as by other Western powers. Southern Rhodesia, however, was still a British colony and it was incumbent upon the United Kingdom to fulfil its obligations as the administering power and to restore legality in the territory, even by the use of force. They also called upon all governmental and inter-governmental institutions to extend their moral and material support to the Southern Rhodesian liberation movements.

The USSR representative and others maintained that the colonial regimes in southern Africa were receiving assistance from the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which enabled them to carry out puni-

⁵³See Y.U.N., 1969, pp. 133-34, text of resolution 2508(XXIV).

⁵⁴See footnote 32.

⁵⁵See footnote 30.

tive expeditions against the peoples of Africa. Without this assistance, the colonial regimes could hardly resist the struggle of the liberation movements.

With regard to sanctions, these speakers said that certain Member States were undermining United Nations decisions on economic sanctions by developing trade and other relations with Southern Rhodesia. While the Western powers were claiming that economic sanctions would bring the desired results, they opposed the extension of sanctions to South Africa and Portugal and disregarded United Nations decisions on sanctions. In addition, British, United States and Dutch companies and Western monopolies were exploiting the African people and obtaining fabulous profits in southern Africa.

The United Kingdom representative said that his Government's immediate aim was to find a solution acceptable to the people of Southern Rhodesia as a whole. In seeking this, it rejected the notion that force could contribute to a solution of the problem; such a course could do nothing to help unravel an already tragic situation. The United Kingdom was continuing its policy of sanctions against the illegal regime and no country had done more and suffered greater loss than the United Kingdom in cutting off both import and export trade with Southern Rhodesia. As a result of the sanctions, Southern Rhodesia now suffered from a serious shortage of foreign exchange and its economy faced difficulties.

The United Kingdom representative added that any differences on the question in the Fourth Committee were differences of means, not of ultimate aims. His Government had voted against the draft resolution essentially because it did not make a constructive contribution to the situation.

The representative of South Africa said that many of the provisions in the resolution were unacceptable to his Government. He reaffirmed that the issue must be settled by negotiation between the parties directly concerned and said that an early solution was vital, not only for the parties themselves but for all southern Africa.

Argentina, Bolivia, Greece, Iran, Japan, Mexico, Turkey and Uruguay, which voted in fa-

vour of the resolution, indicated that had there been a separate vote on the operative paragraph drawing the Security Council's attention to the need to widen the scope of the sanctions and impose them on South Africa and Portugal, they would have abstained. In their view, the provision encroached upon the jurisdiction of the Security Council.

Venezuela said it had voted in favour of the draft resolution on the understanding that in that same paragraph the Fourth Committee was seeking not to restrict the freedom of action of the Security Council but merely to draw attention to the need to extend the sanctions against the regime in Southern Rhodesia and to take action against States that did not comply with the Council's decisions.

Costa Rica and Mexico said that they would have abstained on the paragraph calling for moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe, if it had been voted upon separately. Reservations were also made by Greece, Guatemala, Turkey and Uruguay concerning the paragraph condemning the United Kingdom for failing to take effective measures to bring down the illegal regime and transfer power to the people on the basis of majority rule. In addition, reservations were made by Greece and Turkey with respect to the paragraph condemning the policies of those Governments continuing to maintain relations with the illegal regime and calling upon them to discontinue such relations.

The representative of Italy, who abstained on the resolution, said that had separate votes been taken he would have voted against the operative paragraph affirming that any attempt to negotiate the future of Zimbabwe with the illegal regime would be contrary to the Declaration on granting independence, as well as the operative paragraph condemning the United Kingdom for failing to bring down the illegal regime.

OTHER GENERAL ASSEMBLY DECISIONS

At its twenty-fifth session, in 1970, the General Assembly took a number of decisions which bore upon general and specific aspects of the situation in Southern Rhodesia. These are described briefly below.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR
IMPLEMENTATION OF DECLARATION
ON GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the General Assembly on 12 October 1970 adopted a programme of action to assist in the full implementation of that Declaration. The programme included the following provisions, among others:

Member States would do their utmost to promote effective measures for the full implementation of the Declaration in all Trust, non-self-governing and other colonial territories, large and small, including the adoption by the Security Council of effective measures against Governments and regimes engaging in any form of repression of colonial peoples, which would seriously impede the maintenance of international peace and security.

Member States would render all necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples of colonial territories in their struggle to attain freedom and independence.

Member States would intensify their efforts to promote the implementation of the resolutions of the Assembly and the Security Council relating to territories under colonial domination.

In this connexion, the General Assembly drew the Council's attention to the need to continue to give special attention to the problems of southern Africa by adopting measures to ensure the full implementation of the Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 (containing the Declaration on the granting of independence)⁵⁶ and the Council's own resolutions, and in particular, among other things, to:

(a) widen the scope of the sanctions against the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia by declaring mandatory all the measures laid down in Article 41 of the United Nations Charter, and

(6) give urgent consideration, with a view to promoting the speedy elimination of colonialism, to the question of imposing fully and unconditionally, under international supervision, an embargo on arms of all kinds to South Africa and the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia.

Other provisions were that Member States would also intensify their efforts to oppose col-

laboration between the regimes of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist regime of Southern Rhodesia for the preservation of colonialism in southern Africa and to end the political, military, economic and other forms of aid received by these regimes, enabling them to persist in their policy of colonial domination.

Further, Member States would wage a vigorous and sustained campaign against activities and practices of foreign economic and financial and other interests operating in colonial territories for the benefit and on behalf of colonial powers and their allies, as these constituted a major obstacle to the achievement of the goals embodied in the Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960. Member States would consider the adoption of necessary steps to have their nationals and companies under their jurisdiction discontinue such activities and practices; these steps should also aim at preventing the systematic influx of foreign immigrants into colonial territories, which disrupted the integrity and social, political and cultural unity of the peoples under colonial domination.

By the terms of the programme, Member States would also carry out a sustained and vigorous campaign against all military activities and arrangements by colonial powers in territories under their administration. All freedom fighters under detention would be treated in accordance with the relevant provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. Representatives of liberation movements would be invited, whenever necessary, by the United Nations and other international organizations within the United Nations system to participate in an appropriate capacity in the proceedings of those organs relating to their countries. Efforts were to be intensified to provide increased educational opportunities for the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories and all States were called upon to render greater assistance in this field, both individually through programmes in the countries concerned and collectively by contributions through the United Nations.

(For further details about the programme of action, see pp. 689-94. For text of resolution 2621 (XXV), see pp. 706-8.)

⁵⁶ See footnote 27.

WORK OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON
IMPLEMENTATION OF DECLARATION
ON GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE

Another decision relating to the work 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 was set out in resolution 2708 (XXV) adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1970.

By this, among other things the Assembly asked all States, as well as the specialized agencies and international institutions, to withhold assistance of any kind from Portugal, South Africa and the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia until they renounced their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination. The Assembly reiterated its declaration that the practice of using mercenaries against national liberation movements in the colonial territories constituted a criminal act, and it called upon all States to take the necessary measures to prevent the recruitment, financing and training of mercenaries in their territory and to prohibit their nationals from serving as mercenaries.

By this resolution, the Assembly also condemned the policies, pursued by certain colonial powers in the territories under their domination, of imposing non-representative regimes and constitutions, strengthening the position of foreign economic and other interests, misleading world public opinion and encouraging the systematic influx of foreign immigrants while evicting, displacing and transferring the indigenous inhabitants to other areas, and it called upon those powers to desist from such policies.

The Special Committee was asked by the Assembly, among other things, to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter with regard to developments in colonial territories which were likely to threaten international peace and security; the Assembly recommended that the Security Council take such suggestions fully into consideration.

The Special Committee was also asked to continue to examine the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization—particularly those relating to the terri-

ories under Portuguese domination, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, and to report thereon to the Assembly at its 1971 session.

(For further details, see pp. 695-97. For text of resolution 2708 (XXV), see pp. 709-10.)

UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF
RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

In another decision—on the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence for the effective guarantee of human rights—the General Assembly on 30 November 1970 adopted resolution 2649 (XXV).

By this, among other things, the Assembly: affirmed the legitimacy of the struggles of peoples under colonial and alien domination recognized as being entitled to the right of self-determination to restore to themselves that right by any means at their disposal; recognized the right of such peoples to seek and receive all kinds of moral and material assistance, in accordance with United Nations resolutions and the spirit of the United Nations Charter; and called upon all Governments denying the right of self-determination to recognize and observe that right in accordance with relevant international instruments and the principles and spirit of the Charter.

The Assembly also condemned Governments that denied the right to self-determination of peoples recognized as being entitled to it, especially of the peoples of southern Africa and Palestine.

(For text of resolution 2649(XXV), see p. 533.)

FOREIGN ECONOMIC INTERESTS

Following its consideration of the activities of foreign economic and other interests impeding the implementation of the 1960 Declaration on the granting of independence in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, territories under Portuguese domination and all other territories under colonial domination, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2703 (XXV) on 14 December 1970.

By this text, the Assembly among other things affirmed that foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in colonial territories constituted a major obstacle to political inde-

pendence, as well as to the enjoyment of the natural resources of those territories by the indigenous inhabitants.

The Assembly condemned in particular the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam project, which was contrary to the vital interests of the people of Mozambique and represented a plot designed to perpetuate the domination, exploitation and oppression of the peoples of this part of Africa by Portugal and the minority racist regimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and which would lead to international tensions.

The Assembly asked the colonial powers and States concerned, whose companies were participants in the construction of the project, to withdraw their support from the scheme and end their companies' participation. It called upon the administering powers to abolish the discriminatory and unjust system of wages applied to the inhabitants of the territories under their administration and to apply one system of wages to all the inhabitants without any discrimination.

The Assembly also asked the colonial powers and States concerned to take legislative, administrative and other measures in respect of their nationals who owned and operated enterprises in colonial territories—particularly in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the territories under Portuguese administration—in order to put a stop to their activities which were detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants. All States were asked to take effective measures to stop the supply of funds and other forms of assistance, including military equipment, to colonial regimes that used such assistance to suppress movements of national liberation. Colonial powers and States concerned were also asked to adopt effective measures to prevent new investments, particularly in southern Africa, which ran counter to relevant Assembly resolutions.

(For text of resolution 2703 (XXV), see pp. 713-14.)

ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

By a resolution (2646 (XXV)) on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, adopted on 30 November 1970, the General Assembly among other things noted with concern that the white racist minority regime in

Southern Rhodesia continued to operate illegally and that the measures so far taken by the United Kingdom, the administering power, to bring down the rebellion had proved insufficient and ineffective.

The Assembly expressed its conviction that the Security Council's mandatory sanctions against the illegal regime had failed owing mainly to the obstinate non-compliance of South Africa, Portugal and other States, contrary to their obligations under the Charter. It noted that many States, in flagrant disregard of previous resolutions of the Assembly and the Council, continued to maintain political, commercial, military, economic, social and other relations with South Africa and with the illegal white racist minority regimes in southern Africa.

Reiterating its determination to bring about the complete elimination of racial discrimination, the Assembly reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of all oppressed peoples everywhere, and in particular those of South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the territories under Portuguese domination, to obtain racial equality by all possible means, and called for increased and continuing moral and material support to all peoples under colonial and alien domination struggling for self-determination and the elimination of racial discrimination.

The Assembly condemned the unholy alliance between South Africa, Portugal and the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia, designed to suppress the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa against racism, apartheid, economic exploitation and colonial domination. It condemned the activities of those States which, by political, economic and military collaboration with the racist regimes of southern Africa, enabled and encouraged those regimes in the enforcement and perpetuation of their racial policies, and it called for the termination of all relations with the racist regimes.

The United Kingdom was condemned by the Assembly for its reluctance to bring down the illegal white minority regime in Southern Rhodesia and was called upon to take all necessary steps to end the usurpation of the lawful rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia by the illegal regime in Salisbury and to restore to them their political, social and economic rights in accordance with the fundamental principles of

international law and of the Charter. (See also pp. 501-3 and, for text of resolution 2646 (XXV), pp. 506-7.)

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS
AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

On 15 December 1970, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2714 (XXV) on the question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation in all countries, particularly colonial and other dependent countries and territories. The Assembly acted in adopting the text proposed by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1501 (XLVIII) of 27 May 1970, as recommended by the Human Rights Commission (see above, page 166).

By this, the Assembly, among other things reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggles of the peoples of southern Africa to oppose the policies of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism and to assert their right to self-determination; condemned every practice of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners, detainees and captured freedom fighters in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the African territories under Portuguese domination, as well as of persons in police custody in those territories; and reaffirmed that the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, of 30 August 1955, applied to all political prisoners or detainees—in prison or police custody throughout South Africa, Namibia, the rebel United Kingdom colony of Southern Rhodesia and the African territories under Portuguese domination.

The Assembly went on to reaffirm, among other things, that the increasing co-operation between South Africa and the illegal racist regime in Southern Rhodesia posed a further and continuing threat to the opponents of the two regimes and to captured freedom fighters; that the so-called Constitution of Rhodesia of 1969 was an illegal as well as a pernicious document and the "Declaration of Rights" embodied in it conferred few, if any, rights on non-whites; that section 84 of the 1969 "Constitution of Rhodesia"—providing that no court would inquire into or pronounce upon the validity of any law on the ground that it was inconsistent with the "Declaration of Rights"—established

a clear inconsistency in the illegal "legislation" itself and, further, brought out the authoritarian and racist character of the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia.

By this text, the Assembly also reaffirmed that the reserves in Southern Rhodesia consisted of poor and infertile lands into which Africans were herded like cattle and that the condition of Africans in the reserves was appalling. Nothing was being done to improve their conditions of hygiene, diet, nutrition, sanitation, health and educational standards.

The Assembly then called upon the United Kingdom to intervene more effectively than heretofore in its rebellious colony of Southern Rhodesia with a view to: (a) implementing the action proposed by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts in its report to the Human Rights Commission; (b) liberating the Africans from the reserves in which they were concentrated in conditions of near captivity and bondage; and (c) repealing the entire so-called Constitution of Rhodesia of 1969. The United Kingdom was asked to report to the Assembly at its 1971 session as to the results of these measures.

Also by this resolution, the Assembly condemned once again the actions of those Governments which continued to maintain diplomatic, economic, cultural and other relations with South Africa and with the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia in violation of United Nations resolutions. It called upon those Governments urgently to consider breaking off such relations and, if they had not already done so, to report to the Assembly in 1971 their reasons therefor.

Finally, the Assembly asked the Secretary-General to report to it in 1971 on the implementation of the resolution and also to report to the Human Rights Commission in 1971 on the measures taken to publicize the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts.

(For further information and text of resolution 2714 (XXV), see pp. 513-21.)

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY DECLARATION

On 24 October 1970, the General Assembly adopted a Declaration on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations in which, among other things, Member States

acclaimed the role of the United Nations in the past 25 years in the process of the liberation of peoples of colonial, Trust and other non-self-governing territories. The number of Member States had been greatly increased and colonial empires had virtually disappeared.

Despite these achievements, the Declaration continued, many territories and peoples continued to be denied their rights to self-determination and independence—particularly in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau)—in deliberate and deplorable defiance of the United Nations and world public opinion by certain recalcitrant States and by the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia.

Members reaffirmed in the Declaration the inalienable right of all colonial peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence and condemned all actions which deprived any people of these rights. In recognizing the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples for their freedom by all appropriate means at their disposal, Members called upon all Governments to comply in this respect with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, taking into account the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It was re-emphasized that these countries and peoples were entitled, in their just struggle, to seek and to receive all necessary moral and material help in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The General Assembly adopted the Declaration as its resolution 2627 (XXV). (For text, see pp. 116-17.)

HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARMED CONFLICTS

On the question of respect for human rights in armed conflicts, the General Assembly, on 9 December 1970, adopted resolution 2674 (XXV) by which, among other things, it affirmed that the participants in resistance movements and the freedom fighters in southern Africa and territories under colonial and alien domination and foreign occupation, struggling for their liberation and self-determination, should be treated, in case of their arrest, as prisoners of war in accordance with the principles of the Hague Convention of 1907 and the Geneva Conventions of 1949. (See pp. 538-39 for text of resolution 2674 (XXV).)

CO-OPERATION OF SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

In connexion with the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, the General Assembly adopted a resolution (2704 (XXV)) on 14 December 1970. Among other things, it reiterated its urgent appeal to these bodies to render all possible moral and material assistance to the peoples struggling for their liberation from colonial rule and to work out, with the active co-operation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and, through it, of the national liberation movements, concrete programmes for assisting the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the territories under Portuguese administration, including in particular the populations in the liberated areas of those territories.

The Assembly also urged the specialized agencies and the other organizations within the United Nations system to discontinue all collaboration with Portugal and South Africa, as well as with the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Assembly and the Security Council.

(See pp. 711-13 for text of resolution 2704 (XXV).)

UNITED NATIONS TRUST FUND FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Among a series of decisions taken by the General Assembly in 1970 on South Africa's policies of apartheid was one authorizing the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa to decide on grants from the Fund to voluntary organizations engaged in providing relief and assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia and to their families, to the extent that additional voluntary contributions were received for this purpose.

The Assembly appealed for generous direct contributions to voluntary organizations engaged in providing relief and assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, and again appealed to all States, organizations and individuals for generous contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for

South Africa to enable it to meet the increasing needs.

These decisions were contained in the Assembly's resolution 2671 E (XXV), adopted on 8 December. (See pp. 155-56.)

EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING
PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

Under the consolidated United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern

Africa, established by the General Assembly in 1967, 173 applications from Southern Rhodesia were received during the period from 1 October 1969 to 31 October 1970. Fifty-two new awards were made and 40 were extended. There were 38 Southern Rhodesians studying abroad in 10 countries.

(For additional information about the Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, see pp. 705-6.)

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

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(MARCH 1970)

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S/9682. Letter of 6 March 1970 from Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Dahomey, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, People's Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta and Zambia, later joined by Gabon (request to convene Council).

S/9685. Letter of 9 March 1970 from Algeria (request to participate in Council's discussion).

S/9686 and Corr.1. Letter of 9 March 1970 from Chairman of Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

S/9689, S/9690. Letters of 10 March 1970 from Senegal and Pakistan (requests to participate in Council's discussion).

S/9696 and Corr.1,2. Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria, Zambia: draft resolution, rejected by Council on 17 March 1970, meeting 1534, by vote of 9 in favour (Burundi, China, Nepal, Poland, Sierra Leone, Spain, Syria, USSR, Zambia) to 2 against (United Kingdom, United States), with 4 abstentions (Colombia, Finland, France, Nicaragua).

S/9697, S/9699. Letters of 11 and 12 March 1970 from Yugoslavia and India (requests to participate in Council's discussion).

S/9709 and Rev.1. Finland: draft resolution and revision.

S/9710. Letter of 17 March 1970 from Saudi Arabia (request to participate in Council's discussion).

RESOLUTION 277(1970), as proposed by Finland, S/9709/Rev.1, adopted by Council on 18 March

1970, meeting 1535, by 14 votes to 0, with 1 abstention (Spain).

The Security Council, Reaffirming its resolutions 216(1965) of 12 November 1965, 217(1965) of 20 November 1965, 221(1966) of 9 April 1966, 232(1966) of 16 December 1966 and 253(1968) of 29 May 1968,

Reaffirming that, to the extent not superseded in the present resolution, the measures provided for in resolutions 217(1965), 232(1966) and 253(1968), as well as those initiated by Member States in implementation of those resolutions, shall continue in effect.

Taking into account the reports of the Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253(1968),

Noting with grave concern that:

(a) The measures so far taken have failed to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to an end,

(b) Some States, contrary to resolutions 232(1966) and 253(1968) 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 regime of Southern Rhodesia,

(c) The Governments of the Republic of South Africa and Portugal have continued to give assistance to the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia, thus diminishing the effects of the measures decided upon by the Security Council,

(d) The situation in Southern Rhodesia continues to deteriorate as a result of the introduction by the illegal regime of new measures, including the purported assumption of republican status, aimed at repressing the African people in violation of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960,

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 and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV),

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

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter,

1. Condemns the illegal proclamation of republican status of the Territory by the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia;

2. Decides that Member States shall refrain from recognizing this illegal regime or from rendering any assistance to it;
3. Calls upon Member States to take appropriate measures, at the national level, to ensure that any act performed by officials and institutions of the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia shall not be accorded any recognition, official or otherwise, including judicial notice, by the competent organs of their State;
4. Reaffirms the primary responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514(XV), and urges that Government to discharge fully its responsibility;
5. Condemns all measures of political repression, including arrests, detentions, trials and executions, which violate fundamental freedoms and rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia;
6. Condemns the policies of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal, which continue to maintain political, economic, military, and other relations with the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;
7. Demands the immediate withdrawal of South African police and armed personnel from the Territory of Southern Rhodesia;
8. Calls upon Member States to take more stringent measures in order to prevent any circumvention by their nationals, organizations, companies and other institutions of their nationality, of the decisions taken by the Security Council in resolutions 232(1966) and 253(1968), all provisions of which shall fully remain in force;
9. Decides, in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter and in furthering the objective of ending the rebellion, that Member States shall:
 - (a) Immediately sever all diplomatic, consular, trade, military and other relations that they may have with the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia, and terminate any representation that they may maintain in the Territory;
 - (b) Immediately interrupt any existing means of transportation to and from Southern Rhodesia;
10. Requests the Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to rescind or withdraw any existing agreements on the basis of which foreign consular, trade and other representation may at present be maintained in or with Southern Rhodesia;
11. Requests Member States 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;
12. Calls upon Member States to take appropriate action to suspend any membership or associate membership that the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia has in the specialized agencies of the United Nations;
13. Urges member States of any international or regional organizations to suspend the membership of the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia from their respective organizations and to refuse any request for membership from that regime;
14. Urges Member States to increase moral and material assistance to the people of Southern Rhodesia in their legitimate struggle to achieve freedom and independence;
15. Requests the specialized agencies and other international organizations concerned, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, to give aid and assistance to refugees from Southern Rhodesia and those who are suffering from oppression by the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia;
16. Requests Member States, the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other international organizations in the United Nations system to make an urgent effort to increase their assistance to Zambia as a matter of priority with a view to helping it solve such special economic problems as it may be confronted with arising from the carrying out of the decisions of the Security Council on this question;
17. Calls upon Member States, 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;
18. Urges, having regard to the principle stated in Article 2 of the Charter, States not Members of the United Nations to act in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution;
19. Calls upon Member States to report to the Secretary-General by 1 June 1970 on the measures taken to implement the present resolution;
20. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution, the first report to be submitted no later than 1 July 1970;
21. Decides that the Committee of the Security Council established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968), in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council, shall be entrusted with the responsibility of:
 - (a) Examining such reports on the implementation of the present resolution as will be submitted by the Secretary-General;
 - (b) Seeking from Member States such further information regarding the effective implementation of the provisions laid down in the present resolution as it may consider necessary for the proper discharge of its duty to report to the Security Council;
 - (c) Studying ways and means by which Member States could carry out more effectively the decisions of the Security Council regarding sanctions against the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia and making recommendations to the Council;
22. Requests the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to continue to give maximum assistance to the Committee and to provide the Committee with any information it may receive in order that the measures envisaged in the present resolution as well as resolutions 232(1966) and 253(1968) may be rendered fully effective;
23. Calls upon Member States, as well as the specialized agencies, to supply such information as may

be sought by the Committee in pursuance of the present resolution;

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

CONSIDERATION BY
SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 725, 726, 743-747, 750, 751, 758, 759, 765.

A/8023/Rev.1, Vol. II. Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1970), Chapter V. (Section B: Decisions of Special Committee.)

COMMUNICATIONS AND REPORTS
TO SECURITY COUNCIL
(MARCH-OCTOBER 1970)

- S/9677. Letter of 3 March 1970 from Pakistan.
- S/9700 (A/7959). Letter of 10 March 1970 from USSR.
- S/9702. Note verbale of 9 March 1970 from Democratic Republic of Congo.
- S/9705. Letter of 13 March 1970 from Romania.
- S/9712 (A/7963). Letter of 14 March 1970 from Mongolia.
- S/9715. Letter of 18 March 1970 from Czechoslovakia.
- S/9716. Letter of 17 March 1970 from Belgium.
- S/9717. Letter of 19 March 1970 from Bulgaria.
- S/9719 (A/7965). Letter of 20 March 1970 from Israel.
- S/9720. Letter of 23 March 1970 from Haiti.
- S/9731. Letter of 26 March 1970 from Nigeria.
- S/9732. Letter of 31 March 1970 from France.
- S/9735. Letter of 3 April 1970 from Iraq.
- S/9742. Letter of 8 April 1970 from Israel.
- S/9748. Membership of Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253(1968) of 29 May 1968. Note of 10 April 1970 by President of Security Council.
- S/9749. Note verbale of 9 April 1970 from Hungary.
- S/9753. Letter of 14 April 1970 from Portugal.
- S/9770. Letter of 28 April 1970 from Botswana.
- S/9844 and Corr.1,2, Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1, Add.2 and Add.2/Corr.1-3. Third report, dated 15 June 1970, of Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253(1968) of 29 May 1968.
- S/9844/Add.3. Addendum, dated 31 July 1970, to 3rd report of Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253(1968) (transmitting note of 9 July 1970, prepared by Secretariat, on Southern Rhodesian trade for 1969, together with statistical data).
- S/9853 and Add.1. Report dated 1 July 1970 of Secretary-General in pursuance of resolution 277(1970) adopted by Security Council at its 1535th meeting on 18 March 1970 concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia, and addendum of 1 October 1970.

S/9920. Letter of 26 August 1970 from Chairman of Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

S/9951. Membership of Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253(1968) of 29 May 1968. Note of 30 September 1970 by President of Security Council.

S/9960. Letter of 5 October 1970 from Brazil.

S/9985. Telegram of 17 November 1970 from Minister of Foreign Affairs of German Democratic Republic.

S/10048. Letter of 16 December 1970 from Secretary-General to President of Security Council.

CONSIDERATION BY
SECURITY COUNCIL
(NOVEMBER 1970)

SECURITY COUNCIL, meetings 1556, 1557.

S/9844 and Corr.1,2, Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1, Add.2 and Add.2/Corr.1-3, S/9844/Add.3. Third report, dated 15 June 1970, of Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253(1968) of 29 May 1968, and addendum dated 31 July 1970.

S/9975 and Rev.1. Letter of 6 November from Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia (request to convene Council).

S/9976. Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria, Zambia: draft resolution, rejected by Council on 10 November 1970, meeting 1556, by vote of 12 in favour (Burundi, China, Colombia, Finland, Nepal, Nicaragua, Poland, Sierra Leone, Spain, Syria, USSR, Zambia) to 1 against (United Kingdom), with 2 abstentions (France, United States).

S/9980. Draft resolution.

RESOLUTION 288(1970), as submitted following consultations among Council members, S/9980, adopted unanimously by Council on 17 November 1970, meeting 1557.

The Security Council,
Having considered the question of Southern Rhodesia,

Reaffirming its resolutions 216(1965) of 12 November 1965, 217(1965) of 20 November 1965, 221(1966) of 9 April 1966, 232(1966) of 16 December 1966, 253(1968) of 29 May 1968 and 277(1970) of 18 March 1970,

Gravely concerned that certain States have not complied with the provisions of resolutions 232(1966), 253(1968) and 277(1970), contrary to their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations,

Reaffirming the primary responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to achieve self-determination and independence, and in particular their responsibility of bringing the illegal declaration of independence to an end,

Taking into account the third report of the Com-

mittee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968),

Acting in accordance with previous decisions of the Security Council on Southern Rhodesia, taken under Chapter VII of the Charter,

1. Reaffirms its condemnation of the illegal declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia;

2. Calls upon the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power in the discharge of its responsibility, to take urgent and effective measures to bring to an end the illegal rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and enable the people to exercise their right to self-determination, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960;

3. Decides that the present sanctions against Southern Rhodesia shall remain in force;

4. Urges all States to fully implement all Security Council resolutions pertaining to Southern Rhodesia, in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter, and deprecates the attitude of those States which have persisted in giving moral, political and economic assistance to the illegal regime;

5. Further urges all States, in furtherance of the objectives of the Security Council, not to grant any form of recognition to the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia;

6. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

CONSIDERATION BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—25TH SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1874-1886, 1888, 1890-1894, 1898-1900, 1906, 1910.

Plenary Meeting 1916.

A/7959 (S/9700). Letter of 10 March 1970 from USSR.

A/7963 (S/9712). Letter of 14 March 1970 from Mongolia.

A/7965 (S/9719). Letter of 20 March 1970 from Israel.

A/8001. Report of Secretary-General on work of the Organization, 16 June 1969-15 June 1970, Part One, Chapter IV G; Part Two, Chapter I B 1.

A/8001/Add.1. Introduction to report of Secretary-General, September 1970, Chapter VIII, paras. 117-119.

A/8002. Report of Security Council, 16 July 1969-15 June 1970, Chapters.

A/8023/Rev.1, Vol. II. Report of Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (covering its work during 1970), Chapter V.

A/C.4/731. Question of Namibia; Question of territories under Portuguese administration; Question of Southern Rhodesia. Request for hearing.

A/C.4/L.970. Dahomey, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Kenya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, People's Republic of Congo, Rwanda,

Syria, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution, orally co-sponsored by Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Ethiopia, India, Libya, Pakistan, Sudan, Upper Volta, approved by Fourth Committee on 18 November 1970, meeting 1899, by roll-call vote of 90 to 10, with 11 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Democratic Republic of Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic,* Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, People's Republic of Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Austria, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Spain, Sweden.

* On 28 December 1970, Cambodia informed the Secretary-General that on 7 October 1970 it had changed its name to the Khmer Republic.

A/8188. Report of Fourth Committee.

RESOLUTION 2652(xxv), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/8188, adopted by Assembly on 3 December 1970, meeting 1916, by recorded vote of 79 to 10, with 14 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, People's Republic of Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Re-

public, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Austria, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Gabon, Ireland, Italy, Malawi, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Turkey.*

* Subsequently the delegation of Turkey advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Southern Rhodesia,

Having examined the chapter of the report 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 relating to the question of Southern Rhodesia,

Bearing in mind the views expressed by representatives of national liberation movements,

Recalling its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling further all previous resolutions concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia adopted by the General Assembly and the Special Committee,

Recalling also the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, particularly its resolutions 232(1966) of 16 December 1966, 253(1968) of 29 May 1968 and 277(1970) of 18 March 1970,

Bearing in mind the relevant provisions of its resolution 2621(XXV) of 12 October 1970 containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration,

Gravely concerned at the deteriorating situation in Southern Rhodesia, which the Security Council in its resolution 277(1970) reaffirmed as constituting a threat to international peace and security, resulting from the introduction by the illegal racist minority regime of new measures, including the purported assumption of republican status, for the purpose of entrenching itself as well as repressing the African people in violation of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV), and at the continued presence of South African forces in the Territory, which poses a threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring African States,

Noting with deep regret that the sanctions adopted by the Security Council have so far failed to put an end to the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, owing primarily to the continued assistance that regime receives from some States, in particular South Africa and Portugal, in violation of Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations and of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council,

Reaffirming its conviction that the sanctions will not put an end to the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia unless they are comprehensive, mandatory, effectively supervised, enforced and complied with, particularly by South Africa and Portugal,

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 regime in Southern Rhodesia and for transferring effective power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV) and the legitimacy of their struggle to attain that right by all the means at their disposal;

2. Declares illegal all measures taken by the racist minority regime, including the purported assumption of republican status, to deprive the people of Zimbabwe of their legitimate rights and to entrench its policies of apartheid in Southern Rhodesia;

3. Affirms that any attempt to negotiate the future of Zimbabwe with the illegal racist minority regime would be contrary to the provisions of resolution 1514(XV);

4. Condemns the failure and refusal of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to take effective measures to bring down the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia and to transfer power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and calls upon that Government to take such measures without further delay in fulfilment of its responsibility as the administering Power;

5. Condemns the intervention of South African armed forces in Southern Rhodesia in violation of Security Council resolution 277(1970);

6. Condemns the policies of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and other Governments that continue to maintain political, economic, military and other relations with the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia in contravention of the relevant United Nations resolutions, thus violating their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, and calls upon those Governments to discontinue all such relations;

7. Deplores the failure of the Government of the United Kingdom to report to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as requested in paragraph 16 of General Assembly resolution 2508(XXIV) of 21 November 1969, on action taken in the implementation of that resolution, and calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom to submit the said report to the Special Committee during its next session;

8. Calls upon the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to ensure the immediate expulsion of all South African forces from Southern Rhodesia;

9. Calls upon all States to ensure, under the terms of Security Council resolution 277(1970), the immediate interruption of any existing means of transportation to and from Southern Rhodesia;

10. Calls upon all States, specialized agencies and other international organizations concerned, in co-

operation with the Organization of African Unity, to extend all moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe;

11. Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom, in view of the armed conflict in the Territory and the inhuman treatment of prisoners, to ensure the application to that situation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, both dated 12 August 1949;

12. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the gravity of the situation arising from the intensification of suppressive activities against the people of Zimbabwe and from the armed attacks perpetrated

against neighbouring States in violation of international peace and security;

13. Further draws the attention of the Security Council to the urgent necessity of applying the following measures envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter:

(a) Widening the scope of the sanctions against the illegal racist minority regime to include all the measures laid down in Article 41 of the Charter;

(b) Imposing sanctions against South Africa and Portugal, whose Governments have blatantly refused to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council;

14. Requests the Special Committee to keep the situation in the Territory under review.

THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA

The question of Namibia was again considered by United Nations bodies during 1970. Decisions on the territory were taken by the Security Council, the General Assembly and the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The United Nations Council for Namibia also reported to the Assembly on its activities, and various aspects of the problem were taken up by the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights.

The Security Council adopted three resolutions on the question, one (276(1970)) on 30 January 1970, the other two (283(1970) and 284(1970)) on 29 July 1970. By the first of these the Council declared, among other things, that the continued presence of South African authorities in Namibia was illegal and that consequently all acts taken by South Africa on behalf of Namibia after the termination of the Mandate [for South West Africa] were illegal and invalid.

The Council called upon all States—particularly those having economic and other interests in Namibia—to refrain from any dealings with South Africa which were inconsistent with the above declaration. The Council also decided to set up an ad hoc sub-committee of the Council to study, in consultation with the Secretary-General, ways and means by which the relevant Council resolutions could be effectively implemented in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the United Nations Charter, in the

light of the flagrant refusal of South Africa to withdraw from Namibia, and to submit its recommendations by 30 April 1970.

The Ad Hoc Sub-Committee, after submitting an interim report on 30 April, submitted, on 7 July, a series of recommendations on political, economic, legal, military and other aspects of the question. The first of the two resolutions adopted by the Security Council on 29 July was based on the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee; the second sought an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice as to the legal consequences for States of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia, notwithstanding the Council's resolution of 30 January.

Among other things in a statement on 11 August, the Chairman of the Special Committee on the implementation of the Declaration on granting independence drew attention to the increasing use of armed force by South Africa in the territory; the intensification of racial segregation through the forcible relocation of Africans; and the continuing series of trials of freedom fighters.

The Chairman's statement also drew the Security Council's attention to the dangerous situation prevailing in Namibia and expressed the hope that the Council would take effective steps to end the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and to enable the people of the territory to exercise their fundamental rights.

The United Nations Council for Namibia on 12 October submitted its fifth report to the General Assembly, in which it stated that the critical

situation in Namibia had further deteriorated and the danger of racial war had increased. More effective measures to ensure the removal of South Africa from the territory were called for, and it recommended that the Security Council's attention be drawn to the need for such measures. It also recommended, among other things, that the General Assembly finance from the regular budget of the United Nations a comprehensive educational and training programme for Namibians and establish a United Nations Fund for Namibia to assist Namibians who suffered persecution.

At its twenty-fifth (1970) session, the General Assembly on 9 December adopted three resolutions on the question. By the first of these (2678 (XXV)), the Assembly among other things condemned South Africa for its refusal to withdraw from the territory; called on States to cooperate with the Council for Namibia and act to obtain the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia; and invited the Security Council to consider effective measures to that end.

By the second resolution (2679(XXV)), the

Assembly decided that a comprehensive United Nations Fund for Namibia should be established and asked the Secretary-General to study and report on the matter in 1971; in the meantime, the Secretary-General was authorized to make interim grants from the regular budget to enable existing United Nations programmes to provide greater assistance, as necessary, to Namibians.

The third resolution (2680(XXV)) had to do with the question of petitions concerning Namibia.

Various other resolutions of the Assembly adopted during its 1970 session had a bearing on the question of Namibia, including, among other things, decisions on: the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; the activities of foreign economic interests impeding implementation of the Declaration; and measures to deal with racial discrimination, apartheid and violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in southern Africa.

(For details about the decisions taken during 1970 by United Nations organs, see pp. 733-58.)

RELATIONS BETWEEN AFRICAN STATES AND PORTUGAL

COMPLAINTS BY GUINEA AGAINST PORTUGAL

In a telegram to the Secretary-General dated 22 November 1970, the President of the Republic of Guinea charged that his country had been the object of armed aggression by Portuguese forces that day, when mercenary commando troops had landed in the capital city of Conakry and had carried out bombing raids at several points in the city. He appealed to the United Nations for the immediate dispatch of United Nations airborne troops to co-operate with the Guinean national army in repelling the aggression.

On the same day, Guinea requested the President of the Security Council to convene a meeting of the Council, as a matter of urgency, to consider the situation in Guinea.

Portugal categorically denied Guinea's accusations in a letter of 22 November 1970 addressed to the President of the Security Council, stating that the Government of Portugal was not involved in the internal affairs of Guinea.

The letter reiterated that Portugal's policy was one of scrupulous respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries contiguous with its boundaries and expressed the hope that the Council would therefore reject the complaint raised by Guinea.

The Security Council considered Guinea's complaint at a meeting on 22 November; the representatives of Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Saudi Arabia and Senegal were invited, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

In the discussion, the representative of Guinea recalled previous complaints brought against Portugal for its acts of aggression against African countries, and drew the attention of world public opinion to the military and psychological preparations said to be taking place in special training camps in Guinea (Bissau) with the purpose of invading the national territory of the Republic of Guinea.

He then recounted the alleged events that had occurred in the Republic of Guinea on the

morning of 22 November and requested that the Council should demand the immediate withdrawal of Portuguese and mercenary troops and military equipment, and should condemn the Government of Portugal. He also requested that United Nations airborne and sea-borne troops be sent immediately to restore peace and security in the area.

Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, the USSR and Zambia, among others, believed Portugal to be clearly responsible for the attack on Guinea; it should be condemned forthwith for what they felt was yet another in a series of acts of aggression committed against the independent African countries bordering on Portugal's colonial territories. They demanded that the Security Council take appropriate measures without delay.

Saudi Arabia suggested that, if it should be proved ultimately through an inquiry that Portugal was responsible for the attack against Guinea, members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) should expel Portugal from their organization.

Following a brief period of consultation, a revised draft resolution, sponsored by Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia, was introduced. By it the Council would: (1) demand the immediate cessation of the armed attack against the Republic of Guinea; (2) demand the immediate withdrawal of all external armed forces and mercenaries, together with the military equipment used in the armed attack against the territory of the Republic of Guinea; (3) decide to send a special mission to the Republic of Guinea to report on the situation immediately; (4) decide that this special mission be formed after consultation between the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General; and (5) decide to maintain the matter on its agenda.

Discussing the method of forming a special mission, the United States orally proposed as a formal amendment that the special mission be formed after consultations among members of the Security Council as a whole, not solely after consultation between the President of the Council and the Secretary-General.

The United States felt that if the mission were to be composed of Government representatives and not of Secretariat officials, or even

of a personal representative of the Secretary-General, it would have a political complexion and therefore should be selected after consultations among all members of the Council.

Burundi and the USSR opposed the United States amendment, saying there should be no delay in the creation of a mission.

The USSR said members should place their confidence in both the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General.

The representative of Burundi said it was his understanding that the responsibilities of the President and the Secretary-General, if properly carried out in that regard, implied consultation with members of the Council.

By a vote of 3 in favour to 0 against, with 12 abstentions, the Council did not adopt the proposed amendment.

The Council unanimously adopted the five-power text as resolution 289(1970). (For text, See DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES **below**.)

Speaking after the vote, the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom said they had voted for the resolution on the understanding that, as had been stated by Burundi—one of its sponsors—the President of the Security Council would consult members of the Council about the composition of the mission.

In a report submitted to the Security Council on 24 November, the President of the Council and the Secretary-General announced that, in accordance with Security Council resolution of 22 November 1970 (289(1970)), and following consultations between them and between the President and members of the Council, it had been decided that the Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea, which would be accompanied by a member of the Secretariat, would be composed of Colombia, Finland, Nepal (Chairman), Poland and Zambia.

During and subsequent to the Council's consideration of the question, several communications concerning the situation in the Republic of Guinea were received, some addressed to the President of the Council and others to the Secretary-General, including a letter from 37 African Member States, a telegram from the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and another telegram from the Secretary-General of OAU. The communications contained statements

condemning the alleged aggression against Guinea.

On 3 December, the Special Mission submitted its report to the Security Council.

It noted that in addition to meeting with the President of Guinea shortly after their arrival in Conakry early on 25 November, members of the Special Mission had held 10 meetings, some of them in joint session with a five-man Government delegation headed by the Guinean Minister for Financial Affairs. They heard statements by the head of the Government delegation, received oral or written statements from 19 diplomatic representatives in Conakry, heard statements by the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde and by various individuals, observed the material effects of the hostilities and heard seven of the 70 prisoners, who, the Government authorities said, had been captured during the invasion. Verbatim records of the 10 meetings and written statements of Government representatives were issued as an addendum to the Special Mission's report.

According to the report, a force of 350 to 400 men, taken ashore in a well-planned and skillfully executed operation, had invaded Guinea apparently with three objectives: to overthrow the Government and replace it with dissident elements, to strike at the headquarters of the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde and to free Portuguese prisoners held in Guinea.

The report concluded that the force that had invaded the Republic of Guinea on 22 November had been assembled in Guinea (Bissau) and was composed of naval and military units of the Portuguese armed forces, acting in conjunction with Guinean dissident elements from outside of Guinea.

In a letter dated 4 December referring to the Special Mission's report, Portugal declared that its Government had neither authorized nor consented to any military operation against Guinea. It protested the Special Mission's reporting to the Council without first informing the Portuguese Government of its findings, and concluded that in the circumstances the Portuguese Government rejected any resolution seeking to establish the culpability of Portuguese entities in a situation so blatantly contrary to natural justice.

In a letter of 7 December, Portugal also rejected the conclusions of the Special Mission, saying that the Mission had relied on a one-sided source of information—the Government of the Republic of Guinea—and had decided to receive evidence from the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde, a non-Guinean, anti-Portuguese political organization which sought to spread subversion and disorder in the Portuguese territory of Guinea.

The report of the Special Mission was included in the agenda of the Security Council and was considered together with the complaint by Guinea at five further meetings of the Council held between 4 and 8 December, at which the representatives of Algeria, Cuba, Ethiopia, Haiti, India, Liberia, Mauritius, Pakistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen,⁵⁷ the People's Republic of the Congo, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Yugoslavia were also invited, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

On 4 December, the representative of Guinea restated the charges that Portugal had committed treacherous aggression against Guinea. Recounting in detail the events of 22 November, he said that in appealing for United Nations troops his Government had demonstrated its faith in the norms of international law and its belief in the ability of the United Nations to safeguard the sacred principles of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its Member States. He expressed the hope that the Council would, in the light of the conclusive findings of the report, apply appropriate measures to redress the aggression which had been suffered by his country.

Most members that participated in the discussion of the report and Guinea's complaint—among them Algeria, Cuba, Ethiopia, Finland, Haiti, India, Liberia, Mali, Poland, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Syria, Uganda and Zambia—commended the work of the Special Mission and, having taken note of its conclusions, said that Portugal should be condemned for its proved aggression.

⁵⁷ On 30 November 1970, Southern Yemen informed the United Nations that it had changed its name to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

In particular, African members welcomed the findings of the report as confirmation of the authenticity of similar charges brought against Portugal but not given sufficient credence by the international community on the ground that they had not been supported by substantial and independent evidence.

They expressed the hope that the case would be taken seriously by the Security Council if the African people were to retain their confidence in the objectives and practices of the United Nations. Senegal expressed regret that the Security Council had not acceded to Guinea's request for the immediate dispatch of United Nations troops to the area and stated that they were not just seeking another condemnation of Portugal but an application against it of the measures contained in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.⁵⁸

On 8 December, the Council:

(1) endorsed the conclusions of the report of the Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea;

(2) strongly condemned the Government of Portugal for its invasion of the Republic of Guinea;

(3) demanded that full compensation by the Government of Portugal be paid to the Republic of Guinea for the extensive damage to life and property caused by the armed attack and invasion and requested the Secretary-General to assist the Government of the Republic of Guinea in the assessment of the extent of the damage involved;

(4) appealed to all States to render moral and material assistance to the Republic of Guinea to strengthen and defend its independence and territorial integrity;

(5) declared that the presence of Portuguese colonialism on the African continent was a serious threat to the peace and security of independent African States;

(6) urged all States to refrain from providing the Government of Portugal with any military and material assistance enabling it to continue its repressive actions against the peoples of the territories under its domination and against independent African States;

(7) called upon the Government of Portugal to apply without further delay to the peoples of the territories under its domination the principles of self-determination and independence in ac-

cordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);⁵⁹

(8) solemnly warned the Government of Portugal that in the event of any repetition of armed attacks against independent African States, the Security Council would immediately consider appropriate effective steps or measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter;

(9) called upon the Government of Portugal to comply fully with all the resolutions of the Security Council, in particular the present resolution, in accordance with its obligations under Article 25 of the Charter;⁶⁰

(10) requested all States, in particular Portugal's allies, to exert their influence on the Government of Portugal to ensure compliance with the provisions of the present resolution;

(11) requested the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of the present resolution, and

(12) decided to remain actively seized of the matter.

The Council noted in connexion with these decisions that it was gravely concerned that the invasion of the territory of the Republic of Guinea on 22 and 23 November had been carried out by naval and military units of the Portuguese armed forces and that such armed attacks directed against independent African States posed a serious threat to their peace and security.

The Council noted that it was mindful of its responsibility to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to international peace and security.

It also expressed its grief at the loss of life and extensive damage caused by the armed attack and invasion and it reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to freedom and independence in accordance with the Charter and the

⁵⁸ For text of Chapter VII of Charter, see APPENDIX II.

⁵⁹ See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV).

⁶⁰ For text of Article 25 of the Charter, see APPENDIX II.

provisions of the General Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960.⁶¹

The Council's decisions were embodied in resolution 290(1970), adopted by a vote of 11 to 0, with 4 abstentions, on the basis of a proposal by Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia. (For text, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

During the discussion of the draft resolution, the representative of Burundi said that as a result of consultations, the text was not exactly what the people of Guinea or of Africa had actually wanted. He appealed nevertheless for unanimity in supporting it as a means of fulfilling the Council's responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Before the vote, France, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States said that although the sponsors of the draft resolution had agreed to delete from it any reference to Chapter VII of the Charter, and rightly did not commit the Council's future action under that chapter, some of its provisions still went further than was reasonably justified by the situation. Consequently, they declared their intention to abstain.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of Guinea said that the events that had taken place in Guinea had given warning to the Security Council to guard international peace and security, but he expressed disappointment that the Council had not invoked against Portugal the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

Subsequent communications to the President of the Security Council, received between 19 and 28 December, contained charges and counter-charges and their repudiation by Guinea and Portugal concerning alleged violations of national territory, as well as a charge by Guinea that Portuguese and Senegalese forces were massing along its border. In a letter of 22 December, Senegal emphatically and indignantly protested the charge.

On 22 December, the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General, in pursuance of the Council's resolution of 8 December, jointly submitted an interim report on its implementation. The report stated that by 21 December no replies had been received in response to the Secretary-General's request in a note of 18 December for information from

Member States of the United Nations or members of the specialized agencies on the measures taken by them to give effect to the implementation of the resolution.

However, the report listed four communications received after the adoption of the resolution from Iraq, Nigeria, Singapore and the USSR, as well as messages from the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Secretary-General of OAU. All the communications contained statements condemning the aggression committed against Guinea.

The interim report contained the text of a telegram of 8 December 1970 sent by the Secretary-General to the Government of the Republic of Guinea informing it of his readiness to dispatch a team of officials to assist the Government in assessing the extent of the damage involved.

Also contained in the report was a reply from the President of the Republic of Guinea, dated 16 December, in which he advised the Secretary-General not to dispatch the appraisal mission, declaring that the moral and material damage caused to the Guinean nation could not be expressed in monetary terms and that the only reparation considered acceptable by his Government was the immediate recognition and proclamation of national independence for the African territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

COMPLAINTS BY SENEGAL AND PORTUGAL

During 1970, Senegal and Portugal directed communications to the President of the Security Council charging each other with violations of territory and hostile acts.

On 8 July, Senegal complained that Portuguese aircraft had violated its territory on 4 July and had bombed three Senegalese villages on 6 July, inflicting heavy damage and loss of property. The letter also charged that Portuguese units had attacked the village of Sare Samba Diael on 22 June.

Portugal denied these charges in a letter of 16 July, stating also that on 21 June subversive

⁶¹ See footnote 59.

elements from Senegal had penetrated the territory of Portuguese Guinea and had destroyed houses. Portugal further charged in another letter of 16 July that about 300 Senegalese subversive elements covered by artillery fire had attacked the area of Pirada on 12 and 13 July. As a result, it was charged, 15 people had died, 41 had been wounded and one was missing; in addition, 50 houses had been burned.

In a letter of 17 July, Senegal charged that Portuguese artillery based in Guinea (Bissau) had again shelled the village of Kolodinto-Niacko on 14 July, causing its total destruction, the death of two persons and the wounding of two. Referring to an attached annex that listed alleged frontier violations and attacks by Portuguese forces since December 1969, the letter added that the list would show that there had been practically continuous violations of Senegalese air space by Portugal. As a result of those acts, the letter went on, more than 31 persons had been killed, wounded or taken, 293 houses destroyed and 287 animals killed or taken.

Also in 1970, on 16 December, Senegal charged that for some time Portugal had been dropping leaflets inviting the population of the southern part of Senegal to rebel against their

Government. It was also alleged that Portuguese soldiers had continued their intrusions into Senegalese territory, committing various acts of banditry.

COMPLAINT BY GAMBIA AGAINST PORTUGAL

In a letter dated 23 November 1970 addressed to the Secretary-General, the President of the Republic of the Gambia alleged that 38 mercenaries of Guinean origin, who had claimed to be in the pay of the Government of Portugal, had been found assembled on 30 September at Brufut in the southern part of the Gambia. They were reported preparing to board a Portuguese ship which was to transport them to Guinea (Bissau), where the group was to receive military training before infiltrating the Republic of Guinea. The Guineans were charged and sentenced in the Gambia, the letter noted.

After strongly protesting the infringement of its territorial waters by Portugal and the use of its territory by Portugal for subversive actions against a friendly State, the Gambia said it would not hesitate to take appropriate action against the invasion of its territory or that of a friendly State.

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

COMPLAINTS BY GUINEA V. PORTUGAL

SECURITY COUNCIL, meetings 1558-1563.

S/9987. Letter of 22 November 1970 from Guinea (request to convene Council).

S/9988. Telegram dated 22 November from Guinea.

S/9989. Letter of 22 November 1970 from Portugal.

S/9990 and Rev.1. Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria, Zambia: draft resolution and revision.

S/9991-S/9995. Letters of 22 November 1970 from Guinea, Senegal, Mali, Saudi Arabia and Mauritania (requests to participate in Council discussions).

RESOLUTION 289(1970), as proposed by 5 powers, S/9990/Rev.1, adopted unanimously by Council on 22 November 1970, meeting 1558.

The Security Council,

Having heard the statement made by the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Guinea,

Having taken note of the request made by the President of the Republic of Guinea,

1. Demands the immediate cessation of the armed attack against the Republic of Guinea;

2. Demands the immediate withdrawal of all ex-

ternal armed forces and mercenaries, together with the military equipment used in the armed attack against the territory of the Republic of Guinea;

3. Decides to send a special mission to the Republic of Guinea to report on the situation immediately;

4. Decides that this special mission be formed after consultation between the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General;

5. Decides to maintain the matter on its agenda.

S/9997. Note verbale of 23 November 1970 from Southern Yemen.

S/9998. Letter of 24 November 1970 from Algeria.

S/9999. Report dated 24 November 1970 by President of Security Council and Secretary-General.

S/10000. Letter of 25 November 1970 from Yugoslavia.

S/10001. Cable dated 24 November 1970 from Haiti.

S/10002 and Add.1. Letter of 23 November 1970 from Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Dahomey, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, People's Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Re-

public, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta and Zambia.

- S/10004. Letter of 25 November 1970 from Kenya.
 S/10009 and Add.1. Report dated 3 December 1970 of Security Council Special Mission to Republic of Guinea, established under resolution 289(1970).
 S/10010-S/10012. Letters of 4 December 1970 from Algeria, Liberia and United Republic of Tanzania (requests to participate in Council discussions).
 S/10013. Letter of 3 December 1970 from People's Republic of Congo (request to participate in Council discussions).
 S/10014. Letter of 4 December 1970 from Portugal, S/10015-S/10019. Letters of 4 December 1970 from Yugoslavia, Mauritius, Sudan, United Arab Republic and Ethiopia (requests to participate in Council discussions).
 S/10021. Note verbale of 5 December 1970 from People's Democratic Republic of Yemen* (request to participate in Council discussions).
 S/10022, S/10023. Letters of 5 and 7 December 1970 from Cuba and Uganda (requests to participate in Council discussions).
 S/10024. Letter of 7 December 1970 from Portugal. S/10025-S/10027, S/10029. Letters of 7 December 1970 from India, Somalia, Haiti and Pakistan (requests to participate in Council discussions).
 S/10030. Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria, Zambia: draft resolution.

* On 30 November 1970, Southern Yemen informed the United Nations that it had changed its name to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

RESOLUTION 290(1970), as proposed by 5 powers, S/10030, adopted by Council on 8 December 1970, meeting 1563, by 11 votes to 0, with 4 abstentions (France, Spain, United Kingdom, United States).

The Security Council,

Having considered with appreciation the report of the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under resolution 289(1970) of 23 November 1970,

Having heard further statements by the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Guinea,

Gravely concerned that the invasion of the territory of the Republic of Guinea on 22 and 23 November 1970 from Guinea (Bissau) was carried out by naval and military units of the Portuguese armed forces, and by the armed attack against the Republic of Guinea on 27 and 28 November 1970,

Gravely concerned that such armed attacks directed against independent African States pose a serious threat to the peace and security of independent African States,

Mindful of its responsibility to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to international peace and security,

Recalling its resolutions 218(1965) of 23 November 1965 and 275(1969) of 22 December 1969 which condemned Portugal and affirmed that the situation resulting from the policies of Portugal both as regards

the African population of its colonies and the neighbouring States adversely affects the peace and stability of the African continent,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to freedom and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960,

Grieved at the loss of life and extensive damage caused by the armed attack and invasion of the Republic of Guinea,

1. Endorses the conclusions of the report of the Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea;

2. Strongly condemns the Government of Portugal for its invasion of the Republic of Guinea;

3. Demands that full compensation by the Government of Portugal be paid to the Republic of Guinea for the extensive damage to life and property caused by the armed attack and invasion and requests the Secretary-General to assist the Government of the Republic of Guinea in the assessment of the extent of the damage involved;

4. Appeals to all States to render moral and material assistance to the Republic of Guinea to strengthen and defend its independence and territorial integrity;

5. Declares that the presence of Portuguese colonialism on the African continent is a serious threat to the peace and security of independent African States;

6. Urges all States to refrain from providing the Government of Portugal with any military and material assistance enabling it to continue its repressive actions against the peoples of the Territories under its domination and against independent African States;

7. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to apply without further delay to the peoples of the Territories under its domination the principles of self-determination and independence in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly resolution 1514(XV);

8. Solemnly warns the Government of Portugal that in the event of any repetition of armed attacks against independent African States, the Security Council shall immediately consider appropriate effective steps or measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations;

9. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to comply fully with all the resolutions of the Security Council, in particular the present resolution, in accordance with its obligations under Article 25 of the Charter;

10. Requests all States, in particular Portugal's allies, to exert their influence on the Government of Portugal to ensure compliance with the provisions of the present resolution;

11. Requests the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of the present resolution;

12. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

OTHER COMMUNICATIONS AND REPORTS

- S/10003. Letter of 23 November 1970 from Gambia.
 S/10032. Letter of 8 December 1970 from USSR (transmitting statement adopted by participants, in

- Conference of Political Consultative Committee of States Parties to Warsaw Treaty, Berlin, 2 December 1970).
- S/10039. Letter of 14 December 1970 from Singapore.
- S/10040. Letter of 14 December 1970 from Nigeria (transmitting message from Chairman of OAU Council of Ministers).
- S/10041. Letter of 14 December 1970 from Iraq.
- S/10045. Note by Secretary-General dated 19 December 1970, transmitting message from President of Republic of Guinea.
- S/10046. Letter of 19 December 1970 from Guinea.
- S/10052. Letter of 22 December 1970 from Portugal.
- S/10053. Letter of 22 December 1970 from Senegal.
- S/10054. Interim report dated 22 December 1970 of President of Security Council and Secretary-General, in pursuance of resolution 290(1970).
- S/10056-10058. Letters of 23, 22 and 21 December 1970 from Guinea.
- S/10064. Letter of 28 December 1970 from Senegal.
- A/8001. Report of Secretary-General on work of the Organization, 16 June 1969-15 June 1970, Part One, Chapter IV J.
- A/8002. Report of Security Council, 16 July 1969-15 June 1970, Chapter 8.
- COMPLAINTS BY
SENEGAL AND PORTUGAL
- S/9861. Letter of 8 July 1970 from Senegal.
- S/9870, S/9871. Letters of 16 July 1970 from Portugal.
- S/9875, S/10043. Letters of 17 July and 16 December 1970 from Senegal.
- A/8001. Report of Secretary-General on work of the Organization, 16 June 1969-15 June 1970, Part One, Chapter IV I.
- A/8002. Report of Security Council, 16 July 1969-15 June 1970, Chapter 7.
- COMPLAINT BY GAMBIA
AGAINST PORTUGAL
- S/10003. Letter of 23 November 1970 from Gambia.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

During 1970, several communications were addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). These included a letter of 9 October 1970 from the Executive Secretary transmitting the texts of several resolutions adopted by the seventh session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held from 1 to 3 September 1970. These resolutions dealt with the question of the Middle East and the situation in southern Africa.

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

- S/9695. Letter of 10 March 1970 from Sudan (transmitting joint communique of Sixth Summit Conference of East and Central African States, Khartoum, Sudan, 26-28 January 1970).
- S/9962. Letter of 9 October 1970 from Organization of African Unity (transmitting texts of resolutions adopted at 7th session of Assembly of Heads of State and Government on question of Middle East and situation in southern Africa).
- A/8002. Report of Security Council, 16 July 1969-15 June 1970, Chapter 31.