

This resolution, which was ignored by the United Kingdom 82/ was followed in October 1962 by two others 83/ calling on the United Kingdom to put into effect resolution 1747 (XVI), to obtain the release of all African nationalist leaders and the lifting of the ban on ZAPU, to suspend immediately the 1961 Constitution and to cancel the general elections scheduled to be held under it. The Acting Secretary-General 84/ was also requested 85/ to lend his good offices to promote conciliation among the various sections of the population of Southern Rhodesia by initiating prompt discussions with the United Kingdom Government and other parties concerned with a view to achieving the objectives set out in General Assembly resolutions. No positive results, however, were accomplished, the Secretary-General reporting that the United Kingdom Government maintained its stated position that Southern Rhodesia was constitutionally free to conduct its internal affairs and that therefore Britain did not possess the authority to effect the reforms requested by the United Nations. 86/

With the coming to power in the General Elections held in December 1962 of the Rhodesian Front pledged to achieve independence for Southern Rhodesia under minority rule, a new note of urgency began to be sounded in the United Nations. In September 1963 the Security Council met for the first time to discuss the situation in Southern Rhodesia. A resolution sponsored by the Afro-Asian members of the Council 87/ "inviting" the United Kingdom to implement the General Assembly resolutions on Southern Rhodesia and not to transfer the powers and attributes of sovereignty to Southern Rhodesia until the establishment of a fully representative government was vetoed by the United Kingdom. One month later a similarly worded resolution 88/ was overwhelmingly approved by the General Assembly which in another resolution 89/ for the first time stated that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and called upon the United Kingdom not to accede to the Rhodesian Front government's request for independence until majority rule based on universal adult suffrage was established in the Territory.

82/ The British Government's inaction led to the resignation of its representative in the Trusteeship Council, Sir Hugh Foot, who, as Lord Caradon, was to become the United Kingdom Permanent Representative to the United Nations during the Labour Government's tenure of power from 1964 to 1970.

83/ Resolution 1755 (XVII) and 1760 (XVII).

84/ Mr. Thant was acting Secretary-General of the United Nations from 3 November 1961 to 30 November 1962 when he was appointed to a full four-year term.

85/ Paragraph 4 of Resolution 1760 (XVII).

86/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, Agenda item 56, A/5396 and Ibid. Eighteenth Session, Annexes, Agenda item 75, A/5426.

87/ S/5425/Rev.1

88/ Resolution 1883 (XVIII).

89/ Resolution 1889 (XVIII).

As the threat of a unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority government in Southern Rhodesia became increasingly imminent the Security Council adopted on 6 May 1965 its first resolution on Southern Rhodesia 90/ requesting the United Kingdom and all other Member States of the United Nations not to accept a unilateral declaration of independence by the minority Government and calling on the United Kingdom to take all necessary action to prevent such a declaration. A similar request was adopted by the General Assembly in October 1965 shortly after the convening of its twentieth session. 91/ As the situation grew in seriousness the General Assembly adopted, a few days before UDI, another resolution 92/ calling again on the United Kingdom to carry out a series of measures including the suspension of the 1961 Constitution and the immediate calling of a constitutional conference, the release of all political prisoners and the repeal of all repressive and discriminatory legislation and asking the United Kingdom to employ force if necessary in order to implement these measures. 93/ The resolution also explicitly recognized for the first time the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Southern Rhodesia and requested all States to render moral and material assistance to the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for freedom and independence.

II. - Action by the United Nations following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence

The unilateral declaration of independence by the Smith Government on 11 November 1965 met with a swift response from the United Nations. On the same day the General Assembly adopted a resolution condemning UDI, 94/

90/ Resolution 202 (1965).

91/ Resolution 2012 (XX) adopted by 107 votes in favour, two against and one abstention. The United Kingdom did not participate in the vote.

92/ Resolution 2022 (XX) adopted by 82 votes to 9 with 18 abstentions. The United Kingdom did not participate in the vote either.

93/ The United Kingdom has consistently opposed any call for the use of British military force to solve the Southern Rhodesian situation and has vetoed in the Security Council any draft resolution containing such request.

94/ Resolution 2024 (XX).

"inviting" the United Kingdom to put an end to the rebellion and recommending that the Security Council consider the situation as a matter of urgency. The following day the Security Council adopted resolution 216 (1965) 95/ in which it condemned UDI and called upon all States not to recognize the "illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia" and to refrain from rendering any assistance to it.96/

Since the unilateral declaration of independence and up to the end of June 1975 the Security Council has adopted 15 resolutions on Southern Rhodesia, 97/ three of them 98/ calling for the first time in United Nations history for the application of sanctions foreseen under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. The first call for selective optional sanctions was made by the Security Council on 20 November 1965, but two and a half years were to elapse before comprehensive mandatory sanctions were imposed by the Council in May 1968.

One day after the adoption of resolution 216 the Ivory Coast, on behalf of the African group, introduced a resolution 99/ in the Security Council calling for a complete cessation of economic relations with the Southern Rhodesian régime in accordance with article 41 of the Charter and for the application of all enforcement measures provided for under articles 42 and 43 of the Charter.

The United Kingdom, for its part, introduced a draft resolution 100/ which would have had the Council issue a call to all States to refrain from any action which could give aid and comfort to the Smith régime, and in particular, the supply of arms or war material to it, but which contained no determination that any threat to the peace had actually occurred, nor any call for economic sanctions. Since neither resolution appeared likely to obtain the required support, the Council finally adopted a compromise resolution 101/, sponsored by Bolivia and Uruguay, which

95/ The resolution was adopted by 10 votes to none with one abstention (France).

96/ Upon the proclamation of "independence" the British Government, while declaring itself unable to put down the rebellion by force, dismissed Mr. Smith and his government and placed all executive and legislative power in its own hands. (See page 10 above).

97/ Resolutions 216 (1965), 217 (1965), 221 (1966), 232 (1966), 253 (1968), 277 (1970), 288 (1970), 314 (1972), 318 (1972), 320 (1972), 326 (1973), 327 (1973), 328 (1973), 329 (1973) and 333 (1973).

98/ Resolutions 217 (1965), 232 (1966) and 253 (1968). (See Annexes IV-VI below).

99/ S/6929.

100/ S/6928.

101/ Resolution 217 (1965) adopted by 10 votes to none with one abstention (France). For the full text of the resolution see Annex IV below.

determined that the "continuance in time" of the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security. The resolution after stating that it regarded the declaration of independence as having no legal validity, and after calling on the United Kingdom to quell the rebellion, contained a call upon all States not to entertain any diplomatic or other relations with the illegal régime and to desist from providing it with arms, equipment and military material and "to do their utmost in order to break all economic relations with Southern Rhodesia, including an embargo on oil and petroleum products". The United Kingdom was furthermore asked to enforce urgently and with vigour all the above-mentioned measures.

Though, a few months later, the Security Council empowered the United Kingdom 102/ to prevent, "by the use of force if necessary" the arrival at Beira of vessels "reasonably believed to be carrying oil destined for Southern Rhodesia", it became increasingly evident to many members of the United Nations that selective optional sanctions would not be enough to bring about the end of the rebellion. Therefore, in May 1966 the three African members of the Security Council introduced a draft resolution 103/ which in line with the resolution adopted in April by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four 104/ would have called for the complete severance of economic relations and communications with Southern Rhodesia and would have requested the United Kingdom to take the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter in order to prevent "any supplies" from reaching Southern Rhodesia. The resolution, however, failed to obtain the required majority in the Council. 105/

Spurred by the Special Committee on Decolonization and by the General Assembly which at its twenty-first session had appealed to the Security Council to apply "the necessary enforcement measures envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter", 106/ the Council decided in December 1966 to impose selective mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. By resolution 232 (1966) 107/ the Council, "acting in accordance with articles 39 and 41 of the United Nations Charter", determined that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security and decided

102/ Resolution 221 (1966).

103/ Contained in doc. S/7285/Add. 1.

104/ A/AC.109/158.

105/ Six countries voted in favour, eight abstained and one (New Zealand) voted against.

106/ Resolution 2151 (XXI).

107/ The resolution was adopted by 11 votes to none with 4 abstentions (Bulgaria, France, Mali and the USSR). For the full text of the resolution see Annex V below.

to impose an embargo on certain specified commodities to and from Southern Rhodesia. Specifically the Council banned imports from Southern Rhodesia of asbestos, iron ore, chrome, pig-iron, sugar, tobacco, copper, meat and meat products, hides, skin and leather and forbade exports to Southern Rhodesia of arms, ammunition, aircraft of all kinds, military and motor vehicles, military material and equipment, oil and oil products. The resolution reminded Member States that failure or refusal to comply would constitute a violation of article 25 of the Charter and urged Non-Member States to act in accordance with the resolution having regard to article 2(6) of the Charter.

In June 1967 at its meeting in Kitwe, Zambia, the Special Committee on Decolonization adopted a resolution 108/ expressing inter alia its conviction that for sanctions to bring about the downfall of the illegal régime they should be "comprehensive and mandatory and backed by force on the part of the administering power". The resolution also urged for the first time all States to render all moral and material assistance to the "national liberation movements of Zimbabwe" through the Organization of African Unity.

Some months later the General Assembly at its twenty-second session after noting that the economic sanctions applied so far had failed to bring down the illegal racist minority régime, endorsed the Special Committee's resolution and called for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions backed by force, condemned the violations of sanctions by certain States and the support offered to the Smith régime by the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and again called on the Security Council to apply the necessary measures envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter. 109/ The resolution also urged all States "as a matter of urgency" to render all moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements, either directly or through the Organization of African Unity. 110/

III - Comprehensive mandatory sanctions imposed

Six months after the passing of this resolution on 29 May 1968 the Security Council in a resolution adopted unanimously, 111/ decided to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. The Council after recognizing for the first time the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Southern Rhodesia to secure the enjoyment of their rights and acting explicitly under Chapter VII of the Charter decided to impose a ban on the import of all commodities and products originating in, or destined for, Southern Rhodesia. Under the resolution Member States are also required to prevent any activities by their nationals

108/ A/Ag.109/248.

109/ Resolution 2262 (XXII).

110/ Ibid. paragraph 16.

111/ Resolution 253 (1968). The full text of this resolution is reproduced below in Annex VI.

or in their territories calculated to promote in any way trade with Southern Rhodesia, the carriage of goods in vessels or aircraft of their registration to and from Southern Rhodesia, and the provisions of any funds for investment in Southern Rhodesia.

Another provision of the resolution binds Member States to prevent any airline company or aircraft of their registration from operating to or from Southern Rhodesia and from linking up with any airline company or aircraft registered in Southern Rhodesia. Other paragraphs require Member States to prohibit the entry into their territories of any person travelling on a Southern Rhodesian passport, or otherwise ordinarily resident in Southern Rhodesia if, in the latter case, there is reason to believe that they have furthered the actions of the illegal régime.

Under the resolution the only transactions admitted with Southern Rhodesia are payments for provisions or supplies for strictly medical or educational purposes and, in special humanitarian circumstances, food-stuffs.

The Council also reiterated the need for the withdrawal of all consular and trade representation in Southern Rhodesia and called upon Member States to halt any activities designed to promote emigration to Southern Rhodesia.

At its twenty-third session in the autumn of 1968 the General Assembly concluded 112/ that sanctions had not produced, until then, the desired results and reaffirmed that for sanctions to be effective they should be "strictly supervised by force and complied with, in particular by South Africa and Portugal". The Assembly also drew the attention of the Security Council to the "urgent necessity" of widening the scope of sanctions to include all the measures laid down in article 41 of the Charter and by extending them to South Africa and Portugal.

However efforts on the part of African and other states to extend, through Security Council action, the scope of sanctions in the sense recommended by the Assembly proved unsuccessful. In June 1969 a draft resolution 113/ submitted by Algeria, Nepal, Pakistan, Senegal and Zambia failed by one vote to receive the required majority. Another Afro-Asian resolution introduced in the Security Council in March 1970 114/ to extend sanctions to South Africa and Portugal failed to be adopted owing

112/ Resolution 2383 (XXIII) adopted by 86 votes in favour, 9 against with 19 abstentions. Voting against were: Australia, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom and United States.

113/ S/9270/Rev.1.

114/ S/9696.

to the negative votes of two permanent members of the Security Council (the United Kingdom and the United States). Instead the Council adopted a compromise resolution 115/ which condemned the policies of the governments of South Africa and Portugal for continuing to maintain political, economic, military and other relations with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, demanded the immediate withdrawal of South African police and armed personnel from Southern Rhodesia and "requested" Member States to take all possible further action under article 41 of the Charter to deal with the situation in that territory "not excluding any of the measures provided in that Article". Furthermore, the resolution made mandatory the severance of all diplomatic, consular, trade, military, or other relations with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, and extended the interruption of air links to cover any existing means of transportation to and from Southern Rhodesia.

Thereafter successive Special Committee and General Assembly resolutions 116/ have repeatedly expressed the conviction of a large majority of the membership of the United Nations that only full strict compliance by all States with sanctions coupled with their extension to South Africa and Portugal 117/ would succeed in putting an end to the Smith régime. However the Security Council has not followed the General Assembly's recommendation owing to the opposition of some of its permanent members. Thus the United Kingdom and the United States vetoed in May 1973 a draft resolution 118/ sponsored by the Non-Aligned members of the Council, which would have limited the purchase of certain commodities from South Africa, Angola and Mozambique to the quantitative levels prevailing at the time of UDI, would have extended the Beira blockade to the port of Lourenço Marques and would have requested States to take the necessary measures to deny or revoke landing rights to national air carriers of countries servicing Southern Rhodesia. Since 1970 the Security Council resolutions on Southern Rhodesia have reaffirmed its previous resolutions concerning sanctions, while deploring or condemning violations of sanctions on the part of certain states, and of South Africa and Portugal in particular, 119/ and have repeatedly demanded the immediate withdrawal of South African armed forces from Southern Rhodesia. 120/

115/ Resolution 277 (1970).

116/ See in this respect resolutions 2508 (XXIV), 2652 (XXV), 2796 (XXVI), 2946 (XXVII) and 3116 (XXVIII).

117/ With the change of régime in Lisbon the General Assembly and the Special Committee ceased to call for the extension of sanctions to Portugal. See in this respect General Assembly resolution 3298 (XXIX) and the resolution adopted by the Special Committee in Lisbon on 17 June 1975 (A/AC.109/494) reproduced below in Annexes VIII and IX respectively.

118/ S/10928.

119/ See resolutions 288 (1970), 314 (1972), 318 (1972), 320 (1972), 328 (1973) and 333 (1973).

120/ Resolutions 326 (1973) and 328 (1973).

Following the decision of the United States Congress in 1971 to authorize the importation of chrome into the United States, the General Assembly in November 1971 called upon the United States Government to take the necessary measures in compliance with the relevant Security Council decisions and "bearing in mind its obligations under article 25 of the Charter" to prevent the importation of chrome into the United States. 121/ The Security Council for its part declared itself "deeply concerned" by the report that the United States had authorized the importation of chrome ore and other minerals from Southern Rhodesia and urged the United States "to cooperate fully with the United Nations in the effective implementation of sanctions". 122/ In an effort to ensure the strict implementation of sanctions the Security Council in May 1973 called upon States to enact and enforce immediately legislation providing for the imposition of severe penalties on individuals and corporations evading or committing a breach of sanctions. 123/

The prospect that the newly independent state of Mozambique might apply economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia led the Special Committee on Decolonization, at its meeting in Lisbon in June 1975, to recommend to the Security Council that, bearing in mind the provisions of articles 49 and 50 of the Charter, it should initiate as soon as possible a specific programme of assistance to Mozambique, "to be provided on a bilateral and/or a multilateral basis, in order to enable its Government to apply fully and effectively sanctions against the illegal régime". The Special Committee also recommended that the Security Council consider "as a matter of urgency" taking the necessary measures to widen the scope of sanctions against the illegal régime to include all the measures envisaged in article 41 of the Charter. 124/

IV - Establishment of the Sanctions Committee

Resolution 253 (1968) imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions set up a committee of the Security Council with the task of overseeing the implementation of sanctions. On the basis of paragraph 20 of that resolution and of subsequent ones adopted by the Security Council 125/, the Committee has been entrusted with the task of examining any reports that might be submitted to it by the Secretary-General, of seeking and receiving information

121/ Resolution 2765 (XXVI). The request was repeated in stronger terms at the following sessions of the Assembly: see resolutions 2946 (XXVII), 3116 (XXVIII), and 3298 (XXIX) which condemned the importation of chrome into the United States.

122/ Resolution 320 (1972).

123/ Resolution 333 (1973).

124/ For the full text of the resolution see Annex IX.

125/ In particular resolutions 277 (1970), 318 (1972) and 333 (1973).

from States, specialized agencies, international organizations, both, governmental and non-governmental, as well as private individuals regarding the implementation and alleged breaches of sanctions and of recommending to the Council ways and means by which Member States could more effectively carry out the Security Council decisions regarding sanctions.

The Sanctions Committee 126/ submits reports to the Security Council and, since 1973 127/ has released periodical lists containing the names of companies found guilty of violations and of governments that have not responded within the prescribed period of two months to an enquiry from the Committee regarding cases of possible sanction violations.

V - Violations of Sanctions

While sanctions have clearly hurt the Southern Rhodesian economy they have so far failed to bring down the white minority régime. 128/ However, in response to the Security Council's request no government has formally recognized Southern Rhodesia as an independent state and only South Africa still maintains diplomatic or consular ties with the Smith régime. 129/ On the other hand economic sanctions have been openly defied by South Africa and by the now defunct Salazar/Caetano régime in Portugal, and have been implemented with laxity by several Member States. 130/ Furthermore

126/ Its official title is Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia. 127/ Following the adoption by the Security Council in resolution 333 (1973) of the recommendations contained in the second report of the Sanctions Committee (S/10920 and Corr.1).

128/ For the likely consequence of the possible application of sanctions by the newly independent state of Mozambique see supra pages 12-15.

129/ See Seventh Report of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia, doc. S/11594, paragraph 115. Subsequently, Portugal announced in April 1975 that she was breaking diplomatic relations with Salisbury.

130/ Ibid. paras. 62-64. As regards non-member states, Switzerland informed the Secretary-General in February 1967 (doc.S/7781, Annex 2) that "for reasons of principle, Switzerland, as a neutral state cannot submit to the mandatory sanctions of the United Nations". However, the Swiss Federal Council promised to see to it that Rhodesian trade was given no opportunity to avoid United Nations sanctions through Swiss territory. The Federal Council also promised to maintain the ban on exports of war material and to restrict imports from Southern Rhodesia to a level not exceeding the average of the years 1963-66. Nevertheless according to the Seventh Sanctions Committee Report (S/11594/Add.3) Swiss imports from Southern Rhodesia which between 1967 and 1972 oscilated between 3,625,000 in 1969 and 4,582,000 in 1972 jumped up to 7,749,000 in 1973. The figures for imports from Southern Rhodesia in 1965 and 1966 were 5,678,000 and 4,155,000 respectively.

as already pointed out since the passing of the Byrd Amendment by the United States Congress at the end of 1971 the United States has proceeded to import chrome, nickel and other materials from Southern Rhodesia. 131/ As a consequence Southern Rhodesian imports into the United States jumped from \$115,000 in 1970 to \$25,670,000 in 1973. 132/

According to the seventh report of the Security Council Sanctions Committee 133/ Southern Rhodesia's exports increased from a total estimate of \$474 million in 1972 to an estimated total of \$640 million in 1973. 134/ Since import statistics available show only a recorded figure of \$171 million of Rhodesian exports in the year 1973 135/, it would appear to follow, as the Report indicates, that some \$470 million of Southern Rhodesian exports were unaccounted for and must have reached the world markets under the guise of products originating in neighboring countries. The Committee estimates 136/ on the basis of available statistics that in 1973 exporters in the South African Customs Union and Mozambique were handling merchandise of Southern Rhodesian origin to the value of \$411 million, and that consequently since the imposition of sanctions Southern Rhodesia has been able to send its exports to world markets indirectly via South Africa and Mozambique. 137/

A similar situation is shown concerning imports. Southern Rhodesia's imports in 1973 were estimated at \$480 million, compared with \$404 million in 1972. Again the total figure of recorded imports was \$196 million 138/ leaving some \$290 million unaccounted for. 139/ Given the considerable expansion of the import trade of the South African Customs Union, Mozambique and Angola since 1965, the suspicion arises, that part of this expansion has been in the form of goods ultimately destined for Southern Rhodesia. 140/

131/ United Nations reaction to the action of the United States Congress is described above (page 33).

132/ Report of the Sanctions Committee, S/11594/Add.3, appendix I.

133/ Ibid. paragraphs 2-5.

134/ Up to 1972 the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia published figures for total exports and imports without analysis by either commodities or direction of trade. Since 1973 even figures for total trade have been suppressed.

135/ Divided by destination as follows: South African Customs Union (which includes South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland): \$103 million (estimate), United States \$26 million, Malawi \$21 million, Zambia \$12 million, Switzerland \$8 million, other countries \$1 million.

136/ Report of the Sanctions Committee, S/11594/Add.3, para. 3.

137/ See table III below.

138/ Divided by origin as follows: South African Customs Union: \$180 million, Malawi \$6 million, Switzerland \$4 million, United Kingdom \$2 million, Federal Republic of Germany \$2 million, United States \$1 million, other countries \$1 million.

139/ See table IV below.

140/ S/11594/Add.3, para. 7.

Another field in which sanctions appear to be widely violated concerns air travel to and from Southern Rhodesia. In spite of the provisions of paragraph 5 (b) of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) 141/ latest information suggests that as of June 1975 there were direct flights between Southern Rhodesia and London, Paris as well as ports in Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa. 142/ These flights were operated by the following airlines: Air Malawi, Air Rhodesia, Deta (Mozambique's airline), TAP and South African Airways. Furthermore according to well-documented reports 143/ interline traffic and cargo agreements existed as of April 1974 between seventy-one international airlines and Air Rhodesia with the result that a passenger ticket could be obtained allowing a portion of the journey to be made on Air Rhodesia while cargoes could be shipped in the same way.

It was reported that the International Air Transport Association (IATA) had informed the Secretary-General that, effective July 1974, IATA would cease to carry out any function assigned to it with respect to Air Rhodesia and agents located in Southern Rhodesia. The IATA Director-General was also reported to have requested IATA members and non-IATA carriers to withdraw their arrangements with Air Rhodesia.

It has also been reported 144/ that a number of international airlines, including Alitalia, British Airways, Lufthansa, Pan American, South African Airways and TAP, still maintain representatives and/or offices in Southern Rhodesia and that, in addition, several of them provide group tours to Southern Rhodesia. It was reported 145/ that in 1974 alone, no fewer than thirty-three tour operators in the United States and Europe arranged group tours that included Southern Rhodesia. According to figures published by the illegal régime a total of 288,105 persons 146/ visited Southern Rhodesia in 1973. This figure, however, represents a decrease of 117,000 from that for 1972 while the figures published for the first quarter of 1974 continue to show a downward trend 147/

141/ Supra, pages 30 and 31 and infra, Annex VI.

142/ Official Airlines Guide, June 1975 issue.

143/ Quoted in doc. A/AC.109/L.992/Add.1, paras. 126-135 and in S/11594 paras. 155-158.

144/ Doc. A/AC.109/L.992/Add.1, para. 130.

145/ Ibid. para. 126.

146/ Of whom 243,812 were described as on holiday, 21,105 on business, 15,557 on transit and 6,631 for education. Quoted in S/11594, para. 169.

147/ Doc. A/AC.109/L.992/Add.1. para. 170. It should be noted, however, that the number of persons entering Southern Rhodesia "on business" somewhat increased in 1973 and 1974 by comparison with 1972. On the other hand the number of immigrants into the territory has continued to fall since 1972. (Ibid. paras. 163-168).

In his report on sanctions submitted to the OAU Council of Ministers 148/ the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU stated that Japan was "the most notorious country with regard to breaking sanctions". The report also cited France as a major sanctions violator particularly as regards the Southern Rhodesia car market. The Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the United Kingdom were also cited for having violated economic sanctions in one way or another.

At its meeting in Lisbon in June 1975, the Special Committee on Decolonization condemned all violations of mandatory sanctions as well as the continued failure of certain Member States to enforce those sanctions strictly as being contrary to the obligations assumed by them under article 25 of the Charter. 149/ In particular it condemned once again the importation of chrome and nickel from Southern Rhodesia into the United States and called upon the United States Government to repeal speedily all legislation permitting such importation. 150/ The Special Committee also called upon all governments which had not yet done so to take stringent enforcement measures to ensure strict compliance with sanctions, to prevent or discourage emigration to Southern Rhodesia, to invalidate passports and other documents for travel to the Territory and to forbid the operation and activities of Rhodesian travel and information offices. 151/

148/ CM/585 (XXIII) Rev.1, quoted in United Nations document A/AC.109/L.992/Add.1, paras. 136-138.

149/ Resolution of 17 June 1975 contained in document A/AC.109/494, Part B, para.2. The resolution is reproduced below in Annex IX.

150/ Ibid. para. 3.

151/ Ibid. para. 4.

TABLE I

Land distribution under the 1969 "Land Tenure Act"

	<u>Africans</u>	<u>Europeans</u>
Percentage of total population	95.5%	4.5%
Percentage of land allocation	46.5%	46.5%
Average acreage allocation per person	7 acres	166 acres

TABLE II

Average earnings ^{a/} (Southern Rhodesian dollars) (1973 figures) ^{b/}

	<u>Africans</u>	<u>Europeans</u>
Agriculture and forestry	\$R. 137	\$R. 3,160
Mining and quarrying	397	5,335
Manufacturing	566	4,510
Electricity and water	536	5,055
Construction	506	4,336
Finance, insurance and real estate	826	3,832
Distribution, restaurants and hotels	506	3,376
Transport and communications	817	4,473
Public administration	595	3,891
Education	820	3,603
Health	705	2,920
Private domestic service	323	1,050
Other services	463	3,233
Total	\$R. 358 ^{c/}	\$R. 3,899

a/ One Rhodesia dollar equals approximately US\$1.40.

b/ Source: Southern Rhodesia, Economic Survey of Rhodesia, April 1974, Salisbury.

c/ According to a study undertaken by the University of Rhodesia the Poverty Datum Line in the territory was \$R.73.9 a month or \$R.885.8 a year. The study concluded that only 7% of the Africans working in towns earn more than \$R.70.

TABLE III

Southern Rhodesian exports: 1965-1973
(in millions of US dollars)

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>
Domestic exports (excluding gold) <u>a/</u>	399	238	238	234	297	346	379	474	640
To reporting countries <u>b/</u>	343	181	96	68	48	50	48	60	63
To S. Africa Customs Union <u>c/</u>	41	60	80	80	85	95	90	100	103
To non-reporting countries	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
To world markets via indirect trade	-	-3	62	86	164	201	241	314	474
Re-exports <u>a/</u>	43	24	17	12	10	8	9	9	12

a/ Southern Rhodesian figures except for 1973 which is an estimate.

b/ 1966-1973: import data, mostly c.i.f., less 10 per cent allowance for freight etc.

c/ 1966-1973: estimates derived from published data for imports of S. Africa Customs Union from "Africa" less exports to S. Africa Customs Union reported by African countries.

TABLE IV

Southern Rhodesian imports: 1965-1973
(in millions of US dollars)

	<u>1965</u> ^{a/}	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>
Imports ^{a/}	334	236	262	290	278	329	395	404	480
From reporting countries ^{b/}	253	79	63	44	15	16	18	19	16
From S. Africa Customs Union ^{c/}	78	110	135	150	155	160	170	165	180
Unspecified origin	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unaccounted for	-	47	64	96	108	153	207	220	284

^{a/} Southern Rhodesian figures except for 1973 which is an estimate.

^{b/} 1966-1973: exports to Southern Rhodesia reported by reporting countries.

^{c/} 1966-1973: estimates derived from published data for S. Africa Customs Union exports to "Africa" less imports from S. Africa Customs Union reported by African countries.

ANNEX I

The Franchise under the 1961 Constitution ^{a/}

Qualifications Common to Both Rolls:

1. Citizenship of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. ^{b/}
2. Twenty-one years of age or over.
3. Two years continuous residence in the Federation and three months residence in the constituency and electoral district concerned immediately preceding application for enrollment.
4. Adequate knowledge of the English language and ability to complete and sign the registration form except in the case of duly appointed chiefs and headmen.
5. The following additional qualifications are required:

"A" Roll

- a. Income of not less than 792 pounds during each of the two years preceeding date of claim for enrollment or ownership of immovable property of value of not less than 1,650 pounds.

Or

- b. (i) Income of not less than 528 pounds during each of two years preceeding date of claim for enrollment or ownership of immovable property of value not less than 1,000 pounds.

And

- (ii) Completion of a course of primary education of prescribed standard (grade 8).

Or

- c. (i) Income of not less than 330 pounds during each of the two year preceeding date of claim for enrollment, or ownership of immovable property of value not less than 550 pounds.

^{a/} See Sections 8, 9, 10, 11, 15 of the Electoral Act, 1961.

^{b/} The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland set up by the British government in 1953 was dissolved in 1963.

Annex I (continued)

And

(ii) Four year's secondary education of prescribed standard.

Or

d. Appointment to the office of chief or headman.

"B" Roll

a. Income at the rate of not less than 264 pounds per annum during the six months preceeding date of claim for enrollment or ownership of immovable property of value not less than 495 pounds.

Or

b. (i) Income at the rate of not less than 132 pounds per annum during the six months preceeding date of claim for enrollment, or ownership of immovable property of value of not less than 275 pounds.

And

(ii) Two years secondary education of prescribed standard.

Or

c. Persons of over thirty years of age with--

(i) Income at the rate of not less than 132 pounds per annum during the six months preceeding the date of claim for enrollment or ownership of immovable property of value not less than 275 pounds.

And

(ii) Completion of a course of primary education of a prescribed standard.

Or

d. Persons over thirty years of age with income at the rate of not less than 198 pounds per annum during the six months preceeding the date of claim for enrollment, or ownership of immovable property of value not less than 385 pounds.

Annex I (continued)

Or

- e. All Kraal heads with a following of twenty or more heads of families.
- f. Ordained ministers of religion with university degree or five years of full-time training or two years training and three years service.

NOTE: Except in the case of wives of chiefs and headmen, a married woman is deemed to have the same qualifications as her husband. But in terms of Section 14 of the Electoral Act, only the first wife under a system permitting polygamy is deemed to have such qualification.

ANNEX II

The Proposed Franchise in the Anglo-Rhodesian Provisional
Agreement of 1971 a/

European Roll and African Higher Roll
Qualifications

- (a) Income at the rate of not less than \$1,800 per annum during the two years preceding date of claim for enrollment, or ownership of immovable property of value of not less than \$3,600.

OR

- (b) (i) Income at the rate of not less than \$1,200 per annum during the two years preceding date of claim for enrollment, or ownership of immovable property of value of not less than \$2,400 and
(ii) four years secondary education of prescribed standard.

African Lower Roll Qualifications

- (a) Income at the rate of not less than \$600 per annum during the two years preceding date of claim for enrollment, or ownership of immovable property of value of not less than \$1,100.

OR

- (b) (i) Income at the rate of not less than \$300 per annum during the two years preceding date of claim for enrollment, or ownership of immovable property of value of not less than \$600; and
(ii) two years' secondary education of prescribed standard.

a/ Rhodesia: Proposals For a Settlement, London, HmsO, November 1971, Cmnd 4835.

Annex II (continued)

OR

- (c) Persons over 30 years of age with-
 - (i) Income at the rate of not less than \$300 per annum during the two years preceding the date of claim for enrollment, or ownership of immovable property of value of not less than \$600; and
 - (ii) completion of a course of primary education of a prescribed standard.

OR

- (d) Persons over 30 years of age with-
 - Income at the rate of not less than \$430 per annum during the two years preceding the date of claim for enrollment, or ownership of immovable property of value of not less than \$800.

OR

- (e) All kraal heads with a following of 20 or more heads of families.

ANNEX III

General Assembly resolution 1747 (XVI) of 28 June 1962

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples,

Having considered, the report on the question of Southern Rhodesia^{a/} submitted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to colonial Countries and Peoples,

Considering that the vast majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia have rejected the Constitution of 6 December 1961,

Deploring the denial of equal political rights and liberties to the vast majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia;

Noting with regret that the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland has not yet taken steps to transfer all powers to the people of Southern Rhodesia, as required under paragraph 5 of resolution 1514 (XV),

Having further considered the evidence submitted by the petitioners before the Special Committee,

1. Approves the conclusions 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 on Southern Rhodesia, and affirms that the Territory of Southern Rhodesia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations;

2. Requests the Administering Authority:

(a) To undertake urgently the convening of a constitutional conference, in which there shall be full participation of representatives of all political parties, for the purpose of formulating a constitution for Southern Rhodesia, in place of the Constitution of 6 December 1961, which would ensure the rights of the majority of the people, on the basis of "one man, one vote", in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, embodied in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 97, document A/5124.

Annex III (continued)

(b) To take immediate steps to restore all rights of the non-European population and remove all restraints and restrictions in law and in practice on the exercise of the freedom of political activity including all laws, ordinances and regulations which directly or indirectly sanction any policy or practice based on racial discrimination;

(c) To grant amnesty to, and ensure the immediate release of, all political prisoners;

3. Requests the Special Committee to continue its constructive efforts towards the earliest implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to Southern Rhodesia in order to ensure its emergence as an independent African State.

ANNEX IV

Security Council resolution 217 (1965) of 20 November 1965

The Security Council,

Deeply concerned about the situation in Southern Rhodesia,

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

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

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

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

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

Annex IV (continued)

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

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

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

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

8. Calls upon all States to refrain from any action which would assist and encourage the illegal régime and, in particular, to desist from providing it with arms, equipment and military material, and to do their utmost in order to break all economic relations with Southern Rhodesia, including an embargo on oil and petroleum products;

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

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

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

ANNEX V

Security Council resolution 232(1966) of 16 December 1966

The Security Council,

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

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

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

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

1. Determines that the present situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security;
2. Decides that all States Members of the United Nations shall prevent:
 - (a) The import into their territories of asbestos, iron ore, chrome, pig-iron, sugar, tobacco, copper, meat and meat products and hides, skins and leather originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of the present resolution;
 - (b) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the export of these commodities from Southern Rhodesia and any dealings by their nationals or in their territories in any of these commodities originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of the present resolution, including in particular any transfer of funds to Southern Rhodesia for the purposes of such activities or dealings;
 - (c) Shipment in vessels or aircraft of their registration of any of these commodities originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of the present resolution;
 - (d) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote the sale or shipment to Southern Rhodesia of arms, ammunition of all types, military aircraft, military vehicles, and

ANNEX V (continued)

equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition in Southern Rhodesia;

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

(f) Participation in their territories or territories under their administration or in land or air transport facilities or by their nationals or vessels of their registration in the supply of oil or oil products to Southern Rhodesia; notwithstanding any contracts entered into or licences granted before the date of the present resolution;

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

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

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

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

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

8. Calls upon States Members of the United Nations or members of the specialized agencies to report to the Secretary-General the measures which each has taken in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 of the present resolution;

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

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