against Arab countries, and take effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. At a later stage, his Government, after having fully assessed the damage sustained, intended to request the Council to take the necessary measures against Israel for full and adequate compensation.\(^{589}\)

At the same meeting, the representative of the Lebanon stated that on 26 December 1968, an Israeli civil airliner, en route to New York on a regular scheduled commercial flight, was attacked with bombs and machine guns in the Athens international airport, by assailants from Beirut. They opened fire indiscriminately with sub-machine guns against the passengers and crew, killing one passenger and seriously wounding a stewardess. The assailants, identifying themselves as Arab commandos, admitted that they had been trained and equipped by a terrorist organization operating out of Beirut, with the full knowledge of the Lebanese Government. Lebanon, however, had undertaken specific obligations towards Israel under the Security Council cease-fire resolution. And any attack against an Israeli civil aircraft, whatever it might be, was as much a violation of the cease-fire as any attacks on Israeli territory "and entitles the Israeli Government to exercise its right of self-defence". Two attacks on Israeli civil aircraft occurring within six months of each other by the same terrorist group demonstrated that their objective was to disrupt Israeli civil aviation without regard for the loss of life, the identity of the victims or for the disruption of international civil aviation in general. On 28 December, an Israeli commando unit landed at Beirut airport and struck at a number of aircraft belonging to Arab airlines parked in the airport. There was no loss of life, and strict precautions were taken as far as possible to avoid damage to non-Arab aircraft. The action was directed solely against the bases from which the terrorists had departed on the previous occasion, and was designed to uphold Israel's basic right to free navigation in the international skies. His delegation hoped that in view of the gravity of the challenge posed to the Council, it might be, was as much a violation of the cease-fire as any attacks on Israeli territory "and entitles the Israeli Government to exercise its right of self-defence". Two attacks on Israeli civil aircraft occurring within six months of each other by the same terrorist group demonstrated that their objective was to disrupt Israeli civil aviation without regard for the loss of life, the identity of the victims or for the disruption of international civil aviation in general. On 28 December, an Israeli commando unit landed at Beirut airport and struck at a number of aircraft belonging to Arab airlines parked in the airport. There was no loss of life, and strict precautions were taken as far as possible to avoid damage to non-Arab aircraft. The action was directed solely against the bases from which the terrorists had departed on the previous occasion, and was designed to uphold Israel's basic right to free navigation in the international skies. His delegation hoped that in view of the gravity of the challenge posed to the Council, it would finally exert its authority and clearly indicate that it can no longer tolerate the continuation of active belligerency and warfare against Israel through the instrumentality of irregular forces and organizations and that it would hold the Arab Governments, including the Government of Lebanon, firmly to their duties under the Charter and under the cease-fire.\(^{581}\)

At the 1461st meeting on 30 December 1968, the representative of Lebanon asserted that his Government could not be held responsible for acts of Palestinian refugees which were committed outside its territory and without its knowledge. At the same time, if Israel felt that Lebanon was responsible, it should have immediately filed a complaint against Lebanon in the Council. As regards Israel's case against Lebanon, his Government could not even be charged with having the intention of committing an act because there was no such intention.\(^{582}\)

The President (Ethiopia) stated that encouraging progress was being made in the extensive consultations that had been taking place among the members of the Council, and it might be possible to agree on a text of a draft resolution that afternoon. In order to further the progress, he proposed that the Council adjourn its meeting until 3 p.m. that afternoon.\(^{583}\)

The Council decided without objection to adjourn the meeting.

At the 1462nd meeting on 31 December 1968, the President stated that after extensive consultation during recent days, the members of the Council had been able to reach agreement on the text of a draft resolution which appeared to command unanimous support.\(^{585}\)

At the same meeting, the draft resolution was put to the vote and was adopted unanimously. It read as follows:\(^{587}\)

"The Security Council,
"Having considered the agenda contained in document S/Agenda/1462,
"Having noted the contents of the letter of the Permanent Representative of Lebanon (S/8945),
"Having noted the supplementary information provided by the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization contained in documents S/7930/Add. 107 and 108;
"Having heard the statements of the representative of Lebanon and of the representative of Israel concerning the grave attack committed against the civil International Airport of Beirut,
"Observing that the military action by the armed forces of Israel against the civil International Airport of Beirut was premeditated and of a large scale and carefully planned nature,
"Gravely concerned about the deteriorating situation resulting from this violation of the Security Council resolutions,
"Deeply concerned about the need to assure free uninterrupted international civil air traffic,
"1. Condemns Israel for its premeditated military action in violation of its obligations under the Charter and the cease-fire resolutions;
"2. Considers that such premeditated acts of violence endanger the maintenance of the peace;
"3. Issues a solemn warning to Israel that if such acts were to be repeated, the Council would have to consider further steps to give effect to its decisions;
"4. Considers that Lebanon is entitled to appropriate redress for the destruction it suffered, responsibility for which has been acknowledged by Israel."

THE QUESTION OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA

INITIAL PROCEEDINGS

By letter dated 24 January 1968 to the President of the Security Council, the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic

\(^{580}\) 1460th meeting (PV), pp. 6-12.
\(^{581}\) 1460th meeting (PV), pp. 12-15, 16-27.
\(^{582}\) 1461st meeting (PV), pp. 10, 11-16.
\(^{583}\) 1461st meeting (PV), p. 98.
\(^{584}\) 1461st meeting (PV), p. 98.
\(^{585}\) 1462nd meeting (PV), pp. 2-5.
\(^{586}\) 1462nd meeting (PV), p. 7.
\(^{587}\) Resolution 262 (1968).
\(^{588}\) S/8335.
Republic of), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia referred to resolutions 2145 (XXI), 2324 (XXII) and 2325 (XXII) of the General Assembly, and requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the question of South West Africa. This question, it was stated, had assumed "a most serious and urgent dimension" following the decision of the Government of South Africa to resume the "illegal" trial at Pretoria of thirty-five South West Africans in violation of their rights and of the international status of the Territory of South West Africa, and in persistent defiance of General Assembly resolutions on the question. It was noted particularly that the General Assembly, in its resolution 2324 (XXII), had condemned the illegal arrest, deportation and trial at Pretoria of the aforementioned South West Africans, and had called upon the Government of South Africa to discontinue forthwith their illegal trial and to release and repatriate them. The Member States, submitting the letter, urged the Security Council to take immediately effective and appropriate measures to ensure that the Government of South Africa complied with the General Assembly resolutions, and discontinued forthwith the illegal trial and released and repatriated the thirty-five South West Africans concerned. The representatives of Ceylon, Cyprus, Japan and Tunisia subsequently associated themselves with this request.

At the 1387th meeting on 25 January 1968, before the adoption of the agenda, the President stated in reply to a point of order raised by the representative of Algeria on the question of credentials, that he would ask the Secretary-General to provide the Council with information on recent practice of the Council in regard to the credentials of all Council members. The Council then proceeded to include the question in the agenda.

The question was considered at the 1387th meeting and at the 1390th to 1397th meetings, held from 25 January to 14 March 1968. The representative of Nigeria and, subsequently, those of Chile, Colombia, Guyana, Indonesia, Nigeria, Turkey, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zambia were invited to participate in the discussion.

At the 1387th meeting, the representative of Algeria stated that in calling for an urgent meeting of the Security Council on the question of South West Africa, the delegations of Africa and Asia showed their concern for the activities carried out by the South African authorities on a Territory over which they no longer had the power of legal administration. After recalling that the General Assembly had decided to assume direct responsibility for South West Africa, and had established the United Nations Council for South West Africa, he observed that South Africa had refused to recognize, on the one hand, the abrogation of the mandate which it had earlier held, and, on the other hand, the authority of the United Nations Council for South West Africa. This was only a new version of the "contempt" that the South African authorities had always shown towards the United Nations. Their illegal arrest of thirty-five nationals of South West Africa violated the decision of the General Assembly. In point of fact, the inhabitants of South West Africa no longer came under the law or the authority of South Africa. The capital punishment with which those prisoners were threatened was meant to be the final test of the weakness of the United Nations. The lives of those thirty-five persons were in danger and they had to be protected because they constituted a trust that must be exercised by the United Nations. The Security Council should therefore take the necessary measures to secure their immediate release and allow them to return to their homes. Practical and concrete measures must also be devised to permit the United Nations fully and constantly to carry out its duties in the long run, and to lead South West Africa to total independence. The Security Council should reaffirm its authority and meet resolutely the deliberate challenge by the South African authorities.

**Decision of 25 January 1968 (1378th meeting):**

(i) Condemning the refusal of the Government of South Africa to comply with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2324 (XXII);

(ii) Calling upon the Government of South Africa to discontinue forthwith the illegal trial at Pretoria of thirty-five South West Africans, and to release and repatriate the defendants concerned;

(iii) Inviting all States to exert their influence in order to induce the Government of South Africa to comply with the provisions of the resolution.

At the 1387th meeting, the President (Pakistan) stated that as a result of the informal consultations on the course to be followed by the Council in connexion with the question of South West Africa before it, a general agreement had been reached on the text of a draft resolution which he read out to the Council.

At the same meeting, the Council adopted unanimously the draft resolution as read by the President of the Council.

The resolution read:

"The Security Council,

"Taking note of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, by which it terminated South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa and decided, inter alia, that South Africa has no right to administer the Territory and that henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations,

"Taking note further of General Assembly resolution 2324 (XXII) of 16 December 1967, in which the Assembly condemned the illegal arrest, deportation and trial at Pretoria of thirty-seven South West Africans, as a flagrant violation by the Government of South

..."
Deprivation of March 1968 (1397th meeting):

"Gravely concerned that the Government of South Africa has ignored world public opinion so overwhelmingly expressed in General Assembly resolution 2324 (XXII) by refusing to discontinue this illegal trial and to release and repatriate the South West Africans concerned,

"Taking into consideration the letter of 23 January 1968 from the President of the United Nations Council for South West Africa (S/8353),

"Noting with great concern that the trial is being held under arbitrary laws whose application has been illegally extended to the Territory of South West Africa in defiance of General Assembly resolutions,

"Mindful of the grave consequences of the continued illegal application of these arbitrary laws by the Government of South Africa to the Territory of South West Africa,

"Conscious of the special responsibilities of the United Nations towards the people and the Territory of South West Africa,

"1. Condemns the refusal of the Government of South Africa to comply with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2324 (XXII);

"2. Calls upon the Government of South Africa to discontinue forthwith this illegal trial and to release and repatriate the South West Africans concerned;

"3. Invites all States to exert their influence in order to induce the Government of South Africa to comply with the provisions of the present resolution;

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of the present resolution and to report thereon to the Security Council at the earliest possible date;

"5. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter."

Decision of 14 March 1968 (1397th meeting):

(i) Censuring the Government of South Africa for its flagrant defiance of Security Council resolution 245 (1968) as well as of the authority of the United Nations of which South Africa is a Member;

(ii) Demanding that the Government of South Africa forthwith release and repatriate the South West Africans concerned;

(iii) Calling upon Members of the United Nations to co-operate with the Security Council, in pursuance of their obligations under the Charter, in order to obtain compliance by the Government of South Africa with the provisions of the present resolution;

(iv) Urging Member States who are in a position to contribute to the implementation of the present resolution to assist the Security Council in order to obtain compliance by the Government of South Africa with the provisions of the present resolution;

(v) Deciding that in the event of failure on the part of the Government of South Africa to comply with the provisions of the present resolution, the Security Council will meet immediately to determine upon effective steps or measures in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations

By letter dated 12 February 1968 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representatives of Chile, Colombia, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Turkey, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zambia, members of the United Nations Council for South West Africa, referred to Security Council resolution 245 (1968) and requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation resulting from the continuation of the illegal trial of thirty-four South West Africans, and the sentences on thirty-three of them in defiance of General Assembly resolution 2324 (XXII) and Security Council resolution 245 (1968).

By letter dated 12 February 1968, the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Upper Volta and Yemen supported the request to convene an urgent meeting of the Security Council made by the representatives of the eleven members of the United Nations Council for South West Africa. The representatives of Congo (Brazzaville), Jamaica, Madagascar, Singapore and Somalia subsequently associated themselves with this request.

At the 1391st meeting on 16 February 1968, the Security Council included both letters in its agenda, and considered the question at the 1391st to 1397th meetings, held from 16 February to 14 March 1968. The representatives of Chile, Colombia, Guyana, Indonesia, Nigeria, Turkey, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zambia were invited to participate in the discussion. At the 1391st meeting, the representative of Pakistan stated that the Security Council had a clear duty to condemn the Government of South Africa for its defiance of the resolution 245 (1968). South Africa should be called upon to revoke immediately the sentences it had passed on the South West Africans concerned, and to release and repatriate them without delay. Members requesting the meetings as well as other members who supported their request and Member States in general hoped that the Security Council would take early and effective action to deal with the situation created by the defiance by South Africa of the Council resolution, and that all Member States, under the obligation they have assumed in accordance with the Charter to respect and give effect to the decisions of the Council, and in particular those Members which maintained relations with South Africa, would use all their influence to make South Africa comply with the obligations of its United Nations membership. The Security Council should further emphasize that continued refusal by South Africa to implement the resolution of the Security Council would oblige the latter to take more drastic steps envisaged in the Charter in order to secure compliance. To this end, the Secretary-General should
be requested to follow closely the implementation of any action the Council may take, and to report by a specified early date. The Council should remain actively seized of the matter. It was the view of the Government of Pakistan that the Government of South Africa would not see reason except by the adoption by the Council of enforcement measures envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter. 408

The representative of Senegal held that the sentence passed on the thirty-three South African nationals by the Supreme Court of Pretoria amply proved that the South African authorities did not intend to honour their obligations under the Charter. This illegal sentence had quite rightly aroused the indignation of the international community. The Security Council, in the face of South African defiance, should act speedily and effectively. It should appeal to South Africa to set free the political prisoners. But it must go further and demand from the Government of South Africa that it heed United Nations decisions. If such demands were ignored, the Security Council should resort to enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. The great Powers, which have special responsibilities under the Charter, must co-operate in ensuring that the Council's decisions were respected. South Africa would then understand that Member States were prepared to act in unison to enable the United Nations to administer South West Africa effectively and to assist the people of that territory to accede to independence. 409

The representative of Ethiopia observed that it was obvious that in refusing to abide by Security Council resolution 245 (1968), the Government of South Africa had in fact refused to carry out a specific decision of the Security Council. Thus any action which the Council would contemplate should be based on the recognition of the fact that what was involved were the provisions of Article 25 of the Charter. The Council should therefore consider the possibility of invoking more effective action on the basis of Article 25 to ascertain that South Africa carried out the provisions of Security Council resolution 245 (1968). 410

In the view of the representative of Algeria, an alternative open for the Council's future action was the adoption of provisional measures under Article 40 of the United Nations Charter. The Security Council should eventually make full use of the enforcement possibilities enshrined in the Charter. In this connexion, special attention should be paid to measures which, in the first stage, could support preventive action while contributing to the creation of conditions indispensable for long-term action. And as to the latter, it would be necessary to be mindful of the provisions of Article 5 of the Charter, whose long-term effects would enable the Organization to pave the way towards a solution by which direct responsibilities over the Territory of South West Africa would be assumed by the United Nations. 411

At the 1394th meeting on 29 February 1968, the President (Paraguay) informed the Security Council that a draft resolution 407 had been submitted by the delegations of Algeria, Brazil, Ethiopia, India, Pakistan, Paraguay and Senegal. Under the seven-Power draft resolution, the Security Council would, inter alia, censure the Government of South Africa for its defiance of the Security Council resolution 245 (1968) and of the authority of the United Nations; demand that the Government of South Africa forthwith release and repatriate the South West Africans concerned; call upon Member States to co-operate with the Security Council, in fulfilment of their obligations under the Charter, to ensure compliance by the Government of South Africa with the present resolution; and decide that in the event of failure on the part of South Africa to comply with the present resolution, which "will be in violation of Article 25 of the Charter", it would meet immediately to decide on the application of effective measures as envisaged in the Charter.

The representative of the United Kingdom, after referring to the joint draft resolution and to previous discussions on the desirability of consultations, moved that the Council adjourn to allow for further consultations among members. 408

In the absence of objection to the motion, the President adjourned the meeting 409 with an appeal that the proposed informal consultations be undertaken with urgency.

When the Council met again at the 1395th meeting on 4 March 1968, the representative of Pakistan introduced the seven-Power draft resolution, and commented on its provisions, including that which envisaged more effective measures to be taken by the Council in case of failure by the Government of South Africa to implement the provisions of that joint resolution which, under the draft resolution, was a violation of Article 25 of the Charter. He noted in this connexion that it was obviously for the Security Council itself to decide what particular course of action to take under the Charter. The sponsors of the draft, however, were convinced that, in that event, the Council should not exclude from its consideration the application of appropriate measures under Chapter VII and other Articles of the Charter which were relevant to situations in which a Member State had persistently violated the principles of the Charter. The draft resolution was nevertheless couched in terms which its sponsors believed would not necessarily bind any member of the Security Council in advance to action under Chapter VII of the Charter. 410

At the 1397th meeting on 14 March 1968, the President (Senegal) stated that, after many consultations with Council members, he was in a position to put before it a text of a draft resolution 411 on which he believed there could be a unanimous vote. 412

At the same meeting, the draft resolution was adopted unanimously. 413 The resolution 414 read:

"The Security Council,

"Recalling its Resolution 245 (1968) of 25 January 1968, by which it unanimously condemned the refusal
the implementation of the present resolution and to
the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2324
with the illegal trial and to release and repatriate the
XXI) of 27 October 1966 by which the
the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa
assumed direct responsibility for the Territory
South Africa to comply with
Council will meet immediately to determine upon
compliance by the Government of South Africa with
their obligations under the Charter, in order to
their provisions of General Assembly
Council resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,
Member States shall fulfil all their
South Africa has failed to comply with Security
Council's urgency to consider the grave threat to
peace which has been brought about by a series of
increasingly dangerous and aggressive military actions by
North Korean authorities in violation of the Armistice
Agreement, of international law and of the Charter of
the United Nations". In the letter, it was further stated
that, on 23 January, North Korea had "wilfully com-
mited an act of wanton lawlessness" against a naval vessel
of the United States. The USS Pueblo, while operating
in international waters, had been illegally seized by
armed North Korean vessels, and the ship and crew were
still under forcible detention by North Korean author-
ities. This North Korean action against a United States
naval vessel on the high seas, and the series of North
Korean armed raids across the demilitarized zone into
the Republic of Korea had created a grave and dangerous
situation which required the urgent consideration of the
Security Council.

At the 1388th meeting on 26 January 1968, the Council
decided, after objections had been made, to include the
question in its agenda. The question was considered
by the Council at its 1388th and 1389th meetings, held
on 26 and 27 January 1968, respectively.

Decision of 27 January 1968 (1389th meeting):
Adjournment

At the 1388th meeting on 26 January 1968, the repre-
sentative of the United States stated that a virtually
unarmed vessel of the United States, sailing on the high
seas, had been seized on 23 January 1968 by armed
North Korean patrol boats, and her crew forcibly
detained. Such a "warlike action" carried an obvious
danger to peace. Besides, a party of armed raiders
infiltrated from North Korea had been intercepted when
they invaded the South Korean capital city of Seoul
with the admitted assignment of assassinating the Pre-
sident of the Republic of Korea. That event climaxed
a campaign by the North Korean authorities, over the past
eighteen months, of steadily growing infiltration, sabotage
and terrorism in flagrant violation of the Korean Armi-
stice Agreement of 1953. Both lines of action, which
stemmed from North Korea, were aimed against peace
and security in Korea, violating the United Nations
Charter and international law. These grave developments
were brought to the attention of the Security Council in
the hope that the Council, which had the primary
responsibility for the maintenance of international peace
and security, would act promptly to remove the danger
they constituted to international peace and security.

Chapter VIII. Maintenance of international peace and security

REPORT THEREON TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL NOT LATER THAN 31 MARCH 1968;
"7. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter."

COMPLAINT BY THE UNITED STATES

(Pueblo incident)

INITIAL PROCEEDINGS

By letter dated 25 January 1968 addressed to the
President of the Security Council, the representative
of the United States requested that a Council meeting
be urgently convened to consider "the grave threat to
peace which has been brought about by a series of
increasingly dangerous and aggressive military actions by
North Korean authorities in violation of the Armistice
Agreement, of international law and of the Charter of
the United Nations". In the letter, it was further stated
that, on 23 January, North Korea had "wilfully com-
mited an act of wanton lawlessness" against a naval vessel
of the United States. The USS Pueblo, while operating
in international waters, had been illegally seized by
armed North Korean vessels, and the ship and crew were
still under forcible detention by North Korean author-
ities. This North Korean action against a United States
naval vessel on the high seas, and the series of North
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they invaded the South Korean capital city of Seoul
with the admitted assignment of assassinating the Pre-
sident of the Republic of Korea. That event climaxed
a campaign by the North Korean authorities, over the past
eighteen months, of steadily growing infiltration, sabotage
and terrorism in flagrant violation of the Korean Armi-
stice Agreement of 1953. Both lines of action, which
stemmed from North Korea, were aimed against peace
and security in Korea, violating the United Nations
Charter and international law. These grave developments
were brought to the attention of the Security Council in
the hope that the Council, which had the primary
responsibility for the maintenance of international peace
and security, would act promptly to remove the danger
they constituted to international peace and security.

616 1388th meeting (PV), pp. 16-20.