



Foreign & Commonwealth Office

Research Analysts Paper

Vetoed Draft Resolutions in the United Nations Security Council 1946-2015¹

This paper records draft resolutions vetoed in the Security Council between 1946 and 2015. It is preceded by a short account of the way the veto has been used by the Council's five Permanent Members: China, France, Russia (the Soviet Union until 1991), the United Kingdom and the United States.

¹ Correct at 15 September 2015

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Vetoed Draft Resolutions in the United Nations Security Council 1946–2015

Summary

This paper and its annexes give (a) short description of the 'veto'; (b) how the veto has been used by the five Permanent Members of the Security Council (China, France, the Russian Federation [Soviet Union until December 1991], the UK and the US) since 1946; and (c) a reference table recording draft resolutions vetoed in the Security Council between 1946 and August 2015.

The Veto and Its Use

Any of the five Permanent Members can prevent a draft resolution being adopted in the Security Council, except when the resolution is restricted to procedural matters, by casting a negative vote. For the purpose of this paper, every public negative vote of a Permanent Member on a substantive issue is counted as a veto if a sufficient number of Security Council members have voted for the resolution (there had to be 7 positive votes out of 11 until 1965 and 9 out of 15 from 1966 onwards), including those parts of draft resolutions and on amendments. Negative votes cast by Permanent Members do not count as vetoes if the resolution does not attract the required number of positive votes. The only exceptions are those cast against parts of draft resolutions which are subsequently vetoed as a whole.

The number of vetoed resolutions does not coincide with the total number of vetoes cast as more than one member can veto the same resolution. Some vetoes were not related directly to the text of the draft resolution but were used to decide whether an issue was procedural or not. This is sometimes called the "double veto". Vetoes made during closed sessions of the Security Council and dealing with the Secretary General's election have not been put in the list as details of these are usually not made public. In his memoirs, Trygve Lie states that the Soviet Union used the veto in October 1950 against his reappointment and against the appointment of Lester Pearson in March 1953. Vetoes were also cast in both December 1961 and December 1981 before, respectively, U Thant and Perez de Cuellar became UN Secretary General. The United States also cast a veto in November 1996 against the appointment of Boutros Boutros-Ghali for a second term as Secretary General, which they themselves publicised.

The current (end of August 2015) veto totals are as follows:

Russia (Soviet Union) 127
United States 83
United Kingdom 30
France 18
China 11

Recent Use of the Veto: 1996-2015

The number of vetoes declined 1996-2015, in comparison to preceding periods (see [Annex A](#)). During this period, in which neither the UK nor France vetoed a resolution, the distribution of vetoes was: US 13, China 8 and Russia 11.

The overwhelming majority of US vetoes continued to relate to Israel/Palestine. In 1997, the US vetoed two resolutions on the Israel/Palestine question (199, 200). The first, voted for by all other members of the Security Council, confirmed that all measures taken by Israel purporting to alter the status of Jerusalem were invalid and called on Israel, the occupying power, to abide scrupulously by the 1949 Geneva Convention. The second demanded Israel cease construction of a settlement in East Jerusalem as well as other Israeli settlement activities in the occupied territories. The US vetoed two further resolutions on the situation in the Middle East in 2001 (202, 203), one in 2002 (205), two in 2003 (206, 207), two in 2004 (208, 210) two in 2006 (211, 212) and one in 2011 (216). Before 2011, the US asserted in each case that the proposed resolution was unbalanced in its criticism of Israel, that it failed to include a robust condemnation of terrorism and/or that it would not further the goals of peace and security in the region. In 2011, however, the US emphasised that it rejected the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlement activity. It defended its veto by saying that peace could only be achieved through the resumption of direct negotiations and that the proposed resolution could encourage the parties to stay out of negotiations and rely on the Security Council to resolve any impasse. The US was the sole Permanent Member to veto these resolutions although in most cases at least one other SC member abstained.

The only US veto during this period which did not relate to Israel/Palestine was a June 2002 veto to extend the mandate of UN and multinational peacekeeping missions in Bosnia (204). The US cited the absence of a clause guaranteeing immunity from prosecution before the International Criminal Court for US personnel serving under UN auspices.

China demonstrated its concern over the campaign by Taiwan to be recognised as an independent state by vetoing a resolution (198) in January 1997 authorising military observers to help monitor the Guatemalan peace agreements. The Chinese took exception to the fact that Guatemala had allowed Taiwan to take part in the signing of the peace agreement. Likewise, China vetoed a further resolution (201) in February 1999 in relation to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), which had recognised Taiwan. The resolution would have extended the mandate of the UN's mission in FYROM, UNPREDEP. China argued that UNPREDEP had successfully achieved its mission and that there was no need for its continued existence.

Russia's first veto in the period came with its rejection in 2004 of a draft resolution on the situation in Cyprus (209). The resolution would have approved the mandate of a new UN operation in Cyprus and introduced an arms embargo. Russia argued that the Security Council should not adopt a resolution before the results of Cyprus' 2004 referendum were known.

In 2007, both China and Russia vetoed a draft resolution tabled by the US and UK on the situation in Burma (213). The resolution would have expressed support for the Secretary-General's good offices mission; and called on Burma's government to cease military attacks against civilians and begin a political dialogue leading to democratic transition. In vetoing the draft resolution, China cited its support for ASEAN's leading role. Both China

and Russia argued that the Burma issue was mainly the internal affair of a sovereign state, which did not constitute a threat to international or regional peace and security.

This position was echoed in China's and Russia's vetoes in July 2008 of a draft resolution which would have imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe. Russia described the resolution as an effort by the Council to act beyond its Charter powers; Zimbabwe was not a threat to international peace and security and the resolution would have been an illegitimate interference in the affairs of a sovereign state. Both China and Russia cited African Union opposition to sanctions. China also stated that Zimbabwe did not represent a threat to regional security.

In 2009 Russia vetoed a resolution to extend the mandate of the 16 year United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG). The resolution (215) would have extended the mandate of the mission by 2 weeks. The Russian representative argued that the mandate of the mission had been based on old realities not the existing situation and had in effect expired with the Georgian aggression in South Ossetia in August 2008. The most recent Secretary-General's report had stated that the ceasefire in the region had been eroded and the local population were in a precarious situation. The veto ended the 16 year old mission.

The conflict in Syria prompted the vetoing by Russia and China of three draft resolutions in ten months. The first veto was cast in October 2011. The Russian Federation argued that their rival draft resolution was more suited to an outcome based on dialogue and said that "The situation in Syria cannot be considered in the Council separately from the Libyan experience", criticising how NATO had interpreted resolutions in that situation. The Chinese argued that the draft resolution focussed excessively on exerting pressure, rather than facilitating the easing of the situation. Both opposed the proposed sanctions.

Russia and China vetoed a further two resolutions on Syria during 2012. In February, Russia justified their veto by arguing that the draft sent a biased signal to Syrian authorities by focussing too much criticism on the Syrian State. Russia had proposed amendments that called for an end to attacks on State institutions and neighbourhoods. Both China and Russia had proposed more support for the work of the League of Arab States and China also held that "pressuring the Syrian Government for a prejudged result of the dialogue or to impose any solution will not help resolve the Syrian issue."

In July 2012, another resolution on Syria was defeated (Pakistan and South Africa abstained). Russia defended its veto by explaining its concerns that the draft resolution would open the way for sanctions and military intervention. China again criticised the draft for being unbalanced in putting pressure on one party (the Syrian government) and repeated its respect for Syria's sovereignty and called for a political solution. China also said that the draft undermined and disrupted the mediation undertaken by the Joint Special Envoy, Kofi Annan.

In May 2014 the most recent attempt to pass a resolution on Syria was again vetoed by Russia and China. This resolution would have referred the situation in Syria to the ICC. Both Russia and China justified their vetoes on the basis that they believed a referral to the ICC would make a political solution more difficult. China also noted historical concerns regarding referring situations to the ICC, in light of risks to sovereignty of state and principle of complementarity. Russia suggested the resolution might be a 'Western' attempt to provoke an armed response against Syria.

In July 2015 there were two Russian vetoes (the first time that they had vetoed twice in one calendar month since January 1980). On 8th July they blocked a resolution commemorating the 20th anniversary of the genocide at Srebrenica, and on 29th July they blocked the establishment of an international tribunal designed to ensure accountability for the downing of Malaysian Airlines flight MH17. In the case of the former, Russia argued that it would not help reconciliation. They also refused to accept that the events at Srebrenica amounted to genocide. In the latter case, the Russians justified their vote by questioning the impartiality of the JIT (Joint Investigation Team – Netherlands, Australia, Malaysia, Belgium and Ukraine) and dismissing the proposed tribunal on MH17 as premature.

Conclusions²

The Western ability to influence the Security Council without much recourse to the veto is perhaps the most noticeable factor during the first two decades of Security Council vetoes. The next two and a half decades (up to May 1990) were dominated by developing countries' attempts, in an enlarged Security Council, to get changes from the Western powers on issues of concern to them (particularly Southern Africa and Palestine). In this they were reasonably successful – Namibia became independent in 1990 and the changes in South Africa have now taken place. There have been no vetoes on Southern Africa since March 1988. The US, France and the UK kept in step on Southern Africa between 1974 and 1981. There were no vetoes 1982–1985: the subsequent seven vetoes on this subject cast between 1985 and 1988 were only cast by the UK and the US.

On Palestine, the long standing divergences between the Permanent Members remain. Between 1972 and 1997 inclusive, the UK and France voted the same way as China and the Soviet Union/Russia, and the opposite way to the US, on almost 80% of Middle East resolutions. Since 1997 the US has vetoed 10 draft resolutions on Middle East issues. The Russian Federation and China have voted in favour of all of these, France has abstained on one (in 2001) and voted in favour of the others and the UK has abstained on eight and voted in favour of two (one in 2002 and one in 2011).

The, to that point, unprecedented two-year period (1991–2) when no vetoes were cast reflected the improved cooperation between the Permanent Members (most notably demonstrated by the Security Council's response to the Gulf War); the ending of East-West antagonism; and the developing countries' achievement of some of their political aims on Southern Africa and, as it seemed at the time, Palestine. Similar periods in which no vetoes have been cast (September 1995-January 1997, March 1997-February 1999 and October 2004-July 2006) reinforce this overall trend. Cooperation has allowed contentious issues to be resolved before resolutions are drafted and votes taken.

The trends of veto use by each Permanent Member 1946-2014 are displayed in Figure 2. Overall, the use of the veto has dropped substantially since 1985. This is particularly apparent in the case of Russia, which has cast a relatively high number of vetoes (127 – see Figure 1) because of its extensive use of the veto during the Security Council's first decade. China has exercised its veto powers least: only eleven times to date. But China has begun to wield the veto much more in recent years; five out of the eleven were cast since 2007. And in that same period, China and Russia have often cast their vetoes

² This conclusion is drawn from recent and historical use (see Annex B)

together, with the following exceptions: Russia's veto on Georgia in 2009, the referendum on Crimea in 2014, the Srebrenica commemoration in July 2015 and the MH17 Tribunal, also in July 2015 (with China abstaining on each occasion). In recent years, China and Russia have cited concerns at the broadening of the Security Council's role and what they deemed to be interference in states' internal affairs to justify their use of the veto in some instances. Over the past twenty years the US has remained the most frequent user with its veto of thirteen draft resolutions on Israel/Palestine between May 1995 and February 2011 continuing a long tradition of US support for Israel on this issue. But it is now nearly five years since a US veto and the Russians are catching up with 11 since 1995. France and the UK have not vetoed a draft resolution since 1989.

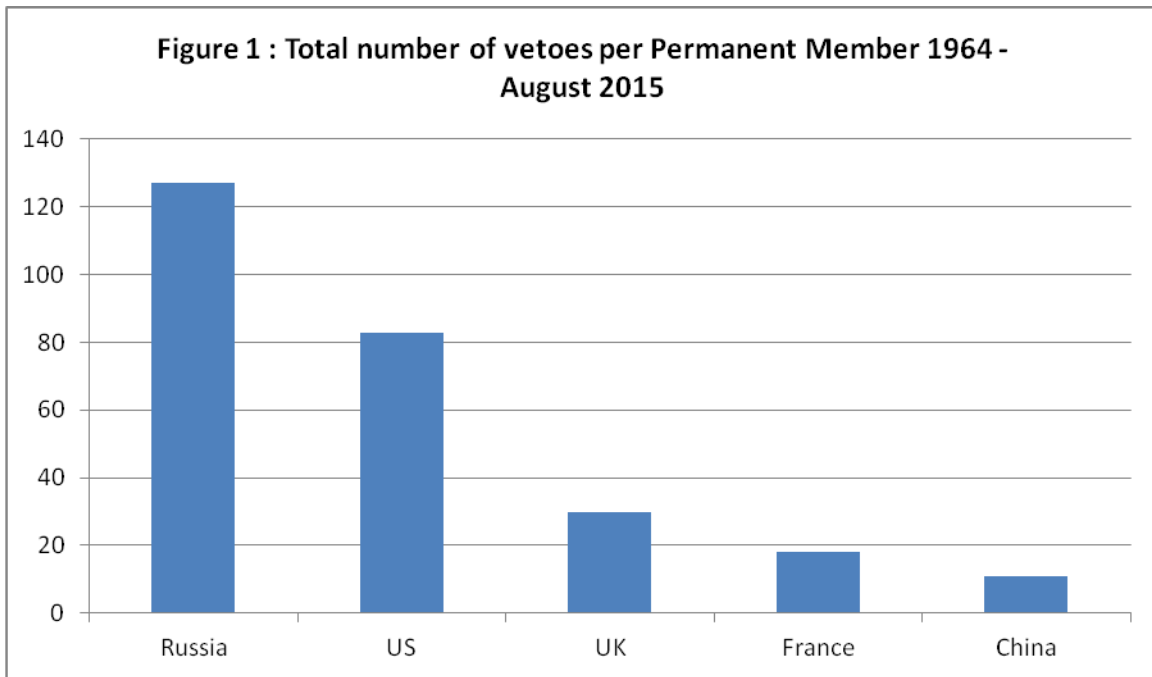


Figure 2: Permanent Members' veto use 1946 – August 2015

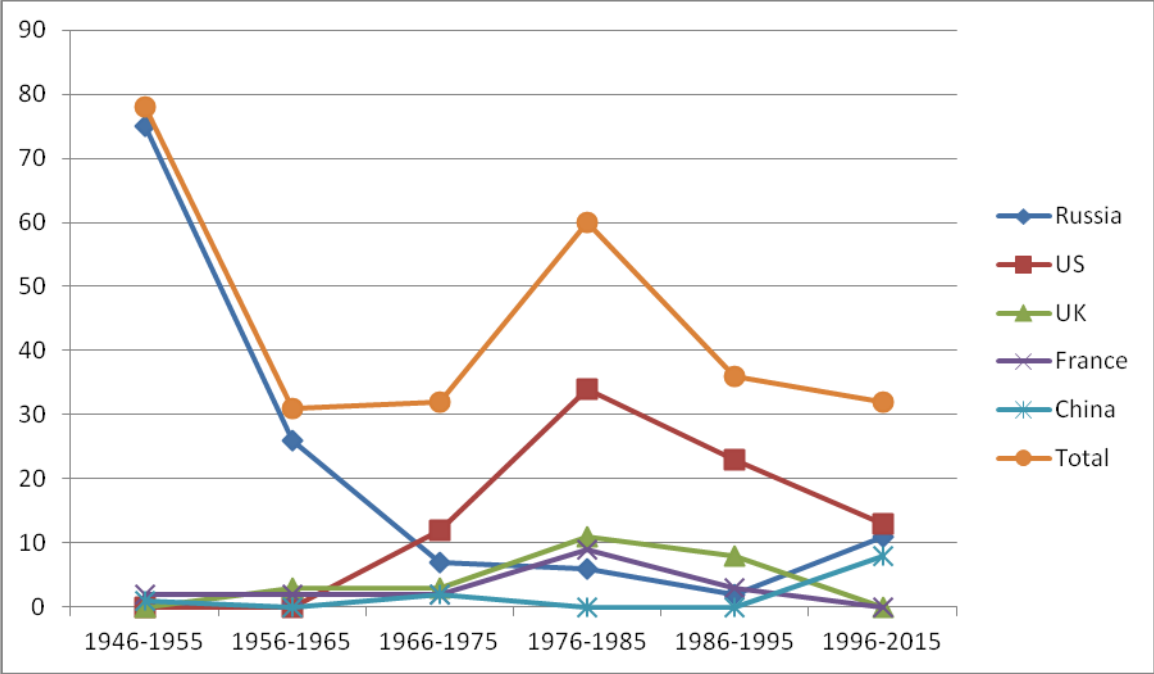


Table of Vetoes (UN website containing drafts texts, [here](#). See [Annex B](#), for detailed explanation of each heading)

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meeting	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
1	16/02/46 UN YB P 343	23	French and United Kingdom troops in Syria and Lebanon	/... expressed confidence that foreign troops would be withdrawn as soon as practicable and that negotiations to that end would be undertaken without delay	France and the United Kingdom as parties to the dispute, did not participate in the vote		USSR 1	7-2 Poland
2	18/06/46 UN YB P 348	47	The Spanish question	/...approved the recommendation of the Sub-Committee that (a) the Security Council endorse the principles declared by the United States and United Kingdom and France, and (b) recommend to the General Assembly that (unless the Franco regime were drawn) Member States be encouraged to terminate diplomatic relations, and (c) that the Secretary-General communicate these recommendation to members	(a) 10-1, (b) 9-1-1, (c) 9-1-1, were originally voted on independently but a fourth vote was taken on the recommendations as a whole		USSR 2	9-1-1 Netherlands
3	26/06/46 UN YB P350	49	The Spanish question	/... resolved to keep the situation in Spain under continuous observation			USSR 3	9-2 Poland
4	26/06/46 See remarks	49	The Spanish question		Votes cast for or against the President's ruling that United Kingdom/ Australia amendment was		France 1 USSR 4	8-2-1 Poland

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
					procedural. Defeat for this ruling turned the vote which Soviet Union had already cast against the amendment into a veto, Number 3 above			
5	26/06/46 UN YB P 351	49	The Spanish question	/... resolved that Security Council resolution did not prejudice rights of the General Assembly			USSR 5	9-2 Poland
6	29/08/46 UN YB P 420	57	Application for membership for Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan				USSR 6	8-2 Poland -1 Australia
7	29/08/46 UN YB P 420	57	Application for membership for Ireland				USSR 7	9-1-1 Australia
8	29/08/46 UN YB P 420	57	Application for membership for Portugal				USSR 8	8-2 Poland -1 Australia
9	20/09/46 UN YB P 358	70	Ukrainian complaint against Greece	/... resolved that Security Council establish a commission to investigate the border incidents along the frontier between Greece on the one hand, and Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the other		"Acting under Article 34 of the Charter" ... in operative paragraph	USSR 9	8-2 Poland -1 Australia
10	25/03/47	122	Incidents	/...found that the minefield existed with	United Kingdom,		USSR	7-2

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	UN YB P 393		concerning an unnotified minefield in the Corfu Channel	knowledge and connivance of Albanian Government	as party to the dispute, did not participate in the vote		10	Poland -1 Syria
11	29/07/47 UN YB P 344-345	170	Greek frontier incidents/...	/... recommend that the Governments of Greece, and of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia refrain from any support of elements in neighbouring countries aiming at overthrowing their lawful governments and that the Security Council establish a commission		“ Finds that a dispute exists, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security”... in operative paragraphs	USSR 11	9-2 Poland
12	18/08/47 UN YB P 481	186	Application for membership for Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan				USSR 12	9-1-1 Poland
13	18/08/47 UN YB P 481	186	Application for membership for Ireland				USSR 13	9-1-1 Poland
14	18/08/47 UN YB P 481	186	Application for membership for Portugal				USSR 14	9-2 Poland
15	19/08/47 S/471 S/471 Add.1	188	Greek frontier incidents	/... determined that situation was a threat to peace and called for negotiations		“a threat to the peace under Article 39”,... “directs, in accordance with Article 40”... operative	USSR 15	9-2 Poland

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
						paragraphs 1 and 3		
16	19/08/47 S/486	188	Greek frontiers incidents	/... found that Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia had assisted guerrillas in Greece and called on them to desist		“ Determines that such assistance... constitutes a threat to the peace within the meaning of Chapter VII of the Charter”... operative paragraph 2	USSR 16	9-2 Poland
17	21/08/47 UN YB P 482-483	186	Application for membership for Italy	/... recommended that Italy be admitted to membership at such time and under such conditions as the General Assembly may deem appropriate			USSR 17	9-1-1 Poland
18	21/08/47 UN YB P 483-484	190	Application for membership for Austria	/... recommended that Austria be admitted to membership at such time and under such conditions as the General Assembly may deem appropriate			USSR 18	8-1-2 Poland France
19	25/08/47 Amendment to S/513	194	The Indonesian question : hostilities between forces of the Netherlands and Republic of Indonesia	/... established commission to supervise fulfilment of SCR 27 (1947)			France 2	7-2 Belgium -2 China UK
20	15/09/47 S/552	202	Greek frontier incidents: relating to Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria	/... requested General Assembly to consider the dispute			USSR 19	9-2 Poland

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
21	15/09/47 S/552	202	Greek frontier incidents: relating to Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria	/... declared this proposal procedural			USSR 20	9-2 Poland
22	01/10/47 UN YB P 485-6	206	Application for membership for Italy				USSR 21	9-2 Poland
23	01/10/47 UN YB P 486	206	Application for membership for Finland				USSR 22	9-2 Poland
24	10/04/48 UN YB P486-7	279	Application for membership for Italy		No vote was taken on Transjordan since delegates stated that their earlier positions had not changed		USSR 23	9-2 Poland
25	24/05/48 UN YB P457	303	The Czechoslovak questions: alleged threat to Czech independence from threat of force by Soviet Union	/... declared resolution substantive			USSR 24	8-2 Ukraine -1 France
26	24/05/48 UN YB P 457	303	The Czechoslovak questions: alleged threat to Czech independence	/... resolved to appoint sub-committee to hear evidence		... "in accordance with Articles 34 and 35 of the Charter, to the situation in Czechoslovakia	USSR 25	9-2 Ukraine

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
			from threat of force by Soviet Union			which may endanger international peace and security..." in preamble		
27	22/06/48 S/836	325	Reports of the UN Atomic Energy Commission	/... accepted reports as basis for system of international control of atomic energy			USSR 26	9-2 Ukraine
28	18/08/48 UN YB P 488	351	Application for membership for Ceylon		Vote taken on an oral proposal by China that Ceylon be admitted to UN membership		USSR 27	9-2 Ukraine
29	25/10/48 S/1048	372	The situation in Berlin	/... asked 4 governments with responsibilities for removal of certain restrictions and to arrange for unification of currency		"acting in accordance with Article 40 of the Charter"... in preamble	USSR 28	9-2 Ukraine
30	15/12/48	384	Application for membership for Ceylon				USSR 29	9-2 Ukraine
31	08/04/49 S/1305	423	Application for membership for Republic of Korea				USSR 30	9-2 Ukraine
32	07/09/49 S/1358	439	Application for membership for Nepal				USSR 31	9-2 Ukraine
33	13/09/49 S/1331	443	Application for membership for Portugal				USSR 32	9-2 Ukraine
34	13/09/49	443	Application for				USSR	9-2

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	S/1332		membership for Jordan				33	Ukraine
35	13/09/49 S/1333	443	Application for membership for Italy				USSR 34	9-2 Ukraine
36	13/09/49 S/1334	443	Application for membership for Finland				USSR 35	9-2 Ukraine
37	13/09/49 S/1335	443	Application for membership for Ireland				USSR 36	9-2 Ukraine
38	13/09/49 S/1336	443	Application for membership for Austria				USSR 37	9-2 Ukraine
39	13/09/49 S/1337	443	Application for membership for Ceylon				USSR 38	9-2 Ukraine
40	11/10/49 S/1398	450	Report of the Commission for Conventional Armaments	/... approved Commission's resolutions			USSR 39	9-2 Ukraine
41	18/10/49 S/ 1399/ Rev 1	452	Proposals of the Commission of Conventional Armaments	/... approved proposal in working paper			USSR 40	9-2 Ukraine
42	18/10/49 S/ 1408/ Rev 1	452	Regulation and Reduction of armaments	/... recognised need for full disclosure of conventional armaments and adequate procedures of verification, and submission of full information atomic material and facilities			USSR 41	8-2 Ukraine - 1 Argentina
43	13/12/49	456	The Indonesian	/... welcomed establishment of	resolution voted		USSR	8-2

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meeting	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	S/1431		question: see veto 19	Indonesia	on in 2 parts, see veto 44		42	Ukraine -1 Argentina
44	13/12/49 S/1431	456	The Indonesian question: see veto 43	/... requested UN Commission to continue	Resolution voted on in 2 parts		USSR 43	8-2 Ukraine -1 Argentina
45	06/09/50 S/1653	496	Complaint of aggression against the Republic of Korea	/... called upon states to refrain from assisting the North Korean authorities		“ and thereby further endanger international peace and security” operative paragraph 3	USSR 44	9-1-1 Yugoslavia
46	12/09/50 S/1752	501	Complaint of bombing of China: United Nations forces operating in Korea allegedly strafed airstrip within China	/... decided to established a Commission of investigation			USSR 45	7-1-2 India, Yugoslavia (China did not participate in the vote)
47	30/11/50 S/1894	530	Complaint of aggression upon the Republic of Korea	/... noted that Chinese forces were deployed against UN forces in Korea			USSR 46	9-1 (India did not participate in the vote)
48	06/02/52 S/2443	573	Application for membership for Italy				USSR 47	10-1

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
49	03/07/52 S/2671	587	Alleged bacterial warfare by UN forces in Korea	/... requested International Committee of the Red Cross to investigate			USSR 48	10-1
50	09/07/52 S/2688	590	Alleged bacterial warfare by UN forces	/... noted failure to accept investigation see veto 49			USSR 49	9-1-1 Pakistan
51	16/09/52 S/2483	600	Application for membership for Libya				USSR 50	10-1
52	18/09/52	602	Application for membership for Japan				USSR 51	10-1
53	19/09/52 S/2758	603	Application for membership for Vietnam				USSR 52	10-1
54	19/09/52 S/2759	603	Application for membership for Laos				USSR 53	10-1
55	19/09/52 S/2760	603	Application for membership for Cambodia				USSR 54	10-1
56	22/01/54 S/3151 Rev 2	656	The Palestine question: Syrian/Israeli dispute concerning work in Demilitarized Zone on diversion of River Jordan	/... declared observance of General Armistice Agreement to be essential			USSR 55	7-2 Lebanon -2 Brazil China
57	29/03/54 S/3188	664	The Palestine question	/... called on Egypt to comply with SCR 95 (1951) on Israeli shipping			USSR 56	8-2 Lebanon

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
								-1 China
58	18/06/54 S/3229	674	The Thailand question	/... requested establishment of a sub-commission by Peace Observation Commission to monitor fighting near Indochina/Thai border		Reference to the existence of international tension “the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security”	USSR 57	9-1-1 Lebanon
59	20/06/54 S/3236	675	The Guatemalan question : alleged incursion from Honduras and Nicaragua	/... referred the question to the Organisation of American States		“ having in mind the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter”... in preamble	USSR5 8	10-1
60	13/12/55 S/3506	704	Chinese amendment to join Brazil/New Zealand draft resolution	/... included Republic of Korea and Vietnam in list of applicants			USSR 59	9-1-1 New Zealand
61	13/12/55 S/3506	704	Chinese amendment to join Brazil/New Zealand draft resolution	/... included Republic of Korea and Vietnam in list of applicants	i.e. the two countries mentioned in China’s amendment were voted upon individually		USSR 60	9-1-1 New Zealand
62	13/12/55 S/3502	704	Application for membership for Jordan				USSR 61	10-1

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
63	13/12/55 S/3502	704	Application for membership for Ireland				USSR 62	10-1
64	13/12/55 S/3502	704	Application for membership for Portugal				USSR 63	10-1
65	13/12/55 S/3502	704	Application for membership for Italy				USSR 64	10-1
66	13/12/55 S/3502	704	Application for membership for Austria				USSR 65	10-1
67	13/12/55 S/3502	704	Application for membership for Finland				USSR 66	10-1
68	13/12/55 S/3502	704	Application for membership for Ceylon				USSR 67	10-1
69	13/12/55 S/3502	704	Application for membership for Nepal				USSR 68	10-1
70	13/12/55 S/3502	704	Application for membership for Libya				USSR 69	10-1
71	13/12/55 S/3502	704	Application for membership for Cambodia				USSR 70	10-1
72	13/12/55 S/3502	704	Application for membership for Japan				USSR 71	10-1
73	13/12/55	704	Application for				USSR	10-1

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	S/3502		membership for Laos				72	
74	13/12/55 S/3502	704	Application for membership for Spain				USSR 73	9-1-1 Belgium
75	13/12/55 S/3502	704	Application for membership for Mongolia				CHINA 1	8-1-2 Belgium US
76	14/12/55 S/3509	705	Application for membership for Jordan	/... included Japan in Soviet Union draft resolution, recommending amendment to Albania, Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Hungary, Italy, Austria, Romania, Bulgaria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, Libya, Cambodia, Laos and Spain			USSR 74	10-1
77	15/12/55 S/3510	706	Application for membership for Japan				USSR 75	10-1
78	13/10/56 S/3671	743	Complaint by France and the United Kingdom against Egypt	/... noted that the Egyptian Government had not yet formulated sufficiently precise proposals to meet the 'six requirements' and considered that, meanwhile, the Egyptian Government should cooperate with the Suez Canal Users Association.	The first part of the draft resolution which agreed requirements for any settlement of the Suez question was adopted unanimously by the Security Council		USSR 76	9-2 Yugoslavia
79	30/10/56 S/3710 + oral	749	The Palestine question (Suez)	/... called upon Israel and Egypt immediately to ceasefire	Voted on as orally amended 30/10/56		France 3 UK 1	7-2-2 Belgium US

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet-ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	amendment							
80	30/10/56 S/3713/Rev 1 +oral amendment	750	The Palestine question (Suez)	/... called upon Israel and Egypt immediately to ceasefire	Voted on as orally amended 30/10/56		France 4 UK 2	7-2-2 Belgium US
81	04/11/56 S/3730 Rev 1	754	The situation in Hungary	/... called for withdrawal of Soviet troops without delay from Hungarian territory	Original vote was 9-2. Yugoslavia which did not participate in the vote owing to lack of instructions, requested at the end of the 755 th meeting on 5/11/56 that their vote be recorded as abstention		USSR 77	9-1-1 Yugoslavi a
82	20/02/57 S/3787	773	The India-Pakistan question	/... asked president of the Security Council to visit sub-continent to discuss demilitarisation of Jammu and Kashmir			USSR 78	9-1-1 Sweden
83	09/09/57 S/3884	790	Application for membership for Republic of Korea				USSR 79	10-1
84	09/09/57 S/3885	790	Application for membership for Vietnam				USSR 80	10-1
85	02/05/58 S/3995	817	Flights by US aircraft "armed with atomic and hydrogen bombs	/... recommended establishment of zone of international inspection in area North of Arctic circle			USSR 81	10-1

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
			in the direction of Soviet frontiers”					

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
86	18/07/58 S/4050/Rev 1	834	Complaint by Lebanon: alleged infiltration from Syria (intervention by United Arab Republic	/... called for cessation of infiltration and invited UN Observation Group to continue its activities pursuant to SCR 128 (1958)			USSR 82	9-1-1 Sweden
87	22/07/58 S/4055/Rev 1	837	Complaint by Lebanon concerning intervention by the United Arab Republic	/... asked Secretary-General to fulfil the general purposes established by SCR 128 (1958) to send observers to enable US forces to withdraw			USSR 83	10-1
88	09/12/58 S/4129/Rev 1	843	Application for membership for Republic of Korea				USSR 84	9-1-1 Iraq
89	09/12/58 S/4130/Rev 1	843	Application for membership for Vietnam				USSR 85	8-1-2 Canada Iraq
90	26/07/60 S/4409/Rev 1	883	The RB-47 incident: alleged incursion into Russian airspace of US bomber	/... recommended either a thorough investigation of the facts or referral to the International Court of Justice			USSR 86	9-2 Poland
91	26/07/60 S/4411	883	The RB-47 incident	/... expressed the hope that International Committee of the Red Cross would be permitted to fulfil humanitarian tasks with respect to detained members of the crew by the Soviet authorities			USSR 87	9-2 Poland

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
92	17/09/60 S/4523	906	Situation in the Congo	/... reaffirmed <u>inter alia</u> that the UN force should continue to act to restore law and order and appealed for voluntary contribution to UN fund for Congo		“reaffirms its call to all Member States, in accordance with Articles 25 and 49 of the Charter to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council” ...operative paragraph 5(b)	USSR 88	8-2 Poland -1 France
93	04/12/60 S/4567/Rev 1	911	Application for membership for Mauritania				USSR 89	8-2 Poland -1 Ceylon
94	13/12/60 S/4578/Rev 1	920	Urgent measures in connection with the latest events in the Congo	/... <u>inter alia</u> expressed hope that the International Committee of the Red Cross could examine detained persons and requested the Secretary General to adopt measures to safeguard human and civil rights			USSR 90	7-3 Ceylon Poland -1 Tunisia
95	20/02/61 S/4733 Rev1 and oral amendment	942	Situation in the Congo	/... oral amendment by US to draft resolution S/4733 condemning atrocities <u>inter alia</u> proposing to delete all references to specific places in the first preambular paragraph and to replace them by “in various parts of the Congo”	NB: 95 AND 96 are included as vetoes because the amendments they rejected would have substantially altered the force of the draft resolutions		USSR 91	8-3 Ceylon United Arab Republic

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
96	20/02/61 S/4733 Rev 1 and oral amendment	942	The situation in the Congo	/... proposing <u>inter alia</u> to delete all specific places in the first preambular paragraph and to replace them by "in various parts of the country"	NB: 95and 96 are included as separate vetoes because, although all but identical in practice, the amendments have textual differences. Compare with veto 118		USSR 92	7-3 Ceylon United Arab Republic -1 Liberia
97	07/07/61 S/4855	960	Question relating to Kuwait/Iraq	/... called on all State's to respect Kuwait's independence and territorial integrity			USSR 93	7-1-3 Ceylon Ecuador United Arab Republic
98	24/11/61 S/4985 Rev 1 S/4989 Rev 2	982	The Congo question: United States amendments to draft resolution	/... revised operative paragraph 2 to read "Further deprecates all armed action against United Nations forces and personnel and against the Government of the Republic of Congo"			USSR 94	9-1-1 France
99	24/11/61 S/4989 Rev 2	982	The Congo question: United States amendments to draft resolution S/4985/Rev 1	/... added a new paragraph requesting the Secretary General to assist the Government of Congo to re-organise and refrain Congolese armed units			USSR 95	9-1-1 France
100	30/11/61	985	Application for				USSR	10-1

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	S/5006		membership for Kuwait				96	
101	18/12/61 S/5033	988	Complaint by Portugal on the situation in Goa Damo and Diu	/... called <u>inter alia</u> for an immediate cessation of hostilities, withdrawal of Indian forces and urged parties to work out a permanent solution		Articles 1(2) and 2 referred to in preamble	USSR 97	7-4 Ceylon Liberia United Arab Republic

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
102	22/06/62 S/5134	1016	The Indian-Pakistan question	/...urged both Governments to negotiate over Kashmir		“in accordance with Article 33 and other relevant provisions of the Charter...” in operative paragraph 2	USSR 98	7-2 Romania -2 Ghana United Arab Republic
103	03/09/63 S/5407	1063	Syrian/Israeli dispute: Palestine	/... condemned murder of two Israeli citizens and drew Syria’s attention to evidence that murderers entered Israel from the direction of Jordan River			USSR 99	8-2 Morocco -1 Venezuela
104	13/09/63 S/5425 Rev 1	1069	Situation in Southern Rhodesia	/... invited United Kingdom not to transfer any powers or attributes of sovereignty to Southern Rhodesia until fully representative government achieved but to implement GARs resolutions 1747 and 1760 (1962)			UK 3	8-1-2 France US
105	17/09/64 S/5973	1152	Relations between Malaysia and Indonesia	/... deplored Indonesian paratroop incursion and called for renewed talks		“recalling the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter”... in preamble	USSR 100	9-2 Czech
106	21/12/64 S/6113+ amendments 3,5 S/6116	1182	Syrian/Israeli dispute: Palestine	/... deplored military action on Israel/Syria Armistice line and called for cooperation with 1963 work on survey and demarcation	Those amendments which singled out Israel for criticism had failed to be adopted		USSR 101	8-3 Czech. Morocco
107	04/11/66 S/7575/	1319	Syrian/Israeli dispute: Palestine	/... invited Syria to strengthen measures in relation to the General Armistice	First vote of the enlarged Security		USSR 102	10-4 Bulgaria

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	Rev 1			Agreement and called on Israel and Syria to facilitate the work of UNTSO (the UN Truce Supervisory Organisation)	Council of 15 members			Jordan Mali -1 China
108	23/08/68 S/8761 and Add.1	1443	Czechoslovakia	/... affirmed sovereign, political independence and territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia, condemned armed intervention of USSR & other Warsaw pact members, and called for withdrawal		“a violation of the United Nations Charter and, in particular, of the principle that 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...” in preamble	USSR 103	10-2 Hungary -3Algeria India Pakistan
109	17/03/70 S/9696 and Corr. 1,2	1534	Rhodesia	/... condemned the persistent refusal of the United Kingdom Government to use force to end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, decided that all States should sever relations with the Illegal, racist, minority regime, and decided that Member should apply against South Africa and Portugal the sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia in SCR 253 (1968) and the present resolution		“ reaffirming in particular its resolution 232 (1966) in which it determined that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,... in	UK 4 US1	9-2-4 Colombia Finland France Nicaragua

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
						contravention of their obligation under Article 25 of the Charter"...in preamble... "Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter" at the beginning of operative paragraphs		
110	10/11/70 S/9976	1556	Rhodesia	/... called on United Kingdom not to grant independence without majority rule		"Contrary to their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter" in preamble... "Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter..." "in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter"... in operative paragraph 3	UK 5	12-1-2 France US
111	04/12/71 S/10416	1606	India/Pakistan (Bangladesh)	/... called for withdrawal and authorised Secretary-General to place observers on India/Pakistan borders		"convinced that hostilities along the India/Pakistan border constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security" in	USSR 104	11-2 Poland -2 France UK

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
						preamble		
112	05/12/71 S10423	1607	India/Pakistan (Bangladesh)	/... called on India and Pakistan to establish a ceasefire and to withdraw their armed forces and urged further efforts to bring about the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees		“an immediate threat to international peace and security”... and a reference to Article 2, paragraph 4 in preamble	USSR 105	11-2 Poland -2 France UK
113	13/12/71 S/10446/ Rev 1	1613	India/Pakistan (Bangladesh)	/... called on India and Pakistan to establish and ceasefire and withdraw their forces		“an immediate threat to international peace and security”... and a reference to Article 2, paragraph 4 in preamble	USSR 106	11-2 Poland -2 France UK
114	30/12/71 S/10489	1623	Rhodesia	/... rejected the “proposals for a settlement” and urged the United Kingdom not to recognise an independent state of Southern Rhodesia while the people of Southern Rhodesia did not enjoy universal adult suffrage		“reaffirming Security Council Resolution 288 (1970)” in preamble preamble of SCR 288 states “Acting in accordance with previous decisions of the Security Council on Southern Rhodesia, taken under Chapter VII of the Charter”	UK 6	9-1-5 Belgium France Italy Japan US
115	04/02/72	1639	Rhodesia	/... urged United Kingdom to desist from		“reaffirms that the	UK7	9-1-5

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	S/10606			implementing "settlement" proposals and urged the United Kingdom to convene a constitutional conference		present situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security", in operative paragraph 1 ... "noting... SCR 288 (1970)... in preamble, see veto 14		Belgium France Italy Japan US
116	25/08/72 S/10771	1660	Application for membership for Bangladesh				CHINA 2	11-1-3 Guinea Somalia Sudan
117	10/09/72 S/10784	1662	Middle East	/... called on the parties concerned to cease immediately all military operations			US 2	13-1-1 Panama
118	10/09/72 S/10786	1662	Middle East (amendment to S/10784 (117 above))	/... included oblique reference to Black September terrorists attack on Israeli athletes at Munich			CHINA 3 USSR 107	9-6 Guinea Somalia Sudan Yugoslavia
119	29/09/72 S/10805/ Rev 1	1666	Rhodesia	/... reaffirmed the principle that there must be no independence for Southern Rhodesia before majority rule and urged United Kingdom to convene a constitutional conference	Plus separate votes on the two operative paragraphs which affirmed majority rule and secret ballot 10-1-4	"in accordance with the obligations assumed by Member States under Article 25 of the Charter"... in operative	UK 8	10-1-4 Belgium France Italy US

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meeting	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
					Belgium, France, Italy, United States	paragraph 6		
120	21/03/73 S/10931	1704	Panama Canal	/... urged Panama and United States to conclude a new treaty respecting Panama's effective sovereignty			US 3	13-1-1 UK
121	22/5/73 S/10928	1716	Rhodesia	/... imposed sanctions against South Africa, Mozambique and Angola, and extended the Beira blockade to the port of Laurence Marques		"recalling in particular, SCR 320 (1972) which (operative paragraph 2) " calls upon all states to implement fully all Security Council Resolutions establishing sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, in accordance with Article 25... in preamble	UK 9 US 4	11-2-2 Austria France
122	26/07/73 S/10974	1735	Middle East	/... supported initiatives of Special Representative and Secretary-General, and deplored Israel's continuing occupation of territories seized in the 1976 conflict and expressed conviction that a just solution to the problem could be achieved only on the basis of respect for the rights of all States in the area and		"reaffirming resolution 242 (1967)" (preamble) which had in its preamble emphasised that "all Member States in their acceptance	US 5	13-1 (China did not participate)

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
				the rights and legitimate aspirations of the Palestinians		of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter..."		
123	31/07/74 S/11400 and amendment 1 only of S/11401	1788	Situation in Cyprus	/... noted respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and requested Secretary- General to take appropriate action		Recalling its resolution 353 (1974) the preamble of which had spoken of "a serious threat to international peace and security"	USSR 108	12-2 Byelorussia (China did not participate in the vote)
124	30/10/74 S/11543	1808	Relationship between UN and South Africa	/... recommended South Africa's expulsion		Preamble makes reference to Articles 1,2,6,55 and 56. Expulsion recommended in compliance with Article 6	France 5 UK 10 US 6	10-3-2 Austria Costa Rica
125	06/06/75 S/11713	1829	Situation in Namibia	/... condemned South Africa's illegal occupation and decided upon an embargo on military equipment to South Africa		"Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations charter (a) Determines that the illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia by South Africa to	France 6 UK 11 US 7	10-3-2 Italy Japan

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
						international peace and security"... in operative preamble paragraph 6		
126	11/08/75 S/11795	1836	Application for membership for Republic of South Vietnam				US 8	13-1-1 Costa Rica
127	11/08/75 S/11796	1836	Application for membership for Democratic Republic of Vietnam				US 9	13-1-1 Costa Rica
128	30/09/75 S/11832	1846	Application for membership for Republic of South Vietnam				US 10	14-1
129	30/09/75 S/11833	1846	Application for membership for Democratic Republic of Vietnam				US 11	14-1
130	08/12/75 S/11898	1862	Situation in the Middle East	/... condemned Israel for air attacks upon Lebanon			US 12	13-1-1 Costa Rica
131	26/01/76 S/11940	1879	Middle East, including Palestine question	/... affirmed that Israel should withdraw from occupied territories and the Palestine right to establish an independent state in Palestine			US 13	9-1-3 Italy Sweden UK (China did not

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
								participate in the vote)
132	06/02/76 S/11967	1888	Situation in the Comoros	/... called on France to desist from holding referendum in Mayotte and to respect sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Comorian state			France 7	11-1-3 Italy UK US
133	25/03/76 S/12022	1899	Situation arising from recent developments in occupied Arab territories	/... called on Israel to respect and uphold the inviolability of Holy Places and desist from actions designed to change the legal status of City of Jerusalem and desist from establishing settlements in occupied Arab territories			US 14	14-1
134	23/06/76 S/12110	1932	Application for membership for Angola				US 15	13-1 (China did not participate in the vote)
135	29/06/76 S/12119	1938	Question of the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people	/... affirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination including the right to return and national independence and sovereignty in Palestine			US 16	10-1-4 France Italy Sweden UK
136	19/10/76 S/12211	1963	Situation in Namibia	/... condemned South Africa's failure, to comply with Resolution 385 (1976), called for embargo and end to military cooperation, and demanded an end to South African policy of Bantustans		"Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, (a) Determines that the illegal occupation of Namibia and the	France 8 UK 12 US 17	10-3-2 Italy Japan

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meeting	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
						war being waged there by South Africa constitute a threat to international peace and security"... in operative paragraph 11		
137	15/11/76 S/12226	1972	Application for membership for Socialist Republic of Vietnam				US 18	14-1
138	31/10/77 S/12310/ Rev 1	2045	Question of South Africa	/... called on South African racist regime to comply with the provisions of the relevant Security Council resolutions		"in defiance of resolutions adopted by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and in contravention of the provisions of Article 25..." in preamble... appropriate actions in the event of non-compliance should be considered "under all the provisions of the Charter, including Article 39 to 46 of	France 9 UK 13 US 19	10-5 Canada FRG

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
						Chapter VII"... in operative paragraph 5		
139	31/10/77 S/1311/Rev 1	2045	Question of South Africa	/... decided that all States should cease sale and shipment of arms to South Africa and refrain from co-operation in nuclear development		..."Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter..." in preamble	France 10 UK 14 US 20	10-5 Canada FRG
140	31/10/77 S/12312/ Rev 1	2045	Question of South Africa	/... called on Governments to refrain from investment in, or loans to the South African regime (and Rev 1. Export/import credits)			France 11 UK 15 US 21	10-5 Canada FRG
141	15/01/79 S/13027	2112	Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia	/... called for ceasefire and withdrawal of all foreign forces and requested Secretary-General to report the progress towards implementation within 2 weeks			USSR 109	13-2 Czech.
142	16/03/79 S/13162	2129	The situation in South-East Asia and its implications for international peace and security	/... called for cessation of all hostilities and withdrawal of their forces by all parties to their own countries			USSR 110	13-2 Czech.
143	07/01/80 S/13729	2190	Soviet invasion of Afghanistan	/... called for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops			USSR 111	13-2 GDR
144	13/01/80 S/13735	2191	Call for sanctions against Iran because of the American hostages			..."Acting in accordance with Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter..." in preamble ... "in	USSR 112	10-2 GDR -2 Bangladesh Mexico

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meeting	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
						accordance with Article 25 of the Charter” in operative paragraph 4... reference to Article 2 in paragraph 5		(China did not participate in the vote)
145	30/04/80 S/13911	2220	Question of exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights	/... reaffirmed that Israel should withdraw from all occupied territories including Jerusalem and affirmed that the Palestinians’ right to self-determination included right to establish independent State in Palestine		Reference to guarantees to be established for all States in the area in accordance with the Charter – operative paragraph 3	US 22	10-1-4 France Norway Portugal UK
146	30/04/81 S/14459	2277	Question of Namibia	/... condemned South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and decided to adopt (a) economic and political sanctions (b) oil embargo (c) arms embargo		Acting therefore under Chapter VII of the Charter... in preamble... “Determines in the context of Article 39...(b) that the continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa constitutes a breach of international peace and an act of aggression...” in operative	France 12 UK 16 US 23	9-3-3 Ireland Japan Spain

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
						paragraph 1... “Decides, under Chapter VII of the Charter...”in operative paragraph 4. Reference to Article 41 in operative paragraph 5. Reference to Article 25 in operative paragraph 6 and to Article 2 in operative paragraph 8		
147	30/04/81 S/14460/ Rev 1	2277	Question of Namibia	/... decided all States should sever all diplomatic, consular and trade relations with South Africa (very detailed)		“Acting therefore under Chapter VII of the Charter”... in preamble... “all possible further action under Article 41 of the Charter” in operative paragraph 14. Reference to Article 25 and 2 (paragraph 6) in operative paragraph 16	France 13 UK 17 US 24	9-3-3 Ireland Japan Spain
148	30/04/81 S/14461	2277	Question of Namibia	/... decided to impose a mandatory embargo on petroleum supply to South		“Acting therefore under Chapter VII	France 14	11-3-1 Japan

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
				Africa and occupied Namibia		of the Charter"... in preamble... "all possible further action under Article 41 of the Charter..." in operative paragraph 3. Reference to Articles 25 and 2 (paragraph 6) in operative paragraph 5	UK 18 US 25	
149	30/04/81 S/14462	2277	Question of Namibia	/... called for mandatory arms embargo (detailed) against South Africa		"Acting therefore under Chapter VII of the Charter"... in preamble... "all possible further action under Article 41 of the Charter..." in operative paragraph 12... in accordance with Article 25 and Article 2, paragraph 6 of the Charter"... in operative paragraph 14	France 15 UK 19 US 26	12-3
150	31/08/81 S/14664/ Rev 2	2300	South African incursion into Angola	/... condemned unprovoked armed invasion, called for material assistance for Angola and decided to send a Commission of Investigation, comprising		"... in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter of the	US 27	13-1-1 UK

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
				5 Security Council members		United Nations, including Chapter VII"... preamble		
151	20/01/82 S/14832/ Rev 1	2329	Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights	/... decided that all Member States should consider applying concrete and effective measures in order to nullify the Israeli annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights		... "Acting in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Chapter VII of the Charter"... preamble... "an act of aggression under the provisions of Article 39 of the Charter..." operative paragraph 2	US 28	9-1-5 France Ireland Japan Panama UK
152	02/04/82 S/14941	2347	Nicaragua; US military exercise with Honduras	/... appealed to all Member States to refrain from direct or indirect use of force against any country of Central America and the Caribbean			US 29	12-1-2 UK Zaire
153	02/04/82 S/14943	2348	Situation in occupied Arab territories: Palestine	/... called on Israel as occupying Power, to rescind decisions disbanding municipal council of El Bireh and removing mayors of Nablus and Ramallah and to cease contravening Fourth Geneva Convention			US 30	13-1-1 Zaire
154	20/04/82 S/14985	2357	Situation in occupied Arab territories: Palestine	/... called on Israel to observe and apply the Fourth Geneva Convention and deplored acts of destruction or profanation in Jerusalem			US 31	14-1
155	04/06/82	2373	Falkland question	/... requested immediate ceasefire and			UK 20	9-2-4

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	S/15156/Rev 2			implementation of SCR's 502 and 505 (1982)			US 32	France Togo Guyana Jordan
156	08/06/82 S/15185	2377	Israeli invasion of Lebanon	/... condemned Israel for not complying with resolutions on withdrawal and reiterated for unconditional Israeli withdrawal			US 33	14-1
157	26/06/82 S/15255/ Rev 2	2381	Israeli invasion of Lebanon	/... demanded immediate cessation of hostilities and immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces to ten kilometres from Beirut and simultaneous withdrawal of Palestinian forces to existing camps and requested UN Secretary-General to station UN military operations			US 34	14-1
158	06/08/82 S/15347/ Rev 1	2391	Israeli invasion of Lebanon	/... decided that member states should withhold supplying military aid until Israel withdraw and strongly condemned Israel for not implementing SCR's 516 and 517 (1982)	Voted on as orally amended		US 35	11-1-3 Togo UK Zaire
159	02/08/83 S/15895	2461	Situation in occupied Arab territories	/... determined that Israel practices and policies in establishing settlements in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem, had no legal validity and condemned recent attacks against Arab civilian population		Reaffirming in operative paragraph 8 the Council's determination "to examine practical ways and means in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter" in the event of non-	US 36	13-1-1 Zaire

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
						compliance		
160	12/09/83 S/15966/ Rev 1	2476	The shooting down by the Soviet Union of a South Korean civil airliner	/... deeply deplored the destruction of the airliner and invited Secretary-General to conduct a full investigation and to report his findings within 14 days			USSR 1131	9-2 Poland - 4 China Guyana Nicaragua Zimbabwe
161	27/10/83 S/1607	2491	US invasion of Grenada	/... 'deeply deplored' the armed intervention and called for immediate withdrawal of foreign troops			US 37	11-1-3 Togo UK Zaire
162	29/02/84 S/16351/ Rev 2	2519	United Nations role in Lebanon	/... issued an urgent appeal for an immediate cease-fire and decided to set up a UN force in the Beirut area selected, if appropriate, from the UN interim Force in the Lebanon with the mission of monitoring compliance with the cease-fire			USSR 114	13-2 Ukraine
163	04/04/84 S/16463	2529	Mining of Nicaraguan ports	/... called for an immediate end to the mining of the main ports and call on all States to refrain from carrying out, supporting or promoting any type of military action against and State of the region			US 38	13-1-1 UK
164	06/09/84 S/16732	2556	Israeli occupation of Lebanon	/... called on Israel to respect the rights of the civilian population in the areas under the occupation in Lebanon and demanded that Israel lift all restrictions in violation of the Fourth Geneva			US 39	14-1

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
				Convention				
165	12/03/85 S/17000	2573	Israeli occupation of Lebanon	/... condemned Israeli measures against the civilian population in Southern Lebanon... and demanded immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces and the implementation of SCR 425 (1978) and SCR's 508 and 509 (1982)			US 40	11-1-3 Australia Denmark UK
166	10/05/85 S/17172	2508	Economic sanctions against Nicaragua	/... preambular paragraph 8 noted concern about increased tensions in Central America recently aggravated by the trade embargo and other coercive sanctions	The United States called for paragraph by paragraph voting under rule 32 of the provisional rules of procedure and after using the veto three times enabled the rest of the resolution to be adopted as SCR 562. This was the first time since 1972 that paragraph voting had been used (119) but in that case the UK voted the whole resolution		US 41	13-1-1 UK
167	10/05/85	2580	Economic	/... operative paragraph 1 regretted the	See remarks for		US 42	11-1-3

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	S/17172		sanctions against Nicaragua	imposition of the trade embargo and other coercive sanctions and called for their removal	166			Egypt Thailand UK
168	10/05/85 S/17172	2580	Economic sanctions against Nicaragua	/... operative paragraph 2 called on interested States to refrain from destabilizing States "including the imposition of trade embargoes or restrictions, blockades or other measures incompatible with the provisions of the UN Charter	See remarks for 166	Reference to Charter in operative para 2	US 42	13-1-1 UK
169	26/07/85 S/17363	2602	Question of South Africa	/... amended the draft resolution which became SCR 569 (1985) on the State of Emergency in certain districts of South Africa by adding a paragraph "... warning South Africa that failure to (establish a free... society on the basis of universal suffrage) would compel the Security Council to... consider... adoption of appropriate measures to ensure South Africa's compliance with relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions		(measures) under the UN Charter including Chapter VII	UK 21 US 44	12-2-1 France
170	13/09/85 S/17459	2605	Situation in the occupied Arab territories: Palestine	/... deplored repressive measures taken by Israel since 4/8/85 and called for these to stop immediately and for release of all detainees			US 45	10-1-4 Australia Denmark France UK
171	15/11/85 S/17633	2629	Question of Namibia	/... condemned South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and decided to adopt a number of		Decision taken under Chapter VII Article 41 of the	UK 22 US 46	12-2-1 France

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
				economic and political enforcement measures against South Africa		Charter		
172	17/01/86 S/17730 Rev 2	2642	Israeli occupation of Lebanon	/... deplored Israeli acts of violence and measure against the civilian population in Southern Lebanon and reaffirmed need to implement SCR 425 (1978) and SCR 508 and 509 (1982) on Israeli military withdrawal to Lebanon's internationally recognised boundaries			US 47	11-1-3 Australia Denmark UK
173	30/01/86 S/17769 Rev 1	2650	Provocative acts in relation to Al Aqsa Mosque	/... strongly deplored provocative acts which violated the sanctity of the sanctuary of Haram Al-Sharif in Jerusalem			US 48	13-1-1 Thailand
174	06/02/86 S/17796/ Rev 1	2655	Israeli interception and detention of Libyan civilian aircraft	/... condemned Israel for its forcible interception, and diversion of the Libyan civilian aircraft in international airspace and its subsequent detention			US 49	10-1-4 Australia Denmark France UK
175	21/04/86 S/18016/ Rev 1	2682	United States raid on Libya	/... condemned an armed attack by the United States in violation of the UN Charter and the norms of international conduct		Preambular paragraph 4 referred to Friendly Relations Declaration; condemnation of violation of Charter (operative para 1) and call for peaceful settlement of disputes (operative para 4)	France 16 UK 23 US 50	9-5 Australia Denmark -1 Venezuela
176	23/05/86	2686	South African	/... condemned South Africa for the		Operative	UK 24	12-2-1

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meeting	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	S/18087/Rev 1		raids into Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe	recent military raids into Botswana. Zambia and Zimbabwe; demanded full compensation and called for the imposition of selective economic and other sanctions		paragraph 6 determined that South African actions constituted a threat to international peace and security and decided on sanctions in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter	US 51	France
177	18/06/86 S/18163	2693	South African attacks on Angola	/... condemned South Africa for its recent premeditated and unprovoked attack on the port of Namibe...and persistent and sustained armed invasions of Angola. Called upon all states to implement fully the arms embargo (in resolution SCR 418 of 1977); and called for selective economic and other sanctions against South Africa		Reference in preambular paragraphs 4,5 and 6 to South Africa's violation of the Charter through its military occupation of parts of Angola: operative paragraph 7 determined that South African actions constituted a threat to international peace and security, and decided on sanctions in accordance with	UK 25 US 52	12-2-1 France

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
						relevant provisions of the Charter		
178	31/07/86 S/18250	2704	Nicaragua and ICJ Judgement	/... called for full compliance with the Judgement of the ICJ of 27 June 1986 in the case of "Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua"		Preambular references to ICJ as principal judicial organ of the UN according to the Charter and to the Charter principles on peaceful settlement of disputes	US 53	11-1-3 France Thailand UK
179	28/10/86 S/18250	2718	Nicaragua and ICJ Judgement	/... called for full and immediate compliance with the Judgement of the ICJ of 27 June 1986		Preambular reference to ICJ as principal judicial organ of UN according to the Charter	US 54	11-1-3 France Thailand UK
180	20/02/87 S/18705	2738	South Africa	/... condemned South Africa for its persistent refusal to comply with the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly; declared that (this) refusal constituted a direct challenge to the authority of the United Nations and decided to impose a number of mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII		Reference in preambular paras to Article 25 and the decision take under Chapter VII and Article 41 of the Charter	UK 26 US 55	10-3 FRG -2 France Japan
181	09/04/87 S/18785	2747	Question of Namibia	/... condemned South Africa for continued illegal occupation of Namibia and decided under Chapter VII to impose comprehensive mandatory		References also to Articles 2,25 and 41 of the Charter and in preambular para	UK 27 US 56	9-3 FRG -3 France Italy Japan

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
				sanctions against South Africa		6 the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination in accordance with the Charter		
182	18/01/88 S/19434	2784	Israeli occupation of Lebanon	/... strongly deplored the reported Israeli attacks, against Lebanese territory and civilian population, requested Israel to cease attempts to occupy or change the status of Lebanese territory and reaffirmed the need to implement SCR's 425 and 425 (1978) and SCR 509(1982) on Israeli military withdrawal to internationally recognised boundaries			US 57	13-1-1 UK
183	1/02/88 S/19466	2790	Situation in the occupied territories: Palestine	/... calls on Israel to accept the <u>de jure</u> applicability of the Geneva Convention to territories occupied since 1967 and comply with obligations under the Convention, and requested continued monitoring by the UN Secretary-General		Reference in preambular paragraph 3 to the inalienable rights of all peoples recognised by the Charter	US 58	14-1
184	8/03/88 S/19585	2797	Sanctions against South Africa	/... decided under Chapter VII of the Charter to adopt a member of economic measures against South Africa		Decision taken under Chapter VII of the Charter	UK 28 US 59	10-2-3 France FRG Japan
185	15/04/88 S/19780	2806	Situation in the occupied territories: Palestine	/... urged Israel to abide by the Geneva Convention, to rescind orders to deport Palestinians, condemned policies and practices of Israel which violate the human rights of the Palestinians and			US 60	14-1

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
				affirmed the need for a settlement				
186	10/05/88 S/19868	2814	Israeli invasion of Sothern Lebanon	/... condemned the recent invasion by Israeli forces of southern Lebanon, reaffirmed the urgent need to implement SCRs 425 and 426 (1978) and SCR 509 (1982) and requested the Secretary – General to continue consultations			US 61	14-1
187	14/12/88 S/20322	2832	Israeli raid on Lebanon	/... strongly deplores the attack by Israeli forces on 9 December 1988 against Lebanese territory, and reaffirmed urgent need to implement SCRs 425 and 426 (1978) and SCR 509 (1982) and requested the Secretary-General to continue consultations			US 62	14-1
188	11/01/89 S/20378	2841	Shooting down of Libyan aircraft	/... deplored the downing of two Libyan reconnaissance planes by the US and called on the US to suspend its military manoeuvres off the Libyan coast and on all parties to refrain from resorting force		Preambular paragraph 4 referred to Friendly Relations Declaration; operative paragraph 3 referred to settlement of differences peacefully according to the Charter	France 17 UK 29 US 63	9-4 Canada -2 Brazil Finland
189	17/02/89 S/20463	2850	Situation in the occupied territories: Palestine	/... strong deplored Israel's persistent policies and practices against the Palestinian peoples in the Palestinian territories; called on Israel to abide by		Reference in preambular paragraph 2 to the inalienable rights of	US 64	14-1

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
				Security Council resolutions and comply with its obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention; and requested the UN Secretary-General to report to the Security Council		all peoples recognised in the Charter		
190	9/06/89 S/20677	2867	Situation in the occupied territories: Palestine	/... strongly deplored Israel's policies and practices in the occupied Palestinian territories; demanded that Israel desist from deporting Palestinians from the occupied territories; expressed concern about prolonged closure of schools in parts of the occupied territory and requested the Secretary-General to report no later than 23 June		Reference in preambular paragraph 2 to the inalienable rights of all peoples recognised in the Charter	US 65	14-1
191	7/11/89 S/20945/ Rev 1	2889	Situation in the occupied territories: Palestine	/... strongly deplored Israel's policies and practices against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories; called upon Israel to end such practices; requested Secretary-General to conduct on-site monitoring of the situation and to submit periodic reports, the first such report as soon as possible		Reference in preambular para 4 to the inalienable rights of all peoples recognised in the Charter	US 66	14-1
192	23/12/89 S/21048		Invasion of Panama	/... strongly deplored the intervention of Panama by the armed forces of the United States of America and demanded their immediate withdrawal ; and requested Secretary-General to monitor the developments in Panama and to report to the Security Council within a twenty-four hour period.		Reference in preambular para 3 to Article 2 paragraph 4	US 67 UK 30 France 18	10-4 Canada -1 Finland
193	17/01/90	2905	Violation of	/... declared that the serious events that			US 68	13-1-1

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	S/21084		diplomatic privileges and immunities of the Nicaraguan Ambassador's residence in Panama	took place re a violation of the privileges and immunities recognised under international law and codified in the Vienna Conventions; expressed concern over any measure that restricts free communication and prevents the functioning of diplomatic missions in Panama; and demanded the full respect for the rules of international law that guarantee the immunity of diplomatic officers and the inviolability of the premises of diplomatic missions.				UK
194	31/05/90 S/21326	2926	Situation in the occupied territories: Palestine	/... established a commission of three members of the Security Council to examine the situation relating to Israel's policies and practices in the occupied Palestinian territory; and requested the Commission to report to the Security Council by 20 June 1990			US 69	14-1
195	11/05/93 S/25693	3211	Situation in Cyprus	/... treated the costs of UNFICYP as expenses of the Organisation under Article 17(2) with effect from the next extension of UNFICYP's mandate; conducted reassessment of UNFICYP; added a number of observers for reconnaissance to assist the reassessment; mandates the Secretary-General to produce a report one month before the reassessment		Reference in operative para 3 to Article 17 paragraph 2	Russia 115	14-1
196	2/12/94 S/1994/135	3475	Situation in the Republic of	/... reconfirmed that the requirements of all relevant SCRs should be strictly		Acting under Chapter VII of the	Russia 116	13-1-1 China

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	8		Bosnia and Herzegovina	applied in respect of all goods crossing the border between the FRY and Bosnia, and the border between Croatia and the FRY and Croatia and Bosnia.		Charter		
197	17/09/95 S/1995/394	3538	Situation in the occupied Arab territories	/... confirmed that the expropriation of land by Israel, the occupying power, in East Jerusalem was invalid, and called upon the Government of Israel to rescind the expropriation orders and refrain from such action in the future			US 70	14-1
198	10/01/97 S/1997/18	3730	Central America: efforts towards peace	/... decided to authorise the attachment of military observers to MINUGUA			China 4	14-1
199	07/03/97 S/1997/199	3746	Situation in the occupied Arab territories	/... called upon Israeli authorities to refrain from all actions or measures, including settlement activities, which alter facts on the ground pre-empting final status negotiations, and have negative implications for the Middle East Peace Process; and to abide scrupulously by its legal obligations and responsibilities under the 1949 Geneva Convention			US 71	14-1
200	21/03/97 S/1997/241	3756	Situation in the occupied Arab territories	/... demanded that Israel immediately cease construction o the Jabal Abu Gheim settlement in East Jerusalem as well as other Israeli settlement activities in the occupied territories, and requests a report on developments from the Secretary-General.			US 72	13-1-1 Costa Rica
201	25/2/99	3982	Extension of	/... extended UNPREDEP six months			China 5	13-1-1

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	S/1999/201		UNPREDEP in Macedonia	until 31 August 1999, to deter threats and prevent clashes, to monitor the border area, and to report to the Secretary-General any developments posing a threat to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, including monitoring and reporting on illicit arms flows and other activities prohibited under SCR 1160(1998)				Russia
202	27/3/01 S/2001/270	4305	Situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	/... called for the immediate cessation of all acts of violence, provocation and collective punishment, and the return to the positions and arrangements prior to September 2000; called upon Israel and the Palestinian Authority to implement promptly and without preconditions. The understandings reached at Sharm El-Sheik on 17 October 2000; urged a resumption of negotiations within the Middle East Peace Process; expressed grave concern at the recent settlement activities, in particular the recent decision to expand the Jabal Abu Ghneim settlement and called for full cessation of settlement activities; called for an end to closures of the occupied Palestinian territories, and for the transfer by Israel to the Palestinian Authority of all revenues due; requested the Secretary-General to set up an appropriate mechanism to protect			US 73	9-1-4 France Ireland Norway UK (Ukraine did not participate in the vote)

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
				Palestinian civilians, including through a UN observer force.				
203	14/12/01 S/2001/1199	4438	Situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	/...demanded the immediate cessation of all acts of violence, provocation and destruction, and the return to the positions and arrangements prior to September 2000; condemned all acts of terror, in particular those targeting civilians, and all acts of extrajudiciary executions, excessive use of force and wide destruction of all properties; called on the two sides to start the comprehensive and immediate implementation of the recommendations made in the Report of Sharm El-Sheik Fact-Finding Committee (Mitchell Report) in a speedy manner, and encouraged all concerned to establish a monitoring mechanism to help the parties implement the recommendations of the Report and to help create a better situation in the occupied Palestinian territories; called for the resumption of negotiations within the Middle East Peace Process on its agreed basis.			US 74	12-1-2 Norway UK
204	30/6/02 S/2002/712	4563	Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina	/... decided to extend UNMIBH, including the IPTF, until 31 December 2002		“ Determined to promote the peaceful resolution of the conflicts in accordance with the purposes and	US 75	13-1-1 Bulgaria

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
						principles of the Charter of the United Nations” Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the UN		
205	20/12/02 S/2002/1385	4681	Situation in the Middle East, including the Palestine Question	/... condemned the killing by the Israeli occupying forces of several UN employees, including the recent killing of one international staff member in the Jenin refugee camp; condemned the deliberate destruction by the Israeli occupying forces of a UN World Food Programme warehouse in Beit Lahiya in the Occupied Palestinian Territories			US 76	12-1-2 Bulgaria Cameroon
206	16/09/2003 S/2003/891	4828	Situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	/...demanded cessation of violence, including terrorism provocation, incitement and destruction, and that Israel cease any threat to safety of President of the Palestinian Authority; expressed support for Quartet			US 77	11-1-3 Bulgaria Germany UK
207	14/10/2003 S/2003/980	4842	Situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	/...declared illegal Israel’s construction of the wall in the Occupied Territories departing from the armistice line of 1949; decided this must be ceased and reversed			US 78	10-1-4 Bulgaria Cameroon Germany UK
208	25/03/2004 S/2004/240	4934	Situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	/... condemned the extrajudicial execution of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin with 6 other Palestinians and called for cessation of extrajudicial killings; condemned all terrorist attacks against			US 79	11-1-3 Germany Romania UK

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
				civilians and called for their cessation				
209	21/04/2004 S/2004/313	4947	Situation in Cyprus	/... approved the mandate of a new UN operation in Cyprus and banned arms sales		“Welcoming the reaffirmation of the commitment to international law and the Principles of the UN Charter in the Treaty between Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom ...Recalling its primary responsibility for international peace and security” (preamble) “Acting under Chapter VII” (operative)	Russia 117	14-1
210	05/10/2004 S/2004/783	5051	Situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	/...called on Israel to immediately cease military operations in Northern Gaza and ensure unfettered access and safety of UN personnel, medical and humanitarian aid workers			US 80	11-1-3 Germany Romania UK
211	13/07/2006 S/2006/508	5488	Situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	/...called on Israel to halt military operations in the Gaza Strip and release detained Palestinians; called for the immediate release of an abducted Israeli soldier and on the Palestinian Authority to bring an end to violence			US 81	10-1-4 Denmark Peru Slovakia UK

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
212	11/11/2006 S/2006/878	5565	Situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	/...called on Israel to halt military operations; requested the Secretary-General to establish a fact-finding mission on the attack in Beit Hanoun; and called on the Palestinian Authority to take action to bring an end to violence			US 82	10-1-4 Denmark Japan Slovakia UK
213	12/01/2007 S/2007/14	5619	Situation in Myanmar	/...called on Myanmar's Government to cease military attacks against civilians in ethnic minority regions and begin a substantive political dialogue leading to democratic transition; expressed support for the Secretary-General's good offices mission			Russia 118 China 6	9-3 South Africa -3 Congo Indonesia Qatar
214	11/07/2008 S/2008/447	5933	Peace and security in Africa	/...demanded that Zimbabwe's Government immediately cease attacks against and intimidation of opposition members and supporters, begin political dialogue between the parties and end restrictions on humanitarian assistance; introduced an arms embargo on Zimbabwe and a travel ban and assets freeze on specified members of the Government and security forces.		"Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations" (preambular)	Russia 119 China 7	9-5 Libya, South Africa, Vietnam - 1 Indonesia
215	15/06/2009 S/2009/310	6143	Georgia	/...decides to extend the mandate of the United Nations mission for a new period terminating on 30 June 2009; decides to remain actively seized of the matter.			Russia 120	10-1-4 China Libya Uganda Vietnam
216	18/02/2011	6484	Middle East	/...reaffirmed illegality of settlement			US 83	14-1-0

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
	S/2011/24		situation, including the Palestinian question	activity; called upon all parties to uphold international law; urged intensification of international and regional diplomatic efforts				
217	04/10/2011 S/2011/612	6627	Middle East Situation	/..demanded an immediate end to all violence in Syria; urged all sides to reject violence and extremism; demanded that the Syrian authorities immediately cease violation of human rights and cease use of force against civilians; expressed its intention to review Syria's implementation of the resolution within 30 days and to consider its options			Russia 121 China 8	9-2-4 Brazil India Lebanon South Africa
218	04/02/2012 S/2012/77	6711	Middle East Situation – Syria	/... demanded the Syrian government end all human rights violations; demanded that the Syrian government cease all violence, release all persons detained arbitrarily, return all Syrian military to barracks, guarantee the freedom of peaceful demonstrations and allow access for all league of Arab States' institutions and observer missions and international media; supported the League of Arab States' decision to facilitate a political transition.		"Noting that nothing in this resolution authorises measures under Article 42 of the Charter."	Russia 122 China 9	13-2-0
219	19/07/2012 S/2012/538	6810	Middle East	/...expressed grave concern at the escalation of violence and failure to implement the six-point plan; demanded the urgent implementation of the Envoy's six-point plan; demanded		"Reaffirming its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial	Russia 123 China 10	11-2-2 Pakistan South Africa

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
				cessation of violence; decided to renew mandate of UNSMIS for 45 days; condemned attacks on UNSMIS; decided that if Syria did not fully implement their obligations under resolutions 2042 and 2043 within ten days, it would impose measures under Article 41 of the UN Charter.		integrity of Syria, and to the purposes and principles of the Charter” (preamble) “Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations” (operative) Threatens imposition of Chapter 41 of the Charter (OP 14)		
220	15/03/2014 S/2014/189	7138	Letter dated 28 February 2014 from the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (on Crimean Referendum)	/...affirmed commitment to the independence of Ukraine; called for de-escalation of tensions & focus on political dialogue; affirmed rights of all Ukrainians; noted that Ukraine had not authorised a referendum on the status of Crimea; declared the referendum invalid and called on all States, International Organisations and Specialised Agencies not to recognise any alteration of the status of Crimea on the basis of the referendum.		“Recalling the obligation of all States under Article 2 of the United Nations Charter to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, and to settle their international disputes by peaceful means2 (Preamble) “Recalling its	Russia 124	13-1-1 China

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
						primary responsibility under the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,2 (Preamble)		
221	22/05/2014 S/2014/348	7180	The situation in the Middle East (Syria)	/...condemned violations by parties to the conflict; referred the situation in Syria to the ICC; urged cooperation from Syrian government and non-State armed groups; and for all States, regional and international organisations to cooperate fully with Court and Prosecutor; committed to following up the resolution; recalled UNSG guidance on contact with those subject to arrest warrant or summonses of ICC; noted cost would be borne by parties to Rome Statue and voluntary contributions (called for donations); invited Prosecutor to report to Council within 2 months, and every 6 months thereafter.		“Reaffirming its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Syrian Arab Republic, and to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,” (Preamble) “Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations” (Preamble)	Russia 125 China 11	13-2-0
222	08/07/2015 S/2015/508	7481	The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina	/....condemned in the strongest terms the crime of genocide at Srebrenica as established by judgments of the ICTY and ICJ and all other proven war crimes and crimes against humanity committed			Russia 126	10-1-4 Angola, China, Nigeria, Venezual

Veto no.	Veto date & UNSCR reference	Meet -ing	Subject	Resolution would have .../	Remarks	Reference to UN Charter	Vetoer	Voting Y-N-A
				<p>in the course of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina;</p> <p>Agreed that acceptance of the tragic events at Srebrenica as genocide is a prerequisite for reconciliation, calls upon political leaders on all sides to acknowledge and accept the fact of proven crimes as established by the courts, and in this context, condemns denial of this genocide as hindering efforts towards reconciliation and recognises also that continued denial is deeply distressing for the victims;</p>				a
223	29/07/2015 S/2015/562	7498	Letter dated 28 February 2014 from the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (on an MH17 Tribunal)	/...Decided to establish an international tribunal for the sole purpose of prosecuting persons responsible for crimes connected with the downing of Malaysia Airlines flight MH17 on 17 July 2014 in Donetsk Oblast, Ukraine, and to this end adopts the Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for Malaysia Airlines Flight MH17 annexed hereto;		Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, (Preamble)	Russia 127	11-1-3 Angola, China, Venezuela a

ANNEX A: Historical Use of the Veto, 1946-1995

Vetoes 1 - 77 (1946-1955)

Western predominance in the first decade of the Security Council is illustrated by the fact that the Soviet Union vetoed 75 of the 77 draft resolutions vetoed 1946-1955. There were two exceptions. France cast a veto with the Soviet Union on the Spanish question (4–1946) and alone on the conflict between the Netherlands and Indonesia (19–1947). China (then represented by Taiwan) vetoed the admission of Mongolia in 1955.

Many vetoes (43 by the Soviet Union and 1 by Taiwan) were used to block recommendations for the admission of a new member state. The Soviet vetoes represented both Soviet opposition to Western candidates, and Western opposition to Soviet candidates, since many of the vetoes can be regarded as reprisals after Eastern European countries had failed to secure the necessary majorities. One example is veto 23. The Soviet Union vetoed the application of Finland, whose candidacy they had at first supported, because Western countries discriminated between Finland and Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania.

Other Soviet vetoes were made on issues such as the question of the Franco regime in Spain (1946), frontier incidents in Northern Greece (1946-47), Czechoslovak independence from the Soviet Union and Berlin (1948), the question of reporting on conventional armaments and the conflict between Indonesia and the Netherlands (1949), Korea (1950, 1952), Palestine, Thailand and Guatemala (1954).

Vetoes 78 - 106 (1956-1965)

The second decade shared many of the characteristics of the first, although they were less marked. The distribution of vetoes was: Soviet Union 26, UK 3, France 2. Issues of concern to the Soviet Union included membership applications (accounting for 6 vetoes), the Suez crisis and Hungary (1956), Jammu and Kashmir (1957, 1962), US aircraft surveillance (1958, 1960), a Lebanese complaint against Syria (1958), the Congo (1960-61), Kuwait and Goa (1961), Palestine (1963-64) and regulations between Malaya and Indonesia (1964).

Specific issues were beginning to emerge which were to embarrass Western Permanent Members. The UK and France both vetoed two resolutions related to Suez (1956), the first of which (79) was a draft US resolution. The third UK veto (1963) dealt with Southern Rhodesia. The foundations for developing countries' dominance of the General Assembly were laid during this period. The Non-Aligned Movement was set up in 1961 and the Group of 77 in 1964.

Vetoes 107 – 130 (1966-1975)

The third decade was marked at the beginning of 1966 by the enlargement of the Security Council from 11 to 15, primarily because of non-aligned pressure. Vetoes were much more evenly spread among Permanent Members. This reflects the enhanced influence of developing country groupings who were putting forward their own views on a number of foreign policy issues. The distribution of vetoes was: US 12, UK 9, Soviet Union 7, China 2 (China replaced Taiwan in the China seat in 1971), France 2. Issues attracting a veto from the Soviet Union were Palestine (1966, 1972), Czechoslovakia (1968), Bangladesh (1971) and Cyprus (1974). China vetoed the admission of Bangladesh to the UN (1972) and joined the Soviet Union the same year in vetoing a resolution on the Middle East (118) which made an oblique reference to the Black September attack on Israeli athletes at Munich.

Two issues of particular concern to the non-aligned were Southern Africa and Palestine. The two US vetoes (117–1972, 122–1973) on the issue of Palestine clearly illustrate the difference between the US and the two European Permanent Members. Both resolutions were non-aligned initiatives, the second of which asserted that the rights of the Palestinians must be taken into account in any settlement of the conflict. France and the United Kingdom voted for both resolutions.

There was more convergence on Southern Africa. France, the UK and the US all voted against a recommendation to expel South Africa from the UN (124–1974) and to condemn South Africa's illegal occupation of South-West Africa (125–1975). The UK vetoed six resolutions on Rhodesia 1970-1973, joined in two instances by the US (109-1970, 121-1973). The US was also alone in vetoing a resolution urging a new Treaty on the Panama Canal (120–1973), in vetoing two membership applications (Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Republic of South Vietnam, 1975), and in vetoing a draft resolution condemning Israeli air attacks on Lebanon (130–1975).

Vetoes 131 - 171 (1976-1985)

These trends were emphasised from 1976-1985 when the distribution of vetoes was: US 34, UK 11, France 9, Soviet Union 6. Once again the US was alone in vetoing 9 draft resolutions on the Palestine question (131, 133, 135, 145, 151, 153, 154, 159, 170) and three on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, together with one on the Israeli occupation in Southern Lebanon (156-158, 164). Of these, France voted for 9 and abstained on 4; the UK voted for 7 and abstained on 6. However, the UK, France and the US agreed to veto 8 draft resolutions on Southern Africa (136, 138, 139, 140, 146, 147, 148, 149) between 1976 and 1981. They also vetoed a resolution condemning a South African incursion into Angola (150–1981). France distanced itself from the vetoes cast by the US and the UK on Southern Africa in 1985 (169, 171) by abstaining on both.

The growing emphasis on Central America at the end of this period was reflected in the US vetoes concerning US military exercises with Honduras (152–1982); its invasion of Grenada (161–1983); and the mining of Nicaraguan waters (three paragraph votes 166-168–1985). The US also vetoed with the U K a resolution on the Falklands crisis (155–1982), although this was later said to be a mistake. Their other six vetoes concerned the admission of Vietnam and Angola to the UN. The single French and UK vetoes not related to Southern Africa were on the Comoros (132–1976) and the Falklands invasion (155–1982) respectively.

The six Soviet vetoes during this period concerned the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia (141 and 142–1979), the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (143–1980), a call for sanctions against Iran because of the American hostages (144–1980), the shooting down of a South Korean civil aeroplane (160–1983), and an attempt to extend the role of the UN peacekeeping force in Lebanon (162–1984).

Vetoes 172 to 197 (1986-1995)

There was little change in the pattern of vetoes cast in the late 1980s as the Cold War ended. But, the number of vetoes did decline overall during the decade. The distribution of vetoes was: US 23, UK 8, France 3 and Russia 2. Again, the US was alone in vetoing three resolutions on Nicaragua (178-9–1986 and 193–1990), seven resolutions on Israel/Palestine, four on Israel and Lebanon and one on Israeli interception of a Libyan civilian aircraft. France abstained on the three on Nicaragua; voted for all seven on

Israel/Palestine and all four on Israel/Lebanon; and abstained on the Libyan aircraft interception. The UK abstained on the Nicaraguan votes and voted for all seven of the Israel/Palestine resolutions and two of the Lebanon/Israel resolutions. It abstained on the other two and on the interception of a Libyan aircraft (174). The UK and the US joined forces in vetoing five resolutions on Southern Africa (176-7, 180-1, 184). France abstained on all five. It joined with the UK and the US three times only in vetoing a draft resolution condemning the armed attack by the US of Libya (175–1986); the shooting down of a Libyan aircraft by the US (188–1989) and deploring the US' intervention in Panama, December 1989 (192). The UK and France have not cast a veto since.

The Soviet Union did not veto any resolution during the late 1980s. During this period, its attitudes to the UN changed, and cooperation between the five Permanent Members increased. Changes in the Security Council were accelerated by the response of its members, particularly the five Permanent Members, to the invasion and annexation of Kuwait by Iraq in August 1990.

Following the break-up of the Soviet Union in December 1991, the Russian Federation assumed Permanent Membership of the Security Council. Permanent Member cooperation continued and no vetoes were cast between May 1990 and April 1993. Russia's veto of May 1993 (195) interrupted this cohesion. Russia wanted to make clear its opposition to the additional UN peacekeeping expenses which would be incurred from then on if UNFICYP's financing was regarded as an expense of the Organisation under Article 17(2). This veto came in the context of the significant increases in peacekeeping expenses which had occurred since the late 1980s. Russia subsequently vetoed a non-aligned draft resolution (196) (on which China abstained) on the strict application of certain sanctions within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). Russia considered this resolution tightened sanctions against the FRY at a time when its co-operation with international peace efforts meant sanctions should have been suspended. Solidarity among the Permanent Five was subsequently dented by the US veto, in May 1995, of a draft resolution (197) confirming that the expropriation by Israel of land in East Jerusalem was invalid.

ANNEX B: The Table of Vetoes (Detailed Information)

Column 1 - veto number

A veto in the United Nations Security Council is the negative vote of a Permanent Member cast during consideration of a substantive issue so that the draft resolution is not adopted. A vetoed draft resolution had to have 7 positive votes out of 11 before the end of 1965 and 9 votes out of 15 after 1965 (ie the draft resolution would have been passed if the Permanent Member's negative vote had not been cast). Procedural issues are not subject to veto. When there is disagreement between Council members on whether an issue is procedural or substantive, the question is itself treated as substantive and therefore subject to veto; the so-called "double veto" (see vetoes 3 and 4; 25 and 26).

The vetoes made publicly in the Security Council are listed and numbered in chronological order. Each number refers to a single vetoed text or sometimes (see para 3 below) part of the text. Draft resolutions vetoed by more than one Permanent Member are only counted once in column 1. Information about the number of vetoes appears in column 8 (see vetoes 4, 79, 80 138-140 and others).

Negative votes cast against amendments and individual parts or paragraphs of draft resolutions are counted as vetoes (see vetoes 166-8). However, when separate votes are taken on individual sections of the draft resolution which is also voted on as a whole (see vetoes 2 and 119), only the final negative vote is counted in column 1. The votes on individual sections of such draft resolutions are recorded in column 6 under "Remarks".

Column 2 – date & reference

Column 2 contains the date on which the vote was taken and the reference number of the vetoed draft resolution. The date of the vote is not necessarily the same as that on which the draft resolution was issued as a Security Council Document. Where an electronic or hard copy version of the Security Council Document is not easily available, Column 2 shows the page number of the UN Yearbook from the year in question.

Column 3 - meeting

Column 3 shows the number of the meeting of the Security Council at which the vote was taken.

Column 4 - subject

The heading of the vetoed draft resolution appears in Column 4.

Column 5 - resolution would have...

The most important elements of the resolution are paraphrased, introduced each time with the provisions of the draft resolution words "Resolution would have ...".

Column 6 - remarks

Remarks contain information about any additional votes taken on sections of the draft resolution and any points of interests, such as the fact that a member did not participate in the vote because it was party to the dispute being considered (Article 27(3) of the Charter see vetoes 1 and 10). When a member did not participate in the vote for reasons other than those stipulated in Article 27 of the Charter (see vetoes 122 and 134) such non-participation

is considered to be a way of registering opposition without resorting to a negative vote and the details therefore appear under the “voting pattern” in Column 3.

Column 7 – Charter language

Significant use of Charter language in the text of the draft resolution and references to Chapters VI and VII are quoted, together with an indication of whether the quotation is from the preamble or an operative paragraph.

Column 8 - vetoing member

Column 8 shows the vetoing member, or members, together with their veto total.

Column 9 – pattern of voting

The figures for the pattern of voting record first the number of affirmative votes, followed by the number of negative votes and finally the number of abstentions. Where possible, the names of those countries other than the vetoing power whose representatives cast negative votes or abstained have also been recorded, as well as those members which did not participate in the vote.

The level of accuracy of the table is generally that of the United Nations Yearbook. Resolutions and meeting records are available at <http://www.un.org/en/sc/meetings/> Another useful source is “The Procedure of the Security Council” by Sydney D. Bailey and Sam Daws (third edition 1998 Clarendon Press Oxford)