



**Security Council**

PROVISIONAL

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ENGLISH

**PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND  
SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THIRD MEETING**

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Friday, 28 November 1986, at 5.20 p.m.

President: Sir John THOMSON

(United Kingdom of Great Britain  
and Northern Ireland)

Members: Australia  
Bulgaria  
China  
Congo  
Denmark  
France  
Ghana  
Madagascar  
Thailand  
Trinidad and Tobago  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
United Arab Emirates  
United States of America  
Venezuela

Mr. WOOLCOTT  
Mr. TSVETKOV  
Mr. YU Mengjia  
Mr. ADOUKI  
Mr. BIERRING  
Mr. de KEMOULARIA  
Mr. GBEHO  
Mr. RAKOTONDRAMBOA  
Mrs. LAOHAPHAN  
Mr. ALLEYNE  
Mr. BELONOGOV  
Mr. AL-SHAALI  
Mr. OKUN  
Mr. AGUILAR

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The meeting was called to order at 5.20 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

LETTER DATED 24 NOVEMBER 1986 FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED BY RESOLUTION 421 (1977) CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/18474)

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. Members of the Council have before them document S/18474, which contains the text of a letter dated 24 November 1986 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa, transmitting the text of a recommendation by that Committee to the Security Council.

I call now on His Excellency Ambassador D.H.N. Alleyne, representative of Trinidad and Tobago and Chairman of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa.

Mr. ALLEYNE (Trinidad and Tobago): Mr. President, I am most grateful to you for bringing before the Council at such short notice the draft resolution contained in document S/18474, which is the fruit of the work of the Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council. The Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) consists of all members of the Council and was entrusted with the task, inter alia, of studying ways and means by which the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa imposed by resolution 418 (1977) could be made more effective. To this end the Committee was required to make recommendations to the Council.

(Mr. Alleyne, Trinidad and Tobago)

It is clear that, while some countries have observed carefully the letter and the spirit of the resolutions of this Council providing for the prevention of arms shipments to South Africa, the embargo has itself been something of a leaky barrier through which arms and military technology for bolstering a domestic arms industry in South Africa have flowed freely. The South African military, paramilitary and police forces have become instruments which the apartheid régime deploys in turn against its black population and against its neighbours less well equipped militarily. It has become increasingly obvious to this Council that, as requested in paragraph 11 of resolution 473 (1980), steps must be taken to close loopholes in the embargo and make it more effective. That is essential since, in the light of the policies and acts of the South African Government, the acquisition by South Africa of arms and related matériel constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security.

The draft resolution before us, on which we are about to take action, represents the latest effort by the Security Council Committee to rationalize various recommendations seeking to secure full implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa by recommending measures to close loopholes in the arms embargo, to reinforce the embargo and to make it more effective.

I should like to stress that the effectiveness of the embargo on arms to and from South Africa depends on the commitment of all States to give it effect. Accordingly, all States should comply fully with the United Nations embargo and with the steps proposed in this draft resolution to make it more effective. All States should take both individual and collective measures to enforce the embargo. Member States and organizations should report on violations of the arms embargo and

(Mr. Alleyne, Trinidad and Tobago)

co-operate with the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa in its investigation of cases of violations of the arms embargo. Constant vigilance is essential.

For me and for my country, Trinidad and Tobago, it is a great honour to have been entrusted with the chairmanship of this important Committee of the Security Council. The task of reconciling opposing views of member countries was never easy. Over a period of some 18 months there were held several meetings of the Committee. These, together with several bilateral consultations, ensured that the various points of view and interests were generally understood and harmonized. Several drafts and re-drafts of paragraphs led to the production of successive revisions of the draft working paper, as it was at the time, which resulted in the acceptance by consensus of the final document which now contains the draft resolution before the Council. I recommend for approval by the Council the draft resolution now before representatives. Its terms are clearly stated and need no further explanation.

I wish to express to all members of the Council my deep and sincere appreciation for their commitment and their unflagging hard work in formulating and re-formulating the draft resolution before us. To the staff of the Secretariat I wish also to express my thanks for their guidance and dedication, without which all our several endeavours might have been in vain.

Trinidad and Tobago's membership of this Council and of the Committee comes to an end on 31 December this year. It would be for me and for all other representatives on the Committee a matter of great gratification if this draft resolution, the fruit of our combined endeavours adopted by consensus in the

(Mr. Alleyne, Trinidad and Tobago)

Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977), could be similarly adopted today by consensus as a resolution of this Council.

The PRESIDENT: I take it that the Council is now ready to take a decision on the recommendation contained in document S/18474 and wishes to adopt it by consensus. If I hear no objection I shall declare the recommendation adopted by consensus.

There being no objection, the recommendation has been adopted by consensus as resolution 591 (1986).

(The President)

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the adoption of the recommendation.

Mr. ADOUKI (Congo) (interpretation from French): The maintenance of international peace and security demands from the Security Council both vigilance and availability in order to allow both for the possibility of preventive action, and for timely and decisive action. The role played by the Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) provides, in the case of the question of South Africa, for these requirements. The delegation of the Congo warmly welcomes the results achieved by this Committee, under the competent and courteous leadership of our friend, Ambassador Alleyne of Trinidad and Tobago, and I can affirm that this is also the strong feeling of the States members of the Organization of African Unity, and also of the States members of the Non-Aligned Movement.

This result proves a fact which we think it useful to stress at this decisive phase of the struggle against the odious system of apartheid being conducted by the people of South Africa with the support of the international community, and that is the unanimous agreement reached by the Council, and which reflects a tendency which we should like to see confirmed on other occasions. For international action against apartheid to be as effective as possible and have maximum impact, the arms embargo should not be considered as an end in itself. It is important, of course, but the eradication of the scourge known as apartheid undoubtedly demands a mobilization of resources and of energy which can have their full impact only if we do not leave out of account the possibility of imposing more comprehensive and mandatory sanctions either within or outside the scope of Chapter VII of the Charter.

It is my delegation's firm hope that the Security Council will see to this.

Mr. BELONOGOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): For a number of years the United Nations has been making efforts to

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

eliminate the policy of apartheid pursued by the governing régime of the Republic of South Africa. As we know, the numerous decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council have branded apartheid as a crime against humanity and South Africa's policy of aggression as a threat to international peace and security.

In 1977 the Security Council adopted resolution 418 (1977), which established a mandatory embargo on the provision to South Africa of arms and related matériel of all types. In its subsequent resolutions, the Security Council intensified and extended this embargo and also provided for specific recommendations to be worked out on measures to eliminate all loopholes in this arms embargo, calling for its intensification and extension to make it fully comprehensive. We know that the necessary basis for viewing the question in this way existed in the Security Council.

In the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia on contacts between States Members of the United Nations and South Africa (A/AC.131/226) we can find a number of facts concerning co-operation with South Africa in the military and nuclear areas. The report indicates quite frankly that South Africa depends upon imports of military equipment, and every year spends more than \$2 billion on such imports.

The draft resolution on the intensification of the embargo on the delivery of arms to South Africa which was submitted today by the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977), the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr. Alleyne, which we have just adopted, is one more step in the right direction and we would like to express our gratitude to Mr. Alleyne for his consistent efforts to bring the task entrusted to his Committee, to a successful conclusion.

I would also like to stress that, for many years now, the United Nations, both at its regular sessions, and at a special session, the Non-Aligned Movement and the

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

Organization of African Unity and other international forums have been demanding the imposition against South Africa of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Throughout this whole period certain members of the Council have been stubbornly preventing such sanctions from being adopted against the racist régime.

For its part the Soviet Union is profoundly convinced that only comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretorian régime will make it possible to end apartheid. As emphasized in the joint Soviet/Indian statement just adopted in New Delhi:

"The Soviet Union and India strongly support the application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa and welcome all appropriate initiatives by the non-aligned countries as set forth at their Harare meeting."

The adoption of such sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa would be an effective step towards the very rapid elimination of the shameful apartheid régime and would promote the establishment of peace and stability in the interests of all the peoples of this region, including the white population of South Africa. If we were to adopt this sort of resolution this would be an even greater contribution to the fight against the apartheid régime in South Africa.

We regret that we were not able to agree on a stronger resolution by the Security Council than the one we have just adopted. However, we express the hope that the resolution adopted today on intensifying the embargo will, despite certain weaknesses, none the less help to ensure that the decisions of the Security Council prohibiting the delivery of weapons to South Africa and the importing of weapons from South Africa will be fully and strictly complied with.



Mr. de KENOUCHARIA (France) (interpretation from French): I wish to express my country's satisfaction at a resolution that confirms the quality and effectiveness of the work done by the Committee established under Security Council resolution 421 (1977).

I am not thinking simply of the importance of its objective - the strict application of the arms embargo against South Africa; everyone is aware of its importance, and France prides itself on abiding strictly by all the restrictive measures adopted in that field. I am thinking also about the spirit in which the Committee worked. Under the guidance of its Chairman, Ambassador Alleyne of Trinidad and Tobago, to whom I wish to pay a tribute, the Committee focused its efforts on the essential points without losing sight of its area of competence and with strict respect for its original mandate.

In this regard I would recall that since its establishment the Committee has always worked on the basis of the consensus rule and that this is certainly one of the reasons for its success. It is also to its great credit that it chose and was able to use successfully a serious and constructive approach to the specific tasks entrusted to it.

I also wish to reaffirm that France unreservedly condemns the unacceptable system of apartheid and the ludicrous impasse to which a short-sighted policy might lead.

Mr. OKUN (United States of America): The United States supports the recommendation in document S/18474, of 24 November 1986 adopted by consensus by the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) to strengthen the arms embargo against South Africa.

The United States maintained an arms embargo against South Africa long before many countries did so - indeed from 1962. We supported the voluntary embargo recommended by the Security Council in 1963 as well as the mandatory embargo

(Mr. Okun, United States)

contained in Security Council 418 (1977), of 4 November 1977. The United States also supported the arms import embargo recommended by the Security Council and contained in resolution 558 (1984), of 13 December 1984.

During the past 24 years the United States has promulgated the necessary rules and regulations to implement the embargo. The United States has strictly enforced the embargo. No exceptions have been made to this mandatory embargo. From time to time we have revised our rules to tighten the enforcement of the embargo. Last year, for example, criminal penalties for violations of the embargo were substantially increased. President Reagan also signed Executive Order 12532, of 9 September 1985, which specifically implemented the import embargo recommended by the Security Council. This year legislation has been enacted that requires a report to the Congress in early 1987 identifying countries that are violating the United Nations arms embargo.

The arms embargo is a sanction that has essentially been directed at the military and the police. It is the kind of carefully targeted measure that has consistently been supported by the United States. We believe that today's resolution will help to ensure that all nations act uniformly in the implementation of the embargo.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

On 4 November 1977 the Security Council decided, by its resolution 418 (1977) to impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. The United Kingdom supported that resolution and also joined in the adoption of resolutions 421 (1977), establishing the Committee whose report is before us today, and 558 (1984), under which all States were requested to refrain from importing arms, ammunition and military vehicles from South Africa. Before 1977 the United Kingdom

(The President)

Government had for a number of years been applying a voluntary embargo on arms sales to South Africa.

I should like to reaffirm our commitment to the embargo imposed under resolution 418 (1977). We have implemented this rigorously. Those under British jurisdiction who have broken the embargo have been prosecuted in the British courts. In our view the embargo remains an effective instrument for the purpose for which it was intended.

Although we understand others' concern to ensure the full implementation of the embargo, we would not have considered a further resolution necessary at this juncture. The language of the present text is, however, cast in terms which are non-mandatory, and we have joined in the consensus on the basis that it constitutes a clarification of resolution 418 (1977) rather than an extension of its provisions, with which the United Kingdom already complies fully.

The aim of the Council should be to ensure that military equipment does not reach the military and police forces of South Africa. Operative paragraph 3 of the resolution should not be interpreted as restricting trade in items which are intended for non-military purposes. Similar considerations apply to the definition of "arms and related materiel" in operative paragraph 4.

As I have said, the resolution is concerned with preventing military equipment reaching the military and police forces of South Africa and does not of course encroach on the freedom of individuals to travel or otherwise to pursue legitimate business activities. We shall interpret operative paragraphs 8 and 9 in the context of the terms of the Luxembourg and Nassau Communiqués of September and October 1985 about the avoidance of military co-operation with South Africa.

Finally, with reference to the seventh preambular paragraph, we cannot, as the Council will know, accept the legitimacy of armed struggle. The infamous régime of apartheid must cease through peaceful means.

(The President)

I should like to conclude by congratulating Ambassador Alleyne on the happy outcome he achieved by consensus after long discussions in the Committee established in accordance with resolution 421 (1977).

I now resume my function as President of the Security Council.

Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): The question of the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime has a long history. It has been examined in different forms within the United Nations, including the Security Council. It is again being brought to our attention, and is rightly again causing us concern.

Combined action, and the imposition of, comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa are the most appropriate and effective peaceful means available to the international community for the elimination of apartheid, the liberation of Namibia and the maintenance of peace in southern Africa. That was confirmed in the Declaration of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa (A/CONF.137/5), held in June.

The recommendation of the Security Council Committee (S/18474) is naturally the result of a compromise, which had to be reflected in the measures for which it calls and in their character and scope. The People's Republic of Bulgaria - and, I believe it would be correct to say, a number of other countries as well - would have preferred to vote for a recommendation containing even more comprehensive mandatory provisions than those called for in the Comprehensive Programme of Action in the Declaration of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa. Even so, Bulgaria values it, because from it there flows an obligation to extend the arms embargo decided upon in 1977 and to close all possible channels through which the embargo can be violated, with a view ending apartheid, freeing Namibia and restoring and consolidating peace in southern Africa.

Those are the reasons for which the People's Republic of Bulgaria joined the consensus on the recommendation. Faithful to its constant policy of supporting the struggle of peoples against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid, Bulgaria will continue to make its contribution to the final elimination of that

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

system, Namibia's accession to independence and ensuring that peace triumphs in that turbulent part of the world.

I wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the special qualities of the Permanent Representative of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr. Alleyne, Chairman of the Security Council Committee, thanks to whose great diplomatic experience, knowledge, tact, patience and attachment to the cause of abolishing apartheid it was possible to bring to a successful conclusion and co-ordinate the work on the recommendation.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers inscribed on any list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.

