

UNITED NATIONS

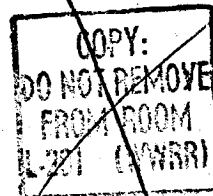


SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR

2261st MEETING: 19 DECEMBER 1980

NEW YORK



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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2261st MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 19 December 1980, at 5 p.m.

President: Mr. Donald F. McHENRY
(United States of America).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, China, France, German Democratic Republic, Jamaica, Mexico, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2261)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The question of South Africa:
Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 473 (1980) (S/14167 and Add.1);
Report of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa on ways and means of making the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa more effective (S/14179)

The meeting was called to order at 5 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question of South Africa:

Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 473 (1980) (S/14167 and Add.1);

Report of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa on ways and means of making the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa more effective (S/14179)

1. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them the following documents: S/14167 and Add.1, containing the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Council resolution 473 (1980), and S/14179, containing the report of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa on ways and means of making the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa more effective.

2. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): The Council is meeting today in order to deal with one of the most

intractable problems to have faced our Organization for many years, namely, the situation in the Republic of South Africa and the dangerous policies pursued by the Government of that country, both domestically and internationally. It is an honour for me to address the Council in my capacity as Chairman of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) in order to introduce the report of the Committee, submitted in accordance with paragraph 11 of resolution 473 (1980).

3. Given the great significance attached by the Council to the question of the arms embargo against South Africa, the topicality of the issues involved and the general concern over the need for a strict implementation of the embargo, the Committee devoted considerable attention to an analysis of the difficulties which had impeded the full and universal application of the embargo, outlined in resolution 418 (1977). The Committee devoted 14 meetings to the consideration and adoption of its report. The report therefore represents the culmination of intensive discussions and sustained efforts to arrive at a general consensus, with very few reservations.

4. The report consists of three sections. Section I, an introduction, deals with the objectives and scope of resolution 418 (1977) and with the obligations of States that derive therefrom. It also outlines the terms of resolution 421 (1977), under which the Committee was established. Section II of the report is entitled "Problems encountered in the implementation of the embargo". It relates the existence of serious breaches of the embargo and of clandestine operations designed to circumvent it. That section also deals with the legislative and other measures taken by States and how far those measures comply with the arms embargo. Lastly, it describes the questions raised in connection with the phraseology of resolution 418 (1977) and the interpretation of some of its key provisions. Section III, part A, contains formal and concrete conclusions with regard to the operation and effectiveness of the present arms embargo. Those conclusions were unanimously adopted by the Committee. The recommendations submitted by the Committee in section III, part B, for the consideration of the Council are designed to put an end to the loopholes and to illegal acts of "sanction-breaking". They aim at reinforcing the embargo, making it more comprehensive and creating a tangible structure for its implementation. Among other things, the recommendations deal with the questions of "dual-purpose"

equipment, spare parts for military items in the possession of South Africa, the transfer of technology and licences for the manufacture of arms in South Africa, nuclear collaboration with South Africa, enforcement measures by States in the implementation of the embargo, imports of weapons from South Africa and so on.

5. Although the experience gained by the Committee during the period which has elapsed since its establishment may be disappointing in some respects, it has been most useful in showing the way to a more effective embargo in the future. Breaches and violations do exist, and little can be done to stop them unless decisive action is taken, at both the national and the international levels. The conclusions and recommendations contained in the report address themselves specifically to this problem and aim at laying down a new basis for the future work of the Committee. There is no doubt that a great deal will depend on the manner in which the Committee is able to discharge the tasks in the future, and on the means which will be put at its disposal. In that connection, the recommendations of the Committee emphasized the need for a clear and organized system to be adopted in setting up the necessary infrastructure to service the Committee.

6. Before concluding this part of my statement, I would take this opportunity to express once again my appreciation to all the members of the Committee for their co-operation in bringing our work to a successful conclusion. I am particularly grateful to the two Vice-Chairmen, Ambassador Muñoz Ledo of Mexico and Ambassador Oumarou of the Niger, for their invaluable support. The assistance provided to the Committee by members of the Secretariat through all stages of its work and their devotion to duty merit a special commendation, which I wholeheartedly wish to place on record.

7. May I now assume my role as the representative of Bangladesh and offer, very briefly, the views of my delegation on the report.

8. We have fully participated in the deliberations of the Committee, and the entire report has our fullest concurrence. As a matter of fact, the Government of Bangladesh has in effect taken measures much more stringent than those envisaged in the recommendations of the Committee regarding South Africa, and needless to say, our views on the abhorrent practice of *apartheid* are well known. In this context, I would crave the indulgence of the President and of the Council to speak again at another appropriate time.

9. Mr. President, since this may be the last meeting in which my delegation is participating as a member of the Council, we should like to pay a tribute to you as a diplomat and as a man. I recall your very personal involvement in the endeavour to find a just solution to the problems of Zimbabwe, Namibia and *apartheid*, and your friends have ample reasons to

share with you the satisfaction you derive from this. With you and your able deputy, Ambassador vanden Heuvel, we have spent many long and anxious hours, and it has been an unforgettable experience to share the humane and sometimes emotional approach to the many problems—political, social and economic—which confronted us. We shall cherish those moments of warm friendship, which will endure. Our sincerest thanks are offered also to your able colleague, Ambassador Petree, and all your other colleagues in the United States Mission for their co-operation and understanding.

10. I take this opportunity to recall the contribution of Ambassador Parsons, the representative of the United Kingdom, who presided over the Council's deliberations in November. With him too we have shared anxious moments, and we have found in him a very wise and warm-hearted friend who has given and enjoyed receiving confidence and respect. As fellow members of the Commonwealth, Bangladesh and the United Kingdom have many common values. I shall, on my departure from the Council, miss Sir Anthony but I am sure I shall not be deprived of his wisdom and experience whenever I seek it.

11. I should also like to recall with great fondness the fruitful association that my delegation developed with Ambassador Bishara of Kuwait, Ambassadors Clark and Harriman of Nigeria, Ambassador N'Dong of Gabon, Ambassador Palacios de Vizzio of Bolivia and Ambassador Hulinský of Czechoslovakia. Together with them, we have sought to resolve the complex issues of war and peace.

12. In this connection I cannot but recall the close relationship that my delegation developed with Ambassador Oumarou of the Niger and Ambassador Slim of Tunisia, with both of whom my country has fraternal ties and a community of interests. We have worked so closely together in our common causes.

13. With Ambassador Lusaka of Zambia we have shared undivided devotion to the cause of the people of southern Africa in general and Namibia in particular, as well as to other causes.

14. Ambassador Mills of Jamaica, who is leaving with us, has been a wise and good friend. His exceptional expertise in matters of international economic relations has always been a source of inspiration and strength to the Group of 77 and the world at large.

15. I cannot but express my nostalgia for the effective and fruitful co-operation that we developed with Ambassador Muñoz Ledo of Mexico. With his rich and varied experience as a scholar and a successful politician in his country, and with his vibrant personality, Ambassador Muñoz Ledo introduced another refreshing element into the Council's deliberations.

16. My friend Ambassador Yango from the Philippines has been kind and helpful, and his wide range of

experience in law and other cognate matters has always added a new dimension to our deliberations on all critical issues.

17. I had the great honour of serving in another station with my good friend Ambassador Ålgård of Norway. I had also the great honour of serving as an ambassador in his country. I have always regarded Ambassador Ålgård as a valiant champion of the Charter, and it has been my great honour to work very closely with him on many thorny issues. During my assignment in Norway I learned how deeply Norway and other Nordic countries are committed to the cause of humanity.

18. Ambassador Futscher Pereira of Portugal, who will also be leaving the Council, has left a deep and abiding imprint on me through his wise counsel and help.

19. My friend from the German Democratic Republic will, I am sure, continue to play a useful role with his usual thoroughness and equanimity.

20. I recall the understanding and co-operation always shown me by Ambassador Troyanovsky of the Soviet Union. His profound knowledge of the intricacies of international relations has been of great help to me.

21. I express my gratitude to Ambassador Leprette of France for his friendship and understanding. I have personally learned a great deal through my association with him on matters of international peace and security.

22. Ambassador Ling Qing has joined us recently, but his deep sense of history, combined with his experience, has impressed us. His predecessor, Ambassador Chen Chu, who is not here today, is fondly remembered for his personal charm and friendship. I not only have known them personally, but also had the privilege of serving in their great country, China. We wish the Chinese people peace. All our good wishes are with them in their forward march to progress and prosperity.

23. I cannot conclude without paying a tribute—my warmest personal tribute—to the chief executive of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. Combining in himself the wisdom and sagacity of a diplomat and scholar and the sensibility of a kind human being, the Secretary-General has given the necessary direction to the world community, as he has put in his personal efforts for the maintenance of international peace and security. He has also not been oblivious of the heart-rending cries of those hapless millions whose life is spent in deprivation and poverty. While he has called upon all countries, rich and poor, big and small, to help him safeguard the principles and objectives of the Charter, he has not failed to speak out when the need has arisen, to remind the Powers of their primary responsibility towards the maintenance of international

peace and security. My delegation expresses its full and unstinted support to you, Mr. Secretary-General, in all your efforts.

24. In conclusion, we sadly note that the political scene of the world today is far from rosy. Wars are raging in sensitive areas of the globe; political tensions in other places are high; international laws are flagrantly violated; many innocent individuals have lost their freedom and are held captive against their will, through no fault of their own. The poor are getting poorer, but we cannot lose hope and relax. Great challenges face the Council in 1981 and we pray that, as usual, it will face them with courage and an indomitable will. All our good wishes and prayers are with the Council for success in the coming year.

25. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, this is an excellent opportunity to congratulate you on the skilful and flexible way in which you have been guiding our work. You have succeeded in facilitating and expediting our consideration of complex issues, an achievement that in our day is a considerable one.

26. We also express our gratitude to Ambassador Parsons of the United Kingdom for his very intelligent and skilful work during the month of November.

27. I have asked to be allowed to speak in order to comment, however briefly, on the importance of the submission, before the end of the year, of the report of the Committee established under resolution 421 (1977) on the arms embargo against South Africa.

28. For months we worked very hard, hearing testimony, gathering information and preparing the document that is being submitted today, one that commanded the consensus of all members of the Council. The meeting of the minds in the chapter containing the conclusions and recommendations is of considerable political importance because wide-ranging agreement was reached on matters which, until a short time ago, had given rise to controversy and even to confrontation.

29. My delegation intends to comment in detail on the contents of the report when the debate begins at the start of next year. None the less, I did not want to miss this opportunity to emphasize the significance of the present meeting since, in the course of informal consultations, we repeatedly insisted that the document should be viewed by the Council in a public meeting and as soon as possible. We feel that the seriousness of the work done by the subsidiary bodies of the Council, to which we entrust difficult fixed-term tasks, should meet with an appropriate response from the Council through the prompt consideration and approval of the reports submitted.

30. No consideration of a tactical or circumstantial nature should induce us to depart from a duty to be

consistent. This is a duty which obliges us to implement our own resolutions and makes it possible for us to advance towards the objectives we have set ourselves: a true commitment on the part of States to put an end to the excesses of South Africa and to the complicity which sustains the racist régime, to end the *apartheid* régime and to bring about the full exercise of the sovereign rights of the people of Namibia.

31. I cannot fail to express gratitude to Ambassador Kaiser of Bangladesh for the very kind words with which he referred to my delegation's participation in the work of the Committee. It was really his own qualities, his talent and experience, as well as the highly intelligent and prompt manner in which he allocated the tasks among the members of the Committee, that made possible the results we achieved.

32. One last word to underscore the deep feelings that we all share as we approach the date when some of our dearest and most respected colleagues will be leaving the Council. To all of them we express our lasting friendship and our gratitude for all that they have done and for the contribution they leave behind.

33. In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that in the coming year the Council will be able, with greater resolve and effectiveness than in the past, to face the tasks that await it and that promise to be particularly difficult.

34. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): I wish to make a few preliminary remarks on the issue of the arms embargo against South Africa. My delegation will speak in more detail when the report is considered in full by the Council at a later date.

35. The Council is meeting pursuant to a decision taken at the last summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in June this year. That decision reflects the burning desire of the OAU to address the question of South Africa.

36. One of the major disappointments of the OAU on the question of South Africa relates to the arms embargo. It will be recalled in this connection that the Council adopted resolution 418 (1977) on the imposition of an arms embargo against South Africa unanimously. To us that unanimity meant that all countries, especially the members of the Council, would follow scrupulously the provisions of that resolution.

37. To our great disappointment and frustration, we even have among the members of the Council States, albeit few, which continue to flout the embargo. This minority of the membership has arrogated to itself the right to arm South Africa through clandestine manoeuvres. They have assumed a leading role among some Western countries in selling arms to South Africa. Certain of these States, and the corporations under their jurisdiction, have violated the arms em-

bargo that they had supported originally when resolution 418 (1977) was adopted. They have sought and created loopholes in the arms embargo.

38. The supporters of the *status quo* in South Africa have enabled the racist *apartheid* régime to maintain its repressive laws and violence against the black majority inside the country. They have also enabled South Africa to maintain the military occupation of Namibia and the perpetration of repression therein. The arms which have been given to South Africa have enabled Pretoria to commit repeated acts of naked aggression against the front-line States, in particular Zambia and Angola. Those who arm South Africa must know that the arms so provided have been used to kill our people and to destroy our property. The flow of arms and related material to South Africa constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, not only in Africa but also in the world as a whole.

39. There is also ample evidence indicating that illicit transfers of arms and related material of all types to South Africa continue to take place by devious routes. All these violations of resolution 418 (1977) have been rampant amid public proclamations of innocence on the part of some Western countries.

40. The Council's commitment to the enforcement of a comprehensive mandatory arms embargo should not be doubted. It was in the spirit of enforcing the arms embargo that it adopted resolution 421 (1977) for the purpose of ensuring the full implementation of the arms embargo by closing possible loopholes used by some unscrupulous international "actors". Despite this effort some members of the Council have deliberately created difficulties for the Committee established under resolution 421 (1977) by according different interpretations to resolution 418 (1977). They have even opposed the strengthening of the Committee's secretariat so as to enable it better to service the Committee.

41. In our view, as a first step, the working procedures of the Committee also need to be reviewed to ensure that the Committee is made more effective. As in the former Committee on Sanctions,¹ the Committee should institute a system of summoning representatives of countries which violate the embargo to appear before it. It should not be content with correspondence, most of which gives no proof that the details of complicity in dealings with South Africa reflect the true picture of the state of relations. A system of verification and independent investigation must be established quickly in the workings of the Committee. Excessive reliance by the Committee on secondary sources, in the view of my delegation, undermines its ability to discharge its responsibilities. A cue can be taken from the workings of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979).

42. My delegation wishes to express grave concern at another aspect of clandestine ways of supplying arms and related material to South Africa. This is especially so in the area of nuclear collaboration by the same Western industrial nations. The delegation of Zambia has stated on many occasions, here and elsewhere, that nuclear collaboration with South Africa constitutes the greatest threat to international peace and security.

43. My delegation has been alarmed further by the trust which some Western countries have in South Africa's nuclear programme, believing that it will be for peaceful purposes only. From all indications, South Africa cannot be trusted with nuclear capability, because it would use that power for military purposes. Moreover, experts have argued that the conversion from peaceful nuclear programme to military use is not a complicated process, even for the South Africans. We believe that South Africa must be denied the technology and material for developing nuclear programmes which are a threat to international peace and security.

44. Finally, my delegation wishes fully to endorse all the recommendations contained in the report of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977). We believe that those recommendations constitute a solid framework within which a comprehensive mandatory arms embargo against South Africa can be made to work effectively if there is sufficient political will to do so among those Western countries that have hitherto assisted South Africa.

45. I wish to conclude for now by paying a special tribute to Ambassador Kaiser of Bangladesh, the Chairman of the Committee, the other officers of the Committee and the entire Committee for their dedication in the preparation of the report. My delegation's appreciation goes also to the Secretary-General for his report on the subject.

46. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation believes that the report of the Committee on the arms embargo against South Africa, submitted today to the Council, is of great significance and requires the most serious attention. That report was prepared by the aforementioned Committee pursuant to resolution 473 (1980). It entrusted the Committee with the task of redoubling its efforts to secure full implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa. The Committee was also entrusted with the task of submitting recommendations to the Council on measures to close all loopholes in the arms embargo, to reinforce it and make it more comprehensive. That Council decision was a correct step in the chain of measures designed to put an end to the shameful policy and practice of *apartheid* pursued by the racist régime of South Africa.

47. As is well known, in its many decisions the United Nations has branded *apartheid* as a crime against

humanity and a threat to international peace and security. The Security Council has repeatedly demanded that the Pretoria authorities put an end to the policy of *apartheid* and grant all citizens of South Africa equal and full political and other rights, including the opportunity of taking part in determining their future.

48. In its resolution 473 (1980), the Council recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of *apartheid*; it once again called upon the South African régime to take measures immediately to eliminate the policy and practice of *apartheid* and to cease violence against the African people, as well as to release all political prisoners. The Council also called on all States strictly and scrupulously to implement resolution 418 (1977), which imposed an arms embargo against South Africa, and to "enact, as appropriate, effective national legislation for that purpose".

49. However, the racist régime of Pretoria, clearly defying the United Nations decisions, continues stubbornly to pursue the policy of *apartheid* and to deprive the oppressed people of elementary political, economic and civil rights. Massive repression continues to be directed against all those who oppose the inhuman system of *apartheid*. Quite recently a court in Pretoria passed sentences on nine freedom fighters, including three death sentences—which aroused protests from all honest people the world over.

50. In violation of Security Council decisions which condemn the policy of establishing bantustans in South Africa, the Pretoria régime continues that policy, which is designed further to strengthen the domination of the white minority. The latest example of that is the recent establishment of the bantustan of Ciskei.

51. In attempting to preserve the system of *apartheid* in South Africa and to keep Namibia in a state of colonial dependence, the Pretoria racists continue to expand their aggressive actions against neighbouring independent African States which lend support to the national liberation struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia. The Council has repeatedly come out in support of the independence, national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia and has demanded the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and the transfer of power to its people. Those decisions also have not been complied with to date.

52. The reason for such a situation, as was once again recently emphasized in decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session, is to be found in the fact that some member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Israel and other States have not ended their co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa in the military and nuclear spheres and have not seen to it that corporations and institutions under their jurisdiction refrain from such co-operation.

53. During the work of the Committee and in the preparation of its report it was also pointed out that the reason why the arms embargo against South Africa was ineffective was the absence of political will on the part of a number of States and the covert and overt circumvention of resolution 418 (1977). It was also a consequence of arbitrary attempts to interpret that resolution so as to find loopholes which allow activities in violation of its provisions.

54. The Soviet delegation supports the useful recommendations in the report of the Committee. We must close all the loopholes so as not to allow a further buildup of the military-industrial potential of South Africa. When we bear in mind the aggressive nature of the racist régime in South Africa and the threat to international peace and security posed by the very existence of that régime, there is special significance in the recommendations contained in the report on the need to end all forms of co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear sphere.

55. The Council has repeatedly warned South Africa that if it does not comply with the Council's demands, the Council will consider the possibility of taking the more effective measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. The Soviet Union is in favour of the adoption of sanctions against South Africa, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, in their full scope. That is the most effective way to ensure that South Africa will comply with United Nations decisions on granting independence to Namibia and on eliminating the system of *apartheid* in South Africa itself.

56. The Soviet delegation believes that the Council should as soon as possible continue its consideration of the report of the Committee and hopes that it will take all the necessary measures to force South Africa to respect and implement the decisions of the United Nations.

57. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*) The Security Council has before it the report of the Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) on ways and means of making the arms embargo against South Africa more effective. In resolution 473 (1980), the Council requested the Committee to recommend measures which might close the loopholes in the arms embargo, reinforce and make it more effective.

58. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic takes a positive view of the work done by the Committee on its report. We believe that the conclusions and recommendations in the report are the minimum necessary to make the arms embargo against South Africa more effective. This applies in particular to the ban on any type of nuclear co-operation, including an embargo on all types of multipurpose armaments for civilian or military use and all forms of co-operation with South Africa which might serve to increase its military potential.

59. The Council has repeatedly dealt with the racist policy of oppression and aggression in South Africa, which is the source of a constant threat to international peace and security. By disregarding all the decisions and appeals of the world Organization, the Pretoria régime has further intensified its policy of terror and aggression. One of the latest examples of this is the arbitrary death sentences imposed by that régime on three South African patriots, in violation of all human rights.

60. The reason why the *apartheid* régime continues to this day to dare to disregard United Nations decisions and to oppose the overwhelming majority of world public opinion can be found in the continuing support given to Pretoria by imperialist States and monopolies. This applies first and foremost to economic, military and nuclear co-operation with South Africa by some Western States.

61. On the issue of nuclear co-operation, in paragraph 68 of its report, the Committee notes that:

“The majority view was that South Africa was striving to produce nuclear weapons in collaboration with Western States. The acquisition by South Africa of any nuclear capacity posed a significant threat to the countries in the region and to international peace and security.”

62. The necessary conclusions are quite unambiguous. An immediate end to any type of co-operation with the heinous *apartheid* régime, a co-operation which only encourages it in its policy of disregarding United Nations resolutions, and its complete international isolation should compel Pretoria to forswear its policy of *apartheid*.

63. The measures proposed in the report are a first step in that direction. They should be supplemented with comprehensive binding measures in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, as was once more demanded by the General Assembly a few days ago in its relevant resolutions.

64. On the most diverse pretexts, some imperialist circles are opposing the application of sanctions against South Africa. In this regard, reference is made to so-called legal difficulties and it is also asserted that sanctions are not the appropriate method of obtaining political goals. It is, however, well known that NATO circles are most irresponsibly and in disregard of all the lessons of history, continuing to discuss the possibility of declaring sanctions against socialist countries, and with one goal in mind: the revival of the policy of the cold war. Apparently, for such sanctions all the reservations that those same imperialist representatives put forward in the present case fall by the wayside. Here it is clear to everyone that sanctions against the racist *apartheid* régime, which is condemned by the overwhelming majority of the Member States, are something that those imperialist circles simply wish to prevent.

65. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic believes that, particularly on the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the existence of the *apartheid* régime as a last bastion of the colonial, racist past in southern Africa is a serious challenge to world public opinion, a challenge we should meet accordingly.

66. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): In conformity with resolution 473 (1980), the Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) has in the time allotted prepared the report requested of it, which has just been introduced by the Chairman of that Committee, Ambassador Kaiser, the representative of Bangladesh.

67. That report, which provides an exhaustive analysis of the situation, contains a whole series of recommendations that could make the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa more effective. We have studied that excellent report with all the seriousness appropriate to so grave a subject. We listened very attentively and with much interest to the introductory statement just made by Ambassador Kaiser, as well as to the initial comments of our other colleagues.

68. It is not our intention today to consider in detail the implications of a complete and total arms embargo against South Africa, which we cannot dissociate from the over-all situation stemming from the inhuman policy of *apartheid* practised by the Pretoria racist régime. At this stage we shall confine ourselves to highlighting a few aspects which should provide food for thought.

69. In spite of the mandatory embargo decreed by resolution 418 (1977), we have observed that Pretoria is still able to obtain weapons—increasingly sophisticated weapons. What we are in fact faced with is the transfer of advanced technology. We have also seen that there are still numerous and varied sources of supply and that the channels used towards that end are as complex as they are numerous. Lastly, we have noted that Pretoria is now, because of the assistance it receives from its allies and partners, able to set up on its own a genuine arms industry.

70. It should be recalled here that the arsenal offered to South Africa is intended solely for the intensification of repression and oppression against the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. It therefore serves the policy of continued outright aggression against neighbouring African countries.

71. These considerations should not escape us when we are called upon to reach a decision on the recommendations contained in the Committee's report, which seem to us to be conducive to strengthening the arms embargo against South Africa.

72. I cannot conclude without expressing my profound conviction that this remarkable work could not have been accomplished, under conditions of which we are aware, without the tact and skill of my good friend Ambassador Kaiser, without the dedication and perseverance he has shown, without his competence and knowledge. May he find in these remarks an expression of our fraternal thanks and our sincere appreciation of, and great esteem for, his efforts and the invaluable contribution he and his delegation have made to the work of the Council during its term of office. I should like to say how touched I was by the kind remarks he made about me during his statement today. I am all the more pleased to congratulate him, since Ambassador Kaiser represents a fraternal country with which Tunisia has always had the best of relations—exemplary and privileged relations.

73. We extend the same thanks and appreciation to the two Vice-Chairmen of the Committee—my good friends Ambassador Oumarou of the Niger and Ambassador Muñoz Ledo of Mexico, whose outstanding contribution to the preparation of the report was of decisive importance.

74. I should also like to associate myself with the words of commendation addressed to the Committee's secretariat, and in particular to Mr. Rifai, for the efforts he made.

75. As this year comes to an end, please allow me to extend my best wishes to you, Mr. President, to all my colleagues, and to the Secretary-General; and to those whose terms of office are concluding, my heartfelt regrets and best wishes for future success.

76. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): As the hour is late and we shall have an opportunity to return to the topic now before the Council, I shall not reiterate my delegation's position on the important and very interesting report before us. However, I should like to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Committee, Ambassador Kaiser, who had some very kind words for me which touched me deeply. I wish also to convey my thanks to the Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Muñoz Ledo and Ambassador Oumarou, for the constructive spirit in which they have conducted the work of the Committee since the beginning of the year.

77. If, as is to be hoped, this is the last meeting of the Council before the end of the year, I shall conclude this brief statement by saying the following.

78. The year's end always has a touch of melancholy to it and that is indeed my feeling this evening. I am influenced by the fact that next year we shall be deprived of the presence of several very distinguished members of the Council. You yourself, Mr. President, are reportedly to leave us. I hope to have another opportunity to pay a tribute to you, but let me say now that all the regrets of the French delegation

accompany you in your departure. We have admired the exemplary way in which you have discharged your duties as Permanent Representative of the United States; you have carried out an important task for your country and have made a major contribution to the cause of peace. You will not be forgotten.

79. Let me also say how very much we have appreciated the role played by our five colleagues who will be leaving the Council at the end of this year. I have been honoured with their friendship and have benefited as well from their experience, advice and competence. These two years with them have been enriching to me, and I am deeply grateful for them.

80. To you, Mr. President, and to our colleagues from Bangladesh, Jamaica, Norway, Portugal and Zambia, allow me to convey my warmest best wishes for personal happiness and for continued success in your respective careers.

81. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): I simply wish to express similar sentiments, although I shall do it with less elegance, perhaps, than my French colleague has just done.

82. First, I would like to thank very warmly those delegations which were good enough to say nice things about the conduct of the presidency last month by my delegation.

83. I would like to bid a very fond farewell, but it only extends—as far as this horseshoe table is concerned—to our excellent friends and colleagues from the delegations of Norway, Portugal, Zambia, Bangladesh and Jamaica. I would like to say an especial word of thanks to Ambassador Kaiser for the totally undeserved but very kind words that he addressed to me. All I can say is that, if I had been expressing my own sentiments towards him, I would have spoken similarly but less eloquently.

84. And finally, Mr. President, although I know you do not welcome compliments, I would like to say that you and all those in the United States delegation who will no longer be with us after 20 January take with you the very best wishes for the future from the whole British delegation.

85. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representatives of Bangladesh, Mexico, Tunisia, France and the United Kingdom for the kind words they addressed to me.

86. There are no further speakers. As has been agreed among the members of the Council, consultations will be held in January, with a view to continuing the consideration of this agenda item.

87. I call on the representative of Tunisia.

The situation in the Middle East

88. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to say a few words before the meeting adjourns.

89. We have just been informed that during the night of 17-18 December the south of Lebanon was the target of a dastardly and serious act of aggression which resulted in casualties among innocent victims and caused great material damage. According to the information available to me, that attack was part of a premeditated and co-ordinated plan between Israel and the *de facto* forces. I cannot fail to point out here that at the very time the Council was meeting to renew the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and to call upon the parties concerned to co-operate with the Force, somewhere in that region Israel and its collaborators were preparing another odious attack on Lebanon.

90. Israel's response to the deliberations of the Council is an insult to the international community.

91. I have just been informed that the Secretary-General has today made a statement on the subject to the press. With your permission, Mr. President, and with the indulgence of the other members of the Council, may I request, despite the lateness of the hour, that you give us more information on these grave incidents. Perhaps the Secretary-General himself could help us by providing a little more information on what has just occurred.

92. The PRESIDENT: If the Council has no objection, I shall call on the Secretary-General.

93. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Before answering the question put to me by the representative of Tunisia, may I be permitted to thank the representatives of the outgoing members of the Council who have expressed their appreciation of my efforts and those of my colleagues in the Secretariat. May I reciprocate those feelings most warmly and thank them for their unfailing co-operation and support.

94. Allow me also, Mr. President, to say how greatly I have appreciated your understanding, your unfailing courtesy and all the help you have extended to me and my colleagues during your tenure of office here at the United Nations. I extend to you my warmest best wishes for the future.

95. I am deeply concerned by the outbreak of serious incidents over the last 48 hours in south Lebanon to which the representative of Tunisia has just referred.

96. During the night of 17-18 December, a number of houses were destroyed by explosives in seven villages in the UNIFIL area of operation. In the village of Brashit, which is located in the Irish sector, three civilians were killed, four seriously wounded and others injured. The Irish battalion deployed patrols to the south and west of the village, which came under fire, as did an armoured personnel carrier, which was being moved to assist in Brashit.

97. The Israeli forces have denied any involvement in these incidents. However the radio station of the *de facto* forces stated that both they and the Israeli forces were involved. From the evidence available, UNIFIL believes that the incidents were well planned and co-ordinated.

98. On 18 December, in a separate incident in the Norwegian sector, a 15-year-old boy was kidnapped outside the village of Kafr Hamman by persons believed to be members of the *de facto* forces. He was later found killed, with eight shots through the stomach and chest.

99. During the night of 18 to 19 December, there were exchanges of fire in the western and eastern sectors. In the former, *de facto* forces fired 12 rounds of artillery into the Tyre pocket and into the village of Al-Mansuri, in the Dutch area. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) returned six rounds of mortar fire. In the eastern sector, the *de facto* forces fired approximately 400 rounds from the Marjayoun area towards Hasbaiya, using artillery, mortar and tanks. The PLO returned the fire, using approximately 55 rounds of artillery and mortar. UNIFIL also observed considerable activity by the Israeli defence forces, helicopters and jet aircraft in the Nabatiyeh and Khardala areas.

100. In the course of the exchange of fire in the north-east sector, a Norwegian soldier was seriously wounded near Ebel Es-Saqi.

101. I strongly deplore these latest acts of violence, which follow closely upon the renewal of the UNIFIL mandate, a fact that was stressed by the Ambassador of Tunisia. It will be recalled that, in my statement to the Council on 17 December [2258th meeting], I pointed out that the level of armed activity in the UNIFIL area was inconsistent both with the resolutions of the Council and with the assurances that had been given to the Force.

102. I once again appeal to all concerned to desist from actions which inevitably lead to violent reactions and instead to co-operate with UNIFIL in the fulfilment of its tasks. I hope that members of the Council in a position to bring their influence to bear will exercise that influence with the parties, with a view to restoring and maintaining peaceful conditions in southern Lebanon and to helping UNIFIL to fulfil its mandate.

103. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): From the report we have just heard from the Secretary-General and also from information which has reached us through the media, it is obvious that the Security Council—and primarily Lebanon—are faced with yet another aggressive act on the part of Israel. In that connection, we should like to say the following.

104. First, only today [2260th meeting], in connection with the statement made by the representative of Israel [2259th meeting], we expressed the view that that statement was nothing more than a smoke-screen or a manoeuvre to distract us. We were quite correct in our warning, but it must be stated quite bluntly that we had not expected that Israeli diplomacy would take such a hypocritical, cynical form.

105. Secondly, one further warning was borne out—a warning made by the Soviet delegation the day before yesterday [2258th meeting], in the discussion of the renewal of the mandate of UNIFIL. At that time we pointed out that the danger for Lebanon stemmed precisely from the aggressive policies of Israel towards that country. Now we can all be convinced of that.

106. Thirdly, it appears to me that in view of the seriousness of the situation, the full extent of which is not entirely clear at the present time, we should be acting correctly if the President were to propose as a minimum to the members of the Council, in view of the fact that the week-end is upon us, that they stand by so as to make it possible, if necessary, for the Council to meet immediately in order to take steps to counter the aggressive actions of Israel.

107. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): The year is not yet concluded, since we still have 12 more days to go. Also we have just heard a very sad report on Lebanon, although it is not yet conclusive. Further, I do not think we have finalized our programme of work in relation to the report of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979).

108. Is my understanding therefore correct, Mr. President, that it is possible that the Council will meet before 31 December? If my understanding is correct, then such an occasion will offer my delegation a favourable opportunity for replying to the very kind and generous words extended to us by some of our colleagues, as we leave the Council at midnight on 31 December.

109. The PRESIDENT: The President is fully at the disposition of the Council with regard to this and any other subject that the Council wishes to discuss.

110. I would say that it is my intention to adjourn the meeting, without pursuing this subject at this time. It would seem to me that we are in danger of engaging in a protracted discussion without having gone through the proper procedures.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

NOTE

¹ Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia.

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