



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

2040th MEETING: 26 OCTOBER 1977

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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.

2040TH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 26 October 1977, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Rikhi JAIPAL (India).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, Canada, China, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2040)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The question of South Africa:

Letter dated 20 October 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12420)

The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question of South Africa:

Letter dated 20 October 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12420)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken by the Council at its earlier meetings, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Botswana, Guinea, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Togo, Tunisia and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bedjaoui (Algeria), Mr. Tlou (Botswana), Mr. Camara (Guinea), Mr. Garba (Nigeria), Mr. Baroody (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Kamara (Senegal), Mr. Kodjovi (Togo), Mr. Mestiri (Tunisia) and Mr. Dinh Ba Thi, (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Guyana, Lesotho, the Niger and the United Republic of Cameroon in which they have requested that they should be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to

invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

3. In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table, I invite the representatives of Guyana, Lesotho, the Niger and the United Republic of Cameroon to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber on the usual understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when they wish to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Jackson (Guyana), Mr. Molapo (Lesotho), Mr. Poisson (Niger) and Mr. Oyono (United Republic of Cameroon) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them the revised texts of the four draft resolutions sponsored by the delegations of Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius in documents S/12309/Rev.1, S/12310/Rev.1, S/12311/Rev.1 and S/12312/Rev.1. At a later stage in our proceedings, I shall call upon the representative of Mauritius to introduce these drafts.

5. Mr. RIOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the request of Ambassador Mestiri of Tunisia and the representative of Sri Lanka, Ambassador Amerasinghe, and because of the pressure of the international community, the Security Council is meeting once again as the supreme organ for the maintenance of international peace and security in order to adopt measures following the resurgence of the violence upon which the racist Pretoria régime has embarked with unprecedented virulence against the native population of southern Africa. The information media which appealed for conciliation or demanded justice have, in a surprise move, been closed and their publishers threatened or gaoled. Faced with such outrages, even the traditional friends of South Africa have been forced to think seriously about the gravity of the problem. There is every indication that they will no longer remain unmoved witnesses of the African tragedy. Some have recalled their ambassadors for consultation in a pathetic gesture of repudiation of the outrages of unleashed racism.

6. It is a most interesting coincidence that, under the guidance of a representative of India, we are once more going to consider, at one of its critical stages, the question of South Africa. It was the immigrants from India who, under the leadership of the venerable Mahatma Gandhi, raised for the first time the flag of rebellion against the

revolting practices of discrimination in South Africa. Today, when racism, fearful and beleaguered, resorts to the most reprehensible excesses, the descendants of those who rose up with Mahatma Gandhi together with their African brothers to face terror, are there determined to give even their lives in exchange for the right of their children to be truly free.

7. Men and women throughout the world were disturbed and justly indignant at this new outbreak of aggression against human rights and fundamental freedoms on the part of the arrogant racists. The matter has become so grave that there is no longer room for palliatives or partial solutions. The Council has only one course before it, which is none other than to adopt energetic measures that will put an end once and for all to the killings and torture that have become institutionalized under the *apartheid* Government headed by Vorster.

8. We have listened most carefully to the statements made before the Council by the representative of Tunisia on behalf of the Organization of African Unity [2036th meeting], by Mr. Sibeko, representative of the Pan Africanist Congress [*ibid.*], and by other outstanding sons of Africa. They have all made a dramatic appeal that cannot be left without an adequate response by the Council. From what they have said, the conviction clearly emerges that any hesitation or abstention would only serve to encourage the fanatics among the white minority of South Africa to strengthen their repressive measures and further jeopardize peace not only in Africa but throughout the world. As we see it, the time for making amends is past. Now we must apply just measures to heal the open wounds of the African people that are the result of more than 300 years of foreign and colonial domination.

9. For years, the Security Council has been meeting to find formulas that would permit us to arrive at a solution of the South African problem. Resolutions have been adopted which express energetic condemnation of the racist régime and support of the victims of violence and oppression. Those resolutions demand that an end must be put to the crimes being committed daily against the native population both in South Africa and in the usurped Territory of Namibia. Those resolutions have also expressed the most energetic repudiation of the policy of bantustanization which, as is known, is no more than a subterfuge, a trick, a vain attempt of the masters of *apartheid* to emasculate the rebellion of the African people.

10. As will be seen, the Government of the white minority in South Africa has turned a deaf ear to United Nations demands. It has not merely disregarded the organisation's appeal to return to common sense, it has even mocked that appeal. Instead, its tyranny has become more iron-willed, more abusive and more bloody. Students, newspaper reporters, farmers, children, men and women have been victims of this racial madness which cries out to be halted by whatever means.

11. It has rightly often been said that the South African régime only exists because of the assistance it receives from other Powers, particularly in the economic field. That is why I venture to make a pressing appeal to Governments which maintain close relations with South Africa—some of

which are represented in the Council—to exercise, honestly and with the utmost seriousness, their influence on those who govern South Africa so that they may see the light of reason and try to find the way to proceed, without delay, towards a majority Government that will assure fundamental freedoms for the people. They had better do it soon before it is too late.

12. We do not wish to dwell on a lengthy enumeration of the crimes committed by the *apartheid* system; they are all so well known that to repeat them would not serve any purpose. I repeat that we are certain that the time for speeches and lengthy expositions on this distressing subject is running out; in other words, the time for decisions has come, and the delegation of Panama is able to support any proposal for arriving at those decisions and particularly for implementing them faithfully.

13. I conclude this brief statement by categorically stating that the Government and people of Panama, in a gesture of brotherhood, support the 20 million victims of *apartheid* and encourage them to continue the struggle in the certainty that victory is not far off.

14. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Guinea. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

15. Mr. CAMARA (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): My statement this afternoon on southern Africa will be brief because almost everything has already been said, and said repeatedly, on this burning and topical question.

16. This month of October, which coincides with the anniversary of the birth of the venerable Mahatma Gandhi, is marked also by the accession to the presidency of the Security Council of the representative of India, a friendly country which, immediately upon its admission to membership in the United Nations, saw to it that the question of *apartheid* was placed on the agenda of the General Assembly. While addressing to you, Sir, our congratulations on this happy distinction, we should also like to express our satisfaction at the friendly and fraternal relations existing between your great country and the Republic of Guinea.

17. The past year has marked a decisive stage in the history of South Africa, where, since the Soweto massacre on 16 June, resistance on the part of the people has spread throughout the country.

18. Although it is at bay and incapable of ordering its affairs or of maintaining peace and security, the South African régime has never ceased to commit the most barbarous acts of aggression against the neighbouring African countries while mercilessly crushing the black populations which have been reduced to the wretched status of slaves who can be exploited at will. But history teaches us that a man who exploits another, a man who oppresses his fellow, can never be a free man and that the more the oppressive machinery of the *apartheid* régime is strengthened, the more terrible the anger of the people will be. Thus, in peaceful demonstration after peaceful demonstration, the fraternal people of South Africa has drawn the attention of world opinion to the hateful crimes daily perpetrated against it. As at Sharpeville, the peaceful

resistance of the children of Soweto was met by Vorster's henchmen with indescribable violence.

19. In 1977, deeply concerned at the situation in southern Africa and particularly in Azania, the Security Council met to consider what measures should be taken to restore peace and justice in that sorely tried region of our continent. In March, confronted by the determination of certain of its members, and not the least important among them, the Council allowed itself a period for reflection of over seven months. The proponents of *apartheid* have taken advantage of this breathing space to engage in savage and increasingly murderous practices. In view of the thousands of innocent victims of this discredited régime, which is prepared to listen only to the voice of violence, if the Council were to show the slightest hesitation in shouldering its responsibility, world peace itself would be jeopardized.

20. My country, the Republic of Guinea, has always denounced the South African régime and my delegation has never ceased to advocate immediate energetic action by the Council, for Vorster is daily demonstrating that he is not prepared to heed his Western allies, and far less the United Nations.

21. Confronted with this arrogance of the Pretoria Government, we approve the following measures: an arms embargo, an oil embargo, the breaking off of all forms of co-operation with that hateful régime.

22. My delegation unconditionally supports the proposals contained in the draft resolutions submitted to the Council by Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius. We regard these measures as a minimum to be given to the martyred populations of southern Africa, where the black man is reduced to the status of a beast of burden in his own country by cynical usurpers and is deprived of all rights.

23. The countries opposed to armed struggle now see that option vindicated, for it is the only way of avenging the victims of *apartheid* and restoring the black man of South Africa to the freedom and dignity wrongfully confiscated by the assassins of Pretoria.

24. Thus, while vigorously condemning the racist régime of South Africa for the massive repression and for the acts of violence perpetrated against the African populations of the region, my delegation reiterates its entire support for the provisions in draft resolutions S/12309, S/12310, S/12311 and S/12312 of 29 March 1977, which were issued today in a revised version. My Government hopes that the members of the Council will heed the appeal of the world community, so that freedom, equality and justice may at last triumph in South Africa and that the true sons of that country may regain their inalienable rights.

25. The responsibility for safeguarding world peace and security, which is the very reason for existence of the Security Council, must be shouldered with courage and determination. No consideration, of an economy or any other nature, must stand in the way of the adoption and strict implementation of measures to safeguard world peace.

26. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Guinea for the kind words he addressed to me and my country. It was very nice of him, indeed, to have recalled the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, which fell on 2 October of this month.

27. The next speaker is the representative of Guyana. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

28. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): Mr. President, let me first of all express the thanks and gratitude of my delegation to the members of the Council for allowing me to participate in this debate on the situation in South Africa. I wish also to say how pleased my delegation is to see you, presiding over these debates. For, among other things, it was your country, India, which, as far back as 1946, first raised in the United Nations the reprehensible character of the conduct of South Africa. We are confident that in your superintendence of the work of the Council during the month of October, the exercise of your responsibilities will be informed by the attributes of geniality, of wisdom, of tact and of diplomatic skill with which you are so generously blessed. We are confident as well that your own commitment to pursue what is right and what is just will make its mark on the decisions which the Council will adopt at the conclusion of these debates.

29. As everyone knows, the United Nations has been concerned with the phenomenon of *apartheid* for a generation. During that period, the archives of the Organization have accumulated years of documents and resolutions which chronicle the activities of the *apartheid* régime at Pretoria and which contain the conclusions and decisions of the Organization. Those documents, those resolutions, those decisions, reflect the abhorrence of peoples the world over of *apartheid*. Many have been the entreaties and exhortations to the South African régime to mend its ways. Many have been the condemnations of its actions. Suffice it to say that the reaction of the racists at Pretoria has been arrogant and brutish. The response has always been the ruthless repression of the voices within South Africa raised against oppression and clamouring for freedom, and the contumacious defiance of the Organization by the *apartheid* régime.

30. Three years ago, in October 1974, the Council conducted a thoroughgoing debate on the future relationships of South Africa with the United Nations. The Council was unable to take a decision as three vetoes were cast: by France, by the United Kingdom and by the United States. I do not recall those debates now in order to reactivate the proposal then made for the expulsion of South Africa. I recall them really in an effort to recapture the mood prevailing at that time and to review some positions then held concerning the dynamics for change in racist South Africa. For I believe that such an analysis, enriched by a perceptive appreciation of subsequent developments and the interplay of forces which those developments encompass, can usefully inform the Council as to the option for action which it can and should exercise under the provisions of the Charter.

31. Speaking in the Council on 24 October 1974 [1800th meeting], the representative of the racist minority clique,

now holding a so-called portfolio for foreign affairs, said *inter alia*: "We shall do everything in our power to move away from discrimination based on race or colour". Subsequently Vorster, the racist leader of that clique, pointedly emitted hints of impending changes when he said: "If South Africa is given [a] chance, [the critics] will be surprised at where the country will stand in six to twelve months' time".

32. Within the Council at that time there were members who viewed those effusions with some degree of optimism. The then representative of France, now Minister for Foreign Affairs, said [1808th meeting]:

"... our world is developing and the situation of Africa is developing. It has changed since last year in the immediate vicinity of southern Africa. There are new factors appearing and those who are stubbornly opposed to change must take them into account. Perhaps they are doing so already, and perhaps they may be led to do so through our unanimous impatience."

33. Ambassador Ivor Richard of the United Kingdom also spoke on this aspect of the question. In giving a reason for his Government's stand against the expulsion of South Africa, he said [*ibid.*]:

"It would make it difficult, if not impossible, for the Organization to explore and exploit the recent statements made both here and in South Africa which hold out some hope of change in the right direction."

Later in his statement, Ambassador Richard had this to say:

"In the statement we heard from the representative of South Africa on 24 October, we were told of progress towards ending racial discrimination. We were given to expect more progress."

Ambassador Richard then spoke of the régime's attitude to two other questions which perhaps concern us only tangentially at this stage. In referring to hints given concerning those questions, Ambassador Richard said:

"Let those promises be redeemed; let the hopes then aroused be fulfilled; let South Africa fit its actions to its words. The time is very late; but in our view, it is not too late."

Finally, in conveying the reluctance with which his Government decided to oppose the proposal for expulsion, Ambassador Richard said:

"In so doing we are giving South Africa a further opportunity of putting its affairs in order. I hope it will recognize the weight of international opinion that is opposed to its policies. I hope it will heed the voices we have all heard in this chamber. I trust it will act accordingly."

34. On his part, Ambassador Scali, speaking on behalf of the United States, observed [*ibid.*]:

"We are heartened, indeed, by some encouraging words in this chamber voiced by the representative of South

Africa. On 24 October, he himself implied that the South African Government was responding not in a vacuum but in reaction to world events, not the least of which has been the condemnation of South Africa's *apartheid* and Namibian and Rhodesian policies within this international Organization."

Later in his speech, in arguing against expulsion as a desirable means of securing the compliance of the Pretoria régime with United Nations resolutions, Ambassador Scali said:

"My Government believes that this kind of all-or-nothing approach would be a major strategic mistake, especially at a time when we are hearing what may be new voices of conciliation out of South Africa. These new voices should be tested."

35. Thus, three years ago, expectations were harboured by some members of the international community, including some permanent members of the Council, that the majority expression of abhorrence of *apartheid*, that the pressure of condemnation by the United Nations, that a system of voluntary arms embargo, and that the assertions of good intentions by spokesmen on behalf of the Vorster régime would induce a change in the policies of the Pretoria régime.

36. More recently, in March of this year, the Security Council debated the situation in South Africa. Those debates were, it is true, inconclusive. Yet there was a residual mood of optimism in some quarters that some changes would be evident. There should not there cannot—be many today who still feel such a mood. The recent severe repressive actions of the Vorster régime should shatter the confidence of even the most ardent faithful.

37. Viewed objectively, the immediate reasons which cause us to be here today are but a part of a continuum. For, in 1960, Sharpeville etched itself crudely in the pages of history as an episode of the inhumane limits of *apartheid*; and Soweto, in 1976, demonstrated the fortitude and determination of the young to breach and dismantle the fortifications of *apartheid*.

38. The recent actions of the minority régime at Pretoria aimed at frustrating the forces for freedom in South Africa therefore represent only the latest manifestation of *apartheid* and the extent to which that régime is prepared to go to sustain that system. For the white tribe in South Africa, which has embraced that belief system, has equipped itself with mechanisms designed to perpetuate the structure of *apartheid*. Whatever else *apartheid* is, it is not, as its followers proclaim, separate development. It is, in reality, the advance and development of the whites and the suppression of everyone else. It is a serious attempt at the institutionalization of white domination in South Africa.

39. Guyana believes that a period of three years, when taken in conjunction with the flow of events since, is more than sufficient time in which to test those "new voices" which some heard in October 1974. Nor does Guyana believe that, although the time was very late in October 1974, it is still, in October 1977, "not too late". Further,

Guyana does not believe that, after three years, "our unanimous impatience", of which the former representative of France, Ambassador de Guiringaud, spoke so eloquently, has not flagged.

40. New voices are indeed being heard within Azania. They are not, as my delegation sees it, however, the same voices as those identified by Ambassador Scali in October 1974. The voices we hear today are those of the young black people of that unhappy land. Some, like Steve Biko, have been silenced for ever. But there are many more in continuous resonance passing the messages of freedom one to the other. Linked together, those voices illuminate the real path to freedom. In unison, those voices form the unshakeable guarantee for the recovery of the dignity of the oppressed masses in Azania.

41. As I said in the debate on Namibia in the General Assembly a week ago:

"... racists never undergo self-induced change. History has attested to this verity no less within societies than in relations which extend beyond national boundaries. Those who practise racism have to be pressured into accommodating to change."¹

Change in South Africa will come about when, in support of the struggle by the oppressed people of Azania, unrelenting pressure is exerted on Pretoria in all fields: moral, political, military and economic.

42. Over the years, concerned citizens, non-governmental organizations, individual States Members of the United Nations and all those who form part of the pan-Africanist movement have been active in this regard. Their persistent work has contributed significantly to the unfolding of the true dimensions of *apartheid* and their dedicated efforts have assisted in the creation of a widespread and appreciative public opinion fully committed to the eradication of the evil and abhorrent system that is *apartheid*. Above all, their basic humanistic concerns, rooted in moral conviction, have given such citizens, groups and States a finely focused perception of the remedies to be taken, remedies which are as necessary as they are appropriate.

43. The non-aligned movement, side by side with the Organization of African Unity, has been in the forefront in pointing the way to correct solutions to the tragedy which the racists in South Africa have imposed on the oppressed people of that country and to the challenge which those racists have thrown down to the international community. At the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Coordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi, the capital of your own country, Mr. President, we reaffirmed our full support to the people of Azania and reiterated our oft-expressed conviction that the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, should utilize all the means at its disposal to bring the South African racists to heel.

44. There have been other collective expressions of support. At the Summit meeting of the Commonwealth

countries, held in London in June of this year, heads of Government recognized that South Africa played a central role in perpetuating the problems of southern Africa. They expressed their deep concern at the increasing danger to international peace and security which had arisen, *inter alia*, from the continuing intransigence of the racist minority régime in South Africa.

45. *Apartheid* stands universally condemned; no one-- apart from the racists themselves--defends it. The critical question is what effective action the Security Council should take to hasten the dismantlement of the apparatus of *apartheid*, a result which is desired by the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa and the international community. Thus, the Council is today faced with a grave responsibility: it is to decide what action it can best take at this moment that would advance the cause of freedom in South Africa.

46. In the final analysis, it is the people of Azania who will wrest their freedom from the racists and who will recover their dignity. The task is essentially theirs. The members of the international community, individually and collectively, must discharge their obligations to put pressure on the Pretoria régime and isolate it, and, in that regard, the Council must act decisively. It should no longer defer to the "whitemail" of South Africa; nor indeed is a commitment to be committed enough.

47. In a display of courage and commitment to act, the Security Council exercised its authority in 1968 when it invoked the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter in applying mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia--Zimbabwe. Today the Council is faced with an even graver situation in South Africa. It should no longer equivocate; it should no longer hesitate at the door which leads to decisive action. Guyana calls for the application of mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

48. Many peoples with representatives at the United Nations are working resolutely for the early attainment of such an objective. People all over the world desire such action--not least among them are those of the black diaspora.

49. The questions of freedom and human dignity have been part of the international agenda for a long time. Guyana hopes that the decision the Council will take on the issue of South Africa will be informed by the example of dedicated individuals and the actions of mature statesmen who choose no other course than that which pursues justice and that which requires courage founded on conviction.

50. When the history of this period is written, the achievements of those people who have fought for and stood steadfastly by principles will be recorded no less accurately than those who have abandoned those principles on the altar of short-term needs.

51. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Lesotho. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

52. Mr. MOLAPO (Lesotho): Once again this august Council is discussing the malignant cancer of *apartheid*

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 36th meeting, para. 37.

South Africa, which gnaws at the basic fabric of the United Nations; a disease which has up to now defied the remedies of the basic principles enshrined in the Charter and the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It is not too late to perform radical surgery to rid this Organization and the world community of this cancerous growth. Now is the time that the Council should squarely shoulder its responsibilities under the Charter and adopt measures that will ensure the death and burial for ever of the inhuman and debased *apartheid* system. It is this *apartheid* system which faces the Organization with a situation of racial confrontation and bloodshed in South Africa.

53. It is perhaps fate that has destined you, Mr. President, a great son of India, to preside over this very important and historic meeting. It was your great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who first led an organized opposition to the *apartheid* and racial discrimination of South Africa. It is India, your great country, which has been in the forefront of the fight for respect of basic human rights in South Africa; indeed, it was India which raised the question of *apartheid* and racial discrimination at the United Nations. We should like to extend to you our sincere congratulations on seeing you preside over the current deliberations of the Council. We are confident that your background and your well-known diplomatic skills will enable you to guide these deliberations to a successful and effective conclusion.

54. We should like to thank you, Mr. President, and through you the other members of the Council for allowing my delegation to participate in this debate.

55. The military, political and emotional cross-currents now sweeping across South Africa are an echo of the salient and shrill wailing of this era's greatest human tragedy. The era I refer to is that of the United Nations. The wailing I refer to is that of 22 million South Africans, which has echoed inside and outside the walls of this most imposing institution during the past 20 years. The tragedy now glaring the Council in the eyes is that South Africa is seized with desperate irrationality, determined as it is to cause more misery, more bloodshed, more social and political instability than already exists. The echo is salient and shrill because the problems of racism and *apartheid* have been brought to the United Nations with ever-increasing urgency and frequency for the past 30 years.

56. The Government of Lesotho wishes to remind every member of the Council that the United Nations was founded and built on the ruins of a war triggered by men subject to the same kind of illusions and irrationality as now characterize the leadership of the racist régime in South Africa. The irrationality and illusions of that minority lie in the belief that 22 million South Africans must be condemned to prison without trial, massacred and murdered in cold blood, denied their basic human rights and forcibly uprooted from their homes to live in desolate reserves called bantustans.

57. The actions of that frightened minority, buttressed as they are by a twisted religious, historical and economic ideology of sorts, are in many respects similar to those of the irrational clique that plunged the world into a war in

1939. Let the Council make sure that this same irrationality does not plunge the world into another war.

58. Over 30 years ago, the attention of the United Nations was drawn to the effects of this obnoxious ideology of *apartheid* when hundreds of thousands of South Africans were banished from colleges and universities under the detested Bantu Education Act. The effects of that law are the current situation in Soweto, Mamelodi, Langa and other places in South Africa. And a direct effect of Langa, Soweto and Mamelodi is the influx into Lesotho of students fleeing repressive laws. Lesotho has always welcomed the role it plays in this respect.

59. During the same period, South Africa went ahead with its primitive experiment of physically, morally and emotionally separating the peoples of South Africa into bantustans. During this period, when practical *apartheid* was forcefully applied with solemn and definite ruthlessness, South Africa has never breathed freely. Thousands of men and women have spent their lives in the nightmarish prisons of South Africa, fearful that like Steve Biko and others, the strong-armed Boss would batter them to death. We in Lesotho, whose task and responsibility during this entire period have been to act as wakeful witnesses to this monstrous system, have become heirs of all that spiritual strength, human dignity and political morality which has been fostered by our resolve to fight against that monstrosity.

60. It is my Government's view that the past 30 years of persuasion, encouragement and even cajoling on the part of the Organization must now be viewed in the current perspective of the developments in South Africa. The most basic condition for all political life in South Africa is that the African majority must now have their fundamental and inalienable rights of freedom of speech, religion, movement and assembly as all free men have in their own countries.

61. In the past 11 years, since Lesotho has been a Member of the Organization, it has been Lesotho's constant wish to arouse and to sensitize the international community to the dangers posed by racism and *apartheid*.

62. The present clamp-down on black opposition elements in South Africa must be seen in the broader context of the grand scheme of the South African Government to stam-pede the Asian and Coloured populations in that country into the mainstream of the laager mentality of the South African National Party. The Pretoria régime has taken those drastic steps as a new platform on which Mr. Vorster plans to seek the mandate of the white electorate to carry out his design to revise the Constitution of South Africa so as to grant token political rights to the Asian and Coloured populations, thus undercutting their contribution to the resistance movement.

63. Even under the new constitutional arrangements, whites in South Africa will still wield the preponderant power, while blacks are relegated to impoverished homelands which will serve as reservoirs of cheap labour. The harsh measures taken by the South African régime are only a signal for worse things to come. Mr. Vorster is now seeking the mandate of his white electorate to challenge the

United Nations, flout its resolutions and impose more ruthless measures on the already oppressed black majority.

64. The black people of South Africa have suffered for years under the twin historical anachronisms of racial superiority and minority oppression. My Government warned the international community years ago that the diminishing chances for a peaceful solution of the problem of *apartheid* would usher in a new era of racial confrontation and bloodshed.

65. Recent provocative actions of South Africa—namely, the murdering of prisoners like Biko, the imprisonment of Qoboza and 50 other African leaders and the banning of black organizations and black newspapers—are goading the Security Council and the international community into taking some punitive action against the South African régime. It is unfortunate that the world community has allowed the present racist minority leadership at Pretoria in its arrogance and intransigence to call down upon itself and the innocent people of South Africa this painful course of action. It is also unfortunate that, by those actions, South Africa is technically passing on the effects of whatever action the Council will recommend to independent African countries in the region, countries such as my own, Lesotho.

66. It is, however, important for the Council to be mindful of the fact that my Prime Minister, Mr. Leabua Jonathan, as long ago as 1972, warned that, unless a negotiated and peaceful solution of the problems of South African *apartheid* and racial discrimination was pursued with the urgency it deserved, the world would have to face a drastic and dangerous situation in which violence would be resorted to. We are all witness to the fact that it is the South African régime, and not the black oppressed masses of South Africa, which has intensified its resort to more concerted and brutal violence against South Africans. It is those masses which are being forced to take up arms in self-defence. Whenever a veto is cast by one of the permanent members of the Security Council on the question of South Africa, the racist régime and its collaborators sing and make merry, because a veto to them is an approval and an endorsement of the *apartheid* racist policies of South Africa.

67. South Africa portrays itself as a beleaguered country up against a world of hostile nations all poised to strike at it at the first available opportunity. Recent happenings, however, reveal that quite the contrary is the case. What we see is a country determined to violate every single moral principle that guides and is held sacred by all civilized societies. No, the world is not out to get South Africa; it is South Africa which is saying "to hell with the rest of the world".

68. The problem posed by *apartheid* may be an academic one to some members of the Council, but to us in Lesotho it is a very real one indeed. Each time there is a massacre in South Africa, be it in Carletonville, Sharpeville or Soweto, we in Lesotho must up-date our statistics on widows and orphan children; we must dig a few more graves. Because of our geographic location, hardly any economic or political decision can be made in South Africa which does not directly or indirectly affect us. Needless to add, any joint

action by the international community against South Africa would not affect us any less.

69. Two myths are often advanced by the South African Government and by apologists for its barbaric policies in an attempt either to justify those policies or to thwart punitive action by the international community against racial discrimination.

70. The first of these myths comes from the South African Government itself. According to this myth, South Africa is portrayed as the last bastion of Western democracy and the "free world's" last stand against the encroachment of "communism" on the continent of Africa. Under normal circumstances, we would have simply chosen to ignore and dismiss South Africa's proselytizing attempts as the idle musings of sick minds; but unfortunately the South African Government does seem to have succeeded, albeit partially, in making the Western world believe that there is a "communist" scare in that continent.

71. To those whose credulity South Africa has taken advantage of we need only point out who these supposed Communists are. They include those children of 8 and 9 that were so brutally gunned down in Soweto; they even include such organizations as The Christian Institute of Southern Africa. Need we remind you that the South African Government would even have us believe that communism enjoys the support of a few United States congressmen who are bent on the destruction of that country?

72. The second myth can be attributed to *apartheid's* apologists who in one breath condemn the system, yet in another say corrective actions would be counterproductive because the victims of *apartheid* would be the hardest hit. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The people of South Africa live with suffering every day of their lives and would certainly withstand a little more in order to rid themselves, once and for all, of the evil of *apartheid*. These apologists hate *apartheid* but love the profits which accrue to them as a result of the system. Yes, they are very much like people who love to eat meat but cannot stomach the view of the slaughter.

73. It is my delegation's hope that the Council, in formulating its final decision on this issue, will not allow itself to be misguided by these stunts.

74. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Before I go into the four draft resolutions, I should like, on behalf of my African colleagues on the Security Council, to request formally that the text of the Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid* should be circulated as an official document of the Council. I shall await your decision, Mr. President, before I proceed.

75. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Mauritius has proposed that the text of the Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid* should be circulated as a document of the Security Council. As there is no objection, we decide accordingly [see S/12426].

76. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I am grateful to members of the Council for having acceded to my request.

77. Mr. President, once again I should like to postpone my compliments to the presidency to a more appropriate occasion when I shall no doubt be making a substantive statement on the issue under consideration.

78. At this stage, I only wish to remind members that the Council remains seized of the four draft resolutions which were submitted jointly by Mauritius and my African colleagues on the Council, namely, Benin and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, on 29 March 1977 and which are contained in documents S/12309 to S/12312. We all know in what circumstances those four drafts were not put to a vote at that time. Today, some seven months later, we, the African members of the Council, have updated the four drafts. I shall now proceed to draw the attention of members of the Council to the revised texts of those drafts, which have been circulated as documents S/12309/Rev.1 to S/12312/Rev.1.

79. I shall first refer members to document S/12309/Rev.1. We have added some words to the third preambular paragraph. The new paragraph reads as follows:

"Gravely concerned over reports of torture of political prisoners and the deaths of a number of detainees,"—and this is where we have added some words—"as well as the mounting wave of repression against individuals, organizations and the news media since 19 October 1977".

Regarding operative paragraph 3, we have added a new subparagraph *d*, which reads as follows:

"Abrogate the bans on organizations and the news media opposed to apartheid".

In the last operative paragraph, paragraph 6, the date has been changed and now reads "17 February 1978".

80. As regards draft resolution S/12310/Rev.1, there is a minor updating here in operative paragraph 4, where the new date is "17 February 1978".

81. I now refer to document S/12311/Rev.1. We have added two preambular paragraphs, after the fourth paragraph. The first new paragraph reads as follows:

"Taking note of the Lagos Declaration for Action against apartheid".

The second new preambular paragraph immediately follows the one I have just read. It reads:

"Gravely concerned that South Africa is at the threshold of producing nuclear weapons".

We have added a new operative paragraph 2. It reads as follows:

"Calls upon all States to take measures to revoke contractual arrangements with South Africa and all existing licences granted to South Africa relating to the

manufacture and maintenance of arms, ammunition of all types and military equipment and vehicles".

The other paragraphs, of course, will be renumbered. In the new paragraph 4, the date will now read "1 April 1978" and, in the new paragraph 5, "1 May 1978".

82. I now refer to document S/12312/Rev.1. Operative paragraph 1 *a* is somewhat changed; we have added the words "or any export and import credits". Thus, the whole subparagraph reads as follows:

"To refrain from any investments in, loans to, or any export and import credits to the South African racist régime or companies registered in South Africa".

There is a change of date in operative paragraph 3 and it now reads "1 April 1978". There is also a change of date in paragraph 4 which now refers to "1 May 1978".

83. Those are all the changes and updating we have carried out.

84. It is the wish of the African members of the Council that these four draft resolutions should be put to a vote as early as possible, preferably tomorrow morning.

85. The PRESIDENT: There are no more speakers. I have heard what the representative of Mauritius has said, that his preference is for a vote tomorrow morning. My preference is otherwise because I do not think all the members of the Council have yet had an opportunity to speak. There are also some non-members of the Council who have expressed their desire to speak. As members are aware, the Council, as previously agreed, will take up the question of the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights tomorrow afternoon. So my own inclination would be not to have a meeting tomorrow morning in order that members may have an opportunity to engage in informal consultations on the draft resolutions now submitted and any other proposals they may have.

86. If this is generally acceptable we shall not meet tomorrow morning, but we shall meet tomorrow afternoon at 3 p.m. as previously agreed and the next meeting of the Council to continue consideration of the question of South Africa will be on Friday at 10.30 a.m.

87. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, the African members of the Council will, I am sure, want to co-operate with you but, since you mentioned that some members of the Council had not yet spoken and that there might be consultations, are you in a position to inform us whether you have received any indication whether other members of the Council will be speaking or whether they will be consulting with African members?

88. The PRESIDENT: My information is that there will be some speakers on Friday morning; three have already inscribed their names and I expect more.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.

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