



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

**2045<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 31 OCTOBER 1977

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.

## 2045TH MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 31 October 1977, at 3 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/2045)

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 3.30 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, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Lesotho, Mauritania, the Niger, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, the Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, the United Republic of Cameroon 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. Boaten (Ghana), Mr. Camara (Guinea), Mr. Jackson (Guyana), Mr. Molapo (Lesotho), Mr. Kane (Mauritania), Mr. Poisson (Niger), Mr. Garba (Nigeria), Mr. Baroody (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Kamara (Senegal), Mr. Hussen (Somalia), Mr. Medani (Sudan), Mr. Kodjovi (Togo), Mr. Mestiri (Tunisia), Mr. Oyono (United Republic of Cameroon) and Mr. Dinh Ba Thi (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 31 October from

the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius, which reads as follows:

“We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that, during its current meetings devoted to consideration of “The question of South Africa”, the Council should extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Elias L. Ntloedibe of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.”<sup>1</sup>

3. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to the request and, at the appropriate moment in the Council's proceedings, I shall invite Mr. Ntloedibe to make a statement.

*It was so decided.*

4. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): Mr. President, it is with a great deal of both respect and sympathy that I have admired your presidency of the Council during this month. It has been a difficult month for you, but one during which you have demonstrated exceptional leadership abilities and sensitivity to all the questions concerned and, even though this is the last day of your presidency, I am afraid that we shall need the very best of your abilities for the rest of this day.

5. The Security Council is today preparing to take an unprecedented step. For the first time in the history of the Organization, the Council may impose mandatory sanctions against a Member State. Because the decision before us is so significant, it is necessary for all of us to proceed carefully in the light of past actions of the Council.

6. We all know that the world community's concern over South Africa's racial policies is not new. The Security Council's first action on this question came on 1 April 1960, when a resolution deploring the Sharpeville massacre and calling upon South Africa to abandon its policy of *apartheid* was adopted, declaring that South Africa's racial policies might, if continued, endanger international peace and security [*resolution 134 (1960)*].

7. Seventeen years have passed. During the intervening years, the Organization has repeatedly urged South Africa to abandon *apartheid* and to rejoin the international effort to ensure universal respect for human rights. The Vice-President of my country spoke on this issue at Vienna on 20 May last when he pointed out that progress towards full and equal participation by all citizens of South Africa in the political process was essential to a healthy, stable and secure South Africa.

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently circulated as document S/12432.

8. Clearly, the repressive measures announced by the South African authorities on 19 October mark a major development on the South African scene. In deciding on these measures, the South African Government decided not to move in the direction of full political participation by all but to break new ground by ending all political expression by all opponents of *apartheid* in South Africa—black and white. One can only conclude that the South African Government does not understand the dangers for peace in southern Africa which this policy of denying blacks in South Africa all rights of political participation now poses.

9. In this inflammatory structure, my Government has reluctantly but firmly concluded that the international community must now take steps to ensure that the flow of arms into South Africa does not add to a level of tension which is already endangering international peace. It is therefore prepared to join with other members in supporting Security Council action to establish a mandatory arms embargo under Chapter VII of the Charter.

10. Since 1963, the United States has, consistent with Security Council resolutions, observed a comprehensive arms embargo. That voluntary embargo, however, has been no more successful than the United Nations voluntary embargo in stopping the flow of arms to South Africa. In the interest of encouraging South Africa's leaders to embark on a new course, President Carter has now authorized me to state that the United States is prepared to join with other members of the Council in proposing a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter, which will require all States to cut off all sales or transfers of arms, spare parts for previously delivered equipment, paramilitary police equipment and material for the maintenance and production of arms and munitions.

11. In addition, we are undertaking a thorough review of relations with South Africa in all areas, including that of nuclear co-operation. The possibility that South Africa might explode a nuclear device and develop nuclear weapons capability has been of gravest concern to my Government, as it has to all members of the international community. Such a step would be a serious blow to the security situation in Africa and also to global efforts to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons. Since my Government has no priorities which it takes more seriously than these, we have given the most serious consideration to the steps which might be taken individually or in concert with others to keep nuclear weapons from the African continent.

12. I should like to share with the Council our thoughts on a practical and effective approach to this goal. First, as President Carter reiterated at the Organizing Conference of the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation at Washington on 19 October, the United States supports the concept of nuclear-weapon-free zones. We strongly believe that Africa should remain free of nuclear weapons. Secondly, we are urging South Africa as well as others who have not yet signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to do so promptly and to put all their nuclear facilities under full international safeguards. Thirdly, our co-operation with all nations in peaceful uses

of nuclear energy is based on the premise that the opportunity for co-operation is an important incentive to keep nuclear facilities under international inspection. That has, of course, been the case with all of our co-operative programmes. Finally, I am sure members of the Council are aware of the assurances that Prime Minister Vorster has given to President Carter concerning his nuclear programme. We take these assurances seriously and would respond promptly and vigorously, in concert with others, should it appear that South Africa did not intend to honour them.

13. In part because my own Government's policies on this subject have sometimes been misunderstood or distorted in South Africa, I believe it is essential that, as we take these major steps, we should make it clear to South Africa what we are and what we are not asking it to do. First, we are not—as some South African officials contend—asking that South African society should destroy itself. Without condoning the philosophical underpinning of the South African State, we must admire the accomplishments of the talented people of South Africa, black and white, in developing a modern industrial economy which could, if its leaders so desired, bring great benefits not only to the people of South Africa but to the rest of Africa as well. Secondly, we lay out no predetermined formula for the solution of South Africa's problems. Thirdly, we do not ask—nor does any African spokesman in the Council—that white South Africans should forsake the country they have helped to build. What we do challenge is the blanket denial of the right of the black majority to participate in the shaping of their destiny, a denial which not only violates the obligations of the Government of South Africa under the Charter, but which also poses grave threats to stability and peace.

14. We hope that white South Africans can understand that the aim of my Government and, I believe, of the Organization, has been and remains to help South Africa embark on a new course, a course aimed at ending racial discrimination and the establishment of a more just social and economic order.

15. The outside world can help, but the answer to South Africa's problems must be found by South Africans themselves. A dialogue must be started among all the peoples of South Africa with a view to achieving a more just and stable society. Failing that, we can see only heightened danger and a continuing threat to the security of all in the region.

16. I wish to underscore that the purpose of our policy is not to exclude South Africa or to isolate it from the rest of the world. We are anxious to see the kind of change within South Africa that will permit it to play the role in the international community that it deserves; yet by their policies of increasing racial oppression, the South African leaders are succeeding in progressively isolating their country from the rest of the world. That process, if allowed to continue, will lead to a situation in which co-operation between South Africa and the rest of the world in any area will be increasingly difficult if not impossible.

17. Looking back over the 17 years since Sharpeville, one is tempted to be pessimistic. South Africa's response to the calls of the United Nations, individual Member nations and

its own citizens to change its course has been consistently to press ahead with policies that increase tension instead of reducing it. Yet my own Government, notwithstanding the profound disappointment it feels as the result of the 19 October measures, remains hopeful for South Africa, in part because of the voices it hears from the South African people themselves.

18. I should like to quote from some of South Africa's own native sons, some that South Africa itself refuses to listen to. Mr. Percy Qoboza said:

"Yet I still have faith that we have not reached the point of no return. I am optimistic and convinced that we can still turn frustration into hope. We can still douse the flames of anger and bitterness that rage through Soweto and other parts of South Africa and replace them with genuine brotherhood and understanding.

"It is never too late to do the right thing. It is never too late to transform the might of South Africa into the might of justice and dignity for all. It is never too late to build a South Africa where people of all races can live together in mutual respect and tolerance."

Dr. Beyers Naude, of The Christian Institute of Southern Africa, said:

"It is my clear conviction that, despite all efforts that the Government might currently or in the near future undertake to establish independent States, black majority rule for South Africa is inevitable either in a unified or in a federated State. Continued determined opposition to this development, although initially successful because of the tremendous political, military and economic power which the white minority still wields in South Africa, cannot but fail in the long run, and the sooner the white minority realizes this and starts making the necessary concessions to ensure a meaningful sharing of political power, economic wealth and land ownership, the more peacefully this period of transition will proceed.

"The next two to three years will be the crucial period of decision making in this regard, as I believe that white South Africa has only another five to six years to put its house in order. And even if this estimate is wrong and the period extends to 10 or 12 years, it is imperative that steps should be taken immediately by the white minority group to bring about the fundamental peaceful change so urgently required in our country."

The late Steve Biko said:

"We are looking forward to a non-racial, just and egalitarian society in which colour, creed and race shall form no point of reference. We have deliberately chosen to operate openly because we have believed for a very long time that, through a process of organized bargaining, we can penetrate even the deafest of white ears and get the message to register that no lie can live for ever.

"In doing this, we rely not only on our strength but also on the belief that the rest of the world views the oppression and blatant exploitation of the black majority by a minority as an unforgivable sin that cannot be pardoned by civilized societies."

Those are the voices South Africa has refused to hear, banning two and killing a third for daring to state these most merciful and visionary ideals. But as Donald Woods, another banned voice, has previously warned:

"They think the enemy is words, but the enemy is thoughts. You can't legislate against thoughts. You can't detain them or ban them, or restrict them and that is why the present rulers of South Africa cannot survive. The thoughts of many are against them and ultimately they themselves are too few."

19. The ideas of men like those will prevail, for though they may be silenced, the power of these ideals has been implanted in the hearts of men and women by their Creator. Repression only serves as a motivation which demands that those ideas should be expressed even at the price of death.

20. Racial justice will come to South Africa. My Government will continue to extend the hand of co-operation to all the people of South Africa in their efforts to build a just, free, secure and prosperous nation where all can work together for mutual benefit. I ask the international community to join us in such a pledge, for we cannot win the progress we want without holding out some hope for reconciliation in return.

21. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, I wish to express to you personally my gratitude for your leadership and wisdom in guiding the meetings of the Security Council during the past month. The issues which we confront now, and particularly the issues of South Africa, are of paramount importance for peace in the world. We can truly consider ourselves fortunate that we have had the benefit of your diplomatic skills, energy and endurance in such historic times. And I think I can safely say that whatever the outcome of our endeavours you will have made your mark on history—if only for the quiet yet so positive role which you have played here. It gives me particular pleasure, of course, to pay you this small tribute as the ties between our two countries have been and remain so close. India and Mauritius have always had a very special relationship. This relationship has been further cemented since my country became independent. We look forward to the development of even closer ties of brotherhood and co-operation in the future.

22. I should like to call particular attention at this moment to the significance of your presidency in this crucial period. India and its traditions of non-violent revolution were truly the inspiration of the movement for decolonization all over the world in the period after the Second World War. It was India which brought the question of *apartheid* before the United Nations when this Organization was born. And it was one of India's greatest men, Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who helped in the initial stages of the struggle against *apartheid* in South Africa itself. He brought to that country the method of non-violent struggle which had such an important influence in shaping the campaigns through which the majority in South Africa first sought to achieve their rights.

23. For all those reasons it is most fitting that we should reach such a decisive and important stage in our delibera-

tions on the question of South Africa under the presidency of an Indian statesman of such distinction and acumen.

24. You are no doubt aware, Mr. President and beloved brother, that before proceeding to Moscow to attend the celebrations of the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution, my 78-year-young globe-trotting Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, has gone to New Delhi—indeed he landed there only a moment ago—to start a five-day official visit. I feel certain that this first visit by a head of Government to your great country under a new Administration will prove to be very fruitful for all concerned.

25. Regarding the subject under consideration, I wonder whether there is anything left for me to say after everything I have been saying here since 1969. Members will recall that I made a statement here on 21 March this year [*1988th meeting*] in which I analysed the economic and military situation in South Africa. On 29 March, I introduced four draft resolutions on behalf of the three African members of the Council, namely, Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and my own country, Mauritius. I do not believe I have anything to add, but I do reiterate everything I have been saying in the Council over the years.

26. Steve Biko is not dead. He lives in the spirit of every decent African. Truth and justice will prevail.

27. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Mauritius for the very generous words he has addressed to me and to my country. May I say that I warmly reciprocate the friendly sentiments expressed by him.

28. There are no other names on the list of speakers. The sponsors of the four draft resolutions [*S/12309/Rev.1, S/12310/Rev.1, S/12311/Rev.1 and S/12312/Rev.1*] have requested that those drafts should be put to the vote.

29. The representative of Canada has asked to be allowed to make a statement before we proceed to the vote and I now call on him.

30. Mr. BARTON (Canada): In my statement last Friday [*2043rd meeting*], I stressed that the implications of our actions here in the Security Council were far reaching and should be recognized as such. I further suggested that if we were able to reach agreement on a united determination in favour, in particular, of a mandatory arms embargo under Chapter VII of the Charter, we would have sent a very clear message to the Government of South Africa.

31. It is with regret and concern, therefore, that I find that we apparently are approaching a decision to put to the vote all four of the draft resolutions submitted last March [*S/12309 to S/12312*].

32. I express regret not because these draft resolutions are without merit; they present a spectrum of possibilities for action and the fact that they were submitted in March has served a valuable function. The first draft is, of course, a straight expression of opinion of the Council on the continuing oppressive actions of the Government of South Africa. It was valid then and it is even more valid now. For

that reason, my delegation will vote in favour of it. But the other three drafts constitute proposals for action on a variety of fronts and, in the case of draft resolution 12310/Rev.1, the basis for future action. As I said, these draft resolutions have been valuable in focusing the discussions and consideration which have taken place within and between the African and Western Groups, and indeed with other Member States, since last March.

33. As Council members know, the five Western members of the Council put forward an informal proposal for consideration, outlining different elements of action which we felt could be acceptable by consensus to all members. I think that this proposal was important in that, if adopted, it would have established the first specific action to be taken by the Council on the question under Chapter VII of the Charter against a Member State. Our proposal sought not to set an end to the process of international co-operative action but, rather, to establish a beginning. It is with great regret that we find ourselves, apparently, in the position that the desire of some to press for further action at the present time inhibits the Council from making the progress that is within our reach.

34. In my statement last March [*1998th meeting*], I stressed that international actions and the basis for those actions could not be effective only if they are carried out by all Member States, and in particular those maintaining economic and/or diplomatic relations with South Africa. Draft resolutions S/12310/Rev.1, S/12311/Rev.1 and S/12312/Rev.1 will not be effective because they cannot at present draw that international consensus.

35. It is well known that the Canadian Government many years ago took the substantive action stipulated in draft resolution 12311/Rev.1, that is, the arms embargo. Furthermore, in my statement on Friday I indicated our intention to support a call for a review by Member States of their economic relations with South Africa. But this notwithstanding, we feel that the action-oriented nature of these draft resolutions requires us to speak clearly, with either a "yes" or a "no". In view of our belief that our actions will be successful only if such action-oriented draft resolutions are adopted unanimously—and as these three cannot be—we shall be forced to vote against each of them.

36. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): I want to associate myself with the remarks of the representative of the Canadian Government.

37. On Friday, the United States, in informal consultations with a number of African and other delegations, indicated how it would vote if the four draft resolutions before the Council were put to a vote. I want to confirm what we said in this regard concerning our inability to support three of these drafts.

38. We believe that the Security Council should pronounce itself on those measures that can unite us, not those that would divide us. I would point with pride to the actions of the Council in working together throughout this entire year and our attempts to arrive at a declaration which, while it did not reach a vote, nevertheless did bind us in a working consensus that was followed up by a very

effective Conference at Maputo<sup>2</sup> in which all the members of the Council and some 90 States Members of the Organization were represented. We continued our work at the Conference at Lagos,<sup>3</sup> which was an even bigger display against the philosophies and policies of *apartheid*, and I think that we have been willing to take a step, in fact several steps, that have heretofore been impossible for us.

39. I believe one of the reasons we are able to take these steps, though, is that we Western members of the Council have been able to work together, and part of the approach that seeks to put these four draft resolutions to the vote is an attempt to divide us. I am afraid that that is just not tactically wise and, from the point of view of my Government, it does not really help for us to vote for something that we might be able to enforce only to have an American-owned subsidiary in another country do the same thing we prohibited in this country. There are very practical reasons for our working together. Those reasons for working together are in the interest of advancing our approaches to the problems in southern Africa.

40. I should also like to say that one of the things I have struggled against in this country, and one of the things that is also a problem in South Africa, is that people write laws for other people that do not apply to themselves. Unfortunately, because we happen to be the guilty parties involved with South Africa, I think that any laws or any guidelines or resolutions affecting our actions must be written and taken into consideration in keeping with the laws of our lands, which are the laws under which they would be enforced. It would be quite inappropriate for me to be writing laws about what OPEC [*Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries*] should be doing in regard to South Africa. I would certainly be glad to write some laws for OPEC, because it does not affect my country at all. And yet we have not heard anything about that. We have people writing resolutions for the West, and those resolutions are not, thank God, going to affect a single African country.

41. As we have struggled with the problems of our own country, and as we have struggled with the problems of our country's relationship with the Government of South Africa, I think everybody around this Council table knows that there has never been an Administration in the United States that has struggled more determinedly against the policies of *apartheid*. Our resolve remains undiminished; our commitment will not be affected one way or another by what the Council decides. We have made our judgement in regard to southern Africa.

42. The only question is this. Do we have the united voice of the Council that will enable us to enforce those mandates against Member and non-member States alike? Can we in fact close up the loopholes that have existed in an arms embargo? I think that some action by the Council is called for, but action that would help us to approach positively the problem in South Africa is not likely to be fulfilled by our attempts to pursue these draft resolutions.

<sup>2</sup> International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held at Maputo from 16 to 21 May 1977.

<sup>3</sup> World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held at Lagos from 22 to 26 August 1977.

43. I hope that following this vote, or even before it, if you see fit, Mr. President, we might have preliminary discussions that would enable us to come to some consensus that would not deny the suffering people of South Africa. It is very easy for people outside South Africa, who are not suffering, to say "We have suffered long enough". We have not suffered here at the United Nations. And the message we are sending is not to delegates of the United Nations. The message we are sending is to the people of South Africa, who are suffering and for whom one additional day of suffering makes all the difference in the world. I think we are being rather callous and insensitive in not paying attention to the sufferings of South Africa and not sending an undivided message to the South African Government and John Vorster by dealing with the problems in the way in which we have dealt with them this day.

44. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): I should like to state for the record that it is not "some" among us who desire to press for a vote. It is, rather, the clear, unambiguous and unanimous decision of the African Group to press for a vote on the four draft resolutions proposed by the three African members of the Council.

45. My comment on what Ambassador Young has said is the following. As representative of Libya, a member of OPEC, I shall be happy to vote for any law prepared or written by Ambassador Young concerning the OPEC countries, especially if those laws include the American multinationals which have almost a monopoly on the marketing of oil in the world.

46. Mr. BOYA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to associate myself with the statement of the representative of Libya and say that it is the African Group as a whole that asks the Council to take decisions on the four draft resolutions—not simply a few members but rather the Group as a whole.

47. I should also like to say a few words concerning the statement of the representative of Canada, who believes the African Group's proposals tend towards preventing the Council from achieving unanimity on the question of South Africa. That is certainly not so. As far as the African Group is concerned, we are unanimous in saying it is thus that we must solve the South African question.

48. We therefore request the President to proceed to put the four draft resolutions to the vote.

49. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I have listened very attentively to my colleague and friend Ambassador Young of the United States. We Africans do appreciate the difficulties of the five Western Powers. We only ask them to appreciate our own difficulties. The position of the three African members of the Council is the common, collective position of 49 African States and the African liberation movements, and we are bound by decisions of the Organization of African Unity. We take our cue from the recognized representatives of the people of South Africa.

50. We are so near, yet so far.

51. The PRESIDENT: Since the three sponsors of the draft resolutions have requested that they should be put to

the vote, I am obliged to proceed accordingly. I therefore propose that the Council should proceed immediately to the vote.

52. I shall first put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/12309/Rev.1, sponsored by Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.<sup>4</sup>*

53. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/12310/Rev.1, sponsored by Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* Benin, China, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela.

*Against:* Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*The result of the vote was 10 in favour, 5 against.*

*The draft resolution was not adopted, one of the negative votes being that of a permanent member of the Council.*

54. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/12311/Rev.1, sponsored by Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* Benin, China, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela.

*Against:* Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*The result of the vote was 10 in favour, 5 against.*

*The draft resolution was not adopted, one of the negative votes being that of a permanent member of the Council.*

55. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/12312/Rev.1., sponsored by Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* Benin, China, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela.

*Against:* Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*The result of the vote was 10 in favour, 5 against.*

*The draft resolution was not adopted, one of the negative votes being that of a permanent member of the Council.*

56. The PRESIDENT: We have now voted on all the draft resolutions. At this stage I wish to propose that the meeting should be suspended for approximately one hour.

*The meeting was suspended at 4.15 p.m. and resumed at 7.15 p.m.*

57. The PRESIDENT: I suspended the meeting because I wished to salvage the situation following the rejection of the three draft resolutions sponsored by the African members of the Council. I felt encouraged once again to seek a consensus because I detected from the statements made here a fairly widespread measure of agreement on the limited question of a mandatory arms embargo as a first step. I therefore took the initiative, as the representative of India, to circulate informally a new draft resolution for consideration as the basis of a consensus. My intention has always been to seek a consensus, and it was with that objective in view that I took the trouble to draft an alternative resolution. I placed it before the Council members at an informal meeting. The African members wanted more time to study it; the Western members also wanted more time to examine the new draft.

58. As a result of those consultations, a draft resolution sponsored by Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany has been circulated in document S/12433, a draft resolution which to me is strangely familiar. Since I never had any intention of submitting the Indian draft formally, it was of course open to the more enterprising members to do so. Now the Council has before it this new draft resolution. Some members have asked for more time—at least 24 hours—to obtain instructions. In my opinion that is a reasonable request. I have no option but to leave it to my successor to schedule the next meeting after consultations.

59. I shall now call on representatives who wish to speak in explanation of votes cast earlier.

60. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation would like to explain its vote on the draft resolutions put before the Council by the African countries.

61. As was stressed by the Soviet delegation at the Council meeting of 26 October [2039th meeting], past Council decisions in regard to the racist régime of South Africa and its criminal activities will give positive results only if they are backed by other decisions providing for the imposition of certain mandatory sanctions against that régime.

62. Judging from the latest reports, Pretoria is completely ignoring the reaction of the world community to the crimes it has committed. It is ignoring the reaction of the United Nations to the latest events in the country. This is all a direct consequence of the many years of connivance with the South African racists on the part of certain Western countries, without whose support the policy of *apartheid* inside the country itself would have collapsed, as would the

<sup>4</sup> See resolution 417 (1977).



acts of aggression against other African States. It is not enough to condemn the racist régime for its repressive and terrorist acts against the indigenous population. It is essential that the countries supporting the régime should desist from affording it political, diplomatic, economic and military assistance and support.

63. The delegation of the Soviet Union, from the very outset, has endorsed the demand of the African countries for the introduction of an embargo on arms shipments to South Africa and the adoption of economic and other sanctions, since the Soviet Union is prepared, not in words but in deeds, to adopt the most effective measures aimed at decisively and irreversibly putting an end to the policies of *apartheid* in all its manifestations.

64. It is a matter for regret that the negative vote of the Western Powers has raised an obstacle in the path of the application of the sanctions proposed in the draft resolutions put forward by the three African countries. It is perfectly clear who is responsible for the fact that even today the Security Council has been unable to take the decision that was expected of it by world opinion and which was required by the very situation in southern Africa created by the criminal policies of the racist régime.

65. Mr. von WECHMAR (Federal Republic of Germany): Mr. President, my delegation shares your assessment of the debate of the past few days on the question of South Africa. We, too, believe that this debate has shown a wide margin of agreement, if not consensus, that all 15 members of this Council favour mandatory action with regard to an immediate and effective arms embargo against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. The Council is called upon to take a decision. In order to facilitate such action, Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany have put before you a draft resolution which has the support of all five Western members of the Council. The two sponsors hope that this proposal will gain the approval of all the Council members and that we can reach the desirable consensus on it.

66. Mr. BARTON (Canada): As the preceding speaker has said, we have put forward a proposal which we hope will enlist the co-operation and support of all the members of the Council. We are anxious to have it adopted expeditiously. If it were possible, we should like to do it tonight, but I appreciate the point that you made, Mr. President, a minute ago, that a number of delegations have expressed the desire to have some time to consult their Governments. Therefore, I would propose, under rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure, that we should adjourn the meeting until tomorrow afternoon at 3 o'clock.

67. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, first of all I should like to thank you for the initiative you took, as representative of India, in attempting to find a formula. I also wish to express to you my sympathy in that your draft was hijacked and somewhat disfigured.

68. My delegation, and I think I speak also on behalf of my two African colleagues, will need time to study the draft which has been circulated as document S/12433. It is very likely that the African members, after studying this,

will want to move amendments to the draft. Therefore, we shall require time, and we shall not be able to vote on it today.

69. I also propose that the next meeting of the Council should be fixed by the new President, the President for the month of November, after due consultations with members of the Council.

70. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of the Council to the specific proposal made by the representative of Canada, under rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure, which states:

“The following motions shall have precedence in the order named over all principal motions and draft resolutions relative to the subject before the meeting:

“1. To suspend the meeting;

“2. To adjourn the meeting;

“3. To adjourn the meeting to a certain day or hour.”

71. The representative of Canada has proposed the adjournment of the meeting until tomorrow afternoon. I shall put that motion to the vote, unless it is agreed upon generally.

72. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): We should vote on two points, first, the principle of adjournment and then the date of the next meeting, because, as my colleague, the representative of Mauritius, said, we need to have more consultations, as African members. Also, Mr. President, you know that we presented the four draft resolutions in the name of the African members; it was a unanimous decision by the African Group. We have to go back to the African Group to seek advice. We shall not have sufficient time for that by tomorrow afternoon.

73. I propose that we should have two votes, one for the principle of adjournment and the other for the date of the next meeting.

74. Before I finish, I should like to say that it is the practice in the Council that this kind of procedure is discussed in informal meetings. I hope that our colleague, the representative of Canada, will not insist.

75. The PRESIDENT: I think that both the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the representative of Mauritius have proposed the adjournment of the meeting, which proposal would have precedence over the Canadian proposal under the terms of rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure.

76. I call on the representative of the United Kingdom on a point of order.

77. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): With great respect, since they have proposed the adjournment of the meeting, it is only because, contrary to the rules, the two representatives were allowed to speak on the draft submitted by the representative of Canada. I do not want to be difficult about this, but, under the rules, any motion, I think, has to be decided quite quickly, does it not?

78. The PRESIDENT: The provisional rules of procedure say: "Any motion for the . . . simple adjournment of the meeting shall be decided without debate."

79. I think one could interpret that there has in fact been no debate on the motion, but a counter-proposal. However, I was going to say something quite different. I think we are wasting time discussing points of procedure. I hope my colleague from Canada would agree that what is called for in the present situation at this late hour is a simple adjournment; let us leave it to the next President to fix the date of the next meeting, after due consultations with all members.

80. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): I understand that the hour is late and we have waited a long time to get to where we are now, but I should just like to remind the Council, and particularly the African members, that we have been talking in terms of a decision under Chapter VII of the Charter, banning the sale of arms, spare parts and paramilitary supplies to the Government of South Africa and we are not divided on substance at all. It seems to me that the African Group particularly would be very anxious to work out any procedural problems as rapidly as possible. I would not be so concerned, except that this is perhaps the second time. In March we had essentially an agreement on substance and could not agree on certain details of procedure. Now again in October, after two weeks of debate, we have a substantive agreement and I should hate to see the Council not function because of the complications of decision making. I think it important in this situation to press on as rapidly as possible, because I do not think anybody is as happy about this delay as John Vorster.

81. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The practice of the Council has always been to fix the dates for meetings during informal consultations, as just stated by Ambassador Kikhia of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya who will take over the functions of the presidency tomorrow.

82. Obviously, as has been stated by some of the members, there are sufficient elements to allow us to reach a consensus. That is why it seems to me that the Council should not divide itself on procedural matters and that we could in harmony arrive at an understanding in conformity with the usual practice of the Council. Since Ambassador Kikhia mentioned informal consultations and since he will be the President of the Council from tomorrow, I should like to suggest that a gentlemen's agreement should be reached to the effect that Ambassador Kikhia should call an informal meeting for consultations for tomorrow in order to fix a date for the next meeting.

83. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): I was just going to make the point that we have had a long and frustrating day and the tedious debate that usually develops around procedural issues will succeed only in creating more frustration. The practice has always been for the President of the Council to hold consultations and to fix a meeting where there happens to be a difference of opinion about when one should meet. Since there quite evidently is no agreement on exactly when we should meet, I think we need not pursue

this matter in terms of votes and counter-votes and proposals and counter-proposals. In any case, I believe those proposals stand withdrawn because of the fact that they were not put immediately to the vote and a discussion has developed. The proposal made by our colleague from Panama is a wise one and I am sure the President for the month of November will bear it in mind.

84. Mr. BARTON (Canada): I think that what I have said and what has been said by my colleagues demonstrates the urgency we attach to getting an immediate decision. I am certainly not interested in provoking procedural fights at this hour of the night and if we can reach an informal understanding that we will have a meeting of the Council tomorrow for consultations with the expectation of an early formal meeting then I should be prepared to withdraw my motion.

85. The PRESIDENT: Is it the Council's wish that we hold informal consultations tomorrow? As I hear no objection, it is so decided.

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

87. Mr. MESTIRI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): At the request of a number of African States, I have simply come to express the deep disappointment and the disenchantment of the African Group at the completely negative attitude of the Western Powers to the African initiatives.

88. You will recall that the discussion has already been going on for a week now, although we asked for the debate to be held as a matter of urgency. We thought that we had given every chance for a constructive dialogue with those who in my last statement I described as the "countries which have been the most indulgent towards the *apartheid* régime" [2036th meeting, para. 13].

89. We have endeavoured, until the last minute, to find a formula which would make it possible to avoid what has been called the division of the Council. If there is a division in the Council, the world knows that the fault is not ours; the entire world knows whose the fault is.

90. We regret what has happened, but that will not impair our determination to pursue our efforts. We shall endeavour to be more positive and more constructive vis-à-vis the sponsors of the recent draft resolution than they were towards us. It remains to be hoped that they will agree to improvements in their text in order to make it acceptable to Africa.

91. The PRESIDENT: I have no further speakers on my list. Before I adjourn this meeting, I should like to thank every member of the Council for his unfailing co-operation and courtesy to me. The debate has been exciting and, though it has been inconclusive, I feel that we are now nearer a consensus than before. I wish my successor better luck.

*The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.*

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