

SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

2046th MEETING: 4 NOVEMBER 1977

NEW YORK

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NOTE

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2046TH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 4 November 1977, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. Mansur R. KIKHIA
(Libyan Arab Jamahiriya).

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/2046)

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 12 noon.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: As this is the first formal meeting of the Security Council in the month of November, I wish to take this opportunity to pay a tribute, on behalf of the members of the Council, to my predecessor, Ambassador Rikhi Jaipal of India, for his services as President of the Council for the month of October. I am sure I am expressing the sentiments of the entire Council when I say that the great skill with which Ambassador Jaipal conducted the Council's business during the month of October evoked our deep appreciation.

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)

2. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken by the Council at 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. Bouayad-Agha (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.

3. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform the members of the Council that the draft resolution sponsored by Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany [S/12433] has been withdrawn.

4. Members of the Council have before them a draft resolution, in document S/12436, which has been prepared in the course of intensive consultations. The representative of India has asked that the draft resolution should be put to the vote. Accordingly, I now put it to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.¹

5. The PRESIDENT: The Secretary-General wishes to make a statement and I now call on him.

6. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: We have today clearly witnessed a historic occasion. The adoption of this resolution marks the first time in the 32-year history of the Organization that action has been taken under Chapter VII of the Charter against a Member State. It is not my purpose to seek to determine whether the Council's decision by itself is adequate to secure its objective. However, it is abundantly clear that the policy of *apartheid* as well as the measures taken by the South African Government to implement this policy are such a gross violation of human rights and so fraught with danger to international peace and security that a response commensurate with the gravity of the situation was required. It is also significant that this momentous step is based on the unanimous agreement of the Council members. Thus we enter a new and significantly different phase of the long-standing efforts of the international community to obtain redress of these grievous wrongs.

¹ See resolution 418 (1977).

7. I note that the Council requests me to report within the next six months on the progress of the implementation of the mandatory arms embargo which it has decided to impose. To fulfil this task, I shall obviously need, and I am confident I shall receive, the whole-hearted co-operation of all States, Members and non-members of the United Nations. I would ask all Governments to provide me with the most complete information as quickly as possible on the measures which they take to comply with this binding decision of the Council.

8. It is, of course, unfortunate that the situation in South Africa should have deteriorated to such a point that the Council felt compelled to take this extraordinary measure. However, this should come as no surprise to the Government of South Africa when it considers how long the world has appealed in vain for the abandonment of its *apartheid* policies.

9. We can only hope that the gravity of the Council's decision will be fully recognized by the Government of South Africa and that it will therefore begin without delay the process of restoring fundamental human rights to all the people in South Africa, without which there can be no peace.

10. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the Panamanian delegation wishes to express its sincere pleasure at seeing such an outstanding statesman from the third world presiding over the work of the Security Council for the month of November. We trust that with your experience, wisdom and eminent human qualities the Council will, under your skilful leadership, be able to do fruitful work in the best interests of international peace and security.

11. My delegation also wishes to take this opportunity to express the deep gratitude of Panama for the dedication and the wisdom with which the President of the Council for October, Ambassador Rikhi Jaipal of India, carried out his functions. Men of such calibre who have the rare ability harmoniously to combine humility and great talent for the common good cannot belong to a single country, to one region or to one ideology, for they are the heritage of mankind at whose service they have placed the extraordinary talents with which nature has so generously endowed them.

12. The delegation of Panama has given whole-hearted support to the draft resolution in document S/12436, which was just unanimously adopted as resolution 418 (1977).

13. I think that it is appropriate to mention, as part of the legislative background of this resolution, that the draft resolution submitted as a working paper by the President of the Council for the month of November was based substantially on the working paper presented in October, during informal consultations, by the Ambassador of India as representative of his country and undoubtedly constitutes a signal contribution to the solution of the grave problem of South Africa.

14. After lengthy debates, controversy and much discussion back and forth, as well as revisions and reconsidera-

tions, that working paper, which could be called the "Jaipal formula", earned the general and unanimous support of this organ, to the satisfaction of all the members of the Council and of the United Nations family.

15. In this instrument, the Council, which for the first time in its history is acting under Chapter VII of the Charter:

"Decides that all States shall cease forthwith any provision to South Africa of arms and related *matériel* of all types, including the sale or transfer of weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary police equipment, and spare parts for the aforementioned, and shall cease as well the provision of all types of equipment and supplies and grants of licensing arrangements for the manufacture or maintenance of the aforementioned."

The resolution also

"Calls upon all States to review, having regard to the objectives of the present resolution, all existing contractual arrangements with and licences granted to South Africa relating to the manufacture and maintenance of arms, ammunition of all types and military equipment and vehicles, with a view to terminating them."

Further, it is the will of the Council that "all States shall refrain from any co-operation with South Africa in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons" and that "all States, including States non-members of the United Nations... act strictly in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution".

16. The fact that in this same resolution the Secretary-General is requested to take certain steps and to present his first report to the Council not later than 1 May 1978 is evidence that this time the Council is ready to act and to adopt new measures, in the light of developments, in order to find a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the question of South Africa in keeping with the interests, aspirations and ideals of the large indigenous African majorities of that important part of the world.

17. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like first of all to congratulate you on your accession to the high office which you now occupy. I take particular pleasure in so doing as my country maintains excellent relations with yours. The masterly way in which you have in the first days of your presidency conducted our delicate discussions has strengthened—if there were any need of strengthening it—the confidence which we have in you.

18. I should also like, on behalf of my delegation, to thank your predecessor, the representative of India, Ambassador Jaipal, who as President of the Council displayed his outstanding qualities as a man and a negotiator. He carried out his mission with the utmost high-mindedness and with the constant concern to carry the work of the Council to a successful conclusion. He may rest assured of our real gratitude.

19. France, as it had already announced, has decided in favour of a mandatory embargo on arms shipments to

South Africa, and it will take all necessary measures for its application.

20. The consensus which has emerged today is important because it marks the unanimous will of the 15 members of the Council. The message is clear. South Africa must now understand that it will have to come to its senses and rapidly put an end to its policy of *apartheid*.

21. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): Mr. President, I should like to begin by expressing my admiration for the skilful manner in which you have led us in the successful conclusion of our work on this matter since you assumed your responsibilities of the presidency of the Council. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank the representative of India for his leadership and insight in bringing the discussion on the draft resolution to such a successful conclusion.

22. We can all take satisfaction in the resolution which we have just adopted. It represents a genuine compromise in which the members of the Council demonstrated a willingness to adjust their views to the necessity of reaching an agreement. Given the importance of the issue and the strong feelings which it has generated, our success in reaching a compromise, through the excellent work of the Council Presidents for October and November—the representatives of India and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya—, demonstrates once again the viability of the Council as a means for responding to situations which threaten international peace and security.

23. As I pointed out in my remarks last Monday [2045th meeting], it is important that the members of the international community, including the Government of South Africa, should have a clear understanding of why this resolution has been adopted and what it means.

24. This is the first time that sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter have been adopted against a Member of the Organization. We have just sent a very clear message to the Government of South Africa that the measures which were announced on 19 October have created a new situation in South Africa's relationship with the rest of the world. There should be no further doubt in Pretoria today that continuation along the course on which the Government of South Africa is now embarked can only lead to further strains on the ties between South Africa and the other members of the international community.

25. I am very pleased to say that this unanimous vote on the part of the Council was accompanied by the vote of an overwhelming majority of 347 to 54 in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, also expressing its concern and condemnation of the acts in South Africa.

26. At the same time, however, we must stress the other side of the picture and make clear to the Government of South Africa our desire for reconciliation, provided South Africa is willing to begin progress towards the end of *apartheid* and the full participation of all South Africans in the political and economic life of their country.

27. As Secretary of State Vance pointed out two days ago, the United States has offered no blueprint for social reform in South Africa, and it has offered no time-table for progress. Those matters are up to the people of South Africa, and it is our fervent hope that the Government of South Africa will finally begin to talk and listen to its own people, black and white, Asian and Coloured, English and Afrikaans-speaking, and work with them in moving away from the disaster which threatens that country.

28. As far as the United States is concerned, it looks forward to the day when progress in South Africa will make it possible for the Council to remove the stigma which this resolution places on South Africa. We look forward to early South African adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and a decision to put all its facilities under international safeguards. We look forward to the day when South Africa will no longer be an issue before the Council and hope that our resolution will not mark the beginning of a process of increasing international sanctions against South Africa but, rather, the end of a period of growing confrontation between South Africa and the rest of the world.

29. Miss LOPEZ (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Although we did not intend to speak at this time, since my delegation has already stated and reiterated its position on the item before us, I have chosen to speak to express our appreciation and thanks to Ambassador Jaipal, whose careful diligence has fortunately produced the basic ideas embodied in the draft resolution that we have just adopted. We should also like to welcome as President of the Council, Ambassador Kikhia, who has already proved his many diplomatic skills.

30. We supported the three draft resolutions that were rejected last Monday by the Council because we were convinced of the need for extreme measures to meet these extreme problems. The text that we have just adopted obviously does not incorporate all the elements that we should like to have seen included. However, we understand that a compromise had to be made to achieve a specific result, even if this only deals with one aspect of the problem, and we gave our support for that reason.

31. In this new phase of the struggle against the inhuman policy of *apartheid*, we hope that the commitment on the arms embargo will be fully and scrupulously complied with by those who are called upon to apply it.

32. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council has just adopted unanimously an important resolution in accordance with which the Organization will institute a mandatory embargo on all shipment of arms, ammunition and war materiel to South Africa. The Council, therefore, has just eased—at least in part—the bitterness created last Monday by the rejection of three of the four draft resolutions put forward by the African members of the Council, a rejection which my delegation very much regretted.

33. Romania supported the African proposals because it is convinced that it is the duty of the Security Council to take firm and practical measures, the only ones capable of

constraining the Vorster régime to give up its racist, inhuman and *apartheid* policy and put an end to its acts of aggression against neighbouring States.

34. Indeed, the latest developments in South Africa no longer leave any doubt that the Pretoria régime does not intend to heed the voice of reason and that it will persist in its characteristic policy of a brutal negation of the fundamental rights of the South African people, in flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

35. Today's vote is significant. It is the first time that the Security Council has decided to impose mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against a Member State which persists in wholesale violation of the very principles of the Organization. The resolution adopted today is the expression of the will of the Member States not to ease the political pressure on the racist régime of Pretoria until that régime abandons its policies of *apartheid* and aggression.

36. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate you most warmly, Mr. President, on your accession to the presidency of the Council and on the results already achieved. The very fact that the Council has been able to adopt this important resolution today is the best proof that the Council is now in very good hands. In carrying out your important duties, you can always count on the friendly support of the Romanian delegation.

37. Today's success was much facilitated by the work and the consultations which took place last month under the presidency of Ambassador Jaipal of India. On behalf of my own delegation, I should like to say that we feel great admiration for Ambassador Jaipal, and we thank him for all his sincere and devoted efforts which have helped us to find a generally acceptable solution, one which has found practical expression in today's decision.

38. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): First, I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the office of President of the Council and to congratulate your predecessor, the representative of India, on his conduct of the Council's work last month. I make only a brief opening tribute because I want to say a little more on this subject in a moment.

39. My delegation is very pleased to have been able to join with all the other members of the Council in adopting this morning's resolution. We have thus been able to fulfil the assurances which I gave to the Council on behalf of my Government on 28 October [2042nd meeting], that the United Kingdom would support a mandatory arms embargo under Chapter VII of the Charter in relation to the supply of arms to South Africa.

40. As we all know, it has not been easy to achieve that result. Prolonged negotiation and consultation between members of the Council have been necessary. Success is due in no small measure to the constructive and active role played by your predecessor, Ambassador Jaipal, and not least, Sir, by you yourself in conducting our consultations. I wish to place on record my delegation's appreciation for those efforts.

41. Although the task has been a difficult one, we should be clear about what has been achieved. For the first time, as others have said, and unanimously, the Council has adopted a mandatory measure directed against a State Member of the United Nations. For my Government the importance of this is twofold. We agree that the international community must do what it can to curb the build-up of oppressive force in South Africa. At the same time, and perhaps more importantly, we view the action which the Council has taken as both a warning and an appeal to South Africa—a warning that the international community is in earnest about the need for change, and the desire to see, as I said in my statement last week, a peaceful and democratic transformation, rather than a disintegration into violence. The resolution is also an appeal to the South African Government to heed the views of the international community before matters deteriorate further.

42. I should like now to say a few words about the resolution itself. As with all compromise texts, it probably does not reflect entirely the views of any one delegation. But it does patently reflect the general will of the Security Council. We have made clear our view, which is reflected in paragraph 1, as to the nature of the threat to international peace and security. We do not interpret the reference in the preamble to "acts of aggression" as being used in the technical sense of Article 39 of the Charter. Paragraph 2 sets out the principal action required of Member States. It is now for all Governments to consider what additional measures they need to take to bring their national policies and practices into line with the terms of this resolution. Inevitably, there are imprecisions in a document of this sort. For example, it is not at all clear to me precisely what is meant by "related *matériel*". However, the general aims and purposes of the resolution are clear; we for our part are prepared to implement them and will now urgently consider how best that can be done.

43. The implementation of some points, such as the regulation of licensing arrangements, may well raise, depending upon the legal and the administrative systems of individual Member States, intricate problems which may take a little time to resolve. I should like to tell the Council that, for our part, when difficulties of that nature arise, we shall seek to resolve them in step with other countries.

44. In conclusion, I should like to repeat the gratification of my Government at the fact that the Council has been able to agree on the action taken today, and our hope that the Government of South Africa will pay heed to the voice of the international community as embodied in the resolution.

45. The United Nations is often accused of being unable to act as speedily as the situation may require. This is perhaps inevitable when we are seeking to produce an agreement out of so many different national or regional interests. We have seen in this debate perhaps the worst and the best of the United Nations at work: principles, sometimes even individual words, even commas, have been analysed; they have been discussed, debated, weighed, almost dissected, with thoroughness and with determination. But South Africa is a topic which, quite rightly, gives rise to strong feelings on all sides. Sometimes we feel that

too much is demanded too quickly. Sometimes others feel that we respond too slowly and too quietly. But now that the arguments on the text are over, I think we can and should all take some pride in the fact that on this issue at this time we have produced a careful, measured and unanimous response. Today's decision is therefore of profound significance, in the view of my Government, both as a reflection of the way in which we can, if we wish, make the United Nations a reality and also in the signal that it sends to the South African Government. That signal is clear, unmistakable and precise, namely, that the world expects changes to be made and, what is more, will do what it can to ensure that they are.

46. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Sir, since this is the first time I have spoken in the Security Council this month, I should like warmly and heartily to congratulate you, the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, a country friendly to us, on your accession to the high and responsible office of President of the Council. We are glad to note that firm ties of solidarity, trust and friendship have been established between the Soviet Union and your country and are being successfully strengthened. We are convinced that, under your guidance, the Council will successfully carry out the tasks entrusted to it.

47. We should also like to convey our sincere appreciation to the representative of India, Ambassador Jaipal, who so ably and effectively presided over our work last month. The confidence that he would perform his exacting duties with the utmost success, expressed by ourselves and by other delegations, was fully vindicated.

48. As regards the draft resolution just adopted by the Council, my delegation would like to make the following statement.

49. The Soviet Union has always taken the view that the introduction of a mandatory and effective embargo on arms shipments to the South African racist régime, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, would help in bringing pressure to bear on the Pretoria régime, with a view to cutting off the endless chain of crimes committed by racism and *apartheid*. We are firmly convinced that this purpose would have been best served by the draft resolution of the three African countries [*S/12311/Rev.1*]—Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius—and we did, in fact, vote for it.

50. The draft resolution adopted by the Council today bears the traces of compromise; thus it does not go as far as one might have wished. Nevertheless, my delegation found it possible to support it, since, by its adoption, the Council is in essence taking the first definite step forward in the matter of the application to South Africa of mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. In essence, this is the first instance in the history of the United Nations where the Council has taken a decision on mandatory sanctions against a Member of the Organization on the basis of Chapter VII.

51. We regard this step by the Council not only as an important advance but as a basis for further effective

measures to be taken by the Council in the fight against racism and *apartheid* in South Africa. Given goodwill on the part of members of the Council, this decision can serve as a point of departure for the application of effective economic and other mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime, and will become an important milestone on the road to the liberation of the peoples of southern Africa. For this purpose, it is essential that the resolution ordering the embargo on arms shipments to South Africa, like other resolutions of the Council, should be strictly implemented.

52. By adopting this decision, the Council has taken upon itself a great responsibility. Now it will have to discharge its obligations in full to the peoples of southern Africa and to the peoples of the whole African continent.

53. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation wishes warmly to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of November. Your integrity and your well-known skill as a diplomat are true guarantees of the success of our work in the course of this month. I can assure you that you will receive our militant support in your endeavours, as is only to be expected in view of the very close ties of friendship, brotherhood and militant co-operation that have developed and are growing between Benin and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I think we stand as a living example of militant revolutionary co-operation to ensure the freedom and independence of peoples and the prevalence of peace and freedom in Africa, our great and glorious continent. The role played by your country, Sir, has been significantly constructive. I should like to address my delegation's thanks, through you, to the outgoing President, our friend Ambassador Jaipal of India.

54. The historic event we have just witnessed is without doubt a milestone in the process of the determined struggle against *apartheid*, that hideous form of economic exploitation and political domination imposed on the indigenous inhabitants of South Africa. I feel compelled to say that the text we have just adopted is a compromise text and does not entirely satisfy my country, which was one of the sponsors of four earlier draft resolutions, one of which was a more explicit formula for an arms embargo against South Africa. The measures the Council has just adopted against the racist régime in South Africa could have been taken more than 15 years ago. Africa called for them at the appropriate time. It is to be regretted that the embargo has been decided upon only now, when the South African racists have succeeded, thanks to the co-operation of some countries, in becoming militarily self-sufficient.

55. The technical capacity of the racists of South Africa in the field of arms and weapons manufacture is well known. Those who have helped them and continue to do so know that full well, and the Africans are not hoodwinked. But it is in respect of licences and contracts that Africa expects most as far as the implementation of this resolution is concerned. As to the nuclear question, we know the role the West has played in allowing the racists to develop nuclear techniques.

56. With regard to control over the implementation of this resolution, my country and Africa as a whole attach

enormous importance to the establishment of an appropriate committee, such as that set up to deal with the sanctions against Rhodesia. The Council should consider the establishment of such a committee in the near future, possibly by 1 May 1978, that is to say as soon as the Council is seized of the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 6 of the resolution.

57. I wish to add that Africa impatiently awaits a Council decision to impose an economic embargo, because, when all is said and done, that is the weapon that can most effectively and peacefully be wielded against the racists of South Africa.

58. Mr. BARTON (Canada): Mr. President, I should like first to join all the others who have extended congratulations to you on assuming your important office and also express thanks for the contribution you have already made to the achievement of the result we voted through today. By the same token, I should like to express our appreciation of the distinguished work of your predecessor, Ambassador Jaipal. It is true that at one point he accused us of hijacking one of his draft resolutions, but I think it was in a good cause, and we are most grateful for his efforts.

59. I spoke twice in the debate, and I think the views of the Canadian delegation are well known. The results we have obtained today are precisely what I expressed the hope of achieving. I say this primarily because I believe that what we have done and the document that will record it are historic, and I want it to be on record that the Canadian Government will do everything it can to fulfil and support the terms of this resolution.

60. Mr. VON WECHMAR (Federal Republic of Germany) Before I address myself to the resolution just adopted, Mr. President, please permit me to wish you well during your remaining 26 days as President of the Council. In the first four days of your presidency you have once again proved that we are guided by a diplomat of high skill and great experience, by a distinguished representative of a country with which we enjoy good and friendly relations, and by a man who has given us another example of his abilities as a negotiator and mediator.

61. Let me also express our sincere thanks to our previous President, the representative of India, for his outstanding contributions to this resolution, in which, for the first time, an arms embargo under Chapter VII of the Charter is applied against a State Member of the United Nations.

62. My delegation endorses the draft resolution which has just been adopted by the Council. We consider the decision of the Council, which has been reached after intensive consultations, conducted by all parties with a strong sense of responsibility, to be a necessary and adequate response to the challenging action taken by the Government of South Africa on 19 October.

63. We hope that South Africa understands the serious warning voiced by the Council today. We expect the ban on arms supplies to diminish the potential for conflict in southern Africa and to encourage those forces which

continue to work with all the energy at their command, but without bloodshed, towards a speedy transition of Namibia and Rhodesia into independence and towards the necessary changes in South Africa.

64. The decision to impose upon South Africa a mandatory arms embargo is in keeping with the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany, which has observed a voluntary arms embargo towards South Africa since 1963.

65. We regret that South Africa continues to ignore the demands of the United Nations and that the dialogue which the Federal Government has carried on with the South African Government has gone unheeded. Today's decision of the Council flashes a warning which does not, however, preclude a constructive development. We renew our appeal to South Africa not to oppose any longer an inevitable development. The Federal Government will persevere in its policy; in co-operation with all States that are ready to do so, to bring about a peaceful settlement of existing conflicts in southern Africa.

66. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): Mr. President, allow me first of all to say how very pleased my delegation is to see in the Council Chair this month the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, a country with which Pakistan enjoys the most fraternal relations and which plays such an active and energetic role in the affairs of Africa and here at the United Nations. You presided last year with great distinction over the Council's proceedings; members received a renewed demonstration of your qualities of leadership in the consultations you conducted over the last few days and which have resulted in the unanimous adoption of draft resolution S/12436. The contribution made by your predecessor to this resolution is known to us all, and it is right that his contribution should not pass unacknowledged. I should like to commend Ambassador Jaipal for the great patience and deftness with which he guided the Council's deliberations during the month of October.

67. When the Council adjourned its previous meeting it was under the cloud of the vetoes cast by three permanent members and the negative votes of two Western members on the draft resolutions submitted by the African members of the Council. Today's action, which was described by the Secretary-General as historic, has served to dissipate the atmosphere of frustration and confrontation which was developing around a question on the fundamentals of which there exists, as we have just demonstrated, complete unanimity. I should like to place on record the appreciation of my delegation for the statesmanship and the spirit of compromise and realism demonstrated by all concerned in arriving at today's satisfactory outcome.

68. As to the resolution we have just adopted, we welcome the Council's action in unreservedly condemning *apartheid* and the repressive policies and aggressive acts of the Vorster régime. We welcome its recognition that such policies and acts pose a threat to international peace and security. Above all, we welcome the fact that the Council has for the first time acted on this matter under Chapter VII of the Charter—a long-standing demand of the vast majority of the United Nations membership.

69. The arms embargo decreed under the Council's decision today has similarly been demanded by the world community for many years. Its imposition at this stage is likely, unfortunately, to have a largely symbolic effect in view of the military production capability which South Africa has managed to acquire or build up over these years. Nevertheless, we consider it a step of great significance that countries which have been traditional suppliers of military equipment and technology to South Africa have joined in imposing a total arms embargo on that country. We hope that the significance of this action will not be lost on the *apartheid* régime. It goes without saying that the embargo must be rigorously applied and enforced and no loopholes of any kind permitted which might nullify or reduce its effectiveness.

70. We consider of particular importance the injunction against co-operation with South Africa in the military uses of nuclear energy, in view of the suspicions about South Africa's nuclear intentions, suspicions which Mr. Vorster's interview on television here the other day has only further strengthened and which cannot in any case be allayed by the sort of unilateral assurance given by him in a letter to President Carter, suspicions which cannot be removed as long as South Africa's nuclear establishment and capability remain free of safeguards and screened from the world's scrutiny. We hope therefore that vigorous efforts will be made to support the proposal for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Africa and to obtain South Africa's adherence to it.

71. In conclusion, we should like to express the hope that attention will now be turned to the question of imposing economic sanctions against South Africa and that, in particular, the Powers concerned and the Powers affected will begin to give earnest and serious thought to the subject.

72. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, I congratulate you on your assumption of your duties as President of the Security Council for the month of November. Your qualities and talents are well known to all of us and I do not need to elaborate on them here today. I pledge to you the full co-operation of my delegation.

73. I have already expressed my feelings regarding your predecessor, Ambassador Jaipal, who has earned the admiration of all of us.

74. The resolution we have just adopted is a historic one—a historic and unprecedented one. It is more so because it was adopted after very careful consideration and prolonged consultation. My delegation hopes that the Secretary-General will receive the full co-operation of all Governments regarding the information he will require to discharge his duties. I have no doubt that all States will do everything in their power to implement fully the provisions of this mandatory resolution and to see that no loopholes are exploited.

75. The resolution is a compromise worked out on the basis of a working paper produced originally by the Indian delegation. It must naturally be read as a whole, that is, the preambular paragraphs should be read in conjunction with the operative paragraphs. For example, were it not for the inclusion of the second preambular paragraph, which

recognizes that "the military build-up by South Africa and its persistent acts of aggression against the neighbouring States seriously disturb the security of those States", it would have been difficult for African members, especially for my delegation, to accept operative paragraph 1. And I note with satisfaction that that paragraph uses the wording "having regard to the policies and acts of the South African Government". My delegation is happy that reference is made in paragraph 2 to "licensing arrangements". We are particularly happy that reference is made in paragraph 4 to refraining from "any co-operation with South Africa in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons", since this is in line with and in the context of our determination to see that Africa is declared a nuclear-free zone. We must also bear in mind that in paragraph 7 the Council decides to keep this item on its agenda "for further action, as appropriate, in the light of developments".

76. My delegation welcomes this mandatory resolution even though we feel that it contains too little and comes too late.

77. I wish to place on record the appreciation of my delegation regarding the understanding and co-operation we have received from all members of the Council.

78. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, I should first of all like to thank you and the other members of the Council who have made friendly and appreciative references to me. I also wish to extend to you, on behalf of my delegation, our warm congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Council and assure you of our full co-operation. We feel sure that your proven ability, your wide diplomatic experience and your deep understanding of the various forces at work in international relations will be of the greatest value to the Council. It is fit and proper that the resolution we all worked together on should have been adopted under the presidency of an African member.

79. My delegation voted for the resolution not because it will bring about the end of *apartheid* in South Africa today or tomorrow, but because we think that it is the first international "nail in the coffin" being prepared for *apartheid*. We are happy that the resolution for imposing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa has been adopted unanimously. The resolution implicitly promises further sanctions and further actions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. It is in that sense a warning to South Africa. It is also an encouragement to those struggling against *apartheid*. In the last analysis, it is an expression of the determination of the Security Council to make South Africa conform to the general will of mankind for the abolition of *apartheid*.

80. I should not like to end my statement without placing on record our tribute to the dedicated and energetic efforts of Ambassador Andrew Young, representative of the United States, to his determined initiative and to his vigorous pursuit of all available peaceful means to bring the system of *apartheid* to a quick end.

81. Of course, Ambassador Young could not have succeeded in his efforts but for the sympathetic response and co-operation received from the representatives of Canada,

France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom, to whom we also are in debt.

82. The PRESIDENT: Since no other members wish to speak, I should now like to address the Council in my capacity as representative of the LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA.

83. We support what has been said by our two brothers, the two other representatives of Africa in the Council, namely, Benin and Mauritius.

84. We know, as it has been said, that the resolution we have just adopted emerged as a compromise, after long and intensive negotiations with all the interested parties. We know that it does not meet all our demands and needs in Africa, but we think it is a positive, small but significant step in the right direction. We hope that we shall continue our co-operation in the Council to realize even more positive steps and, especially, to extend the sanctions to other fields, and also to establish appropriate machinery within the United Nations to secure the orderly and effective implementation of this resolution.

85. In my capacity as PRESIDENT, I would remind the Council that at its 2045th meeting it extended an invitation to Mr. Elias L. Ntloedibe, Administrative Secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

86. Mr. NTLOEDIBE: Mr. President, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania wishes to associate itself with the warm sentiments expressed here about your qualities as a diplomat of outstanding proficiency. Your assumption of the important task of presiding over the deliberations of the Security Council at this crucial time inspires great confidence not only among the oppressed and exploited people of Azania but also in the third world and among progressive peace-loving sections of mankind. Your country, of course, is one of the unflinching supporters of the liberation struggle.

87. I should be failing in my duty if I did not take this golden opportunity to express our sincerest gratitude to the African Group for having acted promptly by bringing up once again the perennial problem of South African racism in its horrendous features of brutal rule and daily massacre of our people in the land of their birth.

88. Addressing ourselves to the non-permanent members of the Security Council, in particular the sister countries of Benin, Mauritius and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, we commend their uncompromising stand against *apartheid* and their magnificent performance in the Council on behalf of Africa.

89. The non-aligned countries, the Nordic countries and the socialist countries continue to play an important role in this joint concerted struggle for the destruction of the *apartheid* régime. The people of Azania will always appreciate their solidarity and support. We particularly commend those countries for recognizing the problem of racist South Africa for what it is—a threat to international peace and security. For what else could be the outcome of this

continued denial of our people's participation in the political life of our country but a declaration of war on us?

90. While some expectations were raised amongst our people by the pronouncements of Western countries that they would support a total mandatory arms embargo against that racist settler colonial régime of Vorster, we must submit that these pronouncements, which have come so late in the hour of our struggle, fall far too short of meaningful sincerity. How are we expected to treat this gesture by Western permanent members of the Council, coming as it does when racist South Africa itself states that an arms embargo will not hurt it because it is self-sufficient on that score? Western permanent members of the Council have already supplied it with enough arms, ammunition and spare parts. They have supplied the racist régime with so many arms, so much nuclear technology and nuclear-weapons capability that it would be able to wage a war for between five and eight years without any shortages—hence their enthusiastic support of a symbolic arms embargo. In spite of all this, the masses of our people continue to rise in tidal waves in cities and villages, in urban townships and in the hated bantustans, as the liberation programme unfolds.

91. While we accept the application of Chapter VII of the Charter as supportive of our struggle, we shall continue to be contemptuous of the manoeuvres to apply selectively certain provisions of the Chapter, in order to hijack those which are most effective and important. We, of course, cannot forget to express our strong disappointment over the negative votes cast the other day, which killed the draft resolutions and measures which could have completed the isolation of the racist Fascist régime of Pretoria.

92. Even at this late hour, making use of past experience means a lot to us. Although one may have gained the impression that a certain leading Western country has in some respects adopted a tough line against racist South Africa, one cannot lose sight of the fact that ambiguity has been noticeable in the whole rhetoric. That same country has, for instance, in the past said that communication with racist South Africa did not mean either acceptance of *apartheid* or departure from its stand of abhorrence of *apartheid*. But it holds that *apartheid* is profitable.

93. We recall also that a leading Western country, a permanent member of the Council, in a foreign policy statement on 3 May 1973 said that it recognized South Africa as a dynamic country with an advanced economy, with which it sought to maintain contact, and did not believe that the policy of isolating its white leaders and black puppets from the influence of the rest of the world would be an effective way of moderation which accommodated seeds of change.

94. We are convinced that Western countries which are the traditional allies of racist South Africa have for too long given that Fascist Boer clique a long lease on political life for reasons that have nothing to do with the freedom of our people but serve their own economic and other interests in our country. We reject *in toto* the reasons that they advance to justify their continued support for such a racist and oppressive régime.

95. Racist South Africa, on the other hand, takes advantage of such imperial concern to move or threaten to move in the opposite direction, to confuse the uninitiated. Indeed, the racist régime has in the past few weeks moved in the opposite direction, contrary to what the apologists of *apartheid* would want the world to believe. The racists have gone on a rampage of murder of black people and this has been intensified since 19 October this year.

96. These mass killings are carried out because Western countries, Christian civilized nations, permanent members of the Council, have for the last 17 years assisted the racist régime to stockpile arms of destruction which are being used for no purpose other than oppression. If this arms embargo resolution adopted today—which in our opinion is a mere symbolic gesture from the Western countries permanent members of the Council—had been adopted in 1960, several thousands of lives would have been saved and the bitterness now felt in the country could have been avoided. Racist South Africa has incurred a heavy debt of blood with the connivance of the Western countries, and the people of Azania have vowed to settle this debt with blood, whatever the cost. Our message to the Western countries permanent members of the Council, in connexion with the adoption of this resolution by a unanimous vote, is that it is a symbolic gesture arriving 17 years late. Your technicians are still in racist South Africa to assist in the completion of nuclear-weapons capability and the licences you have granted for local weaponry production turn the adoption of this resolution into a mockery. But the people of Azania know that to appeal to the sensibility of imperialism is a dangerous game.

97. As early as 1973, the racist Defence Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha, who has become of late the most notoriously articulate spokesman of the *apartheid* gang, boasted that the international climate favoured the whites; he said they were obliged to face all kinds of hostile onslaughts on the southern imperial bastion. Botha went on to say that, although South Africa geographically belonged to the so-called third world, it was culturally and militarily in the imperialist zone and therefore a direct ideological obstacle in the path of communism. This gangster Botha further boasted that essentially racist South Africa found itself in the prevailing international struggle for power and was particularly in a position of increasing strategic importance. In a more revealing exercise this year—repeated again only last week—Botha spelled out in great detail the colonial stake in our country, Azania; he made it clear that racist South Africa was holding the imperialist nations to ransom in return for political and military support. This has been proved by the prevarications and tiptoeing tactics adopted when a complete arms embargo was to be imposed.

98. The political correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail* of Johannesburg, reporting from the gallery of the racist Parliament, had this to say:

“The West’s strategic and economic position would suffer immeasurable damage if South Africa’s gold and other mineral resources fell into the hands of the communist bloc.”

Quoting further from the White Paper submitted to the racist Parliament, he observed that South Africa ranked

among the world’s five biggest suppliers of fuel minerals and had consistently demonstrated its potential, goodwill and reliability as the West’s most important source of minerals and strategic materials and raw materials, a fact which was of the greatest importance to the Western economy.

99. It is because of this vast background that the people of Azania have always known who their friends are, who the enemy is and who the principal supporters of that enemy are. It will take some time for the import of the South African racist régime’s defiance to sink in fully among the beneficiaries of the *apartheid* régime because the consequences could be so momentous. Those who not so long ago voted to protect *apartheid*, contrary to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, have merely added to the Azanian people’s determination to intensify the armed struggle and liberate the country from racist colonial rule. The writing is on the wall clear for all to see.

100. Finally, we must advise the Council once again, as we have done on many occasions, that the white ruling clique in our country knows no human decency, let alone diplomatic moral norms. They have recently ridiculed some of the outstanding diplomats around this table by referring to them as diplomatic infants who deserved to go to a school of diplomacy, and, by innuendo characterized by cynicism, invoked the memory of that deplorable institution in history which brought our African people to the Americas.

101. How unpalatable this sounds to us. And we must wonder why there is this continued protection of that gangster régime at Pretoria.

102. The Security Council possesses a powerful diplomatic potential but the blackmail by racist South Africa seems to be making those who have the means and the strength appear “totally irrelevant”.

103. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is Mr. Makatini, the representative of the African National Congress, to whom the Council, at its 2036th meeting, extended an invitation. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

104. Mr. MAKATINI: Mr. President, I should like most sincerely to thank you for giving me the opportunity to express the viewpoint of the African National Congress on the outcome of this series of Council meetings, the first of which was convened by your eminent predecessor, Ambassador Jaipal, in response to the request of 49 African countries.

105. On behalf of our organization, I also wish to convey warmest congratulations to you on your assumption of the post of President of the Council for the current month. Libya’s active and unswerving commitment to our struggle and your personal experience, dedication and indefatigable contribution in all forums which have been seized and continue to be seized of the problem of mapping out the correct strategy as well as ways and means of complementing the efforts of the liberation movement to attain the overthrow of the *apartheid* régime and the seizure of

power by the people is to us a firm guarantee that the Council will under your guidance live up to our expectations.

106. Allow me also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, whose statesmanship and selflessness in presiding over so controversial a series of meetings helped to preserve the essential spirit of reconciliation.

107. For the benefit of a body such as the Security Council, whose *raison d'être* is the preservation of peace and international security, it is, I believe, necessary and imperative that at all times truth should override diplomatic niceties or considerations of personal friendships.

108. The Council was convened on an emergency basis, following the escalation of the reign of terror in South Africa. For the African National Congress and the overwhelming majority of the representatives who spoke here, the issue before us was not how to react to the current crackdown on 18 organizations and two newspapers and the detention and banning of some individuals. The issue before us was the long-overdue concrete and effective punitive measures to be adopted by the Council against the régime whose *apartheid* rule has created a situation which constitutes a threat to international peace and security. I believe that it was for that reason that the three African members of the Council limited themselves to the draft resolutions which they had introduced on 29 March this year. In so doing, they enjoyed the full support of the African countries and the liberation movements. After all, the Council had been seized of this matter for seven months following the resolution on the matter adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session and the subsequent request for a two-month delay presented by the five Western countries members of the Council.

109. The negative vote cast by the three Western permanent members, joined by Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany, came as no surprise to us. Their position is in keeping with their persistent violation of countless resolutions calling for the total isolation of the *apartheid* régime. However, I must be honest and say that we thought that they would have demonstrated their avowed indignation and that of the peoples which they represent by at last joining justice-loving and peace-loving mankind and supporting the other three draft resolutions.

110. We listened attentively to the arguments which they advanced for not doing so. We half agreed with Ambassador Andrew Young and other representatives of the Western Powers who stressed the need for a clear and unconfused signal which was expected to come from the Council. However, we parted ways when it appeared that they were talking of this signal being conveyed to Vorster.

111. We maintain that the international community has, through countless United Nations decisions, sent a barrage of clear signals to the *apartheid* régime—signals which have been systematically confused by the Western Powers for reasons well known to all of us. Our position was that the time had come to send clear and unconfused signals to the oppressed struggling people of South Africa and its potential allies, the peoples of the United States, France, the

United Kingdom, Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany. That is of vital importance to our people, whose struggle has entered a decisive phase. They need to know whether those who have always been friends and allies of their enemy have changed their traditional position. Our people must know whether the highly orchestrated bid for the so-called negotiated settlement in southern Africa points to a change still in the pipeline and not yet consummated or is a change of tactics towards the objective that remains the same, that is, the perpetuation of the *status quo* in a camouflaged form.

112. The three triple vetoes confirmed in the clearest terms that whatever the Western Powers pretend to be doing in support of our struggle is calculated in terms of pounds, dollars, francs and Deutschmarks and not based on principles. Our people has once again been told that economic sanctions and the withdrawal of investments would harm the economies of the Western countries. In other words, they have been told to continue to shed their sweat and blood to ensure the continued prosperity of the white minority in South Africa and the "mighty few" in the West represented by the transnational corporations.

113. We are in a war situation. We may be excused if we use as our criteria for judging friends or foes what people do either to strengthen our striking power against the enemy or to strengthen the enemy's striking power.

114. It is for that reason, that we wish to state quite categorically that the resolution that has just been adopted is too little and has come too late. The Council, representing the international community, has missed an opportunity to erase from the surface of the earth the iniquities portrayed in the picture behind you, Mr. President. However, we feel that, while it is too late for peaceful change, there is still time for the Western countries to join us in a common struggle, a common battle against the common enemy.

115. It is important to stress that our people have come to the conclusion reached by their counterparts in various countries that have been placed in a similar situation, that genuine freedom cannot be granted, it can only be grabbed.

116. The resolution adopted today, as I have said, falls far short of our expectations, but we maintain that, if it is true that some changes are in the pipeline, it serves as a basis for effective action, which we hope will be undertaken before it is too late.

117. At this juncture I should like to associate our delegation with the position expressed by a few members of the Council, particularly the African members, that is, we hope that in the near future there will be moves towards setting up a watch-dog committee to ensure the strict implementation of the limited measures that have just been adopted.

118. We thank all those who have stood firm with us in calling for the appropriate and overdue measures, and we wish to express the hope that the Council, which remains seized of this issue, will, next time it meets, surprise us and our people by sending the appropriate signal to the Vorster

régime. To achieve that, it is important that we speak the same language. For us, the situation that is characterized by expropriation, hunger, super-exploitation and social deprivation, and maintained by the ever-escalating reign of terror and aggression against neighbouring States constitutes a threat to peace and international security and calls for economic sanctions and a mandatory arms embargo under Chapter VII of the Charter.

119. There has been much talk of Canada having "hijacked" India's draft resolution; we do hope that the next draft to be hijacked by Canada will be that on economic sanctions.

120. The PRESIDENT: I should like to thank Mr. Makatini, the representative of the African National Congress, for his statement and the kind words he expressed about my country and myself. On this occasion, I should like to assure him and his colleague, Mr. Ntloedibe, of the indefatigable support of my country and my people and our total and unlimited commitment to the cause of the people of Azania.

121. There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. Since no meeting is expected on Monday, which is the official anniversary of the October Revolution, I should like before adjourning the meeting to extend to the representative of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, on behalf of those present, our sincere congratulations and,

through him, also to his Government, his party and his people. I should also like to say on this occasion that if we are here now it is largely thanks to the fight of the Soviet peoples against nazism. It was thanks to that fight, and to the alliance between the Western liberal democracies and the Soviet Union that we defeated nazism 30 years ago, and we hope that with the alliance of all peoples, and especially with an active role played by the peoples of the third world, we shall defeat the new nazism in South Africa.

122. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like to thank you for the congratulations that you have just extended to our country, our party and our Government. I assure you, on behalf of the delegation of the Soviet Union, that our country has continued to pursue the Leninist policy of peace and friendship among peoples and support for national liberation movements. As one of the founders of the United Nations, we shall do everything necessary to ensure that the Organization acts effectively and successfully for the benefit of all the peoples of the world.

123. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council has thus completed the present phase of its consideration of the question of South Africa.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.

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