



# SECURITY COUNCIL

## OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-THIRD YEAR

*SUPPLEMENT FOR JANUARY, FEBRUARY AND MARCH 1978*

UNITED NATIONS



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**UNITED NATIONS**

**New York, 1979**

## 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.

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## DOCUMENTS S/11663/ADD.50-53

### Further reports on the status of the cease-fire in the Israel-Lebanon sector

#### DOCUMENT S/11663/ADD.50

[Original: English]  
[3 January 1978]

The Chief of Staff of UNTSO has submitted the following report on developments in the sector during December 1977:<sup>1</sup>

1. No ground or naval activity was observed and air activity was at a low level. UNTSO operations in Lebanon continued to be hindered by incidents with *de facto* forces involving vehicle hijackings, denial of freedom of movement, armed thefts, forced entry into OPs, mined roads and shooting at or into the immediate vicinity of OP relief/logistics operations.

2. Israel forces personnel continued to occupy six positions on the Lebanese side of the armistice demarcation line (ADL) near border pillars 6 (AMR 1680-2770),<sup>2</sup> 11 (AMR 1799-2788), 14 (AMR 1838-2734), 18 (AMR 1880-2740), 19 (AMR 1907-2749) and 33 (AMR 2004-2904).

3. Twelve overflights by Israel forces jet aircraft were reported: on 3, 19, 20, 27 and 31 December (one each day), on 8 and 24 December (two each day) and on 25 December (three overflights).

4. The Lebanese authorities submitted a complaint alleging that Israel forces had penetrated Lebanese territory in the vicinity of Chebaa (AMR 2200-3055) on 27 December and arrested four Lebanese. The complaint could not be confirmed owing to restrictions described in paragraph 1 above.

#### DOCUMENT S/11663/ADD.51

[Original: English]  
[1 February 1978]

The Chief of Staff of UNTSO has submitted the following report on developments in the sector during January 1978:

1. Ground and air activity were at a low level. No naval activity was observed. UNTSO operations in Lebanon continued to be hindered by incidents with *de facto* forces involving vehicle hijacking, denial of freedom of movement, armed thefts, forced entry into OPs, mined roads and shooting at or into the immediate vicinity of OP relief/logistics operations.

<sup>1</sup> UNTSO observers are stationed in the Israel-Lebanon sector on the Lebanese side of the armistice demarcation line, in accordance with the consensus approved by the members of the Security Council on 19 April 1972 [S/10611], to observe the cease-fire between Israel and Lebanon called for by the Council. The present report of the Chief of Staff of UNTSO concerns developments observed and reported by UNTSO observers in this context.

<sup>2</sup> AMR = approximate map reference.

2. Israel forces personnel continued to occupy six positions on the Lebanese side of the ADL, near border pillars 6, 11, 14, 18, 19 and 33.

3. There were three cases of firing across the ADL or across the line between Lebanese territory and Israel-occupied Syrian territory. There were seven crossing violations. The incidents were reported as follows:

(a) OP Ras (AMR 1920-2785), south-east of the village of Maroun Er Ras, reported automatic weapons fire by Israel forces on 12 January. Additionally, the OP reported crossing violations by Israel forces in the vicinity of border pillar 20 (AMR 1914-2760) on 22, 23, 24, 27, 29, 30 and 31 January (maximum penetration 500 metres each day). The observers were unable to determine the exact purpose of the crossings owing to the restrictions outlined in paragraph 1 above, but personnel involved appeared to consist of a working party.

(b) OP Khiam (AMR 2071-3025), south of the village of El Khiam, reported artillery fire on 2 and 30 January, 20 and 10 rounds respectively, both by Israel forces.

4. Thirteen overflights by Israel forces jet aircraft were reported on 1, 6, 12, 15, 18, 24 and 31 January (one each day) and on 13, 14 and 30 January (two each day).

#### DOCUMENT S/11663/ADD.52

[Original: English]  
[1 March 1978]

The Chief of Staff of UNTSO has submitted the following report on developments in the sector during February 1978:

1. Ground activity was at a moderate level and air and naval activity at a low level. Ground activity occurred mainly in the vicinity of OPs Lab and Hin (south-western part of Lebanon) and concerned Israel forces road building and minefield operations. UNTSO operations continued to be hindered by incidents with *de facto* forces involving vehicle hijackings, denial of freedom of movement, armed thefts, forced entry into OPs, mined roads and shooting at or into the immediate vicinity of OP or OP relief/logistics operations.

2. Israel forces personnel continued to occupy six positions on the Lebanese side of the ADL, near border pillars 6, 11, 14, 18, 19 and 33.

3. There were two cases of firing across the ADL or across the line between Lebanese territory and Israel-occupied Syrian territory. There were 36 crossing violations. The incidents were reported as follows:

(a) OP Lab (AMR 1643-2772), south of the village of Labbouna, reported automatic-weapons fire

by Israel forces on 16 February. The OP also reported crossing violations by Israel forces on 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20 (two reports), 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 (two reports) and 28 (two reports) February (maximum penetrations 300 to 1,500 metres each day). The crossing party consisted either of 10 to 25 soldiers with construction equipment (bulldozers, trucks), who were engaged in the construction of a new road from border pillar 4 (AMR 1648-2772) to the vicinity of the Christian village of Aalma Ech Chaab (AMR 1675-2786), or of one or two patrol vehicles (jeeps or armoured personnel carriers) along the new road. Additionally, the OP reported that an Israel forces naval vessel penetrated Lebanese territorial waters on 27 February. Observation was hampered by hazy conditions and the vessel was last seen in Lebanese waters heading in a north-north-westerly direction.

(b) OP Hin (AMR 1770-2790), east of the village of Marouahine, reported crossing violations by Israel forces in the vicinity of AMR 1775-2787 on 20, 21, 23, 26, 27 and 28 February (maximum penetrations 200, 200, 300, 400, 400 and 400 metres respectively). The crossing party consisted of 15 to 25 soldiers with military vehicles (jeeps and trucks) working in and around a minefield.

(c) OP Ras reported crossing violations by Israel forces in the vicinity of border pillar 20 on 1, 2 and 16 February (maximum penetrations 200, 200 and 100 metres respectively). The crossing party consisted of 8 to 15 soldiers assumed to be working with mines.

(d) OP Khiam reported artillery fire (four rounds) by Israel forces on 28 February. Additionally, the OP reported crossing violations by Israel forces in the vicinity of AMR 2100-2980 and AMR 2130-2950 on 13 and 16 February (maximum penetrations 200 and 2,000 metres respectively). On 13 February, the crossing party, consisting of 20 soldiers and equipment, was engaged in improving and repairing the fence gate and the road near the ADL. On 16 February, one unidentified civilian truck crossed the ADL and proceeded towards the village of El Meri (AMR 2102-3028). When the truck was fired upon by *de facto* forces located at El Khiam, an Israeli party with a jeep, tank and armoured personnel carrier crossed the ADL to rescue it. No exchanges occurred between the two forces. Additionally, the OP reported a crossing violation by unidentified vehicles from Israel to Lebanon at AMR 2100-2980 on 20 February. The group, consisting of one jeep and three civilian pick-up trucks, was proceeding towards the village of El Meri.

4. Thirteen overflights by Israel forces jet aircraft were reported on 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 24 and 27 February (one each day) and on 4, 20 and 28 February (two each day).

5. With reference to paragraph 1, there were 14 UNTSO vehicles hijacked, 33 forced entries into OPs in which theft of United Nations equipment and personal belongings of observers occurred on 17 occasions and six shootings into the immediate vicinity of OPs or OP relief/logistics operations by *de facto* forces in southern Lebanon. Twelve vehicle hijackings, 30 forced entries into the OPs and 4 shooting incidents occurred in areas assumed to be controlled by the Christian *de facto* forces. The remainder, with the exception of a stolen vehicle at Beirut, occurred in

areas assumed to be controlled by Palestinian elements. Since 1 July 1977 to 28 February 1978, there have been approximately 236 incidents with *de facto* forces in southern Lebanon. It was estimated that 159 of the incidents occurred in Christian-controlled areas and the remainder, 77, in Palestinian-controlled areas or at Beirut.

## DOCUMENT S/11663/ADD.53

[Original: English]  
[15 March 1978]

The Chief of Staff of UNTSO has submitted the following report on developments in the sector up to 1215<sup>3</sup> on 15 March 1978:

1. On 14 March, between 2240 and 2340, United Nations military observers reported Israeli air activity in the vicinity of OP Khiam, OP Ras, Tyre, Nabatiye and Ras El Baiyada (AMR 1660-2852). Additionally, mortar fire initiated from Israeli territory was reported impacting in Naqoura and tank fire in Maroun Er Ras.

2. On 15 March at 0024, the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) issued a statement announcing that they had a short while earlier begun a mopping-up operation along the Lebanese frontier.

3. At 0315, Naqoura Outstation reported that a tank force of unknown size coming from the south was passing through Naqoura heading north. Additionally, six boats were observed firing into Tyre. Information received from the Israel-Lebanon Mixed Armistice Commission (ILMAC) as of 0400 indicated that IDF had launched air attacks against targets in the vicinity of Maroun Er Ras, Bent Jbail, Nabatiye, Saddiqine and north of El Khiam and that mortar, artillery and tank fire was impacting in and around El Khiam, Maroun Er Ras, Naqoura, Tyre, Ett Taibe and Ras El Baiyada. UNTSO headquarters lost contact with Naqoura Outstation at about 0326, but the outstation was back on the air at 0400. By that time, Naqoura and its vicinity were reported to be under IDF control, and the outstation was no longer free to report.

4. At 0422, ILMAC headquarters reported that the United Nations military observers at the Naqoura Outstation were being escorted to safety by IDF forces while some buildings in the area were being demolished. Similar developments were reported to have taken place at OP Ras.

5. At 0930, UNTSO reported that the military operation launched by IDF was still in progress. IDF forces appeared to be in control of Naqoura, Maroun Er Ras, Bent Jbail and El Khiam. They were reported to be proceeding towards Ebel Es Saqi with ground and armoured forces. Israeli naval vessels continued to shell the vicinity of Tyre.

6. At 1215, UNTSO reported that an IDF bombing attack was in progress at Beirut. The attack was carried out by three F-4 Phantom aircraft using machine-guns and bombs in strikes against a Palestinian refugee camp south of Beirut. UNTSO also reported that OP Ras and its bunker had been destroyed. Some buildings at Naqoura Outstation were also destroyed and others suffered substantial damage. All UNTSO personnel were reported to be safe.

<sup>3</sup> All times GMT.

**DOCUMENT S/12452/ADD.1**

**Letter dated 21 March 1978 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the Secretary-General**

*[Original: English]  
[23 March 1978]*

I have the honour to refer to my letter of 11 November 1977 [S/12452], enclosing the text of a cable addressed to you from Mr. Ali Abdussalam Treiki, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, concerning Security Council resolution 418 (1977), and to your note of 10 November 1977 in regard to the said resolution.

In this regard, I have the honour to inform you that the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya imposes complete sanctions against the racist régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia. Moreover, my country does not permit overflight across its air space or landing in its territory of aircraft registered in or owned by South Africa or Rhodesia, or of aircraft destined for or departing from South Africa or Rhodesia.

I should be grateful if this letter could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

*(Signed) Mansur R. KIKHIA  
Permanent Representative of the  
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya  
to the United Nations*

**DOCUMENT S/12509/ADD.1**

**Note verbale dated 24 January 1978 from the representative of Norway to the Secretary-General**

*[Original: English]  
[31 January 1978]*

The Permanent Representative of Norway to the United Nations has the honour to refer to his note of 23 December 1977 [S/12509] whereby the Secretary-General was informed that a Royal Decree had been issued by the Government of Norway on 19 December 1977, giving legal effect in Norway to Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

The enclosed copy of the Royal Decree is forwarded for the information of the Secretary-General.

The Permanent Representative of Norway has the honour to request that this communication be issued as a document of the Security Council.

**ANNEX**

**Regulations to implement United Nations Security Council resolution 418 (1977)**

By virtue of Act of 7 June 1968 (No. 4) relating to implementation of obligatory decisions of the United Nations Security

Council the following regulations are adopted to implement Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977.

**1**

It shall be prohibited for Norwegian subjects and persons on Norwegian territory to provide to South Africa 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 such *matériel* and equipment.

It shall likewise be prohibited to provide to South Africa equipment and supplies and to provide grants of licensing arrangements for the manufacture or maintenance of *matériel* as mentioned above.

**2**

It shall be prohibited for Norwegian subjects and persons on Norwegian territory to participate in any co-operation with South Africa in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons.

**3**

These regulations shall enter into force immediately.

**DOCUMENT S/12510/ADD.1**

**Note verbale dated 27 February 1978 from the representative of Denmark to the Secretary-General**

*[Original: English]  
[1 March 1978]*

The Permanent Representative of Denmark to the United Nations has the honour to refer to his note of 23 December 1977 [S/12510] whereby the Secretary-General

was informed that a special Royal Decree was being prepared by the Government of Denmark with a view to ensuring strict and full



compliance with Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

The Permanent Representative of Denmark now has the honour to inform the Secretary-General that the said Royal Decree on certain measures against South Africa entered into force on 10 February 1978.

The enclosed copy of the Royal Decree is forwarded for the information of the Secretary-General.

The Permanent Representative of Denmark has the honour to request that this communication be issued as a document of the Security Council.

#### ANNEX

##### Royal Decree

We, Margrethe II, by the Grace of God Queen of Denmark, make known:

Pursuant to section 1 of Act No. 156 of 10 May 1967 on Certain Measures in Pursuance of the United Nations Charter the following provisions shall be introduced to fulfil the United Nations Security Council resolution of 4 November 1977 concerning an arms embargo against South Africa:

1.1. It shall be prohibited to sell and transfer, or attempt to sell and transfer, or in any other way provide or transport, the following items to South Africa, individuals or undertakings in South Africa, or undertakings operated from South Africa:

- (i) Arms, weapons and war matériel and related matériel of all types;

- (ii) Ammunition of all types;
- (iii) Military vehicles and military equipment and paramilitary police equipment;
- (iv) Spare parts for the aforementioned;
- (v) Equipment, components and matériel of all types for the manufacture or maintenance of the aforementioned.

1.2. It shall further be prohibited to grant or attempt to grant licensing arrangements to the aforementioned parties for the manufacture or maintenance of the items listed under 1.1. above.

2. It shall be prohibited to participate in, or attempt to participate in, any co-operation with South Africa, individuals or undertakings in South Africa or undertakings operated from South Africa, which involves manufacture and development of nuclear weapons.

3. Contravention of sections 1 and 2 above shall be punishable pursuant to section 110c of the Civil Penal Code by a fine, mitigated imprisonment, or, in aggravating circumstances, regular imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years.

4. This Decree shall enter into force on the date of its publication in the Government Gazette (*LOVTIDENDE*).

Done at Amalienborg Palace on the third day of February 1978,

Under Our Royal Hand and Seal,  
(Signed) MARGRETHE R/  
(Countersigned) K. B. ANDERSEN

#### DOCUMENT S/12511/ADD.1

Note verbale dated 11 January 1978 from the representative of Finland to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[23 January 1978]

The Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Finland to the United Nations has the honour, with reference to the note of 28 December 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Finland [S/12511], to forward herewith to the Secretary-General the text of the Presidential Decree issued on 23 December 1977, whereby the mandatory provisions of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) have been given legal force in Finnish law, with immediate effect.

The Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Finland has the honour to request that this communication be issued as a document of the Security Council.

#### ANNEX

Presidential Decree on the fulfilment of the obligations arising from the resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations on South Africa

Issued at Helsinki, 23 December 1977

Upon the proposal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the following shall, under paragraphs 1 and 5 of the Act of 29 De-

cember 1967 on the Fulfilment of Certain Obligations of Finland as a Member of the United Nations (659/67), be enacted:

#### 1

In order to fulfil the obligations incumbent on Finland under the resolution adopted by the Security Council of the United Nations on 4 November 1977 on South Africa, any provision to the Republic of South Africa of arms and related matériel of all types, including the sale and transfer of weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary police equipment and spare parts of the aforementioned, is prohibited, as well as the provision to South Africa of all types of equipment and supplies, and grants of licensing arrangements, for the manufacture or maintenance of the aforementioned.

#### 2

Regarding the penalty and other consequences of violation of this Decree or any directives issued on the strength thereof, there shall be applied the provisions of paragraph 4 of the Act on the Fulfilment of Certain Obligations of Finland as a Member of the United Nations (659/67).

#### 3

When necessary, the Government shall issue directives in greater detail on the implementation of this Decree and on the supervision of its observance.

Letter dated 4 January 1978 from the representative of Sri Lanka to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[5 January 1978]

I have the honour, in my capacity as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, to transmit herewith the text of a communiqué issued by the Co-ordinating Bureau concerning the assassination of Mr. Said Hamami, representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in London.

I should be grateful if you would kindly have the communiqué circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) H. S. AMERASINGHE  
Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Communiqué issued on 4 January 1978 by the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries concerning the assassination of Mr. Said Hamami, representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in London

The Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries heard today with profound sorrow and indignation the news of the

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/52-S/12517.

assassination in London of Mr. Said Hamami, the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the United Kingdom.

The Co-ordinating Bureau vehemently condemns this dastardly outrage as an act that threatens all efforts to bring about a peaceful, honourable and enduring settlement of the Middle East problem, which would include the granting of their legitimate rights to the Arab people of Palestine.

The Co-ordinating Bureau calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom, on whose territory the crime was committed, and on all those opposed to terrorist activities of this type directed against representatives of genuine liberation movements, to use their utmost endeavours to ensure that justice will be swiftly meted out to all those responsible for the organization and perpetration of this foul murder.

The Co-ordinating Bureau must assure the international community that atrocities of this nature, far from weakening support for the Palestinian cause, will further strengthen the resolve of the friends of the Palestinian Arabs to intensify their efforts to secure the attainment of their legitimate national rights against all forces that are marshalled to frustrate this objective.

The Co-ordinating Bureau extends to the Palestine Liberation Organization and to the bereaved family of the late Mr. Hamami its sincere condolences at the death of a valiant fighter for the rights of his people.

#### DOCUMENT S/12518

Note verbale dated 3 January 1978 from the representative of Iceland to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[6 January 1978]

The Permanent Representative of Iceland to the United Nations has the honour to refer to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977 regarding resolution 418 (1977) adopted by the Security Council on 4 November 1977 on the question of South Africa and requesting, in furtherance of paragraph 6 of that resolution, information on the measures taken by the Icelandic Government in accordance with the provisions of the resolution.

The Permanent Representative is instructed to inform the Secretary-General of the following:

1. Iceland does not provide South Africa with arms or related *matériel* of any type and does not provide any type of equipment or supplies, or grant licensing arrangements, for the manufacture or maintenance of arms or related *matériel*.

2. Iceland has no contractual arrangements with and has granted no licenses to South Africa relating to the manufacture and maintenance of arms, ammunition and military equipment and vehicles.

3. Iceland does not co-operate in any way with South Africa in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons.

The Permanent Representative would, in this connexion, recall that, under the terms of Law No. 5 of 27 February 1969 concerning the implementation of the decisions of the Security Council, the Icelandic Government is empowered to take such measures as are necessary to carry out binding decisions of the Council under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter of the United Nations. Should a change in circumstances occur so that a violation of the provisions of resolution 418 (1977) would appear likely, the Icelandic Government would act in accordance with the aforementioned law to take the necessary measures.

The Permanent Representative of Iceland has the honour to request that this note verbale be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

**Letter dated 2 January 1978 from the representative of Indonesia  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[6 January 1978]

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the following communication addressed to you by His Excellency Mr. Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, concerning the question of the arms embargo against the Government of South Africa:

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your cable concerning Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on the question of the arms embargo against the Government of South Africa. As is well known, Indonesia has always vigorously opposed *apartheid* and racial discrimination in all its forms and has fully supported all measures to combat these evils. Consistent with this policy, the Government of Indonesia has no relations whatsoever, diplomatic, economic or otherwise, with the racist régime in South Africa. Furthermore, Indonesia has never supplied arms to or engaged in arms trading with that régime and has no intention whatsoever of doing so in the future. Indonesia fully supports the adoption of the said resolution, as well as all measures to ensure strict compliance with its provision."

I should be grateful if this message could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ch. ANWAR SANI  
*Permanent Representative of Indonesia  
to the United Nations*

## DOCUMENT S/12521\*

**Letter dated 10 January 1978 from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General**

[Original: Arabic]  
[10 January 1978]

On the instructions of my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you excerpts from the address given by the President of the Lebanese Republic, His Excellency Mr. Elias Sarkis, concerning Lebanon's official position on the solutions under consideration regarding the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian question. This address was given at His Excellency's reception of accredited members of the diplomatic corps in Lebanon on 6 January 1978 on the occasion of the new year.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Fakhri SAGHIYYAH  
*Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of Lebanon  
to the United Nations*

## ANNEX

**Excerpts from the address given on 6 January 1978  
by the President of the Lebanese Republic**

It is a strange development, in an age when international principles demand respect for the rights of peoples to their own national entity, sovereignty and dignity, that the news of the day should relate to solutions aimed at retaining or resettling the Palestinians in this country or that. The Palestinian people have not relinquished their legitimate right to

their land, nor have we abandoned our right to one inch of our land or one iota of our sovereignty.

While we want all peoples of the world to have a happy and honourable life, we insist on our own right to such a life and on our right to determine what we shall offer to others within the framework of our sovereignty and interests, and within the limits of what is possible for us.

We are facing these problems with the resolve of one who believes in his rights and in the justice of his cause; we shall continue the delicate task of healing wounds and restoring health, and we are determined to fulfil a role—a mission of goodwill, peace and love. We face these problems with confidence in our brothers and our friends, appreciative of their support and standing shoulder to shoulder with them in dealing with momentous issues which, as the dean of the diplomatic corps said in his valuable statement, cannot be viewed with indifference but must be confronted with a spirit of responsibility and readiness for sacrifice.

As for the rumors we hear of preparations for solving the question of whether to resettle the Palestinians or leave them where they are, we reaffirm that any solution which fails to treat the Palestinian problem as the essence of the Middle East crisis cannot be sound. Whatever happens, Lebanon will not accept any kind of settlement that requires that the Palestinians should remain on its territory, realizing that such a prerequisite is harmful to its fundamental interests and is beyond its capacity. Furthermore, such a settlement would damage the Palestinian cause itself. To this end, we shall exert every effort and use all the means available to us in every direction and at every level to safeguard our rights.

On account of Lebanon's historic heritage and cultural

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/53-S/12521.

values, it is entitled to appeal to the international community and the conscience of the world not to harm the rights of its people; it must point out that the peace which we seek in

this region must be founded on justice alone. To resolve the Palestine question by creating a new problem for Lebanon and its people would be an injustice.

## DOCUMENT S/12525

### Note verbale dated 10 January 1978 from the representative of Ireland to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[12 January 1978]

The Permanent Representative of Ireland to the United Nations has the honour to refer to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977 addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland regarding resolution 418 (1977), adopted unanimously by the Security Council on 4 November 1977 on the question of South Africa.

The Permanent Representative has been instructed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to furnish the following reply:

"On 25 September 1963 [see S/5438 of 11 October 1963], the Government of Ireland informed the Secretary-General that they had not permitted and did not intend to permit the sale of or shipment of arms, ammunition or military vehicles to South Africa. The Government have since acted accordingly, as a matter of policy. The Government of Ireland wish now to confirm that, in compliance with their obligations, they will act strictly in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 418 (1977). Having advocated a mandatory arms embargo, the Government of Ireland welcome the adoption of this resolution."

The Permanent Representative of Ireland has the honour to request that this note verbale be issued as a document of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/12526

### Letter dated 14 December 1977 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bhutan to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[12 January 1978]

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your telegram quoting the text of resolution 418 (1977), adopted by the Security Council on 4 November 1977.

I wish to inform you and the Council that the Kingdom of Bhutan supports resolution 418 (1977) and that it will adhere to the provisions contained in the resolution.

I should be grateful if this letter could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dawa Tsering  
Minister for Foreign Affairs  
of Bhutan

## DOCUMENT S/12527\*

### Note verbale dated 9 January 1978 from the representative of Luxembourg to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[13 January 1978]

The Permanent Representative of Luxembourg to the United Nations has the honour to acknowledge receipt of the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977 requesting information on the action taken by the Government of

\* Incorporating document S/12527/Corr.1 of 16 January 1978.

Luxembourg to implement the provisions of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977.

The Permanent Representative of Luxembourg wishes to inform the Secretary-General that his Government will give the above-mentioned resolution its full attention and strictly comply with its obligations under it in regard to the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. The Government of Luxembourg also wishes to emphasize that it has never supplied South Africa with arms and does not intend to depart from that policy in the future.

The Permanent Representative of Luxembourg requests that the text of this letter should be circulated as a Security Council document.

#### DOCUMENT S/12528

Note verbale dated 13 January 1978 from the representative of Pakistan to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[16 January 1978]

The Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations has the honour to refer to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977, requesting information on the measures taken by the Government of Pakistan in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977.

The Permanent Representative of Pakistan wishes to inform the Secretary-General that Pakistan has from the outset strongly opposed *apartheid* and racial discrimination in all its forms and extended full support to all measures aimed at combating these evil practices. In accordance with this policy, the Government of Pakistan has no relations whatever—diplomatic, economic or otherwise—with the Government of South Africa. Pakistan has never supplied arms to or engaged in arms trading with South Africa and does not intend to do so in future. As a member of the Security Council, Pakistan voted in favour of resolution 418 (1977) and indicated its full support for the measures contained therein in the statement of its Permanent Representative in the Council [2046th meeting].

The Permanent Representative of Pakistan requests the Secretary-General to have the text of this letter circulated as a document of the Security Council.

#### DOCUMENT S/12530

Note verbale dated 13 January 1978 from the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[19 January 1978]

The Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations has the honour to refer to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977 to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania regarding resolution 418 (1977), adopted unanimously by the Security Council on 4 November 1977 on the question of South Africa.

The Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania has been instructed by his Government to convey the following:

"The United Republic of Tanzania is unalterably opposed to the obnoxious policies of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa and has consistently condemned those policies. Tanzania resolutely supports the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa and their national liberation movement to bring to

an end the oppressive Fascist system now prevailing in South Africa.

"To this end, Tanzania does not have any political, economic, social, cultural or military connexions with the *apartheid* régime. Tanzania has scrupulously observed all United Nations resolutions against South Africa. She therefore regards the United Nations embargo on arms sales to South Africa as a welcome beginning to world action against *apartheid*. Tanzania hopes that the Security Council will take stricter measures against South Africa soon and that in the meantime the arms embargo will be fully enforced by all States, Members and non-members of the United Nations."

The Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania has the honour to request that this note verbale be issued as a document of the Security Council.

**Letter dated 18 January 1978 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: French]  
[19 January 1978]

At a time when the question of the future of the Palestinian people is receiving increasing attention in the context of recent talks, the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has deemed it necessary to authorize me, as its Chairman, to draw the attention of all concerned to the fundamental principles relating to this question contained in the Committee's report<sup>4</sup> to the General Assembly, which were adopted by the Assembly at its thirty-first session.

Among the most important of those principles, we would recall the following:

(a) The question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East problem, and, consequently, no solution in the Middle East can be envisaged which does not fully take into account the interests of the Palestinian people;

(b) The full implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property and to achieve self-determination, national independence and sovereignty will contribute decisively to a comprehensive and final settlement of the Middle East crisis;

(c) The participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with other parties, on the basis of General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX) is indispensable in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East which are held under the auspices of the United Nations;

<sup>4</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 35.

(d) The inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the consequent obligation for complete and speedy evacuation by Israel of any territory so occupied.

I am sure that you will do all in your power to see that these fundamental principles are applied in any effort to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

In this connexion, allow me once again to draw your attention to the fact that the Palestine National Council, at its meeting at Cairo in March 1977, decided to consider the Committee's recommendations, approved by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session, as a positive and progressive step towards the achievement of the aspirations and rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return and the right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty, and to declare that any settlement or agreement affecting the rights of the Palestinian people concluded in its absence would be null and void.

The above considerations were reaffirmed by the Permanent Observer of the PLO, on express instructions from the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, at a meeting of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People on 10 January 1978.

I should be grateful if this letter could be circulated as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Médoune FALL  
Chairman of the Committee on the  
Exercise of the Inalienable Rights  
of the Palestinian People

## DOCUMENT S/12532

## Note by the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[19 January 1978]

The following note verbale dated 23 December 1977 from the Department of External Affairs of the Republic of Nauru has been addressed to the Secretary-General.

## TEXT OF THE NOTE

The Department of External Affairs of the Republic of Nauru has the honour, with reference to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977, to advise that the Government of the Republic of Nauru will abide by the terms of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) calling for a mandatory arms embargo to be universally applied against South Africa.

Note verbale dated 16 January 1978 from the representative of Iraq to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[23 January 1978]

The Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Iraq to the United Nations has the honour, with reference to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977, to inform him that the Government of Iraq commits itself to comply with Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977 and the implementation of its provisions, in accordance with its compliance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. The Government of Iraq would like to make it clear that it has never and will never supply South Africa with any type of arms or related material, including the sale or transfer of weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary police equipment and spare parts for the aforementioned, and that it has never concluded any contract with South Africa or grants of licensing arrangements for the manufacture or maintenance of the aforementioned.

The position of the Government of Iraq stems from the firm and well-known policy of fighting imperialism, racism and racial discrimination in pursuance of its respect for the provisions of the Charter. Iraq as always supported and sponsored, both inside the United Nations and in international circles, the imposition of strict sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. Thus, the Security Council resolution is in agreement with what the Iraqi Government has called for and already complied with for a period of time.

The Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Iraq has the honour to request that this communication be issued as a document of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/12536

## Note by the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[23 January 1978]

The attached letter dated 19 January 1978 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has been addressed to the Secretary-General.

## ANNEX

Letter dated 19 January 1978 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to the Secretary-General

On behalf of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, I have the honour to draw your attention to the recent grave developments in South Africa.

It may be recalled that in resolution 417 (1977) of 31 October 1977, the Security Council unanimously demanded that the racist régime of South Africa end violence and repression against the black people and other opponents of *apartheid*, abolish the "Bantu education" system and all other measures of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, abolish the policy of bantustanization and the policy of *apartheid* and ensure majority rule based on justice and equality.

The *apartheid* régime, however, has not only rejected the Security Council resolution, but has intensified violence and repression. It has imprisoned numerous opponents of *apartheid* and instituted a number of new trials under arbitrary laws which provide for death sentences. Several persons have been killed in detention and police custody. The police forces of that régime have repeatedly resorted to indiscriminate firings on peaceful demonstrators, including mourners at funerals, killing a number of persons.

The *apartheid* régime has proclaimed the so-called independence of the bantustan of Bophuthatswana, despite strong opposition by the African people and unanimous condemnation by the General Assembly.

It has, moreover, formulated a new constitutional plan which provides for a sham "cabinet council" with representation for

*apartheid* institutions set up for Coloured people and Indians but excluding the African majority. Though this plan has been denounced by the genuine representatives of all the black people of South Africa, the régime has indicated its intention to proceed with it.

I enclose herewith a review by the Special Committee dated 19 January 1978 concerning recent developments in South Africa, which shows clearly that the policies and actions of the *apartheid* régime since 31 October have greatly aggravated the situation in South Africa.

The Special Committee considers it imperative that the Security Council should consider the situation urgently and take effective measures to secure the full implementation of resolution 417 (1977). In this connexion, the Special Committee attaches great importance to the requests made to the Council by the General Assembly in resolutions 32/105 and 32/81.

On behalf of the Special Committee, I have the honour to request you to convey this letter and its enclosure to the Security Council for its urgent consideration.

(Signed) Leslie O. HARRIMAN  
Chairman

Special Committee against *Apartheid*

REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE THE  
ADOPTION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 417 (1977)

Rapporteur: Mrs. Veena SIKRI (India)

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## I. INTRODUCTION

1. In resolution 417 (1977) of 31 October 1977, the Security Council unanimously and strongly condemned the South African racist régime for its resort to massive violence and repression against the black people, who constitute the great majority of the country, as well as all other opponents of *apartheid*. It expressed support for and solidarity with all those struggling for the elimination of *apartheid* and racial discrimination and all victims of violence and repression by the South African racist régime. It demanded that the racist régime of South Africa:

- (a) End violence and repression against the black people and other opponents of *apartheid*;
- (b) Release all persons imprisoned under arbitrary security laws and all those detained for their opposition to *apartheid*;
- (c) Cease forthwith its indiscriminate violence against peaceful demonstrators against *apartheid*, murders in detention and torture of political prisoners;
- (d) Abrogate the bans on organizations and the news media opposed to *apartheid*;
- (e) Abolish the "Bantu education" system and all other measures of *apartheid* and racial discrimination;
- (f) Abolish the policy of bantustanization, abandon the policy of *apartheid* and ensure majority rule based on justice and equality.

2. The South African régime has taken no steps to implement these demands, but has proceeded to intensify repression and speed up the implementation of its *apartheid* policies.

3. Some of the main developments in this connexion are briefly reviewed in this document.

## II. DEFIANCE OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 417 (1977)

4. The South African régime has rejected Security Council resolution 417 (1977).

5. In a letter [S/12439] dated 4 November 1977 from the Chargé d'Affaires of the Permanent Mission of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, attention was drawn to a statement by the régime's Minister for Foreign Affairs rejecting resolution 417 (1977).

6. The statement rejects the resolution as being "hypocritical" and condemns the call for respecting human rights as a "pretext to hide... less worthy motivations". The régime's Foreign Minister further stated that the subject of this resolution fell within the purview of South Africa's domestic policies, and said that the resolution would "increase the resistance of South Africans to the dictates of outsiders about their own affairs".

7. On 30 November 1977, the South African régime carried out its plans for holding an election limited to white voters. Prime Minister Vorster made it clear that the régime had called an early election to obtain a mandate to reject international pressure towards majority rule and to seek endorsement for the projected constitutional reform. The new constitutional proposals by the régime involve the establishment of a "cabinet council" consisting of six white members elected by the white Parliament, three members elected by the Coloured Persons Representative Council and two members elected by the South African Indian Council.<sup>a</sup> There would

thus be representatives of the *apartheid* institutions set up for the Coloured people and Indians, but no representation for the African people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population. Though these proposals have not been accepted even by the two *apartheid* institutions, and have been denounced by all black people, the Vorster régime has decided to proceed with their implementation.

8. After the elections, in which the ruling National Party increased its majority in the Parliament, Mr. Vorster announced that it had received a mandate to continue to implement *apartheid*. In an interview with the Afrikaans magazine *Huisgenoot*, he insisted that there would be no concessions on the question of sharing political power with blacks on a national level.

9. On election night, Mr. Vorster spoke pointedly about taking no chances with "the safety of the State". This has meant continued violence and aggression against all opponents of *apartheid*.<sup>b</sup>

## III. CONTINUED VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION AGAINST THE BLACK PEOPLE AND OTHER OPPONENTS OF *apartheid*

10. It may be recalled that resolution 417 (1977) was adopted following the death of a number of detainees in South Africa, including that of Mr. Steve Biko on 12 September 1977. Widespread repressive measures were launched by the *apartheid* régime on 19 October 1977, including the banning of 18 organizations and several opponents of *apartheid*, the prohibition of three newspapers and the detention of a large number of leaders.

11. The following were the 18 organizations banned: Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People of South Africa; Black Parents' Association; Black People's Convention; Black Women's Federation; Border Youth Organization (also known as Border Youth Union); Eastern Province Youth Organization (also known as Eastern Cape Youth Organization); Medupe Writers Association; Natal Youth Organization; National Youth Organization; South African Students' Movement; South African Students' Organization; Soweto Students' Representative Council; The Black Community Programmes Limited; The Christian Institute of Southern Africa; Transvaal Youth Organization; Union of Black Journalists; Western Cape Youth Organization; Zimele Trust Fund.<sup>c</sup>

12. The three newspapers banned were *Pro Veritate*, the Christian Institute's monthly journal, and *The World* and *Weekend World*, the Johannesburg newspapers with large readership among the African people.

13. Five-year banning orders were served on the following seven white opponents of *apartheid* during the pre-dawn raids of 19 October 1977. Those whose homes were thus raided were: Rev. Dr. Beyers Naude, director of the Christian Institute; Rev. Theo Kotze, director of the Christian Institute in the Cape; Rev. David Russell; Rev. Brian Brown, administrative director of the Christian Institute; Mr. Cedric Mayson, editor of *Pro Veritate*; Mr. Donald Woods, editor of the East London *Daily Dispatch*;<sup>d</sup> Mr. Peter Randall, an education lecturer at Witwatersrand University.<sup>e</sup>

14. While white opponents of the *apartheid* régime were severely restricted under banning orders, many blacks were detained under the Internal Security Act or other repressive legislation.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>b</sup> *Time*, New York, 12 December 1977.

<sup>c</sup> The South African press reported that the Siyazinceda Trust had also been banned. The Trust had been established to help families and relatives of political detainees. The word "siyazinceda" means "we help ourselves" (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 20 October 1977).

<sup>d</sup> Mr. Woods subsequently escaped from South Africa. Witwatersrand University.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>e</sup> *The Star*, Johannesburg, 20 October 1977.

<sup>f</sup> This may have been because banning orders as a means of curbing black political activity had failed. Rev. Bishop Manas Buthelezi, himself a former victim of a banning order, said "They are ignored. When one is banned in the white community, I can imagine the whites think of that person as being a traitor or a Communist. But in the black community you have a lot of moral support, so banning doesn't demoralize you."

<sup>a</sup> *Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, 28 August and 18 September 1977; *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 8 November 1977: "electoral college electing the President is to be constituted by 50 white, 25 Coloured and 13 Indian members".



15. The régime did not announce the names or numbers of persons detained. According to press reports, however, over 40 persons were known to have been detained on 19 October and many more on subsequent days. This net of repression widened after the adoption of resolution 417 (1977).

#### A. ARRESTS AND DETENTIONS

16. A large number of persons are reported to have been arrested and detained under the various security laws—particularly the Internal Security Act and the Terrorism Act—since 31 October 1977.

17. Police raided the townships near Pretoria on 10 November and arrested 626 people, including 198 schoolchildren. Four hundred and ten of these were reportedly arrested for violations of the "pass" law. Only 18 of the 626 were charged with other offences.<sup>5</sup>

18. According to figures released by the South African Institute of Race Relations, more than 700 people were being held in detention without trial as of 29 November, and another 160 had been placed under banning orders.<sup>6</sup>

19. On 30 November 1977, 28 black journalists and one white journalist were arrested in central Johannesburg during a protest march. The marchers were protesting against the detention of 11 black journalists and showing their concern over the banning of 18 organizations in October. Bail was granted at R 50 each and the hearing postponed to 22 February 1978.<sup>7</sup>

20. On 1 December 1977, four clergymen were found guilty of holding an illegal march. They were each fined R 60, or 60 days with a further R 40, or 40 days suspended for five years. Their spokesman, Rev. Benjamin Phatolo, said they had been forced to protest as "the laws of this country are anti-Christ, as we see people being torn asunder (and) mercilessly uprooted".<sup>8</sup>

21. The total number of arrests and detentions is not known, as the régime does not publish the names of even numbers of those detained.

#### B. POLITICAL TRIALS

22. The political trials instituted prior to 31 October are being continued and a number of new trials have been instituted. Many of the trials are held in remote towns and some not even reported in the press. The following are some of the trials held during the period under consideration.

##### (i) Trial of Mrs. Winnie Mandela

23. Mrs. Winnie Mandela, 43, wife of Mr. Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress serving a sentence of life imprisonment, and herself a leader of the recently banned Black Parents' Association, continues to be viciously harassed by the Pretoria régime. She is currently facing five charges of contravening the banning order served against her.<sup>9</sup>

24. She was charged in the regional court at Bloemfontein with seven counts of contravention of the restrictions between 21 May and 28 July 1977. Two of the counts were subsequently dropped after a ruling by the Orange Free State Supreme Court that Mrs. Mandela's daughter, Zinzi, was entitled to receive visitors.<sup>10</sup>

25. According to a psychiatrist giving evidence in court, the constant police harassment has resulted in Mrs. Mandela's daughter suffering extreme emotional stress and acute depression.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 11 November 1977.

<sup>6</sup> *Financial Times*, London, 29 November 1977.

<sup>7</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 2 December 1977.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> She was banished to a slum of the remote town of Brandfort in the Orange Free State. She has also been placed under house arrest from dusk until dawn since May 1977. Among other provisions of her banning order is the restriction prohibiting her to meet with more than one person at a time.

<sup>10</sup> *The New York Times*, 26, 27 and 28 October 1977; *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 24, 27, 28 October 1977.

<sup>11</sup> *Financial Times*, London, 28 November 1977.

26. On 27 October the trial was adjourned to 17 January 1978.<sup>12</sup>

##### (ii) Trial of 12 members of the African National Congress at Pretoria

27. Twelve Africans, Messrs. Mosima Gabriel Sexwale, 24, Naledi Tsiki, 21, Lele Jacob Motaung, 44, Simon Samuel Mohlanyaneng, 23, Elias Tieno Masinga, 24, Martin Mafefo Ramokgadi, 67, Joe Nzingo Ggabi, 48, Petrus Mampogoane Nchabeleng, 50, Nelson Letsaba Diale, 41, Michael Mpandeni Ngubeni, 42, Jacob Gaonakala Seatlholo, 47, and Miss Paulina M. Mohale, 26—first appeared in leg-irons, on 9 May 1977 in the Pretoria Supreme Court on charges under the Terrorism Act and the Internal Security Act. They were described by the prosecution as the "backbone of the black revolutionary underground". By 7 October, when the prosecution closed its case, 70 volumes of evidence—nearly 2,700 pages—were recorded.<sup>13</sup>

28. The 12 were forced to wear leg-irons on their first appearance in court and are being subjected to the additional psychological torture of being kept next to the death cell "in close proximity of people who have been sentenced to death" and within earshot of people singing on their way to the gallows. Repeated requests to have the prisoners moved have been denied.<sup>14</sup>

29. Mr. A. Chaskalson, defence counsel, applied for the discharge of Miss Mohale on the grounds that the only evidence against her on the main charge of recruiting individuals for military training was that of a State witness who had discredited himself. The application was refused.

30. Mr. Justice Davidson, the presiding judge, died on 2 November before the defence case opened. The case has been remanded to 16 January 1978 for a fresh trial, causing great difficulties for the defence.<sup>15</sup>

##### (iii) Trial of six members of the African National Congress at Springs

31. The trial of the six alleged members of the ANC under the Terrorism Act was concluded before a special court at Springs on 29 November 1977.

32. The men, all from Soweto, were variously accused of involvement in a plot to blow up a bridge, hiding weapons and ammunitions, manufacturing bombs and training others in the manufacture and use of explosives.

33. The six men—Messrs. Mauhid John Phala, 50; John Affeli Thabo, 37; Philip Khoza, 55; Letsie Ben Mashinini, 34; Solomon Musi, 25; Bafana Vincent Nkosi, 20—were gaol for a total of 94 years: Mr. Phala was sentenced to 39 years, Messrs. Thabo, Khoza and Musi to 15 years each, and Messrs. Mashinini and Nkosi to 12 years each.<sup>16</sup>

##### (iv) Trial of 18 members of the Pan Africanist Congress in Bethal

34. Eighteen men—Messrs. Zephania Mothopeng, 65; John Ganya, 48; Mark Shinnars, 37; Bennie Toele, 38; Hamilton Keke, 42; Michael Khala, 24; Alfred Ntshali-Tshali, 47; Julius

<sup>12</sup> Before the adjournment of the trial, three white women who are friends of Mrs. Mandela had each been given one-year sentences in gaol for refusing to testify against her. A fourth friend, Mrs. Helen Joseph, 72, herself a veteran victim of the régime's banning orders, was sentenced to four months. Mrs. Mandela's other friends are: Mrs. Ilona Kleinschmidt, wife of exiled Christian Institute worker Horst Kleinschmidt; Mrs. Jackie Bosman, arts director of the *Financial Mail*; Mrs. Barbara Waite, wife of Springbok cricketer Johnny Waite. (*Rand Daily Mail*, 9 September, 14 and 19 October 1977.) A fifth person, Mr. Maleho Mosimane, a local journalist, was summonsed to appear on 30 November to make a statement under the new Criminal Procedure Act. (*Rand Daily Mail*, 12 November 1977.)

<sup>13</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Supplement No. 22*, annex I, paras. 229-236.

<sup>14</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 3 and 8 November 1977.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 October 1977.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 November 1977; *The Star*, Weekend edition, Johannesburg, 5 November 1977.

<sup>17</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 30 November 1977.

Landingwe, 30; Zolile Ndindwa, 26; Moffat Zungu, 28; Goodwell Moni, 24; Jerome Kodisang, 26; Michael Matsobane, 36; Johnson Nyathi, 32; Themba Hlatwayo, 21; Mothlalegi Thlale, 22; Rodney Tsoletsane, 20; Daniel Matsobane, 31—appeared briefly in the Bethal Magistrate's Court in December 1977. They were charged with allegedly taking part in so-called terrorist activities and with furthering the aims and activities of the banned Pan Africanist Congress between 1963 and 1977. Three of the accused, Messrs. Mothopeng, Shinnars and Keke are alleged to have furthered the PAC aims even while serving sentences in Robben Island.

35. The list of 86 alleged co-conspirators named in this case included prominent officials of the Pan Africanist Congress, such as Mr. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe (President) and Mr. Potlako Leballo (General Secretary), and two members of the press, Mr. Moffat Zungu and Mr. Mike Mzileni.

36. Four of the alleged co-conspirators, Messrs. Naboth Ntshunthsa, Samuel Malinga, Aaron Khoza and Bonaventura Malaza, died mysteriously while being held in detention without trial. Mr. Malaza died on 18 November 1977. The trial continues.

(v) *Trial of three members of the Pan Africanist Congress at Campdown<sup>t</sup>*

37. Mr. Stanley Pule, 33, Mr. Isaac Mhlekwana, 49, and Mr. Nogaga Gxekwa, 47, first appeared on charges under section 6 of the Terrorism Act in the remote country town of Campdown, Natal in October 1977. They are alleged to have undergone military training in various African countries. The three men pleaded not guilty.

38. One witness, Mr. Bonginkosi Mngomezulu, 35, was warned that he would be named as an accomplice but would be freed from prosecution if he gave "satisfactory evidence". Another witness, Mr. Mbhamali, although not a suspect, was told he would be kept in gaol unless he made a statement. A third witness' identity was kept secret. The State counsel alleged that the witness had lied in court by saying he had not made any statement to the police since 1968.

39. The trial was adjourned until 16 January because a fourth witness had moved and could not be located.<sup>u</sup>

(vi) *Other trials*

40. Four men—Messrs. Isaac Zimu, 28; Veli Mthembu, 22; Themba Khumalo, 18; and Walter Mtshali, 29—had been convicted in a record 21-minute terror trial of participating in "terrorist activities" on 2 August.<sup>v</sup> They had pleaded guilty on the "advice" of their *pro deo* counsel. On 2 November 1977, the judge refused to allow an application by them that their pleas of guilty should be reversed. Three of the accused were sentenced to 13 years' imprisonment each. Mr. Walter Mtshali was found to be mentally unfit and his trial was postponed.<sup>w</sup>

41. Mr. Mondy Motloung, 20, and Mr. Solomon Mahlangu were charged in connexion with a shooting incident on Goch Street, Johannesburg, where two persons were killed. The trial has been postponed to February 1978 since Mr. Motloung, who had earlier been subjected to psychiatric examinations, was diagnosed as suffering from brain damage and therefore unable fully to participate in the preparation of his defence. A medical report by the district surgeon stated that he had sustained fractures of the jaw and skull.<sup>x</sup>

42. On 18 November, Mr. Samuel Malepane, 22, and Mr. Thabiso Moephudi, 21, appeared in the circuit court at Krugersdorp on charges under the Terrorism and Sabotage Acts for allegedly taking part in terrorist activities. An unidentified witness claimed that he "volunteered a statement"

after being hit on the knees, elbows and ankles with an iron rod until he fainted. The witness has not yet been released from police custody.<sup>y</sup>

#### C. VIOLENCE AGAINST PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATORS

43. Violence against peaceful demonstrators has continued.

44. On 26 November 1977 the police opened fire at Kagiso on the crowd attending the funeral of Mr. Bonaventura Siphon Malaza, a young man who died in police custody. Two people were wounded.<sup>z</sup>

45. On 16 January 1978, 10 miles outside Cape Town, bulldozers protected by armed police began razing to the ground and in some cases setting fire to shacks in a squatter camp. This was part of an attempt forcibly to evict the inhabitants for eventual resettlement in the bantustans. Most of the 15,000 squatters, who would be left homeless, are women and children who moved into the area to be near their husbands and fathers who work and live legally in the city.<sup>aa</sup>

#### D. MURDERS IN DETENTION AND TORTURE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

46. The world-wide outcry against the death in detention of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko does not seem to have stemmed the violence inherent in the South African detention system.

47. On 18 November, another young victim met with death while in detention. Bonaventura Siphon Malaza, only 18 years old, is purported to have hanged himself.<sup>bb</sup>

48. The *Rand Daily Mail* reported that a man who had died in a cell three weeks earlier had been identified as Mr. Elliot Salinga, 30, of Randfontein. A police spokesman said Mr. Salinga had been injured when he "apparently fell backwards".<sup>cc</sup>

49. During the last week of November 1977, it was discovered that 16-year-old Patricia Esther Mnisi, a detainee under the Terrorism Act, had died two and a half months after being released from detention. The girl had been suffering from extensive bilateral T.B. and was only released at the recommendation of the district surgeon. A doctor who had examined her upon release from detention had told her father that she was dehydrated and suffering from double pneumonia.<sup>dd</sup>

#### IV. BANTU EDUCATION SYSTEM

50. There has been no change in the system of inferior education, specifically designed by the régime to keep Africans in a role of servitude.

51. Teachers have resigned in such great numbers that the régime has been forced to admit the extent of the crisis, especially at Soweto, as students continue to boycott classes. The boycott of classes is no longer confined to high schools but has spread to the primary schools. Nearly 77,000 students are at present boycotting schools in the Soweto area alone.<sup>ee</sup>

52. Changes contemplated in the system of education for the blacks seem thus far to be only cosmetic. The term "Bantu" may be dropped. However, according to Mr. Botha, the outgoing Minister for Bantu Administration, the services offered by the department of "Bantu" education are (basically) the same as those offered to white students. He says that there may be some improvements for black students.<sup>ff</sup> This does not raise any hope that the hated system of Bantu education will be totally abandoned by the régime.

<sup>t</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Supplement No. 22*, annex I, para. 246.

<sup>u</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 1, 7 and 8 December 1977; *The Star*, Johannesburg, 13 December 1977.

<sup>v</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Supplement No. 22*, annex I, para. 263.

<sup>w</sup> *The Star*, Johannesburg, 27 October 1977; *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 3 November 1977.

<sup>x</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 November 1977; *ibid.*, 30 November 1977; *The Guardian*, London, 8 November 1977.

<sup>y</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 16, 17, 18 and 19 November 1977.

<sup>z</sup> *The New York Times*, 27 November 1977.

<sup>aa</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 January 1978.

<sup>bb</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 November 1977.

<sup>cc</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 2 December 1977.

<sup>dd</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 November 1977.

<sup>ee</sup> *The Times*, London, 2 November 1977.

<sup>ff</sup> Mr. Botha's end-of-year statement reported in part by the *Rand Daily Mail* of 23 December 1977.

53. It remains to be seen what Mr. Vorster meant when he said that urban blacks would be given "rights to control their own education".<sup>ss</sup>

54. These statements do not indicate any change which would involve equality in education. Africans will continue to have inferior education. The authorities which the régime plans to set up for this "control" are rejected by the Africans. The detention of six members of the Soweto Committee of Ten who advocated abolition of Bantu education is another indication that the régime does not intend to abandon its policy of Bantu education.

55. As an example of the hollowness of the statements made by the Vorster régime, it may be pointed out that the East Rand Administration board has announced a 70 per cent

<sup>ss</sup> *South African Digest*, 9 December 1977, reporting on an interview given before the election with *Huisgenoot* (an Afrikaans) magazine.

reduction in the expenditure on black schools for the 1978 financial year.<sup>hh</sup>

#### V. BANTUSTANIZATION

56. The régime has persisted in the balkanization of South Africa and, on 6 December 1977, granted so-called independence to the bantustan of Bophuthatswana. This action was condemned by the General Assembly in resolution 32/105 N. The Chairman of the Special Committee also condemned this action in a press statement issued on 6 December. In his statement he noted:

"The establishment of the bantustans is part of the diabolic scheme of the *apartheid* régime to perpetuate white domination in 87 per cent of the country, which produces 97 per cent of the gross domestic product, and relegates the Africans to 13 per cent of the land divided into uneconomic and disjointed reserves. It is meant to segregate Africans into 'buffer states' and use them as cannon fodder."

<sup>hh</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 12 December 1977.

### DOCUMENT S/12537

Letter dated 25 January 1978 from the representative of Morocco to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[25 January 1978]

I have the honour to request you to arrange for the circulation as an official document of the Security Council of the royal message transmitted to you by Ambassador Ali Bengelloun during the meeting which he had with you on 24 January.

(Signed) Mohamed Saleh ZAÏMI  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of Morocco  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Letter dated 18 January 1978 from His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco to the Secretary-General

On 11 January 1978, at 10.30 a.m., on the road between Zag and Assa, two places in the Moroccan province of Tantan, 50 kilometres from the Moroccan-Algerian frontier, two civilian lorries were attacked by an armed band which had come from Algeria.

The first lorry was transporting two families composed of men, women and children, while the second was carrying foodstuffs.

The objective of the assailants appears to have been to seize the vehicles and to kidnap the people being transported and take them to join those illegally held in Algeria. In the face of the resistance which they encountered, the aggressors, in a cowardly manner, killed two of those in the first lorry and the driver of the second lorry, who refused to follow them. They also burned the second lorry after having removed the foodstuffs, which they took with them.

Thus, the mercenaries and their masters have once again resorted to murder and the kidnapping of innocent civilians, as they have already done elsewhere in defiance of all laws and the elementary rules of morality. Their act is all the more cowardly and shameful in that, this time, it was carried out in a region where peace and quiet reign and where, consequently, no special precautions had been taken to prevent it.

The people were profoundly disturbed and aroused, but have nevertheless managed to contain themselves and behave with dignity.

For our part, this cowardly act of aggression is all the more surprising and all the more unjustifiable and incomprehensible in that it has occurred at the very time when we and President Ould Daddah have welcomed the initiative of President Bongo and agreed to go to Libreville where the Extraordinary Summit Meeting of the Organization of African Unity devoted to the problem of our Sahara will be held.

We therefore wonder quite legitimately whether the real purpose of the act of aggression was not to counter the efforts made by various parties with a view to creating the objective conditions for a constructive and fruitful dialogue and, beyond that, restoring the unity of our continent which is threatened by the inconsiderate and irresponsible behaviour of those who proclaim themselves its champions.

We shall not go back on our decision to go to Libreville if the Extraordinary Summit Meeting is to be held there. It is clear, however, that Algeria, by its behaviour, appears to have definitely opted for violence and international terrorism and, accordingly, to have ruled out all peaceful means which could lead to peace and unity.

Algeria is a sovereign State. As such, it assumes specific and well-defined obligations towards the international community. Its Government is accordingly answerable for any actions which are undertaken from its territory and whose perpetrators find refuge in that territory after they have committed their crime.

The problem is therefore whether the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations should continue to allow one of their members to violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its neighbours with impunity and thus seriously threaten the peace, security and unity of our continent.

We are aware of your great and sincere concern to see a climate of security, stability and peace reign everywhere. We are therefore sure that you will join your efforts to those of President Bongo, the current President of OAU, to whom we have appealed, so that justice may be done in Morocco and, in particular, that the Moroccan citizens kidnapped and held hostage in Algeria may be restored to their families.

We attach as an appendix a list of the casualties.

We would request you to issue this letter as a document of the Security Council.

**LIST OF CASUALTIES**

*Killed*

—Dkheir Ali Ben Hadj Mohamed Oubihi, born in 1947 at Biougra (Province of Agadir);

—Akdim Ahmed Bel Houceine, born in 1933 at Foum El Hisne (Province of Tata);

—M'Barek Alattar, born in 1938 at Tata.

*Kidnapped*

—Bouhia Mohamed, driver of the first lorry, born in 1950 at Assa;

—Khalifi Mohamed Allal, born in 1970 at Zag;

—Zhara Bent Ahmed, born in 1938 at Assa;

—Allal Ben Ailoul Ben Mokhtar, born in 1937 at Assa;

—Ali Ben Mohamed Ben Ali, born in 1942 at Tazenakht (Province of Ouarzazate);

—Omar Ben Ali Ben Khalifa, born in 1949 at Labtana (Province of Tantan);

—Dkier Hassan, born in 1954 at Chtouka (Province of Agadir).

**DOCUMENT S/12538**

**Letter dated 25 January 1978 from the representatives of Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria to the President of the Security Council**

*[Original: English]  
[25 January 1978]*

On behalf of the African Group of States at the United Nations, we, the undersigned, have the honour to request the convening of the Security Council to resume the consideration of "The question of South Africa".

*(Signed) Léon N'DONG  
Permanent Representative of Gabon  
to the United Nations*

*(Signed) Radha Krishna RAMPHUL  
Permanent Representative of Mauritius  
to the United Nations*

*(Signed) Leslie O. HARRIMAN  
Permanent Representative of Nigeria  
to the United Nations*

**DOCUMENT S/12539**

**Letter dated 25 January 1978 from the representatives of Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria to the President of the Security Council**

*[Original: English]  
[25 January 1978]*

We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that, during its meetings devoted to consideration of "The question of South Africa", the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Donald Woods, former editor of the South African East London *Daily Dispatch*.

*Signed by the representatives of the following States  
members of the Security Council:*

Gabon  
Mauritius  
Nigeria

Letter dated 26 January 1978 from the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[26 January 1978]

I have the honour, on instructions from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, to communicate to you a statement made yesterday in the House of Commons announcing that further talks, pursuant to the proposals contained in the annexes to my letters of 1 September and 8 September 1977 [S/12393 and S/12395], will be held in Malta beginning on 30 January. I also enclose the texts of some of the replies to supplementary questions put to the Secretary of State.

I have the honour to request you to cause this letter with its annex to be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ivor RICHARD  
Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom  
of Great Britain and Northern Ireland  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

The Government, with the full support of the United States Government, are continuing to work for a Rhodesian settlement which will be acceptable to the international community and contribute to peace and prosperity in an independent Zimbabwe.

I shall be meeting Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe, the joint leaders of the Patriotic Front, in Malta on 30 January. I shall be accompanied by Lord Carver and by Ambassador Andrew Young and the United Nations Secretary-General will be

represented by General Prem Chand. The objective of the talks is to discuss with the leaders of the Patriotic Front the whole range of questions arising from the Anglo-American proposals, particularly the substantive matters on which we have so far had very little discussion with them.

[In answer to a question, Mr. Owen added:]

The Hon. Member must accept that an internal settlement which excludes one of the leading nationalist groups cannot bring about a cease-fire during the elections or bring peace and stability to a newly independent Zimbabwe, nor would it eliminate the threat to international peace and security. It would, therefore, be most unlikely to be recognized by the Security Council. We are signatories to many Security Council resolutions.

Mr. Flannery: Does my Right Hon. Friend accept that no solution to the Rhodesian problem is possible that does not take into account the aspirations of the Patriotic Front?

Mr. Owen: I agree with my Hon. Friend. We shall not achieve a settlement if we allow any side to have an absolute veto. If we are to achieve a negotiated cease-fire—which is very difficult—no side can hold to its principles to the exclusion of its readiness to compromise. The problem is that there are a number of parties to the dispute who are unwilling to show the necessary compromise.

[In answer to a further question, Mr. Owen said:]

The Government and this House alone can confer legal independence on Rhodesia. We would not do so if a settlement did not accord with the basic principles in the Anglo-American proposals.

#### DOCUMENT S/12541

Letter dated 23 January 1978 from the representative of Venezuela to the Secretary-General

[Original: Spanish]  
[26 January 1978]

I have the honour to refer to Security Council resolution 418 (1977) concerning the arms embargo against South Africa.

At the United Nations and in other competent forums, Venezuela has repeatedly expressed its opposition to the policies of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa and has strongly condemned them. Venezuela has supported all the resolutions adopted by various United Nations organs with a view to putting an end to that shameful régime of racial discrimination and repression. In the Security Council, the delegation of Venezuela voted in favour of resolution 418 (1977) on 4 November 1977 and, on that occasion, reiterated its position on this question [2046th meeting].

Accordingly, Venezuela has not maintained and will not maintain relations of any kind with the racist régime of South Africa and will continue to comply with the many decisions taken by the United Nations against that régime. The Government of Venezuela hopes that the embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa imposed by the Security Council, which is a particularly significant step, will provide an impetus for the adoption of more effective measures in the struggle against the *apartheid* régime, and it also expresses the hope that those countries

which have a special responsibility in the implementation of resolution 418 (1977) will comply scrupulously with its provisions.

I should be grateful if this letter could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

*(Signed) María Clemencia LÓPEZ  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of Venezuela  
to the United Nations*

#### **DOCUMENT S/12542**

**Note verbale dated 19 January 1978 from the representative of Jordan to the Secretary-General**

*[Original: English]  
[26 January 1978]*

The Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to the United Nations, referring to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977 concerning the implementation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977, has the honour to inform the Secretary-General that the Government of Jordan will strictly comply with its obligations under the provisions of resolution 418 (1977) with regard to the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. Furthermore, the Government of Jordan had issued regulations prohibiting all import to or export from South Africa.

The Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan requests that the text of this letter be circulated as a Security Council document.

#### **DOCUMENT S/12543**

**Letter dated 26 January 1978 from the representatives of Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria to the President of the Security Council**

*[Original: English]  
[26 January 1978]*

We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that, during its meetings devoted to consideration of "The question of South Africa", the Council extend invitations under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. M. J. Makatini of the African National Congress and Mr. David M. Sibeko, observer representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

*Signed by the representatives of the following States  
members of the Security Council:*

Gabon  
Mauritius  
Nigeria

#### **DOCUMENT S/12544**

**Letter dated 25 January 1978 from the representative of the United States of America to the President of the Security Council**

*[Original: English]  
[27 January 1978]*

On behalf of the Unified Command established pursuant to Security Council resolution 84 (1950) of 7 July 1950, I have the honour to submit a report of the United Nations Command concerning the maintenance of the Armistice Agreement of 1953<sup>b</sup> during

the period 21 December 1976 through 16 December 1977.

<sup>b</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1953*, document S/3079.



I request that this letter, together with the enclosed report of the United Nations Command, be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) James F. LEONARD  
Acting Permanent Representative of the  
United States of America  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

### Report on the activities of the United Nations Command

#### 1. BACKGROUND

The United Nations Command (UNC) was established pursuant to United Nations Security Council resolution 84 (1950) of 7 July 1950 and was based on the Charter's assignment of primary authority to the Council under Article 39 to take appropriate measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. The resolution called for the establishment of a unified command under the United States for United Nations forces in Korea and requested the United States "to provide the Security Council with reports as appropriate on the course of action taken under the unified command". This report summarizes the activities of the UNC involving the maintenance of the Korean Armistice during the period between 21 December 1976 and 16 December 1977. The last report [S/12263] of the Unified Command to the Security Council was submitted on 23 December 1976.

#### 2. ARMISTICE STRUCTURE AND PROCEDURES

##### (a) Armistice Agreement and Military Armistice Commission

The Korean Armistice Agreement, which was concluded on 27 July 1953, is to "insure a complete cessation of hostilities and of all acts of armed force in Korea until a final peaceful settlement is achieved". The Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, alone signed the Armistice Agreement on behalf of all the nations, including the Republic of Korea, which contributed forces to the Unified Command. The focus of United Nations Command activities in Korea is the implementation of the Korean Armistice Agreement. The Military Armistice Commission was established by the Armistice Agreement "to supervise the implementation of this Armistice Agreement and to settle through negotiations any violations of this Armistice Agreement". The Commission is a joint organization without a chairman and is composed of 10 members, five senior military officers from the United Nations Command and five from the North Korean-Chinese side. The United Nations Command has appointed one member from the United States, two from the Republic of Korea, one from the United Kingdom and one designated on a rotating basis from among the five other United Nations Member nations (Australia, Canada, the Philippines, Thailand and Turkey) which still maintain representatives to the United Nations Command. The Military Armistice Commission is assisted by a secretariat which provides the necessary administrative staff assistance to the Commission and carries out such other functions as may be assigned by the Commission. Meetings of the Commission and its secretaries are held at the request of either side. There have been 385 sessions of the Commission and 449 of the secretariat since the Armistice was signed. These meetings are held in the Joint Security Area, more commonly known as Panmunjom, within the Military Armistice Commission headquarters area, a portion of the Demilitarized Zone. The Military Armistice Commission, or the senior member of either side, is authorized to dispatch joint observer teams to investigate reported violations of the Armistice Agreement within the Demilitarized Zone. These teams are the primary investigative arm of the Commission. The respective secretaries maintain telephone hotlines in the Joint Security Area which provide a 24-hour communication link. In addition, joint duty officers from the two sides meet daily except Sundays and holidays to exchange routine charges of violations and correspondence.

##### (b) Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (NNSC)

This Commission was also established by the Armistice Agreement and is composed of four members, one each from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland. The NNSC

is an independent fact-finding body but reports to the Military Armistice Commission. The NNSC holds routine weekly meetings in the Joint Security Area, Panmunjom, and reports to the Military Armistice Commission on its activities, which principally concern the movement of military personnel and equipment to and from Korea.

##### (c) Role of the Republic of Korea

A unique feature of the Korean Armistice Agreement is that neither the United States nor the Republic of Korea is a signatory to the Agreement. As mentioned earlier, the Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, alone signed the Armistice Agreement on behalf of a Unified Command consisting of the military forces from 16 United Nations Member nations and the Republic of Korea. During the Armistice negotiations, the Republic of Korea Government gave assurances that it would adhere to the Armistice Agreement. These assurances were reiterated by the United Nations Command negotiators. The Republic of Korea forces have complied with the provisions of the Armistice Agreement since it was concluded in 1953 and Republic of Korea senior military officers have been accredited to the Military Armistice Commission and have served regularly on the Commission.

#### 3. MILITARY ARMISTICE COMMISSION ACTIVITIES

Meetings of the Military Armistice Commission are used to discuss serious violations of the Armistice Agreement and significant Armistice-related topics. These meetings serve not only to prevent possible miscalculations and escalation of incidents but provide a forum in which the United Nations Command attempts to make the Military Armistice Commission machinery more productive. The Commission has continued to serve as a valued means of communication, as demonstrated by its continued use by both sides. During the period covered by this report, there were three meetings of the Commission and two of the secretariat. Two of these meetings, one Commission meeting and one secretaries' meeting, concerned the return of the survivor and the bodies of three crew members of a CH-47 helicopter which was shot down by North Korean forces near the Demilitarized Zone on 14 July 1977. The other meetings were held to discuss a North Korean attack on United Nations Command defence personnel on 3 May 1977 and the apparent abduction of two United Nations Command personnel in the Demilitarized Zone on 20 October 1977. (The appendix to this report contains details regarding these Armistice-connected incidents.) Throughout the reporting period, the United Nations Command transmitted more than 2,900 charges of violations committed by the North Korean side. These charges were passed expeditiously at the daily joint duty officers' meeting in the Joint Security Area to enable the North Koreans to conduct timely investigation and to take necessary corrective measures.

#### 4. DEVELOPMENTS

On 29 June 1977, United States Secretary of State Cyrus Vance reiterated an earlier United States proposal that the parties most immediately concerned with Korea, i.e., the United States, the Republic of Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China, should enter into negotiations to replace the existing Armistice with more permanent arrangements. This proposal is in furtherance of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its thirtieth session, which called for all the parties directly concerned to enter into negotiations on new arrangements designed to replace the Armistice Agreement, reduce tensions and ensure lasting peace in Korea [resolution 3390A (XXX)]. Both the United States and the Republic of Korea are prepared to participate in such negotiations with other parties directly concerned.

#### 5. CONCLUSION

The Korean Armistice Agreement stipulates that it will remain in effect "until expressly superseded either by mutually acceptable amendments and additions or by provisions in an appropriate agreement for a peaceful settlement at a political level between both sides". The Armistice Agreement remains the only document available for the preservation of the Armistice. Preservation of the Agreement is particularly pressing

at present because the North-South dialogue has made very little progress in the past several years and because, in August 1976, the North Koreans cut off the hotline between the South and North which was installed after the 4 July 1972 North-South Joint Announcement. Under the current circumstances, the United Nations Command must continue its mission of maintaining the Armistice in Korea until alternate or more permanent arrangements are concluded by the parties directly concerned with Korea.

#### APPENDIX

##### **Major incidents discussed by the Military Armistice Commission and its secretaries (December 1976 to December 1977)**

###### *North Korean intruders killing and wounding UNC soldiers*

On 3 May 1977, two United Nations Command soldiers checking a fence located about 800 metres south of the Demilitarized Zone in the central sector of Korea (vicinity of 38 degrees 16' 30" N/127 degrees 9' 10" E) discovered a hole in the fence. As they started to investigate the hole, North Korean intruders north of the fence shot and killed one UNC soldier and wounded the other. The UNC called the 383rd meeting of the Military Armistice Commission, held on 9 May, and charged the North Koreans with this unprovoked attack. The UNC presented at this meeting eight expended AK-4 cartridges and one unfired cartridge which had been recovered in the area where the shots came from. The North Koreans responded by saying that none of their soldiers had crossed the Demilitarized Zone and fired at the UNC personnel. The UNC stressed the seriousness of the killing and told the North Koreans that such incidents reduced the credibility of their statements of peaceful intentions.

###### *North Korea shooting down an unarmed UNC helicopter*

On 14 July 1977, an unarmed UNC helicopter with four crew members inadvertently flew over the east coast of North Korea, owing to navigational error, and was shot down by North Korean anti-aircraft fire. The pilot was killed when he was hit by the North Korean ground fire, and two crew members were also killed when the helicopter crashed. The co-pilot was injured but survived. A few hours later, the UNC called for the 385th meeting of the Military Armistice Commission to request the return of the crew and helicopter. The UNC senior member, through a message, informed his counterpart that this had been an unintentional intrusion, the incident was regrettable, and requested an immediate return of the crew and helicopter. The North Koreans counterproposed that the 385th meeting proposed by the UNC should be postponed until 16 July because the incident was still under investigation. At the 385th meeting, held on 16 July, the UNC senior member referred to his earlier message concerning the "regrettable incident" and stated he was prepared to receive the crew and

helicopter. The North Korean senior member responded that they were ready to deliver the survivor and the bodies of the crew members after considering the UNC admission of an air intrusion into North Korea by its military helicopter and expression of regret over the incident. He requested a receipt acknowledging the return of the crew member and the bodies and suggested that the Military Armistice Commission secretaries should meet following the conclusion of the Commission meeting to transfer the crew member and the bodies. The crew member and the bodies were returned in the evening of that day. The UNC senior member made the following remarks in his press interview following the release of the crew: "We welcome the prompt North Korean response to our request for the return of the crew of our helicopter which unintentionally entered North Korean territory, but we deplore the loss of life and the use of force against an unarmed and inadvertent intrusion. However, it is encouraging that the matter was handled by both sides in a manner consistent with the Armistice Agreement." The rapid settlement of this incident through the Military Armistice Commission machinery demonstrated that the Armistice mechanism is providing a medium for communication and the importance of a dialogue to prevent a serious incident from escalating into a confrontation.

###### *North Korean abduction of UNC personnel in the Demilitarized Zone*

Evidence available to the United Nations Command indicates that two UNC personnel—one officer and one enlisted man—may have been abducted on 20 October 1977 by the North Koreans from the UNC portion of the DMZ in the vicinity of 38 degrees 17' N/127 degrees 10' 5" E, in the central sector of Korea. The UNC called the 449th meeting of the Military Armistice Commission secretaries, held on 20 October, and requested the return of these UNC personnel. The UNC secretary stated he had been directed by his senior Military Armistice Commission member to work out the details of their return. The UNC proposed that the North Koreans should bring them to a joint observer team meeting in the middle of the "Bridge of No Return" located astride the Military Demarcation Line in the Joint Security Area at 1100 hours, 27 October, where these individuals would be able to make their real desires known by walking to either side. The North Koreans responded that the men were "defectors" and the issue of defection was not germane to the mission of the Military Armistice Commission. The UNC remarked that abduction was a proper topic for discussion before the Commission and requested that the North Koreans should bring them to a meeting of the secretaries the next day where they would be able freely to walk to either side. The North Koreans, however, rejected both proposals submitted by the UNC. The UNC stated the North Korean rejection of the two proposals to give the men free choice indicated that the North Korean claim of defection was fabricated.

#### DOCUMENT S/12545\*

##### **Letter dated 27 January 1978 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the Secretary-General**

*[Original: English]  
[27 January 1978]*

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to draw your attention to the following extract from the speech made by President Sadat of Egypt to the People's Assembly of Egypt on Saturday, 21 January 1978:

"I requested the Secretary of State to inform the American President officially and for the first time of the demand by Egypt that it be armed. . . . I have not requested these arms because I am going to attack Israel. . . . I am confronted with great responsibilities from this area to all of Africa."

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/56-S/12545.



The great concern felt by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in regard to the implications of this statement results from the overt threat to the peace and security of the continent of Africa as a whole. This statement also constitutes an interference in the internal affairs of African States in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. Moreover, the concern of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in this regard is exacerbated by its recent experience with the Egyptian régime.

In drawing your attention to this serious matter, I request that this letter be circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mansur R. KIKHIA  
Permanent Representative of the  
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/12546

Note verbale dated 27 January 1978 from the representative of Qatar to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[30 January 1978]

The Permanent Representative of the State of Qatar to the United Nations has the honour, with reference to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977, to inform him that the Government of Qatar has taken measures in compliance with Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977 and its provisions concerning the sale or transfer of arms, weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment and spare parts for the aforementioned.

The State of Qatar promulgated law No. 140 of 1973 which severed all economic, commercial and cultural ties with South Africa, and has acceded to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

The Government of the State of Qatar is firmly convinced that mandatory measures, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, must be put into effect to secure the full implementation of the arms embargo against the Government of South Africa in order to eradicate the odious policies of apartheid, racial discrimination and segregation. Qatar has condemned these policies in numerous international forums. Qatar has supported the just struggle of the people of South Africa, under the leadership of their liberation movements, against the forces of evil, racism and injustices, and will continue to do so until the people of South Africa have achieved their freedom and their right to self-determination.

The Permanent Representative of the State of Qatar has the honour to request that this communication be issued as a document of the Security Council.

#### DOCUMENT S/12547

Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria: draft resolution

[Original: English]  
[30 January 1978]

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 417 (1977) of 31 October and 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977,

Taking note of General Assembly resolution 32/105 of 14 and 16 December 1977,

Having considered the letter dated 19 January 1978 addressed to the Secretary-General by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid [S/15536, annex],

Noting with grave concern the continued violence and brutal repression by the South African minority racist régime against the black people and all opponents of apartheid in defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, in particular resolution 417 (1977),

Noting also with grave concern that the minority racist régime has intensified further a series of arbitrary trials under its racist and repressive laws providing for death sentences,

*Noting further* the proclamation of the so-called "independence" of the bantustan of Bophuthatswana in defiance of resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly,

*Considering* that the policies and actions of the South African racist régime have further aggravated the situation in South Africa and that the continuation of the situation constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security,

1. *Reaffirms* its resolutions 417 (1977) and 418 (1977);

2. *Strongly condemns* the minority racist régime of South Africa for its further aggravation of the situation by the escalating and massive repression against all opponents of *apartheid*, killings of peaceful demonstrators and political detainees, and for its defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, in particular resolution 417 (1977);

3. *Strongly condemns also* the establishment of bantustans and the proclamation of the so-called "independence" of the bantustans of the Transkei and Bophuthatswana as designed to consolidate the inhuman policy of *apartheid*, to destroy the territorial integrity of the country, to perpetuate white minority domination and to deprive the African people of South Africa of their inalienable rights;

4. *Declares* that the violence and repression by the South African racist régime have greatly aggra-

vated the situation in South Africa and will certainly lead to violent conflict and racial conflagration with serious international repercussions;

5. *Demands* that the racist régime of South Africa:

(a) Terminate all political trials;

(b) Release all persons imprisoned under arbitrary security laws and all those detained for their opposition to *apartheid*;

(c) End violence and repression against the black people and other opponents of *apartheid*;

(d) Abolish the "Bantu education" system and all other measures of *apartheid* and racial discrimination;

(e) Abolish the policy of bantustanization, abandon the policy of *apartheid* and ensure majority rule based on justice and equality;

(f) Abrogate the bans on organizations and the news media opposed to *apartheid*;

6. *Decides* to meet again, not later than 21 March 1978, to consider further action, taking into account General Assembly resolution 32/105;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, to follow the situation and report, as appropriate, to the Security Council on the implementation of the present resolution.

## DOCUMENT S/12548

### Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria: draft resolution

[Original: English]  
[30 January 1978]

*The Security Council,*

*Gravely concerned* over the deteriorating situation in South Africa resulting from the policies and actions of the racist régime,

*Recalling* its resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977,

*Recalling also* General Assembly resolution 32/105 O of 16 December 1977,

*Strongly convinced* of the urgent need for further international action to prevent further aggravation of the situation,

*Strongly convinced also* that the cessation of new foreign investments in South Africa constitutes a necessary measure, as such investments encourage the racist régime to persist in its policies of *apartheid* and facilitate its military build-up,

*Acting* under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Decides* that all States, including States non-members of the United Nations, shall:

(a) Prohibit any loans to or investments in South Africa, or guarantees for such loans or investments;

(b) Take effective steps to prohibit any loans to or investments in South Africa by corporations and financial institutions in their countries;

(c) Terminate all incentives for investments in or trade with South Africa;

2. *Urges* all States to reconsider all their existing economic and other relations with South Africa;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution.

## DOCUMENT S/12549

### Note verbale dated 30 January 1978 from the Mission of Saudi Arabia to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[30 January 1978]

The Permanent Mission of Saudi Arabia to the United Nations, referring to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977 concerning the implementa-

tion of Security Council resolution 417 (1977) of 4 November 1977, has the honour to convey that the Government of Saudi Arabia has no relationship whatsoever with the *apartheid* régime in South Africa, and has never supplied nor does it intend to supply any arms to that régime.

Furthermore, the Government of Saudi Arabia would like to assure the Security Council that it will implement the provisions of resolution 418 (1977) scrupulously.

The Permanent Mission of Saudi Arabia has the honour to request that this communication be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

#### DOCUMENT S/12550

##### Note verbale dated 25 January 1978 from the Mission of Maldives to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[30 January 1978]

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Maldives to the United Nations has the honour to refer to the Secretary-General's cable of 4 November 1977 addressed to the Government of the Republic of Maldives asking for information on the measures taken by it in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977 on the question of South Africa.

In this connexion, the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Maldives wishes to state that the Government of the Republic of Maldives is already acting and will act strictly in accordance with the provisions of resolution 418 (1977).

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Maldives further has the honour to request that this note verbale be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

#### DOCUMENT S/12551

##### Letter dated 30 January 1978 from the representative of Argentina to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[1 February 1978]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a letter addressed today by Rear Admiral Oscar A. Montes, Minister for External Relations and Worship of Argentina, to Ambassador Leslie O. Harriman, President of the Security Council for the month of January, concerning the adoption of Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

I should be grateful if this letter could be circulated as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Enrique J. Ros  
Permanent Representative of Argentina  
to the United Nations

##### TEXT OF THE LETTER

I have the honour to address you with reference to the adoption by the Security Council, by virtue of the

powers conferred upon it by Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, of resolution 418 (1977), which establishes a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

The Argentine Republic, which has always clearly and consistently expressed its absolute rejection of the policy of *apartheid*, does not sell arms to South Africa and cannot remain indifferent vis-à-vis this extremely important decision.

I am sure that resolution 418 (1977), which is a most significant milestone in the history of the United Nations, will prove to be an effective and decisive instrument for the speedy eradication of *apartheid*.

Note verbale dated 30 January 1978 from the representative of Barbados to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[2 February 1978]

The Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Barbados to the United Nations has the honour to refer to the note verbale of 9 January 1978 sent directly to the Secretary-General by the Minister for External Affairs of Barbados, and to request that its text be circulated as a Security Council document.

TEXT OF THE NOTE

The Minister for External Affairs of Barbados has the honour to refer to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977 requesting information on the measures taken by the Barbados Government in ac-

cordance with Security Council resolution 418 (1977) which calls upon Member States to apply a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Minister for External Affairs wishes to state that there are no arms or military equipment exported from this country to South Africa. Barbados is consequently already in compliance with the provisions of the aforementioned Security Council resolution. It may also be noted that the Government of Barbados has no intention of deviating from such policy as above and breaching the Council resolution.

DOCUMENT S/12553

Letter dated 8 February 1978 from the representative of Chad  
to the President of the Security Council

[Original: French]  
[9 February 1978]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to request you to convene a meeting of the Security Council, as a matter of urgency, to consider the extremely serious situation now prevailing in northern Chad as a result of Libyan aggression and of the Chad-Libyan frontier problem.

(Signed) Beadengar DESSANDE  
Permanent Representative of Chad  
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT S/12554

Letter dated 6 February 1978 from the representative of Chad to the President of the  
Security Council

[Original: French]  
[9 February 1978]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the telex dated at N'Djamena on 4 February 1978 and addressed to you by His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of my country.

Allow me to draw your attention to the urgent nature of the last paragraph of this message.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for the text of this communication to be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Beadengar DESSANDE  
Permanent Representative of Chad  
to the United Nations

TEXT OF THE TELEGRAM

Honour bring to your attention disturbing situation which prevails in my country resulting from the aggression and military occupation northern Chad by

Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and its intervention in internal affairs of Chad.

Completely ignoring recommendations Libreville OAZ summit, which established *Ad Hoc* Committee for settlement Chad-Libyan frontier dispute, Libyan authorities persist in their acts aimed at destabilizing the Chad Government and dismembering this country to achieve expansionist designs.

In escalation aggression against Chad, the Libyan régime has placed Radio Tripoli at disposal Chad rebels since 21 October 1977, dictating to them for repetition hostile words against the Chad régime and calls for revolt to elements of the Chad national army.

Using the Chad rebels of the BET (Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti) who are in its service, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya participates directly in the fighting against the Chad national army in the north of the country.

For instance, on 29 and 30 January 1978, a DC-3 aircraft and a DC-4 aircraft which were being used in the regular Chad airlift of food and supplies to the Faya group were hit by SAM-8 rockets of the Libyan army. While the persons on board the DC-4 escaped from this attack without injury, those on board the other aircraft are posted missing. It was also established that Libyan heavy transport planes were landing military supplies of all kinds, including vehicles, in the BET. Foreign elements were fighting alongside the Chad rebels.

The foregoing is evidence of the fact that Tripoli is carrying out the threats which it has constantly uttered against Chad and which Chad delegations to a number of international organizations have denounced in the past. This being so, the recent statement by the Libyan head of State at Niamey concerning his willingness to find a solution to the

Chad-Libyan dispute is clearly intended to divert the attention of world opinion from his true intentions.

As a peace-loving country, Chad seeks only to live in peace within the frontiers it inherited from colonization at the time of its accession to independence, in accordance with the OAU Charter and the Cairo Declaration of July 1964. Its territorial integrity and its very existence as a sovereign State member of the international community are now dangerously threatened.

I therefore request your vigorous intervention with the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, to the end that it should immediately desist from its aggression and its acts of intervention in the internal affairs of Chad and withdraw its troops from the BET. Otherwise, it will be held solely responsible for the serious consequences that will ensue.

#### DOCUMENT S/12555

##### Letter dated 8 February 1978 from the representative of Chad to the President of the Security Council

[Original: French]  
[9 February 1978]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the telex of 8 February 1978 addressed to you by Brigadier-General Félix Malloum, President of the High Military Council and head of State of the Republic of Chad.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for the text of this communication to be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Beadengar DESSANDE  
Permanent Representative of Chad  
to the United Nations

Honour draw your attention to following. Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to this day supplied no documentation to OAU to justify its claims to Aouzou. Worse yet, it takes arrogance to point of refusing to participate in any discussion attended by representatives Chad Government on pretext latter engaging in terrorism and subjecting Libyan diplomats and nationals to pressures. This January, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

again refrained from participating in meeting committee experts countries members *Ad Hoc* Committee thus aborting planned meeting. In addition, flouting recommendation *Ad Hoc* Committee principles of Charters and relevant resolutions of United Nations and OAU and principles of general international law, Libya allows Chad rebels use its national radio to denigrate their country's régime and conduct campaign of demoralization Chad masses. Having failed to achieve its purpose, Libya has now mobilized its armed forces, assisted by foreign elements, in heavy fighting going on since 1 February at Faya. In these circumstances, High Military Council and Provisional Government decided to break off Chad-Libyan diplomatic relations as of 6 February 1978. Libya until now is using diversionary manoeuvres to avoid straightforward approach to frontier dispute with Chad. Chad now passing through dark period in its history and seeks your understanding, and if necessary your support, in this time of trial.

#### DOCUMENT S/12556

##### Note verbale dated 26 January 1978 from the representative of Suriname to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[10 February 1978]

The Permanent Representative of the Republic of Suriname to the United Nations, referring to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977, has the honour, upon instructions of his Government, to inform the Secretary-General as follows.

The Government and people of Suriname are in full support of the oppressed people of southern Africa in their just struggle against the South African racist régime for liberation and national independence. Suriname has no relations whatsoever with the racist régime of South Africa and is in favour of its isolation from the world community until the struggle of its oppressed people has finally come to a successful end.

Consequently, Suriname welcomes Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977 and pledges its strict observance.

The Permanent Representative of the Republic of Suriname would be grateful if this note could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/12557

### Letter dated 9 February 1978 from the representative of Benin to the President of the Security Council

[Original: French]  
[13 February 1978]

To mark the first anniversary of the crushing by the people of Benin of the imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, a Week of Solidarity with Peoples and Countries Struggling for their National Liberation and an International Conference on Mercenaries were held at Cotonou from 9 to 16 January 1978, on the initiative of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin.

Some 40 delegations representing countries, parties and democratic organizations took part in these manifestations. Many messages of support were received, particularly from Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General, and from the Presidents of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Madagascar.

The results of the proceedings of the Week of Solidarity and of the International Conference on Mercenaries are very positive. These results, which certainly fall within the framework of efforts to promote international peace and security, consist of the following documents:

#### ✓ Declaration of Cotonou (annex I).

#### —International Conference on Mercenaries (annex II):

- ✓ 1. General declarations on mercenaries.
2. Resolution on mercenaries.
3. Special motion addressed to the African heads of State and to the current President of the Organization of African Unity concerning the OAU Convention on the Elimination of the Use of Mercenaries adopted at Libreville in 1977.
4. Resolution of support for the people of Benin subjected to the imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977.

#### —Week of Solidarity with Peoples and Countries Struggling for their National Liberation (annex III):

- ✓ 1. Declaration of solidarity with the African national liberation movements.
2. Motion of support for Korea.
3. Motion of support for the Palestinian people.
4. Motion concerning southern Africa.
5. Motion of support for the POLISARIO Front of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic

#### —List of delegations (annex IV).

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to request you to arrange for these documents to be circulated as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Thomas S. BOYA  
Permanent Representative of Benin  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX I

### Declaration of Cotonou

WEEK OF SOLIDARITY WITH PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES STRUGGLING FOR THEIR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MERCENARIES, HELD AT COTONOU FROM 9 TO 16 JANUARY 1978

To coincide with the anniversary of the crushing, by the people of the People's Republic of Benin, of the imperialist armed aggression of 16 January 1977, a Week of Solidarity with Peoples and Countries Struggling for their National Liberation and an International Conference on Mercenaries were held at Cotonou from 9 to 16 January 1978 on the initiative of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin.

The following countries, parties and organizations participated in this great manifestation of solidarity and this important international conference: Algeria, Angola, German Democratic Republic, Saharan Democratic Arab Republic, People's Republic of Benin, Congo, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria, Romania, Somalia, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, Equatorial Guinea, Bulgaria, Poland, Togo, Viet Nam, SWAPO of Namibia, PAC of Azania, ANC of South Africa, Siwa-Lima Party of South Moluccas, Portuguese Communist Party, Italian Communist Party, French Communist Party, Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, French Association for Friendship and Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Kwame Nkrumah International Cultural Committee, FRETILIN, Pan-African Youth Movement, World Federation of Trade Unions.

The memory of the heroes and martyrs of independence and revolution, named Patrice Lumumba, Amílcar Cabral, Che Guevara, Mehdi Abdel Nasser and Ho Chi Minh, inspired the work of the Conference.

The participants welcomed this important initiative and expressed great appreciation to the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, headed by President Kérékou, and to the Beninese Government and people for having organized this manifestation at a time when imperialism is behaving more aggressively than ever and when there is a need for all progressive forces to close ranks in order to give it the appropriate answer and thus ensure the victory of the struggle for national liberation, independence and social progress.

The participants were gratified at the victories achieved by the people of the People's Republic of Benin, under the leadership of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, in consolidating its national independence and adding strength to its sovereignty and to the struggle against under-development and other legacies of colonialism.

They welcomed the qualitative changes which have occurred in the performance of the tasks of production and national construction through the mobilization and involvement of the working masses. The successes achieved in that respect mean a considerable strengthening of Africa's fighting front against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. It is for that reason that the imperialists, on 16 January 1977, unleashed the hordes of mercenaries in their pay to commit aggression against the People's Republic of Benin and thus attempt to halt the revolutionary process taking place there.

The participants, hailing the victory of the Beninese people over the aggressors, strongly denounced French imperialism for its responsibility and certain African puppet régimes for their collusion in that dastardly act of aggression, and reiterated their complete solidarity with the Beninese people. The holding of these meetings at Cotonou to celebrate the first anniversary of that victory, which was a victory for all progressive forces in Africa and throughout the world, confirmed the determination of the Beninese people to defend the achievements of their revolution and to go forward to further victories. It also marked an important stage in the drawing together and mobilization of the progressive forces in Africa and of their allies throughout the world with a view to more sustained action against foreign domination and exploitation, against assaults on the independence and sovereignty of African countries and for freedom, dignity and peace.

The October Revolution of 1917, the continued resistance of the peoples of the world to oppression and exploitation, the development of the national liberation movement which, for the past 30 years, has been winning great victories and inflicting heavy defeats on the forces of domination and subjection, the emergence after the Second World War of many socialist countries in Europe and in Asia, the historic victory at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and the decisive defeat inflicted on American imperialism in Indo-China by the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, the triumph of the Algerian revolution in Africa, the triumph of the Cuban revolution in Latin America, the triumph of the cause of independence and revolution in Angola through the strength of will of MPLA and international solidarity, the shrinking of the area subjected to colonialism and imperialism throughout the world, the questioning in the economic field of the present order and the increasing demand for a more just world economic order, the accentuation of the revolutionary thrust and the profound aspiration of the masses of the people for the kind of development and social progress which only socialism can ensure for them, illustrate the tremendous amount of ground which has been covered in the past 60 years. These were all historic events in the course of world affairs during this twentieth century, and they hastened the onset of the widespread crisis in which capitalism is now hopelessly floundering.

The fight of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for liberation, the development of workers' struggles and of the democratic movement in Europe, the collapse of the Fascist dictatorships in Spain, Portugal and Greece, the worsening of the crisis of the capitalist system and the tremendous progress achieved in all fields by the countries devoted to freedom, justice and peace have given new and vigorous impetus to the anti-imperialist struggle and opened up for the peoples of the world new prospects of greater victories.

The great defeat suffered by American imperialism in South-East Asia, the collapse of the colonial system under the hammer blows of the peoples of Africa and the intensification of the struggles waged by the constantly expanding non-aligned movement caused international imperialism, seriously shaken, to redirect its strategy of domination and exploitation and to focus its aggressiveness and most of its designs on Africa, the Middle East and the Indian Ocean so as to erect a rampart around those areas, strengthen its positions there, counter the flourishing national liberation movement, breach the unity established by the Arab and African countries around the cause of liberation and attack and destroy the citadels of national independence and revolution, thus gaining absolute mastery over the vast resources of those regions and making them its private preserve.

The new imperialist strategy of domination and exploitation is developing in two main directions, one based primarily on policies of intimidation and force and the other on methods that are more pernicious but no less harmful and dangerous.

This strategy is clearly part of a carefully elaborated global plan, carried out in a climate of disorder and calculated confusion in an attempt to disorient and outwit the progressive forces and to create artificial rifts, the better to accomplish their work of undermining and demolition.

These roles of the various imperialist Powers are distributed and made to overlap in such a way that it is not easy to reveal their complicity in the criminal activities. This tactic reflects the concern of the imperialists to avoid appearing openly behind one and the same mask, so as not to be perceived as a single block, which would lead to their undoing and their total isolation. Duplicity, like amalgamation and diversion, has always formed part of the arsenal of imperialism.

Furthermore, the imperialists lose no opportunity to divert financial, economic, humanitarian and cultural institutions from their purpose, and even to use the effects of natural disasters on the lives of the peoples of developing countries to subject them to pressure and blackmail so as to influence their policies and strengthen the imperialist hold over them.

The sudden resurgence of the Western Powers' interest in Africa, the Middle East and the Indian Ocean is instructive in this connexion. It is not reflected solely in the compassion which the Western Powers, the traditional supporters of the racist régimes of southern Africa and of Zionism, have suddenly displayed for the oppressed peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, the Arab peoples and the poorest African countries. It is reflected above all in the interference, in an increasing number of subversive activities, in recourse to armed intervention and in the inauguration of a policy of military alliances involving the reactivation and extension of foreign military bases in Africa and in the Indian Ocean.

In southern Africa, the imperialists, acting through Pretoria and Salisbury, are working relentlessly against the front-line States, especially Angola and Mozambique. At the same time, in groups of five or two, they are hatching plans and initiatives clearly designed to render devoid of substance the independence which the international community is demanding with particular insistence for the people of Namibia. In so doing, the imperialists think that they can call in question the authority of SWAPO, the authentic representative of the Namibian people, by impairing the unity and integrity of Namibia; they are seeking to destroy the unity of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe in order to despoil the people of Zimbabwe of the fruits of their struggle and sacrifices, to save the European colonists and to keep the South African prison closed. In fact, with certain humanitarian changes, they wish to maintain and consecrate the colonialist and racist entity of Pretoria, specifically by depriving the South African people of their national identity and their fundamental rights.

Faced with the irresistible impetus of the struggle of the peoples for their liberation and independence, international imperialism, finding itself at bay, has devised a new strategy of which mercenaries are the privileged tool, which it cynically uses to perpetuate the exploitation and oppression of the peoples still under foreign domination and to carry out the colonial and neo-colonial reconquest of young States by rendering their progressive and revolutionary régimes unstable, so as to prevent them from devoting themselves entirely to the task of economic, social and cultural development.

This desire to destabilize such régimes is reflected throughout the African continent by the restoration of puppet régimes and by manipulations which lead to local conflicts that provide a pretext for interference and military intervention under the cover of so-called defence or "co-operation" agreements. Thus the imperialist Powers, basing their actions on reactionary Arab forces and exploiting to the full the situation prevailing in the Near and Middle East and the equally complex situation in the Horn of Africa, are causing serious harm to progressive Africa.

The use of mercenaries, which is truly a catastrophe for mankind, must be denounced vigorously and combated syste-



matically until it is definitively eliminated from the African continent and international custom. That is currently one of the essential tasks of the progressive forces.

In the Middle East, the treachery of the Egyptian régime and Sadat's crossing over into the enemy camp has destroyed Arab solidarity vis-à-vis the Palestinian problem, thus endangering the sacred cause of the Palestinian people, the very existence of PLO, which embodies their aspirations, and that of all the Arab peoples (Rejectionist Front).

The Conference hails the formation of the Rejectionist Front of progressive Arab States, welcomes the unification of the Palestinian national liberation movement and supports the decisions of the Tripoli summit which are designed to thwart Zionism and international imperialism.

In north-west Africa, as a result of Spain's abdication of its responsibilities, the intrigues of French imperialism and the expansionist ambitions of Rabat and Nouakchott, not only has a genocidal war against the people of Western Sahara been going on for two years, but a situation with incalculable consequences has been created, seriously jeopardizing stability and peace in the region, in the Mediterranean basin and in Africa as a whole.

The direct intervention of the French armed forces in a conflict which pits an African people, arbitrarily deprived of the exercise of its inalienable rights, against a coalition of two highly armed States, which are guilty of aggression and of violating all the principles which govern international life, reveals the role played by the French Government in the plot against the Saharan people. It reveals the determination of that Power to create at any cost situations that will enable it to interfere in the affairs of the African continent, so that it may seek to restore its puppets to power, regain the positions it has lost and play the role of policeman assigned to it in the strategy of domination and exploitation devised by international imperialism.

The desire for revenge on the Algerian revolution which inspires the France of Giscard d'Estaing, both in its threats against Algeria and in the demonstrations and military operations in which France is engaging on Algeria's borders, signifies the continued existence of the policy of hegemony, the nostalgia for gunboat diplomacy and the precarious nature of international co-operation and peace.

Moreover, the imperialists and their spokesmen in Africa have made a great outcry about the assistance given by Cuba, other socialist countries and the progressive African countries to Angola, whose newly-born independence was subjected to the joint attacks of the Western Powers, acting through their puppets and South Africa.

Their policy of aggression and diktat having ignobly failed, the invasion of Angola having been repelled, MPLA being firmly established and the People's Republic of Angola asserting itself as one of the driving forces of the new Africa, thanks to the consistent and decisive assistance provided by Cuba, other socialist countries and all the progressive forces in Africa and throughout the world, the imperialist Powers take this natural manifestation of solidarity as a pretext for seeking to relaunch on a larger scale their sinister designs against the progressive peoples and countries of the continent and the national liberation movements.

In responding to the appeal of the people and Government of Angola, whose independence was endangered, the Cubans, worthy sons of the great Cuban revolution, performed a duty of international solidarity of great historical significance.

The participants in the Week of Cotonou denounce with the utmost vigour the propaganda of international and African reactionary forces which seek to distort the nature of the Cuban assistance to the People's Republic of Angola and other African countries and to exploit that noble assistance in an effort to justify the current acts of aggression committed by imperialism against Africa.

The participants pay tribute to the invaluable contribution of the Cuban revolution and revere the memory of the noble sons of Cuba who have fallen on the field of honour in Angola.

The independence of the countries which have seized their freedom by force of arms is an achievement that must at all costs be protected and consolidated.

The right of peoples to self-determination, which is solemnly recognized by the Charter of the United Nations, relevant United Nations resolutions and other international legal instruments, and the principle of the immutability of the boundaries inherited from colonization, which is one of the cornerstones of the Organization of African Unity and is widely endorsed by the international community, are further achievements of the long struggle of oppressed peoples throughout the world, particularly the African peoples. These achievements must be preserved, especially since the very future of Africa and of international peace and security depends on them.

The solidarity between the national liberation movements, the democratic forces of Western Europe, the socialist countries and all the forces throughout the world which are devoted to freedom and peace is an invincible weapon that has already proved itself in the liquidation of the colonial empires and the defeat of imperialism. Now more than ever before, that solidarity must manifest itself in all its strength and achieve its extension and full effectiveness by mobilizing all its components in an anti-imperialist front which is active, dynamic and capable of accepting the challenges and responding with equal energy to the bellicose plots and provocations of the imperialists and their lackeys.

This is also a matter requiring the attention of the non-aligned movement, which in the past has been able at each crucial stage to rise to the occasion, advance the cause of national independence and successfully wage the most difficult battles on all fronts against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and in defence of independence and sovereignty, equality of States before the law, the recovery of natural resources and a new and more just international economic order.

Consequently, the Conference decides:

1. To undertake a campaign to promote awareness at both the national and the international levels by all appropriate means—dissemination of information, conferences, seminars, briefing missions, publications—with regard to the practices, intrigues and misdeeds of imperialism directed against the progressive countries, the struggling peoples and the liberation movements. To that end, it calls upon all progressive forces throughout the world to unite their efforts in that enterprise.

2. To increase the material, political and diplomatic support given to the liberation movements to enable them to intensify their struggle to regain their sovereignty, to the progressive countries exposed to imperialist threats and to the democratic and progressive forces which are struggling to eliminate neo-colonialism, especially in Africa.

3. To do everything possible to facilitate the admission of the victims of colonial wars of aggression to hospitals and other appropriate institutions.

4. To intensify assistance to countries having common frontiers with territories still under domination and to provide them with support and assistance in countering the continued acts of aggression committed against them.

5. To co-ordinate all action by the participants in order to induce international organizations to assume their responsibilities with regard to the struggling peoples.

6. To manifest promptly and vigorously solidarity with any African country which is the victim of imperialist aggression or whose independence or territorial integrity is threatened.

7. To establish a politico-juridical institution to pursue the action aimed at eradicating the use of mercenaries, the plundering and the subversion of which Africa is the victim.

8. To pursue, in the spirit of the Declaration of Cotonou, the activities begun on the initiative of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin aimed at promoting the anti-imperialist solidarity front with a view to making it ever stronger and more effective.



## International Conference on Mercenaries

## 1. GENERAL DECLARATION ON MERCENARIES

The ever more glorious victory of the national liberation struggle in the countries of the third world and the decisive progress made in the elimination of the bases of imperialist domination in Africa are a compelling political reality of our times which no longer in any way leaves imperialism a free hand to attack the freedom of peoples and the sovereignty of States.

Everywhere in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the colonial empires have collapsed and the neo-colonial régimes by means of which the imperialist Powers continue to exercise their domination through dummy leaders or puppet politicians have themselves become nothing but tottering haunts of imperialism, fragile staging posts threatened with irremediable ruin.

Surrounded thus on all sides and driven to despair, international imperialism, on the brink of defeat, is resorting to the most odious means to break the resistance of the peoples and undermine their revolutionary struggle. It has devised a vast plan for the colonial reconquest of Africa and the third world, a plan aimed at destroying by armed aggression and subversion the triumphant national liberation movements and progressive régimes which, in Africa, Asia and Latin America, defend the safeguarding of national sovereignty, dignity and territorial integrity and thus provide secure backing for the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa, South America and Asia.

The preferred instrument for this diabolical plan of colonial reconquest and attacks against the freedom of the struggling peoples is the use of mercenaries.

It is a clearly established fact of our time, a universally attested reality which arouses the unanimous indignation and censure of all those who love justice and peace, that mercenaries are the criminal instrument used today by international imperialism to "maintain, establish or restore fascism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, or to attack the progress of freedom and peace in the world".

The use of mercenaries thus appears clearly to be one of the most serious scourges threatening the peace and security of peoples in the world today, an evil weapon of blind and brutal destruction, to which imperialism, at its last gasp, has cynically resorted in order to try, by means of bloody terror, mass crimes, nameless acts of piracy and massive destruction, to stop the victorious march of the peoples towards a society of justice, freedom, dignity, prosperity and well-being for the working masses.

Mercenaries are an old weapon, developed by aggressive imperialism to commit acts of armed intervention and attack the freedom of the struggling peoples and the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. The use of mercenaries against the sovereignty of newly emerged States and against the liberation movements has intensified over the past 20 years or so.

During this period, the list of instances of armed intervention by mercenaries is a long one and is worthy of note: Stanleyville, Cuba, Sudan, Nigeria, Congo, Palestine, Guinea, Angola, Benin, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Western Sahara, East Timor.

These acts of intervention by mercenaries, killers hired by the imperialist West and well-qualified specialists in mass crimes, have left many indelible marks in the above-mentioned countries; gratuitous massacres of children, women and old people, barbarous murders of patriotic sons, and considerable material destruction. In recent years, the martyred victims of murderous mercenaries, acting on the orders of imperialism, number in the thousands.

The mercenaries are generally recruited in the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany and Portugal, and even in some African countries which also serve as staging posts for training and transport and as bases for their criminal intervention in Africa.

Armed intervention by mercenaries, their recruitment and training, the provision of their military equipment by sordid imperialist circles and their transit or transport through the countries which offer them the use of various port facilities have been unequivocally condemned on various occasions by international organizations, in particular the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

As far as the United Nations is concerned, mention should be made of the relevant resolutions: General Assembly resolutions 2395 (XXIII), 2465 (XXIII), 2548 (XXIV) and 3103 (XXVIII), and the most recent resolutions of the Security Council: 404 (1977), 405 (1977) and 419 (1977), which condemned the armed aggression by mercenaries against the People's Republic of Benin on Sunday, 16 January 1977.

In the case of OAU, mention should be made of three basic documents: the two OAU declarations of 1967 and 1971 on the activities of mercenaries in Africa and the OAU Convention adopted at the OAU summit meeting in 1977.

In view of the criminal objectives behind the use of mercenaries, it appears clear today that it is the instrument of international reaction which wishes to establish, restore or maintain, against the irresistible will of the peoples, colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism, *apartheid*, the racist domination of white minorities in southern Africa and Zionism, and one of the means of the counter-offensive launched by imperialism against the progressive and anti-imperialist countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and against national liberation movements, social progress and world peace and security, and to protect the selfish and dishonestly acquired interests of the multinational corporations, the secret services or other sordid imperialist circles and to meet new needs for the bloody repression of democratic workers' struggles in the capitalist West and in the neo-colonial countries.

The use of mercenaries thus appears to be a crime, in accordance with the Convention adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at Libreville in 1977:

"Any individual, group or association, any representative of a State or any State itself which, with a view to using armed violence to oppose a process of self-determination or to attack the territorial integrity of another State, commits one of the following acts shall be regarded as having committed the crime of being involved in the activities of mercenaries:

(a) Sheltering, organizing, financing, supplying, equipping, training, promoting, supporting or employing in any manner whatsoever armed forces composed wholly or in part of persons who are not nationals of the country in which they are to operate for personal material or other gain;

(b) Enrolling, enlisting or attempting to enlist in the above-mentioned forces;

(c) Permitting the development in territories under its sovereignty or in any other place under its control of the activities mentioned in subparagraph *a* or granting facilities for the transit, transport or any other operation of the above-mentioned forces.

Any individual or body corporate who commits the crime of being involved in the activities of mercenaries as defined in paragraph 1 of this article commits a crime against peace and security in Africa and shall be punished accordingly.

Armed intervention by mercenaries in Africa, Asia and Latin America would not be facilitated if certain countries did not offer their territory for training, transit and transport. These countries are thus used as rear bases for intervention by mercenaries. In Africa, this applies mainly to Gabon and Morocco for aggression against Benin, to Senegal and Mauritania for aggression against the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic, and to Zaïre for aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. Similarly, the imperialist Powers have established military bases in certain African countries (Senegal, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Mauritania and Zaïre) from which commando units of mercenaries, integrated into regular military contingents of the imperialist Powers, set out to commit acts of aggression.

We cannot remain silent about the interdependence of the activities of mercenaries against progressive régimes and liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America and the terrorist activities of Fascist and imperialist circles against democratic and progressive forces and against African emigrants in Europe, particularly in France. Behind these terrorist acts lies the same enemy, international imperialism through its instruments, namely, the Western secret services, the networks for the recruitment of mercenaries and the Fascist international, the Organization of Free Africa, which pay the mercenaries. It is becoming increasingly necessary for the progressive and democratic forces of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe to develop greater solidarity of action.

Such are the nature and specific manifestations of the international mercenary force.

## 2. RESOLUTION ON MERCENARIES

The International Conference on Mercenaries, held at Cotonou from 9 to 16 January 1978 on the initiative of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, was attended by representatives of some 40 parties, States, liberation movements and progressive organizations from various nations,

Having listened with interest to the masterly inaugural address by the President of the Central Committee of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin and head of State of Benin, President Mathieu Kérékou, and having unanimously adopted it as a basic working document of the Conference,

Having listened carefully to all the statements by delegates of countries represented at the Conference and taken note of the documentation on mercenaries submitted by the secretariat of the Conference,

Having considered in detail the nature of the phenomenon of mercenaries and its manifestations throughout history and its development over the years, and having agreed that the use of mercenaries is a weapon of colonial reconquest and a permanent threat to the peace and security of peoples, particularly in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Oceania and the Middle East,

Considering that mercenary operations, in all their manifestations, are governed by only one law, the law of gain, and represent a permanent threat to the economic and social development process of the independent countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania which have opted for an economic policy of recovering national resources for the exclusive benefit of their peoples,

Convinced that imperialism is a single entity and that it avails itself of all means, including mercenaries, in seeking to destabilize the progressive and revolutionary régimes of Africa, Asia and Latin America with a view to replacing them by hireling régimes of its own,

Convinced also that the use of mercenaries is a calculated tactic of imperialism and serves as an instrument for the defence of its mercantile interests,

Considering that the existence of foreign imperialist bases in certain African countries, including Morocco (Tangiers), the Ivory Coast (Bouaké), Senegal, Gabon, Zaire, the Central African Empire, Kenya, and Mauritius (Diego Garcia), is a grave assault on the sovereignty of their peoples and a serious threat to the independence of the other countries of the continent,

### The Conference

Firmly supports the peoples subjected to all forms of imperialist aggression and assures them of its active and indestructible solidarity;

Urges countries devoted to peace, social justice and freedom to redouble their vigilance and to combine their efforts to defeat all the manoeuvres of armed imperialist aggression by mercenaries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania;

Calls upon African States and peoples resolutely and constantly to oppose through their democratic parties and organizations the use of their territories as bases for training and for armed imperialist aggression;

Calls upon all the struggling peoples, particularly those of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, to become more acutely aware of the deadly scourge of mercenaries and consequently to improve and strengthen their solidarity;

Solemnly urges all States scrupulously to respect and strictly to comply with the United Nations resolutions on mercenaries and other typical forms of imperialist aggression, particularly Security Council resolution 239 (1967), the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2395 (XXIII), 2465 (XXIII), 2548 (XXIV) and 3103 (XXVIII) and the most recent Security Council resolutions: 404 (1977), 405 (1977) and 419 (1977), which unequivocally condemn the armed aggression by mercenaries against the People's Republic of Benin on Sunday, 16 January 1977;

Decides to intensify public information and propaganda activities in the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe, with major emphasis on the capitalist countries which serve as the recruiting and training-ground for mercenaries, with a view to eradicating the phenomenon of mercenaries;

Urges all countries participating in the present Conference to promote the establishment of a political and legal institution for the purpose of properly studying and explaining the phenomenon of mercenaries with a view to its complete eradication;

Requests African States to ratify as early as possible the OAU Convention on Mercenaries;

Vigorously condemns the imperialist countries, principally France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, for their manifest and scandalous collusion with the minority racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, and with the new African colonizers in the case of Western Sahara, aimed at destabilizing progressive régimes in Africa and obstructing the progress of the struggle for the liberation of African peoples still under domination;

Forcefully condemns the multinationals, certain international investment agencies and certain European public authorities for their collaboration in financing acts of aggression by mercenaries against the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania;

Vigorously condemns the Governments of African countries that tolerate the installation of foreign military bases in their territories and that are used for refuge or transit purposes by mercenaries, the vile agents of international imperialism;

Firmly denounces the odious crimes perpetrated against progressive humanity by international imperialism through the use of mercenaries to attack and brutally massacre peoples struggling for their political and economic liberation;

Condemns the imperialist Powers that employ their mass media to accuse liberation movements of terrorism, whereas they keep silent about the crimes of mercenaries and in most cases glorify them.

## 3. SPECIAL MOTION ADDRESSED TO THE AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE AND TO THE CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY CONCERNING THE OAU CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF THE USE OF MERCENARIES ADOPTED AT LIBREVILLE IN 1977

The International Conference on Mercenaries, held at Cotonou from 9 to 16 January 1978,

Considering that mercenaries, as one of the favourite weapons of colonial reconquest, constitute a veritable scourge which threatens the peace and security of independent States in Africa and throughout the world,

Considering that this new form of armed imperialist intervention, directed particularly against progressive African countries and peoples, constitutes one of the most barbarous forms of mass crimes against all mankind and against world peace and security,

Considering that the Convention on the Elimination of the Use of Mercenaries was adopted by the fourteenth summit meeting of African heads of State, held at Libreville in July 1977,

Considering United Nations General Assembly resolutions 2395 (XXIII), 2465 (XXIII), 2548 (XXIV) and 3103 (XXVIII) and the most recent Security Council resolutions: 404 (1977), 405 (1977) and 419 (1977), which condemn the armed aggression by mercenaries against the People's Republic of Benin on Sunday, 16 January 1977,

Urges the current President of OAU to secure as quickly as possible the ratification of that Convention by all States members of OAU;

Requests the current President of OAU to do his utmost to enable the African Group to submit that Convention to the United Nations with a view to its adoption by all Member States.

#### 4. RESOLUTION OF SUPPORT FOR THE PEOPLE OF BENIN SUBJECTED TO THE IMPERIALIST ARMED AGGRESSION OF SUNDAY, 16 JANUARY 1977

The International Conference on Mercenaries, held at Cotonou from 9 to 16 January 1978,

Having considered the detailed documentation on the imperialist armed aggression to which the People's Republic of Benin and its peaceable, industrious and revolutionary people were subjected on Sunday, 16 January 1977,

Considering Security Council resolutions 404 (1977), 405 (1977) and 419 (1977), which recognize the reality of that imperialist armed aggression and condemn it as an ignominious action,

Considering that the only goal of the militant people of Benin is to construct in the People's Republic of Benin a prosperous and sovereign homeland, in friendship and solidarity with all peoples of the world,

Considering that, since 26 October 1972, the people of Benin has resolutely and irrevocably been pursuing honour, dignity, sovereignty and national independence and that the imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977 is simply a consequence of that revolutionary movement,

Considering that all imperialist armed aggression against the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania is aimed solely at colonial reconquest,

Gives the valiant people of Benin its unfailing support in its just struggle to liberate itself totally from foreign domination;

Appeals to all peoples and Governments devoted to freedom, justice, national dignity and peace to denounce and condemn the use of mercenaries as a form of imperialist armed intervention aimed at jeopardizing their independence and national sovereignty;

Congratulates the Beninese people on all their victories at the political, economic and social levels over imperialism, and in particular over the imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977.

### ANNEX III

#### Week of Solidarity with Peoples and Countries Struggling for their National Liberation

##### 1. DECLARATION OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE AFRICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

A Week of Solidarity with Peoples and Countries Struggling for their National Liberation was held from 9 to 16 January 1978 at Cotonou, in the People's Republic of Benin.

The organization, on the initiative of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin and the Beninese Government, in celebration of the first anniversary of the glorious victory of the Beninese people over French imperialism, the main instigator of the contemptible act of aggression committed against the Beninese revolution on Sunday, 16 January 1977 by a horde of mercenaries, of a week of solidarity with the African national liberation movements marks a new stage in Africa's struggle to complete the decolonization of the continent and to put an end to foreign domination, exploitation and assaults on the dignity of peoples and of the individual

African. It occurs at a time of sharpened confrontation between the progressive forces of Africa, on the one hand, and the combined forces of imperialism, of the racist minority régimes in southern Africa and of those African States which stand in a feudal relationship to the imperialist and reactionary Powers outside Africa, on the other.

This intensification of the struggle follows upon the serious reverses suffered by imperialism with the collapse of Portuguese colonial domination and the emergence in southern Africa of two powerful new bastions of freedom—Mozambique and Angola—where, despite the desperate efforts of the imperialists, of the racists in southern Africa and of puppets of every colour, MPLA triumphed and led the heroic people of Angola to final victory with the support of the socialist countries and progressive forces in Africa and throughout the world.

The achievement of independence by the countries formerly colonized by Portugal opened up new prospects to the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. It has already resulted in a marked increase in their fighting capacity and in great successes against the enemy, both militarily and at the political and diplomatic levels.

In Africa, as in other regions of the world, the imperialist and racist colonial order is gradually crumbling, while capitalism is in deep crisis and the contradictions which beset the world of today are growing more acute. This is the real reason for the furious assault of a dying imperialism on the peoples of southern Africa, the repeated acts of aggression by the racists of Salisbury and Pretoria against the front-line States, and the manoeuvres of the Western Powers to deprive the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe of the fruits of their struggle and their sacrifices, in order to safeguard their South African bastion and their interests in the region. This is the reason for the arrogance displayed by Vorster and Ian Smith in continuing to defy the international community and trample underfoot all United Nations resolutions calling for the restoration of the rights of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa to freedom, independence and dignity.

The barbarous conduct and the affronts to their dignity suffered by the Africans, and the open collusion of the Western Powers with the régimes of southern Africa, clearly show the hostility of these Powers to the cause of the peoples of Africa.

Similarly, the systematic acts of aggression against Mozambique and Angola bear witness to the determination of the protectors of Ian Smith and Vorster to destabilize those two progressive countries, which are in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle in that region.

This determined attempt at destabilization is in fact reflected throughout the continent in the reinstatement of puppet régimes and the stirring up of local conflicts which are used as a pretext for interference and military intervention under cover of so-called defence or "co-operation" agreements. Thus, the Western Powers, supported by Arab reaction and exploiting both the situation prevailing in the Near and Middle East and the no less complex situation in the Horn of Africa, are dealing a serious blow to progressive Africa.

In north-west Africa, Spain disregarded international commitments and betrayed the Saharan people by delivering it into the hands of two African countries, Morocco and Mauritania, which, in order to realize their expansionist ambitions, have turned colonialist, in emulation of the former despots of their peoples. Western Sahara was invaded and dismembered, by agreement with Madrid and with encouragement from Paris in particular, and without any protest by the international community against this heinous act. As could have been foreseen, the present outcome is an extremely grave situation which affects not only the stability and security of the region, but also the entire Mediterranean and the whole of Africa. Strong in its inalienable right to self-determination and independence, and determined to defend itself and impose its will, the Saharan people, under the leadership of the POLISARIO Front, has taken up arms in a fierce struggle to evict the occupying forces, inflicting upon them such defeats that their imperialist masters are forced to fly to their assistance in order to prevent the total collapse of their protégés.

For instance, France, motivated by the greed familiar to the African peoples it formerly colonized, eager to settle accounts with the Africans and still vindictive towards the Algerian revolution, has assumed the weighty responsibility of involving its air force against the Saharan people's liberation army, thus participating directly in the genocide campaign against a people whose self-denial and heroism symbolize the African ideal of freedom and dignity.

The aggression of 16 January 1977 against the Beninese revolution is a further illustration of imperialism's frenzy in its attempts at subversion, economic sabotage and destabilization in Africa. The purpose of this aggression was to overthrow the revolutionary régime which has been zealously working since 1972 to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and create the material basis of the socialism for which it has opted in order to put an end to the exploitation of man by man.

Confronted with the onslaught of imperialism against national liberation movements and progressive countries in Africa, our duty is clear: to form a common front in order to consolidate the independence so recently won and guarantee the African national liberation movements firm support and active assistance in effectively combating colonialism, racism, *apartheid*, expansionism and annexation.

The combined forces of imperialism and of African and Arab reaction are engaged in an outright campaign to undermine and demolish the independent countries through the activities of mercenaries, in which African States are involved through the consequent inter-African disputes, in which they intervene in violation of the principles of non-interference in the affairs of other States and non-use of force in the settlement of disputes, and through the splits they constantly provoke in Africa by sowing the seeds of confusion and division, the more surely to accomplish their sombre ends.

Linking subversion and violence to deceit in order to destroy or intimidate or to encircle and terrify, the imperialists are obstinately pursuing the goal of depriving OAU of its very reason for existence, seeking to bring about its disintegration and the consequent dislocation of the non-aligned movement, which would enable them to breach the unity of Africa, to weaken its States and the national liberation movements, to demolish the policy of non-alignment which is indissociable from the policy of national independence, to break the unity and solidarity which constitute the bulwark of that independence within the movement of non-aligned countries, to bring into dispute the historic, political and economic achievements so dearly won by that movement through its dynamism and its will to struggle, and to postpone indefinitely its fundamental demand for a new economic order.

In southern Africa, the victories of the Mozambican and Angolan peoples over Portuguese colonialism are a positive and decisive contribution to the liquidation of foreign domination in that part of the continent, where the partisans of *apartheid* are offering less and less resistance to the onslaughts of the freedom fighters.

The national liberation movement in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe is thereby strengthened and committed to the final battle for the definitive elimination of colonialism and racism from that region of the continent.

Thus, in South Africa, the struggle being waged by the people under the leadership of its revolutionary vanguard, the African National Congress, and PAC is now at an advanced stage.

Being unable to contain the drive for freedom which inspires the African masses in South Africa, the partisans of *apartheid* have engaged in increasingly savage repression of these peoples.

The utter determination of the South African people to continue the struggle until final victory is achieved has caused the Pretoria régime to intensify its military build-up, to the point of acquiring nuclear weapons and thus threatening with intervention the independent African States that are supporting the struggle of the South African people, thus creating a serious threat to peace and security in the region.

In Namibia, the armed struggle waged by SWAPO to wrest independence for the valiant Namibian people is a solid barrier to the manoeuvres and attempts by Pretoria and its Western allies to create a neo-colonial situation in order to safeguard their sordid interests.

The armed struggle for national liberation carried on by the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe is winning more victories each day over the enemy at Salisbury. The Western endeavour, the main purpose of which is to safeguard the interests of the white minority to the detriment of the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe, is doomed to failure because of the vision and strength of the armed struggle conducted with exemplary courage and determination by the Patriotic Front.

Throughout Africa, the organized peoples are vigorously developing armed struggle and mass movements against colonial and neo-colonial domination, racism, *apartheid* and the exploitation of man by man.

Their innumerable victories are now exposing the basically vulnerable nature of imperialism and frustrating the sinister imperialist design to dominate the world. These victories confirm us in our revolutionary conviction that only armed struggle will lead the struggling peoples to freedom and independence.

The cause for which so many martyrs sacrificed their lives is a just cause. It is the cause of all peoples in Africa and throughout the world.

Thus, the intensification of the liberation struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism in Africa necessitates, at this decisive stage, active assistance, more material backing and full, urgent and consistent support from all peoples devoted to peace, justice and progress throughout the world.

For these reasons, the States, parties, movements and organizations participating in the Week of Solidarity with Peoples and Countries Struggling for their National Liberation:

—Vigorously condemn the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination practised by the partisans of the white minority racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury against the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe;

—Strongly denounce the support and assistance lent by the Western Powers, in defiance of the resolutions of international bodies such as the United Nations, OAU and the non-aligned movements, to the illegal racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia;

—Appeal for appropriate backing and support for the front-line States of southern Africa in order to consolidate their independence and their means of combating the repeated acts of aggression committed against them by the partisans of *apartheid* and effectively discharging their historic mission in southern Africa;

—Vigorously condemn the policy of aggression and annexation undertaken by Rabat and Nouakchott against the Saharan people;

—Also strongly condemn the intervention of the French armed forces in northwest Africa;

—Invite all progressive forces in the world to give effective support to the POLISARIO Front in its struggle to regain the national rights of the Saharan people;

—Salute the democratic forces in France which support the just cause of the Saharan people and that of the national liberation movement in southern Africa, and declare that they make a distinction between the people of France and the governing circles in Paris;

—Invite peoples devoted to peace and justice, particularly the African peoples, to strengthen and invigorate the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist front in order to eliminate the last bastions of colonialism and racism in Africa, combat imperialism more effectively and bring about its rapid defeat;

—Solemnly appeal to the African Governments to organize periodically specific activities (international, regional or sub-regional conferences, weeks of solidarity) with the move-

ments and peoples struggling for their liberation, in order to focus African and world public opinion on colonial situations and imperialist manoeuvres in the African continent;

—Calls on African Governments, on parties and on solidarity organizations and movements to increase their active support, political and diplomatic and also material, to national liberation movements in Africa and throughout the world.

## 2. MOTION OF SUPPORT FOR KOREA

The Week of Solidarity with Peoples and Countries Struggling for their National Liberation and the International Conference on Mercenaries, held at Cotonou from 9 to 16 January 1978,

Bearing in mind the grave situation prevailing in the Korean peninsula due to the division of Korea which has lasted for more than 30 years,

Bearing in mind the hypocrisy of the United States of America which, although claiming to withdraw its troops, is actually stepping up military aid to the South Korean puppet clique and manoeuvring more intensively to perpetuate its scheme for two Koreas,

Considering that the Park Chung Hee clique actively supports the American idea of dividing the country in two, in contradiction to the profound aspirations and the interests of the South Korean people, who are the victims of Fascist repression,

Considering that the acts of the United States of America and the South Korean authorities are in flagrant violation of the three principles for reunification set forth in the North-South joint statement of 4 July 1972 and General Assembly resolution 3390 B (XXX),

Considering that this violation is a grave challenge to the national demands of the Korean people and of the progressive countries of the world,

Considering that Korea must be reunified to end tension and the threat of war in the region,

1. Demand that the reunification of Korea should be effected in total conformity with the three principles and the five-point guidelines for the reunification of the country suggested by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;

2. Demand that the United States of America should abandon its policy of two Koreas and withdraw from South Korea all its troops and all their armaments, of whatever type;

3. Demand that the puppet Park Chung Hee clique should immediately free all arrested patriots and democratize the society in South Korea;

4. Call upon all the progressive countries and peoples of the World to bring greater pressure to bear on the United States of America to cease its intervention in the internal affairs of Korea and its various forms of support to the South Korean puppet clique, whose policy is based on division, perfidy, fascism and war.

## 3. MOTION OF SUPPORT FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

The States, parties, movements and organizations participating in the Week of Solidarity with Peoples and Countries Struggling for their National Liberation held at Cotonou from 9 to 16 January 1978,

Considering that the main instrument and agent of the arbitrary and illegal occupation of Arab territories and of the non-recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people is the Zionism employed in the Middle East by international imperialism, the common enemy of all peoples devoted to freedom, justice, dignity and peace,

Considering that history shows and will always show that the Palestinian people have no option but to wage a bitter and resolute struggle and to resist fiercely the expansionist policy of Israel in order to gain recognition of their national rights and secure the creation of an independent Palestinian State,

Mindful of the common destiny of the African and Arab peoples and of all peoples and nations which are oppressed, exploited, despoiled, ridiculed and humiliated,

Reaffirm their full solidarity with the noble struggle of the Palestinian people, under the rightful leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, for the exercise of their national rights in independence, justice and peace;

Maintain that peace in the Middle East will be just and lasting only if Israel withdraws completely and unconditionally from the occupied Arab territories and an independent and sovereign Palestinian State is established;

Express their profound conviction that the only way to a just and final settlement of the Palestinian question and the Middle East question is recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people and establishment by the Palestinian people itself of its own State;

Denounce the diabolical alliance between the Israeli expansionists and the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury, whose clear objective is to maintain and strengthen the policy of genocide and extermination of the Palestinian, Arab and African peoples;

Denounce the collusion between the feudal and reactionary Arab régimes and the United States of America and the dialogue between Cairo and Tel Aviv regarding the solution of the Palestinian question;

Appeal to all peoples and countries devoted to peace, justice and freedom to combat Zionism, which is a form of racism, as is emphasized in a United Nations resolution;

Consider that the struggle against Zionism is the only way of bringing about a just solution to the Middle East problem in the form of the advent of an independent and sovereign Palestinian State;

Welcome the decisions taken at the Tripoli summit meeting on the reunification of all the Palestinian resistance organizations.

## 4. MOTION CONCERNING SOUTHERN AFRICA

The States, parties, movements and organizations participating in the Week of Solidarity with Peoples and Countries Struggling for their National Liberation, held at Cotonou from 9 to 16 January 1978, having examined the current situation in the three countries of southern Africa, namely, South Africa (Azania), Namibia and Zimbabwe—a disturbing situation characterized by a decisive turning-point in the heroic liberation struggle of the peoples of the region,

Considering once again that the colonial, neo-colonial and racist policy being implemented in southern Africa by the hideous monsters Vorster and Ian Smith is contrary to the fundamental principles of freedom, human dignity and the equality of all before the law,

Bearing in mind the grave threat which this imperialist policy represents to peace and security in our great, rich and beautiful continent, Africa, and throughout the world,

Considering, therefore, that the maximum support of the entire international community must be elicited for the struggle being waged by the peoples of South Africa (Azania), Namibia and Zimbabwe to achieve their legitimate aspirations to self-determination, national independence, equality and justice,

Commend the front-line countries for their efforts in support of the nationalists of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe;

Appeal to the international community to decide upon a clear course of action to compel the racist Pretoria régime to terminate its measures of savage repression in Azania and its illegal occupation and exploitation of Namibia;

Severely condemn once again the odious colonialist, Fascist and racist minority régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury and their reactionary policy and ideology of oppression and exploitation of man by man;

Vigorously denounce the imperialist States and their African lackeys for continuing to flout the Declaration on the Granting



of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other resolutions adopted by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the non-aligned movement and other international forums and organizations on the subject of the liberation of the countries of southern Africa;

Reaffirm their active support for and solidarity with all the countries and peoples of southern Africa struggling against foreign domination, *apartheid* and racial discrimination and with the fearless legitimate and authentic leaders of South Africa (Azania), Namibia and Zimbabwe;

Earnestly call upon all progressive and democratic countries and forces and the entire international community to make increasingly available to the liberation movements concerned all such forms of military, material, financial and diplomatic assistance as may be required for continuing and intensifying the liberation struggle until final victory has been won.

#### 5. MOTION OF SUPPORT FOR THE POLISARIO FRONT OF THE SAHARAN DEMOCRATIC ARAB REPUBLIC

The States, parties, movement and organizations participating in the Week of Solidarity with Peoples and Countries Struggling for their National Liberation, held at Cotonou from 9 to 16 January 1978,

Bearing in mind that the right of the Saharan people fighting for self-determination, freedom and national independence is recognized by all international forums, including the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and the International Court of Justice, and by the non-aligned movement,

Considering that, despite this recognition of the right of Western Sahara to self-determination, Morocco and Mauritania, urged on by international imperialism, have engaged in a war of aggression and expansion against the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic and its vanguard, the POLISARIO Front.

1. Strongly affirm that the struggle of the Saharan people against foreign domination, oppression and exploitation is part of the anti-imperialist struggle for independence and national liberation;

2. Express their militant solidarity with and firm support for the legitimate national cause of the Saharan people;

3. Welcome the many victories won by the heroic fighters of the POLISARIO Front, the real spearhead of the liberation struggle in Western Sahara;

4. Strongly condemn the Moroccan and Mauritanian annexationists and expansionists for their criminal covetousness of the resources of Western Sahara, this being the main reason prompting their dastardly armed invasion against the Saharan people, who are determined to fight to the end to secure respect for their right to existence and freedom;

5. Condemn the intervention of the imperialist Powers, such as France, which are openly and directly providing military support to the Moroccan and Mauritanian troops in their aggression;

6. Condemn the imperialist threats to carry the neo-colonial war into the sovereign territory of the Republic of Algeria;

7. Demand that all violations, from whatever source, of the sovereignty of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic should cease;

8. Urgently appeal to all justice-loving and peace-loving peoples and Governments to recognize the young Saharan Democratic Arab Republic and to provide it with the political and material assistance that is required if the just cause of its martyred people is to prevail;

9. Emphasize the imperative need for the Organization of African Unity to convene as soon as possible a special summit meeting on the problem of Western Sahara, in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the Port-Louis and Libreville summit meetings, and accordingly invite the progressive States of Africa to strive actively to bring about such a meeting.

## ANNEX IV

### List of delegations

#### 1. People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

Led by Comrade Hoffman Sliman, member of the Central Office of FLN, Adviser to the Office of the President of the Republic.

#### 2. People's Republic of Angola

Led by Comrade Pascal Luvualu, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA Labour Party. The delegation also included Comrade Jorge Paulo, alternate member of the Central Committee of MPLA, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

#### 3. German Democratic Republic

Led by Comrade Alfred Babing, member of the Presidium of the German Committee for Solidarity.

#### 4. Saharan Democratic Arab Republic

Led by Comrade Ibrahim Hakim, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

#### 5. People's Republic of the Congo

Led by Comrade Nicolas Okongo, member of the Military Committee of the Congolese Labour Party. The delegation also included Comrade Dieudonné Itoua, member of the Central Committee of the Party.

#### 6. Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Led by Comrade Ri Seung Ho, Secretary-General of the Korean Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of the World.

#### 7. Socialist Republic of Cuba

Led by Comrade Armando Acosta, member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, President of the Cuba-Africa Friendship Association.

#### 8. Socialist Ethiopia

Led by Comrade Aragaw Kassaye, member of the Provisional Governing Council of Socialist Ethiopia.

#### 9. Republic of Ghana

Led by Brother Benjamin Forjoe, Ambassador to the People's Republic of Benin.

#### 10. Republic of Guinea

Led by Comrade Camara Damantang, member of the Central Committee of the PDG, Permanent Secretary of the Political Bureau and President of the Legislative Assembly.

#### 11. Hungarian Republic

Led by Comrade Karoly Kiss, Vice-Chairman of the Committee for Solidarity, member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

#### 12. Iraq

Led by Comrade Sahib Bafi, Ambassador at Lagos.

#### 13. Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

Led by Comrade Hadir Hamedel, Ambassador to the Republic of Guinea.

#### 14. Republic of Liberia

Led by Brother Christopher Alfonso Minikon, Assistant to the Minister, Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

#### 15. Republic of the Niger

Led by Brother Amadou Moumouni, Permanent Representative to the People's Republic of Benin.

#### 16. Federal Republic of Nigeria

Led by Brother Yussuf, member of the Supreme Military Council of Nigeria, Inspector-General of the Federal Police.

#### 17. Socialist Republic of Romania

Led by Comrade Alexa Haralambie, member of the National Central Committee of the League, Deputy Chief of

the Interior Section of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

18. *Somalia*

Led by Comrade Warsane Jusef Dahir, First Vice-President of Somali Revolutionary Youth.

19. *Czechoslovakia*

Led by Comrade Ian Laika, member of the Committee for Solidarity with African and Asian Nations, Chief of the Foreign Affairs Section of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union.

20. *Yugoslavia*

Led by Comrade Dimitrije Babic, Special Adviser to the Office of the President of the Central Committee of the Communist League.

21. *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

Led by Comrade Ivan Petrovich Kichenko, member of the Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries.

22. *Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe*

Led by Comrade Simon K. Moyo, member of the Revolutionary Council, Section for Foreign Affairs.

23. *Equatorial Guinea*

Led by Mr. Obani Batho, Director-General of Internal Policy, Head of the Secretariat for National Security.

24. *People's Republic of Bulgaria*

Led by Comrade Gheorgui Bozhkov, Ambassador of Bulgaria to the People's Republic of Benin.

25. *Poland*

Led by Comrade Berguslaw Ludwikowski, Chief of the Foreign Relations Section of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party.

26. *Togolese Republic*

Led by Brother Amedegnato Vigniko, Director of Elementary Education, representing the Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais.

27. *SWAPO of Namibia*

Led by Comrade Sam Musialela, member of the Central Committee of SWAPO, Head of the SWAPO Office for the Middle East.

28. *PAC of Azania*

Led by Comrade Vusumzi Make, Director for Pan-African Affairs and member of the Central Committee.

29. *ANC of South Africa*

Led by Comrade Josie Marvin.

30. *Siwa-Lima Party of South Moluccas*

Led by Mrs. Delpina Sahureka, Head of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

31. *Portuguese Communist Party*

Led by Comrade Carvalho Rodriguez, member of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party.

32. *French Communist Party*

Led by Professor Jean-Michel Goux.

33. *Italian Communist Party*

Led by Comrade Guido Bimbi, member of the Editorial Board of the Party Journal.

34. *Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization*

Led by Comrade Isailda Montalvo, Deputy Secretary-General of the Organization.

35. *Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization*

Led by Comrade Ngueye Phuc, representative of Viet Nam in the Organization secretariat.

36. *French Association for Friendship and Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa*

Led by Maître Claude Larzul, Counsel to the Legal Committee of the Association.

37. *Kwame Nkrumah International Cultural Committee*

Led by Comrade Yahya Diallo, Secretary-General of the Committee.

38. *Pan-African Youth Movement*

Led by Brother Jenerali Niiwengu, Deputy Secretary-General of the Movement.

39. *World Federation of Trade Unions*

40. *FRETILIN (Frente Revolucionária Timor Leste Independente)*

Led by Comrade Ramos Horta, Secretary for External Relations.

41. *People's Republic of Benin*

Led by Comrade Michel Alladaye, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Republic of Benin and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation.

## DOCUMENT S/12558

### Letter dated 13 February 1978 from the representative of Chad to the President of the Security Council

[Original: French]  
[13 February 1978]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a communication dated 8 February 1978 from General Félix Malloum Ngakoutou Bey-Ndi, President of the Supreme Military Council and head of State of the Republic of Chad, to the heads of diplomatic missions accredited to N'Djamena, and the text of a statement of General Félix Malloum dated 12 February 1978.

In the communication of 8 February, after noting the refusal of Libya to seek a settlement by peaceful means and the military operations directed by remote

control and supported materially by Tripoli, the head of State declared to the diplomats that Chad was awaiting material assistance from their countries to enable it to defend the integrity of its national territory.

In the statement of 12 February, an appeal for a cease-fire is again launched. Also, the head of State declared that if by 16 February the cease-fire had gone into effect, the Supreme Military Council, which is the supreme organ of the Nation, would reconsider the complaint lodged by Chad with the Security Council.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of this communication circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Beadengar DESSANDE  
Permanent Representative of Chad  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX I

### Text of the communication

During our previous meetings I have had occasion to stress that Chad intended to maintain good relations with all States. This attitude derives from the fact that no country can seek to escape the law of interdependence of nations. This continues to be our concern, provided that this principle does not give rise to any interference whatsoever in the internal affairs of the parties.

Good relations necessarily imply that any dispute between two partners should be solved by way of negotiation. In this spirit, we have sought, since 13 April 1975, to find a basis of understanding with Libya. None of the initiatives undertaken along these lines has led to any positive result. Quite the contrary, this neighbouring country, conscious of its power, systematically avoids any dialogue on this very subject. While the Libyan leaders loudly proclaim their desire for the normalization of relations, they are unleashing in the BET (Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti) a far-reaching military offensive. Yet the principle of a meeting between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the two countries has been accepted by the Government of Chad. The aggression thus perpetrated is the doing of the Government at Tripoli only, for the military operations reflect the exact watchwords broadcast daily by Radio Tripoli. Thus no one has any illusions that Libya is disposed to seek a settlement of the situation by peaceful means, particularly since the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Organization of African Unity is not making any progress. Nor is it Chad that is the cause of the situation.

In addition to the above, there is the occupation by force of Aouzou. Libya is blocking all attempts at national reconciliation. However, it is clear that all forces are disposed to commit themselves to the process of genuine national reconciliation.

Despite the obstacles, the leaders of Chad are continuing to seek internal peace so as to be able to mobilize all the vital forces of the nation for the reconstruction and development of the country.

Today, we have just cause for affirming on the basis of full evidence that this is a case of flagrant aggression against Chad. Libyan interference in Chad's internal affairs has gone beyond all bounds. The intensity of the fighting in the BET, thanks to the large-scale provision of resources in the form of men

and war matériel, gives ample proof of the presence of Libyan troops in the area.

Thus the annexationist ambitions of the Government of Tripoli are obvious. Yesterday it was Bardai, Zouar and Ounianga; today Faya and Fada are being attacked. What does tomorrow hold?

You cannot fail to see that the prospects for Chad are alarming. Thus I have every justification for insisting on speaking to you about the matter so that you can inform your respective Governments. I am convinced that this is not a matter of information pure and simple, for the character of our relations requires that you should tell them clearly what is the nature of the assistance which we expect from them. Chad's resources being what they are, I have no hesitation in telling you that we expect to receive from the friendly and brotherly countries which you represent the military assistance called for in the circumstances. The purpose of this urgent appeal for assistance which we are making is to enable us to defend the integrity of our national territory threatened by a powerful neighbour.

## ANNEX II

### Text of the Statement

The fighting in the BET is causing the needless loss of many human lives. This is the observation made once again by the Supreme Military Council meeting this evening. The principal task entrusted to the Supreme Organ of the Nation by GROFAT (Group of Officers of the Armed Forces of Chad) is to restore peace and harmony in the country. In this spirit, the Supreme Military Council feels that it has the duty to appeal once again for a cease-fire. This appeal is addressed to all those who are fighting at the scene of the hostilities, so that their weapons may be silenced tonight at 2400 hours.

Once again, the Supreme Military Council stresses that it has never had the intention to seize power. This is not an empty statement. Thus, the institutions of the State are provisional. Moreover, in the initiatives aimed at national reconciliation, no opposition tendency whatever has been excluded. On the contrary, all the opposing tendencies have been invited to make known the conditions for their return to the great Chad family. This willingness on the part of the Supreme Military Council to consider such conditions has led to negotiations which have had positive results.

In making this statement, and at the urgent request of General Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, the Supreme Military Council wishes it to be understood that it will reconsider the complaint lodged with the Security Council if by 16 February 1978 the cease-fire has gone into effect.

In so doing, the Chad authorities hope that everything will be done to make possible an immediate cessation of hostilities. It can then be hoped that Libya will understand this new manifestation of goodwill.

## DOCUMENT S/12559

Telegram dated 13 February 1978 from the President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe to the President of the Security Council

[Original: French]  
[14 February 1978]

I have the honour to inform you that, for some time now, unidentified boats and reconnaissance aircraft have been systematically violating our territorial waters and our air space. Recently, the boats increased their movements, sweeping our coastline with their powerful projectors, and their activities coincide with our own information that mercenary forces in foreign pay are preparing to invade our country. We are anxious to alert you, as President of the Security



Council, to the gravity of this situation which threatens the sovereignty of our State and the survival of our people and we appeal to you to inform the Member States.

(Signed) Manuel Pinto DA COSTA  
President of the Democratic Republic  
of Sao Tome and Principe

## DOCUMENT S/12560

Letter dated 14 February 1978 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[14 February 1978]

In reference to the complaint lodged by the Chad Government against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in documents S/12554 and S/12555, I have the honour to inform you that the contents of that complaint are baseless and unfounded. They merely constitute fabricated accusations and fictitious claims. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya therefore rejects the complaint entirely in form and substance.

It is our belief that the problem that the Chad régime is facing, and with which it is very preoccupied, is absolutely an internal one, that is, the revolt of the majority of the Chad people against it. This revolution of the Chad masses, especially in the north and the east, curtails the powers of the régime and, in fact, threatens its very existence. Thus, the problem is entirely an internal affair within the Chad territory about which the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has no concern or responsibility.

It is obvious, therefore, that the régime at N'Djamena is trying to implicate the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in its serious problem and make of it a scapegoat. In this way, the said régime thinks that it can divert attention from the critical situation it is facing and conceal its failure to control the Chad people. In fact, such a tactic is not unprecedented in recent Chad history. The previous régime also, whenever confronted with similar situations, resorted to empty accusations and false allegations against Chad's neighbours. To mention in this context an example: the accusations made in 1966 against its neighbour, the Sudan, of interference in the internal affairs of Chad.

The revolution in Chad has been in existence since before the Libyan revolution—in fact since the period of French colonization. The area of instability referred to by the N'Djamena régime is approximately 1,000 kilometres from the Libyan frontier. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is not involved in the struggle between the Chad people and the Chad régime. It is solely an internal affair of Chad with which only Chad itself can be concerned. No one else bears any responsibility for it.

The régime at N'Djamena, however, for the reasons and objectives I have explained, has been attacking the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on all occasions with vicious accusations and senseless claims. That régime has also undertaken provocative measures against Libya and its citizens, such as for example against the Libyan Embassy and diplomats at N'Djamena, at variance with diplomatic practice and tradition. Libyan nationals in Chad have been subjected to restrictions,

provocation and persecution. As evidence of this, we in addition draw attention to some acts of provocation committed by the régime at N'Djamena against Libyan citizens and interests:

—The President of Chad assailed the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on 11 July 1977, accusing it of occupying a part of the territory of Chad, and claiming that as constituting a threat to the independence and unity of Chad.

—During the last session of the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chad,<sup>6</sup> on 7 October 1977, attacked the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and claimed that his country was being exposed to measures undertaken by what he called the Qadhafi régime.

—In October 1976, the Libyan Ambassador at N'Djamena was summoned by the Foreign Ministry of Chad and threatened with the expulsion of all Libyan nationals from Chad.

—On 2 October 1976, the Chad authorities closed the border with the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Libyan nationals in Chad were subjected to inhuman treatment, including detention and arrest. Their bank accounts were frozen, their commercial enterprises were closed and they were prohibited from leaving Chad.

—The Chad authorities disconnected the telephone and telecommunication facilities of the Libyan Embassy and the residence of the Libyan Ambassador at N'Djamena. They froze the accounts of the Embassy and of its staff. One of the cars belonging to the Embassy was fired upon.

—On 15 January 1978, the Chad authorities stopped the carrier of the Libyan diplomatic pouch at N'Djamena Airport. The pouch was seized and searched and all the letters were opened.

—The Chad authorities stopped implementation of the agreements between the two countries designed to develop co-operation and good neighbourly relations between the two brotherly peoples.

—A committee of the Chad Ministry of Agriculture entered the premises of the Chad-Libyan Meat Company without informing the Libyan side and confiscated the property of said company.

—The Chad authorities closed the Chad-Libyan Arab Joint Bank, expelled its employees and froze its accounts.

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-Second Session, Plenary Meetings, 25th meeting.*

—The Chad authorities closed the Libyan Cultural Center at N'Djamena and removed a member of its staff by force.

None the less, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya does not consider that there exist serious problems between it and Chad. The so-called problem related to boundaries between the two countries could be dealt with by negotiations between the two countries, or in the context of the Organization of African Unity, whose Charter and resolutions we adhere to and implement. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has demonstrated its willingness to co-operate with the Organization of African Unity in its attempt to resolve differences between the two parties. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya welcomed the efforts expended by our African brothers to restore cordial relations between Libya and Chad. Colonel Muammar Al-Qadhafi declared at Niamey on 22 January 1978 his acceptance of the request of President Kountche, to convene at Niamey a meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Niger, Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on 7 February. In fact, the Libyan Secretary for Foreign Affairs arrived at Niamey on 6 February to participate in this meeting. The Chad authorities, instead of attending this meeting, surprised everybody with their decision to suspend diplomatic relations between Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and demand the departure of the Libyan Ambassador and all his staff from N'Djamena.

Thus, while the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has expressed its willingness to do its best to work together with the Chad régime within the framework of the Organization of African Unity and to co-operate with its *Ad Hoc* Committee formed for mediating the dispute between Chad and Libya, the Chad régime has not indicated any hint of readiness or willingness to develop an appropriate atmosphere in this regard for the *Ad Hoc* Committee to assume its task.

The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya strongly protests against this behaviour and these measures taken by the Chad régime, as well as the attempts to implicate it in Chad's internal problems. It is obvious that, in this attempt, the Chad régime is exploiting the propa-

ganda campaign being waged by the imperialist and Zionist information media against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya because of its position in support of issues of liberation, thinking that the time is appropriate to attack Libya on the international level.

The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya bases its policy upon the principle of good neighbourly relations and is convinced of the importance of developing and strengthening brotherly and friendly relations with Chad in the common interest of our peoples. In this regard, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was one of the first States to recognize the Chad régime upon its assumption of power on 13 April 1975. From the very first days of the new régime, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has permitted the overflight of Chad military and civilian aircraft across Libyan airspace without requiring prior permission. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya extended emergency medical assistance and supplies to Chad when it needed them. Upon the request of Chad, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya transported Chad citizens resident in Libya, returning them to their own country. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya accepted, upon the request of the Chad régime, to mediate between the Chad régime and the leaders of the opposition by convening a meeting between the two sides so as to achieve national reconciliation between them. But the Chad Government, for its part, failed to undertake any measures that would demonstrate its good wishes or the sincerity of its intentions in this regard.

The Chad régime responded with neglect and insult to the efforts and attempts of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to assist it in overcoming its difficult situation and helping national reconciliation in Chad. It met the good intentions of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya with distrust, provocations and manoeuvres.

I request that the above facts should be brought to the attention of the members of the Security Council and distributed as a document of the Council.

(Signed) Mansur R. KIKHIA  
Permanent Representative of the  
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/12561

Note verbale dated 15 February 1978 from the representative of Oman to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[15 February 1978]

The Permanent Representative of Oman to the United Nations has the honour, with reference to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977 concerning Security Council resolution 418 (1977), to inform him that the Sultanate of Oman has never supplied arms or engaged in arms trading with South Africa. The Sultanate of Oman supports Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and will adhere to its provisions.

The Permanent Representative of Oman has the honour to request that this note verbale be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

**Letter dated 15 February 1978 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[16 February 1978]

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a letter dated 14 February 1978 sent by cable addressed to you by Mr. Ali Abdussalam Treiki, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, in his capacity as Chairman of the thirtieth session of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa.

In accordance with the request contained in the above-mentioned letter, I have the honour further to request that this letter and its enclosure be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mansur R. KIKHIA  
Permanent Representative of the  
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya  
to the United Nations

**TEXT OF THE LETTER**

The Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, which is now convened in its thirtieth session at Tripoli in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, has decided to draw your attention to the announcement by the racist Vorster régime on Monday, 13 February 1978, of its decision to give the racist Zionist entity a loan in the amount of \$2 billion. In exchange, the racist Zionist entity proposed to the racist régime of South Africa an arrangement under which the latter would undertake the production of certain goods in occupied Palestine for

export to the countries of the European Common Market and to the United States, thus obtaining a tariff advantage. The Zionist Minister of Finance also discussed in South Africa the question of permission for the Zionist entity to engage in fishing in South African territorial waters and the question of expansion in the field or air transport between the two racist entities.

The Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa believes that this co-operation constitutes a blatant violation of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. It also constitutes an act of defiance against the international community, which has condemned the racist régime of South Africa for its inhuman racist policy directed against the African people of South Africa. This unholy alliance between these two racist entities highlights the consolidation of the racist occupation of Palestine with a view to depriving the Palestinian people of its right to return to its country and achieve self-determination.

In my capacity as Chairman of the thirtieth session of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, I have the honour to inform you of this decision by the Committee on a subject which it considers extremely important. I have the further honour to request that the members of the Security Council and the Members of the United Nations should be informed of the contents of this letter.

## DOCUMENT S/12563

**Letter dated 9 February 1978 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[17 February 1978]

In reference to the letter dated 6 February 1978 from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations, I should like to request you to have it distributed as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdalla Yaccoub BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

**ANNEX**

Letter dated 6 February 1978 from the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the President of the Security Council

Upon the instructions of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I have the honour to bring to your attention the following.

The Israeli Government has decided to convert three new military installations, located near Nablus on the occupied West Bank, into permanent civilian settlements. This decision constitutes another violation of United Nations resolutions and the Geneva Conventions and aggravates an already explosive situation which threatens peace and stability in the area.

In this connexion, I should like to recall your statement of 11 November 1976 [S/12233] and to request that you take immediately the measures necessary to terminate continued illegal Israeli occupation, expansion and annexation.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

**Note verbale dated 25 January 1978 from the Mission of Maldives  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[17 February 1978]

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Maldives to the United Nations, referring to the Secretary-General's communication of 8 November 1977 concerning the implementation of Security Council resolution 417 (1977) on the question of *apartheid* in South Africa, has the honour to communicate that the Government of the Republic of Maldives will act strictly in accordance with the provisions of the resolution, which it strongly supports.

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Maldives, however, regrets to state that the Government of the Republic of Maldives is at present unable to contribute any assistance to the victims of violence and repression, owing to its financial difficulties.

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Maldives further has the honour to request that this note verbale be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

**DOCUMENT S/12565**

**Letter dated 17 February 1978 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya  
to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[17 February 1978]

With reference to my conversation with you concerning the contacts and efforts which have been made for the purpose of improving the atmosphere in regard to the relations between the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Chad, I have the honour to inform you officially of the following.

Colonel Muammar Al-Qadhafi received a letter from President Giscard d'Estaing of France on 12 February 1978. In the letter, President Giscard d'Estaing requested increased efforts to be made on the part of both France and Libya in order to achieve national conciliation in Chad and bring about a cease-fire there. He also informed Colonel Al-Qadhafi that President Molloum of Chad had contacted him offering the possibility of withdrawing the Chad complaint against Libya in the Security Council. Colonel Al-Qadhafi has indicated his approval of the continuation of the efforts for achieving peace in Chad.

Colonel Muammar Al-Qadhafi also received a letter from El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Gabonese Republic and President of the Organization of African Unity, requesting his approval for a meeting to be attended by Colonel Al-Qadhafi and President Molloum at Libreville in March during the African Summit Conference. Colonel Al-Qadhafi has responded positively. It is hoped that this meeting will result in the solution of all differences between the two neighbour countries, the restoration of normal relations between them and the achievement of peace and national conciliation in Chad.

The President of the Gabonese Republic requested President Gaafar Nimeiri of the Sudan to intervene in order to arrange a meeting between the Foreign Minister of Chad and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The Jamahiriya has no objection to such a meeting.

On 15 February 1978, I was informed that an official delegation intended to visit Tripoli to convey a letter from President Gaafar Nimeiri to Colonel Muammar Al-Qadhafi. The delegation is composed of a member of the Chad Supreme Military Council, one Chad Minister and an Ambassador from the Sudanese Foreign Ministry. The Secretariat of Foreign Affairs of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has sent a telegram expressing welcome to the delegation at any time.

Within the framework of the joint efforts made by the Sudan and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya towards the achievement of national conciliation in Chad, a delegation from Chad arrived at Tripoli Thursday evening, 16 February, composed of the Minister of National Education and the Minister of Justice. Both Ministers are members of the Supreme Military Council of Chad. This delegation will also attend the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the countries members of the Organization of African Unity which will take place at Tripoli from 20 to 28 February.

In addition, there are also efforts being made by other parties. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has responded positively to all these initiatives in order to avoid a confrontation with Chad before the Security Council especially because of the fact that the Libyan-Chad differences are still under consideration in the context of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Organization of African Unity.

I should be grateful if this letter could be distributed as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mansur R. KIKHIA  
Permanent Representative of the  
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya  
to the United Nations

**Letter dated 18 February 1978 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya  
to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[19 February 1978]

I have the honour to refer to the Security Council debate that began yesterday [2060th meeting] and that was convened following a request by the representative of Chad dated 8 February 1978 [S/12553].

In the said debate, I informed the Council in my statement that a delegation composed of the personal envoy of President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and two Members of the Supreme Military Council of the Republic of Chad had arrived at Tripoli in order to achieve a solution of the internal problems in Chad. Discussions between the representatives of the three countries took place at Tripoli between 16 and 18 February 1978 and, at the conclusion of these meetings, a joint tri-lateral communiqué was issued. The translation into English of this communiqué is enclosed herewith.

At the same time, bilateral discussions took place between the representatives of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in regard to assisting the Republic of Chad to attain national reconciliation. As a result of these discussions, a joint bilateral press communiqué was issued. The translation into English of this communiqué is also enclosed herewith.

I should be grateful if the members of the Security Council could be kept informed of these developments and if this letter with the said enclosures could be circulated as a document of the Council.

(Signed) Mansur R. KIKHIA  
Permanent Representative of the  
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX I

**Chad-Libyan Arab Jamahiriya-Sudanese joint communiqué  
issued at Tripoli on 18 February 1978**

In the spirit of African brotherhood and good-neighbourliness that binds the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, the Republic of Chad and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, in compliance with the principles and resolutions of the Organization of African Unity and in appreciation of the initiative of President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, a high level Chad delegation accompanied by the personal envoy of President Nimeiri paid a visit to the Jamahiriya. The delegation was received by Colonel Muammar Al-Qadhafi and delivered to Colonel Al-Qadhafi a verbal message from President Félix Malloum.

Discussions took place between the representatives of the three countries. The following took part in these discussions: Chad delegation

—Captain Gowar Lasour, Member, Supreme Military Council, Minister of Instruction and Education;

—Lieutenant Mohammed Abdul Rahman, Member, Supreme Military Council, Minister of Justice.

Sudanese delegation

—Ambassador Abu Bakr Othman Salah, Personal Envoy of President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri;

—Mr. Taj-ul-din Mohammed Al-Taher, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan to Chad.

Libyan delegation

—Engineer Taha Al-Sharif Bin Amer, Secretary for Liaison;

—Mr. Mohammed Ahmed Al-Sharif, Secretary for Instruction and Education;

—Mr. Ali Abdussalam Treiki, Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

The discussions concluded with the following agreement:

1. Convening of a meeting of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chad and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. This meeting had previously been proposed to be held at Niamey, capital of the Niger, on 7 February 1978.

2. Convening of a meeting between President Félix Malloum and Colonel Muammar Al-Qadhafi at Sebha at the conclusion of the meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the two countries.

3. Repudiation of any foreign interference aimed at complicating the situation and impeding the efforts already devoted towards achieving national reconciliation in Chad and condemnation of all those who call for dissension and bloodshed among Chad brothers.

4. Continuation of direct contacts between the three countries in order to ensure the appropriate atmosphere to the Chad brothers to resolve their internal problems in a peaceful manner and by means of a dialogue avoiding a spirit of violence and bloodshed.

In addition to this, the delegation of Chad decided to withdraw the complaint to the Security Council and to work for the restoration of diplomatic relations between Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, and to allow the Libyan Embassy to undertake its normal activities.

The delegation of Chad expressed its sentiments of appreciation and acknowledgement for the constructive efforts undertaken by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Sudan in the cause of assisting Chad in resolving its internal problems and achieving national reconciliation in Chad. The delegation of Chad also expressed its gratitude for the hospitality with which it was received in the Jamahiriya. The three delegations expressed their conviction that the meeting with Colonel Al-Qadhafi and the results of that meeting constituted a new chapter in Libyan-Chad relations, one that was in harmony with the historical and geographical relationship between the two sister countries.

For Chad:

Captain Gowar Lasour  
Member of the Supreme Military Council  
Minister of Education

For the Democratic Republic of the Sudan:

Ambassador Abu Bakr Othman Salah  
Personal Envoy of President Gaafar Nimeiri

For the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya:

Ali Abdussalam Treiki  
Secretary for Foreign Affairs

#### ANNEX II

**Libyan Arab Jamahiriya-Sudanese joint communiqué  
issued at Tripoli on 18 February 1978**

In the context of the direct contacts between the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, with the aim of helping the sister Republic of Chad resolve its internal problems in a peaceful manner, the

envoy of President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri paid a visit to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in the period between 9 and 11 Rabi'Al-Away 1398, equivalent to 16 to 18 February 1978. He was received by Colonel Muammar Al-Qadhafi and presented the latter with a letter from President Gaafar Nimeiri. The personal envoy was accompanied by two members of the Supreme Military Council of the Chad Republic.

In the light of the discussions undertaken by the personal envoy of the President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, agreement was reached between the two countries to issue this communiqué pertaining to their accord on the following points:

1. The two countries urgently appeal to their Chad brothers from all sections of the National Liberation Front (FROLINAT) to respond to the call for an immediate cease-fire, especially after President Félix Malloum has declared his compliance with this call, which was previously made by President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri.

2. The two countries register their appreciation for the position taken by President Félix Malloum and for his response to the call of President Nimeiri for a cease-fire. They also register their appreciation for the desire of President Malloum to resolve all the internal problems of Chad in a peaceful

manner and in the context of reconciliation and putting an end to bloodshed among brothers.

3. The two countries appeal to all Chad parties to put an immediate end to the information and propaganda campaigns between them. The information media should make a call for peace and reconciliation instead of for hatred and bloodshed.

4. The two countries again emphasize what was stated in the Libyan-Sudanese joint communiqué issued at the conclusion of the visit of the First Vice-President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, Mr. Abu-Al-Qasem Mohammed Ibrahim: the rejection by both countries of any foreign interference in the internal problems of the Republic of Chad because any such interference would further exacerbate the situation.

5. The two countries again express their complete support for the agreement that was reached at Khartoum on 22 January 1978 regarding national reconciliation in Chad.

It was decided to establish a bilateral committee to make contact with all the Chad parties in order to achieve complete reconciliation among Chad brothers. It was also decided that this committee would begin work as quickly as possible.

## DOCUMENT S/12569\*

Letter dated 17 February 1978 from the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Secretary-General

[Original: Russian]  
[21 February 1978]

I enclose the text of a statement by the Permanent Mission of the USSR to the United Nations.

I request that the text of the Statement should be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) O. TROYANOVSKY  
Permanent Representative of the  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
to the United Nations

### ANNEX

#### Text of the Statement

During the thirty-first and thirty-second sessions of the General Assembly, and also during the sessions of the Trusteeship Council, representatives of the USSR repeatedly drew attention to the abnormal situation in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia) where the population has so far been unable to exercise its right to self-determination and independence, proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations as a goal of the trusteeship system.

Instead of working towards the decolonization of the Territory, the United States, which is the Administering Authority, is in essence transforming it into a United States possession. It is thus violating the principle that a Trust Territory should be treated as a single entity and is attempting to partition it and to give a different status to its component parts. It is a well known fact, however, that the General Assembly, in its Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial

Countries and Peoples, condemned any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a colonial Territory.

According to information received, on 9 January 1978 yet another step was taken towards introducing a new status for the Mariana Islands as a "commonwealth in political union with the United States". The very title and provisions of the "Covenant" previously signed on this matter leave no doubt that the aim is to transform this Territory into a United States possession.

The United States is taking similar measures in connexion with two other archipelagos in the Trust Territory of Micronesia—the Caroline Islands and the Marshall Islands. These islands are being given the status of Territories "associated" with the United States, which in effect would also perpetuate their subordinate position.

The question of the future of Micronesia is an integral part of the problem of decolonization, the granting of the right of self-determination and independence to colonial peoples. Any measures taken by the Administering Authority, on any pretext, which would in fact mean the annexation of the Trust Territory are clearly contrary to the Charter, the Trusteeship Agreement [see resolution 21 (1947)] and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and also contrary to elementary human rights.

As clearly established in Article 83 of the Charter, any alteration in the status of a strategic Trust Territory—which the Pacific Islands are under the Agreement between the Security Council and the United States—should be made only by a decision of the Security Council and, consequently, cannot be made by the Administering Authority, whose unilateral action on this matter should not be recognized as lawful.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/59-S/12569.



**Letter dated 21 February 1978 from the representative of Chad to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: French]  
[21 February 1978]

I have the honour to refer to my letter of 8 February 1978 [S/12553] and to the discussion begun on 17 February in the Security Council [2060th meeting] and to transmit to you herewith the full text of the Chad-Libyan-Sudanese joint communiqué stating the results of the tripartite meeting held at Tripoli from 16 to 18 February.

This communiqué was published at N'Djamena on 20 February. I should be grateful if you would have the text of my letter and that of the joint communiqué circulated as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Beadengar DESSANDE  
Permanent Representative of Chad  
to the United Nations

**ANNEX**

**Joint Communiqué of Chad, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Sudan issued at Tripoli on 18 February 1978**

In the spirit of African brotherhood and good-neighbourliness that binds the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, the Republic of Chad and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,

In compliance with the principles and resolutions of the Organization of African Unity,

In appreciation of the initiative of President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri,

A high-level Chad delegation accompanied by a personal envoy of President Nimeiri paid a visit to the Jamahiriya. The delegation was received by Colonel Muammar Al-Qadhafi, leader of the revolution of 1 September, and delivered to Colonel Al-Qadhafi a verbal message from President Félix Malloum.

Discussions took place between the three countries. The following persons took part in these discussions:

*Chad delegation*

—Captain Gouara Lassou, Member, Supreme Military Council, Minister of Education;

—Lieutenant Mahamoud Abderamane, Member, Supreme Military Council, Minister of Justice;

*Sudanese delegation*

—Ambassador Abu Bakr Othman Mohamed Salah, Personal Envoy of President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri;

—Mr. Taj Eddine Mohamed Tahar, Ambassador of the Sudan to Chad;

*Libyan Arab delegation*

—Engineer Taha Sherif Ben Amer, Secretary for Liaison;

—Mr. Mohammed Ahmed Sherif, Secretary for Instruction and Education;

—Mr. Ali Abdusaalam Treiki, Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

The discussions concluded with the following agreement:

1. Convening of a meeting of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chad and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. This meeting had previously been proposed to be held on 7 February 1978 at Niamey, capital of the Niger.

2. Convening of a meeting between Colonel Muammar Al-Qadhafi and President Félix Malloum at Sebha at the conclusion of the meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the two countries.

3. Rejection of any foreign interference that might be harmful and counter to the efforts made to achieve national reconciliation in Chad and condemnation of any incitement to violence and bloodshed among Chad brothers.

4. Continuation of direct contacts between the three countries in order to ensure the appropriate atmosphere for Chad brothers to resolve their internal problems in a peaceful manner and by means of a dialogue avoiding a spirit of violence and bloodshed.

The Chad side decided to withdraw its complaint to the Security Council and to work for the restoration of diplomatic relations between Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, so as to allow the Libyan Embassy to resume its normal activities.

The delegation of Chad expressed that country's sentiments of appreciation for the constructive efforts undertaken by the Jamahiriya and the Sudan in the cause of helping Chad resolve its internal problems and achieve national reconciliation in Chad.

The delegation of Chad also expressed its gratitude for the hospitality with which it was received in the Jamahiriya.

The three delegations expressed their conviction that the meeting with Colonel Al-Qadhafi and the results of that meeting constituted a new chapter in Libyan-Chad relations, one that was in harmony with the historical and geographical ties between the two countries.

For the Chad delegation:

Captain Gouara Lassou  
Member, Supreme Military Council  
Minister of Instruction and Education

For the Sudanese delegation:

Ambassador Abu Bakr Othman Mohamed Salah  
Personal Envoy of President Gaafar Nimeiri

For the Libyan delegation:

Ali Abdusaalam Treiki  
Secretary for Foreign Affairs

**DOCUMENT S/12572**

**Letter dated 22 February 1978 from the representative of Chad to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: French]  
[22 February 1978]

I have the honour to refer to my letter of 21 February 1978 [S/12570], with which I transmitted to you the full text of the Chad-Libyan-Sudanese joint

communiqué of 18 February, and to inform you that the Government of Chad has decided not to press for consideration of its complaint by the Security Council.

I should be very grateful if you would inform the members of the Security Council of the contents of my letter and have the text of this letter circulated as a Council document.

*(Signed) Beadengar DESSANDE  
Permanent Representative of Chad  
to the United Nations*

#### DOCUMENT S/12573

**Letter dated 22 February 1978 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the President of the Security Council**

*[Original: English]  
[22 February 1978]*

With reference to the item on the agenda of the Security Council entitled "Complaint by Chad", I have the honour to refer to my letter to you of 18 February 1978 [S/12568], in which I informed you and members of the Council of the agreement between Chad, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Sudan contained in the joint communiqué issued at Tripoli on 18 February 1978, in which Chad decided to withdraw the complaint and to work towards the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

I have the further honour to refer to the letter of 21 February from the representative of Chad [S/12570], with which he transmitted the same joint communiqué in French. Taking into consideration this happy development in defusing the tension between the two neighbouring countries, I assume that the Council has taken the necessary measures to delete the item entitled "Complaint by Chad" from the list of matters of which the Security Council is seized and I should appreciate a confirmation from you that these steps have been taken.

I should be grateful if you would circulate this letter as a document of the Security Council.

*(Signed) Mansur R. KIKHIA  
Permanent Representative of the  
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya  
to the United Nations*

#### DOCUMENT S/12575\*

**Note verbale dated 21 February 1978 from the representative of Jordan to the Secretary-General**

*[Original: English]  
[7 March 1978]*

The Permanent Representative of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to the United Nations has the honour to communicate to the Secretary-General, upon instructions from the Government of Jordan, the text of the communication attached herewith, pertaining to very ominous and serious encroachments by the Israeli occupation authorities upon historic, religious, cultural and residential new areas adjacent to the Western Wall of the Haram Esh-Sharif Holy Sanctuary.

Although the encroachments are still in an incipient stage at the location which is the subject of this complaint, they merit the most vigilant attention of the Secretary-General, to the extent that they are viewed by the Government of Jordan as another step towards

an eventual Israeli take-over of the Haram Esh-Sharif Holy Sanctuary itself.

In the meantime, to say the least, it would involve changing the historical, religious, cultural and demographic landscape of occupied Arab Jerusalem, in flagrant violation of numerous resolutions on this matter of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

It is the earnest hope of the Permanent Mission of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan that the Secretary-General will do everything possible to ensure a cessation of the new Israeli encroachments upon the historic structures and the people of those areas.

In view of the seriousness with which the Government of Jordan views these unfolding developments,

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/60-S/12575.



the Permanent Mission of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan further requests that this note and the attached communication should be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

#### ANNEX

Memorandum dated 5 January 1978 received by the Mission of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Jordan, with instructions to bring it to the attention of the Secretary-General and to exert every possible effort at the United Nations to bring about a cessation of the diggings, sequestrations and demolitions at present under way, which threaten four Arab quarters adjacent to the Western Wall of the Haram Esh-Sharif Sanctuary

At a time when Zionism is preoccupying world public opinion with pretences of responding positively to the peace negotiating process, several of its organs are engaging in an ominous and serious infiltration operation. The aim is to create a new Wailing Wall, which the Israelis name "the Small Wailing Wall".

The operation is intended simultaneously to establish a new religious fait accompli, the confiscation of additional Arab quarters, and involves demolition operations—as a preliminary phase—encompassing four Arab quarters adjacent to the Western Wall of the Haram Esh-Sharif Holy Sanctuary and the displacement of close to 3,000 of their proprietors and inhabitants. This is identical to what befell the Arab quarters, adjacent to the "Old Wailing Wall", which started by virtue of Islamic complacency and led eventually to the Al-Buraq rebellion of 1929 and the Israeli claims which followed in its aftermath. (At the time, a British Royal Commission which had intensively studied the claims and counter-claims proved conclusively that the Arab position was juridically the right one.)

Subsequent to the Israeli occupation of Arab Jerusalem in 1967, the occupation authorities confiscated five Arab quarters, demolished them and displaced 6,000 of its Arab Muslim proprietors and residents.

The Government of Jordan has received this week reports from highly informed sources to the effect that the Israeli occupation authorities have latterly started the installation of water pipes in an open segment of the Western Wall of The Haram Esh-Sharif Holy Sanctuary, in a location known as "Ribat Al-Kurd", as a prelude to transforming the area into a Jewish centre of worship.

Ribat Al-Kurd is a cluster of historic Islamic *Waqf* (foundation) premises, constructed by Muslim philanthropists in the Hijra year 693 (A.D. 1293) and registered as an endowment in perpetuity to house members of the teaching faculties in adjacent religious centres of learning. It is at present inhabited by some members of the Al-Shihabi family, descendants of one of those families. The "Ribat" is located at one of the entrances to the Holy Sanctuary to the west. The name of this entrance is Bab-el-Hadeed (The Gate of Iron).

The Ribat has, between 1971 and 1976, been the object of a series of aggressive acts of encroachment. Diggings beneath it had reached a depth of 10 metres and a width of nine metres. In 1971, the diggings caused the destabilization and near-collapse of four buildings. In 1973-1974, the Al-Jawhariyah religious historic school suffered a similar fate and, in 1976, the open indoor courtyard of the historic school collapsed.

The Government of Jordan has incessantly complained against such acts and encroachments, whenever committed, to UNESCO, coupled with requests for on-the-spot investigations and condemnations. The Jordanian Government's many complaints had unfailingly demanded that damaged buildings be repaired and that the occupation authorities be sternly warned to refrain from continuing such illicit acts. UNESCO had on every occasion on which such complaints had been made, carried out its investigations on the spot. When the complaints had been verified to the satisfaction of UNESCO, such acts of aggression were invariably condemned, and the Israeli oc-

cupation authorities were requested to cease their encroachments forthwith and to repair damages incurred.

In the wake of some of those resolutions, the Israeli occupation authorities sometimes responded to the international will and accommodated to its wishes but, while doing so, they continued their provocative encroachments in other areas.

Ribat Al-Kurd, the Al-Jawhariyah school and contiguous buildings in the area enjoyed a respite in consequence of international intervention. Diggings in that area were temporarily halted, six buildings which had been damaged were repaired and six families evicted earlier were enabled to live again in their homes. The occupation authorities' positive response in this area proved to be a cover-up for the continuance of the acts of confiscation, demolition and eviction of the residents of the five other Arab quarters adjacent to the old "Wailing Wall".

Now that the military occupation authorities had completed and solidified their aggression, at the western end of the Wailing Wall, they sprung upon us their preliminary steps at the other end, with a view to completing their expansionist designs, whose clear purpose is to expose the remaining segments of the Western Wall of the Haram Esh-Sharif Holy Sanctuary by demolishing buildings and evicting their residents. This is being perpetrated on the false assumption that the entire Western Wall of the Haram Esh-Sharif is an extension of the Wailing Wall, which they sanctify.

The area which is the object of this new encroachment is located at the mid-point of the Western Wall of the Holy Sanctuary, as the attached may show. (See end of volume.) A reading of the map itself reveals the extent to which Islamic properties surrounding the Holy Sanctuary, including the Al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock holy mosques, have been the object of Israeli confiscations, within an over-all plan, to expose the Holy Sanctuary from all sides and to erase the cultural and Islamic hallmarks which surround it. It also aims at evicting the Arab and Muslim inhabitants of those areas.

Since the Israeli occupation of the Arab part of Jerusalem in 1967, the aforementioned location has been specifically the object of visitations by members of various Jewish religious groups in their efforts to worship behind it. But the residents of the area and the alertness of the Islamic *Waqf* Department thwarted their designs. In the course of repairing the damaged buildings within the Ribat Al-Kurd area from the digging operations in 1972, workers doing the repairs on behalf of the contractor found it necessary to place some iron nails in a section of the Western Wall contiguous to the buildings under repair.

Religious Jewish organizations and Israeli politicians of various party affiliations raised a vociferous outcry, in which they accused the contractor and the municipal occupation authorities—which had assigned the repairs to the contractor—of transgressing on the "sacred" stones of the wall and demanding that the nails be removed and repairs suspended, and also calling for demolition of all the buildings adjacent to this wall, which they named, at that time, "the Small Wailing Wall".

The Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* published on 27 February 1972 an impassioned appeal addressed to the then Minister of Justice by Chief Rabbi Isaac Nassim in his capacity as Chairman of the Ministerial Committee for the whole of Jerusalem. The appeal discloses the innermost depths of the Jewish leaders' designs.

The appeal stated *inter alia*:

"The Small Wailing Wall and continuation of efforts to disclose it is a pivotal religious duty. Beware that the fate of this Wall should be similar to the fate of Notre Dame Monastery, which the Minister of Justice had foreclosed by a stroke of liquidation and return to the Vatican. Beware surrendering this Wall, which was delivered by the blood of our infantry and paratroopers and which was never foreclosed by the Almighty in heaven. Our outcries will continue without stop and our struggle will not cease until the discovery of its length and height from its southern corner

to its north-western corner in the vicinity of Bab-Al-Asbaat. We do not want a temporary solution; our aim is to 'cleanse' the area of all the old buildings, which had been built and stuck upon, with premeditation, and with the approval of the Judges and the successive chiefs of the Islamic religion, upon the remaining stones of our Temple, with a view to vilifying and hiding it!"

The installation of waterpipes in this important location, in the middle of the Western Wall of the Haram Esh-Sharif, is a most ominous move designed covertly to consolidate the Jewish claims on this location by turning it into a "small Wailing Wall" and a new Jewish religious shrine. This is identical to what world Jewry did regarding the first Wailing Wall adjacent to the Haram Esh-Sharif Sanctuary, turning it into a sacred Jewish shrine, which has become a source of eternal conflict between Islam and Judaism. It led to the Al-Buraq rebellion of 1929 and, after 1967, brought about the tragedy of confiscations and demolitions of five Arab quarters and the eviction of their inhabitants.

The dreams of Judaism, as disclosed by the Chief Rabbi, are not confined to the four quarters surrounding Ribat Al-Kurd. It exceeds them to encompass all the Islamic religious, cultural and residential buildings, all along the rest of the Western Wall, and the Northern Wall of the Haram Esh-Sharif Holy Sanctuary. These are the only remaining buildings which are adjacent to the Holy Sanctuary.

The installation of the waterpipe is but a first step in a newly-unfolding, criminal plan whose ultimate objective—as Jewish religious and political circles do not tire of stating—is to carry out a Jewish take-over of the Haram Esh-Sharif Holy Sanctuary itself.

I request you to bring this matter to the attention of the Secretary-General and to make all possible efforts at the United Nations with a view to bringing about a cessation of this serious infiltration, which has as its underlying purpose the implementation of a far-reaching criminal plan against the Holy Sanctuary.

## DOCUMENT S/12576

Note verbale dated 24 February 1978 from the representative of Mozambique to the Secretary-General

[Original: English/Portuguese]  
[24 February 1978]

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Mozambique to the United Nations has the honour to submit to the Secretary-General the attached communiqué of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique with reference to the so-called internal settlement in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia.

The official statement reflects the great concern of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique over the disastrous threat to both regional and international peace and security—as well as the long-sought aspiration of the struggling people of Zimbabwe to achieve a just settlement that would guarantee their true genuine independence—if they were allowed to be deceived by such an "internal settlement" filled with hidden wicked intentions as treacherously devised by the minority racist régime of Ian Smith.

The statement regards the move of the illegal régime in Rhodesia as an attempt to establish a puppet government acting as a cover-up manoeuvre to attract foreign interference, thereby internationalizing the conflict and compounding the hardships and sufferings of the already oppressed majority of Zimbabwe.

The communiqué considers the vicious scheme as a direct affront to the present efforts initiated by the Anglo-American proposals intended to reach the noble objectives of the international community in bringing about a just solution of the issue of settlement in Zimbabwe.

Bearing in mind the primordial importance of guaranteeing and ensuring a stable future of an independent and free Zimbabwe and the preservation of international security and order as espoused by United Nations principles, the accompanying declaration therefore emphasizes the apprehension and concern of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique over the tragic consequences which the so-called internal settlement would further generate.

The Permanent Representative would be very grateful if this communication could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

### ANNEX

Communiqué dated 23 February 1978 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique issues the following communiqué in connexion with the so-called internal settlement in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia reported by the news services:

1. The war going on in Southern Rhodesia is the result of the colonial occupation of the Territory, aggravated by the racist rebellion of a minority of settlers which has usurped power. It can end only with the satisfaction of the fundamental demand of the broad masses of the Zimbabwe people: total and complete independence of the country preserving its territorial integrity, with a democratic Government legitimately chosen by all citizens without discrimination of any kind.

2. The armed struggle for national liberation, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, combined with international action against the illegal racist minority régime, has created favourable conditions for putting an early end to the present conflict through negotiations with the colonial Power.

3. As a pre-condition for the restoration of peace and the beginning of the process of transition to independence within the framework of a settlement, it is essential to suppress the rebellion and the illegal racist minority régime of Ian Smith.

4. The colonial Power has presented proposals for negotiations leading to independence and peace.

These proposals included fundamental positive points which made serious negotiations possible. Specifically, they provided for:

- (a) The principle of total and complete independence of Zimbabwe;
- (b) The establishment of a democratic Government as a result of elections based on universal suffrage of adult citizens without discrimination of any kind;
- (c) Termination of the racist rebellion and its régime;
- (d) Dismantling of the repressive armed forces of the illegal racist minority régime;

(e) The creation of a national army with the combatant nationalist forces as its base;

(f) Recognition of the responsibilities of the colonial Power in the guaranteeing of decolonization, expressed by the appointment of a British Resident Commissioner;

(g) The involvement of the United Nations, to which the front-line States, Africa and all progressive and democratic States belong, in the process of

—Supervision of the cease-fire;

—Supervision of the dismantling of the racist forces;

—Supervision of the democratic process of the elections.

5. The Government of the United States of America has officially associated itself with and given its support to the proposals of the colonial Power.

The United Nations Security Council has, upon request, authorized the Secretary-General to appoint a representative to associate himself with the process.

6. In January 1978, in Malta, on the basis of these proposals and in the presence of the representative of the United Nations and representatives of front-line States, the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States initiated talks with the Patriotic Front.

7. The talks were positive and, apart from normal points of disagreement, indicate good prospects for the early resolution of the conflict.

In order to neutralize this process, with the aim of effectively retaining power, hoping to gain time to internationalize the conflict, the illegal racist minority régime has rejected the proposals of the colonial Power. Parallel with this, it is intensifying its crimes and massacres perpetrated against the Zimbabwe people and its acts of aggression against neighbouring States.

9. On the pattern of the sad and unsuccessful experience of Ngô Đình Diem, Lon Nol, Moïse Tshombe and other puppets, playing on anti-communist hysteria, with the short-sighted complicity of the most reactionary and bellicose circles of imperialism and racism, the Salisbury régime is trying to prolong its criminal existence through the old tactic of puppet solutions.

10. The so-called internal settlement boils down to a crude attempt to save colonialism and racism, since:

—It maintains the essence of the rebel régime;

—It reserves for a handful of settlers, in practice, an effective right of veto against the democratically expressed will of the voting citizens;

—It provides for the preservation of the armed forces, the fundamental instrument of racist power;

—It is aimed at continuing the war against the Zimbabwe people.

In reality it merely attempts to bring a few blacks into the structures of the régime in order to disguise as a civil war the reality of a colonial war, trying to depict the consistent patriots as rebels and invaders.

11. The so-called internal settlement, if by chance it benefits from the complicity of outsiders, can result only in:

(a) The inevitable prolongation of the war;

(b) The danger of internationalizing the conflict, with a consequent grave threat to the peace and security of Africa and the world.

12. The People's Republic of Mozambique reaffirms its decision to continue to comply fully with its internationalist duty of supporting the struggle of the Zimbabwe people and reaffirms the need for an early and positive conclusion of the talks initiated between the colonial Power and the Patriotic Front as the fundamental means for putting an end to the existing conflict on a just basis.

## DOCUMENT S/12577

**Note verbale dated 21 February 1978 from the Mission of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to the Secretary-General**

*[Original: French]  
[28 February 1978]*

The Permanent Mission of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to the United Nations has the honour to forward to the Secretariat the attached letter addressed to the Secretary-General.

The Permanent Mission of the Lao People's Democratic Republic has the honour to request that this note should be issued as a document of the Security Council.

**LETTER DATED 10 JANUARY 1978 FROM MR. NOUPHANE SITPHAXAY, DEPUTY MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL**

I have the honour to refer to Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and to inform you that the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic agrees to and fully supports the measures adopted by this resolution.

*(Signed) Noupbane SITPHAXAY  
Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs  
of the Lao People's Democratic Republic*

## DOCUMENT S/12578

**Letter dated 1 March 1978 from the representative of the Upper Volta to the President of the Security Council**

*[Original: French]  
[1 March 1978]*

In my capacity as Chairman of the African Group for March 1978, I have the honour to request you to convene the Security Council as soon as possible,

and preferably on Monday, 6 March, to discuss the deterioration in the situation in Southern Rhodesia—a deterioration which is due to the cynical manoeuvring of the racist minority Ian Smith régime, which intends to conclude a so-called internal agreement in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia.

(Signed) Dimbon BAMBA  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of the Upper Volta  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/12580

Note verbale dated 1 March 1978 from the representative of Botswana to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[1 March 1978]

The Permanent Representative of the Republic of Botswana to the United Nations has the honour to bring to the urgent attention of the Secretary-General the information contained in the document annexed to this letter relating to the latest attack perpetrated against the Republic of Botswana by the armed forces of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia resulting in losses of life and property.

This attack, like several others before it, was launched without the slightest provocation from the Botswana side, and was perpetrated inside Botswana, thus once again flagrantly violating the territorial integrity of the Republic of Botswana.

Indeed, by launching these attacks, the Ian Smith régime is not only challenging the international community, but is also arrogantly demonstrating its refusal to accept a negotiated solution of the Rhodesian problem. Furthermore, by continually violating the territory of a sovereign State, Ian Smith intends to internationalize the conflict between his illegal régime and the people of Zimbabwe.

The international community cannot be indifferent to this situation. Rather, it should rally behind Botswana in her hour of greatest need, in the spirit of Security Council resolutions 403 (1977) and 406 (1977) which, *inter alia*, appeal to the international community to come to Botswana's assistance in the face of Rhodesian aggression.

The Government of the Republic of Botswana would be grateful if this communication could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

### ANNEX

Statement made by the Vice-President of the Republic of Botswana, Mr. Q. K. J. Masire, to the National Assembly on 28 February 1978, relating to the attacks by the armed forces of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia against the Republic of Botswana

It is with deep sorrow that I have to inform this Honourable House of the death yesterday evening of 15 of our young

soldiers near Lesoma, which is about 13 kilometres from Kazungula. Eight others were injured, of whom three are in a critical condition, and seven are still missing. Two civilians were also killed.

Thirty soldiers were sent in three vehicles from Kazungula to investigate a report that a large number of Rhodesian soldiers, predominantly white, had been seen in the area. The report had been made by two young men who accompanied them. Our soldiers did not come across any Rhodesian soldiers where they were reported to be. On their return to Kazungula, along the main Nata/Kazungula Road, about one kilometre from the Botswana/Rhodesia border, they were ambushed by members of Rhodesian security forces while travelling in their vehicles. The Rhodesian statement that our soldiers were fighting on the side of the Zimbabwe freedom fighters in the area is a blatant lie. No freedom fighters were seen by the Botswana Defence Force. As a result of the attack, the three vehicles were destroyed by fire. Some of the survivors managed to return on foot to Kazungula. Reinforcements were sent to recover the remaining wounded and the dead.

Subsequent reports say that a large number of Rhodesian troops have been moved to the Rhodesian side of the border at Kazungula today and the situation is extremely tense.

All members of the Botswana Defence Force have been issued with explicit orders that they are not to enter Rhodesia, that they are not to provoke any incidents with the Rhodesian security forces and that they are to shoot only in self-defence. These orders have been meticulously adhered to. We have also maintained our well-known policy of not permitting our country to be used as a springboard for attacks against our neighbours. I am, therefore, at a complete loss to understand the reasons for this brutal and unprovoked attack. This can only be the act of an insane régime which is purporting to negotiate a peaceful settlement at Salisbury while its agents are massacring nationals of neighbouring countries in those countries.

We have adhered to our policies in spite of the frequent and continued violations of our sovereignty by the illegal régime. Not even our harshest critics can accuse us of lack of forbearance. However, the time has come for us to reconsider our policies and our entire approach to the Rhodesian problem and we will do so without delay. As an immediate measure, we have decided to close the border post on our border with Rhodesia at Kazungula.

**Note verbale dated 23 February 1978 from the representative of Australia to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[3 March 1978]

The Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations has the honour, with reference to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977 requesting information on the measures taken by the Australian Government to implement the provisions of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), to advise that:

(a) Australia has for many years operated an effective embargo on arms supplies to South Africa under the provisions of the customs (prohibited exports) regulations and will continue to do so in conformity with Security Council resolution 418 (1977);

(b) The Australian Government has reviewed licensing arrangements and found none that fall within the scope of resolution 418 (1977); it will keep licensing arrangements under review to ensure that none are concluded in breach of that resolution;

(c) The Australian Government will continue to refrain from any co-operation with South Africa in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons in conformity with resolution 418 (1977) and with Australia's adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

The Permanent Representative of Australia has the honour to request that this note verbale be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/12582

**Note verbale dated 3 March 1978 from the representative of Lesotho to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[6 March 1978]

The Permanent Representative of the Kingdom of Lesotho to the United Nations has the honour to refer to his note to the Secretary-General of 22 February 1978 (copy attached) and to request that the communication be circulated as a Security Council document.

**TEXT OF THE NOTE**

The Permanent Representative of the Kingdom of Lesotho to the United Nations has the honour to transmit to the Secretary-General the following text as received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lesotho:

"In contravention of existing trade, customs, labour and travel arrangements between Lesotho and South Africa, in particular the labour agreement of 1973, which names 15 points of entry between the two States, South Africa has unilaterally blockaded the south-eastern border of Lesotho which abuts on that part of South Africa called the Transkei.

"Since Friday, 17 February 1978, the South African authorities, through their Transkeian minions, have demanded visas at a cost of R 2.50 each from Lesotho citizens travelling through the Transkei en route to destinations in other parts of South Africa. This week the situation worsened when international passports, as distinct from agreed travel documents, were demanded by South African of-

ficials at Ramats'eliso, Qacha's Nek and Tele border posts. The implication of this demand is obvious, namely, tacit recognition of the bantustan of the Transkei.

"The net effect of South Africa's insidious move is the complete stoppage of all movement of goods and persons in both directions through the border posts already mentioned. To all intents and purposes, the south-eastern border of Lesotho is sealed. During the past week, thousands of Basotho who normally travel through the Transkei to other parts of South Africa have been stranded on both sides of the border. The refusal of the South African authorities to permit Lesotho citizens to return to their own country is a gross violation of internationally accepted norms.

"Faced with the situation which threatens her integrity and stability, and in line with her known stand against *apartheid*, in compliance with General Assembly resolution 31/6, Lesotho is mobilizing her people with meagre resources to withstand this latest move against her by the racist South African régime. Specifically, the following actions have been taken to alleviate the suffering of our people:

"1. R 1,000,000 has been diverted for the immediate construction of a wholesale facility at Qacha's Nek and capitalization of the Lesotho National Bus Service.



"2. The bus service between Qacha's Nek and Outhing is to be launched immediately. With (1) above, this action is intended to reduce the effect of the blockade.

"3. Additional health facilities, in the form of staff and medicines, are being diverted to Qacha's Nek and other affected areas.

"4. Self-help projects are being increased and intensified to provide food and employment.

"5. Construction of roads is being accelerated. This applies to access roads and river crossing as well.

"6. Emergency food supplies are being sent to affected areas.

"Lesotho is in a state of siege and therefore needs international moral support and material assistance.

Her own efforts and resources are not sufficient to cope with the emergency imposed upon her by Pretoria. As the Security Council is already seized with the problem of our south-eastern border with South Africa, in accordance with its resolution 402 (1976), you are requested to marshal another support on our behalf and immediately to dispatch a fact-finding mission to Lesotho. If possible, such a mission should include an international lawyer with special knowledge of boundary disputes and/or transit rights and obligations.

"We appeal to you to come to our rescue at this hour of crisis. Because of her problems and her tarnished international image, South Africa is deliberately if not maliciously venting her spleen on us. We need international support to survive."

## DOCUMENT S/12583\*

Letter dated 6 March 1978 from the representative of Algeria to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[6 March 1978]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a message from Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Member of the Council of the Revolution and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria.

On instructions from my Government, I hereby request you to have this message circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdelkader BENSMAIL  
Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of Algeria  
to the United Nations

### ANNEX

#### Text of the message

In November 1965, Ian Smith, defying the administering Power and the entire international community, made a unilateral declaration of independence by seizing the benefit of the white minority the legitimate power of the African people of Zimbabwe.

Confronted with this challenge, the international community, acting through the competent United Nations bodies, including the Security Council and the General Assembly, declared the Ian Smith régime to be illegal, solemnly reaffirming that the people of Zimbabwe were the only repository of sovereignty and that the United Kingdom continued to be the administering Power, with all the obligations and prerogatives provided for in the Charter. At the same time, the United Nations imposed political and economic sanctions which confirmed the illegitimacy of the racist Salisbury régime.

Since that time, this question has been regularly included in the agenda of all bodies responsible for dealing with the problems of decolonization, *apartheid* and racism.

The Organization of African Unity, for its part, had supported the efforts of the Zimbabwe liberation movement, and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU held

at Libreville recognized the Patriotic Front as the only representative of the people of Zimbabwe in their effort to attain their national objectives; thus, the framework for a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian question through complete, effective decolonization has been clearly defined by the international community.

For some time, however, certain initiatives have been under way for the purpose of diverting the decolonization of Zimbabwe from its normal course through a so-called internal agreement which runs counter to the search for a peaceful settlement. Disregarding the legitimate aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe as embodied in the Patriotic Front, this agreement seems to have no objective other than that of legalizing, indeed legitimizing, the Ian Smith régime.

It thus constitutes a violation of the provisions adopted by the United Nations and a deliberate attempt to sabotage the efforts being made by the international community in solidarity with Africa for the purpose of finding a just and lasting solution to the problem of Zimbabwe.

Boycott measures have, of course, been taken by international bodies with a view to isolating the illegal Ian Smith régime both politically and economically, and it is more than ever essential for those measures to be maintained and strengthened. In this sensitive area, in which the problems of South Africa and Namibia are still unsolved, peace can be ensured only if the peoples concerned join in working out a solution and, in this particular case, if the Patriotic Front, the authentic representative of the people of Zimbabwe, takes part in that effort. It now appears, therefore, that the moves being made by Ian Smith are aimed only at sowing the seeds of civil war in Zimbabwe by dividing the African people and setting them against one another. In these grave circumstances, with the fate of an entire people at stake, I appeal to your sense of responsibility to see that the prestige and authority of the United Nations are not used to make a mockery of the fundamental rights of the people of Zimbabwe and that the decisions which have been taken by the Organization and supported by OAU and the movement of non-aligned countries are complied with and properly implemented.

The arrangement worked out at Salisbury by the illegal Ian Smith régime is, in our view, null and void; it must be denounced as such by the entire international community.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/61-S/12583.

**Letter dated 7 March 1978 from the representatives of Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[7 March 1978]

We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that, during its meetings devoted to consideration of the "Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia", the Council extend invitations under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Robert G. Mugabe and Mr. Joshua M. Nkomo, Co-leaders of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe.

*Signed by the representatives of the following  
States members of the Security Council:*

Gabon  
Mauritius  
Nigeria

**DOCUMENT S/12586**

**Letter dated 8 March 1978 from the representatives of Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[8 March 1978]

We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that, during its meetings devoted to consideration of the "Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia", the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Canon Burgess Carr, Secretary-General of the All Africa Conference of Churches.

*Signed by the representatives of the following  
States members of the Security Council:*

Gabon  
Mauritius  
Nigeria

**DOCUMENT S/12587**

**Letter dated 3 March 1978 from the representative of Ecuador to the Secretary-General**

[Original: Spanish]  
[9 March 1978]

I have the honour to refer to your communication of 10 November, in which you drew the Ecuadorian Government's attention to resolution 418 (1977) on the question of South Africa, unanimously adopted by the Security Council on 4 November 1977, which called upon all States, including States non-members of the United Nations, to act in accordance with the said resolution.

In this connexion, I am attaching a letter of 23 February 1978 in which the Government of Ecuador states that it will comply strictly with the provisions of the above-mentioned resolution.

I should be grateful if you would have this communication circulated as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Miguel ALBORNOZ  
Permanent Representative of Ecuador  
to the United Nations

**LETTER DATED 23 FEBRUARY 1978 FROM THE UNDER-SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF ECUADOR TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL**

I am pleased to acknowledge receipt of your communication of 10 November 1977 concerning resolution 418 (1977) on the question of South Africa, unanimously adopted by the Security Council on 4 November 1977, which calls upon all States, including States non-members of the United Nations, to act in accordance with the said resolution.

I wish to state in this connexion that the Government of Ecuador will comply strictly with the provisions of the above-mentioned resolution.

For the Minister:  
(Signed) Gustavo RUALES VIEL  
Under-Secretary-General for External  
Relations of Ecuador

**Letter dated 9 March 1978 from the representative of the Upper Volta  
to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[9 March 1978]

In my capacity as Chairman of the African Group for the month of March, I have the honour to request you to circulate, as a document of the Security Council, the attached copy of the Emergency Powers Regulations enacted by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia to prohibit publication of any statement or information concerning the activities of organizations or associations which are opposed to the régime.

(Signed) Dimbon BAMBA  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of the Upper Volta  
to the United Nations

**ANNEX**

**D Notice No. 1 of 1978**

Whereas the National Security Committee appointed under section 3 of the Emergency Powers (D Notice) Regulations, 1976, is satisfied that the organizations or associations specified in the Schedule hereto actively support and encourage terrorism against the peoples of Rhodesia:

Now, therefore, the said Committee, in terms of section 5 of the said regulations, prohibits the publication, without the consent of the said Committee, of any information or statement which relates or purports to relate, directly or indirectly, to any statement which has been made or which purports to have been made by the leader or an office-bearer of any organization or association specified in the Schedule hereto in relation to the activities or policies of that organization

or association or the activities or opinions of the leader or any office-bearer or member thereof;

Provided that nothing contained herein shall be construed as prohibiting the publication of any information contained in an official Government statement or communiqué.

**SCHEDULE**

**ORGANIZATIONS OR ASSOCIATIONS WHICH SUPPORT  
AND ENCOURAGE TERRORISM**

1. The African National Council (Zimbabwe);
2. The Patriotic Front;
3. The People's Movement;
4. The Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA);
5. The Zimbabwe People's Liberation Army (ZPLA);
6. The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU);
7. The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

**NOTICE FOR THE INFORMATION OF EDITORS**

1. The Emergency Powers (D) Notice Regulations, 1976, were published in Rhodesia Government Notice No. 301A of 1976.

2. Attention is drawn particularly to section 7 of these Regulations, which, *inter alia*, in subsection (2) provides that the publication of any information relating to the issue or contents of a "D" notice is an offence.

3. If the consent of the National Security Committee is sought for the publication of items otherwise prohibited in terms of a "D" notice, an approach should be made to the Director of Information.

## DOCUMENT S/12589

**Letter dated 9 March 1978 from the representative of Zambia  
to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[9 March 1978]

Upon the instructions of my Government, I have the honour to request an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the latest premeditated and unprovoked act of aggression perpetrated on 6 to 8 March 1978 against Zambia's sovereignty and territorial integrity by forces of the rebel minority régime in Southern Rhodesia.

This latest flagrant violation of Zambia's territory by rebel Rhodesian forces—using infantry troops and war planes—occurred in the Luangwa (Feira) district on the Zambia side of the Zambezi River. As a result of the attack, five member of the Zambia National Defence Forces have so far been reported killed and 20 innocent civilians injured. The toll would have been heavier had it not been for the timely and gallant

efforts of the Zambia National Defence Force, which repulsed the wanton rebel attack.

As in similar previous cases, my Government—and undoubtedly others, genuinely concerned with the attainment of peace and security in southern Africa—cannot but condemn this recent act of aggression by rebel Rhodesia. It marks a development with serious adverse repercussions for the increasingly grave situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia and in the entire southern African region. My Government is further concerned that, if left uncondemned and therefore tacitly undeterred by the international community, especially at a time when both the Security Council and the world body are intimately seized with the question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia, this latest incident is bound to engender actions



likely to exacerbate the current tense situation in our area.

In view of the foregoing and given Zambia's well-known preoccupation with the political situation in southern Africa, my Government deems it a matter of extreme importance that you convene an urgent

meeting of the Security Council to consider this latest complaint.

(Signed) Gwendoline C. KONIE  
Permanent Representative of Zambia  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/12590

#### Letter dated 9 March 1978 from the representative of Liberia to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[9 March 1978]

Confirming my promise of yesterday, 8 March, I have the honour to quote hereunder the text of a message addressed to the Secretary-General by the President of Liberia, William R. Tolbert, Jr. I should be pleased if you would kindly have it circulated as a document of the Security Council:

"On the occasion of the presentation on today the seventh instant of the letters of credence of the Ambassador of the Niger accredited to Liberia, I am conveying for your information excerpts of my remarks on the subject of southern Africa and South Africa with particular reference to Zimbabwe:

'I am indeed touched by your reference to the role which Liberia has assumed in the struggle to liberate our oppressed and suppressed brothers and sisters of southern Africa from the inhumane and barbaric policies of *apartheid*, colonialism and racist minority rule. Our selfless initiative in this regard is indicative of our determined effort to execute our responsibilities for the political and economic emancipation of Africa. For us, sovereignty, independence and freedom in Africa can only be enjoyed in their fullest dimension when Africa is totally free from foreign domination and our African brothers can enjoy their inalienable rights in peace and tranquillity.

'The situation in South Africa, instead of improving, would seem to be worsening. Just recently there were protestations from many groups around the world against two new bills presented to the South African Parliament, one of which would make it legal to treat unemployed black South Africans as criminals, while the other makes them aliens in the land of their birth.

'In Zimbabwe, events are rapidly unfolding, the implications of which require careful assessment by Africa. In order to place these developments in their proper perspective, I should like to refer to the OAU summit meeting held at Libreville in July last, where Africa pledged its support for an intensification of the Zimbabwe armed struggle. Recognizing the important role of the fighting cadres for the success of the armed struggle, the Libreville summit urged that full material and financial assistance be provided to the Patriotic Front.

"Although the Libreville summit clearly recognized the Patriotic Front as the machinery through which the armed struggle would be waged, as we understood that resolution, it in no way pre-

cluded the search for a political settlement which the Patriotic Front and/or other Zimbabwean nationalist movement could pursue. Had this not been the intent of the Libreville summit, it would not have solicited increased financial, material and political assistance to the people of Zimbabwe to enable them to retrieve their rights for self-determination and independence. Obviously, all of the people of Zimbabwe are not embodied in the Patriotic Front, and most regrettably it is a well-known fact that the Zimbabwe liberation struggle has been and still is characterized by divisiveness and disunity.

'Against this background, we in Liberia have followed very keenly recent developments in Salisbury where some Zimbabwe nationalist leaders are holding talks with the rebel Ian Smith. Of course, the phenomenon of talks on Zimbabwe is nothing new for, at various stages of the liberation struggle, negotiations have been conducted in some instances between Ian Smith and the British.

'As a matter of policy, we in Liberia have always maintained that the struggle for freedom must be fought on all fronts in southern Africa, particularly in Zimbabwe. We must intensify the armed struggle and simultaneously pursue diplomatic and political initiatives. Thus, while we lend full support to the Patriotic Front, we must not close the doors to negotiations. We accordingly welcome the idea of internal talks with the Smith régime, where they would lead to a just solution of the Rhodesian problem. But we would insist that all parties to the struggle participate therein so as to ensure the maximum possible support for any results which may emerge, and thereby avoid civil strife.

'In this connexion, I have come to understand that the recent meeting of the OAU Council of Ministers at Tripoli, Libya, condemned the internal talks that are being held in Salisbury after having denied some of those participating in the talks permission to inform the Council of the substance of the talks.

'Let me here state unequivocally that Liberia did not then or will she lend her support to any decision which condemns the principle of negotiation. Neither will she join in condemning the substance of these negotiations without first having a full knowledge of same, or opportunity to give timely information thereon; for only thereby would we be better qualified to make an adequate

assessment of the initiatives which could possibly contribute some assistance in the achievement of independence with majority rule for Zimbabwe—the desired objective of all Africans.

‘After more than 12 years of perseverance, it appears that we have embarked upon the final phase of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle. We therefore renew our appeal to all the liberation movements of Zimbabwe to exert every effort to force a strong bond of unity so as to maximize the opportunities for a settlement of this lingering and difficult problem.

‘In the midst of the complexities which becloud the Zimbabwean struggle, free Africa must demonstrate the wisdom, foresight, flexibility and solidarity so essential for the evolution of an independent and unified Zimbabwe. And the

great Powers, yea the whole international community, should ever remain sensitive and conscious of their obligation and responsibility to produce a wholesome functioning society in this part of our one world, and not in any manner contribute to conflicts and insecurity therein.

‘It is therefore gratifying to note that your great country continues wholeheartedly to support the Herculean struggle to liberate the African continent from the remaining vestiges of suppression, oppression and racism. Ours is noble struggle and we remain confident that, by the grace of God, a new day will soon dawn for our brothers and sisters in southern Africa.’”

(Signed) David M. THOMAS  
Permanent Representative of Liberia  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/12591

##### Note verbale dated 6 March 1978 from the representative of Cyprus to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[10 March 1978]

The Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations has the honour to refer to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977 regarding resolution 418 (1977) adopted unanimously by the Security Council on 4 November 1977 on the question of South Africa.

The Permanent Representative of Cyprus, on the instructions of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, wishes to inform that Cyprus does not have any arms or munitions industry and that the Government of Cyprus complies with and fully implements all United Nations resolutions establishing sanctions against South Africa.

The Permanent Representative of Cyprus has the honour to request that this note verbale be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

#### DOCUMENT S/12593

##### Note by the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[10 March 1978]

The text of the following press statement issued by the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr. Shridath S. Ramphal, has been communicated to the President of the Security Council:

“The Commonwealth Secretary-General (who is at present attending a meeting of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues at Geneva) has again deplored the repeated armed violations of the territorial integrity of African front-line States culminating in this week's flagrant and brutal invasion of Zambia by the forces of the illegal Smith régime. He has welcomed Zambia's decision to bring this highly dangerous situation to the attention of the Security Council and has called on all Commonwealth countries to demonstrate their support for the Government and people of Zambia.”

Letter dated 10 March 1978 from the representative of the Upper Volta  
to the President of the Security Council

[Original: French]  
[10 March 1978]

In my capacity as Chairman of the African Group, I have the honour to draw your attention to the very serious aggression to which the Republic of Zambia has just been subjected, on 6 and 8 March, by the white racist minority rebel régime in Rhodesia.

The Group of African States once again condemns these barbarous acts, which are the mark of a desperate régime that is seeking by every possible means to internationalize a conflict which it itself created and which pits it against the fighting and ever-growing nationalism of the people of Zimbabwe.

The Group of African States expresses the hope that, in the face of this new escalation, the Security Council will, when it deals with this new tragedy, not fail to voice strong condemnation of the Ian Smith régime and will take the necessary measures to safeguard the rights of the Republic of Zambia, a full-fledged Member of the United Nations.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of this letter circulated as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Dimbon BAMBA  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of the Upper Volta  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/12595\*

Letter dated 10 March 1978 from the representative of Sri Lanka to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[10 March 1978]

In my capacity as Acting Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a communiqué issued by the Co-ordinating Bureau concerning the latest act of aggression by the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia against the Republic of Zambia.

I should be grateful if you would kindly have the communiqué circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) B. J. FERNANDO  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.  
of the Permanent Mission of Sri Lanka  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Communiqué issued on 10 March 1978 by the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries on the latest act of aggression by the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia against Zambia

The Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries has learned with a deep sense of outrage and revulsion about the latest premeditated and unprovoked acts of aggression by the illegal minority régime of Southern Rhodesia, in flagrant violation of the sovereignty, air space and territorial integrity of Zambia.

These wanton and barbarous acts, carried out from 6 to 8 March 1978 in the Luangwa (Feira) District on the Zambian

side of the Zambezi River by rebel infantry troops and war planes, have so far resulted in the regrettable loss of five innocent lives and the injury of 20 persons.

The Co-ordinating Bureau most strongly condemns this latest ignominious act by the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia against the freedom-loving and peace-loving people of non-aligned Zambia. The non-aligned movement is firmly convinced that the continuance of such barbaric acts by the racist minority régimes in southern Africa against neighbouring independent African countries contributes to the deterioration of the tense situation in the southern African region and constitutes a further threat to international peace and security.

The continued perpetration of acts of provocation and aggression by the illegal régime in Rhodesia against the front-line States of Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia is a familiar diabolical scheme aimed at coercing these countries and their vigilant peoples to abandon their sacred and sacrificial mission to provide vital rear-guard support to the just and legitimate struggle for freedom, independence and human dignity in Southern Rhodesia, spearheaded by the gallant forces of the Patriotic Front.

It is further evident that such flagrant acts of aggression represent fraudulent and futile attempts by Ian Smith and his clique to divert the attention of the international community away from the current developments inside the rebel British colony of Southern Rhodesia, to prevent the prompt exposure and due condemnation of the racist motives behind the so-called internal settlement conceived by Ian Smith and, finally, to hoodwink the international community and world public

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/63-S/12595.

opinion into granting legality and recognition to the illegal and racist *status quo* in Southern Rhodesia.

The Co-ordinating Bureau reaffirms its continued solidarity with the Government and people of the Republic of Zambia in their courageous and resolute stand against the illegal minority régimes in southern Africa and in their unflinching determi-

nation to provide steadfast support to the struggling peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa until the attainment of genuine majority rule.

The Co-ordinating Bureau calls upon the Security Council to condemn the rebel régime and to take all measures to remove the illegal régime at Salisbury, which is a threat to international peace and security.

## DOCUMENT S/12596

Note verbale dated 9 March 1978 from the representative of Iran to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[13 March 1978]

The Permanent Representative of Iran to the United Nations, referring to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977 requesting the member Governments to comply with the provisions of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), establishing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, has the honour to state the following.

The Government of Iran, during the period in which the United Nations has been dealing with the problem of racial discrimination, has never failed to state its opposition to this cruel policy, and has strictly observed the relevant resolutions of the Security Council regarding the situation in southern Africa. Furthermore, it has always been the firm belief and conviction of the Imperial Government of Iran that the policy of *apartheid* is an evil policy which cannot be tolerated by the human community. The Government of Iran has always associated itself with the condemnation of

this repressive policy and will in the future comply with any resolution which would be adopted by the Security Council to this end.

In this respect, we are happy to note that the Security Council recently adopted resolution 418 (1977) establishing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

While stating that Iran has never engaged in arms transactions with South Africa and that it will never involve itself in such transactions in the future, the Government of Iran hereby announces its full support for all measures recommended in the aforementioned resolution and once again reiterates that it will scrupulously adhere to their provisions.

The Permanent Representative of Iran has the honour to request that this note be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/12598\*

Letter dated 13 March 1978 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[13 March 1978]

On instructions of my Government, I have the honour to communicate to you the following.

On Saturday, 11 March 1978, a barbaric outrage was committed against innocent Israeli civilians on the Haifa-Tel Aviv highway. The murder squad, whose victims now number 37 dead and 76 wounded, some of them critically, was dispatched by the so-called PLO, which has taken full responsibility for the incident.

The 11 assassins infiltrated the Israeli coastline on Saturday afternoon, having received their orders from Halil al-Wazir ("Abu Jihad"), one of the principal aides of Yasser Arafat, who is the head of Fatah, the largest constituent terror group within the PLO. The weapons which they were carrying were mainly Soviet-made and Soviet-supplied. Their instructions were to take hostages with a view to securing the release of Arab and other terrorists convicted of such atrocities as the Ben Gurion Airport massacre. The murder squad was to kill all hostages if the Government of Israel did not surrender to its demands.

Having summarily killed a woman after stopping her on the beach near Caesarea, they commandeered a taxi and killed its passengers. They then seized a bus carrying Israeli civilians, one half of them children, on a day's outing, and ordered the driver to proceed in the direction of Tel Aviv. En route, they overtook a second bus, opened fire on it and killed and wounded other civilians. The survivors were then herded on to the first bus, which continued southwards towards Tel Aviv, while the terrorists shot indiscriminately at passing traffic, leaving more carnage in their wake.

At the Country Club intersection, the bus was stopped by a roadblock, with machine-gun and rocket fire blazing from its windows. The terrorists had already bound the hostages to their seats to prevent their escape and had placed explosive charges throughout the bus. In an effort to take cover, the terrorists fled the bus and, in the course of the battle which ensued, they blew up the bus, mercilessly killing many of the hostages who were still trapped inside.

This latest outrage is but one in a long line of similar atrocities, beginning with the killing of nine

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/64-S/12598.

children and three teachers and the wounding of 19 others on a school bus near Avivim in 1970. Since then, scores of innocent civilians in Israel have been killed in brutal PLO attacks at Ma'alot, Kiryat Shmona, Kfar Yuval, Beit Sha'an, Nahariya, the Zion Square and the Mahane Yehuda Market at Jerusalem, not to speak of the massacre of Puerto Rican pilgrims at Ben Gurion Airport and the heinous attack on the Savoy Hotel at Tel Aviv in March 1975. "Abu Jihad" has been involved in the planning and execution of many of these atrocities and others, including the murder of the Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in September 1972 and the attack on the Israeli Embassy at Bangkok in December of that year.

In the last three months, Palestinian terror groups connected with the PLO have carried out several vicious attacks, including placing bombs in buses at Jerusalem, the Hebrew University and in other public places in Israel. The same terrorist groups have also assassinated prominent Arabs in Judea and Samaria and, in a similar way, Youssef Seba'i, the Chairman-Editor of the Cairo newspaper *Al-Ahram*, was killed in Cyprus in February 1978. The PLO acts in close co-ordination with other terrorist groups in Europe, Asia, Latin America and elsewhere.

As the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Menachem Begin, stated in his press conference on 12 March 1978:

"The PLO is a Nazi movement . . . the basest ever to arise . . . whose sole aim is to kill Jews.

"They never attack military installations. They come to kill civilians . . . And these were the people who wrote the 'Palestinian Covenant' and whom the Arab world at Rabat (in 1973) appointed the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

"... We shall not forget. And I can only call upon other nations not to forget that Nazi atrocity that was perpetrated upon our people yesterday."

The Prime Minister went on to note that the PLO enjoyed observer status at the United Nations and that its leader, Yasser Arafat, had been received enthusiastically by the General Assembly in 1975. This, despite the fact that the PLO is committed by its "Covenant" to the destruction of Israel, a State Member of the Organization.

The Prime Minister observed that the Secretary-General and other world leaders had condemned this barbarous outrage in unequivocal and forthright terms.

I have the honour to request that this letter should be distributed as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Pinhas ELIAV  
Acting Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/12599

Letter dated 7 March 1978 from the representative of Ghana to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[13 March 1978]

I have the honour to quote hereunder the full text of a statement issued by my Government on Saturday, 4 March 1978, on the so-called internal settlement of the Rhodesian question:

"In accordance with its declared policy, the Government of the Supreme Military Council totally rejects any proposed settlement of the Rhodesian question to which the Patriotic Front is not a party. The Government of the Supreme Military Council considers that no formula which excludes the leaders and forces of the Patriotic Front can end the fighting and ensure future stability of genuine majority government within the Territory. Nor can any test of opinion be regarded as a valid act of self-determination without the full participation of Patriotic Front supporters.

"The so-called internal settlement announced on Friday skillfully aims at gaining recognition and legality for arrangement whereby the rebel racist

minority can retain far more than its fair share not only of the vote but of effective control over the rebel forces and police, a dangerous and sinister scheme which could fatally undermine the stability or the authority of any elected majority government.

"Under these circumstances, the Government of the Supreme Military Council sees no reason for any change in its declared policy. It reaffirms its total support for the armed struggle and for the maintenance of mandatory sanctions at their fullest strength until Smith makes a real surrender to the demands of genuine self-determination and independence for Zimbabwe."

I should be grateful if the statement could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) F. E. BOATEN  
Permanent Representative of Ghana  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/12600

Letter dated 15 March 1978 from the representative of Lebanon to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[15 March 1978]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to inform you as follows.

At midnight on 14/15 March, massive numbers of Israeli troops crossed into Lebanon along the Lebanese

frontiers from several axes. The first was from Naqoura towards the village of Izziyah. The second was in the central sector, where Israeli troops reached the Tibnir heights. The third was on the heights of Rachayy al-Fukkar-Blatt, near Marjayoun.

In addition to this naked aggression against Lebanese territory, Israeli patrol vessels penetrated Lebanese territorial waters along the coastline from Tyre to Sidon.

Furthermore, Israeli warplanes continue flying in Lebanese air space and bombing the area.

An undetermined number of Lebanese citizens have been killed, notably in Tyre, and enormous damage caused to property. Consequently, large numbers of our people are leaving the south of Lebanon and going towards the north.

The Lebanese Government, while it vehemently deplores this aggression and protests strongly against it, wishes to make the following clarifications:

—First, Lebanon had no connexion with the commando operation on the road between Haifa and Tel Aviv or with any other commando operation.

—Secondly, it is a well known fact that Lebanon is not responsible for the presence of Palestinian bases

in southern Lebanon in the present circumstances. The Lebanese Government has exerted tremendous efforts with the Palestinians and the Arab States in order to keep matters under control. However, Israeli objections regarding the entry of the Arab deterrent forces to the south have prevented the accomplishment of Lebanon's desire to bring the border area under control.

—Thirdly, the only solution to the problem lies in putting an end to Israeli aggression and in Israel's withdrawing its forces from Lebanon so that the Lebanese authorities can exercise their functions fully.

The Lebanese Government wishes to inform you that it reserves its right to call an urgent meeting of the Security Council, and request you kindly to have this letter circulated as a document of the Council.

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/12601

**Letter dated 15 March 1978 from the representatives of Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[15 March 1978]

We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that, during its meetings devoted to consideration of the "Complaint by Zambia", the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. George Silundika, representative of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe.

*Signed by the representatives of the following States  
members of the Security Council:*

Gabon  
Mauritius  
Nigeria

#### DOCUMENT S/12602\*

**Letter dated 15 March 1978 from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General**

[Original: Arabic/English]  
[15 March 1978]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to inform you as follows:

[Text identical with that in document S/12600.]

The Lebanese Government wishes to inform you that it reserves its right to call an urgent meeting of the Security Council, and requests you kindly to have this letter circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/66-S/12602.



## Note by the President of the Security Council

[Original: English/French]  
[16 March 1978]

The President of the Security Council has received the attached letter dated 16 March 1978 from the Secretary-General.

LETTER DATED 16 MARCH 1978 FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I wish to draw the attention of the members of the Security Council to the communications I have received relating to the current situation in Lebanon. The texts not previously circulated, which include letters from Governments and from organizations, are attached.

In these communications several comments and suggestions have been made about action by the Secretary-General and the Security Council. I wish to assure the Council that I stand ready to lend any assistance I can in helping to overcome the present difficulties. I have already been in touch with a number of the representatives most directly concerned, and my good offices continue to be available.

I have already expressed my deep concern about the recent developments in the area, the resulting loss of innocent civilian lives and the increased threat to international peace and security. We have seen in these events a recurrence of the cycle of violence, of provocation and response which has for so long brought tragedy to so many people. Every effort must clearly be made to put an end to the current crisis. However, we should not lose sight of the fact that, until a comprehensive peace settlement is reached which meets the legitimate aspirations of all the Governments and peoples of the area, this cycle is likely to continue.

Whether in the immediate Lebanese context, or in the wider context of a comprehensive Middle East peace settlement, which is a priority objective as far as international peace and security are concerned, I wish to express my readiness to help in any possible way. I have drawn the attention of the Council to the communications and expressed my concern because of the implications of current developments in the Middle East for the future of world peace.

(Signed) Kurt WALDHEIM  
Secretary-General

## ANNEX I

Note verbale dated 15 March 1978 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the Secretary-General

The Permanent Representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations has the honour to transmit to the Secretary-General herewith the text of a telegram addressed to him by Mr. Ali A. Treiki, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The telegram reads:

"The continuation of the racist Zionist aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples confirms the expansionist and racist nature of the Zionist entity, which is based on usurpation and shedding of innocent blood.

"The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, while condemning this flagrant aggression which threatens the peace and security of the area and the whole world and constitutes a heinous violation of the principles of the Charter of the United

Nations, reaffirms its stand with the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples in their plight.

"The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, in requesting you to take the appropriate measures for stopping this atrocious aggression, expresses its support for your efforts in maintaining international peace and security."

## ANNEX II

Note verbale dated 15 March 1978 from the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to the Secretary-General

The Permanent Representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to the United Nations has the honour to transmit to the Secretary-General herewith the text of a statement delivered on 15 March 1978 by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic to the ambassadors of States members of the Security Council accredited to Damascus, following the Israeli aggression against Lebanon.

## TEXT OF THE STATEMENT

Since midnight of 14/15 March, Israel has been carrying out widespread aggression against Lebanon, using various kinds of weapons. The military operations are still continuing and, in the course thereof, the forces of aggression are destroying Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps and killing hundreds of innocent citizens. Israel claims that it is making these attacks in retaliation for the fedayeen operation carried out on 11 March in Palestine.

In carrying out this aggressive attack on Lebanon, Israel knows quite well that those who carried out the operation of 11 March did not proceed from southern Lebanon, and it is only using this argument in order to violate the sovereignty of Lebanon, which is a Member of the United Nations, to encroach on the inviolability and integrity of its territory, to kill hundreds of innocent individuals and to destroy Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps. These acts of aggression constitute a blatant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of international law and humane precepts. This action on the part of Israel is clear proof of Israel's determination to persist in its aggression, its violation of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations and its lack of will for peace.

In view of the foregoing, the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic is deeply concerned at events in southern Lebanon and calls on States members of the Security Council to shoulder their responsibilities as laid down in the Charter and to intervene promptly to halt the aggression against a State Member of the United Nations and take immediately the necessary steps for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory.

## ANNEX III

Letter dated 14 March 1978 from the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the Secretary-General

Upon instructions of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I should like to transmit the following.

The Palestine Liberation Organization would like to draw the Secretary-General's attention to the serious decision taken by the Israeli Knesset on March 13, as well as to Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's statement and the statements of other officials, which contained open, public and official threats to exterminate the PLO and its representatives abroad.

The PLO would like to call your attention to the intensive Israeli military concentrations along Lebanon's southern frontiers, including its land, naval and air forces.

All this represents a blatant departure from the content and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, by which all States Members of the United Nations abide, and a dangerous provocation aimed at the PLO and the Palestinian people. It also necessarily constitutes a serious threat to peace in the Middle East and the entire world.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX IV

Letter dated 15 March 1978 from the Observer of the League of Arab States to the Secretary-General

The Israeli forces launched an aggression last night against an Arab country, a member of the Arab League and Member of the United Nations. This aggression took the form of actual war on the part of Israel using land, sea and air forces.

The Israeli Defence Minister declared today that the Israeli forces would continue their occupation of southern Lebanon in order to maintain discipline, an excuse previously claimed by colonizing countries to occupy the land of others.

This Israeli aggression led to the killing of a great number of Lebanese civilians. Moreover, it is aimed at exterminating the Palestinian people whose land has already been usurped by Israel and who have been forced out of their homeland to live in refuge in Lebanon.

This Israeli aggression and the occupation of new Arab territories creates serious repercussions, the threat of which is not merely limited to the region of the Middle East.

The situation requires your immediate intervention in your capacity as Secretary-General of the United Nations to put an end to Israeli aggression and secure immediate Israeli withdrawal from Lebanese lands.

(Signed) Mahmoud RIAD  
Permanent Observer of the  
League of Arab States  
to The United Nations

#### ANNEX V

Letter dated 15 March 1978 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Mission of Algeria to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a message from Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Member of the

Revolutionary Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of this communication issued as an official document of the General Assembly.

(Signed) Nacereddine HAFFAD  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of Algeria  
to the United Nations

#### TEXT OF THE MESSAGE

I should like to draw your attention to the grave situation resulting from the recent Israeli aggression in southern Lebanon.

Once again, Lebanon, another Arab country of the Near East, is the target of deliberate and, in particular, premeditated aggression by Israel, which, practicing confusion, has wilfully interpreted the traditional messages of condolences received from some capitals following the recent incidents at Tel Aviv as expressions of encouragement or even support from the international community for aggression.

There is every indication that the time needed for aggressive military preparations was knowingly exploited in order to prepare world opinion psychologically for the commission of this latest outrage.

Perhaps more than anyone else, you will have been alarmed at the latest developments in the Near East and concerned about the consequences which might ensue, not only for the region but for international peace and security.

The position which we legitimately expect the Secretary-General of the United Nations to express should, in addition to condemning the State terrorism which constitutes Israel's basic doctrine, be such as to remind everyone that there is no possibility of peace in that part of the world without strict implementation of all relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly those concerning Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

I request you to find in this message an assurance of our firm support for any action you may wish to take to that end and an expression of our absolute solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and with the brother people of Lebanon in the latest trial it is undergoing to safeguard its national unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

#### DOCUMENT S/12605

Note verbale dated 13 March 1978 from the Mission of Mali to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[17 March 1978]

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Mali to the United Nations has the honour, with reference to the Secretary-General's letter of 10 November 1977, to transmit to him a letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mali stating the positions of our Government on Security Council resolution 418 (1977) ordering a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

#### TEXT OF THE LETTER

Mali, which has always stigmatized the odious system of *apartheid* and constantly complied with the resolutions and decisions of OAU, cannot but welcome such a decision by the Security Council and express the hope that it will be followed to the letter by all Member States. For its part, our country, which has never co-operated in any way with the racist Pretoria régime, will continue to combat it until an end is put to this scourge of our times.



**DOCUMENT S/12606**

**Letter dated 17 March 1978 from the representative of Lebanon  
to the President of the Security Council**

*[Original: English]  
[17 March 1978]*

Upon instructions from my Government and pursuant to my letter dated 15 March 1978 [S/12600], I have the honour to request you to call an urgent meeting of the Security Council.

*(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations*

**DOCUMENT S/12607**

**Letter dated 17 March 1978 from the representative of Israel  
to the President of the Security Council**

*[Original: English]  
[17 March 1978]*

On instructions of my Government and further to my letter of 13 March 1978 [S/12598], I have the honour to request you to convene a meeting of the Security Council to consider the continuous acts of terror and violence against Israeli civilians, together with the frequent shelling, sabotage incursions, bombing and murder being perpetrated from Lebanese territory against Israel, its people and property, in flagrant violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, and with the declared intention of throwing into jeopardy the negotiations aimed at achieving a final peace agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbours.

*(Signed) Chaim HERZOG  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations*

**DOCUMENT S/12608**

**Letter dated 17 March 1978 from the representative of Kuwait  
to the President of the Security Council**

*[Original: English]  
[17 March 1978]*

I have the honour to request that the Security Council, in accordance with its past practice, extend an invitation to the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the meetings of the Council to be convened pursuant to the request by Lebanon.

*(Signed) Abdalla Yaccoub BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of Kuwait  
to the United Nations*

**DOCUMENT S/12609\***

**Letter dated 17 March 1978 from the representative of Sri Lanka to the Secretary-General**

*[Original: English]  
[17 March 1978]*

In my capacity as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, I have the honour

to transmit herewith the text of a communiqué issued today by the Co-ordinating Bureau.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/70-S/12609.

I should be grateful if you would kindly have the

communiqué circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) B. J. FERNANDO  
Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

##### Communiqué issued on 17 March 1978 by the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries

The Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries met in emergency session on 17 March 1978 to consider the Israeli invasion of Lebanon by land, sea and air, which commenced at midnight on 14/15 March 1978.

The Co-ordinating Bureau unanimously condemned this latest act of blatant aggression by Israel against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, as well as its expansionist policy. The aggression has caused a considerable number of deaths in Lebanese territorial and enormous damage to property, as well as large-scale refugee migrations from the southern Lebanon region.

The Co-ordinating Bureau considers that the latest brutal armed Israeli attack also aims at bringing into jeopardy the very existence of the Palestinian people who live in the territory of Lebanon and at eliminating the Palestinians and the Palestine Liberation Organization as one of the key factors in the settlement of the question of Palestine and the conflict in the Middle East.

The position that has arisen further aggravates the explosive situation in the region and constitutes an immediate and direct

threat to international peace and security, requiring urgent action by the international community.

The invasion complicates immeasurably and retards progress towards the solution of the Middle East problem as a whole and will have severe repercussions on all efforts to achieve a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East question. The Co-ordinating Bureau reaffirmed that a solution of the Middle East question was possible only by a recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and an independent sovereign State of their own in Palestine, the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied by it since June 1967 and the strict implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions.

The Co-ordinating Bureau expressed its solidarity with the Lebanese people and fully supported the complaint made by Lebanon to the Security Council regarding the invasion of its territory by Israel. The Bureau further expressed its full support for all efforts by Lebanon to secure the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli invader and to re-establish its sovereignty and conditions of peace and stability in southern Lebanon and in the country as a whole.

The Co-ordinating Bureau reiterated its unequivocal support for and solidarity with the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, at this critical period in their just struggle.

The Co-ordinating Bureau calls upon all non-aligned countries to condemn this new aggression of Israel and to demonstrate their active solidarity with the Arab peoples confronting the aggression, in particular with the Lebanese people and the Palestinian people.

#### DOCUMENT S/12611

##### Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978)

[Original: English]  
[19 March 1978]

1. The present report is submitted in pursuance of Security Council resolution 425 (1978) of 19 March 1978 in which the Council, among other things, decided to set up a United Nations force in Lebanon under its authority and requested the Secretary-General to submit a report to it on the implementation of the resolution.

##### *Terms of reference*

2. The terms of reference of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) are:

(a) The Force will determine compliance with paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 425 (1978);

(b) The Force will confirm the withdrawal of Israeli forces, restore international peace and security and assist the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area;

(c) The Force will establish and maintain itself in an area of operation to be defined in the light of subparagraph *b* above;

(d) The Force will use its best efforts to prevent the recurrence of fighting and to ensure that its area of operation will not be utilized for hostile activities of any kind;

(e) In the fulfilment of this task, the Force will have the co-operation of the Military Observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization

(UNTSO), who will continue to function on the Armistice Demarcation Line after the termination of the mandate of UNIFIL.

##### *General considerations*

3. Three essential conditions must be met for the Force to be effective. First, it must have at all times the full confidence and backing of the Security Council. Secondly, it must operate with the full co-operation of all the parties concerned. Thirdly, it must be able to function as an integrated and efficient military unit.

4. Although the general context of UNIFIL is not comparable with that of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF), the guidelines for those operations, having proved satisfactory, are deemed suitable for practical application to the new Force. These guidelines are, *mutatis mutandis*, as follows:

(a) The Force will be under the command of the United Nations, vested in the Secretary-General, under the authority of the Security Council. The command in the field will be exercised by a Force Commander appointed by the Secretary-General with the consent of the Security Council. The Commander will be responsible to the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General will keep the Security Council fully informed of developments relating to the functioning

of the Force. All matters which may affect the nature or the continued effective functioning of the Force will be referred to the Council for its decision.

(b) The Force must enjoy the freedom of movement and communication and other facilities that are necessary for the performance of its tasks. The Force and its personnel should be granted all relevant privileges and immunities provided for by the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations.

(c) The Force will be composed of a number of contingents to be provided by selected countries, upon the request of the Secretary-General. The contingents will be selected in consultation with the Security Council and with the parties concerned, bearing in mind the accepted principle of equitable geographic representation.

(d) The Force will be provided with weapons of a defensive character. It will not use force except in self-defence. Self-defence would include resistance to attempts by forceful means to prevent it from discharging its duties under the mandate of the Security Council. The Force will proceed on the assumption that the parties to the conflict will take all the necessary steps for compliance with the decisions of the Council.

(e) In performing its functions, the Force will act with complete impartiality.

(f) The supporting personnel of the Force will be provided as a rule by the Secretary-General from among existing United Nations staff. Those personnel will, of course, follow the rules and regulations of the United Nations Secretariat.

5. UNIFIL, like any other United Nations peace-keeping operation, cannot and must not take on responsibilities which fall under the Government of the country in which it is operating. These responsibilities must be exercised by the competent Lebanese authorities. It is assumed that the Lebanese Government will take the necessary measures to co-operate with UNIFIL in this regard. It should be recalled that UNIFIL will have to operate in an area which is quite densely inhabited.

6. I envisage the responsibility of UNIFIL as a two-stage operation. In the first stage, the Force will confirm the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory to the international border. Once this is achieved, it will establish and maintain an area of operation as defined. In this connexion, it will supervise the cessation of hostilities, ensure the peaceful character of the area of operation, control movement and take all measures deemed necessary to assure the effective restoration of Lebanese sovereignty.

7. The Force is being established on the assumption that it represents an interim measure until the Government of Lebanon assumes its full responsibilities in Southern Lebanon. The termination of the mandate of UNIFIL by the Security Council will not affect the continued functioning of the Israel-Lebanon Mixed Armistice Commission, as set out in the appropriate Security Council decision [see S/10611 of 19 April 1972].

8. With a view to facilitating the task of UNIFIL, particularly as it concerns procedures for the expeditious withdrawal of Israeli forces and related matters, it may be necessary to work out arrangements with

Israel and Lebanon as a preliminary measure for the implementation of the Security Council resolution. It is assumed that both parties will give their full co-operation to UNIFIL in this regard.

#### *Proposed plan of action*

9. If the Security Council is in agreement with the principles and conditions outlined above, I intend to take the following steps:

(a) I shall instruct Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo, Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East, to contact immediately the Governments of Israel and Lebanon and initiate meetings with their representatives for the purpose of reaching agreement on the modalities of the withdrawal of Israeli forces and the establishment of a United Nations area of operation. This should not delay in any way the establishment of the Force.

(b) Pending the appointment of a Force Commander, I propose to appoint Major-General E. A. Erskine, the Chief of Staff of UNTSO, Interim Commander. Pending the arrival of the first contingents of the Force, he will perform his tasks with the assistance of a selected number of UNTSO military observers. At the same time, urgent measures will be taken to secure and arrange for the early arrival in the area of contingents of the Force.

(c) In order that the Force may fulfil its responsibilities, it is considered, as a preliminary estimate, that it must have at least five battalions each of about 600 all ranks, in addition to the necessary logistics units. This means a total strength of the order of 4,000.

(d) Bearing in mind the principles set out in paragraph 4 c above, I am making preliminary inquiries as to the availability of contingents from suitable countries.

(e) In view of the difficulty in obtaining logistics contingents and of the necessity for economy, it would be my intention to examine the possibility of building on the existing logistics arrangements. If this should not prove possible, it will be necessary to seek other suitable arrangements.

(f) It is proposed also that an appropriate number of observers of UNTSO should be assigned to assist UNIFIL in the fulfilment of its task in the same way as for UNEF.

(g) It is suggested that the Force would initially be stationed in the area for a period of six months.

#### *Estimated cost and method of financing*

10. At the present time there are many unknown factors. The best possible preliminary estimate based upon current experience and rates with respect to other peace-keeping forces of comparable size is approximately \$68 million for a Force of 4,000 all ranks for a period of six months. This figure is made up of initial setting-up costs (excluding the cost of initial airlift) of \$29 million and ongoing costs for the six-month period of \$39 million.

11. The costs of the Force shall be considered as expenses of the Organization to be borne by the Members in accordance with Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter.

**Note verbale dated 20 March 1978 from the representative of Spain  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: Spanish]  
[20 March 1978]

The Permanent Representative of Spain to the United Nations has the honour to refer to the letter from the Secretary-General dated 10 November 1977 transmitting the text of resolution 418 (1977) relating to the question of South Africa, which was adopted by the Security Council on 4 November 1977.

This communication merits the closest attention of the Spanish authorities. They intend to ensure the strict application of resolution 418 (1977), which will accordingly guide the formulation of Spain's policy with regard to the question of South Africa.

The Permanent Representative of Spain would be grateful if the Secretary-General would arrange for the circulation of this note as a document of the Security Council.

DOCUMENT S/12614

**Letter dated 20 March 1978 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the  
Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: French]  
[20 March 1978]

The tragedy which has once again struck the population of Lebanon following Israel's invasion is a cause of profound concern and anxiety to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, over which I have the honour to preside.

Accordingly, I am authorized to inform you that the members of the Committee fully associate themselves with the request of the Security Council that Israel should immediately cease its military action against the territorial integrity of Lebanon and withdraw its forces without delay from all Lebanese territory.

In the first place, it cannot be denied that this invasion is likely to complicate considerably the settlement of the Middle East problem as a whole and to have a profoundly adverse effect on all the efforts being made to achieve a just and lasting settlement, of which the question of Palestine is the central element. As the General Assembly has stated on more than one occasion, a viable peace can be achieved in the region only by taking into account the inalienable rights and legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people.

At the same time, our concern is all the greater in that Israel's attack, according to the Israeli leaders themselves, was directed mainly against the Palestinians, who are in Lebanon because they have been driven from their homes and have so far been prevented from establishing in Palestine a homeland which would be their own and in which they could live in peace with their neighbours.

As you well know, the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has drawn up a specific programme of recommendations for the just and equitable solution of the question

of Palestine in conformity with the Charter and United Nations resolutions. The General Assembly, at its thirty-first session, endorsed those recommendations as the basis for the solution of the question of Palestine and urged the Security Council to consider them once again [resolution 31/20]. Unfortunately, despite all the efforts made, the Council has still not been able to deal seriously with the problem in order to arrive at a positive conclusion on the above-mentioned recommendations and their implementation. I think that it may today be said with assurance that many innocent lives could have been saved if the Council had exercised its responsibilities by making its contribution to the efforts to achieve progress in the solution of the question of Palestine.

The Security Council, of course, remains seized of the recommendations of the General Assembly concerning the creation of conditions to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights. In the light of the tragic events taking place in Lebanon, it is clearer than ever that, until strong measures are taken to achieve a just and durable settlement of the question of the Middle East as a whole, including, and above all, the Palestinian problem, there will be no peace, security or tranquility in the region.

The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People believes that, in current conditions, it is imperative for the Security Council to take more energetic and determined action to bring about the urgent establishment of peace in the Middle East. In this connexion, a positive response to the General Assembly recommendations on the question of Palestine and the achievement of perceptible progress towards the solution of this question should no longer be postponed. The current state of immobilism carries the risk of further con-

frontations and at the same time entails a still more serious threat to international peace and security.

The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People condemns Israel's current aggression against Lebanon and demands its immediate cessation.

I should be grateful if this letter could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Médoune FALL  
Chairman of the Committee on the  
Exercise of the Inalienable Rights  
of the Palestinian People

#### DOCUMENT S/12615\*

Letter dated 20 March 1978 from the representative of Mongolia to the Secretary-General

[Original: Russian]  
[20 March 1978]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to forward herewith the text of a statement dated 18 March 1978 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic on the question of Israel's latest aggression against Lebanon.

I request you to circulate the text of this statement as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) T. PUNTSAGNOROV  
Permanent Representative of Mongolia  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Statement dated 18 March 1978 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic

As is known, large Israeli forces, supported by concentrated air raids and artillery fire, recently invaded the territory of Lebanon and thus commenced what is in effect the direct occupation of the southern part of that sovereign State Member of the United Nations. The victims of that open aggression are above all the peaceful inhabitants, defenceless old men, women and children and Palestinian refugees who were driven from their homes by the Israeli occupying forces and found shelter in neighbouring Lebanon.

The latest armed invasion of Lebanon by Israel testifies to the fact that Israeli military circles are becoming ever more recklessly adventurist in their annexationist policy.

Israel is attempting to seize additional Arab lands and is pursuing the unattainable goal of suppressing the Palestinian

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/71-S/12615.

resistance movement and the national patriotic forces of Lebanon. Inspired by international imperialism and Zionism, on the one hand, and encouraged by Arab reactionary forces, on the other, the Israeli authorities are by their actions posing a threat to international peace and security in that area.

In their aggressive aspirations, the Israeli leaders have reached the point where they allow themselves to interfere flagrantly in the internal affairs of sovereign States, demanding that they refuse to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

In escalating its open aggression against independent States in the Middle East, Israel is flouting generally recognized rules of international law and is creating yet further obstacles to the peaceful settlement of the Middle East question.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Mongolian people, together with all progressive forces in the world, strongly condemn Israel's latest aggression against Lebanon and demand the immediate cessation of hostilities and the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory.

The Mongolian people and their Government express their full support for and solidarity with the Arab peoples in their just struggle for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression, for the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East and for the safeguarding of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to establish their own State.

They continue to be in favour of the earliest possible convening of the Geneva Peace Conference, with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, in order to achieve a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem.

#### DOCUMENT S/12616

Letter dated 21 March 1978 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[21 March 1978]

In my report to the Security Council of 19 March 1978 [S/12611] concerning the implementation of resolution 425 (1978), it is stated that the contingents of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) will be selected in consultation with the Security Council, and with the parties concerned, bearing in mind the accepted principle of equitable geographic representation. As I informed the Council in my statement on the evening of 19 March [2075th meeting], I have been in touch with a number of

Governments in all the geographical regions with a view to ascertaining their willingness to provide a contingent for UNIFIL. For the Asian region, I have received a positive response from Nepal and, for Western Europe, I have received an offer of a contingent from Norway. I have also received an offer of a contingent from the Government of France, which informed me that its contingent would be available for immediate service.

I shall continue my contacts to secure other contingents in order to ensure equitable geographic representation and shall report to the Council on further developments.

I have also contacted the Governments of Austria, Iran and Sweden with a view to gaining their assent to the use of detachments from their contingents already in the Middle East to serve temporarily as an advance guard for UNIFIL. The Government of Iran has given its consent.

It is urgently necessary that elements of UNIFIL should arrive in the area as soon as possible. For this reason, I wish to inform the members of the Council of my intention, subject to the usual consultations,

to accept the offers of the Governments of France, Nepal and Norway, as a first step in establishing the Force in the area. I hope to be able to station detachments of the Austrian, Iranian and Swedish contingents already in the Middle East to join the above-mentioned three contingents as an advance guard of UNIFIL.

In view of the urgency of the situation and if the Council expresses no objection, I intend to proceed with the above-mentioned arrangements forthwith. I shall of course undertake the other necessary consultations.

(Signed) Kurt WALDHEIM  
Secretary-General

## DOCUMENT S/12617

Note verbale dated 21 March 1978 from the representative of Ghana to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[22 March 1978]

The Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations has the honour, in response to the Secretary-General's note of 10 November 1977, to state Ghana's position on Security Council resolution 418 (1977) adopted unanimously on 4 November 1977.

Ghana is resolutely opposed to *apartheid* and supports the just struggle of the people of South Africa and their liberation movements to rid their country of political subjugation, racism and human degradation as practised by the Vorster régime.

Consistent with this policy, therefore, Ghana does not have and does not intend to entertain any political, economic, social, cultural or military relations with the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

Trade with South Africa, in particular, has been forbidden by law in Ghana since 1960, even though the country's voluntary boycott of South African goods dates as far back as the time of the independence of Ghana in 1957.

On 30 July 1960, the Controller of Imports and Exports, in exercise of the power conferred on him by the Imports and Exports Restriction Order, 1948 (No. 113), revoked all open general licenses which authorized the importation into Ghana of:

(a) Goods consigned from South Africa and South West Africa;

(b) Goods of South African or South West African origin or manufacture, irrespective of the country of shipment (*Commercial and Industrial Bulletin* No. 5 dated 30 July 1960).

Again, on 23 June 1961, the Controller of Imports and Exports prohibited the exportation of all Ghanaian produce from Ghana to South Africa. All export licenses which had been issued prior to the notice were accordingly revoked.

Ghana has since then not amended its legislation regarding trade with South Africa.

Ghana thus fully supports the Security Council for adopting resolution 418 (1977). It is Ghana's hope that, in the event of South Africa's continuing to disregard the call of the international community to abolish the pernicious *apartheid* system and institute majority rule in Azania, the partial sanctions now prescribed under Chapter VII of the Charter will be comprehensively extended.

Meanwhile, Ghana further pledges its full support for any international effort to make the arms embargo effective.

The Permanent Representative of Ghana would be grateful if this note could be circulated as a Security Council document.

## DOCUMENT S/12618

Letter dated 22 March 1978 from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[22 March 1978]

I wish to inform you that I have brought your letter dated 21 March 1978 concerning the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon [S/12616] to the attention of the members of the Security Council. They considered the matter in informal consultations on 21 March and agreed with the proposals contained in your letter.

The Chinese representative has informed me that China, not having participated in the voting on resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), dissociates itself from this matter.

(Signed) Ivor RICHARD  
President of the Security Council

## DOCUMENT S/12619

Letter dated 30 December 1977 from the representative of Thailand  
to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[23 March 1978]

I have the honour to convey to you the following message from Mr. Upadit Pachariyangkun, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand:

"I have the honour to acknowledge, with appreciation, the receipt of the text of resolution 418 (1977) adopted by Security Council on 4 November 1977 on the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa and to inform you that Thailand endorses the said resolution and wishes to reaffirm its continued support of the efforts of the United Nations to put an end to the South African Government's policy of *apartheid* and to eliminate racial discrimination from the rest of the world."

(Signed) Pracha GUNA-KASEM  
Permanent Representative of Thailand  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/12620

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations  
Interim Force in Lebanon

[Original: English]  
[23 March 1978]

### *Establishment of the Force*

1. Upon approval by the Security Council of my report on the implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978) of 19 March 1978 [S/12611], I appointed Major-General E. A. Erskine, the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), Interim Commander of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).

2. A forward headquarters has been set up at Naqoura, in Southern Lebanon. Plans are being worked out to establish UNIFIL headquarters at Tyre as soon as possible.

3. The 45 UNTSO observers assigned to the Israel-Lebanon sector are now assisting UNIFIL under the direction of the Interim Commander. In addition, 19 UNTSO observers from Observer Group Sinai have been transferred to the Israel-Lebanon sector for service with UNIFIL.

4. On 19 March [2075th meeting], I informed the Security Council of my intention to have certain units of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) transferred temporarily to UNIFIL to serve with the Force in the initial stage. Upon receiving the concurrence of the Governments concerned, one reinforced company of the Iranian contingent of UNDOF and one reinforced company of the Swedish

contingent of UNEF were transferred to UNIFIL, together with movement control and signal detachments of the Canadian logistic unit of UNEF.

5. On 21 March, following consultations with the Security Council, I accepted the offers of the French, Nepalese and Norwegian Governments to provide contingents for the new Force. The French and Nepalese battalions will consist of about 600 all ranks each. The Norwegian contingent, which will include an infantry battalion, a medical and a maintenance unit, will have a total strength of 750. Action was immediately initiated to bring the three contingents to the mission area.

6. I am giving urgent attention to the problem of logistic support for the Force. The United Kingdom has offered to provide in Cyprus a forward mounting base for UNIFIL and facilities including provision of supplies, storage and maintenance. It would be my intention to request the Governments of France and Norway to provide the necessary logistic elements for service with UNIFIL. In this connexion and as a first step, I have requested Norway to provide a workshop company, capable of servicing three battalions, and a helicopter unit consisting of one flight of four helicopters.

7. The Government of France has agreed to provide the initial airlift of its contingent free of charge to the United Nations. The Government of the



Federal Republic of Germany has offered to provide similarly initial airlift facilities for some of UNIFIL contingents and, in particular, for the bulk of the Norwegian contingent. The Government of the United States will provide, also free of charge, initial airlift facilities for UNIFIL contingents, upon request.

#### *Movement of troops and related developments*

8. On 22 March, an advance party of the Iranian company, consisting of 73 all ranks, accompanied by nine UNTSO observers detached from Observer Group Sinai, arrived in Southern Lebanon. On the same day, a Canadian movement control detachment of 5 arrived at Beirut and was immediately assigned to the reception area which had been set up at Beirut International Airport for the reception of the arriving units of UNIFIL.

9. On 23 March, an advance party of the French contingent, consisting of 214 all ranks and their vehicles and equipment, landed at Beirut International Airport. This unit will be deployed urgently in Southern Lebanon in the Tyre area. The Canadian signal detachment, composed of 12 all ranks, arrived at Naqoura with their vehicles and equipment and took up their assignments at the UNIFIL forward headquarters. The advance party of the Swedish reinforced company arrived at Naqoura. The main body of the Iranian company arrived in Southern Lebanon by crossing the border fence near Metulla and were established in an overnight bivouac area at Ghanduriyah, approximately four kilometres south of the Litani river.

10. Some delay was incurred during the movement of the Iranian and Swedish troops because of the opposition of the Christian *de facto* forces. This opposition, however, was overcome after negotiations. The movement of the Iranian troops and of some observers was also delayed by mined roads in the

areas of the Akiya and Khardala bridges. Action is being taken to have the mines cleared.

11. The Interim Force Commander reports that, from available information, the cease-fire seems to be holding since 22 March.

#### *Contacts with the parties*

12. In accordance with my instructions pursuant to paragraph 9 a of my report of 19 March, Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo, Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East, has had contacts with all the parties concerned on the steps to be taken for the speedy implementation of resolution 425 (1978).

13. Discussions have also been held on arrangements to facilitate the return of the displaced persons who had fled Southern Lebanon during the recent military operation.

#### *Humanitarian assistance to Southern Lebanon*

14. It may be recalled that in 1976, at the request of the Lebanese Government, I established a special fund to provide humanitarian assistance in helping the country overcome the ravages of the recent conflict. In the light of the current emergency, I have authorized my Special Representative for Lebanon, Mr. John Saunders, to reallocate existing funds to meet the most pressing needs. Mr. Saunders will co-ordinate the assistance operation as it affects Southern Lebanon in close co-operation with the Interim Force Commander.

\* \* \*

15. In concluding this first progress report, I wish to express my deep appreciation to the Governments which have contributed the contingents, military observers and supporting services that have made possible the speedy establishment of UNIFIL.

### **DOCUMENT S/12621\***

#### **Letter dated 23 March 1978 from the representative of Turkey to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[24 March 1978]

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 23 March 1978, addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) İlter TÜRKMEN  
Permanent Representative of Turkey  
to the United Nations

#### **ANNEX**

#### **Text of the letter dated 23 March 1978 from Mr. Nail Atalay to the Secretary-General**

I have the honour to enclose herewith the text of a letter dated 15 March 1978, addressed to you by Mr. Rauf R. Denktas, President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

#### **TEXT OF THE LETTER DATED 15 MARCH 1978 FROM MR. RAUF R. DENKTAS TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL**

It has come to my knowledge that the Greek Cypriot representative to the United Nations, Mr. Zenon Rossides, in a letter dated 7 March 1978<sup>a</sup> addressed to you, referred to the Turkish names given to a number of villages in north Cyprus and put forward the ridiculous allegation that the aim underlying these changes was to partition the island.

This matter was raised by the Greek Cypriot Administration's representative at the Third United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, held at Athens between 17 August and 7 September 1977, and a reasoned reply was given thereat to similar false and misleading Greek Cypriot allegations. You and the whole world are aware that our aim is to set up a bi-communal, bi-regional federal republic enabling the two communities on the island to live side by side in peace and security on the basis of the four principles agreed upon between me and the late Archbishop Makarios at the summit meeting held on 12 February 1977. It is indeed regrettable that, at a time when everybody is anxiously awaiting the resumption of the intercommunal talks for finding a

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/72-S/12621.

<sup>a</sup> A/33/62.

solution to the Cyprus problem on the above basis, Mr. Rossides should attempt to spoil the atmosphere by exploiting the arena of the international Organization to disseminate false, misleading and ill-conceived accusations against Turkey and the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

In Cyprus, a bi-communal and bilingual island since 1571, a great number of villages enjoyed either Greek or Turkish names according to the people who lived in them. Some villages enjoyed two names, one in Turkish and one in Greek. Some examples of dual names are:

<i>Greek</i>	<i>Turkish</i>
Akaki	Akaça
Alevga	Alevkaya
Amadhies	Amatyaz
Angolemi	Angolem
Ayia	Ayabekir
Skyllouras	Sillura
Ay Dhometios	Incirli
Ayomoloyitadhes	Balcielmazi
Dhyo Potami	Ikidere
Eliophotes	Alifotez
Epikho	Abohor
Episkopi	Piskobu
Aglanja	Eylence
Omorphita	Küçük Kaymaklı
Kalokhorio	Çamlıköy
Kalyvakia	Kalavaç
Karavostassi	Gemikonagi
Kochati	Koçat
Neokhorio	Minareliköy
Nisou	Dizdarköy
Ornithi	Ornuta
Minzelli	Ortaköy
Petra tou Dhiyeni	Yeniceköy
Trakhonas	Kizilbaş
Ayia Sarandes	Kirkklar Tekkesi
Dhromolaxia	Mormenekşe
Kalokhorio	Vuda
Kellia	Ceyla
Sophtadhes	Softalar
Mari	Tatlisu

The wilful and unjustified change of names of villages and streets has been a political pastime of the Greek Cypriot leaders for a number of years. Protestations by the Turkish community were never heeded. Thus, the historical Bairaktar Square was changed into Heroes Square and so on. Historical Turkish monuments and martyrs' tombs were rudely bulldozed in order not to leave any vestige of four centuries of Turkish heritage in the island.

The Turkish Cypriot community, soon after the signing of the Zurich and London Agreements in 1959, re-endorsed the Turkish names of the purely Turkish villages which had been given Greek names by the Greeks and circulated these names

to the district offices throughout the island. Since then, the original Turkish names of these villages have been used and, during the joint republican years, from 1960 to 1963, the post offices all over the island delivered letters to these villages under these original Turkish names.

As you are no doubt aware, until the Greek Cypriot onslaught on the Turkish community in December 1963, Turks lived in 127 purely Turkish and 103 mixed villages. As a result of the Greek Cypriot onslaught, we had to abandon 103 villages. Thus, for 11 years, 30,000 inhabitants of these 103 villages have had to squeeze themselves into the remaining 127 villages in search of security.

On 20 July 1974, when the Greek Cypriot forces were to deal the final blow on the bi-communal independence of Cyprus and on the Turkish Cypriot community, Turkey intervened and saved us from mass murder. In Aloa (Atillar), Sandallaris (Sandallar), Maratha (Murataga), Tokhni (Taşkent), Ktima (Baf), Maroni, Mari (Tatlisu) and other places, where the Turkish army could not reach, all the Turkish Cypriots were mowed down. Hundreds of them were later discovered in common graves by the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).

At the third round of the Vienna talks, the movement of the Turkish Cypriots from the Greek areas to the north was agreed upon and UNFICYP helped the remaining Turks in Greek areas to move north in September 1975. All in all, half of the Turkish population—65,000 people—moved north and settled in Greek villages while the Greek Cypriots who moved south settled in the Turkish villages. It is, to say the least, unrealistic for Mr. Rossides to ignore all these developments and to accuse Turkey of forcibly expelling Greek Cypriots from their homes in north Cyprus.

This exchange of population, and the rehabilitation work it involved for both sides, necessitated a consideration of Turkish names for the new habitations. Where the village had enjoyed dual name there was no problem, the Turks continued to refer to the village with its historical original Turkish name; but where the village had purely a Greek name, a new name in Turkish had to be coined. This matter was considered by the Council of Ministers of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus and, at its ordinary meeting on 26 December 1975, the Constituent Assembly of the Federated State adopted a list of names for the newly populated area. Turkey had nothing to do with this communal decision which was taken and implemented by the appropriate authorities of the Turkish Federated State in accordance with its legal and legitimate rights. The question of changing traditional names does not arise. In a bilingual country one has to accept that certain places will have bilingual names.

I should be grateful if this communication could be circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/12622

### Letter dated 28 March 1978 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[28 March 1978]

I have the honour to request that the enclosed letter dated 23 February 1978, addressed to you by Mr. Ali Abdussalam Treiki, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, in his capacity as current Chairman of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa of the Organization of African Unity, should be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mansur R. KIKHIA  
Permanent Representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya  
to the United Nations

I have the honour, in my capacity as current Chairman of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, to address to you this communication on the disturbing news of the conclusion of an agreement between the South African racist régime and the Zionist State of Israel.

As you are aware, the political questions of South Africa and Israel have occupied the functioning of the United Nations for almost three decades now and, time and again, the activities of those countries, in defiance of United Nations resolutions and decisions, have been condemned by the world body.

We view with great concern the recently signed agreement and, hence, call on your good offices to take immediate steps to bring the matter before the Security Council.

I am confident that, with the help of the African members of the Council and all other peace-loving Members of the United Nations, you will be able to initiate the necessary measures against this aggressive move which, to all intents and purposes, is but another threat to international peace and security.

## DOCUMENT S/12623

### Note by the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[28 March 1978]

The Secretary-General wishes to inform the Security Council that he has decided to appoint Mr. Reynaldo Galindo Pohl as his Special Representative in Cyprus. Mr. Galindo Pohl, who served as the Permanent Representative of El Salvador to the United Nations from December 1967 to June 1977, is currently Director of the Department of Legal Affairs, Organization of American States. Mr. Galindo Pohl will take up his new post early in May 1978.

On this occasion, the Secretary-General would like to express his warm thanks to Mr. Rémy Gorgé, who has served with distinction as his Acting Special Representative in Cyprus since December 1977.

## DOCUMENT S/12624

Letter dated 23 March 1978 from the Secretary-General to Governments of all States Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies containing a further appeal for voluntary contributions for the financing of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus

[Original: English/French/Spanish]  
[30 March 1978]

I should be most grateful if you would bring to the urgent attention of your Government this further appeal which I am addressing to all States Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies in order to obtain additional voluntary contributions for the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).

The importance of UNFICYP has been emphasized time and again by the Security Council, and the stationing of the Force in the island has been repeatedly extended by it. Most recently, in its resolution 422 (1977) of 15 December 1977, the Council noted from my report [S/12463] that in existing circumstances the continued presence of UNFICYP was essential, not only to help maintain quiet in the island, but also to facilitate the continued search for a peaceful settlement, and it decided to extend the stationing of the Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months ending 15 June 1978.

This decision has to be viewed in the context of my continuing efforts, pursuant to the mission of good offices entrusted to me by the Security Council, to clear the way to meaningful negotiations between the two communities in order to achieve an agreed, just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem. It will be recalled that I visited Ankara, Nicosia and Athens in January 1978 to discuss further steps which it is hoped may lead to the resumption of negotiations and the eventual convening of another round of inter-communal talks. In my view, the maintenance of peaceful conditions in Cyprus is an essential requirement for overcoming the difficulties that have been encountered in activating an effective negotiating process.

In this connexion, I am obliged to draw attention to the increasing difficulties I face in maintaining the United Nations Force in Cyprus, owing to the continuing deficit in the UNFICYP budget. The United

Nations operation in Cyprus is financed in part by the troop contributing Governments and in part by Governments making voluntary contributions. But the voluntary contributions received have consistently fallen short of needs, resulting in an accumulated deficit for the periods ending 15 December 1977 of more than \$50 million. Additionally, \$11.1 million is required to meet that portion of the total cost of UNFICYP for the current six-month period ending 15 June 1978 that is normally financed by such contributions. This would leave costs of approximately \$17 million, based on past practice, to be met by the troop contributing countries, a figure that includes both certain reimbursable extra costs and the non-reimbursable regular costs incurred by them which these countries finance at their own expense (see annex). The Governments concerned have conveyed to me their growing and very serious concern over the disproportionate financial burden they have been carrying which has obliged some of them to review their commitments relating to their participation in UNFICYP. I am equally concerned at UNFICYP's inability to meet its financial commitments in full and at the implications of this situation in regard to the continued functioning of this peace-keeping operation. As you know, I recently found it necessary to accept, for financial reasons, a further reduction in the strength of UNFICYP.

In this situation, I have made special appeals to selected Governments urging them to increase their voluntary contributions, or to begin making such contributions if not made before. I have also expressed the hope that regular financial contributors to the UNFICYP Special Account will find it possible at least to maintain the level of their contributions. I now appeal to your Government to respond promptly and generously with a voluntary contribution to enable UNFICYP to carry on its important function.

(Signed) Kurt WALDHEIM  
Secretary-General

#### ANNEX

##### Financial position of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus

Since 1964, 65 countries have made payments or pledges of voluntary contributions to support the United Nations operation in Cyprus. Contributions to the UNFICYP Special Account since the beginning of the operation, as well as the pledges and payments received so far for the period from 16 June to 15 December 1977, are listed in the attached table.

In order to provide contingents for UNFICYP, the troop contributing Governments divert from national duty troops and other resources at an ongoing cost to them of some \$12

million for each six-month period. This involves the troops' regular pay and allowances, and normal *matériel* expenses. Under existing arrangements, the United Nations is not required by the troop contributors to reimburse them for these costs. These therefore constitute costs of maintaining the Force which are being financed directly by the troop contributing Governments.

The troop contributing Governments further absorb, without claiming reimbursement from the United Nations, certain extra and extraordinary costs they incur in respect of UNFICYP, estimated at \$5 million for each six-month period. These are costs for which, under existing arrangements, the troop contributors would be entitled to claim reimbursement from the United Nations, but which they have agreed to finance at their own expense, as a further contribution to the United Nations operation in Cyprus.

Including the above two elements of costs, the actual cost of financing the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the six-month period ending 15 June 1978 would total approximately \$28 million, estimated as follows:

	\$ Million
(a) Regular troops' pay and allowances and normal <i>matériel</i> costs, financed directly by the troop contributing Governments .....	12.0
(b) Direct costs to the United Nations which the troop contributing Governments that are financed directly by them .....	5.0
(c) Direct costs to the United Nations which the Organization is required to meet (including the extra and extraordinary costs of Governments providing contingents for which they seek to be reimbursed), financed through voluntary contributions .....	11.1
<b>TOTAL .....</b>	<b>28.1</b>

Voluntary contributions from Governments are required to finance the last of these three cost elements, as indicated in the cost estimates included in my report of 1 December 1977 [S/12463, sect. VI].

The voluntary contributions received from Governments have not been sufficient to cover these costs. The accumulated deficit from the inception of the operation through 15 December 1977 now stands at \$50.2 million, as compared to the deficit of \$48.4 million about six months ago which I indicated in my letter to you of 26 September 1977 [S/12409]. Two payments and four pledges, amounting to \$1,668,310, have been received so far towards that portion of the costs of maintaining the operation during the current six-month period ending 15 June 1978 that are financed by voluntary contributions.

As a result of the deficit, the bills presented by the troop contributing Governments to the United Nations for reimbursement of extra and extraordinary costs have been met only to December 1974. The practical effect of this situation has been that, as indicated above, these Governments have continued to shoulder a disproportionate burden in providing contingents for this United Nations peace-keeping operation.

##### PLEDGES AND PAYMENTS TO THE UNFICYP SPECIAL ACCOUNT FOR THE PERIOD 27 MARCH 1964-15 DECEMBER 1977 AS AT 23 MARCH 1978 (in US dollar equivalent)

Country	32nd Period (16 June- 15 December 1977)	Total pledges	Payments received
Australia .....	50 000	2 119 875	2 119 875 <sup>a</sup>
Austria .....	125 000	2 440 000	2 440 000 <sup>a,b</sup>
Belgium .....	131 600	2 771 799	2 771 799
Botswana .....	—	500	500
Canada .....	—	—	— <sup>a</sup>
Cyprus .....	150 000	1 816 359	1 816 359 <sup>c</sup>
Democratic Kampuchea .....	—	600	600 <sup>d</sup>

Country	32nd Period (16 June- 15 December 1977)	Total pledges	Payments received
Denmark .....	120 000	3 405 000	3 405 000 <sup>a b</sup>
Finland .....	—	900 000	900 000 <sup>b</sup>
Germany, Federal Republic of .....	500 000	16 500 000	16 500 000
Ghana .....	—	65 587	65 587 <sup>c</sup>
Greece .....	400 000	14 950 000	14 950 000
Guyana .....	—	11 812	11 812
Iceland .....	2 500	41 657	41 657 <sup>c</sup>
India .....	10 000	20 000	20 000
Iran .....	5 500	89 000	89 000 <sup>c</sup>
Iraq .....	—	20 000	20 000
Ireland .....	—	50 000	50 000
Israel .....	—	26 500	26 500
Italy .....	—	5 381 645	5 172 761
Ivory Coast .....	—	60 000	60 000
Jamaica .....	—	29 137	29 137
Japan .....	150 000	2 040 000	2 040 000 <sup>c</sup>
Kuwait .....	20 000	20 000	20 000
Lao People's Democratic Republic ...	—	1 500	1 500 <sup>e</sup>
Lebanon .....	—	3 194	2 894
Liberia .....	1 583	13 321	11 821
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya .....	—	50 000	50 000
Luxembourg .....	3 886	71 121	71 121
Malawi .....	—	5 590	5 590
Malaysia .....	—	7 500	7 500
Malta .....	—	1 820	1 820
Mauritania .....	—	4 370	4 370
Morocco .....	—	20 000	20 000
Nepal .....	400	800	400
Netherlands .....	407 623	2 078 623	2 078 623
New Zealand .....	9 697	51 697	51 697
Niger .....	—	2 041	2 041
Nigeria .....	—	10 800	10 800
Norway .....	295 885	4 630 741	4 630 741
Oman .....	—	8 000	8 000
Pakistan .....	3 000	35 791	35 791
Philippines .....	—	10 000	10 000
Qatar .....	—	14 000	14 000
Republic of Korea .....	—	16 000	16 000
Senegal .....	—	4 000	—
Sierra Leone .....	—	46 425	46 425
Singapore .....	500	7 000	6 500
Socialist Republic of Viet Nam .....	—	4 000	4 000 <sup>f</sup>
Somalia .....	—	1 000	1 000
Sweden .....	—	5 120 000	5 120 000 <sup>a b</sup>
Switzerland .....	177 825	3 529 409	3 529 409
Thailand .....	—	2 500	2 500
Togo .....	510	1 020	—
Trinidad and Tobago .....	—	2 400	2 400
Turkey .....	—	1 839 253	1 839 253
United Arab Emirates .....	10 000	10 000	10 000
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland .....	1 496 212	47 659 054 <sup>g</sup>	47 659 054 <sup>a b c</sup>
United Republic of Cameroon .....	—	10 107	10 107
United Republic of Tanzania .....	—	7 000	7 000
United States of America .....	4 550 000	104 650 000 <sup>h</sup>	101 471 177
Uruguay .....	—	2 500	2 500

Country	32nd Period (16 June- 15 December 1977)	Total pledges	Payments received
Venezuela .....	—	3 000	3 000
Yugoslavia .....	20 000	40 000	40 000
Zaire .....	—	30 000	30 000
Zambia .....	—	38 000	28 000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8 641 721</b>	<b>222 803 048</b>	<b>219 397 621</b>

\* Indicative figures for the six-month period ended 15 December 1977 of the amounts of extra and extraordinary costs absorbed by Governments providing contingents are as follows: Australia \$0.4 million; Austria \$0.2 million; Canada \$0.9 million; Denmark \$0.4 million; Sweden \$0.7 million; United Kingdom \$2.4 million.\* (\* Exclusive of the normal cost of pay and allowances.)

<sup>b</sup> Payment has been made or will be made by means of an offset against the Government's claims for reimbursement of its costs.

<sup>c</sup> In addition the following pledges or payments have been received for subsequent periods of the Force: Cyprus \$300,000 for 1978; Ghana \$11,310 for the period ending 15 June 1978; Iceland \$5,500 for 1978; Iran\* \$5,500 for the period ending 15 June 1978; Japan \$400,000 for 1978; United Kingdom approximately \$946,000 for the period 16 December 1977 to 31 March 1978. (\* In addition Iran has pledged \$50,000 annually from 16 June 1978.)

<sup>d</sup> Contributions received in 1964.

<sup>e</sup> Contributions received in 1967.

<sup>f</sup> Contributions received in 1964-1966.

<sup>g</sup> Maximum amount pledged.

<sup>h</sup> Maximum amount pledged. The ultimate contribution will be dependent on contributions of other Governments.

## DOCUMENT S/12626\*

Letter dated 30 March 1978 from the representative of Cyprus to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[31 March 1978]

I have the honour to refer to a communication circulated on 24 March 1978 as a document of the United Nations at the request of the representative of Turkey [S/12621] and signed by Mr. Denktaş as President of the so-called Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

As already amply shown in my letter of 31 October 1977<sup>1</sup>, this purported State—fictitiously set up by Turkey in the invaded 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus and made up of an alien population largely transported from Turkey to supplant the expelled majority Greek Cypriot population in their usurped homes and properties—is but the manifest offspring of a multiple international crime against Cyprus and its people.

The arbitrary elimination at the present juncture of the historic Greek names of the towns and villages in the invaded area and the substitution therefor of new and invented Turkish names comes as a crowning aggression against the age-long history and culture of Cyprus.

Ankara, through her instruments in Cyprus, tries, by the aforesaid letter, to create confusion by bringing in again a systematized repetition of unsubstantiated charges to the effect that the Turkish Cypriots, since December 1963, have been the victims of an "onslaught" by the Greek Cypriots and have been for 11 years, until 1974, harassed and compelled to be secluded in enclaves, and deprived of their homes and their freedom of movement. These irresponsible

allegations have been refuted by concrete and authoritative evidence in the official six-monthly reports by the Secretary-General covering the whole 11-year period in question. Extensive extracts from these reports have been quoted in our statements at the United Nations on more than one occasion, namely in the Security Council on 30 August 1974 [1795th meeting], in the Special Political Committee on 29 October 1974<sup>2</sup> and in the General Assembly on 8 October 1975.<sup>3</sup>

On all these occasions, as shown in the relevant records, the statements have gone unanswered because they were unanswerable. But this does not prevent the Turkish side from irresponsibly reverting, after a time, to those untrue allegations.

The allegation that the Turkish Cypriots were a minority held under siege and terror by the Greeks is proved blatantly false also by other evidence and even Turkish evidence, which also reveals that the clashes were provoked and pursued under the banner of partition.

The Turkish Cypriot newspaper *Halkın Sesi*, the mouthpiece of the then Vice-President Küçük, in its issue of 29 February 1964, writes: "The Greeks are in a state of distress in the full sense of the word. Starting from Nicosia in all clashes the Greeks suffered great losses, but they do not give the casualty figure." The paper continues: "The Turkish fighters have pledged to fight on until the realization of partition."

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/74-S/12626.

<sup>1</sup> A/32/316.

<sup>2</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Special Political Committee, 923rd meeting.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2380th meeting.



Thus, the attitude of the Turkish minority has been admittedly one of provoking division and instigating armed conflict with the aim of partition.

In yet another issue of *Halkin Sesi*, it is made clear that the avowed aim of partition is actually annexation. In its issue of 9 August 1965, it writes: "Cyprus is another Alexandretta in the history of Turkey. The power of Turkey will ensure an honourable life for the Turkish Cypriots in the same way as it did in Alexandretta by annexing it and bringing it under Turkish domination. The road in this direction has been opened by the Turkish fighters at Kokkina who are now fighting in every corner of Cyprus."

Further evidence that this motivation of clashes came from Ankara appears in Prime Minister İnönü's words to the National Assembly of Turkey in October 1964; "Officially, we promote the federation concept rather than the partition thesis so as to appear as though within the provisions of the Treaty".

Since the signing of the Zurich and London Agreements in 1959 and the establishment of the Republic, the Turkish leadership, egged on by Ankara, has been systematically obstructing the effective functioning of the State in order to promote divisiveness, friction and conflict. It was this policy, well under way by 1961, which led the Turkish Cypriot members of the House of Representatives to abuse their rights under the Constitution to a separate majority by preventing the passage of an admittedly normal and unobjectionable income tax bill. The result was a serious financial crisis and trouble. They next insisted on a house by house division of the towns, a proposition which was predictably impractical and proved unworkable.

Armed clashes in December 1963 were thus the culmination of continued and provocative hampering of the machinery of the Government by the Turkish Cypriot leadership at the bidding of Ankara. This persistent obstructionism made it necessary for the President of Cyprus to address a letter to the Turkish Cypriot Vice-President, in November 1963, proposing amendments to the excessively divisive and unworkable elements in the Constitution and increasing, in exchange, the authority of the Turkish Vice-Presidents of the Republic and of the House of Representatives.

The response, openly prompted by Ankara, was outright rejection coupled with the unnecessary and provocative appearance of Turkish Cypriot fighters, who showed themselves fully armed and ready to fight.

It may be recalled that, already in 1959, even as the Zurich and London Agreements were being drawn up, Turkey was secretly shipping arms and ammunition to Cyprus in preparation for armed uprising. The vessel *Denis* was at that time actually caught by the British authorities in the very act of unloading an arsenal of weapons in the north of Cyprus. At the same time, a special invasion force was being prepared in the Mersin area opposite the coast of Cyprus.

No sooner had the clashes begun, than the underlying purpose for them was made apparent by Turkey's attempt to invade Cyprus on 27 December 1963. Recourse to the Security Council halted the attempt. Vice-President Küçük, however, encouraged from outside, continued to give the signal of rebellion by declaring publicly that he was "no longer a Vice-President and that the Constitution is dead" (*The New York Times*, 4 January 1964) and "that par-

tition is the best solution". He went so far as to propose the thirty-fifth parallel as "an ideal demarcation line", as reported in *The New York Times* of 4 and 11 January and in *The Herald Tribune* of 9 January 1964.

At the bidding of Mr. Küçük, the Turkish Cypriot members of the House of Representatives resigned from the House. At the same time, all Turkish officials and employees in the Civil Service ceased functioning and withdrew from the public service.

These proved facts belie the Turkish posture of an allegedly persecuted Turkish Cypriot minority deprived of their rights and their share in the administration.

In June 1964, Mr. Erkin, then Foreign Minister of Turkey, offered another clear insight when he said in a newspaper interview at Athens: "The radical solution would be to cede one part of Cyprus to Greece and the other, closest to the Turkish Asiatic coast, to Turkey".

It is these designs of Ankara for partition and ultimate annexation which over the years have assiduously cultivated and nurtured a climate of friction and enmity between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The task was known to be a difficult one; so much so that it had to be furthered through violence. An underground terrorist organization—TMT—, set up and manned by officers from Turkey, began in 1958 systematically forcing the Turkish Cypriots, through threats of heavy punishment, into discontinuing any friendly contacts and associations with their Greek Cypriot compatriots, in a sustained effort to keep them apart as enemies.

In that effort, all human rights of the Turkish Cypriots were denied them by their own leadership, imposed upon from Ankara. Their right of freedom of movement, freedom of residence—and even to life—were violated by the Turkish Cypriot leaders working in league with TMT which terrorized the rank and file of the Turkish Cypriot community into complete submissiveness to its orders.

A considerable part of the Turkish Cypriot people had thus been compelled by their leadership in conjunction with TMT to abandon their homes and properties even in areas far removed from the site of conflict and to be segregated in enclaves so as to create the nucleus of a geographic division and promote the objective of partition. They were not permitted, by order of the Turkish Cypriot leadership and TMT, to get out from those enclaves, although longing to return to their homes. They could not leave the enclaves without special permit, and had to be back at a specific time. Those who tried to escape were shot on the spot. Many instances were quoted in our letters to the Secretary-General at that time.

In his report of 10 June 1965, the Secretary-General stated:

"The Turkish Cypriot leaders have adhered to a rigid stand against any measures which might involve having members of the two communities live and work together, or which might place Turkish Cypriots in situations where they would have to acknowledge the authority of Government agents. Indeed, since the Turkish Cypriot leadership is committed to physical and geographical separa-



tion of the communities as a political goal, it is not likely to encourage activities by Turkish Cypriots which may be interpreted as demonstrating the merits of an alternative policy. The result has been a seemingly deliberate policy of self-segregation by the Turkish Cypriots." [S/6426, para. 106.]

The Government's contention is thus borne out that "the hardships suffered by the Turkish Cypriot population are the direct result of the leadership's self-isolation policy, imposed by force on the rank and file" [*ibid.*].

During the intercommunal clashes in the period 1963-1974, there were no doubt occasions of regrettable acts of violence by which both sides suffered. But how can these sporadic instances of irresponsible violence compare with the systematic violation of human rights by the army of invasion through verified mass executions of innocent civilians by the thousands in a genocidal expulsion of over 200,000 Greek Cypriots from their ancestral homes and properties? This was immediately followed by implanting therein an alien population imported from Turkey, in the pre-planned design to change by force the demographic composition of Cyprus. A horrifying account of the atrocities involved in this sinister operation its con-

tained in the studied report of the European Commission of Human Rights, partly published in *The Sunday Times* of 23 January 1977.

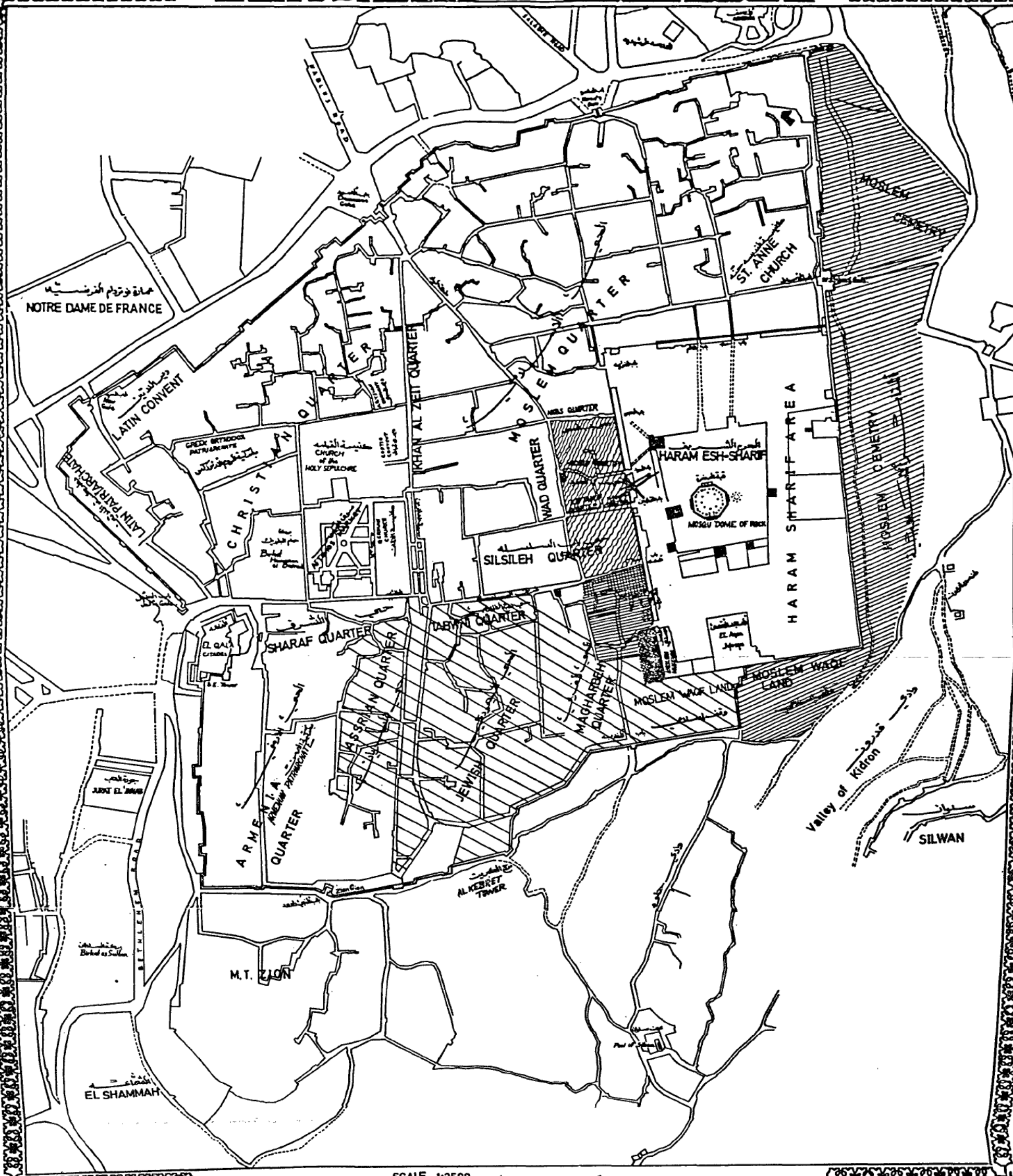
Such decline in moral values and all sense of human decency in a presumably civilized world community is unprecedented in the annals of the United Nations and modern history.

Yet, the rank and file of the Cypriot people—Greek and Turkish alike—yearn for conciliation and the resumption of their former amicable relations. They are forcibly prevented by outside intervention for purposes alien to the interest of the people of Cyprus.

In spite of all adversity and constant undermining of the moral fibre of the Cypriot people, we have faith in a better future for Cyprus compatible with its spiritual legacy. We confidently trust that the United Nations will come into its own by applying the Charter and giving effect to its resolutions on Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Zenon ROSSIDES  
Permanent Representative of Cyprus  
to the United Nations



SCALE 1:2500

3032 x

## EXPLANATIONS

- A - Schedule of properties inside City Walls**
- |                       |              |                      |
|-----------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| 1- Christian Property | = 420        | Dunams               |
| 2- Moslem             | = 405        | "                    |
| 3- Jewish             | = 940        | "                    |
| 4- Public             | = 662        | "                    |
| <b>Total</b>          | <b>= 327</b> | <b>Square Metres</b> |
- Note: One Dunam = 1000 Square Metres
- B - Israeli Violations**
- (135) Moslem apartments and (2) Mosques bulldozed by Israeli forces on 11.6.1967.
  - (595) Moslem buildings, including (1046) living apartments, (957) shops, (4) schools and (5) Mosques expropriated by the Israeli government on 10.4.1968.
  - (14) Moslem buildings including one Mosque bulldozed by Israeli forces on 10.6.1969.
  - (17) Moslem buildings including one religious school, confiscated by the Israeli government on 20.6.1969.
  - Area under Israeli excavations being carried out under (300) Moslem buildings including (3) Mosques, one Minaret, one old Souk and number of cultural and historical buildings, all threatened by destruction.
  - Moslem Cemeteries and Moslem Wafaf property surrounding the Haram-sharif Area and the two great Moslem Mosques, the Dome of the Rock and Al Aqsa Mosque, ordered for expropriation by the Israeli government, on 30.3.1970.

## مَدِيرِيَّةُ الْأَثَارِ الْعَامَةِ DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES JORDAN

- 1
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- جدول للممتلكات داخل أسوار المدينة**
- |                   |              |                 |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1- ممتلكات مسيحية | = 420        | دونم            |
| 2- ممتلكات مسلمة  | = 405        | "               |
| 3- ممتلكات يهودية | = 940        | "               |
| 4- ممتلكات عامة   | = 662        | "               |
| <b>المجموع</b>    | <b>= 327</b> | <b>متر مربع</b> |
- ملاحظة: 1 دونم = 1000 متر مربع
- ب - انتهاكات إسرائيلية**
- (135) شقق مسلمة و (2) مسجدين تم تدميرهما بواسطة القوات الإسرائيلية في 11.6.1967.
  - (595) مباني مسلمة، بما في ذلك (1046) شقق سكنية، (957) متجر، (4) مدارس و (5) مسجدين تم مصادرتها من قبل الحكومة الإسرائيلية في 10.4.1968.
  - (14) مباني مسلمة بما في ذلك مسجدين تم تدميرهما بواسطة القوات الإسرائيلية في 10.6.1969.
  - (17) مباني مسلمة بما في ذلك مدرسة دينية، تم مصادرتها من قبل الحكومة الإسرائيلية في 20.6.1969.
  - منطقة تحت الحفريات الإسرائيلية التي يجري تنفيذها تحت (300) مباني مسلمة بما في ذلك (3) مسجدين، منارة واحدة، سوق قديم و عدد من المباني الثقافية والتاريخية، كلها مهددة بالتدمير.
  - المقابر والممتلكات الواقعة حول الحرم الشريف ومنطقة المسجدين العظيمين، المسجد الأقصى والمسجد النبوي، التي أمرت الحكومة الإسرائيلية بمصادرتها في 30.3.1970.

لاسم: إسماعيل حجاز