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THIRTY-FIRST YEAR

# 1930<sup>th</sup>

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#### NOTE

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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.

## 1930th MEETING

Held in New York on Saturday, 19 June 1976, at 11 a.m.

*President:* Mr. Rashleigh E. JACKSON (Guyana).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Benin, China, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1930)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Situation in South Africa: killings and violence by the *apartheid* régime in South Africa in Soweto and other areas:
  - (a) Letter dated 18 June 1976 from the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Republic and the United Republic of Tanzania to the President of the Security Council (S/12100);
  - (b) Telegram dated 18 June 1976 from the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar addressed to the Secretary-General (S/12101)

*The meeting was called to order at 12.10 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Situation in South Africa: killings and violence by the *apartheid* regime in South Africa in Soweto and other areas:**

- (a) Letter dated 18 June 1976 from the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Republic and the United Republic of Tanzania to the President of the Security Council (S/12100);
- (b) Telegram dated 18 June 1976 from the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar to the Secretary-General (S/12101)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the Council at its 1929th meeting, I shall now invite the representatives of Algeria, Cuba, Liberia and Madagascar to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

*At the invitation of the President, Mrs. Brooks-Randolph (Liberia) and Mr. Rahal (Algeria) took places at the Council table; Mr. Acosta Rodriguez (Cuba) and Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar) took the*

*places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT: In addition, I should like to inform the members of the Council that letters have been received from the representatives of India, Yugoslavia and Zambia in which they ask to be invited to participate in the discussion in accordance with Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure. Accordingly, I propose in accordance with the usual practice and with the consent of the Council, to invite these representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

3. In view of the limited number of seats available at the Council table, I invite these representatives to take the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be invited to take a seat at the Council table when they wish to speak.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Jaipal (India), Mr. Petrić (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Zimba (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

4. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the representative of Madagascar. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make a statement.

5. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I would be remiss if I did not, on behalf of my delegation, express satisfaction at seeing you preside over this important meeting of the Council. We know of your dedication to all questions concerning human rights, the freedom of peoples and the rights of oppressed nations. You represent a country with which we have strong ties of friendship and fraternity, and we are united in an unceasing struggle against all forms of exploitation and subjugation.

6. First of all I should like, on behalf of my delegation and Government, to thank you and the Secretary-General for having been so kind as to bring to the attention of Member States the text of the telegram of 18 June which the Council has before it and which was sent by the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar on behalf of the Supreme Council of the Revolution, the Government and the Malagasy people [S/12101].

7. The gravity of recent events in Soweto and in several other areas of South Africa cannot leave my country indifferent because mine is a revolutionary non-aligned African country which is at the same time totally committed to the cause of those struggling for freedom and justice. These events indeed have explosive potential and are likely to engulf southern Africa and spread to other areas if we are not careful. They also involve a certain number of fundamental political and humanitarian principles the flagrant violation of which cannot leave us indifferent.

8. From the very numerous details given us by other delegations and persons with regard to the number of victims, dead and wounded, the arrests and other means employed by the South African régime, the central fact that emerges is indeed that there is a protest against the over-all policy of the South African régime and particularly against Vorster's cultural policy. This policy, which is truly a manifestation of cultural colonialism and imperialism, is only one reflection of *apartheid*, the component aspects of which we are all familiar with: the negation of rights, political domination, economic exploitation and cultural alienation. The imposition of this policy by requiring African students to learn Afrikaans and to use that language to study some technical and scientific subjects is additional proof of the narrow chauvinism guiding the Pretoria leaders. One cannot with impunity force someone against his will to acquire a culture other than his own, least of all when it could have the effect of making it impossible for such a person fully to develop his real personality.

9. Some maintain that such a situation might be acceptable, and could even be advisable, to the extent that the blind pursuance by the Pretoria authorities of their policy of domination fosters and engenders an awareness by the African population of their alienation. It is maintained that that awareness is all the greater because of the deep despair of those people.

10. However, the logic of the South African policy dictates that the awakening of the spirit of liberation among the masses must be opposed by violence, a violence which is legalized, in order, to ensure, through senseless repression and brutality, the perpetuation of white power and a European presence in southern Africa.

11. Such a situation can only lead to a global confrontation, in which racial conflicts would necessarily be accompanied by a struggle for justice and equality between the exploited and the exploiters, the dominated and the dominators. A crisis of the kind with which we are dealing today can lead to a general war in southern Africa, and that would in no way serve the cause of international peace and security.

12. For years now we have been drawing the attention of the Council and the General Assembly to the constant danger that the existence of the Pretoria

régime and its racist policy entail for our country. On several occasions we have said that if that danger is to be eliminated the international community must do more than merely wait for crises and settle them one by one, for any of those crises can be more acute than the others. Unfortunately, our warnings have not been taken seriously. Some regarded us merely as Cassandras predicting doom. In an attempt to prove the groundlessness of our fears, we were asked to place our trust in the force of persuasion of Western diplomacy and to count on the fact that the Pretoria leaders would one day come to their senses.

13. The African people can wait no longer. It has taken a decision for open and reasoned confrontation, but a confrontation that will never be unprovoked.

14. I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm, on behalf of my Government, our full support for the legitimate struggle being waged by our African brothers and sisters in South Africa, whether they be inside the country or outside it, a struggle which today has taken on a new impetus. Indeed, who can understand better than the former colonized countries the deep political reasons for their actions, even though these freedom fighters are sometimes called "looters", "rioters", "terrorists" and "firebrands" when they are carrying out the most justifiable kind of struggle.

15. Thus, we denounce the reactionary and wanton violence of the Pretoria authorities, who have used irresponsible underlings to repress, through massacres, the revolutionary violence of those who are seeking only liberation and rehabilitation.

16. After so much brutality, so much savagery, who can still believe that South Africa can contribute anything to the peaceful and moderate development of events in southern Africa?

17. We denounce also the determination of the *apartheid* authorities to maintain the Africans under their yoke and completely dependent on them. Furthermore, we denounce their determination to create bantustans, which would enable them to treat the Africans as foreigners or stateless persons in their own country, in order to subject them more easily to South African political, economic and cultural laws and to give them no chance of participating in the political life of a country which nevertheless belongs to them.

18. We emphasize the special responsibility of the countries that ruled out the adoption of a mandatory embargo on armaments and munitions for South Africa, despite our repeated and long-standing calls for such an embargo. It is obvious that the weapons bought by Pretoria in Europe—in the Federal Republic of Germany, in France and in the United Kingdom—"to defend its territory" are now being used to repress the legitimate aspirations of a people.

19. We condemn the policy of delay and appeasement, which is no longer appropriate, in face of the

deterioration of the situation in southern Africa and the urgent need to find a solution to that situation. The only result of that policy, after so many years, has been to give Mr. Vorster more self-confidence, as is evidenced by his constant harassment of the African population—explained, it seems, by an irresponsible attitude having nothing to do with the facts.

20. The policy of co-operation with the *apartheid* régime pursued by the Western Powers despite the relevant United Nations resolutions is of increasing concern to us because that policy is helping to strengthen the economic, technical, military and even nuclear potential of that régime and ultimately results in the reinforcement of South Africa's arrogance and its feeling that it can oppose the liberation of the Africans with impunity.

21. It seems that the time has come for those who regard themselves as allies of the Pretoria régime and act as such to choose their partners in Africa. The ambiguity that has been maintained at the cost, sometimes, of incoherent if not openly contradictory statements benefits only the Pretoria régime, whose position has been strengthened to the point where it feels able to launch a propaganda campaign against the independent African States. That state of affairs must not be tolerated any longer.

22. With regard to measures to be taken by the Council, it seems to my delegation that the proposal contained in the telegram to the Secretary-General from the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar should be borne in mind—that is

“to call upon all nations, and more particularly upon the developed countries, to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, that is, to put an immediate and unconditional stop to all economic and military assistance to South Africa.”

23. To a certain extent, we are satisfied to note that the draft resolution in document S/12103 expresses our feelings of outrage at the recent events in Soweto and elsewhere, but we believe that more practical measures, such as those which are proposed by my President and which should be followed by sanctions if they are not applied, could have been provided for in the text.

24. The events that have taken place in recent weeks in South Africa lead us to note with great bitterness that a whole series of myths is collapsing. First of all, the myth of the resignation of the African people and their supposed acceptance of being duped by external forces; the myth that black South Africans are satisfied with their lot and benefit from generous advantages in all areas; the myth of a condescending paternalism encouraged by a pseudo-liberalism devoted to the expression of a formal democracy; the myth that a régime which defies international norms

can be brought to reason; the myth of the supposed willingness of that régime to live in peace with its neighbours and with the African population of South Africa; the myth of a pernicious form of détente and dialogue; the myth of a so-called free world—with which the Pretoria régime claims kinship, although it is more attached to crushing freedom than to promoting it; and the myth of a civilization which cannot back away from *apartheid* and which, through duplicity and ambiguity, strengthens this abhorrent régime.

25. We are very disillusioned, and it is time for us to realize, as we discharge our responsibilities, that the international community can no longer be duped and that a healthy reaction on its part is referred which will ensure the utter rejection of any approach to the problems of southern Africa which is based on these obviously threadbare myths.

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

27. Mr. ACOSTA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me first of all to express the satisfaction of the delegation of Cuba at seeing you, Sir, preside over the important work of the Security Council. In the course of this work you have once again given proof of your great professional qualifications, your diplomatic skill and your unsearchable thirst for justice. Our satisfaction is the greater by reason of the fact that your country, Guyana, and mine are united by strong bonds of friendship and co-operation founded on solid revolutionary principles. I also thank you for the speed with which you responded to the Cuban request to participate without the right to vote in the Council's work on the present item.

28. The South African racist régime is carrying out another mass murder which exceeds the Sharpeville massacre in brutality. According to the most recent news this morning, on the basis of rather conservative estimates, 100 Africans have been killed and over 1,000 have been wounded during the brutal repression unleashed by the racist régime against tens of thousands of young Africans who, with heroic tenacity, are resisting the Fascist onslaught. We are convinced that the toll is actually much higher.

29. This morning the news agencies reported that fresh police units had been added to the repression, provided with submachine-guns, rifles, small arms of various calibres, tear-gas canisters and even trained dogs. Ironically, some of the weapons now being used against the noble South African people are among those which, not too long ago, were used by the racist régime in its vain attempt to cheat Angola of its independence. But the Angolan people inflicted an overwhelming and historic defeat on South Africa. Everyone knows who supplied these weapons to South Africa. Those imperialist weapons are now being turned against the students of Soweto and seven other

cities, whose students and general population have shattered once and for all—and this is important—the myth of white racist supremacy.

30. According to press reports the clashes began on Wednesday and have continued for the remainder of the week. However, it has not really been possible to get accurate information about the extent of the massacre. The hatred of *apartheid* has been exacerbated by the firm determination of the protestors, who, armed with sticks and stones, have shown the world how the racist régime shakes when there is an uprising of the people.

31. The effrontery of the régime knows no bounds. The so-called Minister of Justice, James T. Kruger, declared in an astonishing display of cynicism that the police had not exceeded its powers. And Prime Minister Vorster, after having the nerve to announce that order must be maintained at all costs, told his followers that there was no reason to panic.

32. But, in fact, the African racists have more than sufficient reason to be frightened and concerned, since the example of Soweto quickly engendered other demonstrations in the capital and in other cities, with the participation of young people of different races, including whites, although this is a régime which applies absolute racial segregation.

33. Soweto is one more proof of how far the South African Fascists can go in their policy of denying rights to the majority of the population; further, it is a valid example of the courage with which the South African people is willing to defend its rights. Neither the scores of dead, the thousands of wounded and the hundreds of detainees nor the decision to close the universities will succeed in shattering the people's resolve to exterminate *apartheid*. The columns of smoke rising from besieged Soweto are a clear warning that the time for confrontation between oppressors and oppressed is most upon us.

34. The blood of the fallen will be upon Mr. Vorster on the trip he will probably soon be making to Europe. It will be difficult to prevent it from staining the high officials of the Government of the United States who are preparing to meet him. History will eventually settle accounts with them.

35. Only a few weeks ago, my country had the revolutionary honour of hosting the International Seminar on the Eradication of *Apartheid* and in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa. The many delegations that met in Havana denounced the South African Fascist régime and confirmed their support for the oppressed South African people and for the national liberation movements which constitute its vanguard. In the light of the events we are analysing, such denunciations and expressions of support acquire renewed strength today.

36. The delegation of Cuba wishes once again to reaffirm its proven solidarity with the people of South Africa, and requests the Security Council to condemn most strongly the South African régime, to apply effective measures to stay the hand of the aggressor, and to lend the necessary support to the people of South Africa, who, with titanic vigour, are throwing off their shackles.

37. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cuba for the kind and generous remarks he made about me personally and about my country. May I assure him that the people of Guyana also value their close friendship with the people of Cuba.

38. The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

39. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): The massacres perpetrated against the innocent population of Soweto, a suburb of Johannesburg, and throughout South Africa, are the most recent acts of brutality committed by Vorster's bloodthirsty racist régime. According to the most recent information, more than 100 people have been murdered and more than 1,000 wounded, only because their skin happened to be of a different colour and because they were striving for their human rights and freedom. These crimes have deeply shocked the whole of mankind and have stretched the patience of African people to the utmost limits. They provide one more proof that *apartheid* is not merely an internal evil in South Africa, but that it constitutes at the same time a permanent threat to peace in southern Africa and in general. The criminal actions of the racist régime reveal the real face of *apartheid*. Its nature is colonialist, expansionist and racist, and it is a disgrace to mankind. South Africa violates not only the human rights of the oppressed people of South Africa, but also threatens the territorial integrity and independence of African countries, as shown by the recent aggression against independent Angola.

40. The struggle of the liberation movements of the peoples of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe is gathering momentum and is assuming the proportions of a mass movement. This is best illustrated by the determination of the schoolchildren students and workers of the suburb of Soweto and other townships to challenge the brutal force of the racist régime. No reign of terror, not even murder, can arrest the struggle of peoples for their human rights, freedom and independence. No power can prevent the people of South Africa from winning their freedom, as the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and other enslaved countries throughout the world have already done.

41. The racists of South Africa remain closely linked with imperialism and international reaction; they are supported, economically and politically by some countries which in fact support *apartheid* as a system

because that enables them to gain material advantages on the basis of an unlimited exploitation of the majority of the population and of its natural resources. The white minority régime could not maintain itself in power and pursue a policy condemned by all the progressive and democratic forces of mankind if it did not receive ample help from those countries. Those countries only condemn *apartheid* verbally because, if they did not do so, they could not justify themselves in the eyes of their own peoples; however, they continue to support racism and terror in South Africa. It is high time to put an end to such a practice and to take effective measures for the total boycott of the South African régime.

42. The United Nations has been dealing with *apartheid* from the very outset and has, in the course of the more than 30 years of its existence, adopted numerous resolutions condemning *apartheid* and racial discrimination most emphatically. In a number of resolutions, and in resolution 3411 C (XXX) in particular, the General Assembly proclaimed that the United Nations and the whole international community have a special responsibility towards the enslaved people of South Africa and their liberation movements, which are fighting against *apartheid* and racial discrimination. In the same way, every crime perpetrated by Vorster's régime against the black people of South Africa represents a direct confrontation with the United Nations and the international community.

43. The Security Council must undertake energetic measures with a view to putting an end to further killing of innocent populations in South Africa. This time also, the Council must strongly condemn *apartheid* and contribute effectively to its undoing, so as to prevent that part of Africa from becoming a blood-soaked battlefield, with unforeseeable consequences for international peace and security. The Council must lend full support to the oppressed people of South Africa and express its solidarity with their struggle. It is also imperative to adopt, as a matter of urgency, the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter and to ensure their strict implementation.

44. In concluding, I should like to stress several points that are of particular relevance today.

45. First, the heroic stand of the people of South Africa in Soweto, their active resistance and its spread to other townships throughout the country represent a new quality, a new development, an important step forward in their fight against *apartheid*. Consequently, all those who, against all the lessons of history, were trying to tell us that the Sharpeville events of 1960 were isolated aberrations were again proved wrong. Nothing will stop the rising fight, nothing will quiet the situation in southern Africa unless and until *apartheid* is swept away.

46. Secondly, as we have said many times before in the context of the debates on Namibia, Southern

Rhodesia and the former Portuguese territories, the situation in southern Africa must be taken as a whole, because it is a whole. This is one struggle, one battle on several fronts. Every effort, every success on one helps all the others. By doing our utmost to help the struggle in Zimbabwe and in Namibia, we are directly helping the struggle in South Africa and vice versa. That is why we must redouble all our efforts in all organs of the United Nations which deal in any way with any aspect of the situation in southern Africa. We must be relentless; we must give no quarter to the oppressors; we must not miss any opportunity for action.

47. Thirdly, no amount of shoring up of the doomed oppressive régimes of southern Africa can in any way enable them to avoid their defeat at the hands of the rising peoples in their own countries. Assistance to oppressors can but prolong the struggle and could and does cause great and terrible sufferings. At the same time, it makes it increasingly certain that there will be no room to accommodate the oppressors and their supporters when the hour comes. Actually, the greatest help to all would be to shorten, and not to prolong, the time necessary for the dismantling of the oppressive régimes of racism, *apartheid* and colonialism. All diplomatic, political, economic and other action inside and outside the United Nations should be directed towards that aim, and not towards anything else. The United Nations has not only the right, but also the sacred duty, to defend peace, human rights and the dignity of peoples.

48. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon in which he asks to be invited to participate in the discussion on the item on our agenda in accordance with Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure. Accordingly, I propose, if the Council agrees, in accordance with the usual practice, to invite this representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

49. In view of the limited number of seats available at the Council table, I invite the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon to take the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that he will be invited to take a seat at the Council table when it is his turn to speak.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Oyono (United Republic of Cameroon) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.*

50. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): My country fully shares the feelings of deep concern and revulsion which moved the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar and the African Group here to call for an emergency meeting of the Council to consider the repression which the South African Government has, once again, unleashed against the country's African people.

51. The facts of the case are clear enough. Ignoring, as it is used to doing, the warnings of unrest among the black population, the South African Government proceeded with its scheme of making African students do their studies in a language which is foreign to them and which they have no reason to want to learn. When the students came out on the streets to protest, as students do all over the world, what happened in South Africa finds few parallels in the rest of the world. The police and the security forces, using automatic weapons, armoured cars, helicopters and other modern weapons, plowed into the crowds, firing to kill and, as we have seen on television, killing indiscriminately.

52. The trouble which started in Soweto has now spread to other townships and elsewhere in the country and has assumed the shape of a popular revolt. Sharpeville comes to mind at once and has been recalled by speakers who have preceded me. The very word has become a metaphor for the injustice, inhumanity and cruelty of the régime, of humiliation and subjugation imposed by the ruling minority on the indigenous people of South Africa.

53. Sixteen years ago, the Council, acting on the situation reflected by the Sharpeville massacre, recognized that it had led to international friction and might endanger international peace and security. It called upon the Government of South Africa to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality and to abandon its policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

54. Sixteen years later we are witnessing a re-enactment of Sharpeville, but on a much greater scale and rendered more tragic by the passage of those 16 years; years in which almost the whole of the African continent has regained its freedom; in which in southern Africa itself, the oldest and most tenaciously held of the colonial empires has disappeared; but 16 years in which nothing seems to have changed in the minds of South Africa's rulers and nothing has changed in the policies they follow.

55. South Africa continues to be ruled by a régime which deliberately sets out to make life miserable for the majority of its citizens, heaping daily indignities upon them, enacting more and more mindless laws, a partial list of which we heard yesterday from the representative of the African National Congress [1929th meeting], in order to give legal form and sanction to its injustices against its own people.

56. An African put the matter thus to a correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor*:

"I know every day what *apartheid* is. I know I have to carry this pass with me everywhere and produce it if any dumb policeman who has never been to a university demands it."

These words, so matter of fact, are poignant in what they tell us about the reality of *apartheid*, about the

impossibility for a black to live an ordinary, normal life under this régime. Still, Mr. Vorster tells us it is some unknown outside forces that are creating polarization between blacks and whites in South Africa.

57. In the last few years the South African régime has tried to create the image of gradual moderation and evolution of its policies, of differences between so-called little *apartheid* and enlightened *apartheid*—as if there could be such a thing as enlightened *apartheid*—and of its desire for a dialogue in Africa. As the events of the last three days show, the reality is otherwise. The Government seeks to make minority rule, rendered more odious by racial discrimination, more firmly entrenched.

58. There are no signs of South Africa's loosening its grip over Namibia. On the contrary, the *apartheid* régime has been extended to that Territory. Until quite recently, Ian Smith's lawless régime in Southern Rhodesia was receiving encouragement and incitement from South Africa.

59. In 16 years events seem to have come full circle in South Africa, but if the massacre of Sharpeville awakened mankind to the ruthlessness of the *apartheid* régime, the martyrdom of Soweto is a warning to the upholders of *apartheid*.

60. The Associated Press has quoted a police officer on the spot as saying, "We fire into them. It is no good firing over their heads." We must read in these brutal words not simply a proof of the heartlessness of the oppressors but evidence of the determination of the oppressed.

61. The *apartheid* régime itself gives no indication of understanding the signs. Mr. Vorster tells us: "Law and order in South Africa is more important to me than anything else." It is more important than justice. It is more important than humanity. It is more important than peace in the region and the future of his own people.

62. To the rest of the world, the message is clear. The proponents and upholders of *apartheid* will inevitably go down in the violence in which their own whole system and philosophy are steeped and rooted.

63. The white students of the Witwatersrand University who came out to join their black comrades in facing the terrorism of the authorities give us another message, a message of hope for racial peace in South Africa, and an indication of where salvation lies for that tragic country. Time has run out for the *apartheid* régime and its policies. Those who have at heart the welfare of the peoples of South Africa, those who advocate a peaceful solution of the problems of race and minority rule in southern Africa, and, above all, those who have the power and influence to guide events there, must not by omission or commission give reason or sustenance to the present régime and



thereby contribute to putting out the flickering flame of hope of a rational outcome to the South African tragedy.

64. The Council's duty is clear: to condemn without reserve the terror and repression which South Africa is using against the African people, to call upon it to halt such actions and to put an end to the policy of *apartheid*. The least we can do today is to adopt—as we might better have done last night—without quibbling and dissent the draft put before the Council by its African members, which my delegation, along with many others, has joined in sponsoring.

65. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): We are once again meeting to consider events of exceptional seriousness which have taken place in South Africa and which are the dire consequence of the racist policy of Pretoria. We have listened with emotion and indignation to the account of the events given by the representatives of the African people. The speakers who have preceded me in this debate have given the Council details of the scope of the atrocities perpetrated by the South African authorities against the indigenous population, which has risen against the policy of *apartheid* and is valiantly resisting the barbarous, repressive measures.

66. All international press agencies, newspapers and television have given us data and details which provide a frightening picture of the tragic events in South Africa. This is a veritable popular revolt; these are not isolated incidents, as the South African authorities like to suggest. The Council cannot remain passive when the basic principles and stipulations of the Charter are flouted in such a flagrant manner, and when the most basic human rights are denied and brutally violated by the Pretoria racists. The heinous Soweto massacre and the massacres in other townships of South Africa exceed in scale and brutality those committed 16 years ago in Sharpeville.

67. Romania strongly condemns the crimes committed by the racist régime of South Africa, which, through its inhuman conduct, has put itself beyond the pale of the civilized international community. We raise our voice in protesting most energetically against these heinous flagrant violations of basic human rights in South Africa. I should like to express the solidarity and sympathy of the Romanian people with the people struggling in Azania against the policy of *apartheid* and for national emancipation.

68. It is high time that the United Nations, and above all the Council, discharged its duty towards the people of South Africa, who are subjugated and exploited by a racist minority. The time has come for the Council to adopt as soon as possible, and unanimously, decisive effective measures to help the South African population.

69. The Prime Minister of Pretoria has just stated that the repressive authorities have been ordered to main-

tain law and order at any price. In other words, the Vorster régime seems determined to continue to commit its crimes. Indeed, South African law is an inhuman and barbaric law, and Pretoria's order is nothing but the racist order of *apartheid*. That order will perhaps be maintained for a certain time, as events have proved, but it will be maintained at the horrible price of hundreds of human lives.

70. Civilized humanity can no longer adopt an impassive attitude towards these criminal acts. The grave facts that have been imputed to South Africa for many years now, its long-standing racist policy, its obstinate refusal to listen to the voice of reason impose on the Council the political, legal and moral obligation to adopt vigorous measures against the Pretoria régime. The Council must solemnly warn the Vorster Government immediately to stop the killing and the repressive measures against the people who have risen against injustice. The Council must demand that the Vorster Government abandon its *apartheid* policy and restore freedom to the indigenous people.

71. All the nations of the world must be called upon to co-operate with the United Nations towards the elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa. All the nations of the world must stop giving economic and military assistance to South Africa. All those who are helping South Africa are accomplices in the crimes perpetrated by the racist authorities. They must bear the heavy responsibility for everything that is happening in South Africa.

72. The Socialist Republic of Romania and all its people are at the side of the oppressed people of South Africa and resolutely support their sacred cause: the cause of freedom and human dignity.

73. In conclusion, I wish to appeal to the members of the Council to support the draft resolution in document S/12103, submitted by eight delegations, including that of Romania, so that it may be adopted unanimously. If that is done, the response of the Council to the Pretoria racists will fulfil the hopes of the peoples of the world.

74. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): On 16 June South African police opened fire on peacefully demonstrating schoolchildren. The children and students were protesting against being forced to use the language of their oppressors in school. That triggered the tragic sequence of events which we have been witnessing with dismay.

75. The central authorities of South Africa, however, did not recoil at the sight of the brutality of their police force. Defying the international reaction against the brutal police action, they ordered instead new massive measures of violence against demonstrators protesting against the senseless killings. According to available reports, more than 100 persons have been killed in the past few days as a consequence of the brutal repression.

76. What has happened demonstrates how utterly false is the claim of the white régime, namely, that the *apartheid* policy is the way to establish harmony and peace in South Africa. It must now be more evident than ever to everyone that attempts to found a society on the principle of racial discrimination cannot succeed. *Apartheid* is doomed to failure. The *apartheid* system, inhuman and morally repulsive as it is in its basic concepts, is also inevitably a system of violence. It can be kept up only by active violence and repression against the black majority. *Apartheid* is also a system for the economic and social exploitation of the non-white population of South Africa. The protests and demonstrations in South Africa are thus elements in a struggle for liberation, both from the humiliating and degrading treatment to which the majority is subjected and from the ruthless exploitation of the black people in South Africa.

77. The mentality of the *apartheid* régime has been revealingly demonstrated in the statement made yesterday by the Prime Minister of South Africa. His only concern is to maintain law and order, to use the police forces to establish so-called calm. In his own words, "Law and order in South Africa is more important to me than anything else". He does not devote a word or a thought to the real causes of the developments during the past few days. There is no sign of self-searching, let alone self-criticism, no evidence or even a hint of a wish to understand. But there is evidence of fear, the fear of the oppressors who themselves are now being hit by the consequences of the system they have built to oppress others. Their reaction is the total intransigence that comes through in Mr. Vorster's statement and ruthless oppression.

78. What is now happening in South Africa demonstrates with terrifying clarity how repressive the *apartheid* system is. The total lack of legal outlet for protest and indignation among the oppressed, the complete denial of their political and social rights, must inevitably lead to explosions like the one we are now witnessing.

79. The political process which has led to the liberation of large parts of southern Africa during recent years is rapidly undermining the very foundation of South Africa—that is, white supremacy. The buffer system around South Africa is eroding. The remaining days of the white minority régime in Rhodesia can now be counted, and the illegal occupation of Namibia is coming under increased internal and international pressure. Thus, this same development has now come into the open also in the very bastion of white supremacy, in South Africa itself.

80. The régime in Pretoria has received what might be a final warning, and we hope it will eventually heed that warning. The alternative is a racial holocaust.

81. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the members of the Council that a letter has been received

from the representative of South Africa in which he asks to be invited to participate in the discussion in accordance with Article 31 of the Charter. Accordingly, I propose with the agreement of the Council, in conformity with the usual practice, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

82. In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table, I shall invite the representative of South Africa to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table when it is his turn to speak.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Botha (South Africa), took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.*

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

84. Mr. ZIMBA (Zambia): I wish to begin by congratulating you, Sir, upon your assumption of the high office of President of the Council for the month of June. It gives a sense of satisfaction to my delegation to see you preside over the Council, not only because of the good relations that exist between your country, Guyana, and mine, but also because of your personal qualities and abilities, your skilful diplomacy and your wealth of experience.

85. The Council is holding emergency meetings to consider the current violence in South Africa, the violence that has been caused by the South African repressive régime against African schoolchildren and students who were demonstrating peacefully against the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in certain subjects in their school curriculum. It is with profound indignation that we note that the violence has claimed more than 140 lives, with more than 1,000 injured, as of this morning. The figure will, no doubt, eventually be much higher.

86. If I may depart from my prepared text, I should like to mention that only this morning Reuters carried the following report:

"Black police ordered a group of African prisoners from Soweto to hop and run on the spot, and then made them load bodies of riot victims into a mortuary van, it was reported today. A reporter from *The Rand Daily Mail* said he sat in a car at midnight and watched a group of about 20 prisoners march into a police station yard in Soweto; one of them was aged about 10, he said. The prisoners were ordered to hop and run on the spot for about 15 minutes, then an African policeman hit one of them with his truncheon and shouted: 'This is black power!'

"The reporter said: 'This is what *apartheid* can do.'

"The black teenagers were marched back into the police station but three hours later were brought out and ordered to load about 10 corpses, which had been lying uncovered on the ground for several hours, into the mortuary van."

87. Since the founding of the United Nations 30 years ago, the international community has been seized of the problem of racism in notorious South Africa. The white minority régime of South Africa has, during this period, consistently defied the international community and intensified its racist oppression by introducing many oppressive laws that reduce the black man in South Africa to the level of a second-rate citizen.

88. The issue before the Security Council today is a direct result of one of those laws, the Bantu Education Act, the objective of which is to give the black South African an inferior type of education, as was explained in a statement in Parliament in 1945 by a Member of the House of Assembly who said:

"We should not give the natives"—native is a term used for blacks—"an academic education, as some people are too prone to do. If we do this we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the country? I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that, to a great extent, he must be the labourer in the country."

89. The introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in the teaching of certain subjects is intended to achieve that goal, as explained by the South African racist Parliament, and it is against that background that children in Soweto and the entire school population in South Africa are demonstrating. It is unthinkable for South Africa to treat the incidents now taking place as an isolated phenomenon that can be controlled by the use of the automatic weapons it acquires from Western Powers. The incident of police violence and brutality is reminiscent of the Sharpeville massacre of 21 March 1960, when 69 innocent Africans were killed by the South African police.

90. The international community has become increasingly aware of the inhumanity of *apartheid* and the grave dangers it poses to the cherished ideals of humanity and to international peace and security. Only three days ago Zambia lost three of its soldiers, killed by a land-mine while patrolling the border area with Namibia. That was a dastardly act perpetrated by the racist South African régime. On 14 June, racist soldiers fired on and destroyed a Public Works Department building in one of our border districts, injuring one civilian, but Zambian fighters returned the fire and neutralized the enemy attack. South Africa and

Rhodesia have collaborated in planting bombs in a number of buildings, causing extensive damage.

91. The bill legalizing South Africa's notorious hot pursuit will not cow the oppressed people of South Africa and their supporters around the world into submission. On the contrary, it will increase their determination to fight for the establishment of a just society in that citadel of oppression.

92. My Government has repeatedly warned that the *apartheid* régime constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security in southern Africa. With each day that passes, that threat assumes graver proportions as the *apartheid* régime feels insecure. Despite Vorster's claims at the end of 1974 that, given six months or so, the world would be surprised by the changes that would be made in *apartheid* South Africa, the situation has taken a turn for the worse, as is evidenced by the massacre of innocent and defenceless schoolchildren in the past three days. This is possibly one of the changes Vorster told the world about.

93. It is worth noting that during the same period the world expected change, but South Africa's military budget rose to more than \$1 billion, not to mention the latest acquisition of nuclear reactors from France, a member of this august Council. My Government has already protested to the French Government and will continue to condemn France for the sale of those nuclear reactors to a country which is trigger-happy. France should now see our fears and concern. We wish it would take heed of our appeals.

94. The arms that racist South Africa acquires all come from some Member States represented around this table and yet the same suppliers have paid lip service to the stand of the African States by saying they oppose the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa. According to radio reports this morning, automatic weapons were also used in the massacre of innocent demonstrators.

95. According to many United Nations reports, many Western European countries also collaborate economically with racist South Africa in its brutal and ruthless oppression of the black community in that country. It is also because of that economic collaboration that the rebel régime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia continues to survive, despite the United Nations economic sanctions imposed on it. We call upon those foreign Powers to stop their criminal complicity.

96. The support given to the black students by white students of Witwatersrand University is most welcome, for it should show South Africa that the time-bomb on which it has been sitting has at last been detonated. However, we hope that the spirit of solidarity shown by students at Witwatersrand University will spread to other institutions of learning.

97. The violent incidents in Soweto and other areas in South Africa during the past three days have shown that there can be no peace in South Africa as long as that régime maintains the infamous policy of *apartheid*. The Africans of South Africa refuse to live in the age of Paul Kruger when the medium of instruction in schools could be forced on them. By those massacres of innocent schoolchildren white South Africans have shown the world their real Boer mentality and brutality against the black population.

98. The Council has before it a draft resolution for adoption. However, while the draft strongly condemns South Africa, my delegation feels that in order to restore and preserve peace in southern Africa, to secure the freedom of the black majority of South Africa, and to protect the independence of neighbouring African States, the international community has a duty to perform and that duty is to isolate South Africa economically, politically, culturally and militarily. We appeal to those with economic interests in South Africa not to have double standards. We also urge the international community to impose an arms embargo in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

99. We should like to make an earnest appeal to the international community to support the liberation movements of South Africa in their determination to free their motherland.

100. Finally, Zambia remains committed to the total elimination of the *apartheid* system in all its forms and manifestations. To this end, we pledge our continued support for the just struggle of the oppressed people of southern Africa.

101. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of India, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

102. Mr. JAIPAL (India): My delegation has asked to be heard by the Council today in order to express its sense of shock at and its condemnation of, the mass killings of the African people in and around Johannesburg on the orders of the racist régime of Pretoria. We wish also to express our total solidarity with the African States in this grave hour, and also to reaffirm our support for the African people who are fighting for their right to liberate themselves from a racist minority rule.

103. Our support for the liberation of the African people goes back in time to April 1893, when Mahatma Gandhi arrived in South Africa and stayed on to organize the first mass movement of the people against racist laws and racist domination, and in the process himself suffered imprisonment, police brutality, and worse. We have thus developed a deep bond of sympathy and support for the African people, born of the common and shared experience of human suffering.

104. What is happening today in Johannesburg is not just rioting; nor is it just the maintenance of law and order among criminals. It is the inevitable explosion that comes after generations of frustration of the human spirit's aspirations for dignity and self-fulfilment. In the name of a vicious racist doctrine based on a spurious reading of the Bible, and in order to perpetuate the gains of a former slave society by continuing to exploit the African people, the Pretoria régime has grown prosperous on the hardships and sufferings of the Africans. How much longer are the Africans expected to put up with segregation, degradation, humiliation, the denial of equal opportunities, and all the other devices that are designed for the permanent subjugation of the black people?

105. The African youth of today have had enough of all this, and they have resorted to violent protests against their present condition, against a future that has nothing more to offer them than the fate of their parents; against being ordered to learn the language of their so-called masters; indeed, against the very social order that has predetermined for their people a destiny that is totally devoid of any promise of equality in the future. This is indeed the crux of the matter.

106. The Pretoria régime, rooted in its inglorious past, is trying to cope with its future with outworn ideas of maintaining law and order at all costs. This is a clear indication of a totally bankrupt policy. We assume that the Council will severely condemn the action and the policy of the Pretoria régime. But this has been done before on several occasions, and such condemnations have had little effect on the emancipation of the African people. It will be necessary, therefore, to consider other forms of persuasion and pressure, before it is too late.

107. The entire African continent is justifiably aroused and incensed, and I have no doubt that the entire Asian continent, too, will throw its weight behind the struggle of the African people. I am sure also that in Europe and in the Americas there is a vast reservoir of revulsion against racism and sympathy and support for those fighting racism. There is no room for differences of opinion over this matter, although there are bound to be differences over what should be done to remedy the situation.

108. The people of Africa have become impatient and desperate. They will judge the United Nations by the results of the actions taken by the Organization. The powers given to the Security Council by the Charter have not yet been fully utilized. We should like to see the Council give further thought to this matter. It would be tragic indeed if the United Nations were to leave it to the African people to liberate themselves through their own efforts, supported only by those who may wish to help them. The United Nations cannot be just a spectator or a passive witness to the happenings in South Africa. This question has been before the United

Nations since the Organization was established, and it is time that the Council rose to the full stature of our expectations and applied the full measure of its powers, because only by doing so can it avert a racial conflict that will otherwise have repercussions far beyond the confines of South Africa.

109. We are dealing with a problem that does not belong to this day and age. It is one of the very few legacies of mankind's past that must be liquidated by the United Nations, which indeed owes its very creation to the new spirit of human brotherhood born as a result of the victory over forces of racial superiority. The people of every Member State around this table have known and experienced at some time in their history the agonies of liberation from the forces of domination, and the Charter of the United Nations represents the sum total of their faith in the equality of man. One of the notorious exceptions is, of course, the Pretoria régime, which continues to be a Member of the Organization. There are powers in the Charter for disciplining that régime and making it conform to the principles of the Charter. We expect the Council to take further steps in that direction.

110. Mr. RIOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As I stated last night during our consultations, my delegation believes that when a situation is serious—and in this case it is extremely serious—words are superfluous. What is expected of the Council is immediate action in order to put an end to the bloodshed which is spreading throughout South Africa and to implement measures intended to put a final stop to the criminal practice of *apartheid* imposed through force and terror upon the black population by the racist régime of Pretoria.

111. We cast an affirmative vote when the General Assembly adopted the resolution which declared *apartheid* to be a crime against humanity.

112. Southern Africa is going through a dramatic period, and there is no time for delay. What is occurring in that part of the world has shaken the conscience of the world and requires of us urgent and effective decisions. The black and the white population of South Africa torn between fury and fear require the intervention of the United Nations to provide them with the necessary means of conciliation so as to avoid what can already be seen as the beginning of a civil war of incalculable proportions. Of course, we are convinced that such conciliation requires as an initial and essential step the elimination of the entire sinister structure of racial discrimination.

113. Panama, which is aware of its historic responsibilities as a member of the Council, which was established to guarantee peace in the world, is a sponsor of the draft resolution contained in document S/12103. In our view, this draft resolution contains the most basic principles of the action which the Council should take. Consequently, it is our hope that this draft will be adopted unanimously, and as soon as possible.

114. Mr. SHERER (United States of America): The tragic events occurring in South Africa are a sharp reminder that when a system deprives a people of the basic elements of human dignity and expression, only the bitterest results can be expected. In 1960, over 16 years ago, the Council met to consider a similar tragedy and called upon the Government of the Republic of South Africa to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality in order to ensure that the current situation would not continue or recur, and to abandon its policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

115. My Government supported that resolution, and in the intervening years we have made repeated pleas, together with other Member States, to the Government of the Republic of South Africa, to abandon the policies which were inevitably leading to the events we have witnessed in the last few days. In the present circumstances, the frustrations of the black people could find expression only in the form of rioting which has brought such dire consequences. That is part of the tragedy of South Africa.

116. My delegation has stated on other occasions that the basic facts about human rights in South Africa are clear and may be stated in two propositions. First, the majority of South Africans live under a system which deprives them of their basic human rights and, secondly, the South African system of laws is designed and administered so as to prevent that majority from taking effective peaceful action to alter this condition of fundamental deprivation. We call on the Government of the Republic of South Africa to take these events as a warning and to learn from them. They must abandon a system which is clearly not acceptable under any standard of human rights. There can be no dream of a future for the nation of South Africa that does not include both white and black working together in harmony and equality. Together with other members of the Council, we want to ensure that the dream will not become a nightmare such as that we have witnessed in recent days.

117. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Republic): Mr. President, since this is the first time that I have spoken during the month of June, I should like, first of all, to express to you the congratulations of the Libyan delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June, and to express our satisfaction at working under your able, active and intelligent presidency.

118. On this occasion, I should also like to pay a tribute to Ambassador de Guiringaud of France for his able conduct of our work during the month of May.

119. My country, together with the two brother members of the Security Council, and on behalf of the African Group at the United Nations, has requested an emergency meeting of the Security Council to consider the measures of repression, including wanton

killing, perpetrated by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa against the African people of Soweto and other areas in South Africa. My country also is a sponsor of the draft resolution in document S/12103.

120. The facts are well known. The problem is well known to us. The United Nations has been discussing this problem for 30 years now, and, in the humble view of my delegation, what we need now is action and no more resolutions or discussions, especially since these tragic events have shown that the patience of the African population has come to an end and that it no longer accepts the suppression of the will of the majority.

121. I will limit myself to reiterating the position of the Libyan Arab Republic which continues to fight against the illegal racist régime of South Africa. We once again express our solidarity with the African majority in its struggle to achieve the transfer of power from the racist white minority régime to the African majority. Libya is, as always, prepared to undertake any necessary action to terminate the rule of the minority racist régime in South Africa, and we call upon all nations and countries, particularly the developed countries and the Western Powers, to implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and especially to put an end to all economic and military assistance to the racist minority régime in South Africa. Libya strongly condemns the barbaric crimes committed by the white racist régime and calls upon the international community to take appropriate and effective actions with a view to helping the African majority in South Africa to destroy the aggressive reactionary white racist establishment in that country.

122. We know that the inalienable rights of peoples, including the right to self-determination and independence, have in the main been secured through bitter struggles and ferocious fights. People of colonial territories have resorted to armed struggle to achieve liberation and independence. For us Africans, South Africa is a problem. First, South Africa is a problem as a colonialist Power; secondly, South Africa is a problem as a racist society. It is clear that peace and security in Africa are continually being threatened by the existence of the white minority racist régimes in South Africa and in Rhodesia. Those odious régimes are determined to keep the peoples of the region in eternal subjugation. They are trying desperately to contain the rising tide and to stop the sweeping wave of national liberation and social revolution. That is why the consolidation of African solidarity is a vital necessity at this crucial and decisive moment, as is the solidarity of the progressive and democratic forces in the world as a whole.

123. It is abhorrent and appalling that the aggressive racist and fascist régime of South Africa is still receiving aid, economic and military, from many Powers, despite the repeated calls for an arms embargo against South Africa. Those who are helping South

Africa must know that they are helping our enemy, our bitterest and worst enemy in Africa. This international hypocrisy must come to an end. They must choose between Africa and the enemies of Africa.

124. On this occasion I should like to pay a tribute to those progressive and democratic countries that are supporting our struggle in Africa, especially the socialist countries and peoples.

125. The Libyan Arab Republic reaffirms again and again its pledge to support any effective and relevant actions that may be taken by the Council against the South African racist régime.

126. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon to take a seat at the Council table and to make a statement.

127. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me first of all to discharge a pleasant responsibility in congratulating you most warmly and fraternally on your accession to the presidency of the Council. My delegation is gratified at the honour thereby bestowed upon your country, Guyana, which, along with Cameroon, is struggling for the triumph of the ideals and objectives that are dear to our great family of the non-aligned countries. The qualities as a man and diplomat which distinguish you, and your experience in the activities of the United Nations guarantee success for our work. Allow me also personally to express my gratitude and that of my delegation to the members of the Council and to the Secretary-General for having made possible the rapid convening of this emergency meeting at the request of the African Group acting through its representatives in this lofty body.

128. Finally, it is a pleasant task for me to thank the members of the Council for being kind enough to allow my delegation to participate in this important debate on the acts of repression and the massacres perpetrated by the *apartheid* régime against the defenceless indigenous population.

129. It is with deep sadness that we follow the development of the bloody events of which the African masses have been the victims and which are spreading throughout South Africa. Now while the Council is meeting, according to information we have received, the racist régime's forces have killed more than 100 Africans and have wounded many more. Vorster proclaims, furthermore, that his Government is determined to maintain law and order at any price. But what type of order? What type of law? And to what end? In other words, the racists are determined inexorably to pursue their carnage, in spite of the indignation of the international community and in spite of the serious threat that such barbarous actions represent for international peace and security.

130. Indeed, South Africa is persevering in the application of its inhuman policy of *apartheid*, which



the United Nations has rightly condemned as a crime against humanity. The Government of the United Republic of Cameroon, faithful to the sacred principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to the purposes of the Charter, has always vigorously condemned the policy of *apartheid* and has categorically opposed the policy of dialogue advocated by certain countries which believe that that is a path likely to lead to the basic transformation of the Vorster régime into a democratic, fraternal and just society.

131. The bloody events of which our brothers in South Africa have been the victims suffice in themselves to reveal the true face of the Vorster régime, a régime based on violence, and on contempt for and exploitation of the black man. Cameroon has been giving constant moral and material assistance to the liberation movements in Africa, and it bows its head to the victims of Pretoria's mass repression. It would ask the true representatives of the people of South Africa, our brothers Thami Mhlambiso and David Sibeko, who addressed the Council yesterday, to convey our deepest condolences to the sorely afflicted families.

132. Cameroon associates itself with the sponsors of the draft resolution in document S/12103 in strongly condemning the South African Government for resorting to massive violence against and killings of African people, including schoolchildren and students and others opposing racial discrimination, and in asking that an end be put immediately to this genocide. Confronted by the deterioration of the situation, the Security Council has the duty to assume its responsibilities under the Charter. The adoption of this draft resolution is the least that the Council can do in the present state of affairs. It goes without saying that, remaining seized of this question, the Council should watch to see if the situation in South Africa deteriorates further and should, if necessary, take stronger measures.

133. Finally, we solemnly appeal once again to the friends of Pretoria—those who, despite the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, continue to give political, economic, military and other assistance to South Africa—to support the deep aspirations of the people of Azania to dignity, equality and racial justice.

134. The tragic events now taking place in other countries of southern Africa are without any doubt signs heralding an irreversible development to which it is in the interest of Pretoria and its allies to make a responsible contribution, so that the ideals of peace and justice may triumph in that part of the world.

135. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): When I spoke here early this morning, I said that the Council was meeting to discuss a grave situation. I said also that this was one series of meetings that the Council would have preferred to avoid. What I did not say and what I think I should say now is

that had the Council acted wisely and decisively before, there would have been no need for meetings of the Council like the one we had last night and the one we are having today. For the source of what is happening now in South Africa is the continuation of the obnoxious system of *apartheid*. Unless an end is put to that system this Council will, I am afraid, have to convene many more meetings to consider many more tragedies like the one now unfolding in South Africa.

136. Early this morning I stated also that it was the intention of the African Group through their spokesmen in the Council—in particular, the African members of the Council—to propose that the present discussion be brief so that the Council might quickly express with one voice its abhorrence for, its revulsion at these dastardly acts now being committed in South Africa. Members will therefore understand why I am introducing the draft resolution at this very early stage of our deliberations. I appeal to the Council to proceed speedily, without delay, to the adoption of this draft resolution. The Council should take quick, prompt action.

137. Thus, it is the privilege of the Tanzanian delegation to introduce the draft resolution in document S/12103 on behalf of the delegations of Benin, Guyana, the Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania and Sweden and on its own behalf. Since the members of the Council have the text before them, I shall not make a detailed explanation of its contents. Suffice it to say that the sponsors of the draft resolution desire a response that will be so overwhelming, so powerful that the Pretoria authorities will have no doubt about where the international community stands in respect of the barbaric acts those authorities are now committing against innocent children, students and civilians in South Africa.

138. The paragraphs have been so worded as to ensure overwhelming, indeed unanimous support by the Council, because, as I said last night, the international community as a whole has been outraged by these events. Above all, the speakers who have preceded me have, without exception, expressed their indignation. And yesterday I also referred to statements made by other eminent spokesmen, as well as by newspaper editors, expressing their indignation at these events.

139. The first and second preambular paragraphs are self-explanatory; they simply refer to the fact that the Council is meeting because of a specific request by the African Group and by the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar.

140. The third preambular paragraph expresses what is, again, obvious: the shock of this Council at the large-scale killings and wounding in South Africa carried out by the South African authorities.

141. The fourth preambular paragraph reiterates the well-known position of the United Nations, as clearly articulated by the General Assembly and the Security Council, namely, that the present situation, like previous situations—and, without being a prophet of doom, I may say future situations—had been brought about by the continued imposition by South Africa of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in defiance of the resolutions of the Council and of the Assembly.

142. Operative paragraph 1 represents the minimum the Council can do under the circumstances, that is, to utter a clear-cut, unequivocal condemnation of the Government of South Africa for its massive violence against and wanton killings of the people of South Africa, including schoolchildren, students and others. The logical follow-up of paragraph 1 is paragraph 2, which essentially expresses the Council's sympathy to the victims of this massive violence.

143. Paragraph 3 reaffirms that the policy of *apartheid* is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and seriously disturbs international peace and security. I think that I do not need to lecture the Council on what is obvious. *Apartheid* is indeed a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and is, as has been explained by the General Assembly, a crime against humanity. I should say, however, that in proposing the formulation contained in paragraph 3, the sponsors and more particularly the African members of the Council, have done so only for the purpose of ensuring overwhelming, nay unanimous, support by the Council. We certainly are of the view that the situation in South Africa today, as clearly evidenced by the massive killings, is a direct threat to international peace and security, demanding clear-cut action by the Council in accordance with the enforcement provisions embodied in Chapter VII of the Charter. If we have fallen short of that particular demand, it is because, as I said earlier, some Western members of the Council have some reservations and difficulties and, since we want a text which will gain the unanimous support of the Council, we have reserved our position for a later stage when we shall certainly be considering this situation in a comprehensive manner and submitting recommendations which will meet the requirements of the situation.

144. Paragraph 4 recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. That struggle is a noble struggle; it deserves not only the unanimous moral support of the international community but indeed its practical support, because all of us in the international community without exception have a special responsibility to bring to an end the present inhuman system in South Africa. And perhaps those of us who in fact, through our actions, are somehow enhancing South Africa's capacity to continue those actions have a greater moral and political responsibility to support the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa.

145. Paragraph 5 calls upon the South African Government urgently to end violence against the African people, and take urgent steps to eliminate *apartheid* and racial discrimination. That, again, is a self-explanatory paragraph.

146. Finally, paragraph 6 is not a routine paragraph. We say in it that the Council decides to remain seized of the matter. That must be viewed in the context of what we have said before in the Council: that it is the desire, particularly of the African members of the Council in response to specific instructions from the African Group, to take up this question at a later stage, so as to consider the problem of South Africa and of *apartheid* in its proper perspective and to consider the right measures to be adopted by the Council so as to bring to an end the misery that now reigns supreme in South Africa.

147. I want to end by reiterating what I said before. The eight sponsors of the draft resolution have submitted this text with the purpose of getting the Council's unanimous support; we have done so in order that the Council's message should go out loud and clear to the Fascist authorities in Pretoria to the effect that the Council, for its part, cannot condone the injustice and the repression taking place there; that the Council is at one with the people of South Africa who are suffering the humiliation, degradation and repression that has been inflicted upon them. Therefore, on behalf of the delegations of Benin, Guyana, the Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania, I commend this draft resolution to the Council for adoption.

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

149. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa): Allow me, Sir, to congratulate you on the assumption of your high office.

150. I participate in this debate in a spirit of co-operation and because my Government wishes to provide the Council with factual information rather than have it conduct its deliberations on the basis of the far-fetched, emotional and unsubstantiated allegations which have been laid before it. Our participation, however, should not be construed as modifying in any way our well-known position on Article 2 (7) of the Charter, which is documented in the records of the Organization.

151. I wish immediately to say that my Government greatly regrets the loss of life during the recent disturbances in South Africa. These are indeed tragic events. We are saddened and pained by them.

152. The rioting responsible for the deaths and destruction has been widely attributed to resentment that black students are said to have felt in regard to



the alleged imposition of Afrikaans as the language of instruction in their schools. Moreover, the whole education system has been denigrated in the Council. What is the factual background? In the first place, more than 21 per cent of the total black population of South Africa is attending school, which amounts to more than 4 million pupils. This compares favourably not only with the figure of 10 per cent for the rest of Africa but also with those for many European and other countries. Of even greater significance is the phenomenal increase in black school attendance at the secondary level. At this level, the enrolment of 200,000 in 1974 increased to 320,000 in 1975. As for university education, in 1976 a total of 10,846 black students were enrolled at universities in South Africa. In 1975 there were 69,000 teachers for the black pupils in my country.

153. Allegations have been made that white pupils receive free education while black students must pay for it. This is untrue. Tuition for all black pupils is free. In the primary schools the only amount requested is \$2 per annum per pupil, being a school fund contribution. If the parents have difficulty in finding this amount, it is waived. In the secondary schools this contribution is about \$6 per annum per pupil. It is true that the purchase of textbooks constituted a burden. However, the Education Department is now in the fourth year of a five-year programme to supply textbooks to all pupils from standard I to form V. In the 1975/76 financial year a total of 147 million Rand was voted for African tuition, as compared with 117 million Rand for the previous year. The amount is in respect of expenditure on current account only, and does not include capital expenditure. It also does not include the millions voted for the universities.

154. The matter of the medium of instruction is a complex one. Many languages are spoken in South Africa: English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele, South-Soto, Sechuana, Sepedi, Venda, Tsonga and others. The two official languages of the Republic of South Africa are Afrikaans and English. Indeed, Afrikaans, which is one of the most modern languages in the world, came into being in Africa. Afrikaans and English enjoy equal constitutional status throughout the country. However, the South African Government has never followed a policy of imposing the official languages on the black peoples of South Africa. Indeed, considerable effort and expense have been directed over many years by the South African authorities to reducing the black African languages to writing and to providing readers and other educational books in these languages. This was done in recognition of the essential role of language in the make-up of a people. It was done because of our respect for the cultural values of others, especially our fellow Africans.

155. The principle followed is that the medium of instruction throughout the primary school is the mother tongue of the pupil, although some of the black

administrations to which responsibility for primary education has been transferred—and this transfer is in itself of considerable significance—have introduced English as the medium of instruction at the primary level. Mother-tongue instruction at the primary level, when children are at a critical stage of concept-formation in their development, is, however, universally accepted as sound educational practice.

156. Education for black African children does not differ in a broad sense from the education given to any other children in South Africa. Black children are taught the same kinds of subjects as other children. All Educational Departments base their syllabuses on common core syllabuses drawn up by committees representing all the Education Departments. At the end of the secondary school course, black pupils are required to take the very same senior certificate matriculation examination as white children.

157. Slandorous statements have been made alleging that the South African Government has, as a hard and fast rule, forced black pupils to receive their instruction in Afrikaans. What are the facts? The policy regarding the medium of instruction has remained unaltered since 1955, namely, the mother-tongue as the medium in primary schools, and the official languages on a so-called 50/50 basis in secondary schools.

158. The equal status requirement for the two official languages has never been enforced in an unreasonable manner, and due consideration has always been given to difficulties experienced by teachers who are not proficient in one of the official languages, although conditions of employment stipulate proficiency in both languages. In practice, whenever difficulties have been experienced, applications have been made for exemption, and these have been sympathetically handled—a contention which is substantiated by the present ratio of English to Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black high schools, which is of the order of 95 per cent to 5 per cent. These are the facts.

159. Of the 10 senior secondary schools in Soweto, seven have not been using Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in a single subject. Seven senior secondary schools participated in the demonstrations. At six of these, instruction is offered through the medium of English only. At the seventh, only one subject—that is, history—is offered through the medium of Afrikaans up to form III. Again, I must stress, these are the facts.

160. It has been alleged that white children can choose whether they wish to receive instruction by the medium of either English or Afrikaans, whereas black pupils are forced to receive their instruction through both English and Afrikaans. I can only repeat: the practical situation is that 95 per cent of all subjects are taught through the medium of English in the black schools.

161. In the circumstances, one is forced to wonder whether this alleged grievance was in fact entirely responsible for the demonstrations, which seem to have been so carefully organized, or whether this was a pretext.

162. It is at this point in time too early to determine the causes of the unfortunate events, mainly in Soweto. A one-man Commission, consisting of the Chief Justice of the Transvaal, has been appointed specifically to investigate the incidents and to establish their causes. I feel constrained not to prejudge these issues. None the less, it is clear that a body of young students were incited and provoked to spark off a chain reaction of incidents which have led to an ugly situation and unnecessary bloodshed.

163. There are frequent meetings between school principals, inspectors of schools and the Education Department. By means of these consultations it has been possible, and remains possible, to arrive at solutions to the problems related to education, including the language in which instruction is to be given. Why then the massive demonstration? Why the recourse to violence? The way to settle problems is by discussion. South Africa has long believed in dialogue and discussion, and the Government attempts to put this policy into practice wherever possible. There is no justification for violence, even if discussions are not immediately productive or achieve results which are not to the satisfaction of all concerned.

164. In fact, only a few days before the disturbances, discussions were held with groups of dissatisfied students, who subsequently returned to their classes. But on 16 June, students simply started marching and increased their numbers, *inter alia*, by intimidating others to join them in the disturbances. Why did the students commit acts of arson? Why did they murder? Why did they callously and cruelly murder the welfare official who had dedicated his life and work to them? How do inexperienced students suddenly become perpetrators of arson, which requires a degree of technique—even of instruction? These tactics and techniques are not unknown to us or to the world. There have been student uprisings in many forms around the globe in the last decade. How many countries whose representatives are seated around this table can claim to have escaped those outbreaks, leaving aside certain regimented societies? How many countries which have the oldest and proudest educational establishments can claim to have completely avoided this type of unrest? Nor is it unusual for the grievances of students, and the resulting student demonstrations, to be exploited by political forces for their own ends. And the internal strife experienced by countries on all the continents in recent years, often with great loss of life, is unfortunately not limited to student unrest. Indeed, several civil conflicts are going on around the world as I speak.

165. I do not refer to incidents of violence elsewhere by way of compensating for developments in my own country, but to remind the Council that we should all do well not to lose perspective.

166. Once the disturbances started, pillaging marauders joined in the general disorder, settling private scores and seeking to turn the situation to their own advantage in different ways. Throughout the period of demonstrations and rioting, the police exercised the utmost restraint, using their arms only as the last resort when life and limb were under threat and rioters were out of control and, not heeding warnings, were threatening the lives of the police and others.

167. It is fallacious to contend, as has been done here, that all those who have died, died as a result of wounds suffered from police bullets. The full facts are not yet known, but it is already known that policemen were also killed, and so were others, at the hands of the rioters. After the initial outbreak in Soweto, there were other disturbances in various centres, including some universities. It is apposite to note in this connexion that Chief Buthelezi, who is known for his outspoken criticism of the South African Government, was pelted with stones when he arrived at one of these universities recently to receive an honorary degree. It is also to be noted that much of the destructive energy of the rioters was loosed against those very buildings which had been built for their own specific advantage and in their interest. I would, in addition, invite the attention of the members of the Council to the fact that much of the damage and destruction which occurred during the disturbances was directed at businesses belonging to fellow black persons.

168. In circumstances such as have developed in my country over the past few days, it is the undeniable duty of the Government of any State to maintain law and order as a first step. Without the existence of law and order, there can be no question of a calm assessment of the true underlying reasons for the disturbances. As my Prime Minister said in Parliament on 17 June: "We are not dealing here with a spontaneous outburst, but with a purposeful effort to bring about a polarization between white and black".

169. Pursuing obvious aims of their own, certain organizations and persons contributed to this end. In addition to spreading rumours in a deliberate and organized way, the aim was to create panic by way of arson. The Prime Minister warned that this kind of action should cease immediately. He added that the Government would not be intimidated and orders had been given to maintain order at all costs. The police had been instructed to protect life and property without fear or favour and by all the means at their disposal. "If the impression exists that the Government will now hesitate to take action in the light of my forthcoming discussions, they are mistaken", Mr. Vorster said. He emphasized that, no matter how important the

discussions might be, order in South Africa was more important to him than anything else. The discussions referred to are those scheduled to take place with Mr. Henry Kissinger.

170. Several black South African leaders yesterday called on their people in Soweto to calm down and to end the destruction. I would earnestly urge the Council to follow their example and not to fan the flames of discord and destruction.

171. In a development towards the restoration of normal conditions, the Minister concerned has this very day met with leaders of the township of Soweto, to discuss, *inter alia*, possible solutions of the problems involved. During the meetings, there were extensive discussions concerning, *inter alia*, the medium of instruction, the so-called 50:50 basis, and exemptions from that principle, the teaching of Afrikaans as a subject and other matters. Further meetings with senior officials of the several departments concerned will be held on 25 and 29 June.

172. It is alleged that the present situation "is a serious danger to peace and security". The only danger to peace, I submit, is contained in the statements of certain speakers in this debate. Irresponsible threats have been levelled at my country, but we will not be intimidated nor will we be provoked.

173. Let us not evade the basic issue. We all know what is at stake in southern Africa. On the one hand, white nationalism and the various black nationalisms will, on their own, have to find accommodation with one another or continue on a course of confrontation the consequences of which will be disastrous for all of us. On the other hand, there are States which actively and consistently seek to divide the blacks and the whites and to set them against each other for their own purposes.

174. May I, in conclusion, point out that dissension is to be found in every country of the world as to the policies and actions of the Government in power. We do not live in a homogeneous world governed in terms of a single system. There are systems of government which do not allow any dissent and which deny the public and the press the freedom to propagate opposition to the system itself. That is why one hears so much less of incidents in those countries than in countries which have a free press.

175. In my country, a large and influential section of the press vigorously criticizes the policies of my Government daily. Opposition to the Government's policies constitutes no offence in South Africa. Opposition is by no means limited to the press. Opposition to many aspects of my Government's policies is not infrequently expressed by black leaders in South Africa. And there are others. But no action is or can be taken under South African law against opponents and critics, with the single proviso that their opposition is not unconstitutional.

176. We do not deny that we are faced with problems in South Africa, even severe problems. In particular, the South African Government has to cope with delicate problems posed by the presence of a number of different peoples with different cultures and distinct identities living in one geographical territory. The problem in southern Africa is basically not one of race, but of nationalism, which is a world-wide problem. There is a white nationalism and there are several black nationalisms. These are realities. A just and lasting solution of the problems of the region must cater to the aims of all these nationalisms. My Government's objective is, indeed, that of promoting the well-being and progress of all, and the standards achieved compare very favourably with the rest of Africa. My Government's principal aim is to make it possible for each nation, black and white, to achieve its fullest potential, including sovereign independence, so that each individual can enjoy all the rights and privileges which his or her community is capable of securing for him or her.

177. No known system of Government is perfect, and South Africa does not claim perfection for its own. But it is a practical, adaptable system, and it is neither stagnant nor inflexible.

178. For good reasons, those who framed the Charter provided that States should have sole responsibility for their own internal affairs. No State can accept the prescriptions of an international body as to how it should deal with its own affairs. No State can accept that its capacity to act in a given domestic situation is qualified by what an outside body may later have to say. No State can afford to cede its future right to act within its borders as it deems appropriate in order to solve a problem, to avoid a potentially explosive situation or to establish order. South Africa shares this fundamental attitude and is not prepared to be held hostage to the Security Council in this way, nor to accept externally imposed restrictions on its freedom of domestic administration, least of all on its inherent duty to maintain law and order within its borders.

179. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Since this is a civilized Council which allows people the maximum degree of freedom and even to abuse freedom, we of course have no alternative but to be subjected to such barrages of nonsense. Unfortunately for my delegation, as a member of the Council, and no less, I am sure, for the delegations of Liberia and Algeria, which have been invited to participate, and for the other African members—in fact, for many other members—since we are in the Council, we could not but sit and be subjected to Mr. Botha's nonsense.

180. Of course, one of the privileges in the Security Council and in organizations like this is that people do not get shot like animals when they manifest their positions—something which perhaps the South African racist authorities could learn from the Council and from the United Nations.

181. Mr. Botha, whose Government's hands are stained with the blood of innocent schoolchildren, students and other people, came to this Council not to express regret and to apologize before this body of the international community but to justify and rationalize what is clearly unjustifiable and what is clearly abhorrent.

182. Mr. Botha has not changed much. He is his usual arrogant, self-righteous self. But then perhaps those in the Council who had hoped that, with the changing times, the representative of South Africa would change, at least in the forums of international opinion, were underestimating how sick is the society which produces such representatives. The lies and fabrications of the South African representative could in normal circumstances have simply been treated with the contempt they deserve, and no one in the Council would really have taken the trouble to try and rebut them. But since the situation with which we are dealing is very grave, and the concern that has been expressed is overwhelming, contrary to what Mr. Botha would like this Council to believe, it is appropriate that reference be made to some of his fabrications, at least for the purpose of keeping the record straight, and also because we should not forget that there are some people in some parts of the world who still fall victim to the massive and, I must confess and admit, efficient propaganda machinery of the South African authorities which can only be compared with the efficient propaganda machinery of Hitlerite Germany. For the benefit of those people, and not for the benefit of the members of the Council, I think it is important to put the record straight.

183. Mr. Botha at least did the Council one service. He admitted that there were demonstrations. He admitted there were killings. Of course, he justified them by saying that the duty of society is to protect law and order, and he tried to make us believe that somehow these demonstrations were inspired by someone. It would have really been an experience and an education for the members of the Council if the representative of the *apartheid* régime, with his usual generosity, could have enlightened this Council as to who were those who were inspiring the thousands of demonstrators opposing the system that has been imposed upon them.

184. Again, he accused the members of the Council—and, I must say, he accused almost everybody—because everyone who has spoken, without exception, has deplored the killings that have taken place. Everyone who has spoken, without exception, has expressed his outrage. Mr. Botha and his Government, who live in a world of their own, have their own sort of facts, their own sort of truths, their own sort of situations, and they believe they are the only people in this world who know what the facts are; they are the only people who can say what the truth is. And everybody else in the Council, everybody else in the United Nations, everybody else in the world outside, is either lying or fabricating or concocting stories.

185. Again I want to say it is a sick society producing a sick mentality, a distorted mentality and distorted visions of what the world is all about.

186. Mr. Botha talked of alleged resentment. According to him, there was resentment; he admitted there was resentment of an alloyed nature. He does not know what the thousands of schoolchildren were demonstrating about, not only in Soweto but in other township areas also. All who were demonstrating had no reason to demonstrate; it was simply some sort of inspiration coming from outside. I was in fact amazed and surprised that this time Mr. Botha did not say they were communist-inspired, because the logic of the South Africans leads them to see a Communist in every other street and under every other bed. Somehow this time they did not find communist justification. Perhaps that is because they heard the representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress earlier.

187. Again Mr. Botha was juggling with statistics about the standard of education. He tried to paint a rosy picture of the Africans in South Africa. He even mentioned how well the situation compares with that in the other African States. And this time he went further than that. We are used to comparisons with other African States. All the time he refers to the other African States and how ignorant we are, how uneducated we are, how impoverished we are. We are used to that. But this time he went even further. He said it compares with and is better than even the European countries. So there has at least been an additional observation from Mr. Botha to complement his typical remarks before the Council.

188. But let us go on to the actual statistics. What is the truth?

189. Mr. Botha says that the African children have not been forced to learn Afrikaans. All evidence, every statement, everything that has been said by the press, and all the information we have, conclusively prove that he is not telling the truth. I could say he is lying, but I am more polite. The African children are forced to learn subjects in English and in Afrikaans.

190. This is about the fourth or fifth time that Mr. Botha has come to this Council table and used the words "we Africans". The more he uses those words, the more unconvincing he becomes. And the more repression the South Africans resort to, the more we must question that they are Africans. We have not really questioned their statement about being Africans until now, but Mr. Botha's speech today and the behaviour of his régime leave us no choice except to question whether they really are Africans.

191. Mr. Botha pictured the situation as being very rosy. Why, then, must the African children learn English, and now Afrikaans, while the white students are not forced to learn the African languages? Why,

for instance, are the white children not forced to learn Zulu? That would give some semblance of fairness. If the white students had to learn the African languages, then we would believe Mr. Botha when he comes to this Council and says, "We are all Africans; it is only that we have separate nationalisms". Mr. Botha says that everyone must learn the language of South Africa. Then perhaps he could have gone to school and learned his mathematics in Zulu, and Mr. Vorster could have gone to school and learned chemistry in Tsonga, or some other African language. Why should all this apply only to the Africans? Why is it that the whites must have these privileges and the Africans must be subjected to these humiliations?

192. Mr. Botha gave false statistics also—or, to be more precise, he gave misleading statistics. The expenditure per pupil for Africans in the field of education is less than one tenth of the expenditure per pupil for the whites. Mr. Botha did not say that. But he did admit that Africans, who get less than starvation wages, are required to pay fees and buy textbooks. They have to buy textbooks, but the whites are not required to buy textbooks.

193. Mr. Botha neglected to mention another important fact—namely, that a large percentage of the teachers in the African schools are unqualified and that African education is segregated; it is controlled by the white régime, and Africans have no voice at all. The decisions are made by white Ministers and officials. Indeed, the rectors and senior staff of universities are invariably white.

194. I could go on quoting statistics, all of which are valid. But there would be no point in doing so. Mr. Botha and his régime really know better. They know that the issue here is not how African education in South Africa compares with African education in Tanzania or in Mozambique or in Algeria or Egypt. We are talking about the standard of education in South Africa; we are talking about the wealth of the people of South Africa being expropriated by a few, at the expense of the overwhelming majority. We want the representative of South Africa to come to the Council and tell us how African education in South Africa compares with white education in South Africa. We want him to tell the Council how much is spent for black education and how much is spent for white education. I challenge him to come to this table and tell the Council that.

195. It may sound rather strange, but there is one point on which I agree with Mr. Botha; I must be very fair to him. I agree that the imposition of the Afrikaans language is not the only source of the problem in South Africa. In fact, it is only a symptom of the problem. I made that point very clear in my statement yesterday, and it has been made clear in the statements to this Council by many other representatives. The use of Afrikaans is only one of the many measures imposed on the African people; it is only

one of the measures that forced the African people into the uprising with which we are now confronted.

196. Perhaps Mr. Botha or his representative was not here early this morning when we made our statement. Or perhaps he no longer has the privilege he used to have of reading the verbatim records. For his benefit, therefore, I shall repeat something from my statement early this morning—and it is not the representative of Tanzania, the representative of an African State, who is saying this; it is an excerpt from *The Times* of London of 17 June, two days ago. Surely, *The Times* cannot be accused of fabrications or of being anti-white or of having hallucinations about the race problem. This is what *The Times* said: "But Afrikaans was only the detonator. The explosive is the whole South African *apartheid* policy—." [1929th meeting, para. 106.] So Mr. Botha, *The Times* and the representative of Tanzania do agree on one thing.

197. Mr. Botha again talked about a dialogue. We agree that there should be a dialogue. But, obviously, the Africans can draw only one conclusion from the behaviour of the South African racist authorities: one cannot have a dialogue with the deaf; to do so would be a miracle. The South African authorities have no intention of discussing with the legitimate representatives of the African people the question of how to effect changes in South Africa that would avoid a racial conflagration. In fact, they do not really want a dialogue; they want a monologue. They are to say what is right. They are to impose the laws. They are to practise repression. If the laws are not accepted, then they will go on massacring children, students and other innocent civilians.

198. The South African representative said, quite rightly, that there are student demonstrations all over the world. I could not agree with him more. But perhaps he was not listening to the representative of Pakistan, or if he was listening he was not interested in what that representative was saying. The representative of Pakistan said that there are student demonstrations all over the world, but the point is how these demonstrations are handled by civilized authorities. In civilized countries, people do not resort to automatic weapons, helicopters, rifles, submachine guns and what-have-you to confront children and students; people use the very minimum of violence and they try to understand the genuine grievances of the students, while maintaining law and order. Therein lies the difference between the behaviour of the *apartheid* régime and the behaviour of civilized Governments all over the world, whether in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, in Europe, or anywhere else.

199. The representative of South Africa talked about not being intimidated. No one wishes to intimidate the South African delegation. This Council is not known for intimidating anyone. Perhaps that is one of the tragedies, that the Council has so far failed to take the requisite measures to impose on recalcitrant régimes

like the South African régime adherence to this Organization's decisions.

200. But I can assure him that neither are African States intimidated. The Organization of African Unity and distinguished African Heads of State have made it clear in many statements that they would prefer to see an evolution in South Africa that would ensure justice and human dignity for everyone there. They would prefer that evolution to take a peaceful form. But at the same time, we have made it very clear that when peaceful methods are obstructed, as they are in fact obstructed by the behaviour of the racist authorities, there can be no alternative but to support whole-heartedly the legitimate struggle for liberation in South Africa. And that struggle—Mr. Botha should make no mistake about it—will be supported, irrespective of how his Government feels, irrespective of how powerful it may become, and irrespective of how much support it may receive from some of its friends outside.

201. Two final observations. Botha says that the problem in South Africa is not race, it is a struggle of nationalism. That statement is so ridiculous that it does not merit any comment: I shall just make one observation. Of course the struggle in South Africa is not one of race. The struggle in South Africa is against racial superiority; it is against the behaviour of a group of people which believes that somehow God has created them to be the "chosen people", to lord it over the Africans, to repress Africans, to deny Africans their fundamental rights, and to continue to suppress them by using the most brutal force. That is what the struggle is all about. It is not because Mr. Botha happens to be white. For all I care he could have been as black as charcoal and we would still have opposed him with the same vehemence, resoluteness and determination.

202. The second point is the question of "internal affairs". Members of this Council who know and respect the United Nations and its decisions need hardly be told that *apartheid* and the behaviour of an *apartheid* régime are something special. They have been condemned by the Organization, by the Security Council, and the international community considers that it has a responsibility to fight to eliminate them. Therefore, when Mr. Botha comes to this Council and somehow desires the Council to wash away the problem of *apartheid*, he is at best indulging in an exercise in self-delusion.

203. In conclusion, let me say that time is fast running out for the régime of *apartheid* in South Africa. The African people in South Africa are not going to remain intimidated; they are not going to remain silent and acquiesce in their humiliation and degradation. The demonstrations that are now taking place in South Africa are simply a manifestation of the national uprising and resistance which can never be crushed by the forces of the *apartheid* régime; it can never be crushed by any amount of force and will ultimately result in the triumph of justice and human dignity.

204. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed that Mr. David Sibeko, representative of the Pan Africanist Congress, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules, of procedure, wishes to make a further statement to the Council. If no member of the Council raises any objection, I shall invite Mr. Sibeko to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

205. Mr. SIBEKO: The respect of the Pan Africanist Congress for the dignity of the Council was expressed by me during our statement yesterday. But I should like, even in the grave circumstances that have compelled us to convene on this occasion, to draw a slightly light-hearted anecdote from Azania. A colleague with whom I worked on one of South Africa's newspapers, after following for a particularly long period of time a particularly incompetent lawyer who lost case after case before magistrates in the Johannesburg regional court, said that it would not surprise him if one day that lawyer was engaged by a bicycle thief to defend such a theft and that in the end the accused would be sentenced to death.

206. For one who represents a movement such as ours, a movement recognized by the United Nations as a legitimate representative of the African people in Azania—and the African people of our country have demonstrated by their actions that they support the principles for which this movement stands—it is very difficult to dignify the mendacity that has been inflicted on this Council by a speaker from South Africa's racist régime with any pointed answers. But I would say that, having listened carefully to the statements of a number of delegations of members of the Council and other States Members of the United Nations, we have come to the firm conclusion that there is near unanimity in condemning the policies of *apartheid* of the South African white-settler régime, and that that condemnation flows from well-documented facts, from visual evidence which no amount of untruths, no matter how skilfully prepared, can ever cover up.

207. It is our opinion that no delegation which has listened to Vorster's representative addressing this Council can possibly come away with anything other than a confirmation of the justice of the case of the Azanian people—including those young children—who have been massacred by South African police over the past few days.

208. There was an attempt here by Vorster's representative to hide behind the shield of the legal technicalities that are enshrined in the Charter and to reimpose the worn-out excuse and rationale of South Africa that discussion in the United Nations of the problems of *apartheid* in South Africa is an interference in the domestic affairs of South Africa. The South African *apartheid* régime is too far from becoming a legitimate authority for it ever to speak, on behalf of the entire population of that country, of anyone interfering in that country's internal affairs.



Indeed, it is under a mandate from a series of conventions and congresses held by the Pan Africanist Congress, the African National Congress and, much more recently, by members of the black consciousness movement that we have come here to present and to articulate the case of our people.

209. Previously, the Pan Africanist Congress had challenged the South African racist régime, declaring that that régime has within its means the power to do so—since South Africa continually claims to be African itself, something we reject with the contempt that it invites—to subject its points of view to popular opinion in our country. Its reply, as we all know, has been the enactment of harsher laws, year in, year out; bloody massacres such as those which have been taking place over the past three days or so in Azania; and the incarceration of spokesmen, legitimate leaders of the African people of South Africa. In no way does it prepare to meet the simple and reasonable demand to which all civilized countries in the world have submitted. Indeed, in any civilized society, a Government resigns when popular indignation is expressed in the clear manner in which the demonstrators have been expressing their feelings in South Africa during this week. But these standards are far too high for the Vorster régime. Vorster believes in the law of the jungle. His representative has just testified to that effect—that they will not be intimidated by the will of the African masses, and that they will maintain law and order at all costs. And we know that the primary cost is going to be in terms of human lives.

210. The South African racist régime—the current one—came into power by prattling on about the “*swart gevaar*”—or the “black danger”—and today it continually accuses the liberation movement and the mass movement of the African people in our country of polarizing the races in South Africa. But we know, from visual evidence again, that there have been white students demonstrating their solidarity with the African resistance that is taking place in our country. And in desperation the Vorster régime is attempting to revive its fear tactics of warning whites that they must retreat into that tiny *laager* of white supremacy, lest they be swept away by the popular resistance unfolding in Azania.

211. This man comes here and juggles statistics, in the face of the deaths of so many scores of children and, by the very statement he makes before this Council, implies that the African people are not grateful for all the “goodies” that the South African racist régime is handing to them. This strikes at the core of the matter in Azania. The African people are not being done a favour when the South African racist régime builds schools—limited as they are—or provides any facilities in any place. Their just entitlement is the total land and the total national wealth of that country; and all these injustices that are being perpetrated are designed to deny our people their full entitlement to the land and wealth of our country.

212. What Botha has failed to tell the Council—quite deliberately—is the actual number of students and the number of lecturers who had been incarcerated in South African prisons, even before the violence broke out on 16 June. As recently as 10 days ago or less, the South African racist régime went to one of the colleges where there had been protest and arrested lecturers and students. Even the school authorities in that university stated that those lecturers were not known for their political activity; it is likely that they were pure academics who had expressed their opposition to the impositions that flow from the Bantu Education Act in South Africa.

213. And this man had the temerity to come here and say that problems are solved through discussion, despite the fact that the excellent opportunities at the disposal of the so-called Union of South Africa over the past 50 and more years since its creation have never been exploited to provide a meaningful dialogue between the oppressed African majority and the oppressing white minority. I think it was the representative of the United Kingdom, at another meeting, who said that the price of democracy is high; and part of that price is that the Council must extend to Botha the kind of facilities that his régime shoots six-year-old children for attempting to avail themselves of.

214. But some people will wonder why, when Botha knows this as well as everyone else sitting around this table and elsewhere, he bothers to come here and insult the integrity of members with falsehoods. I think we have part of the answer. Part of the answer is that the gullible, sympathetic Western mass media are ever too ready to pick up anything that Botha will say here—to splash it across banner headlines, to give him prime time on television channels, and to allow him to inflict his nonsensical propaganda on audiences all over this country and in other Western countries overseas.

215. So the consideration of this problem moves in a vicious circle in a certain sense. But so long as Western countries, by their reluctance, resist taking decisive action at the level of the Security Council and invoking the necessary measures under the provisions of the Charter to contain the support that is enjoyed by the South African racist régime from multinational corporations, which are supplying it with every available kind of sophisticated machinery as well as weapons; so long as Western countries do not legislate in favour of the arms embargo that has been called for by the United Nations; so long as those countries afford South Africa the diplomatic and political protection that Vorster has come to expect as an automatic response from his Western friends; so long will the situation exist in which when the Council meets on a grave matter, a matter of mass life and death, and the representative of a minority régime will come and use this platform to peddle the propaganda of his régime.

216. We have been told that the students of Ngoya, where the tribal university of Zululand is situated, have recently stoned an "opponent" of the South African racist régime. And this brings us to another aspect of the struggle in South Africa. Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania has correctly pointed out that South Africa engages in a monologue rather than a dialogue and that it has created its own little black flunkies, political golliwogs who are prepared to minister to the needs of the *apartheid* régime. It has installed these people in toy administrations with make-believe titles, and then it takes these titles and flings them around in its prayers and builds up magnificent propaganda for them, allowing the title-holders, within a certain range, to make certain criticisms of minor irritants in the *apartheid* system, and then comes and peddles them here as opponents of the South African racist régime.

217. We all know where the genuine opponents of the South African racist régime are. They are facing the guns of Vorster today, or they are on Robben Island, or they are under house arrest and other banning orders. Yet, as the Black People's Convention had occasion to observe the other day, the man referred to here today by Botha is a man who has become a privileged globe-trotter who can move in and out of South Africa at the drop of a hat, while the true leaders of the African people are kept on Robben Island—like Nyati Pokela, the acting National Secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress; Samuel Chibane, a young student who is doing a life sentence; Isaac Mtimunye, another young student who is doing life plus nine years on Robben Island; Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, and other people who are under house arrest and other restrictions such as Mangaliso Sobukwe, the President of the Pan Africanist Congress.

218. Indeed, it is time that the United Nations broke out from the vicious circle or the revolving door in which it finds itself caught. Botha in his mendacity should not be let off lightly. We implore this Council to proceed rapidly to the adoption of the draft resolution which is now before it, and whilst this Council remains seized of the matter, it is the Pan Africanist Congress's very serious and very deeply felt request and appeal that action be taken under Chapter VII of the Charter so that mandatory sanctions on the supply of arms, on trade and on diplomatic relations with South Africa can be effectively imposed so that we can execute the sweep job of eliminating that scourge to humanity, the South African racist régime.

219. Mr. PAQUI (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I ask you kindly to look around you in this chamber; you will find the illustrious person who has just addressed the Council. In view of that act of insolence, my delegation will in the future reserve its right to challenge any authorization for that delegation to speak.

220. For how long is the Council to continue to listen to Botha's arrogant and insolent words? Once again Botha has just insulted the intelligence of the Council and of the international community. He has just given us his revised and corrected conception of the version of democracy which one of his masters used to champion in this chamber. Botha has told us a lot of absurdities, talked nonsense.

221. Given what we have heard, my delegation could have reacted with sovereign disdain to what Botha has just stated but, as everyone here knows, the behaviour of the South African delegation clearly proves that the intelligence of the white minority of South Africa must be questioned. Therefore, we must reply to certain parts of that statement.

222. He alleges that the danger to peace and security does not emanate from his régime but from the neighbouring African countries. What does he mean by that? Was it the African countries which conceived the philosophy of *apartheid* and asked his régime to impose it on the black majority of Azania? He claims that the problem of South Africa is not one of racism but of nationalism. He who thinks he belongs to a civilized society, can he say that in such a society, in a republic—since for the time being there exists a so-called Republic of South Africa—in a nation, there can and should be several nationalisms—I repeat nationalism? Is not support for such a concept support for a racist thesis? Is it not support for the supremacy of a minority over an overwhelming majority?

223. He says his régime is in favour of law and order, and he himself has declared that without law no State could exist. My delegation would like to know what State Botha is referring to and what law. Is it a law conceived by a racist minority and imposed on a majority which must bow to the diktats of the Afrikaners? He has told us that South Africa is ready for confrontation. Very well. Black Africa is also ready for confrontation, and Black Africa will not be intimidated.

224. In any case, Mr. Botha can transmit to the racist Fascist authorities he claims to represent, on behalf of whom he has spoken, the following message. They can have atomic reactors, atomic bombs even. They can benefit from the military, strategic and other support of their traditional allies. They can have at their disposal the most sophisticated weapons. But that will not prevent the heroic people of Azania from confronting them and imposing on them a bitter and overwhelming defeat.

225. The Africans have tried everything, and the documents of the international community are here to prove it. They have been patient and, as everyone knows, they have exercised restraint. At one time, they even thought the best way to bring South Africa to reason was to ask the Secretary-General to enter into talks with the Vorster régime; some even con-



ceived the idea of a dialogue with a régime with which, they had, however, nothing in common. The insolence and disdain that have been increasingly shown by the Pretoria authorities leave no alternative to Africa as a whole but to declare a legitimate war on the racist minority régime in South Africa. The people of Azania will no longer be alone. It will have with it all of Africa, which will struggle with all the means at its disposal. Responsibility for that struggle, which will become widespread, will not rest with Africa but with the racists of South Africa. Responsibility will also fall upon its unconditional supporters, which chose not to impose upon that régime, whose country abounds with incalculable wealth coveted, of course, by the industrialized nation, the measures which have been necessary for years, and which the Charter empowers them to take.

226. Botha has once again ventured to come here to insult us, to insult the international community. Let him go and teach his Afrikaans, which he describes as the most modern language in the world, where his ancestors come from. The black Azanian people is in its homeland; and when the Afrikaners settled there, they had to come to terms with the Azanians, because the blacks do not have racist feelings, least of all in the gross and stupid form consecrated by the *apartheid* authorities. The white minority which uses this "modern" Afrikaans would have found its place if it had taken the trouble to learn African sociology and psychology. Lacking the intelligence to do so, and lacking that adaptability, the Afrikaners, like other racist régimes, will sooner or later be compelled to go and apply their philosophical and political concepts elsewhere. In saying this, my delegation does not wish to be demagogic; but Botha should warn those on whose behalf he has ventured to address the Council that the events we have just described may come about sooner than they expect. A word to the wise is enough.

227. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed that Mr. Thami Mhlambiso, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, wishes to make a further statement to the Council. If no member of the Council raises any objection, I shall invite...

228. Mr. RÍOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The subject we are considering is extremely important, and for that very reason I request that if the debate is to continue we have a recess of one hour. I say this on my own behalf; but there are others who have been here since the beginning of the meeting. Nevertheless, as I said in my brief statement, it would be my wish that the Council adopt a resolution as soon as possible.

229. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): I share the concern of my colleague from Panama. Quite clearly, we have been here since the morning, and I do know that some of our colleagues would

really like to have a breather. His request is absolutely justified. I would, however, like to appeal to him not to press it because it is my understanding that we are almost on the point of concluding the debate and adopting a decision. For the very reason he has mentioned—the gravity of the situation—it may be as well if we try to stay here one more hour so that we may adopt a decision. As he himself knows, although we may say we are going to suspend the meeting for one hour including that of the present speaker, experience of the Council's proceedings leads us to believe that we will not really start again in one hour. In saying this, I do not mean to question the punctuality of the members of the Council, including my own, but I do appeal to him not to press his proposal. I believe we should proceed in order to adopt a decision. I am not opposing his suggestion; I am only appealing to him.

230. The PRESIDENT: I have the impression that the representative of Panama has responded favourably to the appeal of the representative of Tanzania.

231. While saying this, I would appeal on behalf of the Council to the three remaining speakers, including the representative of Guyana, to bear these considerations in mind and be as brief as possible.

232. I have been informed that Mr. Thami Mhlambiso, the representative of the African National Congress, to whom the Council extended an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, wishes to make a further statement. As I hear no objection, I invite Mr. Mhlambiso to take a place at the Council table and make his statement.

233. Mr. MHLAMBISO: Since brevity appears to be essential at the moment, I shall not be long. Of course, we could continue debating this subject for weeks on end, but there cannot really be any adequate discussion of the question of *apartheid*. I would only ask you, Mr. President, to bear with me if I speak for a minute of two longer than I should.

234. A short time ago the Council witnessed an exhibition of arrogance by none other than Mr. Botha. Actually the present situation in South Africa might even be attributed to that kind of arrogance. There is a common saying that those whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad.

235. I do not wish to dignify with a reply the shibboleths used by my learned friend Mr. Botha. I wish merely to point out that it is men like him that must represent South Africa; these are the men that speak for civilization.

236. If there is one thing the British taught us, it was the use of the English language. Our ears are very keen. We have a good sense of smell also. We can perceive distortions and lies at a great distance. Mr. Botha was trained in the use of language as a

lawyer, and he knew exactly what he was doing when he spoke here. I had only an elementary training in law which course does not compare with that of Mr. Botha. But I am sure of one thing: although we may perhaps have read the same textbooks our interpretations are different. My interpretation of law and order is certainly not the same as that of Mr. Botha and his Prime Minister. I will say no more.

237. This morning press dispatches contained a report that yesterday the South African police had "ordered" a group of African prisoners from Soweto to hop and run on the spot, and then made them load bodies of riot victims into a mortuary van". A journalist from *The Rand Daily Mail* reported that he had watched, at about midnight, from a car in which he was seated a group of about 20 prisoners being marched into a police station yard in Soweto. One of the prisoners was a child of about 10 years of age. They were ordered to hop and run on the spot for about 15 minutes. And this is another quote from the wire services: "An African policeman hit one of the prisoners with his truncheon and shouted, 'This is black power'."

238. I have drawn attention to those incidents merely to show the level of bestiality to which the South African *apartheid* system has reduced African policemen. They are sub-human. In fact, I do not think they should be regarded as Africans. They are animals, just like the Government they represent.

239. The news report goes on:

"The black teenagers were marched back into the police station, but three hours later were brought out and ordered to load about 10 corpses, which had been lying uncovered on the ground for several hours, into the mortuary van."

240. These reports do not come from the African National Congress, and therefore we cannot be accused of deliberate distortions. They are reports from Reuters.

241. It has been reported by the same wire service that Australian anti-*apartheid* campaigners took over a city store to protest against what they referred to as the store's policy of buying South African frozen fish. I mention this in order to emphasize that we feel even more strongly today that the policy of economic boycott of South African must be strengthened. This South African frozen fish must be looked upon as the frozen bodies of those schoolchildren who were murdered a few days ago by the South African régime.

242. I am not sure whether I may safely conclude that the situation in South Africa has been thoroughly debated. I am, however, sure that all of us realize the gravity of the situation in my country—particularly after listening to Mr. Botha.

243. Last night in Parliament, the South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, referred in very strong and emotional terms to his duty to maintain law and order. It emerged clearly from his statement that he is ready even to forgo his meeting with the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger.

244. Our reason for responding to Mr. Vorster's statement is to emphasize that to Vorster, law and order means the strict enforcement of *apartheid*, even at the cost of human lives.

245. In Vorster we are dealing with a man who has callously flouted the resolutions of the Security Council; a man who is prepared to maim and kill all those who support the principles for which this Organization stands. How long will this august body continue to allow that man to scoff at and insult the international community? It is for this reason that we feel the Council must take action against the illegal Vorster régime, diplomatically, economically, politically, militarily and otherwise.

246. The resistance of our people continues unabated. The South African police and army may crush the uprisings today, but they cannot root out from the hearts and minds of our people the desire to be free in the land of their birth. We need the support of all democracy-loving peoples and Government.

247. I have listened very attentively to the debate that has taken place on this subject. I must at this stage express, on behalf of the African National Congress and the people of South Africa, our sincerest appreciation for the speeches of those representatives who have spoken in our support. I wish also to thank the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Republic and the United Republic of Tanzania for their letter to the President of the Council [S/12100]. Our heartfelt thanks and congratulations also go to the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar for his telegram, to the Secretary-General [S/12101]. Finally, the African National Congress this morning called for a demonstration to protest the killings and violence by the *apartheid* régime in South Africa in Soweto and other areas. The demonstration is going on outside at this moment. That shows that people all over the world are angry, and this anger must sooner or later be translated into positive action.

248. I have in a small way, even at this late hour, by cable warned Prime Minister Vorster and his representative, Mr. Botha, and spelled out in no uncertain terms how we feel, placing at their door the responsibility for the lives of those African children and students.

249. In addition, I should like to request the Council to view with grave concern the situation in Namibia. In my brief statement yesterday I confined myself specifically to what was going on in Soweto and the surrounding townships. I think that to some extent

I should try to put the struggle of the South African people in a general perspective. I think people should not look upon what is happening in South Africa as an isolated struggle or a mere disturbance in South Africa. I should like the international community to view the struggle in South Africa today as that of all the peoples of Africa, as a struggle of all the peoples in the third-world countries, and as a struggle of all the democracy-loving peoples in the Western countries, in the socialist countries and in the Scandinavian countries. That is why we are certain that in the end victory must be ours. This is why our brothers and sisters in Namibia are also targets of the same acts of wanton violence at the hands of the irresponsible South African police and Government. Many Namibian patriots and comrades-in-arms are being imprisoned, tortured and executed by the Government of South Africa, which is illegally occupying Namibia.

250. Our support goes also to the people of Zimbabwe, who are courageously waging a just struggle against the Smith white-supremacist régime. There can be no peace in southern Africa until the rights of the Zimbabwean people are restored.

251. I am also prompted to express our support for and solidarity with the Palestinian people who are waging a just struggle against zionism, which has denied the Palestinian people their right to self-determination. The link between the racist South African Government and the Zionist régime has been clearly demonstrated by the recent meetings between Vorster and Rabin. South Africa is acting in the same way against African schoolchildren at Soweto, Tembisa, Alexander township and in many other parts of South Africa. This unholy alliance between Tel Aviv and Pretoria must be smashed.

252. It is in that context too that the alliance with West Germany and the meetings between Kissinger and Vorster, scheduled to take place in West Germany, must be viewed very seriously.

253. Long live the Palestine Liberation Organization! Long live the liberation movement in southern Africa!

254. We also wish to express our gratitude to the socialist countries, the Scandinavian countries and all the non-aligned and third-world countries, without whose support our struggle would not have reached its present level.

255. We must also congratulate the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde for their heroic struggle against colonialism and foreign domination. Their heroic examples are a great source of encouragement to us all.

256. I must also express my deep appreciation to those men and women, both from the missions and from the Secretariat of the Organization, who have untiringly devoted their energies to the work of the Special

Committee against *Apartheid*, the Centre against *apartheid* and the Committee on decolonization<sup>1</sup>. In particular, I must re-emphasize our appreciation of the men who head those committees and units.

257. *Apartheid* must be smashed. We are prepared to see that objective attained in our lifetime. The struggle continues. It takes power to seize power; the international community must help us seize power.

258. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Liberia.

259. Mrs. BROOKS-RANDOLPH (Liberia): As I sat here listening to the representative of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa and tried to restrain myself from asking to be allowed to speak, I was reminded of a story: a man had died, and at his funeral the preachers was saying so many good things about him that his widow turned to his son and said, "Go and peek inside that coffin and see if it really is your father who is lying in there." So the son went and looked inside the coffin, returned to his mother and said, "It looks like him, but judging from all the things that have been said, it cannot be: he was one of the meanest men on earth." That story could apply to what the representative of the *apartheid* régime has been saying.

260. I have one question concerning his explanation of the police brutality: I should like to know if any sane person can say that in order to resist a six-year-old child one must take a pistol and shoot him. I have begun to wonder whether the police force of this South African *apartheid* régime was made up intentionally of madmen, because it would seem to me that only madmen would commit such atrocities.

261. When we speak of the *apartheid* régime, I think of a newspaper article I read this morning describing how, at this late day in the twentieth century, a worker can still be calling his employer "master". It prompts me to say that people who live in bondage do not understand what black power really is.

262. It is ludicrous, at this time in history, when the South African régime can huddle people together to live in areas called bantustans, that its representative can nevertheless sit at this table and try to impress the Council, even though the facts accumulated in the Council over a period of years would, we know, contradict anything he has said.

263. What I want to tell the representative of the South African *apartheid* régime is this. First, if his Government wants to impress Council members and the world, it must abrogate the laws against the human dignity of the true Africans of South Africa, the sons of the soil. South Africa must abrogate this rotten system of *apartheid*. Secondly, the hands of the clock cannot be turned back in this period of history. For too long have the people of Africa, the indigenous

Africans of South Africa, tried to bear their cruel treatment and even the massacres perpetrated against their brethren. In this period of history they will revolt, and they will revolt knowing that there are African States—African brothers and sisters—that will support their cause—and, moreover, that there are other nations that will stand up for justice and right, regardless of the consequences, and will be able to make their contribution.

264. The PRESIDENT: I should now like to make a statement in my capacity as representative of GUYANA.

265. Sixteen years ago, the racist South African régime, in one of the most callous acts of brutality ever perpetrated against mankind, massacred in cold blood scores of black Africans at Sharpeville. So outraged was the international community that that action of the Fascist Pretoria régime was roundly and universally condemned. And every year since that fateful day, this Organization has sought to remind all nations and all peoples of the anathema of racism and *apartheid* by consecrating 21 March as the occasion for a solemn recommitment to the total eradication of those twin evils.

266. Now, less than three months since we last paid homage to the martyrs of Sharpeville and to the other fighters of Azania and elsewhere who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of freedom and justice, the world is witness to another monstrous exhibition of barbarism by the oppressive State apparatus of the minority clique which has installed itself in Pretoria.

267. What has happened in the last few days in Soweto and in other black concentration camps reflects vividly the ruthless ferocity that the whites in South Africa are prepared to employ so as to maintain their positions of dominance and privilege founded on their exploitation of the toiling black masses of South Africa. But, most importantly, the events reflect, in a manner that is as clear as it is unmistakable, the resoluteness of the overwhelming majority of the people in that unhappy land to resist to the limit of their capabilities the continuation of the crime that is *apartheid*, and unremittingly to strive towards the goal of the early and total dismantlement of the structure of *apartheid*.

268. Guyana condemns in the strongest possible terms this latest outrage, a further manifestation of the cruelty, ruthlessness and harshness of the institutionalized system of *apartheid* which continues to frustrate the legitimate and internationally acclaimed aspirations of the black people of Azania. I can best express Guyana's feelings by reading the text of a statement made in Georgetown by my Foreign Minister, Comrade Frederick Wills, yesterday. It reads as follows:

"The Government and people of Guyana condemn in the strongest terms the wanton massacre by the

South African police of numerous Africans in Soweto and in other black townships around Johannesburg, and calls upon the international community to invoke every possible measure in bringing to an end immediately the slaughter of defenceless Africans whose only crime was to draw attention, in the only way available to them, to the continued denial of their rights as human beings.

"This mass murder, which is the latest in the series which have marked the bloody annals of the minority racist régime in Pretoria, must compel the international community to face steadily the harsh and brutal realities of the régime of *apartheid*. Murder is the inevitable end-result of a system whose structures inflict daily and hourly violence on the personalities of the people of South Africa. It is a system which degrades and brutalizes and effectively prevents the full realization of one's humanity.

"Those who, under the guise of strategic reasoning, maintain connexions with South Africa, but whose real motives are to protect the massive capitalist investment which exploits cheap and brutalized African labour, now stand condemned as accomplices in the tragedy of Soweto. We are only at the beginning of the struggle, but there can be no final settlement in southern Africa which does not provide for the complete eradication of the evil system of *apartheid* and the elimination of the minority racist régime which perpetrates and exploits it.

"The Government and people of Guyana remain steadfast in their commitment, as a matter of national policy, to the support of all measures designed to eradicate the evils of racism and *apartheid*. We will continue to work with those in the vanguard of the struggle against the minority racist régimes in southern Africa until, one day soon, all of Africa is free."

269. This most recent blatant act of brutality has sent shock waves of horror throughout the international community, as evidenced by the statements of condemnation delivered here by the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim; the Chairman of the Committee of 24<sup>1</sup>; the acting Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and many leaders and freedom-loving peoples throughout the world.

270. The immediate *casus belli* is the implementation of the so-called Bantu Education Act. Many delegations have dealt with the specifics of the situation in great detail. There is, therefore, no need to repeat them here. But I believe that it is apposite to observe that the responses of both the alleged beneficiaries of that Act, the blacks, and the so-called dispensers of such benefits, the white supremacists, have served to put into sharp relief the contradictions between the concept of law and order as practised by fascists

and that of freedom and dignity as preached and desired by the oppressed blacks.

271. Against immense odds, the blacks, armed principally with their will and their determination, challenged and confronted the mighty military machine assembled in South Africa. While the people of Guyana mourn with their brothers and sisters in South Africa over the human price paid in raising aloft the torch of freedom, they gather strength from the demonstration of defiance, resolution and heightened political consciousness symbolized by the raising of the clenched fist, eloquently proclaiming "Power to the people". They gather strength, as well, from the growing identification of elements of Vorster's political constituents with the cause of freedom. Guyana's commitment to the struggle of the people of Azania remains firm and unshakable.

272. In an effort to stem the tide of liberation which is sweeping across southern Africa, Vorster and his racist henchmen have once again resorted to the use of massive violence, using such violence as the instrument for maintaining the *status quo*. But it is a futile effort. The more recent history of southern Africa has witnessed the liberation of oppressed peoples in Mozambique and Angola, and bears full testimony to the fact that the final victory against oppression, human degradation and colonialism in all its despicable forms can be won by means of armed confrontation, if that is the only course left open.

273. It may be that the character of institutionalized State violence in South Africa has lulled the supporters of that régime into the misguided belief that societies founded on such decadent forms of racial, social and economic injustice are invested with a quasi-permanent relevance. We say this because even as vociferous, verbal protestations against *apartheid* have become more universal, so have the essential underpinnings for the maintenance of the system of *apartheid* continued to be buttressed by economic, military and other means of support by some of the most powerful States in the world, and there is clear and discernible resistance from those States to establishing the correspondence which logic seems to demand between their words and their deeds. To them the prospects for the true liberation of the African people of South Africa appear a long way off, if at all obtainable. Yet, history has taught that an oppressed people, resolute in its determination for genuine freedom, must in the end triumph over the forces of domination and oppression.

274. Is there a more graphic and inspiring example of this inevitable process of history than the successful completion of the extinction of the Portuguese empire in Africa? The impact of the victory of those heroic people has already heightened the consciousness and reaffirmed the determination of freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, Namibia and, yes, in Azania itself. The bitter events in Soweto demonstrate vividly the utter

truth of the conviction oft expressed in the forums of this Organization that no force on earth can frustrate for ever the will and the determination of the majority of the people of Azania to regain their right to live as free human beings in their own homeland. Once again, the strength and the will of the human spirit to flourish and to persevere against fearful odds has been illustrated.

275. It should now be clear to all the white people of Azania that in their own self-interest—indeed, for their very survival—they should come to terms with the forces of history and seek a peaceful solution, even at this late hour, to the situation in Azania, evolving, indeed erupting, in such a dramatic manner. In this respect, the white people of South Africa will do well to heed the writing on the walls of Soweto and respond positively to the words of one of the leaders of the African people, Mrs. Winnie Mandela, whose husband is still in chains. In this moment of grave sadness in Azania, this is what Mrs. Mandela said: "What I think the role of the white man is today is to try to accommodate himself to the forthcoming structure which will be brought about by the black man." Those words may well be pondered by the white people of Azania.

276. However, the historic struggle of the people of Azania for their sacred, inalienable rights sends a clear message far beyond the borders of Soweto and South Africa. It is a message which gives further justification to the resolution of the General Assembly last year, proclaiming that:

"the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, and towards those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their struggle against *apartheid*" [Resolution 3411 C (XXX)].

It is a message which serves to remind the international community once again that what is really at stake in Azania is not only the freedom and dignity of the oppressed majority in that land of oppression. The freedom and dignity of all mankind, of people everywhere, is at stake, for human freedom and human dignity are indivisible.

277. Therefore, those who, for short-term perceived gains, still give succour and assistance to the Pretoria racists should be stirred by the massacres in Soweto. They should call a halt to such collaboration and assistance, for in doing so they will be responding to the demands of history and equally to the demands of mankind.

278. The situation in South Africa at present is grave. Today's spark is tomorrow's fire. Time is on the side of justice and equity, and the whites of South Africa are not on that side. The threat to international peace and security, which recent events confirm, is posed by

the callous activities of the racist clique in Pretoria. If not removed by an abandonment of *apartheid* now, it will lead to the breach of peace and security which surely we all wish to avoid.

279. Mr. VINCI (Italy): If I have asked to speak, it is not in order to explain at this stage the position of my delegation on the eight-Power draft resolution [S/12103] submitted to the Council. I shall do so after the adoption of the text.

280. I wish to move a procedural motion. We have had a very constructive, significant and enlightening debate. We heard only one dissonant, one discordant vote—that of the representative of South Africa. The passionate, eloquent and forceful speech made by Ambassador Salim in response to that statement and in which our colleague from the United Republic of Tanzania expressed the sentiment and opinion of each of us around this table has led me to the sincere belief that the best way that we can conclude our deliberations is by consensus.

281. I wish I could make this proposal with the force and eloquence with which Mr. Salim responded to the representative of South Africa.

282. It is my understanding that the text introduced by Benin, Guyana, the Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania reflects the unanimous feelings and views of all the members of the Council. In order not to leave any doubt in the minds of the Government of South Africa that they are completely isolated, we have, I believe, a unique opportunity to show Pretoria that we are all united, that the whole world community is one and speaks with one voice in condemning the policy of *apartheid* and advocating the necessary changes in their attitude, in their conduct, in their anachronistic, out-dated, unjust and short-sighted outlook. In proceeding thus we should have a better chance to make an impact on the Government, on the ruling circles, on public opinion and, in particular, on the younger generation in South Africa, in which we still place our main hopes. By a show of unanimity we should at the same time better serve the just African cause and, in general, the genuine interests of all the peoples involved in southern Africa and, finally, we should serve the United Nations in the most effective way.

283. For all those reasons, I propose that you, Mr. President, announce, with the unanimous consent of the members of the Council, the adoption of the eight-Power draft resolution by consensus.

284. Mr. PAQUI (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): It was precisely because of the unanimity we saw around this table that my delegation and the other sponsors had wanted the Council to proceed to a vote. However, as you know, we began this debate in a spirit of conciliation, because the most important

thing for us is to support the people who are suffering in South Africa. What we wanted was a political act that would have an impact on international public opinion. That is why, in that same spirit of conciliation, and bearing in mind the proposal that has just been made by the representative of Italy, which reflects the opinion of the majority of members of the Council, I can tell you on behalf of the sponsors that we have no objection to the Council's proceeding in the manner just proposed by the representative of Italy.

285. The PRESIDENT: Since it is my understanding that every member of the Council supports the draft resolution, on this occasion there appears to be no necessity for a formal vote. I therefore wish to announce that the draft resolution has been adopted and to indicate that all 15 members participated in the consensus.

286. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, it would be a good thing if you would add to your statement the word "unanimously".

287. The PRESIDENT: If it is the wish of members, I could amend the beginning of the statement so that it reads as follows:

"Since it is the President's understanding that the draft resolution in document S/12103 has unanimous support in the Council, there appears to be no necessity to proceed to a formal vote."

*It was so decided.*<sup>2</sup>

288. The PRESIDENT: A number of delegations have asked to speak after the decision of the Council. I shall now call upon them.

289. Mr. SHERER (United States of America): My Government has joined the consensus in support of the resolution because of our strong conviction that *apartheid* is wrong and that only tragedy can follow if South Africa persists in its racial policies. In joining the consensus, we do so on the clear understanding that the language, particularly that in paragraph 3, falls under Chapter VI of the Charter and does not imply any Chapter VII determination. We would not want our support of this consensus to be understood by anyone as meaning that the United States is prepared to contemplate action under Chapter VII.

290. In agreeing to this resolution the United States is sensitive to the limits imposed on the Security Council's jurisdiction by Article 2 (7) of the Charter. By the terms of that paragraph, no organ of the United Nations is authorized to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, except in cases in which enforcement measures under Chapter VII are to be applied. Of course, the Council is not applying enforcement measures in this resolution.



291. One final point, but a point to which my Government attaches paramount importance. South Africa's policy of *apartheid* represents a flagrant violation of human rights, but it would be wrong, indeed it would be hypocritical, were it not said to the Council that South Africa is not the only Government that pursues deliberate policies which result in flagrant violations of human rights.

292. I stress this point concerning violations of human rights in order to suggest to the Council that, by being arbitrary and selective in its concerns and its condemnation, it brings the United Nations into disrepute and may even encourage those Governments which pursue deliberate policies whose cruelty in some cases exceeds that of *apartheid* to believe they can do so with impunity.

293. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): The occasion for this debate is not one which inspires pleasant feelings, but that does not mean, Mr. President, that I should refrain from expressing my appreciation of the calm and wise way in which you have conducted our deliberations during this debate, and during the course of what has so far been a very long month.

294. I have listened carefully to the speeches made to the Council in the course of this debate—and I shall refer to that of Ambassador Botha later in my statement. It is natural, I think, that the tone of this debate has been one both of sorrow and of anger. The matter we are considering is indeed extremely grave. My Government has heard with the deepest concern the news of the serious incidents in the Johannesburg suburb of Soweto and elsewhere in South Africa over the past three days. We have already expressed our profound sorrow at learning of the heavy loss of life. Public opinion in my country has been deeply shocked and aroused by these events.

295. My Government has consistently and totally condemned *apartheid*, a policy which is as repugnant in principle as it is abhorrent in practice. We have taken this view for many years. We oppose *apartheid* for many good reasons, one of which is precisely that we believe the system to be so clearly and fundamentally, even inherently, unjust that it is almost bound to lead to violence. Tragic events such as those we are now discussing serve only to underline the validity of that belief.

296. Many of the previous speakers have quoted from British newspapers when describing the events that have taken place in South Africa. It is rare indeed to find the press in our society, which is a free press in the fullest sense of the word, taking up a unanimous position on any issue. And yet all organs of the British press have expressed a common sense of outrage and deep concern over this violence. In doing so they represent the deeply held views of the British Government and of the whole British people.

297. The press accounts, of course, represent individual views, and the full facts of the situation are probably not known to any of us. Nevertheless, the weight of the evidence is clear and overwhelming and justifies the adoption of this resolution today.

298. Today's news suggests that the level of violence has dropped. We are sure that all members of the Council will share our hope that this may be true and that there will be an end to the killings and the woundings.

299. Like Sharpeville, which awoke the conscience of so much of the world to the fundamental unacceptability of the *apartheid* system, the events at Soweto and elsewhere can only strengthen the contempt and the opposition which we feel for a policy deliberately based on systematic racial discrimination. Our hope must be that the white population of South Africa, which at present alone has the power to express its political will through the ballot box, will be forced to conclude that the time has come to abandon this grotesque policy. It is high time they came to their senses.

300. We voted for this resolution because we wished to mark out our position unequivocally. As regards the text of the resolution, there are merely two clarifications which I should like to put on record.

301. The first—and this is a point which arises in particular in relation to paragraph 1—is that our readiness to give our support to this resolution in no way indicates any diminution of the importance we attach to the strictest adherence to Article 2 (7) of the Charter. But we have long accepted that Article 2 (7) is qualified by the parallel duty of the United Nations under Articles 55 and 56 to concern itself with questions of human rights and fundamental freedoms. We have therefore long accepted that the Security Council is not precluded from expressing its legitimate detestation of *apartheid* and of the deplorable situations which that policy inevitably produces. We are thus able to accept the formulations used in the present resolution because we interpret them as being essentially directed to *apartheid* itself and to events and situations which are the concern of the Council precisely because they are the consequences of *apartheid*.

302. Secondly—and I suspect that this will be no surprise to anyone who has heard speeches by United Kingdom representatives on this subject in the past—I must make it clear that we do not regard the use of the term "struggle" in paragraph 4 of the resolution as connoting the use of violence. As my Government has said on many occasions, we do not regard the resort to violence as desirable even in tragic circumstances such as these, and we could not join in any encouragement of it.

303. I said that I would refer to the speech of Ambassador Botha. I tried to give him notice that I was going

to do so, but unfortunately he had left the chamber before I could do that.

304. The speech of the representative of South Africa was, with respect, well below what this occasion demanded. Of course he has to represent his Government's policy, and he does so with vigour and with energy. But his speech today did not seem to me to address itself to the real issue that the Council is faced with. This is really not a question of examining the educational system of South Africa. It is not a question of assessing the amount spent per head on each minority or tribal group. The fact is—and the South African Government ought to be able to accept it by now—that in the final quarter of the twentieth century it is deeply repugnant to the whole of world opinion that a man's attainment should be determined by the colour of his skin and not by the qualities of the man. In South Africa, however capable I may be, however educated, cultured or perceptive I may be, if my skin is black I am prevented by law from having any say in the government of my own country. How can that conceivably be right or justified?

305. Judged by the standards of a totalitarian society, a society that pays little attention to human rights, that situation might be acceptable. I do not know; I have never lived in a totalitarian society, I am relieved to say. But judged by the standards of Western democracy—and that is, after all, how South Africa claims it wishes to be judged—it is clearly not acceptable. It cannot be. It runs counter to everything that a democratic society stands for. And, with all its faults, that is what my country at least still is, a democratic society.

306. Therefore, South Africa deserves to be condemned. Moreover, the system itself has within it the very seeds of violence. That is why we would have preferred paragraph 1 of the resolution to condemn the South African Government for its policy of *apartheid*, which has led to violence against and killings of African people. So long as *apartheid* exists, so long will the dangers of violence exist. So long as discrimination is institutionalized, so long will those discriminated against resist those institutions. That is tragic, but it is inevitable.

307. What was lacking, I thought, in the statement of the representative of South Africa at this meeting was any recognition of these basic truths—and perhaps that is the real tragedy of his country today.

308. Mr. KANAZAWA (Japan): The delegation of Japan was deeply shocked by the tragic incidents in Soweto and other areas in South Africa, which have cost the lives of more than 100 people, including school-children. The number of those injured is reported to be more than 1,000. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity to express its most profound sympathy to the relatives of the victims who lost their lives. We deplore strongly South Africa's repressive action

which has resulted in the killing of a large number of young demonstrators.

309. In view of the emergency situation which has developed, my delegation fervently hopes that the Government of South Africa will promptly take effective measures for the solution of that situation and the prevention of the recurrence of such a tragedy.

310. The underlying motives behind the demonstration staged by the students are, in the view of my delegation, their firm opposition to the policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination pursued by the South African authorities in defiance of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. In this connexion, the Sharpeville incident of 1960 has been recalled by previous speakers. But, unlike the Sharpeville incident, Soweto may not be contained as an isolated incident, unless the Government of South Africa correctly diagnoses the situation and takes the necessary measures. It is therefore urgently necessary for South Africa to abolish without delay its policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination and recognize the fundamental human rights of the entire African population of South Africa.

311. We sincerely urge the Government of South Africa to take urgent measures to put an end to its policies of *apartheid* and bring about a society based on racial equality and harmony.

312. The Government of Japan has consistently been firmly opposed to the policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa. It will continue to join in concerted action by the United Nations to eradicate all forms of racial discrimination from the earth.

313. We hope that the strong condemnation of the policies of the Government of South Africa by the United Nations and the international community in general will compel South Africa to submit itself to judgement by the conscience of the world and seek an early solution which will bring to the entire African population the fundamental human rights which have for too long been denied them.

314. In view of these considerations, my delegation gladly supported the resolution. I appeal to the Government of South Africa to comply immediately with the provisions of this resolution and urgently to take effective measures to restore order and put an end to its repressive action.

315. Mr. VINCI (Italy): The tragic events that have occurred during the past few days in Soweto and Alexander and that have spread to several other places in the area are the inevitable consequence of the unlawful disorder prevailing in the Republic of South Africa. It is not without deep emotion that we have closely followed—on television, in the newspapers and especially in the statements made by our African colleagues and friends in this chamber—the outbursts



of violence that have followed the demonstrations by students in protest against the strict enforcement of a ruling that, as a representative of a free, democratic country, I cannot understand, even less condone. The uproar which it produced should have been taken as a serious warning by the South African authorities. The way they have reacted increases our apprehension that more will inevitably come—more rioting, more victims, more racial confrontation—if things there are not changed in time. The statement made by the representative of South Africa was very far from changing our minds in this respect or on the main issues with which we are dealing here in the Council.

316. In my country the reports of the disturbances in South Africa and of the very high and increasing death toll have been received with deep shock. I have been instructed to convey to my African colleagues on the Council, as well as outside it, our deep and heartfelt sympathy on such a tragic occasion. I want to assure them that, consistently with our past position when we voted in favour of resolutions 134 (1960) and 311 (1972), we take part in today's deliberations with full understanding of their reactions and views, as well as with a sincere feeling of solidarity with all the innocent victims and their families. It is in this spirit that my delegation has given its full and unreserved support to the resolution just adopted, overcoming whatever hesitations the wording of one paragraph or another could arouse on juridical grounds. In so doing we feel that we duly reflect the emotion and grief not only of our people but of all the nations throughout the world that are equally attached to respect for human dignity and decency.

317. In conformity with the principles on which our democratic and free society is based, we have opposed, we are opposing and we will continue to oppose *apartheid* and all other philosophies of racial distinction or superiority. We find such a system no less abhorrent and despicable than a totalitarian régime which violates human rights, restricts the freedom of human beings and of the individual in the name of an out-dated *raison d'état*. Together with our partners in the European Community, we are engaged in relentless contacts with the Government of Pretoria in order to convey on each occasion, I assure the Council, our strong criticism and open dissent. We carry on this action in the hope that, ultimately, reason may prevail, since we firmly believe that in Africa, as anywhere else in the world, there is room for different races to live and prosper together in harmony. What is required is the acceptance without reservation of the principles of equality and mutual respect from which we all have something to gain as members of the same family. With the strengthening of human dignity the quality of life improves in this shrinking world of ours.

318. May the tragic losses of these days bring South Africa to an over-all reconsideration of its policies and, before it is too late, let it leave the collision course on which it is launched, thus following the lead taken

by some white students. May South Africa, a land of such great material and human potential, at the same time a land of incomparable suffering now, become the land where peoples of African, European and Asian descent feel equally at home, with the same rights and duties, for their common good and for the good of Africa as a whole.

319. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all may I associate myself with the tributes paid by several delegations, in particular by my colleague from the United Kingdom, to the extremely skilful manner in which you have guided our important and difficult debate since yesterday.

320. The French delegation had no difficulty in associating itself with the consensus by which the Council has just expressed its profound indignation at the tragic events which have bloodied the city of Soweto and other places in South Africa. Those tragic events have been felt with pain by the Government and people of my country. The people and the Government of France have learnt with sorrow, amazement and deep sadness of the suffering and death of so many innocent victims of a system which we unreservedly condemn just as we condemn all totalitarian régimes.

321. I believe that I need not recall in detail here the fundamental opposition of France and of all French people to the policy of *apartheid*. Discrimination, segregation and the separation of people have since time immemorial been contrary to the ideas of Christian France and of revolutionary France, neither of which ever condoned a system of laws that would prevent people, who should be born free and with equal rights, from communicating among themselves, and that would force them to live side by side as strangers, if not as enemies. The very fact that a system metes out a series of fundamental freedoms according to the colour of one's skin makes it inadmissible and reprehensible. What is more, it is stupid and a monumental political error. *Apartheid*, in theory as in fact, is inspired by an ideology totally alien to the spirit of our times; it is an anachronism and, literally, a counter-democracy.

322. It is quite obvious that it is the *apartheid* régime that is the cause of the bloody disorders which have compelled us to hold these emergency meetings. It was the severity, the flagrant injustices of that régime, which provoked the uprising of the students; it is within the framework of that régime that blind repression is carried out, a repression which we cannot but condemn.

323. As regards the text of the resolution we have just adopted, the French delegation would have preferred a slightly different wording for paragraph 1, and some improvements of detail in the wording of paragraph 4. But in joining the unanimous consensus of the Council, we decided to allow our condemnation

to prevail, our condemnation of a system which creates permanent tensions, leading inevitably to bloody confrontations.

324. We ardently hope that the tragic events of these last days will finally lead the South African authorities to realise that their persistent scorn for the dignity of the human being is in itself a permanent source of conflict among people.

325. Having said that about the attitude of the Pretoria authorities, I cannot fail to refer to the comments made by certain speakers concerning my country.

326. Mention has been made of South Africa's use of arms of French origin. I wish to recall in this regard that, upon his accession to the presidency Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, defined French policy in respect of arms sales to South Africa in the clearest and most specific manner, on the occasion of a message to Parliament on 30 May 1974. On 9 August 1975 he publicly confirmed that any new sale to that country of weapons for use on land or in the air was forbidden. Our arms sales are therefore limited to high-seas naval equipment, excluding any rivercraft or landing craft. As regards the helicopters referred to, the decision to prohibit their sale was taken in 1971, following the visit to Paris of President Kaunda. I would add that the President of the Republic declared further, on 20 May 1976, that since his assumption of office he had decided that we would accept no new arms contracts with South Africa, and that this decision has been respected.

327. There has also been repeated mention of the sale of French nuclear reactors to South Africa. The atom is a subject which easily becomes an emotional one, and which unfortunately lends itself to tendentious confusions. I am surprised that certain speakers whom I would have thought better informed should have allowed themselves to be carried away on a course bordering on demagogy.

328. This is not the appropriate place for a lecture on nuclear materials, but certain clarifications are nevertheless essential. The nuclear reactors for which the French firm of Framatome concluded a contract with the South African Electricity Company cannot be used for anything other than the production of electricity. They operate on only very slightly enriched uranium, which has no military use. It is true that they produce wastes which include a certain amount of plutonium, but those wastes undergo within the reactor itself, because of its operation, so much radiation that they cannot serve for any other use, except after very difficult and very costly treatment. Even after such treatment, the recovered plutonium could not be used for military purposes.

329. On the one hand, the French Government has placed a formal condition upon the entry into force

of the Framatome contract: and that is that the material delivered to South Africa, and the entire production cycle connected with it, shall be subject to the control of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna; agreements will have to be concluded in this regard between France, the Agency and South Africa, even before the contracts can enter into force. This guarantees that at no stage will it be possible to divert the reactors or their byproducts to military purposes.

330. On the other hand, the only potentially dangerous element in this matter is plutonium, which is a byproduct of the functioning of the reactors. As I said a moment ago, that plutonium, which is recovered only after reprocessing, is unsuitable for military purposes. I would add that at present there are only two countries in the world that have developed the very complicated and very costly plant for such reprocessing: the United States and France. The United States system will not be in operation until 1977, and the French plant, in La Hague, will become operative at the end of this year. We do not envisage the reprocessing in France of radioactive wastes from Framatome reactors. Nor have the South African authorities requested it.

331. Therefore, not only has South Africa accepted control by Vienna over the reactors and their byproducts, but even if it wished to void the agreement, it could not use those byproducts since it lacks the necessary reprocessing plants.

332. I would add that the South African Government has raised no objection to accepting the controls and limitations of the Framatome contract: it has its own expertise in other techniques and channels which would allow it, if it so desired, to build atomic weapons.

333. For all these reasons, the French Government feels assured that the reactors ordered by South Africa have no other purpose than the production of electricity. There are already 100 in the world designed for that purpose, among them about a score in third-world countries. One has only to glance at the map to understand the motivations of the South African authorities: the reactors on order are to be built very close to Cape Town, which is at least 1,000 kilometres from any other source of energy, either fossil or hydro-electric. Given the present status of the technology, it is not surprising that the Cape Town electricity company turned to nuclear energy for electricity.

334. I apologize for this somewhat technical digression. However, I deemed it to be necessary because certain people have called my country to account in a wholly unjustified way and I could not allow this to go on without running the risk that doubts would prevail even among our friends.

335. This explanation has taken us away from Soweto and the other places so sadly made famous by the

events of the last few days. But this tragedy remains nevertheless in the forefront of our concern. As a major Parisian newspaper wrote yesterday:

“It is logical that *apartheid* should periodically cause violence. How many uprisings and repressions will be needed before it is more than a minority among South African whites who understand that their real interests no longer lie in this intolerable anachronism?”

336. The PRESIDENT: I take it that the Security Council has now concluded its consideration of the item on its agenda.

337. I should like to note that in accordance with the decision taken by the Council in the resolution which

was just adopted, the Council remains seized of the matter. Accordingly, it will have to follow the situation in South Africa and, subject to the development of events and, in particular, in the light of the implementation by South Africa of the relevant provisions of the resolution, the Council may wish to reconvene to consider the situation.

*The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.*

*Notes*

<sup>1</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

<sup>2</sup> See resolution 392 (1976).

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