



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

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MEETING: 22 MARCH 1977

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

1989TH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 22 March 1977, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Andrew YOUNG (United States of America).

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1989)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The question of South Africa:
Letter dated 9 March 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12295)

The meeting was called to order at 11.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The Question of South Africa

Letter dated 9 March 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12295)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken yesterday by the Council at its 1988th meeting, I invite the representatives of Egypt, Indonesia, Liberia, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, the Syrian Arab Republic and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when they wish to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. E. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. A. Marpaung (Indonesia), Mrs. A. Brooks-Randolph (Liberia), Mr. N. Garba (Nigeria), Mr. I. B. Fonseka (Sri Lanka), Mr. M. Allaf (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. J. Petrić (Yugoslavia) 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 Bahrain, Madagascar, Sierra Leone and Zambia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the

Council's agenda. I therefore 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, under the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

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

At the invitation of the President, Mr. S. M. Al Saffar (Bahrain), Mr. B. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mrs. S. Y. Gbujama (Sierra Leone) and Mr. D. W. Kamana (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. GARBA (Nigeria): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Council during the month of March. Your qualities and skills, which are acknowledged both at the national and international level, will no doubt enable you to guide the deliberations of the Council in a positive and productive manner. Also, you represent a country whose people hold dear the principles of justice, liberty and equality—principles which the people of my country cherish so much and principles which we in Africa hope will sooner or later obtain in southern Africa.

6. Permit me to thank you and, through you, the members of the Council for having invited my delegation to participate in this debate on the question of South Africa. My Government, and indeed all the people of Nigeria, consider this debate crucial because we cannot continue to remain oblivious to the spilling of innocent blood in the streets of South Africa or to the cries of the anguished in that country. This debate is crucial to the security of the States bordering on South Africa and, above all, to the restoration of our confidence in the Council.

7. The time has come when we all have to harness our initiatives and channel our efforts towards one focal point in dealing with the problems that plague the southern tip of the African continent. For too long we have dissipated

our thrusts in too many directions. Our archives are full of resolutions, documents and "non-papers". We have pre-occupied ourselves with so much debating that some of us tend to lose sight of the real issues. Meanwhile, as we remain seized of these problems, the Vorster racist régime is being consolidated. It is time to prove to our conscience that we, as members of the human race, can no longer allow fellow human beings to be victims of this crime against humanity.

8. We are not asking too much of ourselves in dealing with the problems which, as we collectively know, are repugnant to the basic principles that bind us all to this noble Organization. On the contrary, nothing is too little or too big to sacrifice for the future of humanity as, sooner or later, the repercussions will engulf us all. There is no one here around this table or belonging to this Organization who has not condemned what the racist régime of South Africa preaches and stands for. No State Member subscribes to the theory that one race is superior to another.

9. Having said all this, we should ask ourselves what is to be done. My Government, along with all the peoples of Africa and its friends, is resolved to intensify the struggle until every inch of the continent and all its peoples are free from colonialism, oppression, *apartheid* and all other ills inherited from the turbulent phases of our history. We in Nigeria, and indeed in Africa, insist that no one can be ambivalent about these issues. We know that we shall win, as time is on our side, but the time for any meaningful peaceful change is fast running out.

10. We have, over the past years, seen murderous events in southern Africa. We have witnessed repression and oppression of the majority mounted on such a scale, with such dimensions and after such a pattern as have existed at no time in the history of mankind. Seventeen years ago yesterday there was the Sharpeville massacre. That event jarred the world into turning its attention to the inequalities and inhumanities obtaining in South Africa, where the black man has been kept in quasi-slavery, a servant to the needs and comforts of the criminal racist white minority, where the black man is detached from his family and lives in bondage, hunger and poverty. He has been exploited and then deprived of the fruits of his labours in a land rich in gold and diamonds.

11. After Sharpeville, it seemed that the world community dropped off to sleep. Even limited actions against the racists in South Africa were half-heartedly carried out. Resolutions of this Organization were covertly broken or openly disregarded in collaboration with the racists. Some Members aided the racists in amassing military equipment to the detriment of the oppressed black people of South Africa and to the horror of innocent peoples of neighbouring African States. Soweto is fresh in our minds. Innocent and peaceful children born in the wake of Sharpeville were mercilessly gunned down by trigger-happy racist policemen. The world cried out in horror at those manifestations of the syndrome of a drowning man. Yet the same racist régime of Vorster still continues its murderous acts of *apartheid*. It has tightened its massive repressive machinery. It has herded the majority black population into the most barren portions of the land, stripping them of the citizenship of

the country for which they, the black people, have also toiled, sweated and died.

12. The racist régime has empowered its military forces, armed with weapons originating from so-called friends of Africa, to threaten, harass and terrorize neighbouring independent and sovereign African States. With borrowed military might, the racist régime attempted to cripple the progressive People's Republic of Angola in its infancy, on the pretext of a non-existing agreement with that country's colonial master. The same racist régime sent its forces rampaging into Zambia, molesting and killing the peace-loving people of Zambia and the Namibians who sought refuge in that country. With the active support of the same racists at Pretoria, the illegal Smith régime at Salisbury followed suit with armed incursions, first into Mozambique and then into Botswana. Lesotho, in its efforts to implement General Assembly resolutions, was subjected to economic blackmail and arm twisting by the racists at Pretoria. These facts are well known to all. How much longer shall we allow the atrocities to continue?

13. The Lesotho episode typifies the attitude of the racist régime in South Africa towards this Organization and its noble principles. South Africa's racist régime has persistently failed to implement United Nations resolutions. It has nurtured and given succour to the illegal régime of Ian Smith against all international sanctions and, in so doing, acted in contempt and defiance of the decisions of the Security Council.

14. Its attitude with regard to Namibia is another case in point. There the racist régime of South Africa has continued, in utter disregard of United Nations resolutions and the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971,¹ to occupy a United Nations Territory illegally. It has increasingly entrenched its military forces in that Territory in order to prevent the Organization from fulfilling its obligations and responsibility. This is clearly an act of war on the part of the racists against the United Nations. How much longer shall we tolerate South Africa's military occupation of the United Nations Territory of Namibia? Are we not all collectively responsible for that Territory and its people?

15. Some Council members seem to find it convenient to talk about peaceful means for the solution of the problems in South Africa when in and around Namibia the Pretoria racists have mounted a military offensive against the peaceful solutions proffered by the Council, thereby creating a situation which is anything but peaceful. From the north of the Territory of Namibia an Angolan group, in collusion with the racists of South Africa, is attempting to destabilize the independent Republic of Angola. Yet, while we will not be allowed to hear the last about the Cuban troops in Angola, no reference is made to the military build-up in the United Nations Territory of Namibia. Nor is there mention of the massing of racist troops in the Caprivi Strip nor of the use of Namibia, a United Nations Territory,

¹ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

to launch aggression against other States. That kind of thinking shows an utter lack of interest in African problems as against interest in super-Power "one-upmanship" at the expense of the consideration of global peace and security in that region of Africa.

16. We in Africa are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the outcome of debates on issues which are so dear to our hearts. The resolutions adopted by the Council each time we seek action against the racist régime of Pretoria have always been indecisive. I recall how we bent over backwards trying to accommodate the wishes of some members of the Council during the first debate on Namibia in 1976, in the sincere belief that, when the subject was taken up again, there would be no hesitation. Nothing came of our goodwill but further disappointments. Our patience is running out.

17. Our confidence that the Council will grapple effectively with the injustice, oppression and threat to international peace and security in South Africa is fast waning. Our trust in one another would be severely shaken if the recommendations for action emanating from this debate were not positive, unanimous and comforting to the suffering and oppressed peoples of southern Africa. The oppressed peoples of southern Africa, and indeed the whole of Africa, look up to the Council and are following this debate most earnestly. The Council must not let them down. My Government calls on the members of the Council to make this debate a turning-point in the history of the struggle for liberation in South Africa. We have reached a point where verbal condemnations must be reinforced by unanimous international action and sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa.

18. The time is long overdue for declaring the situation in South Africa a threat to international peace and security and for the Council to take appropriate action under the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. I am aware that some Council members are still having difficulties in this regard. They acknowledge nevertheless that the situation is explosive. President Carter said a few days ago that a "gathering racial conflict threatens southern Africa" with the danger of "a protracted racial war, with devastating consequences for all". Only the other day an advertisement appeared in *The New York Times* promoting the sale of uncut diamonds from South Africa. The agent announced that the time to purchase was now and that any delay might make it too late because of the imminent racial conflict. That agent would appear to be more up to date about the situation in South Africa than some Council members. The Government of Nigeria would like to point out that not only are the ingredients of international and racial conflagration present in southern Africa but that a state of war has actually begun to exist.

19. It is obvious that the apparent hesitation of some members about Chapter VII of the Charter is due to the fear that invoking it would open the door to economic sanctions. We are all aware of the magnitude of the investments made by some countries in racist South Africa. We are equally aware and we know at first hand of the magnitude of the investments of the same countries in black Africa. I must say without hesitation that the latter

are greater. The time has come when we in Africa, and especially my country, have seriously to consider which way we must go in this matter and do so with a clear conscience. We cannot continue to have establishments in our midst which, while they profess certain principles in their dealings with us, also cater to and sustain a régime that holds our brothers and sisters in bondage and slavery, in complete disregard of those same principles. We cannot in good conscience have those whose hands are stained with the blood of innocent children in South Africa meddling in our affairs. We have allowed them sufficient time; the decision is now ours to take. The imposition of economic sanctions, especially through the cessation of new investments in South Africa, is an action we must take. Measures such as that would indicate to the racists in South Africa that the world community can no longer be defied.

20. We observed closely the mad rush of loans to South Africa in 1976, and in particular the series of loans since the Soweto massacre. There is a school of thought in Western countries which believes that loans and investments in South Africa will go a long way towards helping the black majority. It is argued that cessation of those loans and investments would have devastating effects on the blacks. The question is: what is the alternative? What benefits do the blacks get from the gigantic development in the South African military and allied sectors? How much lower below the poverty datum-line can the black peoples of South Africa fall? What condition of living can be worse than that in the bantustans to which the black people of South Africa are being confined?

21. The answers are clear and they make it imperative for the Security Council to impose the full weight of Chapter VII of the Charter. Members of the Council must think less of the temporary economic loss to some Member States and think a little bit more about the blood of the oppressed being spilled daily in South Africa. Eventually, it is in a stable political climate of equity and justice that their economic investments will thrive.

22. The Nigerian Government is well aware of the strong measures which some Council members have taken with regard to certain issues in which they believe. Those actions have been at both the governmental and the non-governmental levels. Some members of the Council cannot be calling for stronger and wider sanctions against a baby of *apartheid*, namely, the illegal régime in Rhodesia, and not taking the same or even stronger measures against the very system that gave birth to, and nourishes, that baby. Native intelligence tells us that a fire must be extinguished at its source. The racist régime of Pretoria is the source of the problems in southern Africa. South Africa, I repeat, is the core of the problem.

23. At this point, I cannot but reiterate my country's position on the question of South Africa. We firmly believe there can be no compromises, no half measures, no dialogue and no détente. There can be no turning back. With the intransigent articulation of the odious policy of *apartheid*, the question in South Africa is no longer one of reform, but one of liberation struggle. Liberation movements have the right, therefore, to free themselves from the shackles of a minority, racist and oppressive Government. It is their right

to resort to more means than one in their freedom march. That right cannot be denied. We in Nigeria fully endorse it.

24. In this respect, we shall not support any formula based on so-called internal arrangements in neighbouring territories to perpetuate buffer States in an attempt to ward off that liberation march. We oppose any arrangements which do not comply with Security Council resolutions on issues bearing on southern Africa. Initiatives taken towards solutions to the problems of southern Africa must be geared towards the implementation of those resolutions. Above all, we will accept nothing short of the total abolition of *apartheid*.

25. In working towards these ends, we are aware of the support and the commitment of the genuine friends of Africa. They share with us our aspirations, our hopes and our achievements. Some have laid down their lives and others have given moral, material and financial assistance, all in support of the principles and beliefs on which this Organization was founded and to which Member States subscribe. We commend some Western European countries, especially the Nordic States, for their support in the humanitarian field. Our hope is that other Western European States, as well as Canada and the United States of America, will match their words with action and look beyond the vista of economic exploitation. Their protection of, or sometimes collusion with, the racist régime of South Africa not only frustrates the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, but, in the final analysis, narrows the spectrum of options open to the liberation movements.

26. Nigeria is the nation with the largest concentration of black people in the world. One out of every five Africans is a Nigerian. We cannot therefore help being immensely touched by the sufferings and the cries of our oppressed brothers and sisters in the southern region of our continent. Therefore, the Federal Military Government of Nigeria is sparing no effort and leaving no stone unturned in our commitment to the liberation of South Africa. The Nigerian Government will continue to take measures against any attempt to frustrate Africa's commitment to the liberation of that region of Africa. We will not hesitate to take retaliatory economic action if and when we deem it necessary.

27. The Nigerian Government contributes to the Organization of African Unity Liberation Fund and whole-heartedly provides direct assistance to liberation movements. The unflinching support of the Nigerian people was manifested in their voluntary and generous contribution to our national relief fund for southern Africa. That gesture was a token and an indication of their determination to share fully in the efforts to rid Africa of the evils that plague us.

28. My Government joins in the call of Africa and its friends on behalf of all the oppressed black people of southern Africa for effective action by the Council under Chapter VII of the Charter. And that is the minimum. Since many Council members claim to have imposed a voluntary arms embargo, to make it mandatory should pose no difficulty. We are aware that the racist régime of South Africa is dependent on spare parts from abroad for the

maintenance of its military equipment. Therefore, we call on members to cancel contracts between them and the racist régime for spare parts. We also call on them to stop the export of components to South Africa.

29. The practice whereby licences are given to the racists for the manufacture of equipment has enabled the racist régime to strengthen its oppressive machinery. We call on all Member States of the Organization to stop the granting of such licences to South Africa. In the economic field, the least any Government can do is to prohibit all new investment in South Africa and refrain from trade promotion and other economic relations with the racist régime of South Africa.

30. These requests are modest and practical. The alternative is ominous for all of us. We seek to build, not to destroy. Let us therefore conclude this Council debate with really meaningful and effective action before the volcano erupts.

31. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Liberia. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

32. Mrs. BROOKS-RANDOLPH (Liberia): Mr. President, please accept on behalf of my Government and myself sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. Being aware not only of your qualifications but also of your experience in the promotion of the well-being of mankind and of your ardent desire for peace and concord in the world, we have no doubt that you bring to the Council the spirit which is so vitally needed. It is my hope that at the end of your tenure you will be able to look back over some meaningful achievements made by the Council during this period.

33. Liberia is much gratified by the Council's invitation to participate in the debate on the question of South Africa. Members are aware that a message addressed to the Council through you, Mr. President, by the President of Liberia, Mr. William R. Tolbert Jr. was distributed today. I should like to quote a small portion of that message which embodies an appeal:

"... the Liberian Government and people appeal to the conscience of the Security Council and all the Member States of the United Nations Organization to demonstrate to the world through positive action that *apartheid* is indeed a crime against humanity, an anachronistic and humanly debased system that contravenes the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and which is increasingly leading to a racial conflagration in southern Africa. By positive action we mean the application against South Africa of Chapter VII of the Charter and in particular Article 41. We call upon those Member States of the United Nations who continue to supply arms to South Africa directly or indirectly to undertake a serious reassessment of their policy and bring to an end their disturbing trade in weapons that result in massacres like Sharpeville and Soweto." [S/12301, annex.]

34. We have repeatedly heard statements in the Council to the effect that the situation in South Africa poses a direct threat to peace in the area and to international peace and security as a whole. Time and again we have recalled that for us in Africa the complete liberation of the continent is our primary concern, for we firmly believe that, unless and until the entire continent is completely liberated from colonialism and racist minority rule as they exist in South Africa, we cannot by any stretch of the imagination regard ourselves as free.

35. It appears apropos here to ask ourselves a series of questions. How long can we continue to condone the practice of *apartheid* and all its attendant evils? How long can we accept in frustration and resignation the massive violence and unprovoked killings of African people, including students, perpetrated by the racist régime of South Africa simply because the African people in South Africa oppose a régime which is discriminatory in theory and practice and whose national legal Constitution upholds racism as a cardinal principle? How long must we continue to state that the violence and repressive measures undertaken by the racist régime of South Africa have seriously exacerbated the situation in South Africa and will undoubtedly lead to violent conflict and a racist conflagration seriously affecting mankind? Do we really need another Sharpeville massacre or Soweto incident before the conscience of mankind will be awakened to the realities of the situation in South Africa?

36. My Government believes that it has been made abundantly clear to the international community that South Africa is one of the last bastions of everything that is the antithesis of the Charter of the United Nations, namely colonial exploitation, the deprivation of elementary human rights, the blatant practice of racial discrimination, the dehumanization of the indigenous people in that country, daily exploitation by powerful economic interests and, what is perhaps more serious, the perpetration of that heinous crime against humanity, *apartheid*. Yet South Africa remains a Member of the United Nations and continues flagrantly and without any compunction to violate the very principles of the Charter, of which it is a signatory. What a mockery has been made of this world body!

37. What is, however, equally baffling to all of us is the cynicism and hypocrisy of those who should be in the vanguard of the world Organization's actions against the racist imperialists of South Africa but who are the very Member States which undertake actions tending to render the United Nations almost irrelevant in the drama that continues to unfold in that part of the continent.

38. As the Council meets here today there are reports of torture of political prisoners and the deaths of many of those detained by South Africa. It must be recalled that those prisoners are being tortured and killed simply because they believe in the ideals and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. They believe in freedom, justice and equality and the elimination of the cruelty of *apartheid* from their homeland. They want an end to the violence against their people, the cessation of arbitrary arrests and

the abolition of an educational system designed to keep them down by means of inferior instruction and training.

39. Africa does not accept that the true owners of South Africa should be deprived of most of their land by the South African Government, which is undertaking actions to huddle 87 per cent of the population into 13 per cent of the poorest land area. South Africa's intransigence and recalcitrant attitude vis-à-vis Council resolutions and decisions remain in the annals of this Organization. What can the Council, as a united body, do about it? What effective action will it take?

40. The situation in South Africa is a crisis which we in Africa must face as we progress towards total liberation. It is a crisis in Africa's determination to lock horns with the racist minority régime in its machinations in order veritably to extend the frontiers of freedom, justice and human dignity to the very outer limits of our beloved continent.

41. A cursory examination of Chapter I of the Charter reveals that the purposes of the United Nations are, *inter alia*, to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. My delegation feels deeply concerned that certain of the Organization's States Members are not living up to these lofty objectives of the Charter, and the Liberian delegation hopes and prays that, before many more Africans are killed, thousands are gaoled because of their opposition to a racist minority régime and thousands more flee into exile, the conscience of mankind will be moved to take a more positive stand, particularly through the Security Council, with a view to seeing that justice is done to all in South Africa.

42. It is therefore to this end that we call upon all Member States, and particularly members of the Security Council who have not already done so, to cease forthwith the sale and shipment to South Africa of arms, ammunition of all types and military equipment and vehicles and/or materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms, ammunition and military equipment and vehicles and to implement the provisions of paragraph 4 of Council resolution 282 (1970), adopted on 23 July 1970, on the strengthening of the arms embargo. It is also to this end that we request all Member States and particularly the members of the Security Council, to refrain from making any investments in or granting loans to the South African racist régime; we also call upon them to take all appropriate measures to ensure that companies and financial institutions within their jurisdiction will cease all investments in or loans to the South African racist régime or companies registered in South Africa. We do not believe that what we have requested is too much to ask. We are convinced that the speedy implementation of those measures will be in our best interests and those of our Western friends.

43. I wish, before closing, to refer to the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the imposition of the heinous crime of *apartheid* on that Territory and to South Africa's continued assistance to the illegal racist

régime in Southern Rhodesia, in defiance of Article 25 of the Charter, and of the very resolutions adopted by the Security Council in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. What is important is that we believe that without the assistance of some of its powerful allies, South Africa would not be able to treat the Security Council or the world body in this way with impunity. Delivering the keynote address on Africa at Jackson State College, Mississippi, on 13 February 1977, I had occasion to make this statement:

“Most unfortunately, another super-Power, the United States of America, despite her expression of goodwill and understanding of Africa’s sensitivity to the situation in South Africa, appears to be taking no concrete action to discourage or stop her multinational corporations from trading and investing in South Africa, investments which amount to hundreds of millions of dollars annually. The United States and other Western Powers which have a lot of goodwill as well as economic interests in Africa cannot continue to presume on Africa’s verbal protests alone in the ever-growing chain of economic and military contacts with South Africa in defiance of the international community.”

I am sure that the statement by President Carter on Thursday night, 17 March, lifted the spirits of African delegations when he referred to the fact that the United States Government had taken action to bring the United States into full compliance with United Nations sanctions against the illegal régime in Rhodesia and said: “And I’ll sign that bill Friday in Washington.”

44. On the political front, Liberia’s task will be completed only when the last vestiges of colonialism and racist minority rule are totally wiped out from the continent of Africa. As President Tolbert put it:

“... We have drawn a line between the present situation as it exists and the future conditions that will prevail there. The difference is that while the existing state of affairs can and will be changed, racial equality, social justice and African majority rule are inevitable for the future in southern Africa as elsewhere on the continent.”

The President further said:

“... Whether we communicate directly with the South African Government in an effort to occasion an immediate peaceful change, whether we consistently and unrelentingly give moral and material assistance to the African liberation movements, or whether we join in concerted action at the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, we remain adamant in our determination to work positively for the total and absolute liberation of the whole of Africa.”

45. Mr. JAIPAL (India): My delegation would like to associate itself with the sentiments expressed by others in welcoming you, Sir, as the head of the Permanent Mission of the United States of America to the United Nations and as President of the Security Council for this month. We see in your appointment a new and refreshing attitude towards the United Nations as a whole, as well as towards the

problems facing those sections of mankind that have long been underprivileged and discriminated against for one reason or another. As to your personal qualifications and previous experience, they are clearly such as to instil in us great expectations.

46. The agenda item before us is entitled “The question of South Africa”. We are considering it at the request of the African Group and also at the request of the General Assembly, another principal organ of the United Nations and one which consists of the entire membership of this Organization. The opinions expressed by the General Assembly should therefore receive due weight as representing the feelings of the overwhelming majority of nations, as well as the hopes of the whole of mankind.

47. It is noteworthy that the General Assembly has specifically requested the Security Council to take urgent action under Chapter VII of the Charter to ensure the complete cessation of supplies of all arms, ammunition and military vehicles to South Africa—in brief, a mandatory arms embargo—and such other actions as would secure our common goal. The reason why the Council has been asked to do this is clearly that it alone has the power to take action under Chapter VII of the Charter. The executive arm of the United Nations has thus been requested to act in its wisdom to implement the will of the majority on the issue of racial discrimination in South Africa.

48. There is a certain irony in this situation, because the Pretoria Government, a minority régime but nevertheless an executive body, is in precisely the same position in being called upon to implement the will of the majority of the people of South Africa, who are opposed to *apartheid*. The question that troubles us is this: will the Security Council do better than the Pretoria régime in carrying out the will of the majority? I think that the Council should do very much better because, for one thing, unlike the Pretoria régime, it is in accord with the majority’s objective—the abolition of *apartheid*—and, for another thing, it has the power to prevail on the Pretoria régime. Will the Council continue to dither and delay, pompously adhering to principles of racial equality but miserably faltering and failing to take the dreaded step of military sanctions?

49. Every member of the Council is thus on trial on an issue that is at the very root of the Charter, that is, not only the equality of rights of Member States but the equality of those States’ inhabitants, regardless of race, colour or creed.

50. Let us see how long we have been on trial. The question of racial discrimination in South Africa was brought to the General Assembly at its very first session by my delegation, in 1946. India’s involvement in this question goes further back in history, to April 1893 when, 84 years ago, Mahatma Gandhi arrived in South Africa to plead the cause of a client in a court of law. He was discriminated against because of his race and colour and stayed on to organize the first mass movement of people against racist laws and racist discrimination. India has thus developed a natural and historical bond of sympathy, support and solidarity with the African people, born of the shared experience of common suffering. India broke off relations with South Africa in 1946, when it became clear to us that

South Africa was impervious to peaceful protestation and persuasion.

51. Thirty-one years have gone by and the question remains the same. The problem, in our opinion, has always been the validity of Western civilization, that is, whether it should be judged by its own enlightened modern values as they prevail in Europe or in the United States, or whether it should be judged by the vicious doctrine of a so-called master white race in South Africa, based on a distorted reading of the Scriptures and on mercenary considerations that stem from a former slave society.

52. The answer, to us, is clear, but the Pretoria régime has been allowed to grow prosperous on the sufferings and hardships of the African people, on their segregation, degradation and humiliation, on the denial to them of equal opportunities and on all the other devices designed for their permanent subjugation. The Pretoria régime has today embarked on a diabolical scheme to create homelands for the African people in their own country and to confine them permanently in certain areas, to draw upon them for cheap captive labour and to offer them a future no better than the fate of their parents: serving a social order that has predetermined for the African people a destiny totally devoid of any promise of equality in the future.

53. More than five generations of African youth have suffered the agonies of the struggle for liberation. It is inevitable, therefore, that an explosion should come after generations of frustration of the human spirit's aspirations for dignity and self-fulfilment, a frustration that is shared by the rest of mankind as it watches the failure of the world community to act. The entire African continent is justifiably aroused and incensed, and I feel sure that elsewhere in the world, too, there is a great and growing revulsion against racism.

54. The Security Council will be judged by its actions. It is interesting to review what the Council has done so far. It has been considering this question of race conflict since 1960. It declared in its resolution 181 (1963) that the policies of the Pretoria régime were contrary to the principles and obligations of the Charter and called upon all States to cease forthwith the sale and shipment of arms and ammunition of all types and military vehicles to South Africa. It also requested the Secretary-General, in resolution 182 (1963), to establish a group of experts to examine peaceful methods of according human rights and fundamental freedoms to all the inhabitants of South Africa. The following year, the Council, in its resolution 191 (1964), endorsed the conclusion of the experts that "all the people of South Africa should be brought into consultation and . . . enabled to decide the future of [South Africa] at the national level".

55. That was 13 years ago. What followed is interesting. In later resolutions, in 1970 and subsequently, the Security Council did nothing more than reiterate its total opposition to *apartheid* and condemn violations of the arms embargo. Those were futile gestures, because in 1976 the Pretoria régime went so far as to attack its neighbours, Zambia and Angola.

56. We have now established, in the Security Council, that the arms embargo should be strengthened and that violations of it should be condemned. We have also condemned the Pretoria régime's attacks on the neighbouring countries. We have reaffirmed that the policy of *apartheid* is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and that it seriously disturbs international peace and security. We have declared that the liberation of Namibia and Zimbabwe, and the elimination of *apartheid* are necessary for the attainment of justice and lasting peace in the region. And, finally, we have recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the people for the elimination of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

57. Is all this enough? Apparently not, otherwise we would not be discussing the same question now. Where do we go from here? It would be tragic indeed if the Security Council were to leave it to the African people to liberate themselves through their own efforts and supported only by those who wished to help them, while others provided, discreetly and indirectly, comfort, consolation and much more to the Pretoria régime.

58. We are dealing with a problem that does not belong to this day and age. It is one of the legacies of mankind's barbaric past; it is an experience which every Member State around this table has known at some time in its own history. There is, therefore, a general expectancy that the Security Council will now rise to its full stature and fulfil our common hopes by applying the full measure of its powers in order to discipline the Pretoria régime and make it comply with the principles and obligations of the Charter. Surely, we cannot continue to tolerate a situation in which 86 per cent of the territory of South Africa is reserved for the white minority of 14 per cent, which, furthermore, has increased over the years through emigration from Europe and elsewhere. That monstrous injustice deserves some form of punitive action.

59. The Pretoria régime maintains that the policy of *apartheid* is essentially a matter within its domestic jurisdiction in terms of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. I have never heard anything more preposterous in law or in natural reason. Here we have a State called South Africa in which a small minority of the white population has usurped power by force and governs the rest of the people according to its own racist dictates. It is a régime which is illegitimate in a country which has not been properly decolonized. Surely its decrees are unlawful and cannot be regarded as binding on the people. *Apartheid* has been declared a crime against humanity. Can we allow the criminal to claim national jurisdiction in order to commit crimes in his home with impunity?

60. What should the Security Council do now? Those members of the Council which still have diplomatic relations with the Pretoria régime have a special responsibility, inasmuch as they have to decide what they can do to remove the biggest and the longest-lasting blot on the conscience of civilized mankind. Will they continue to support the existence of double standards in South Africa? Are the lives and properties of the white minority to be safeguarded only by the permanent subjugation of the African majority?

61. The African Group has proposed the imposition of a mandatory arms embargo and economic constraints on the Pretoria régime. We support the African Group's demand because other measures have failed so far. However, we should like to hear from those Member States which have diplomatic relations with South Africa what steps they envisage. In our opinion, they should be effective, prompt and concerted and designed to pressure the Pretoria régime into submitting itself, without further delay, to the popular will of the people of South Africa as a whole. If those steps should prove to be ineffective or unacceptable, I am afraid that we must rely on the measures set out in Chapter VII of the Charter for attaining what is after all our agreed and common goal.

62. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Bahrain in his capacity as Chairman of the Arab Group for the month of March. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

63. Mr. AL SAFFAR (Bahrain): Mr. President, allow me to convey to you my delegation's warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are confident that under your skilful guidance our deliberations will lead to positive results.

64. I should like to thank you and all the members of the Council for allowing me to participate in this debate and speak for my country and on behalf of the Arab Group in my capacity as Chairman of that Group during the month of March.

[The speaker continued in French.]

65. It is a privilege and a great honour for my delegation to take part, on behalf of the Arab Group, in this debate on the policy of *apartheid*. Our participation is not only a manifestation of the Afro-Arab solidarity that was expressed at the historic Afro-Arab Summit Conference Meeting, held at Cairo at the beginning of this month but also part and parcel of our joint struggle against racism, exploitation and foreign domination.

66. After three decades, the United Nations is still discussing the question of *apartheid* and taking decisions condemning the atrocities of the racist policy of the Government of South Africa. Not only is the policy of *apartheid* repugnant to the conscience of mankind but it also constitutes a real threat to peace and security in the world. The General Assembly at its last session took up the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*² at a time when the people of South Africa were going through a very important stage in their struggle for equality and self-determination.

67. The victories of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola and of the other peoples of Africa struggling against colonialism and racism have shown that the régimes imposed by terror against justice and equality are finding

themselves more and more isolated. The racist forces which are trying to maintain their privileged position and to exploit the African people cannot do so indefinitely.

68. This meeting of the Security Council is drawing the attention of international public opinion to the inhuman and degrading conditions imposed by the Vorster régime on millions of Africans struggling to regain the freedom and human dignity of which they have been deprived.

69. *Apartheid* is not only the official ideology of a State; it is also a system of oppression and exploitation of a people by a racist minority. It is not only a policy which denies to millions of persons their most elementary human rights; it is also a form of twentieth-century slavery.

70. The existence of such a system three decades after the signing of the Charter of the United Nations at San Francisco and 29 years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an outright challenge to the international community and the principles on which the United Nations was founded. Such a régime, based on the oppression of the majority by a white minority, cannot be maintained because it contravenes the principles of freedom, equality and justice, which are international principles consistent with the Charter.

71. We are convinced that the racist régime in South Africa cannot survive without the economic and financial assistance and the military support provided by certain Western Powers. It is regrettable to note that some Powers which have great influence in the international community and, in particular, certain permanent members of the Security Council, continue to support the Vorster Government in South Africa.

72. Seventeen years ago, the blacks who revolted at Sharpeville against the discriminatory laws which prevented them from travelling from one place to another without special authorization, were massacred. The Sharpeville massacre continues to be the symbol of the struggle of the black people in South Africa against iniquitous and discriminatory laws. The population, which is maintained in a state of slavery, revolted last year and decided to give no respite to the white racist powers. But, whereas the Sharpeville massacre in March 1960 had the effect of checking the resistance movement against the *apartheid* régime, the ferocious repression of the first wave of rioting which originated at Soweto on 16 June 1976 and spread like wildfire through many other black ghettos of South Africa, merely exacerbated rage, mobilized energies and roused people everywhere to militancy.

73. Today the black people of South Africa are not alone. After the achievement of independence by African countries and the liberation of many peoples in the world who were waging a tenacious struggle against foreign domination and exploitation, and especially after the victory of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, the struggle of the people of Azania against the racist régime in South Africa is being strengthened and its resistance against the policy of *apartheid* is increasing.

² Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 22.

74. The alleged reforms of the Vorster régime are mere propaganda intended to deceive public opinion, while the majority of the people are struggling for equality and justice. That régime refuses to grant the most elementary rights to the black Africans, thus contravening the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and defying the United Nations by pursuing its policy of bantustanization. What are known as bantustans for the indigenous people in no way constitute a solution to the problem. Bantustanization is in fact a continuation of the Vorster régime's policies whose intention is to create black reservations and black colonies which would ostensibly be independent from the white areas. This is nothing but a sham independence of regions in South Africa inhabited by blacks and a probable strengthening of the racist régime. At any rate, it is not a disguised *apartheid* or pseudo-autonomy in a state of discrimination or gilded prisons that will satisfy the bantustan and township blacks. The bantustanization programme, which would make Africans foreigners in their own country, will never be accepted. The world community is therefore firmly against such a policy.

75. The so-called independence of the Transkei is also a form of propaganda proclaimed with the aim of maintaining the racist régime. We are happy to witness its unanimous reprobation by the international community, as expressed in the resolution adopted on 26 October 1976 condemning the alleged independence of the Transkei [General Assembly resolution 31/6 A]. That resolution is particularly important because it uncovers the true face of racism in South Africa. Despite that condemnation, that régime still continues to pursue its policy against the black majority. The international community has repeatedly asked the racist régime to put an end forthwith to its discriminatory practices and to the policy of *apartheid*, but those condemnations and international appeals have been totally disregarded.

76. In a recent interview given to a correspondent of the weekly publication *Time*, Vorster stated that he was convinced that the policy of bantustanization was the only solution to the racial problem in his country. How could it be possible to imagine that a racist system dividing the whites, blacks and Coloured peoples and which is applied to all aspects of economic and social life—it being understood that the whites were the privileged ones—could constitute a solution to the racial problem? That system is also applied to transport, health, sports and education. One would have to be very naive or a Nazi to subscribe to that philosophy.

77. South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia and persists in carrying out its policy of *apartheid* and bantustanization, despite the opinion of the International Court of Justice and the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. The Pretoria régime arrogantly refuses to withdraw from that region and is thus preventing the people of Namibia from achieving self-determination. South African forces are even using Namibia as a base for attacking other neighbouring African countries, such as Angola and Zambia.

78. We are happy to see that Vorster's policy in Namibia has had no influence whatsoever on SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organization], the representative of the

Namibian people, and that the latter has decided to continue its struggle until it gains total independence for its country. The Arab States would like to assure SWAPO of their support in its struggle for self-determination and independence.

79. It is extremely regrettable to note that on 19 October 1976 [1963rd meeting], owing to the triple veto cast by three Western countries, the Security Council was unable to adopt a draft resolution [S/12211] which would have made it possible to invoke the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter against South Africa. An attempt was made to justify that veto, but we think that it was an unfortunate move because it prevented the international community from assuming its responsibility vis-à-vis Namibia.

80. We hope that, during its forthcoming meetings, the Security Council will be able to reach agreement on the application of sanctions against the Pretoria régime, in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter, and specifically concerning an arms embargo on all types of weapon destined for South Africa, for supplying weapons to the Vorster régime, as certain Western countries are doing, enables it to continue to implement its policy of *apartheid* and terrorize the black people of South Africa. We appeal to all countries, in particular those which have relations with South Africa, to cease assisting that country economically and militarily, and to respond to the numerous appeals of the United Nations.

81. We support the efforts of the Organization and those of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, as well as all recommendations aimed at putting an end to the activities of the racist régime in the political, economic, cultural, sports and other fields.

82. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

83. Mr. KAMANA (Zambia) (President of the United Nations Council for Namibia): Mr. President, I should like to express my appreciation for the opportunity given to the delegation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to participate in this debate.

84. I should also like to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council. Your identification with humanitarian issues in your own society gives us a certainty of your special concern with the question under debate in the Council.

85. The Security Council has had under consideration South Africa's violation of the Charter of the United Nations in two fundamental areas of the Council's responsibilities. South Africa, by its practices of *apartheid* and bantustanization, follows policies which are diametrically opposed to the purposes of the Charter and an affront to the international community. South African defiance of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, which terminated its Mandate over Namibia, has been recognized by the Assembly as an act of aggression against the Namibian people and against the United Nations.

86. The contempt which South Africa has shown for the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council constitutes an intolerable challenge to the principles of justice and co-operation which must guide the international community if mankind is to survive on this planet.

87. The United Nations has developed increasingly complex machinery to counter South Africa's odious policies of *apartheid*, racism and colonialism. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has actively mobilized the international community in support of the elimination of racial discrimination in South Africa. The Committee on Decolonization³ has strongly supported the liberation struggle in southern Africa and the legitimacy of the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity. The United Nations Council for Namibia, entrusted by the General Assembly with the administration of Namibia until independence, has systematically promoted the mobilization of political support to press for South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia. It has furthermore firmly supported the activities of SWAPO, the sole and authentic liberation movement of Namibia. The Council has formulated a programme of assistance to Namibia outside the Territory both for humanitarian reasons and to prepare Namibians for administrative and professional activities in Namibia after genuine independence is achieved.

88. The international community has also responded to the appeals of the United Nations for support. A United Nations Fund for Namibia has been established with increasing contributions by Member States. The United Nations Development Programme has established an indicative planning figure for Namibia which makes additional resources available for initiatives by the Council for Namibia in support of Namibia. The Council has established in Lusaka the United Nations Institute for Namibia for the training of Namibians in the skills needed to build an independent Namibia. All these activities reflect the growing commitment of the United Nations and of the international community to the Namibian people in their struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia.

89. The position of the United Nations with regard to Namibia deserves special emphasis. The General Assembly terminated the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia and declared that the Territory came under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. The exercise of that responsibility requires a serious commitment both at the level of political mobilization as well as at the level of material resources to ensure that the United Nations will be willing to implement and capable of implementing its resolutions with the support of an overwhelming majority of its Members.

90. In spite of this decisive orientation of the United Nations and the international community, South Africa is recklessly bent upon perpetuating domestically its odious system of *apartheid* and bantustans and, in its imperial designs, it wishes to perpetuate its exploitation of the

people of Namibia and the plunder of the natural wealth of the Territory.

91. In order to achieve its goals, the illegal South African administration in Namibia follows a policy of brutal institutionalized terrorism against the Namibian people. It imprisons and tortures men, women and children under its violently repressive system. It carries out massive transfers of population, causing untold suffering to thousands of innocent men, women and children. In its increasingly aggressive posture, South Africa has raised its military contingent in Namibia to over 40,000 men. It has, in the recent past, carried out ruthless military incursions into neighbouring African countries. This increasing militarization has also been used systematically to repress the supporters of SWAPO, the liberation movement of the Namibian people. Many Namibian patriots have been imprisoned and tortured.

92. South Africa, with the support of certain Western international economic interests, has not only systematically ignored the decisions of the United Nations but is also attempting to perpetuate its ruthless colonial and racist policies under false pretences. It has brought together in the Turnhalle tribal talks the fanatical racist promoters of *apartheid* and its tribal puppets to concoct a so-called charter to mislead the international community with regard to its true intentions in Namibia. That charter is to be the basis for a fake provisional government which would preside over a sham independence scheduled for Namibia.

93. All this manoeuvring is an attempt to maintain control of the diamond mines of Namibia, the largest in the world. All this manoeuvring is an attempt to perpetuate the exploitation of the uranium deposits of Namibia, one of the largest in the world. All this manoeuvring is an attempt to preserve for South Africa's own corporations and for those associated with certain Western countries the profits of the exploitation of the large reserves of copper and other minerals which are found in the Territory.

94. The wealth of Namibia is the birthright of the Namibian people. Their struggle to assume complete responsibility for their future and for the development of their country has today the full support of all progressive forces in the world. And yet the racist régime of Pretoria persists in denying the Namibian people their rightful participation in the world community.

95. What lies behind so much audacity on the part of the racists at Pretoria? What secret covenants inspire the recklessness of such racists and colonialists in defying the common decency of mankind? Whatever conspiratorial delusions support the brutal greed of South Africa, that country will be forced to learn the bitter lesson of historical inevitability.

96. The peoples of Africa and all peace-loving forces in the world will surely and inexorably crush the imperial designs of the racist supporters of *apartheid*. The Namibian people, under the leadership of their sole and authentic liberation movement, SWAPO, have shown their determination to overcome the brutality of South African oppression and to deal firm blows against the illegal South African occupation

³ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

of their country. The effectiveness of SWAPO leadership of the liberation struggle in Namibia has received increasing recognition throughout the world. The United Nations Council for Namibia pursues its policies in support of Namibian self-determination and independence in full co-operation with SWAPO. Furthermore, the Council has systematically denounced the Turnhalle tribal talks as lacking in legitimacy, and rejects the results of the conference as not representative of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

97. The General Assembly, at its thirty-first session, in a number of resolutions expressed the decisive commitment of the United Nations to the liberation of the Namibian people. All the recommendations of the Council for Namibia were approved. The General Assembly decided to launch a nationhood programme for Namibia [resolution 31/153] covering both the period of struggle as well as the early years of its full independence. It furthermore recognized SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of

the Namibian people and granted it full observer status [resolution 31/152]. The United Nations has placed itself firmly on the side of the aspirations of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia.

98. The United Nations Council for Namibia urges the Security Council to consider the measures contained in Chapter VII of the Charter, with a view to forcing South Africa to end its double challenge to the authority of the United Nations and to the general values of human dignity as enshrined in the Charter, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

99. The promotion of *apartheid* in South Africa and its colonial extension to Namibia are a continuous threat to international peace and security in southern Africa. That challenge must no longer be tolerated.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

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