



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

1998th MEETING: 30 MARCH 1977

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1998)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
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

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.

1998TH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 30 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/1998)

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 11.40 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 decisions previously taken by the Council [1988th-1991st, 1994th and 1996th meetings], I invite the representatives of Algeria, Bahrain, Botswana, Burundi, Cuba, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sweden, the Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia 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. Rahal (Algeria), Mr. S. M. Al Saffar (Bahrain), Mr. T. Tlou (Botswana), Mr. Z. Banyiyezako (Burundi), Mr. R. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. A. E. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. P. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. T. B. Sam (Ghana), Mr. M. S. Camara (Guinea), Mr. A. Marpaung (Indonesia), Mr. D. O. Mills (Jamaica), Mr. F. M. Kasina (Kenya), Mr. C. D.

Molapo (Lesotho), Mrs. A. Brooks-Randolph (Liberia), Mr. H. Rasolondraibe (Madagascar), Mr. M. Kane (Mauritania), Mr. T. Punisagnorov (Mongolia), Mr. L. O. Harriman (Nigeria), Mr. M. Fall (Senegal), Mrs. S. Y. Gbujama (Sierra Leone), Mr. A. H. Hussen (Somalia), Mr. I. B. Fonseka (Sri Lanka), Mr. A. J. Thunborg (Sweden), Mr. M. Allaf (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. A. Kodjovi (Togo), Mr. S. A. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. J. Petrić (Yugoslavia), Mr. Umba di Lutete (Zaire) and Mr. D. W. Kamana (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: In addition, I should like to inform members of the Council that a letter has been received from the representative of Ethiopia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the Council's agenda. Accordingly, I propose, in accordance with the usual practice and with the consent of the Council, to invite him 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 the representative of Ethiopia 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 whenever he wishes to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. T. Bekele (Ethiopia) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to four draft resolutions sponsored by Benin, the Libyan Arab Republic and Mauritius and contained in documents S/12309, S/12310, S/12311 and S/12312, which were distributed this morning.

5. Mr. BARTON (Canada): We are meeting in response to the request of the African Group to consider the question of South Africa in the context of General Assembly resolution 31/6 on the subject of *apartheid* and Security Council resolution 392 (1976) concerning the violence at Soweto.

6. To say that this is not the first or the second time that the Security Council has taken up a subject related to the policies of South Africa is a considerable understatement. Over the past 17 years, the Council has repeatedly had to turn its attention to the policies of the Government of

South Africa. It has examined the South African policies of *apartheid* and so-called separate development in the light of Sharpeville and Soweto. It has been obliged to comment on the continuing occupation by that Government of Namibia, an international Territory, and on its attacks on neighbouring African States in defence of that occupation. The Council has similarly deplored South Africa's refusal to live up to its international obligations under the Charter and to respect the mandatory sanctions of the United Nations against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. All these questions are still before us, but I suggest that the core of the complex of problems involved in the question of South Africa is the policy of *apartheid* of that Government and it is on this issue that I intend primarily to focus my remarks today.

7. The Charter establishes as one of our fundamental purposes the achievement of 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.

8. Today, more than 30 years after those words of hope were written into the Charter, the task of developing international respect for basic human rights remains before us, largely unresolved. But in one area of human rights we can point to real progress: the colonial era has virtually ended. The change of régime in Portugal in 1974 foreshadowed the end of that period of African history wherein the fate and future of African peoples were decided by foreign minorities. In southern Africa there remain now to be resolved, so far as colonialism is concerned, the situations in Namibia and Rhodesia. These are on their way to solution, whether by the peaceful means which the Charter urges us collectively to pursue, or, I fear, by violence if we fail in our efforts.

9. But what about the situation in South Africa itself? One perceives there policies and attitudes which resemble, in all the most negative aspects, those of the colonial era in Africa. And yet this is not a colonial situation: this is a situation in which people of different origins have been sharing for some 300 years a large and prosperous land, but have not been sharing the privileges and obligations of common citizenship in an equitable manner.

10. The Canadian Government has spoken out time and again about its abhorrence of the *apartheid* policies of South Africa and of the pattern of institutionalized racial discrimination which is established under them. The *apartheid* system is cruel and demeaning, in that it impinges upon the daily life and possibilities of the great majority of the citizens of that country. They are not permitted to participate fully in the economic, social, political or cultural life of their country on equal terms with all other citizens. Their lives are circumscribed by a web of legislation which prescribes which jobs they may hold, on what level and at what salary, what kind of education is available to them and to their children, where they may live, whether they must live separated from their families, whom they may meet, and in what circumstances. The cruelty of the system lies not only in the daily persecutions and repres-

sions of African and other non-white peoples, but also in the fact that men and women can hope to live a peaceful life only by accepting the inferior and unequal role assigned to them by that society, and accepting it not only for themselves but also for their children and their grandchildren for generations to come.

11. A direct and unacceptable development of *apartheid* is the policy of bantustanization. The Canadian Government, along with all other States Members of this Organization, has rejected the so-called independence of the Transkei, the first offspring of the bantustan system. We have done so because it purports to present as self-determination a system which allocates to 80 per cent of the population of South Africa rights in only 13 per cent of that territory. Frequently, the territory allocated to the blacks is poor and impossible to develop. Furthermore, the bantustans are divided up into as many as 10 unviable tiny parcels of land with no contiguous areas and separated by land reserved for use by whites. The bantustan policy also discriminates cruelly against the millions of urban Africans who have not been directly attached to any homeland and whose present and future attachment lies with the industrialized city in which they work and with the townships from which they commute long distances each day of their working lives. That is no solution for the future needs of all South Africans. Those artificial economic divisions, furthermore, make no sense in a sophisticated national and international economy which demands increasing regional economic integration rather than the contrary.

12. The violence which took place at Sharpeville 17 years ago and at Soweto last year—the latter resulting in at least 400 deaths—was not the result of outside instigation as has been alleged by South Africa. Rather, it reflects the profound discontent and frustration of the majority and their determination to obtain the justice which they have so long been denied. They look to the north and see that all their African neighbours have obtained the right to rule themselves. That does not mean to say that those countries have achieved perfect societies; no country can claim that distinction. The challenges of development in Africa are great and the problems severe. But each country in its own way is seeking ways of bringing the fruits of development to all its citizens. The disadvantaged citizens of South Africa demand nothing more than the same basic human rights and they will not rest until they have achieved their goal.

13. The events at Soweto and those which followed constituted a terrible human tragedy. But the greatest tragedy of all has been the South African Government's reaction to those events. Thousands of people were detained without charge or arrested for no other reason than their status as social, religious or political leaders. Scores of them have been brought to trial under the repressive body of *apartheid* legislation. As many as 18 are said to have died during interrogations and captivity and there are indications that large numbers of others have been tortured or subjected to undue coercion.

14. We recall that in October 1974 [1800th meeting] the representative of South Africa said here in this chamber that it was the intention of his Government to do away

with discrimination on a racial basis. We have waited in vain for meaningful action. Some minor changes have taken place and they must be welcomed, but only to the extent that they presage a change of mentality within the South African Government. But it had remained evident that in reality no effort is being made to begin dismantling *apartheid* or removing from it even its harshest and most repressive aspects. On the contrary, the Government has continued to add to the body of repressive legislation which supports the system. Recently it indicated its intention to restrict severely the freedom of the press. That action, if pursued, would constitute a severe blow to the very limited body of freedoms existing in South Africa and to a freedom valued by all South Africans. We have noted within the last few days that consideration of the pertinent legislation has been deferred for a year in the expectation that the press will discipline itself. But the threat remains. Those moves towards control of the press seem to us ominous, as they will jeopardize the possibilities that a free press offers to the South African population of being fully aware of its situation and of seeking solutions to its pressing problems.

15. It is important to recognize that the key element in the evolution of South African policies in the direction we all want to see is the attitude of the South Africans themselves—and by that I mean the totality of the population. I have no doubt that, in time, the pressures induced by the events at Soweto and Sharpeville, the solidarity demonstrated by white university students with their black and Coloured comrades and the increasing level of active resistance to social and economic abuses will prove to be the decisive element in changing the present policies of the Government. But this does not relieve us of the responsibility to do everything within our power that we collectively deem appropriate to support the efforts of the people of South Africa to achieve self-determination and to promote the objectives that we have identified and, I hope, will agree upon in the course of this debate.

16. Canada, for its part, in 1963 voluntarily placed an embargo on the sale of military equipment to South Africa and, in 1970, we extended that embargo to the export of spare parts for such equipment, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. Furthermore, we are a major contributor to the United Nations as well as to multilateral non-governmental funds which have been established to provide education, training, humanitarian and development assistance to the African peoples of southern Africa. We discourage sports contacts with South Africa by refusing any moral or financial assistance to Canadian individuals and teams which decide to compete in South Africa and to any sporting event held in Canada in which South African teams participate. We support international actions on this subject because sports in South Africa, by law, have been and are still organized on a racial basis, contrary to the Olympic principle.

17. We also engage in major programmes of co-operation with the independent countries of southern Africa in order to contribute to the development of those countries and to assist in their task of building societies with social and economic justice for all their citizens. Those countries will stand as proof that there is no foundation for the racist arguments of minority régimes that stability, justice and

civilization would be undermined should the majority African peoples of their countries be permitted a full and equal voice in the government.

18. An essential element of Canadian foreign policy is that we trade in peaceful goods with all countries, even those with whose politics we are in profound disagreement, subject, of course, to our obligations under Chapter VII of the Charter. Canada will continue faithfully to implement all mandatory decisions of the Security Council in accordance with its obligations under the Charter. The Council will, of course, be influenced in its decisions by the nature of future developments, as they affect not only South Africa itself but also Zimbabwe and Namibia and, in this respect, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs said recently:

“It is my judgement that if there is not some movement, clear and visible in the foreseeable future, then we run the real risk in southern Africa of seeing a very bloody conflict erupt.”

19. The Canadian Government believes it is essential, at this stage, to take full advantage and to make constructive use of any influence which can be brought to bear on the Government of South Africa by those countries which maintain relations with it. In that group of countries, let me be frank, the United States is pre-eminent, and we are impressed by the resolve expressed by the new Administration to use its best efforts to achieve our common purpose. In our view, the Council as a whole should do everything possible to take advantage of it. Of course, we cannot be sure of the outcome, but that resolve, in itself, cannot help but influence the future policies of Governments whose positions on these issues will be decisive.

20. We believe that the Security Council at this moment has it in its power to take a significant and constructive step. We hope that it will have the courage and wisdom to do just that. It is for this reason that we consider it important that the Council depart for a time from the kind of approach which has so far proved ineffective and instead adopt a declaration of principles on southern Africa which will serve as a statement of purpose for all members of the Council in terms of our objectives in that region of the world. The adoption by consensus of such a declaration will serve a dual purpose. It will, on the one hand, serve as an unequivocal declaration to the Government of South Africa of our intentions. On the other, it will serve as a clear description for the citizens of our countries of the policies of Council members towards these unresolved problems and thereby serve as a vehicle to mobilize public opinion in favour of our objectives. In other words, in pursuing this course of action, we shall be enlisting the active support of all members of the Council in working towards a solution of the problems of the area. Certainly that is the intention of the Canadian Government.

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

22. Mr. MILLS (Jamaica): Mr. President, first of all let me express to you and to the Council the appreciation of my

delegation at being granted the privilege of taking part in this most important discussion.

23. To you, Mr. President, I wish to extend the warmest good wishes of my Government, as well as my own. We welcome your appointment as Permanent Representative of your great country to the United Nations. You come with the highest reputation for active and uncompromising involvement in issues concerning human rights. At this moment in history when the global community faces the critical task of bringing social and economic justice to those who have long been deprived of them, it seems a happy augury that you have come to the United Nations. It is particularly fortunate that you should be presiding over the deliberations of the Council at this time.

24. The Security Council is at present considering one of the most fundamental issues facing the world community today. This is the situation in southern Africa, of which the question of South Africa is the core. This situation has long been the subject of discussion at the United Nations, in government circles, among business, religious and other groups and among ordinary citizens throughout the world. Here at the United Nations there have been many debates, in the Security Council, in the General Assembly and in other bodies, and a large number of resolutions have been adopted. The United Nations has sought, within the limits imposed upon it by its membership, to carry out the objectives embodied in the Charter in respect of this issue. Yet the racist régime in South Africa remains and, along with it, the pain and humiliation of those millions of Africans who are deprived by that régime of the right to live as ordinary human beings.

25. The continued existence of that monstrous system of *apartheid* is an affront to all humanity, but it must also be seen as an expression of failure on the part of the global community in the face of the high purposes set out in the Charter and of the protestations, declarations and resolutions which have emerged.

26. This is not to say that there has been no change in the entire situation in southern Africa. Indeed, there have been dramatic changes. These include the collapse of the Portuguese empire in Africa and the success of the liberation forces which have brought the countries concerned into full membership of the global community in the past two years. They include the growing determination of the black peoples of South Africa, of Namibia and of Zimbabwe to free themselves of the scourge of white racist oppression. They also include the growing realization, even within those countries which have given support to the oppressive régime in South Africa, that an end to the system of *apartheid* is inevitable.

27. In our view, the situation in southern Africa represents the most fundamental issue facing the world community. We face today a number of critical problems which have their roots in the history of the past 300 or 400 years. They are associated with the phenomenon of the emergence of Europe as the dominant community in world affairs, and the acquisition by the countries concerned of empires and spheres of influence as a basis for economic, military and political power and cultural influence. They are associated

with the evolution of an economic system, centring on the industrialization of the European countries, and of a set of economic and other relationships with the overseas territories they conquered. That system and those relationships form the foundations of the situation that we see even today in the contacts between the developing and the industrialized countries.

28. The phenomenon I have mentioned is described succinctly in a book by Mr. Leften Stavrianos entitled *A Global History of Man*,¹ in the following words:

“During the years 1763 to 1914 Europe became mistress of the world, controlling not only ocean routes and half-empty territories, but also ancient and densely populated centres of civilization in Africa and Asia. This was indeed a most extraordinary development. Never before in the history of mankind had one small portion of the globe dominated the remainder.”

Integral to that system of domination was the concept of racism which produced the enslavement of Africans both in the New World and in their own homeland in South Africa.

29. Just over 200 years ago, America liberated itself and now it has become a super-Power in economic, political and military terms. Early in the nineteenth century, the countries of Latin America fought and won their liberation, but Africa, Asia and the Caribbean countries remained until this century largely under European domination.

30. Vast changes have indeed taken place since those days. We have seen the abolition of slavery in the Western hemisphere, the collapse of the colonial system and the liberation of most of the peoples that once dwelt in the shadow of that system. We have also seen the establishment and growth of the United Nations and the evolution of its interests and activities.

31. But significant elements of the past remain with us. First, southern Africa is still enslaved in a system of repression. Secondly, that vast number of countries, now free and Members of the United Nations, which once formed part of the old colonial system, still find themselves in a position of grave disadvantage, particularly in economic relationships with the countries which occupied the position of dominance. Thirdly, the world has not rid itself completely of those values which emerged as a part of the relationships in the past, values which explicitly or implicitly rated different peoples and different cultures as superior or inferior and which still stand in the way of the full realization of the rights of the peoples affected.

32. It is therefore clear that the issue of the fate of the people of southern Africa is a fundamental part of the broader one, namely, the matter of the correction of those major injustices or imbalances manifested in closely inter-related economic, political and racial policies which have so deeply affected human history and the lives of so many. It is clear, in particular, that the liberation of the people of southern Africa is part of the same process which inspires the call for the establishment of a new international economic order.

¹ New York, Allyn and Bacon, 1974.

33. As regards the situation within South Africa itself, the anger and indignation of people throughout the world were aroused by the brutal massacre of schoolchildren at Soweto in June 1976 and by the events in its aftermath which amounted to a campaign of organized terror launched against black people in other parts of South Africa. As the heroic struggle for freedom continues in that unhappy land, we are witnessing an intensified campaign conducted by the Pretoria régime to maintain the subjugation of the black majority. The stark reality of the prevailing situation in South Africa is that the *apartheid* régime is at war with the black people of the country. The lesson of Sharpeville and Soweto is that the white minority in South Africa will resort to more and more savage forms of repression to maintain their position, while the indigenous peoples of South Africa, as was said in this debate by Mr. Leballo [1988th meeting], are overcoming the fear of the gun and the reliance by the authorities on the gun makes confrontation inevitable, since the indigenous peoples can also get the gun.

34. Vorster's régime continues to treat with contempt and arrogance the opinions expressed by the world body. The régime continues its ruthless campaign of repression backed by racist laws and has adopted new and desperate policies to contain the rising tide of African resistance. Among those is the policy of bantustanization, which is no more and no less than a strategy to preserve white racist domination. This policy has been justifiably condemned in the United Nations and, by an almost unanimous vote, the General Assembly rejected the so-called independence of the Transkei [resolution 31/6 A].

35. The South African régime stands guilty before the world not only of the crimes it has perpetrated against the black majority of that country but also because it continues to thwart international efforts to bring about peaceful change to other troubled parts of southern Africa. It continues to defy the world body by maintaining an illegal presence in the Territory of Namibia, where it has extended its evil system of racial oppression. It continues to undermine efforts to bring about majority rule in southern Rhodesia by providing military and economic support to the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith. It continues to threaten and to launch aggression against neighbouring African States in violation of international law. In recent times it has invaded the territory of the People's Republic of Angola and that of Zambia and has used economic blackmail to threaten the Kingdom of Lesotho. This catalogue of crimes testifies to the fact that the *apartheid* régime is a canker in Africa. It is a threat to international peace and security.

36. It is no wonder that negotiations with the Vorster Government for peaceful change in southern Africa cannot succeed. South Africa is not preparing for peace; it is gearing for war. This is evident from the increasing buildup of military weaponry which has been so well documented in statements made in this debate, particularly by the representative of Mauritius and the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the representative of Nigeria [1988th meeting]. It is important to note that South Africa has been able to acquire that awesome military strength by way of outside assistance. It has received and

continues to receive arms from States which are members of the Council. Those States profess abhorrence of the system of *apartheid*, yet they must be aware that the weapons they provide are being used to kill, maim, and threaten opponents of *apartheid* inside and outside South Africa. Worst of all, continued military collaboration with South Africa has resulted in the acquisition by the criminal régime of the capability to manufacture nuclear weapons.

37. In addition, investments continue to pour into South Africa and the economic partnership between that country and the West is being strengthened. The links that are still maintained between Western countries and South Africa play a vital role in keeping the system intact. Although we are assured that those links with the South African régime constitute a means of influencing that régime in the direction of more humane policies, we know that they serve to protect certain economic and strategic interests. In fact, those links are not agents for the promotion of change but are in effect the means of giving support to the régime.

38. A number of the statements made in this discussion point to the various steps which are being taken to tighten the circle around South Africa and to assist in bringing about the destruction of the system of *apartheid* and the eventual achievement of majority rule. The representative of the World Council of Churches has informed the Council [1991st meeting] of the impressive steps being taken by the various denominations, acting separately or through their ecumenical organizations, to stem the flow of investment funds to South Africa and to secure strong action on other fronts against *apartheid*. Mr. Olof Palme, in a particularly forthright statement [1992nd meeting], drew attention to action being taken by trade unionists towards weakening the economic basis for the *apartheid* system in the interests of destroying the repressive régime in South Africa.

39. Again, athletes and other sportsmen all over the world, along with many Governments, are taking steps to isolate South Africa in sports matters, and the United Nations is now charged, under a resolution [31/F] adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session, with the task of preparing an international convention against *apartheid* in sports.

40. Thus, increasingly, non-governmental organizations, interests and individuals are taking positive action against that evil system. And as this movement grows it contrasts significantly with the inaction on the part of many Governments.

41. It should now be clear to all of us that the situation of the peoples of southern Africa represents the most flagrant violation of human rights on a scale and in a form quite unequalled anywhere else. This has for a long time been recognized by large numbers of Member States. The non-aligned movement, to which my country is happy to belong, has always placed the subject of southern Africa high on its agenda of priorities, recognizing the massive unprecedented violation of human rights which takes place daily in that region. This concern is reflected in the nine draft resolutions against *apartheid* presented at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly on the initiative of the

Non-aligned Group. It is our strong hope that this subject will continue to be the focus of world concern whenever the issue of human rights is raised.

42. My Government was pleased to see the entry into force last year of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [General Assembly resolution 3068 (XXVIII)]. Jamaica is, of course, a party to that Convention, and we urge States that have not already done so speedily to sign and ratify it. Thus it will become an instrument which reflects the universal abhorrence of the system of *apartheid* and the determination of the entire international community to bring about the early attainment by the indigenous peoples of southern Africa of their basic and fundamental human rights.

43. In our view, the Council carries a grave responsibility in respect of the problem of southern Africa. The struggle for freedom and equality and against racial tyranny is the concern and responsibility of all of us and must be seen as an important part of the effort by the United Nations and the global community to build a peaceful world in which fundamental human rights are respected. Failure to take action in the past has prolonged the suffering of the black peoples of the entire region of southern Africa. But it is not too late.

44. It is the view of my Government that firm and resolute action can and should be taken, particularly in the implementation of those General Assembly resolutions which call for the imposition of a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa and the cessation of economic collaboration with that racist régime. Great interests are at stake here: the lives of the people of southern Africa as well as the credibility of the United Nations system as a whole and of the Council and its individual members.

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

46. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): My delegation is gratified to have this opportunity to participate in the deliberations of the Security Council on one of the most burning issues facing our Organization today: the question of South Africa. I wish to thank you, Mr. President, and through you the members of the Council, for giving my delegation this opportunity. It is indeed not simply a matter of courtesy or formality when I say that it gives my delegation great satisfaction to take part in these discussions under your presidency. Since you took up your new assignment, my Government and my delegation have had the benefit of exchanging views with you on many occasions. We have welcomed you to the United Nations in the firm belief that you will work in the best interests of the Organization and that in you we shall find a sympathetic person, one who understands the many problems that bedevil our area. In this context, we were very happy to welcome you last month to our country, both at its capital, Dar es Salaam, and in Zanzibar. Your own personal qualities as a man of principle and vast experience in political leadership in your own country, especially when it

was in a turmoil of racial conflict, make it only appropriate that you should be presiding over the Council at this time. Your close association with the great American civil rights leader, Martin Luther King, who was brutally assassinated at the height of the civil rights struggle in the United States, and your personal commitment to freedom and justice, human equality and dignity throughout the world make you eminently qualified to preside over the deliberations of the Council on the cancerous problem of *apartheid*. It is also gratifying to note that this debate takes place soon after the declaration by President Carter—when he addressed us in the General Assembly hall—of the objective of the new United States Administration to work for majority rule in southern Africa. That factor and the recent action by the United States to repeal the Byrd Amendment give us renewed optimism about the efforts of the international community to attain freedom and justice in southern Africa.

47. It is fitting that the Security Council should have begun consideration of the item before it on 21 March 1977, the seventeenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacres of African people by the South African police. The 21st of March has special significance in the history of South African oppression of the black majority. It was the date when peaceful demonstrators, urging the abolition of the discriminatory pass laws, were met by police violence of the most brutal kind, killing 69 people and wounding 178. This sad and cruel action by the South African police on the orders of the racist Government was followed by enactment of numerous pieces of legislation to ensure further oppression of the African majority and the preservation of white supremacy.

48. Seventeen years have passed since Sharpeville but the brutal and ruthless nature of the *apartheid* régime has not changed. Since Sharpeville, there have been many other abominable acts of repression and senseless violence perpetrated against the African people. Some of these actions are known to the outside world and others, more vicious, remain the knowledge only of the system's victims. Arbitrary arrest and detention, murder of innocent people whose only crime is to oppose the obnoxious system, systematic torture and even killing of political detainees, massive repressive legislation—all these and more are part of the arsenal of the *apartheid* régime. And yet there are people—some very well meaning—who tell us, and so persistently, that South Africa is changing. It took Soweto to shatter that myth, for Soweto symbolized the height of the desperation of the *apartheid* régime. The reckless and criminal shooting of schoolchildren by Vorster's armed forces clearly revealed the true nature of the system which, to quote my President, is itself "an aggression against humanity". Soweto, at the same time, represented the growing resistance of the African people against the tyranny of the *apartheid* régime. The international community was outraged by Soweto. The revulsion against the Pretoria régime was eloquently demonstrated by the unanimous adoption by the Security Council of resolution 392 (1976), which condemned the South African Government for its massive violence and wanton killings of African people, including schoolchildren. In a few weeks, a year will have passed since the uprisings of Soweto and other urban centres in South Africa and the adoption of the afore-

mentioned resolution by the Council. Yet the régime has neither lamented nor retracted any of its policies.

49. Since this debate began, several eminent speakers have addressed the Council and brought home forcefully the sad facts of the continued denial of the fundamental human rights—including political, civil and economic rights—of the African people in South Africa. Among those who have addressed the Council, mention must be made of the inspiring and most cogent address of Mr. Olof Palme of Sweden [1992nd meeting] and that of the Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria, Brigadier Garba [1989th meeting], as well as that of my friend and colleague, the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Ambassador Harriman [1988th meeting]. Those personalities as well as many other representatives from our continent and other continents, have clearly put the problem of South Africa in its proper perspective and there is no need at this late stage of the debate to labour the same points. I shall therefore only highlight some aspects of the problem.

50. The South African racist régime does not seem to have learnt anything from Soweto. It is determined to perpetuate its white supremacy, using maximum violence and other repressive measures to do so. Furthermore, to accomplish this objective, the régime has embarked on a frenzied military buildup. This excessive militarization is taking place not only in South Africa itself but also in the international Territory of Namibia. South Africa's military power is being used for internal repression and oppression of the African people and external aggression against neighbouring independent African States. In this connexion, South Africa's aggressions against Zambia and Angola are a matter of record. Indeed, South Africa is the only country in the history of the Organization ever to be specifically condemned by the Security Council as an aggressor.

51. But all these facts are known to this august Council. The Council is also aware of the unique and, if I may say so, unblemished record of the Pretoria régime of systematic and arrogant defiance of the United Nations. The issue really is not whether the *apartheid* régime constitutes a total negation of all the moral and ethical values for which the international community stands. It is not that that régime is a complete misfit in the Organization by virtue of its anachronistic colonial and racist policies and its calculated systematic violation of the Charter and the many decisions and resolutions of the United Nations. The issue is not so much that South Africa is at war with the international community and with the United Nations over its illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia, as was aptly and cogently put by my brother and friend, Ambassador Ramphul of Mauritius [*ibid.*]. Nor is it in fact necessary to point out that it is South Africa which has sustained and actively supported the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, in absolute contravention of the Security Council's mandatory sanctions against that régime. All these are incontestable facts, of which the Council, as well as the entire United Nations membership, is fully aware. In asking for these meetings of the Council, we have not acted simply in order to state what is common knowledge. Rather, the real issue before

the Council is how the Council can fulfil its obligations under the Charter to put an end to the obnoxious system which not only threatens and destroys the lives of the African people in South Africa but above all poses a direct grave threat to international peace and security. And I should say in all candour, as those who have preceded me in this debate have done, that mere expressions of moral outrage, no matter how moving they may be, without the will to match such outcries with concrete action, will simply not do. Indeed, those who continue to give support to the *apartheid* régime, militarily, economically or otherwise, while expressing moral abhorrence of the system, run the serious risk not only of eroding their own credibility but of being considered hypocritical.

52. The representative of the World Council of Churches, Mr. William P. Thompson, brought the issue into proper perspective when, in his address before the Council on 24 March, he declared:

“The focus of concern is upon two systems. The first is the evil system of *apartheid* which exists in South Africa. The second, without which the first could not survive, is that international system which supports and enables the South African Government to continue policies in gross violation of the Charter and the Declaration. That international system undergirds the military and police structures of South Africa through the sale and transfer of technology and military hardware used in and required for the support of a totalitarian system. It strengthens the economic structure through the continued operation of transnational corporations in South Africa and the continued flow of investments and loans which make the *apartheid* system profitable.” [1991st meeting, para. 56.]

53. Thus the real question confronting the international community today is why South Africa continues to be armed and supplied with sophisticated weapons by some of the very countries which profess opposition to *apartheid*? Why do those countries allow themselves to be accomplices in South Africa's systematic acts of internal and external aggression? Why does South Africa continue to be treated as a major trading and economic ally of many of the Western nations? What is the rationale for the continuation of investments, credits and loans to that régime? Do those countries seriously want the international community to believe that they are not conscious of the fact that their collaboration and co-operation with the Vorster régime serve to give sustenance and nourishment to the policies of *apartheid* and its attendant evils, both internally and externally?

54. The challenge before the Council is to put an end to the misery in South Africa. It must answer the challenge constantly being thrown at it by the Vorster régime. The Council must act once and for all to stop the flow of arms to South Africa. An imposition of a mandatory arms embargo under Chapter VII of the Charter is long overdue. The Council must also act to dissuade any type of economic co-operation with that régime. At the very minimum, it must act to endorse the significant initiative taken by the Government of Sweden by prohibiting further investments in South Africa. But above all, the Council must provide leadership by taking such measures as are

necessary to ensure that freedom and justice will prevail in South Africa, as indeed in the whole of southern Africa.

55. In beginning its current deliberations on the seventeenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, the Security Council has underscored its concern over the deteriorating situation in South Africa. That action is almost a symbol of solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. But the time for symbolism and rhetorical manifestations of sympathy is long past. The threat of an all-out racial conflagration in South and southern Africa is real. The Council can and should make a difference between the path of an escalated confrontation and the search for a genuine solution based on freedom and justice on the basis of majority rule. Members of the Council, and more particularly the Western members, who are the major trading partners of South Africa, have a clear choice: either to encourage the seeds of confrontation or to contribute effectively to defusing the situation. Inaction by the Council would contribute to progress down the former path, while decisive and meaningful action would help the latter course. The responsibility is entirely that of the Council. But please remember that the struggle will and must go on. The people of southern Africa, led by their national liberation movements, do not have any option. For the alternative to the struggle is the *status quo* and no one in this Council can ever expect the African people to acquiesce to their perpetual humiliation and degradation. Last year's uprising at Soweto and other townships in South Africa was merely a signal of things to come.

56. Mr. VON WECHMAR (Federal Republic of Germany): This Security Council debate is taking place against the background of developments in southern Africa that are most disquieting. In that region, there is a growing inclination to change the political situation in Rhodesia and Namibia by force; racial conflict in South Africa produces ever more outbreaks of violence and an escalation of repressive measures. But there are also signs which suggest that the efforts to get away from the rigid fronts and overcome the stagnation by political means are not in vain.

57. The Security Council has often discussed the situation in southern Africa but its ability to have a lasting influence on the situation there has constantly decreased. Disagreement over the ways and means of resolving the problems besetting southern Africa has prevented the Council from determining the course which developments should take. We have witnessed a number of debates which ended up in fruitless confrontation instead of producing progress towards a solution. We are now faced with the choice of either repeating the counter-productive spectacle of last year's Namibia debate and putting on record yet another struggle leading to ineffective draft resolutions, or seizing this unique opportunity of bringing about a constructive change in southern Africa, an opportunity, in my view, of historic dimensions. If the Council proposes to apply all its moral and political authority to the task of securing a peaceful solution, it must act in unison. This presupposes the understanding and co-operation of our African partners.

58. The friendly and constructive talks I have had in recent months with leading African representatives here in New York have been an encouragement to me in supporting

a proposed new initiative to be launched or backed by the Council. We also appreciate the appeal by the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Ambassador Harriman, in the Committee's opening meeting on 25 January this year,² to abandon confrontation and to initiate purposeful co-operation. We see this as a welcome sign of a new spirit and an invitation to combine our efforts. I am personally grateful also for the valuable contribution which my good friend Ambassador Ramphul, in his capacity as spokesman for the Organization of African Unity, has made in the past few days and, I trust, will continue to make in steering serious negotiations aimed at bridging the gap and moving towards a consensus. Efforts which have the backing of all members of the Council are more likely to impress upon South Africa the gravity of the situation. South Africa must see these issues in their true proportions. It must shed the illusions which have so far stood in the way of peaceful change. Only if a country is ready to honour its commitments and obligations under international law, can it hope to retain the advantages of partnership with other States.

59. The Federal Republic of Germany is conscious of the magnitude and urgency of the tasks. In our country there is a consensus of opinion that human dignity, equality before the law and the individual's right to develop his personality as he sees fit, as well as political freedoms and values, are rights which must be there for every man and woman to exercise. These are fundamental values—incorporated in the Charter of the United Nations. They are embodied in our own Constitution as fundamental rights. It is a dictate of humanity that people throughout the universe should be able to exercise those rights and—enjoy the benefits of those values, and that dictate brooks no compromise. If human rights are trampled underfoot, we cannot remain mute. Racism is a policy which negates those fundamental values and should be condemned in any form.

60. The Federal Government has time and again declared that it condemns South Africa's discriminatory treatment of its people on grounds of race and colour. South Africa is certainly not the only country which is open to the accusation of racial discrimination or violation of human rights, but the difference in South Africa is, that racial discrimination has been institutionalized. *Apartheid* is a refined system which dominates the entire body politic and is designed to regulate relations between government and people as well as between population groups. The Federal Government's condemnation of *apartheid* receives wide public support in the Federal Republic of Germany. The constant violations of human rights by the South African Government have incensed public opinion in my country. Our trade unions, political parties, Churches and youth organizations are actively involved in the broad public campaign against *apartheid*. Only recently, the large textile workers' union sent a letter of protest to the Commission on Human Rights.

61. The question at issue is not the right of the white minority to regard South Africa as their home and to enjoy equal rights there. Nobody—including the leaders of black Africa who are conscious of their responsibility—questions

² A/AC.115/SR.340.

that right. But there can be no peaceful internal development without true recognition of the principles of justice and humanity. The clashes in black districts, universities and schools in South Africa flash an urgent warning. Only by the abandonment of racial discrimination can a racial conflict be avoided.

62. *Apartheid* also constitutes a violation of South Africa's solemn commitments under international law. We appeal to South Africa to remember its own obligations under the Charter and the 1949 Geneva Conventions, which it has ratified, as well as under the Declaration on Social Progress and Development and the Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly in resolutions 2542 (XXIV) and 2037 (XX) respectively and which South Africa has endorsed.

63. In our view, Pretoria's policy of *apartheid* and its support for the illegal régime in Rhodesia, as well as its illegal occupation of Namibia, are based on a political concept which has no chance of survival. In the long run it will neither protect nor further the interests of the white minority and before long, *apartheid* will damage the prospects of economic growth. In a modern industrial society, social integration of the working population is essential. The situation of conflict in southern Africa also has a bearing on our economic co-operation with other African States, in particular those in southern Africa which have become a focal point of the Federal Government's development policy. Under a comprehensive long-term programme, the Federal Republic assists those countries in their economic development. This year the Federal Government plans financial and technical co-operation commitments of something like DM 220 million to Botswana, Malawi, Lesotho, Zambia and Swaziland, that is an increase of 75 per cent. It goes without saying that the Federal Government does not want long-term development investments of this magnitude to be jeopardized by a parallel increase in African defence expenditure in response to South Africa's policy or in view of constant tensions as a result of border incidents or interruptions of major lines of communication.

64. The white minority in South Africa must not close their eyes to reality. They must not ignore the fact that those currently at the receiving end of racial discrimination will one day assert their rights. They should rather have a major interest in establishing solidarity among all who favour peaceful development on the basis of equal rights. The Federal Government endorsed the principle laid down in the 1969 Lusaka Manifesto of the Organization of African Unity, which reads as follows:

“... the individuals in southern Africa shall be freed from an environment poisoned by the propaganda of racialism, and given an opportunity to be men, not white men, brown men, yellow men or black men.

“Thus the liberation of Africa for which we are struggling does not mean a reverse racialism.”³

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754, paras. 10 and 11.

65. In this spirit, we are determined to back solutions which guarantee respect for equal rights without racial distinction. The white minorities should realize that they must not bank on such commitments merely to protect themselves and no one else. The world may become less concerned about the fate of the white population in South Africa if its leaders remain stubbornly wedded to their policy of injustice and violent oppression.

66. In the Federal Government's view, the aim of leading Namibia and Rhodesia to independence and of removing racial discrimination in South Africa cannot be achieved by force. Armed conflict would jeopardize the very objective which we are trying to achieve. The German people have learned from the misery of past experience. The Federal Republic's policy is an expression of a deep conviction that the use of force must be avoided at all costs. We understand the bitterness of the oppressed people of southern Africa on account of the rigidity of the dominant political systems there, and we appreciate that the call to remove the yoke of oppression by all available means is a cry of desperation at the failure of previous efforts. But we do not share the view that armed conflict will resolve their problems.

67. The only way of bringing about the necessary change in southern Africa without causing a racial war is to achieve a peaceful settlement by negotiation. But avoiding the use of force does not mean remaining inactive and letting things drift. A policy of peaceful change demands energetic and responsible action. We know that southern Africa's problems are complex. The present situation has emerged from a long historical process which no one can ignore. But this is no justification for sticking to the *status quo* and ignoring the call today for fundamental change.

68. The assessment of the present situation has prompted the Federal Government to join the other four Western members of the Security Council in advocating a new approach. We propose that the Council, in a solemn declaration, should proclaim those principles concerning southern Africa on which we all agree. On the basis of that declaration and together with the other Western members of the Council, we pledge sincere efforts and action in South Africa with a view to overcoming the present deadlock. The fact that some of South Africa's most important trading partners are joining their efforts to that end, should dispel any doubts on the part of Pretoria as to the seriousness of the undertaking and the need to achieve progress. My Government is ready to shoulder its responsibilities as a member of the Council.

69. On the question of Namibia, the Federal Government reaffirms the points which the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs expounded at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly:⁴ that South African rule in Namibia should be terminated and the earliest possible date for independence fixed in a binding manner; that the United Nations should supervise the transition of the former mandated Territory to independence; and that, in exercising the right of self-determination, all political groups in the country should participate in the preparations for independence, under the supervision of the United Nations.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 7th meeting.

70. Only if all these demands are speedily met, will a further exacerbation of the situation be avoided. This new attempt to tackle an old, long-overdue problem will only be successful if all co-operate. I appeal to the members of the Council to support the declaration of principles and thereby give weight to the efforts to find a constructive solution. This appeal is also addressed to the Government of South Africa. South Africa should regard this initiative on the part of the Council as a clear and serious exhortation to take the necessary steps. It should recognize that only serious negotiations can prevent a conflict with unforeseeable consequences.

71. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The decision of the General Assembly at its last session to call for a re-examination by the Security Council of the question of South Africa, and also the impressive number of those taking part in this debate, without any doubt are a reflection of the well-justified concern of the whole international community about the very serious situation in that part of the world.

72. It is a well-known fact that the policy of racial segregation and actions undertaken on the basis of that policy by the Pretoria authorities have been condemned repeatedly by the United Nations and the Security Council as being contrary to the Charter and the obligations of Member States of the Organization. Suffice it, in this regard, to recall that in 1966 the policies of *apartheid* practised by the South African Government were described as a crime against humanity, and hence a potential danger to international peace and security [*General Assembly resolution 2202 (XXI)*]. That threat persists, and is growing, in spite of the debates and the decisions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the whole international community.

73. Our delegation believes that what should be of particular concern to the Council now is the explosive stage which has been reached in the evolution of the South African situation, and also the fact that the conflict is continually getting worse. We whole-heartedly support the demands expressed here by many delegations, and also by the representatives of the African National Congress [*1992nd meeting*] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [*1988th meeting*] for action without further delay, firm determined action to solve the grave problem created in southern Africa by the racist minority régimes, particularly that of South Africa. The path towards the solution of this problem should finally lead to the restoration of the rights and dignity of the people of South Africa, to the elimination of the policy of *apartheid* and to the establishment of the political power of the majority of the people based on equality and justice. In other words, we have to create the necessary conditions to permit the peoples of southern Africa to exercise, without impediment, their sacred right to a free and independent life in accordance with their aspirations and national will.

74. The events which have occurred since the Sharpeville massacres have taught us that mere declarations of intent on the part of the Security Council, and the mere reaffirmation of humanitarian requirements, are not sufficient either to eliminate the causes of the tension in South

Africa or to ensure peace in the African continent. Furthermore, it is clear that the Pretoria Government has not been awed by the appeal made to it by the Council several years ago in its resolution 134 (1960), in which it called upon the South African Government

“to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality... and to abandon its policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination”.

Indeed, the Government of South Africa has been even more energetic in its attempts to perfect the institutional framework of the system of oppression and discrimination in order to perpetuate the supremacy of the racist régime over the African population.

75. In recent years we have witnessed an escalation of bloody repression against the peaceful population, repression that culminated in the Soweto and Nyanga massacres and those of Guguletu and Langa. The Pretoria régime has introduced ominous and very elaborate legislation, the purpose of which is to repress all opposition to the inhuman practice of *apartheid*. It has intensified the implementation of a policy aimed at separate development on the basis of racial criteria by the creation of bantustans. Along with those domestic measures, the Pretoria Government has consolidated its illegal occupation of Namibia by measures aimed at militarizing the Territory and undermining the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia. Furthermore, the South African military forces have intensified their acts of aggression and armed attacks against independent African States.

76. These are the circumstances which have made the complicated problem now being considered by the Council even worse. In our view, the mere repetition and reaffirmation of previous resolutions do not amount to a remedy to this situation; nor can a mere appeal to the better instincts of the South African Government bring the hoped for results.

77. The present debate represents a new test of the Council's effectiveness and, at the same time, a test of the willingness of its members to resort to ways and means likely to bring about a decisive turning-point in a situation which is on the way to becoming a general clash of arms in Southern Africa. The Charter of the United Nations offers a number of specific measures which can and should be used by the Council when peace and security of the world are threatened. On this score, the representatives of African States have put forward a whole series of suggestions which deserve careful consideration and should be approached with a sense of great responsibility by the members of the Council.

78. In order to be truly effective, the measures to be decided upon by the Council should go to the very heart of the problem before us, that is, the elimination of *apartheid* and the elimination of the causes of the segregationist policies and practices. In a word, it is a question of satisfying the claims of the people of South Africa and not of reforming the system of *apartheid*.

79. Like the vast majority of States in the world, Romania considers that we must do away completely and for ever

with the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the South African régime, a policy which is in flagrant contradiction with the new realities of today's world and with the fundamental demands of human progress.

80. My country has always displayed whole-hearted solidarity with the struggle of the peoples which have risen up to defend their national identity against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. My country resolutely condemns the racist policy of *apartheid*, which represents a challenge to the whole of mankind and creates grave dangers to general peace and security.

81. In a spirit of militant solidarity with the peoples of Africa—something which was once again reaffirmed by President Nicolae Ceausescu on the occasion of his recent visit to Africa—the Romanian delegation associates itself with those African delegations which, in this debate, have called on the Council to adopt resolute measures, including the application of a mandatory embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa and the application of economic sanctions, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

82. The Romanian delegation is ready to contribute on this occasion also, together with all the members of the Council, to efforts to determine the appropriate measures which would win general agreement, in order to achieve significant progress towards the elimination of the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

83. Faithful to the principles of its foreign policy, my country is determined to continue to give its whole-hearted support to the peoples of southern Africa which are fighting against foreign oppression and occupation in order to exercise their right to self-determination and a dignified, free and independent life.

84. The PRESIDENT: The final speaker is the representative of Mauritania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

85. Mr. KANE (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Consideration of the question now before the Security Council is taking place at a moment when Africa is going through a particularly difficult period in its history. Political changes and acts of violence observed on the African continent, and most particularly in the southern part, are signs revealing an explosive and infinitely dangerous situation, the consequences of which threaten to have a serious effect on international peace and security if immediate and energetic measures are not taken by the Council.

86. Before proceeding to the substance of the matter before the Council, I should like to perform a pleasant duty by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March. As luck would have it you are presiding over the Council at a time when it is considering one of the most burning issues to which the fate of the whole continent of Africa is linked and this fact can, for us Africans, only strengthen our deep and legitimate belief that on the road to the restoration of legitimacy and the rule of law in South Africa, the Council

has reached a decisive point after which there is no turning back.

87. We feel legitimate pride in seeing you preside over the Security Council on behalf of the United States of America, not only because you originate from the African continent which has given of its best to constitute a precious part of the soul of the nation which you represent here, but above all because of your active commitment to the cause of the weak and oppressed of the world. An indefatigable disciple of the late Martin Luther King, you have raised your voice with exemplary courage wherever the struggle for human rights and the defence of fundamental freedoms was waged. We see in you not only a brother and a comrade-in-arms but also a man who has transformed the daily activities of his life into moral principles. It is therefore with hope and sympathy that we are following your actions, both here in the Security Council and in the United Nations system. Your personal qualities, your wisdom, your competence and your high sense of duty will contribute, we are convinced, to the success of the work of the Council.

88. The intransigence of some Governments and their desire for domination have twice brought mankind to the brink of catastrophe. Since the end of the Second World War and the birth of the United Nations, the hotbeds of tension that had arisen in South-East Asia, Latin America and a part of the African continent have been extinguished one after another. While the cessation of those conflicts are largely due to the determination and sacrifice of oppressed peoples, it was also due to the wisdom and political courage of public opinion in the former colonial Powers. The wisdom that has prevailed has made it possible for colonial Powers and the oppressed nations of yesterday to weave new relations in a climate of confidence and mutual esteem.

89. Such a change could have served as an example. But, despite that lesson of history, the situation in southern Africa remains what it was at the birth of the United Nations. That situation is a permanent challenge which the citadel of *apartheid* has flung down before the international community. It has caused so much ink to flow, has provoked so much anger and indignation and has disappointed so many hopes, that the weak and oppressed nations have sometimes doubted the reason for the existence of the Organization and the value of its aims.

90. There are few countries that have benefited from so much indulgence on the part of the Organization and there is no country that, like South Africa, which has openly flaunted its policy of oppression and discrimination, has been given so many chances to make amends.

91. Despite the hundreds of resolutions and decisions taken by the General Assembly and the Security Council and despite the unequivocal opinion of the International Court of Justice⁵ concerning the specific case of Namibia, South Africa remains unapproachable and unbending. Because of our heavy schedule, I should not like to go into the details. Moreover, such an approach would take up

⁵ *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.*

several days, perhaps several weeks of intensive work. I shall therefore merely refer to Council resolution 366 (1974). In that resolution the Council based itself on the verbal declarations made by the South African Government and requested the latter to let it have a written declaration in which it would promise to co-operate with the Council in implementing the various resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

92. I should like to add that a year before that resolution was adopted the Pretoria régime said it would take six months for it to change the conditions existing in southern Africa and abide by the wishes expressed by the international community. But, once again, the mountain has brought forth a mouse. On 27 May 1975, in its reply to the Security Council [S/11701], the Pretoria régime said it was not in a position to assume commitments in compliance with resolution 366 (1974).

93. Other initiatives were taken by some African Governments as well as by some other Governments throughout the world to unfreeze the situation in southern Africa. Despite the good will of the former Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Henry Kissinger, and despite promises made by him to the Pretoria Government, Vorster and his friends preferred to remain silent and to play the game of the ostrich, a tactic which has been successful up to now.

94. This attitude on the part of South Africa can surprise no one because it is part of an immutable policy deliberately designed and maintained for more than 25 years. In the opinion of the Government of South Africa, the South African people prefer colonization to sovereignty, exploitation to prosperity, brutal police methods to freedom, division to unity. This is what has constituted and continues to constitute the policy of the South African Government.

95. The frequently dashed hopes of the African majority could only lead to mass uprising in the towns and villages and in the country. The war of resistance waged by the South African people under the direction of the liberation movements has made it possible for the world, through the mass media, to witness the brutalities to which the African majority is subjected and the calvary imposed on it for more than 25 years.

96. After the massacres of Sharpeville, which continue to haunt our consciences, the massacres of Soweto, a modern-day genocide, have come as a last warning to remind us of the fact that the time for negotiating with the citadel of oppression and *apartheid* has for ever passed. For more than a week each of us was able to see on television the scope and the brutality of the repression unleashed on the South African people. Clubs, police dogs, machine guns and automatic rifles ravaged, like a plague, a population whose only fault was to have demanded the liberty that exists everywhere else.

97. It is not desirable and it is not possible for the Security Council to continue to spare the South African Government, which has now become a past master of the

art of decimating entire villages and massacring indiscriminately women, children and old people. The Council must adopt an unequivocal position if it wishes people to continue endorsing the assignment to it of that fundamental role which is to prevent anything which might jeopardize international peace and security.

98. While the role of preserving international peace and security is incumbent upon the Security Council, the strength of the Council depends essentially upon scrupulous respect by the wealthy member countries of its resolutions and decisions. It is paradoxical, in fact, that those countries vote for resolutions with the aim of drawing political advantages from them and that, on the other hand, they flout them by maintaining illicit relations with racist Pretoria.

99. The productive trade some developed countries maintain with Pretoria and the massive sale by those countries of weapons utilized by South Africa to massacre the African population are immoral acts which the Council should condemn unflinchingly. One cannot attempt to preserve friendship with the peoples of Africa and at the same time try to enrich those who are the potential enemies of Africa and of the international community.

100. It is a simple and clear choice: the developed countries involved should choose Africa or place themselves on the side of the enemies of Africa. The breaking point has been reached, and positions must be taken unequivocally.

101. With regard to trade with the racist régimes of southern Africa, although I may be touching upon a subject which is not before the Council at present, I should nevertheless like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Government of President Carter for the decision it took to halt imports of Rhodesian chrome. We are all aware of the difficulties to which the United States Government is exposing itself in taking that courageous decision. But the decision of President Carter to bring morality into international relations could not find a better terrain. May it serve as an example to other countries that have trade relations with Rhodesia and South Africa.

102. A great head of State, President Mao Tsetung, said that even the longest voyage in the world begins with the first step. The first pioneers who understood this lesson preferred to give their lives at Sharpeville so as to serve as examples to posterity. The events of Soweto and the mass uprisings throughout South Africa demonstrate, as is said in an African proverb, that "from the roots to the leaves the sap rises and never stops". South Africa will finally understand that it can do everything with a bayonet except sit on it. Oppression cannot be a system of government for ever.

103. An irreversible process leading towards the total liberation of the African continent and southern Africa in particular has thus been begun. It is our wish and our hope that the Security Council will help that liberation.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب الى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
