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THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

2043rd MEETING: 28 OCTOBER 1977

NEW YORK

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NOTE

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2043RD MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 28 October 1977, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Rikhi JAIPAL (India).

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2043)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The question of South Africa:
Letter dated 20 October 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12420)

The meeting was called to order at 4.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question of South Africa:

Letter dated 20 October 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12420)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken by the Council at its earlier meetings, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Botswana, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Lesotho, Mauritania, the Niger, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, the Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, the United Republic of Cameroon and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bedjaoui (Algeria), Mr. Tlou (Botswana), Mr. Boateng (Ghana), Mr. Camara (Guinea), Mr. Jackson (Guyana), Mr. Molapo (Lesotho), Mr. Kane (Mauritania), Mr. Poisson (Niger), Mr. Garba (Nigeria), Mr. Baroody (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Kamara (Senegal), Mr. Hussien (Somalia), Mr. Medani (Sudan), Mr. Kodjovi (Togo), Mr. Mestiri (Tunisia), Mr. Oyono (United Republic of Cameroon) and Mr. Dinh Ba Thi (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I also wish to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 28 October

from the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius which reads as follows:

“We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that, during its current meetings devoted to consideration of “The question of South Africa”, the Council should extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Horst Gerhard Kleinschmidt, External Representative of The Christian Institute of Southern Africa.”¹

3. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to the request and, at the appropriate moment in the Council's proceedings, I shall invite Mr. Kleinschmidt to make a statement.

It was so decided.

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

5. Mr. MEDANI (Sudan): Mr. President, it is a matter of great satisfaction that this debate is being presided over by you, a great friend and the representative of a great country that has very strong bonds with my country and people in particular and with the African people in general. We are indebted to India for the being the first to ask for the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of the question of the evil laws of *apartheid*. Your legendary leader, Gandhi, was in the vanguard of the fight against racial discrimination in South Africa. The consistent support your country has given to all colonial peoples is a source of inspiration to many.

6. Seven months ago the Security Council was seized of the question of South Africa. It adjourned then without taking action on the four draft resolutions submitted by its three African members. There were those who argued for more time to persuade the white racist régime to change its *apartheid* policies. We have now received a clear answer from the Government of South Africa, a complete rejection of that plea in the form of intensified and repeated police brutalities at Soweto, the cold-blooded murder of Steve Biko while in detention and, lastly, the recent wave of massive repression of blacks and even of whites that dare to oppose *apartheid*. This is a manifestation of a situation in which our consciences, as sovereign judges, have long been and must be put to the test.

¹ Subsequently circulated as document S/12429.

7. The recent crackdown on at least 16 mass organizations, two white-led anti-*apartheid* groups and black newspapers have proved beyond any reasonable doubt that the *apartheid* régime is ignoring the advice of even its traditional partners without whom *apartheid* can hardly survive. This is all the more true since the South Africa Government oppresses its black population on the ostensible ground that it is championing Western ideals and values.

8. I am extremely happy that this morning we heard the representative of the United Kingdom affirm that his Government totally rejected this false assumption. Throughout all these years it has been agonizing for us to see the zealous devotees of democracy and justice uphold this wrongful assumption, only to discern their error and misjudgement long afterwards.

9. How can it be supposed that the custodians of democracy, human rights and justice can turn a deaf ear to the cries of thousands of men, women and children who are being murdered or driven from their schools and homes as a result of the contemptible and infamous *apartheid* theory that is shaming the civilized world and impairing our endeavours to achieve a world of common understanding and mutual co-operation? It is because of this regrettable fact that all attempts by the General Assembly and the Security Council to eradicate all forms of colonialism and *apartheid* from South Africa have been frustrated. They have been frustrated, regrettably, not in the interest of those who censure the faults and the crimes but in the interest of those who commit them. It is lamentable to see that sometimes even morality can be subverted by error.

10. Such behaviour shows not only the contradictions between what some of us say and the decisions that are made, but also a complete lack of far-sightedness. For, by the simplest application of probability and the lessons of contemporary history, let none of those who say not what they do dream that their long-term interests, and indeed the interests of mankind, lie in their affiliation to the *apartheid* régime rather than with the future independent Africa.

11. It is perhaps pertinent to listen to the Right Reverend Desmond Tutu, former dean of Johannesburg Cathedral, when he warns that

"The West has a crucial role to play to ensure the survival of all in our subcontinent and you should not abdicate your moral responsibility, because you in the West have undergirded *apartheid*, injustice and oppression by your investments and the use of the veto in the United Nations . . . You must decide where you want to be; we will not be unfree for always and we will remember those who helped us in our struggle."

12. It should not, however, pass unnoticed that the latest Draconian measures come at a time when the five Western States members of the Security Council are attempting to enlist South Africa's co-operation on Namibia and Zimbabwe. The idea is to blackmail those Western countries into silence about the deteriorating situation in South Africa proper. The Western States and the international community should reject the attempt to hold them to ransom, particularly as South Africa has no right to be in

Namibia in the first place and is the mentor of the illegal Ian Smith régime. In fact, its illegal activities in the two Territories and its aggression against neighbouring African States are additional reasons for taking stringent measures against the Government of South Africa.

13. When the people of South Africa tried peaceful means, they failed. When they staged peaceful protests at Soweto, the South African régime killed their children and drove them out of their homes. When they tried Martin Luther King leadership and ideals, the South African Government killed Steve Biko. Recently, the Vorster régime shut down black newspapers and all organizations opposing racial discrimination, thereby proving once again that even moderate black leadership is rejected. If this is not an invitation to violence, what else can it be? Indeed, if this is not a threat to peace, what else can it be?

14. It is not beyond the comprehension of anybody here that the South African people will be compelled to resort to armed struggle, if only to oppose a system that institutionalizes violence to oppress them. It will be regrettable, therefore, if the Security Council is not able to use its authority and lay down the basis for peace in that area. Freedom for the Azanian people will ultimately be obtained, but we are hoping that it will come with less human sacrifice and pain. That is why my delegation joins the representative of Tunisia, the current Chairman of the African Group, in requesting the Council to resume examination of the draft resolutions submitted to it seven months ago. The revised drafts, introduced by the representative of Mauritius [2040th meeting], if adopted, would represent the minimum response to South Africa's intransigence.

15. We hope that the Council will live up to its duty of preserving international peace and security by applying the necessary mandatory sanctions against the minority Government of South Africa. By so doing, the Council will be upholding justice for the valiant Azanian people who are determined to redeem their dignity and birthright.

16. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Sudan for the kind references he addressed to me and to my country and for recalling the role of the late Mahatma Gandhi.

17. The next speaker is the representative of Togo. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

18. Mr. KODJOVI (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is a pleasure to pay you a well-deserved tribute for the efforts you have been making since the beginning of this month as President of the Security Council to promote peace in the world. May I also thank both you and the members of the Council for authorizing me to take part in the important debates currently under way and to make my country's and my delegation's contribution to the search for solutions to the situation created in South Africa by the recent repressive measures taken by the Vorster Government within the context of the normal application of the system of *apartheid*.

19. The brutality of such measures, on a scale unprecedented in the past 17 years, sheds a harsh light on the nature of the system of *apartheid* and eloquently shows that their proponents are determined to drive the international community, which they have been defying in the most hateful way for many years, to the end of its tether. They also show, with cruel clarity, that the situation prevailing in South Africa constitutes a serious danger to world peace. We have always maintained, on the basis of the lessons drawn from history, that régimes which base their action on racism and minorities moved by a gluttonous greed for domination obey an implacable dialectic. When, endowed with all the appropriate means, they start out on their inexorable march, nothing can stop their bloodthirsty frenzy; like a steamroller they spare no one. We saw this happening with nazism.

20. The peoples of Europe, concerned with enjoying the delights of the euphoria of the *belle époque*, watched with general apathy and indifference the gathering of the Nazi storm. When, locally, that régime first began its work of destruction, no one worried too much. America was too far away and too powerful to feel involved. Russia, for its part, was at work on the great Socialist Revolution. China, too, in the silence of its grandeur and its vastness was preparing its emergence. The Nazi system spread like an oil slick. The rest is history. We know, too, the price that had to be paid to calm the storm.

21. Today, in South Africa, it is the blacks and their sympathizers who are tortured physically and morally by the *apartheid* régime, a hateful system which benefits from complicity and support as we know. It is said that history does not repeat itself; yet the same causes produce the same effects. The monster that has been allowed to grow, that has been helped to develop in South Africa will soon no longer be content with the short commons offered by the black population of Azania and the young independent countries in the region. It will soon set its sights higher. For that matter, has it not already acquired the most powerful means of resistance? Is this just an allegory, an exaggeration? Alas, no! No, because some very recent statements leave no room for doubt.

22. Indeed, Vorster confirmed his hostility to any compromise on the question of *apartheid* and his systematic rejection of the principle of "one man, one vote" and, on 23 October last, declared his country ready to "survive on its own" and to "stand alone" against the combined attacks of the great Powers and denied ever having promised that South Africa would refrain from manufacturing atomic weapons. That is a clear statement and requires no comment.

23. In such circumstances, the international community must go beyond a mere denunciation and condemnation of *apartheid*, and timid sanction measures that are adopted only to be violated. Confronted with the Vorster régime whose twists and turns, guile and unremitting determination prevent us from seriously envisaging any possibility of a so-called negotiated settlement, the international community must stop shilly-shallying and quibbling and abandon its complacency, which, considering the circumstances, are completely unjustified and indeed smack of

suicidal tendencies. It must take up Vorster's odious challenge—it can do so, while there is still time—through the adoption and scrupulous implementation of the measures advocated in the draft resolutions submitted by the African members of the Council. That is the minimum that the situation requires.

24. It is a question of safeguarding the lives of millions of human beings doomed to slavery in their own country, or condemned to genocide under a massive racist pogrom. The object is to save the human race from the dangers and horrors of a new world war. We cannot continue to allow these imperatives to be outweighed by sordid material interests.

25. I no longer remember too well what political realities and what sociological and psychological factors impelled Cato the Elder to end all his speeches with the resounding cry "*Delenda Carthago*": Carthage must be destroyed. The nature of the events taking place in South Africa, the terror we feel in contemplating the inevitable apocalyptic consequences of an intensification of institutionalized racial hatred prompt us to repeat "*Apartheid* must be stamped out". The survival, the unity and the harmonious progress of mankind are at stake.

26. Mr. BARTON (Canada): The Security Council's debate on the question of South Africa and its policy of *apartheid* has been suspended for several months, but, as we all know, this does not reflect any lack of interest on the part of our Governments. Indeed, quite to the contrary, it is the result of the intensive international diplomatic efforts which are being directed towards the resolution of the problems of southern Africa, in which the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa plays a central role. Let me summarize them briefly.

27. At the conclusion of our considerations during the month of March on this subject, the five Western members of the Council joined together in an initiative designed to bring about the independence of Namibia in a manner consistent with the provisions of Council resolution 385 (1976). The exploration of the means of bringing about this objective has required a great deal of effort and is continuing. At the same time, the United Kingdom and the United States have been involved in the elaboration of proposals designed to bring about early independence and majority rule in Zimbabwe. And this initiative too has reached a decisive stage.

28. During the month of May, the United Nations, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and the Federal Government of Nigeria, convened at Lagos the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*. It was the most significant such conference yet held on this subject. It brought together delegations from 112 Governments, 12 inter-governmental organizations, five liberation movements, 51 non-governmental organizations and a number of prominent individuals. The wide range of participation, as well as the high level at which the Governments were represented, left no doubt about the seriousness with which the international community regards the problem created by the policies and actions of the South African Government. The Lagos Declaration,² which was adopted by

² United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2, sect. X.

consensus, sets out in unmistakable language the intensity of the opposition of the international community to South Africa's system of *apartheid*. It underlined the support of the international community for the victims of those policies in their struggle to achieve full and equal participation in their own society.

29. In the wake of our deliberations here at the United Nations and elsewhere, and of the Lagos Conference, the Government of South Africa can have no illusions as to how it is seen by the rest of the world. Its policies, which have created a society embodying cruel divisions along racial lines, have been universally condemned. The South African Government has been advised by voices within and without that it has set its country on the road to disaster, and that only a commitment in favour of fundamental change can avert it.

30. The response of the South African Government to international appeal and demands for progress towards racial justice has been uncompromising. Last month, Mr. Steve Biko died in a South African prison, and his was the twenty-first such death in South African prisons in the past 18 months. His death deprived black South Africans of a leader who was widely respected as a man with potential for engaging effectively in the inter-racial dialogue which is essential to a peaceful evolution of South African society. The Canadian Government made known its concern to the South African Government and advised it that a full and prompt investigation into the circumstances of Mr. Biko's death was warranted.

31. Canadians reacted with shock and dismay to the latest oppressive wave of bannings and detentions and the silencing of an important element of the South African press. To give expression to these feelings, the Canadian Government called in the South African Ambassador to convey to him and his Government our concerns.

32. Among those struggling courageously against the unjust and humiliating system of *apartheid* is Mr. Percy Qoboza, the editor of the principal black newspaper, *The World*, which was among those banned last week. In a paper that he presented to a conference last May at the University of Pretoria, Mr. Qoboza stressed that black leaders wished to have a dialogue with the whites of South Africa concerning the future of the country which is their common fatherland. He said--and it is worth remembering his words:

"It is never too late to do the right thing. It is never too late to transform the might of South Africa into the might of justice and dignity for all. It is never too late to build a South Africa where people of all races can live together in mutual respect and tolerance."

It is that generosity of spirit which must be encouraged among all segments of the South African population.

33. Now the Security Council is considering measures which can be taken to promote change in South Africa. Opinions vary as to what kind of measures can most appropriately be employed to move towards that objective. But there is no difference of opinion among our members

that action at this point is warranted, and we have concerted our efforts in exchanges of view since March and since Lagos on the variety of possibilities which lie before us.

34. The Canadian Government is prepared to support the imposition against South Africa of a mandatory arms embargo under Chapter VII of the Charter and, in addition, we are prepared to support a call to all Governments to review their economic relations with South Africa. There is no doubt that the proposal in relation to action under Chapter VII of the Charter is of profound significance. If adopted, it would be the first time that a Member State was to be the subject of measures taken under Chapter VII. It has rightly been regarded as a grave decision, to be taken only after the most serious consideration and careful weighing of its implications.

35. Since 1963, my country has strictly maintained a voluntary embargo on the export of arms and military equipment to South Africa, in accordance with relevant resolutions of the Security Council. Since 1970, that embargo has covered the export of spare parts. Nevertheless, in the light of the steady deterioration of the situation in South Africa over the past several months and South Africa's continued ability to acquire arms and military equipment, my Government considers it appropriate that the voluntary arms embargo should now be made mandatory.

36. The implications of our actions here in the Council are far-reaching and should be recognized as such. If we can reach agreement on a united determination of the kind that I have indicated, a clear message will have been sent to the Government of South Africa and to those who support it from the world community, as expressed through the decisions of the Council. My delegation looks forward to contributing to such a conclusion to this debate.

37. The PRESIDENT: I should now like to address the Council in my capacity as representative of INDIA.

38. The item on our agenda has been appropriately formulated as "The question of South Africa". Since the very inception of the United Nations, South Africa has been a question mark because its membership is not consistent with the principles of the Charter. Its pursuit of racial discrimination as a social objective and its policy of *apartheid*, or the separate development of races, are flagrant violations of the Charter. Its doctrine of racial superiority is in violent contradiction to the spirit that moved the founding fathers of the United Nations.

39. South Africa should not have been made a Member of the United Nations in the first place. But since that was unavoidable, India took the initiative to have inscribed on the agenda of the first session of the General Assembly the subject of the racial discrimination practised as State policy by South Africa. Since then, the General Assembly has discussed this question year after year. The Security Council has also been engaged in debate on this matter since 1960.

40. The United Nations has declared *apartheid* a crime against humanity and against the conscience and dignity of

mankind. Furthermore, the Security Council has determined that the practice of *apartheid* by South Africa disturbs international peace and security.

41. The response of the white Government in South Africa to the urgings of the international community to abolish *apartheid* and to move in the direction of racial equality has been consistently and totally negative. The recent repressive measures adopted by the Pretoria régime are evidence of its decision to consolidate its political position and to proceed with the further implementation of its policy of *apartheid*. This is nothing other than an open challenge to the United Nations and to the values which we are carefully promoting for mankind's future based on justice, equality and peace.

42. Judged by the values of Western civilization, South Africa is clearly a serious embarrassment to Western Europe and the Christian world. Judged by the values of other civilizations and religions, South Africa is an enemy to everything that is fine and noble in man; it is also an enemy to one's faith in the further evolution of the human spirit to its full potential.

43. The régime in South Africa is not an eccentric old man with outrageous views; nor is it an obscure and small society with outlandish habits. It is a self-righteous and vicious maverick among the nation States of modern times. It has not withered away under the burden of its own iniquity. Five generations of Africans have endured injustice peacefully in the hope that the international community would be able to bring about a change in South Africa.

44. The African people of South Africa have now apparently no hope of any peaceful change for the better. There are only two choices open, since peaceful action for change has now been banned. The two options are either armed struggle or mandatory action by the Security Council.

45. We are dealing with a situation in which a minority of 14 per cent of the white population is determined to occupy 86 per cent of the territory and to rule over some 20 million Africans and others and relegate them to separate development in 14 per cent of useless land. This monstrous injustice is unparalleled in this or any other time in history. The denial of equality on grounds of race to some 20 million persons cannot be tolerated by the United Nations any longer. It cannot be regarded as a matter falling within the domestic jurisdiction of the white minority régime at Pretoria. It has incensed the entire international community and it endangers international peace and security. Whatever the sacrifice, the United Nations should give the highest priority to redressing this massive injustice.

46. We talk nowadays about outlawing and prohibiting weapons of mass destruction. *Apartheid* is nothing less than a political weapon of mass destruction.

47. My delegation considers that the time is opportune for converting the existing voluntary arms embargo into an immediate mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

There is at the moment a favourable constellation of circumstances and personalities for such a course of action by the Security Council.

48. At the same time, we should begin the process of examination, study and legislation for the progressive imposition of economic sanctions in the months to come, for this is only the beginning of what may turn out to be a prolonged test of will and trial of strength between the Pretoria régime and those who are opposed to its policy of *apartheid*. It will be prolonged because of South African self-sufficiency. It is going to be essentially a struggle between the Pretoria régime and those who trade with it and who will be called upon to make the adjustments and sacrifices necessary for winning this long drawn-out struggle.

49. Consequently, we must take into account the willingness and capacity of the Western world to maintain the tempo of sanctions in the military and economic fields. My delegation has no doubt that Western co-operation will be forthcoming, first in small doses and later in larger measure, depending upon South African intransigence.

50. My delegation is particularly sensitive to the precarious and vulnerable position of the African and other people inside South Africa and we shall never support any course of action that might make their burden heavier. Since they have been denied all possibility of peaceful action for change, we propose the alternative of mandatory sanctions by the Security Council because we believe that it can bring the Pretoria régime to its senses sooner or later.

51. Resuming my role as PRESIDENT, I should like to say that the next speaker is Mr. Horst Gerhard Kleinschmidt, to whom the Council extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure earlier in this meeting. Accordingly, I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

52. Mr. KLEINSCHMIDT: Mr. President, I want to thank you and the members of the Security Council most sincerely for giving me the opportunity to address you on the new and pressing issues which the South African Government has brought about in my country.

53. I should also like to express my very deep appreciation of the significant and uncompromising statements which have been made by the majority of the representatives who have addressed the Council during this debate and who have proposed direct, concrete and proper action to be taken against the *apartheid* system.

54. I have worked in The Christian Institute of Southern Africa since 1972. In 1975, I was appointed as assistant to Dr. Beyers Naude. One week after my appointment, I was detained under the notorious Terrorism Act. After my release and after I was compelled to leave South Africa, I set up in the Netherlands the first external office of the Institute.

55. On 19 October 1977, the organization I am representing here today, together with 17 others, was officially declared a banned organization. All my colleagues in

executive positions have been banned and it has become impossible for them and our members to meet in the name of the Institute. The staff members who were banned may no longer talk to one another, as this constitutes an offence punishable by law. Some 30 conditions are imposed on them which rob them of virtually all their freedoms. All our assets have been attached by the Vorster police. This includes bank accounts, office furniture, property and vehicles. Using prison labour, the police and the political police—the Security Branch—removed from our offices in Johannesburg and Cape Town every file, every document, everything down to the last chair.

56. By describing these actions, I am not describing the far worse acts which the South African police perform, whether we talk about the destruction of shanty dwellings in Cape Town or the torture and murder of our comrades in prison detention centres. But it is the sum total of this action on the part of the Vorster system which has brought about this renewed world-wide outcry against *apartheid*.

57. Even some of *apartheid's* traditional allies seem to have had second thoughts about their relations with Pretoria. Even they seem possibly prepared to undertake certain cautious steps to stop their own further strengthening of the *apartheid* State. But already it is clear that these allies of *apartheid*, these countries which benefit economically from the present order in my country, are prepared to apply only the most cautious of measures. I want to ask those countries what worse kind of things need to happen to us, need to be inflicted upon us by the police of Mr. Vorster, before they will take more courageous steps to end their involvement.

58. There was a time when we in the Christian Institute published reports about imprisonment without trial, when we reported on detentions and on torture. But in certain quarters we were not believed, we were thought to have gone too far. Today, after the death of Steve Biko, we have been vindicated and at last the facts are being accepted.

59. It has only just become known what were the true reasons for the death of Steve Biko. The medical report done at the autopsy states that the cause of death was injury to the brain. Other extensive injuries to his body further contributed to his death. Details of this report, which is a secret report until it is admitted in court at the inquest, have just been released by a Swedish journalist from the Stockholm newspaper *Expressen*. He has released detailed information on the contents of this report.

60. We first had to wait for the death of this significant person in the South African struggle before it was clear enough to certain of Mr. Vorster's friends in Europe, as well as in North America, that it has now become difficult to continue their traditional support.

61. We want to know from those who do not want an oil embargo, who do not want to adhere to arms embargoes, who do not want to end their nuclear collaboration and who do not want to stop the economic exploitation in South Africa: what else must Mr. Vorster do to us before certain countries will show the political will actually to stop strengthening *apartheid*?

62. On Wednesday, 19 October, the Vorster Government performed the last act in a whole process of action over recent months which put an end to legal opposition in that country. The advocates of dialogue and reform have been shown through Vorster's finality that every voice of opposition will be punished by administrative action. The last few vestiges of the shaky framework within which some open opposition was still possible have finally been removed. The path for reform has ended; a total dictatorship is the path the Vorster Government has chosen; there is for my colleagues inside South Africa and for our many thousands of supporters no longer any means through which they can openly voice their dissent and act for change.

63. This is a historic moment for all the people of South Africa who want freedom. Their determination and will to attain liberation is being demonstrated every day. But as of now there is but one path left, one path only—and that is the path of our national liberation movement, the African National Congress (ANC). We are very grateful today that our true leaders had the wisdom in years past to map out the path from which none of us can depart now. We can do nothing else than ask for our acceptance in their ranks.

64. The Christian Institute of Southern Africa is no liberation movement, nor does it want to become one, but I believe that many in our ranks can and will realize that their Christian convictions demand that they should also play a full part in the liberation struggle as it is being carried out by ANC.

65. We believe that ANC has carried in the hearts and in the minds of the people of South Africa the powerful tradition of resistance against racism and exploitation and that its ultimate victory will bring peace and justice to our land. In achieving this goal, the people of South Africa need to be united, and it is only the ANC banner which can make this possible.

66. I do not believe that the events of 19 October do nothing more than merely add to the long lists of detained people, banned people and banned organizations. No, I believe that Mr. Vorster has attempted to put an end to an era of resistance to his Government's policies. He has, through administrative action, removed visible opponents to his system. He has, I believe, drawn a final line under the growing dissent he has had to face throughout South Africa. At the overt level, he may have succeeded. In time to come we may read less in newspapers about the nature of our struggle. But the people continue to suffer. Their poverty and their subjugation are reaching yet new levels. But their anger and their determination to end *apartheid* have not been changed by these moves of the South African authorities.

67. Many countries in Western Europe and in North America have in recent years, through their non-governmental organizations, supported in various ways the emerging organizations of opposition inside South Africa. Often, we believe, they have been motivated to do so by the desire not to have to support radical alternatives, as espoused by the African National Congress. Today there is—and I speak for one of the organizations that has been supported from

outside—no question about this any longer. I believe that the new situation shows beyond a doubt that all countries that are offended by the present régime in South Africa have to recognize and support our liberation movement. I wish to state again that I of The Christian Institute of Southern Africa, a body legally existing inside the country until 10 days ago, am making this assessment, and I am assured that I do not stand alone in this.

68. The message from the oppressed people today is this: take strong action to end *apartheid*. Do not debate whether economic sanctions will hit the poorest people most. The poor people ask when *apartheid* will end and not when it will become more endurable. If the South African people have to suffer, they want to suffer with hope and with an end in sight. Ameliorating measures, such as codes of employment practices, have provided no hope; they will never end *apartheid*; nor have they benefited the affected people to date.

69. I thank the Security Council once again for affording me this opportunity of addressing it.

70. The PRESIDENT: There are no other names of the list of speakers for this meeting. I should like to consult the members of the Council about what they wish to do now. Do the sponsors of the draft resolutions before us wish to speak at this stage?

71. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): On behalf of the three African members of the Council, sponsors of the four draft resolutions before the Council, I would ask that we proceed now to the vote on those drafts.

72. Mr. PETREE (United States of America): Speaking for my delegation, I would say that it is undoubtedly well known around this table that negotiations are in progress. We have not received instructions and are not prepared to vote now.

73. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): If the United States delegation is not in a position at this stage to vote on the four draft resolutions, we would agree to a postponement of the vote. However, I wish it to be on record that we did ask for a vote at this stage and that it is only at the request of the United States delegation that we agree not to press for a vote.

74. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): I should like to add this to what Ambassador Ramphul has just said: We wish the vote on the four draft resolutions to be taken not later than Monday. We are ready to be here at any time when the other members of the Council are ready to vote, but, I repeat, we do not wish the vote to be taken later than Monday.

75. Mrs. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Like the representatives of Mauritius and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, we should have preferred the vote on the four draft resolutions before the Council to be taken this afternoon. If some members are not in a position to vote today, the Council could meet tomorrow, or on Monday at the latest. A decision on these draft resolutions must be taken on Monday at the latest.

76. The PRESIDENT: It is not clear to me whether anyone is in favour of holding a meeting tomorrow.

77. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I wish to make it clear that the three African members of the Council are quite willing to work tomorrow.

78. The PRESIDENT: I take it that that is not a formal proposal. On balance, I think that it might be better for us to spend our week-end, cogitating about these four draft resolutions and trying to get our respective Governments to give us their instructions by Monday morning. I should therefore like to propose that the next meeting should be held on Monday at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.

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