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NOTE

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2052ND MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 9 December 1977, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Radha Krishna RAMPHUL (Mauritius).

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/2052)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The question of South Africa:

Letter dated 5 December 1977 from the Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Cameroon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12470)

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: It gives me the greatest pleasure, as I preside over the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of December, to express to Ambassador Mansur Kikhia of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya the deep appreciation felt by all the members of the Council for his services as President of the Council during the month of November. Both during the formal meetings and in the course of the Council's consultations, Ambassador Kikhia demonstrated qualities of patience, courtesy, skill and wisdom. I am happy to be in a position to pay him a well-deserved tribute for his dedication and impartial leadership.

2. I cannot fail also to express my appreciation to Ambassador Rikhi Jaipal of India, who served as President of the Council during the month of October.

3. The active and fruitful results of the patient diplomatic skill of my two predecessors were of the greatest significance in leading to the Council's adoption of resolution 418 (1977), which is being followed up at today's meeting. Their outstanding example of the application of the highest standards in the conduct of the presidency of the Council will be a model I shall do my utmost to emulate.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question of South Africa:

Letter dated 5 December 1977 from the Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Cameroon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12470)

4. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the members that a letter has been received from the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

5. In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table I invite the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

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

6. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 9 December 1977 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 Security Council extend an invitation, under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, to Mr. M. J. Makatini of the African National Congress."¹

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

It was so decided.

8. The PRESIDENT: The Council is meeting today in response to the request made on behalf of the group of African States in a letter dated 5 December 1977 from the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon acting in his capacity as Chairman of the African Group for the month of December [S/12470].

¹ Subsequently circulated as document S/12480.

9. Members of the Council have before them a draft resolution sponsored by Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius [S/12477].

10. The first speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the African Group for the month of December. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

11. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to extend to you my warmest and most fraternal congratulations on your accession to the high office of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. Knowing and appreciating your qualities as a man and as a diplomat, we are sure that you will conduct our work to a successful conclusion.

12. I take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute also to your predecessor, Ambassador Kikhia of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, who enjoys our respect, confidence and friendship for the way in which he directed the Council's proceedings last month.

13. Finally, I take pleasure in expressing my deep gratitude to members of the Council for having been so kind as to agree to meet at my request, made in my capacity as Chairman of the African Group for the month of December, to consider ways and means of making the application of resolution 418 (1977) far more effective.

14. Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Council, on 4 November last, adopted resolution 418 (1977), in which it determined, having regard to the policies and acts of the South African Government, that South Africa's acquisition of arms and related *matériel* constituted a threat to international peace and security.

15. The African countries welcomed that decision, while expressing their regret that it came so late, inasmuch as South Africa has had for years now, thanks to the co-operation of the Western countries, an impressive military arsenal and the means to manufacture under licence all the types of arms that it needs.

16. All in all, in our opinion the virtue of this resolution lies in the fact that it has at last alerted public opinion in the Western countries to the gravity of the situation in southern Africa and to the real threat to international peace and security that is growing ever more serious in that part of the world.

17. Furthermore, that decision opens up new prospects for the expansion and strengthening of measures of more substantial and far more energetic external pressure against the racist minority at Pretoria. We welcome the statements made and the measures taken by certain States to prohibit the actual delivery of arms that had previously been ordered by South Africa. It is to be hoped that such initiatives will continue and that they will extend to the establishment of a total embargo that will include strategic products such as petroleum, without which the war machine of the white racist minority would be ineffectual against the black people of South Africa.

18. There can be no question that, in the aftermath of the electoral farce that has just been enacted in South Africa and that has strengthened the contempt, arrogance and cynicism of Vorster through the massive display of blind confidence given him by the white minority, the *apartheid* régime will become even more brutal vis-à-vis the non-whites and the neighbouring independent African States. In this new context, international pressure on the régime must similarly be more determined and more tenacious.

19. The draft resolution that is going to be presented to the Council on behalf of the African countries by the African members of the Council, and that is an extension of resolution 418 (1977), is thus intended to set up machinery to provide the Secretary-General with an additional means of discharging the difficult and delicate mission entrusted to him under paragraph 6 of that resolution.

20. In requesting the Council to set up such a body, it is no part of our intention to cast doubt either on the good faith or on the political will of certain of its members regarding the implementation of the provisions of resolution 418 (1977), which, for that matter, they adopted unanimously. In so doing, what we want is, quite simply, to create, in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council and of the practice already established in the Council, a subsidiary body of the Council: a Committee, consisting of all the members of the Council, within the framework of resolution 418 (1977), whose role will be to seek from all States further information regarding the action taken by them concerning the effective implementation of the provisions laid down in resolution 418 (1977), to study ways and means by which the mandatory arms embargo could be made more effective against South Africa and to make recommendations to the Council, and to examine the report to be submitted by the Secretary-General on the progress of the implementation of resolution 418 (1977).

21. We hope that the adoption of this draft will not present difficulties for members of the Council and that it will be unanimous.

22. Mr. BOYA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation wishes to extend to you our warm and brotherly congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of December. It is with genuine pleasure that we see you assuming the responsibilities of that important post at a time when the Council is considering once again what is happening in South Africa. Your competence, ability and flexibility have made you one of the most esteemed and influential African diplomats. The battle we have waged at your side has cemented our solidarity and helped to strengthen our unity of action. You have contributed very often, by your diplomatic wisdom, to the formulation of the strategy for our action. We have found you at our side at our most difficult moments, so I feel bound to express special gratitude to you. I can assure you that Benin will also continue to give you its militant support outside the Council.

23. Allow me to say a few words about the relations between our two countries. As you know, they are good,

and we are pleased by the strengthening of these relations within the framework of the African unity which is so valuable for the triumph of our common cause.

24. You have succeeded Ambassador Kikhia, a comrade in arms, an indefatigable militant, who, during the month of November, admirably directed the work of the Council. We wish to thank him once again for the total support he has always given to our delegation.

25. To turn to the question before the Council, we have just heard the Chairman of the African Group give the reasons and serious misgivings which led to our joint request for the establishment of a Council Committee to be charged with the implementation of resolution 418 (1977), which decreed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

26. It will be recalled that, on 4 November [2046th meeting], after the adoption of resolution 418 (1977), my delegation, on behalf of the other African States on the Council, expressly requested the establishment of an appropriate body to follow up the implementation of that resolution which, as members of the Council will recall with me, is limited in scope, since it does not cover all means of supplying weapons and facilities to the Vorster régime.

27. At this stage, I shall confine myself to introducing to the Council the draft resolution in document S/12477, which is sponsored by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius and my country, the People's Republic of Benin. This draft, which has been the subject of laborious, difficult and protracted informal meetings of the Council and numerous consultations, is a compromise text which is now accepted by all the members. We should like to thank all concerned for the co-operation that made it possible to arrive at this agreement. In particular, we wish to express our gratitude to our non-aligned and other friends on the Council for their militant support of the African cause.

28. Africa's aim is to secure all necessary guarantees that resolution 418 (1977) will be effectively implemented. The compromise draft before us is in a very simple form and there can be no confusion about the tasks of the Committee.

29. The first and second paragraphs of the preamble are closely linked to resolution 418 (1977). The sponsors wish thereby to keep close the concern of Africa to employ all possible means to ensure the effective implementation of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

30. Operative paragraph 1, which establishes the Committee, is clearly within the legal concept of rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council. This means that the establishment of this Committee is no mere flight of fancy, but is in accordance with United Nations procedures. The tasks of the Committee are clearly defined in subparagraphs *a*, *b* and *c* of this paragraph. These tasks are to examine and closely follow the progress achieved in implementing resolution 418 (1977), to study ways and means by which the mandatory embargo may be made more effective against South Africa and to make recommendations to the Security Council in this connexion. The

work of the Committee consists furthermore, and above all, of seeking further information regarding the action taken by States concerning the implementation of the relevant provisions of resolution 418 (1977).

31. More precisely, regarding the information referred to in subparagraph *c* of paragraph 1, obviously the Committee must on no account neglect other reliable sources of information, particularly if this comes from individuals or organizations rather than States. Information on the implementation of the resolution is important for measuring the degree of sincerity of the States which have made statements of intent in this regard. The search for this information from all reliable sources is a vital part of the work of the Committee as is the assistance to be provided by the Secretary-General.

32. The importance of this information is reflected again in operative paragraph 2, which calls upon all States to co-operate sincerely with the Committee in the provision of such information.

33. It is clear that if the Committee is to function efficiently, it will need the technical support of an appropriate unit or office of the Secretariat. It is another legitimate desire of Africa to have the Committee assisted by a permanent team of staff and experts sufficient in number and adequate in competence. Operative paragraph 3 gives complete latitude to the Secretary-General, who has our full confidence, to set up this unit within the Secretariat as soon as possible by seeking the services of available staff and recruiting new personnel. This paragraph takes fully into account the difficulties which this new task will cause the Secretariat as regards recruitment of staff.

34. These are the main preoccupations of Africa concerning the guarantees for the adequate and complete implementation of resolution 418 (1977). I believe that this compromise text will be adopted unanimously and I propose that the procedure followed for the adoption of resolution 418 (1977) should be applied in this case also.

35. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Benin for his statement, for the kind words he has addressed to me and for the reference he has made to the good relations existing between Benin and Mauritius.

36. I should like to inform members of the Council that a letter has been received from the representative of Saudi Arabia, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion, in conformity with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure. I therefore propose, with the consent of the Council and in accordance with the usual practice, to invite the representative of Saudi Arabia to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Baroody (Saudi Arabia) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

37. The PRESIDENT: I invite the representative of Saudi Arabia to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

38. Mr. BARODY (Saudi Arabia): I thank you, Mr. President, and members of the Council, for allowing me to make a few remarks on the draft resolution on which you will soon vote. I feel impelled to make these remarks in view of my humble experience of an arms embargo.

39. Parenthetically, Sir, I was remiss not to say how heartened I am to see you in the Chair but, considering you as a brother, I thought it would be embarrassing to laud you very much. Indeed, since you first came here you have acted like a brother; once in a while we have had a few tiffs, but this happens between brothers.

40. I think this draft resolution is very laudable. A Committee would be formed of all members of the Council to monitor the situation to find out whether any State, whether a Member or not, is smuggling arms. I am sure all States agree on what is happening in South Africa and will prevent any dribble of arms from reaching South Africa. I have faith, at least in the higher echelons of Governments. Having drawn this to the attention of the Council, I should like to refer to my humble experience.

41. When I was in Europe between 1929 and 1939, that was a critical period in Europe, and an African State, Ethiopia, was involved in a war. I met the late Emperor of Ethiopia—may his soul rest in peace—when he was a fugitive in England. It so happened that I was a friend of the Ambassador of Ethiopia and his sons in London. During that war, when Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, the Ethiopians had very few arms to repel the invasion, and this was communicated to me personally by my good friend the late Ambassador of Ethiopia, Mr. Martin. He was an Ethiopian, but during the war that was waged against Ethiopia in 1898, he was found by British missionaries in the streets of Addis Ababa and taken by them to India, and they gave him the name of Martin. His two sons were lost in the war. He sent them and I saw them off at Victoria Station. They were young men and they learned to be pilots and then they were shot down by Mussolini's forces. So I felt very deeply about this matter and my friend the Ambassador of Ethiopia asked if I could be of any help in procuring arms for them. I said I was not in the arms business but that I would be on the look-out.

42. It so happened that the Greek Government wanted to get rid of some arms that were perhaps outmoded and they were looking for customers. This I had learned in the City of London and I passed on the information to the Ethiopian Ambassador. Of course, my good friend Mr. Richard will not take issue with what I am going to say because it was a Conservative Government that was then in power. I was told by Scotland Yard that, as I was a resident—because I had a business there—but had no licence or permission to deal in arms, I therefore had better not do so, otherwise, they gave me to understand, I would be *persona non grata*. Anyway, we managed to send some of the arms through Europe, but they came too late.

43. At the same time, Mr. Chamberlain wrote to his sister-in-law who was living in Rome to tell her—and this surprised me—that the British would close their eyes provided Mussolini did not ally himself with Hitler.

44. These things actually happened. I received the information when I appeared on the platform for an appeal to raise money for the Ethiopian Red Cross and the International Red Cross. I appeared, not knowing that Sylvia Pankhurst would be one of the speakers. Afterwards I was introduced to her and she told me about the policy of the British Conservative Government. It was then that I was tapped on the shoulder by two Scotland Yard men, asking me about my passport. That was at Tottenham Court Road station. The hall where I spoke on behalf of the Ethiopians was near the British Museum in Bloomsbury. Sylvia Pankhurst was a Socialist. I do not have to tell the Council who she was: everyone knows how much work she and her mother and sister did for women's franchise in England and the great impact that had on the women's movement.

45. It might seem that my statement is too personal, and one might question how it applies to this draft resolution in front of us. It has a great bearing on this draft resolution, because at that time many of us were also fighting—not with arms but by activism—the mandates in the Middle East and we were conscious that, whether through Syria or, to a lesser extent, through Iraq—because then the British had a better grip on Iraq than the French had on Syria—a great many arms were being smuggled to the Middle East under the very noses of the French and the British.

46. Then I got interested in those upheavals and in those matters and, as I mentioned before [2037th meeting], I was fortunate to have read in those days—in the 1930s—the book called in French *Les marchands de mort*, of which Sir Basil Zaharoff was the hero, so to speak, or the central figure.

47. I am sure there will be a lot of smuggling—more than we envisage—even with the setting up a Committee to monitor and intervene with the various States that produce arms or in which there are arms merchants or smugglers. By the same token, I might mention the narcotics business and, here too, I want to be a little personal.

48. In Paris, at the Palais de Chaillot, when we succeeded in drawing up the Convention on narcotics—I happened to be a participant—we did some research and found that the higher echelons of Governments were all against narcotics but that there was collusion—and I think there still is—between the so-called lower echelons of Governments and the narcotics manufacturers, without the knowledge of the Government leaders. And the smuggling that took place in those days was petty compared to what is going on now.

49. In order not to exacerbate matters, I will not name the sources from which narcotics were then—and now still, I believe—smuggled from one country to another. However, here at the United Nations, we are still seized of this: the United Nations is prevailing on certain cultivators of opium to cease growing it, although opium is an organic product, a plant, not like heroin, which is synthesized in Europe. In the Third Committee, we drew attention to the fact that opium was a mere bagatelle compared to cocaine and the other allied synthetic substances that have been manufactured in Europe and smuggled by certain gangsters or whatever you want to call them in collusion with certain members of the police or with municipal authorities of

whatever city it was where those nefarious narcotics were being manufactured and smuggled.

50. What is the bearing of this on the subject? Are we going to have another kind of proliferation whereby all those here enlist others to try to monitor the situation? Yet, what is the alternative? That is why I say this draft resolution is commendable, laudable. But there is one point which may have been thought of but which no one has aired in the Council: have we taken into account the fact that, if the monitoring is successful, South Africa will find itself compelled to import scientists from wherever it can, scientists who are perhaps specialists in devising weapons of mass destruction? That would be rather dangerous. They will do so anyway, one might say.

51. I will not say we should not take into account the laudable effect that this draft resolution will have when adopted, but I do not think it will solve the problem. Here, even an economic boycott would not have been valid, for the simple reason that smuggling could be intensified and, as I said in a previous statement in the Council, there are many pressure groups inside the industrialized countries that will make sure that their Governments do not make them suffer by not exporting to or importing from South Africa the particular commodities or manufactured goods in which they deal.

52. The reason I asked to be allowed to speak is not to be cynical, but to draw your attention to the fact that an economic boycott would be equally ineffective. You might then ask "What shall we do: all remain with arms folded and do nothing?" No. This is a step in the right direction, but it will not solve the problem.

53. Then, without deviating from the arms embargo matter, I want, as I mentioned to some of my African brothers who are fighting for their independence in southern Africa, to say this: let us assume—and this is only an assumption—that the white people there are cornered. And here the ancient Arabic proverb applies: "You had better not corner a cat, because then it will act like a tiger". If we corner the South Africans too closely, although they are not cats, they may, in desperation, act like that cornered cat and spring, not on us members of the Council or Members of the United Nations, but on our African brothers wherever they may be. We have to take that into account.

54. It is not a question of surmounting difficulties—I wish we could—by such resolutions, although, I say again, they are laudable in their intent. It is a sort of consolation to our African brothers to have them; that was the maximum they could get. On the other hand, we should not, economically or by an arms embargo, cause the South Africans to develop an arms industry that may ravage all Africa and create more turmoil there than it finds itself in today.

55. Let us speak out aloud. All the representatives here are intelligent and maybe these things have crossed their minds. They should be expressed, and no one should be afraid of expressing them, because we want peace in South Africa.

56. I mentioned a third point to my African brothers, especially those fighting for their independence—and I hope

that I shall not be misunderstood as on another occasion when you, Mr. President, misunderstood me and I had to reply and explain to you. I do not want to cite examples from my humble experience of what happened in my own region. Most of the blacks in South Africa are workers; they constitute the proletariat. Some of them may have risen to management posts, but, as our American friends say, they have not yet developed the know-how to run industries, not because they are incapable, but because they have not had a chance to do so.

57. I am not saying this is so, but let us assume that the South African whites, like the proverbial Bedouin, would fold their tents and steal out into the night overnight. Do representatives realize that there would be a lot of trouble when many of those workers who run the mines and industries—the real proletariat—were out of jobs and that they would overthrow their black leaders? What, then, is the alternative?

58. That is an analysis of what might happen, and believe me, neither Saudi Arabia nor I have an axe to grind. I consider myself a member of the United Nations and my loyalty to it should transcend even my loyalty to the country I represent, because after all our aim is to become one family. The idea is Utopian at this stage, but eventually we either have to become one family in the world or human beings will bring about their own end.

59. Therefore these factors that I have adduced should be taken into consideration. First, the Committee to be appointed should make sure that no scientists or specialists will be covertly imported. Scientists have skills but unfortunately they may not be of such moral stature as to resist big salaries for trying to invent arms. Secondly, the Committee must make sure that it keeps its eyes open for smuggling, and I say smuggling cannot be controlled no matter how much people patrol the oceans. I have cited narcotics and the smuggling of arms in the 1930s into many countries. I need not mention which countries now because some of them may be represented here in this chamber.

60. I thought I would unburden myself. I must make myself explicit. Perhaps some might think I am foolish to express thoughts that had better be kept to oneself, but this would not be the United Nations if we did not come out with what we thought should be adduced. If we did not, then all our work would be platitudinous. We would have draft resolutions without action—in the case of disarmament we launched about 30 of them in the First Committee.

61. Having said that, I do not want representatives to think that I made my remarks in a spirit of destructive criticism or just to act contrary to other people. I am sure many representatives are thinking along the same line as I, but somebody like myself who has nothing to gain or lose should come out with those facts and express the thoughts that go through our minds.

62. One last word to our African brothers, whether members of the proletariat or leaders: make sure and learn the know-how from the white man. Find a solution so that, while you are struggling to get your political rights, South

African industry—the minerals or whatever the resources afford for making a reasonably good standard of living—will not be jeopardized, lest you leaders there are toppled, as I have seen happen in other parts of the world, and there is anarchy instead of law and order and a good life for everybody.

63. I am concerned about the innocent. We so-called people in the seat of power come and go; parties, ideologies, all things change, but our concern at the United Nations should be for the common man; for the people of South Africa just as for people everywhere in the world who are denied a decent standard of living—not necessarily accompanied by luxuries, but a decent standard of living.

64. I thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for having afforded me an opportunity to make my remarks as a Member of the United Nations, regardless of my representing Saudi Arabia in the Organization.

65. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council has always been privileged to draw from the experience and wisdom of Ambassador Baroody. Personally, I have certainly benefited tremendously from the knowledge and guidance of my elder brother—even if we have had one and a half misunderstandings on relatively minor procedural issues over the last nine years. As the representative of Mauritius, I have always shared the views of Ambassador Baroody that the interests of the international community transcend national interests, except on very specific issues.

66. I understand that members of the Council are ready to vote on the draft resolution in document S/12477. Accordingly, I now put it to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.²

67. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who have requested to speak at this stage of the debate.

68. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): On 25 October [2037th meeting], during the consideration of the question of South Africa, the Chinese delegation expounded in a comprehensive way our position and views on related matters and voted in favour of resolution 418 (1977).

69. Since the adoption of that resolution, the Vorster racist régime of South Africa has totally ignored the relevant Council resolutions, and instead has stepped up its brutal repression of the Azanian people's just struggle against racism and for national liberation. Recently, the régime has stage-managed the so-called general election which excluded the black and Coloured people, comprising 83 per cent of the total population of South Africa, and subsequently the ugly farce of the sham independence of Bophuthatswana. At the same time, it arrested a large number of black people, including schoolchildren, in a sweep through Atteridgeville-Faulsville township and other regions. It is also trying hard to shirk its responsibility for

the crime of torturing to death the black nationalist leader Steve Biko. In addition, it has continued its cruel repression of the Namibian people and supported the Smith racist régime in Rhodesia in flagrantly launching another large-scale armed invasion of Mozambique. All this shows that the evil Vorster racist régime is implacably inimical to the Azanian people and the entire African people.

70. The open contempt shown by the Vorster authorities for resolution 418 (1977) has also found expression in the many wanton clamours made by Defence Minister Botha before and after the adoption of the resolution. He said that "efforts to weaken South Africa militarily through the application of mandatory embargoes shall not succeed". Referring to the practical results of the Council sanctions against Rhodesia as an example, he said arrogantly: "A total boycott is a dream; as long as we have the money there will always be supplies". Nevertheless, the clamours by Vorster and his ilk have driven home, by negative example, the truth that what is written on paper is not yet real, that the earnest implementation of the Council resolutions is by no means an easy thing, but involves a series of grave struggles.

71. In this sense, we support the proposal of African States on the establishment of a body, such as a Committee under the Security Council, to examine and supervise the progress of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. This would be conducive to the implementation of the relevant Council resolutions. But, in the light of historical experience, particularly the experience of the sanctions against Rhodesia, we consider it imperative to urge all States Members of the United Nations and, first and foremost, all permanent members and other members of the Security Council themselves, strictly to implement those resolutions, in order to have resolution 418 (1977) truly implemented and not reduced to a mere scrap of paper. At the same time, it is imperative to enable the Committee that has been established to exercise effective supervision over the implementation of the resolution and also to consider the application of economic sanctions against South Africa. Otherwise, there would be a danger of bringing about the opposite results.

72. In the last analysis, the final solution to the question of South Africa can only be achieved by relying on the entire Azanian people's persevering in protracted struggle and using revolutionary violence to overthrow the evil racist régime with the support and assistance of the entire African and world people. Only thus can the Azanian people attain their national liberation. The fact that the black leader Steve Biko, known as an advocate of non-violence, fell a victim to the racists' counter-revolutionary violence serves as a convincing lesson by negative example taught by Vorster and his ilk to the Azanian people. At present, the people of South Africa are becoming increasingly awakened. They are combining closely the struggle against racism and colonialism with that against hegemonism. We are convinced that they will further overcome super-Power interference and sabotage and finally overthrow the bloody rule of the racist régimes and achieve national liberation through the daily broadening armed mass struggle.

73. Mr. BARTON (Canada): Mr. President, since this is the first time I have had the opportunity to speak since your

² See resolution 421 (1977).

assumption of the office of President, I should like to express the pleasure of my delegation at seeing you in the Chair and seeing Mauritius taking responsibility for presiding over our efforts this month. I know that, under your wise guidance, we can be sure of accomplishing the difficult tasks that I know lie ahead of us, as has been evidenced by the negotiations which have been successfully concluded on the question that we are discussing today.

74. I should also like to say how much we appreciated the magnificent job done by your predecessor, the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I realize that his term of office is drawing to a close and we shall miss him very much on the Council.

75. We supported the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 418 (1977), which established a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. We similarly support the decision which the Council has just taken to establish a Committee to examine the progress of the implementation of the measures envisaged by the provisions of resolution 418 (1977).

76. In its response [S/12462] to the note which the Secretary-General circulated to States pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 418 (1977), the Canadian Government, on 28 November, advised the Secretary-General that Canada had, in 1963, voluntarily placed an arms embargo on the sale of arms and military equipment to South Africa and had, in 1970, extended that embargo to include the sale of spare parts for such equipment, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. Our reply noted that Canada had voted in favour of resolution 418 (1977) making this voluntary arms embargo mandatory and would faithfully implement its provisions.

77. In deciding now to establish a Committee in relation to resolution 418 (1977), the Council has followed the precedent of the establishment of a similar committee by resolution 253 (1968) on the subject of the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. I realize that this is not the time to discuss the question, but I should like to put on record our belief that, when the Committee just created begins its work, it should adopt procedures similar to those which have been evolved over the years for the Committee on Sanctions against Rhodesia and move ahead in dealing with the main tasks established for it, as defined in paragraph 1 of the resolution we have just adopted. The Canadian Government has co-operated fully with the Committee established under resolution 253 (1968) and has respected the workmanlike procedures that have been developed in that Committee to encourage and ensure co-operation with it by all Member States. It will be our intention to support in like fashion the activities of the Committee on the implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa.

78. Mr. PETREE (United States of America): The United States agrees on the need to establish appropriate machinery to oversee the progress of resolution 418 (1977) establishing the arms embargo against South Africa adopted unanimously by the Security Council on 4 November last. Of course, final responsibility for observance of that embargo rests with individual States, consonant with their

obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. For its part, the United States intends scrupulously to observe the arms embargo and urges all other States to do likewise.

79. We are grateful for the excellent work of all involved in drafting and negotiating the resolution that the Council has just adopted.

80. The United States will participate fully in discussions on the procedures to be used by the new Committee.

81. Mr. von WECHMAR (Federal Republic of Germany): It gives me genuine and great pleasure to greet you, Sir, as President of the Security Council during today's deliberations. We both joined the Council at the beginning of this year and have worked together since then—you as spokesman of the African Group, and I as a simple member. During our common term, I have admired your straightforwardness in matters of substance regarding the interests of Africa and your diplomatic skills in negotiating towards universally acceptable solutions within the Council. These qualities were displayed during our particularly difficult deliberations in March and April, and they have been proved once again during the last few days, devoted, as is only appropriate, to a problem of Africa.

82. I should also like to address our sincere thanks to the retiring President, Ambassador Kikhia of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, who made such a remarkable contribution to the achievement of a consensus on resolution 418 (1977), a historic step which led us to the present decision.

83. The Federal Republic of Germany voted in favour of the resolution which has just been adopted, establishing, in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure, a Committee of the Council to examine the Secretary-General's report on the implementation of resolution 418 (1977), to study ways and means to ensure the effectiveness of the mandatory arms embargo and to seek further information from States regarding their action towards this aim.

84. Today's decision is the consequence of the decision which we took on 4 November and which we expect to have the effect of diminishing the potential for conflict and bloodshed in southern Africa. As the members of the Council are aware, my delegation took an active part in bringing about that decision, especially since my Government has been observing the voluntary arms embargo regarding South Africa since 1963.

85. We hope that the Committee which we have just established will be able to work in a businesslike atmosphere, as that which recently has prevailed also in the meetings of the Committee that already exists under rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure, that is, the Committee on Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia established by resolution 253 (1968). The precedents set by that Committee should be followed. As far as my delegation is concerned, we are willing to co-operate fully and constructively in the new Committee during our term of membership in the Council.

86. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I should like to join in the congratulations that have already

been expressed to you today. We are delighted indeed to see a friendly Commonwealth country, in the person of its Permanent Representative, as this month's President of the Security Council.

87. May I also take this first opportunity we have had this month to thank the representative of Libya for the skill with which he conducted the affairs of the Council last month.

88. We have adopted this resolution and we have had the benefit too of the wisdom and the experience of Ambassador Baroody. I listened, as I always do, with interest and attention to the representative of Saudi Arabia, particularly to his reminiscences of the drug trade in London in 1938. While perhaps the immediate relevance of some parts of his speech may not have been apparent right away, I must say that, at the end of his half hour, the appositeness and indeed the precision of his points were happily established. The Council may indeed find it comforting to have heard from him how alert Scotland Yard was in 1938 to any apparent interest in the arms trade by persons not authorized to engage in such dealings. I wish to assure him and the Security Council that the United Kingdom authorities remain as vigilant in this regard today as they were then.

89. My delegation has made clear its position on the application of an arms embargo against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. It did so when we voted in favour of the draft resolution which became resolution 418 (1977) [2046th meeting]. The embargo which we voted for on that occasion is mandatory and it seems hardly necessary, therefore, to add that we are of course fully observing it. As I explained at the time, the United Kingdom Government had in any case been applying a voluntary embargo for some years.

90. It follows from our support for resolution 418 (1977) that we are entirely content to have voted for the draft resolution that was before us today. We accept that there is merit in having a Committee to monitor the application of the embargo. Such a Committee of course has a precedent in the shape of the Committee set up under resolution 253 (1968). My delegation believes that the expertise acquired by that Committee and the procedures it has evolved will indeed provide the most useful precedent for the new body which we have voted for today.

91. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first of all, Mr. President, to extend our warmest congratulations to you on your accession to your high office. I should like also to express our thanks to you for the dedication and great distinction with which you have assumed your responsibilities since the beginning of this month. France takes particular pleasure in seeing the presidency for December in the hands of Mauritius, with which my country has long maintained relations of friendship based on history and culture.

92. I should like also to congratulate our outgoing President, Ambassador Kikhia, for the skill and talent with which he conducted the proceedings of the Council in November. He may rest assured of our gratitude.

93. I come now to the item on the Council's agenda.

94. The Security Council has met at the request of the African Group to consider, in conformity with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure, the establishment of a Committee to monitor the implementation of resolution 418 (1977). My country, which joined all the other members of the Council in voting for the adoption of that resolution on 4 November, had no difficulty at all in associating itself with a further unanimous decision on the proposal that was before us. In my statement in November [2046th meeting], I had made it clear that my country would take all the measures necessary to ensure the implementation of that resolution. In response to the letter of the Secretary-General dated 10 November, I confirmed on 30 November [S/12464] that the French Government intended to apply without restrictions the decision of 4 November instituting an embargo on the provision of arms to South Africa. I also stated that, consequently, any delivery of military *matériel* to that country had been prohibited as of the vote on resolution 418 (1977).

95. We all wish this resolution to be implemented. We also believe that, in the same concern for effectiveness which led to the unanimous adoption of resolution 418 (1977), the future Committee should act in such a way that its recommendations will have the authority naturally attaching to recommendations adopted unanimously. In this regard, the Organization is not without experience. The rules that have already been tried and tested in the Committee on Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia will be a guarantee of the success of our new undertaking.

96. The decision we have just taken reflects once again the determination of the world community to see an early end to the intolerable situation prevailing in South Africa, on which we have had an opportunity to state our position at length at earlier meetings of the Council. It must be our hope that this determination will be understood.

97. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of France for the kind words he addressed to me and for his reference to the good relations existing between France and Mauritius.

98. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure for me to welcome you as President of the Security Council for the last month of this year and to congratulate you most warmly on this occasion. Your vast experience and the qualities so generally recognized at the United Nations will be valuable in the discharge of your duties. The delegation of Romania is most happy to co-operate closely with you, and we express our complete confidence that you will successfully discharge your important mission.

99. I wish also to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Mansur Kikhia of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, for the excellent manner in which he guided our work during the month of November. I wish to say that it was a pleasure to work with him and that I value his open and friendly spirit.

100. Because of the efforts made by all the members in the last few days and because of their spirit of co-operation,

the Council has just unanimously adopted a new resolution which fittingly strengthens and completes resolution 418 (1977) adopted a month ago. We hope that the decision taken today will really make the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa more effective. Accordingly, the Romanian delegation expresses its conviction that all States will co-operate fully with the newly established Committee in its work of promoting the effective implementation of resolution 418 (1977), and supply it with all the information it may request pursuant to the present resolution.

101. As my delegation stated on 4 November last, resolution 418 (1977) is "the expression of the will of the Member States not to ease the political pressure on the racist régime of Pretoria until that régime abandons its policies of *apartheid* and aggression" [2046th meeting, para. 35]. We consider that the resolution deciding to establish a Committee represents a new and serious warning to the racist régime of South Africa designed to compel it to renounce its racist inhuman policy of *apartheid*.

102. It is the statutory duty of our Organization to give all possible support to the legitimate aspirations to freedom and independence of the populations of southern Africa, victims of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

103. Recent events in southern Africa and the aggressive actions of the Pretoria Government against the majority of the population of South Africa and against neighbouring States are proof that new measures are needed to render Council decisions more effective. In our opinion, the establishment of a Council Committee with the responsibilities set forth in the resolution just adopted constitutes an important political act. We are convinced that its activities will be in keeping with the mission entrusted to it and that, with the assistance of Member States, it will make an important contribution to the strengthening of the embargo against South Africa.

104. Mrs. HYDER (Pakistan): Mr. President, allow me first to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. My delegation is confident that, under your able guidance, the Council will be able to discharge its functions with speed and efficiency.

105. I should also like to take this opportunity to compliment your predecessor, the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, for the statesmanlike manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council last month. His successful handling of our deliberations in large measure contributed to the adoption of resolution 418 (1977) by consensus last month.

106. The Security Council has just adopted the resolution sponsored by the three African members of the Council which seeks to set up a Committee to monitor the implementation of the mandatory arms embargo imposed by resolution 418 (1977) and to study ways and means by which it could be made more effective.

107. Pakistan has wholeheartedly supported the resolution because we feel that the setting up of the Committee is a

necessary follow-up of resolution 418 (1977). It is not enough for the Council to decide on a matter without at the same time taking steps to ensure strict compliance with its decision by Member States. Otherwise, the resolutions of the Council will become meaningless and not have the desired impact.

108. The setting up of the Committee will therefore help to underline the determination of the Council to take such measures as may be considered appropriate to ensure the success and effectiveness of the arms embargo against South Africa. We earnestly hope that the deliberations of the projected Committee will be marked by the same spirit of harmony and co-operation that has been shown during the consideration of this issue by the Council.

109. On this occasion, my delegation would like to commend the spirit of compromise and accommodation shown by the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius in drafting the text of the resolution, as well as to express our appreciation for the positive and constructive role played by all the other members of the Council.

110. Finally, Pakistan feels that the adoption of two successive resolutions by consensus is highly significant and should not go unnoticed. It has helped to demonstrate the immense potential of the Council to take and implement important decisions by consensus, provided all members share unity of purpose and adopt a flexible attitude. In our view, a resolution adopted by consensus is in the ultimate analysis the best guarantee of its endorsement and application by the entire international community and makes the United Nations a functioning reality.

111. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to congratulate you, the representative of a friendly country, on your accession to the responsible post of President of the Security Council for this month. We have no doubt that under your leadership the Council will be enabled to move forward in resolving a number of important international problems. It should be said that we have already accumulated considerable experience of constructive co-operation with the delegation of Mauritius in various United Nations bodies and we hope that this useful co-operation will continue to develop.

112. Nor do we wish to fail to mention the diplomatic skill and tact with which the work of the Council was guided last month by your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Kikhia, the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, a country that is friendly to us. It is noteworthy that it was precisely under his presidency that the Council took the decision that is regarded with full justification by the international opinion as an important step forward in the struggle for the definitive elimination of colonialism and *apartheid* in the southern part of the African continent. We are extremely grateful to Ambassador Kikhia for his substantial contribution to the work of the Council in that direction.

113. The position of the Soviet Union on the question of adopting further effective measures against the racist

régimes that have taken root in southern Africa has been set forth repeatedly. As was emphasized by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, in his statement on 28 November this year on the occasion of the visit to Moscow of the Commissioner for External Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Mr. Joseph Garba, it is still far from possible to strike the struggle for the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and racism off the list of priority tasks confronting States. Unfortunately, there are still regions where colonialism and racism continue to hold sway. One might mention by way of example Rhodesia, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa. The position of principle of the Soviet Union on this question, as Mr. Gromyko stressed, is well known. We favour the earliest elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and of racist régimes on the African continent, and the immediate and effective transfer of power to the lawful representatives of the majority of their indigenous populations in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

114. It was on this basis that the Soviet Union acted in supporting resolution 418 (1977) concerning a mandatory embargo on arms shipments to the racist régime at Pretoria. We noted then [2046th meeting] that, with the adoption of that resolution, the Council was in essence taking the first definite step forward in the question of the application to South Africa of mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

115. In its reply to the questionnaire of the Secretary-General, the Permanent Mission of the USSR declared [S/12457] that the Soviet Union would strictly comply with all the provisions of that resolution. The Soviet Union maintains no relations with South Africa, does not supply it with arms or military equipment and maintains no economic ties of any kind with the Pretoria régime.

116. It is a positive point that other Member States also attach extreme importance to resolution 418 (1977). This is testified to by the replies that are coming in to the Secretary-General's questionnaire, replies containing undertakings to observe strictly all provisions of that resolution.

117. But we also realize that it is essential to institute a truly effective monitoring of the performance of the obligations undertaken by States in this regard. The proposal of the African States for the establishment of appropriate international machinery that will bear responsibility for supervising the implementation of the Security Council resolution instituting a mandatory embargo on arms shipments to South Africa is therefore fully justified. The idea of setting up such machinery had been put forward earlier by African countries. Thus, in the Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid* it was indicated that the Lagos Conference recommends "the setting up of a watchdog committee to follow up the observance of the arms embargo".³ Today, thanks to the efforts of the African countries, this idea is being translated into practice.

118. The delegation of the Soviet Union has supported the draft resolution on the subject submitted for the Council's consideration by the delegations of Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius. We hope that the new Council

Committee will become a genuinely effective means for the implementation of this resolution and an additional instrument in the struggle for the attainment of those goals that the Council set itself when it took the decision. Care must, of course, be taken that this important organ of the Council has at its disposal all appropriate means for carrying out the functions entrusted to it. We assume that, within the framework of the Secretariat, due measures will be taken to ensure the effectiveness of the work of the Committee.

119. In setting forth our position in regard to the mandatory embargo on arms shipments to the racist Pretoria régime, my delegation emphasized that the Soviet Union regarded this decision as the basis for the Council's adoption of further effective measures in the struggle against racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa and as a point of departure for the application against the Pretoria régime of effective economic and other mandatory sanctions. In our opinion, the development of events in South Africa and the increasing viciousness of the repressive policies of the racist régime once again demonstrate the urgency not only of strict compliance with the resolution on an embargo on arms shipments but also of the extension of sanctions against Pretoria to other areas and the cutting off of any kind of co-operation with the racist régime in the field of nuclear technology as well as in economic, financial and all other spheres.

120. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the kind words he addressed to me and I assure him that the constructive co-operation of Mauritius with the delegation of the Soviet Union will always continue.

121. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like to place on record the great pleasure of my delegation at seeing an African statesman of your eminent status presiding over the work of the Council this month. We wish you every success and assure you of our warmest co-operation.

122. My delegation also wishes to pay a special tribute to the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Ambassador Mansur Kikhia, on the manner in which he presided over the work of the Council during the month of November. Ambassador Kikhia demonstrated tremendous skill as a statesman and as a conciliator and, as has already been stated here in the debate, that contributed greatly to the unanimous adoption of resolution 418 (1977) and, indirectly, to that of the present resolution, which his country submitted jointly with Mauritius and Benin. We hope that Mr. Kikhia's wisdom as a conciliator can be used not only in southern Africa but also in other parts of Africa and thus help to resolve other crises.

123. I should like to refer now to resolution 421 (1977), which has just been adopted unanimously by the Council and for which Panama voted. That resolution is a response to a request made by Ambassador Oyono, Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Cameroon and Chairman of the African Group, in a letter dated 5 December [S/12470] in which he requested the establishment of a body to supervise the implementation of resolution 418 (1977) concerning the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

³ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2, sect. X, para. 25.

124. The contribution made by the delegations of Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius in submitting the draft resolution has been most valuable, and my delegation would like to make a few brief comments on the scope of the resolution since, by the time it is implemented, Panama will no longer be a member of the Council.

125. My delegation considers that it is important to note that the Security Council has already established an analogous Committee made up of all the members of the Council. It is logical, therefore, that the work of the Committee which we have just established should be governed by the same rules of the provisional rules of procedure.

126. One of the tasks of the Committee is to examine the report on the progress of the implementation of resolution 418(1977) which will be submitted by the Secretary-General. Basically, that resolution relates to a universal mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, so that the functions of the Committee will be of the greatest importance. Furthermore the Committee will have to study ways and means by which the mandatory arms embargo could be made more effective against South Africa, to make recommendations in this connexion to the Council and to seek from all States further information regarding the action taken by them.

127. In this connexion, I should like to draw the attention of the Council to some provisions of its provisional rules of procedure which should be applied to the Committee. Rule 48 provides that, "unless it decides otherwise, the Security Council shall meet in public". Accordingly, the meetings of the Committee must be held in public, in accordance with established practice.

128. Furthermore, it is of the utmost importance that the Committee—which is to be entrusted with making recommendations and studying means to make the embargo more effective—should be able to submit to the Council the facts it needs in order to adopt such measures. In my opinion, rule 39 places an instrument in the hands of the Committee for this purpose, for it says that the Council may

"invite members of the Secretariat or other persons, whom it considers competent for the purpose, to supply it with information or to give other assistance in examining matters within its competence".

129. Therefore, if there should be any violation of the arms embargo, or if a situation were to arise which would in any way affect the implementation of the embargo, naturally any State Member of the United Nations—and even a State which is not a Member, because this is covered in the resolution—could present relevant evidence to the Committee. In such case, the Committee must be able to accept that information and request assistance in the consideration of the matters before it from qualified persons, experts and eminent personalities, and even take legal note of the statements of such persons, which would eventually constitute a cumulative body of evidence for consideration by the Council when the Committee presents its recommendations.

130. Furthermore, it is very important that the Committee should be provided with adequate facilities by the Secretariat, of the same kind as the facilities provided for the Security Council. Two of the sponsors of the draft resolution which has just been adopted, Benin and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, together with my own delegation, had some experience, during the work of the Mission sent to Cotonou pursuant to a Council resolution, of the importance of those services, particularly the one mentioned in rule 49, which states that

"the verbatim record of each meeting of the Security Council shall be made available to the representatives of the Security Council and to the representatives of any other States which have participated in the meeting not later than 10 a.m. of the first working day following the meeting".

131. When collecting evidence, it is extremely important to be able to count on this service, and therefore my delegation is particularly pleased that the resolution, in paragraph 3, requests

"the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance to the Committee and to make the necessary arrangements in the Secretariat for that purpose, including the provision of appropriate staff for the servicing of the Committee".

This is an appropriate provision, that will make it possible to make available to the Committee all the facilities needed for it to perform its task. The Secretary-General thus has a clear perception of these duties and we are pleased that the matter is left to him. We are confident that he will be given the means to provide the necessary staff.

132. Because of the late hour, I do not wish to tax your patience, but I wish to express my gratitude to Ambassador Boya of Benin for the efforts he made prior to the adoption of this resolution so as to be able, through negotiations with the members of the Council, to provide us with a text which we could adopt unanimously.

133. I believe that the events which have occurred recently in South Africa fully warrant the severity of the action which the Council has taken, not only by deciding on a universal arms embargo, but also establishing a Committee which will be an active, dynamic, demanding body.

134. The representative of China, aside from any ideological considerations, gave a list of the injurious actions committed by the Vorster régime against the international community, which I think we would all agree with. We cannot fail to mention the infamous death of Steve Biko, the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, a death that really stirs the conscience of mankind. What was done to Steve Biko is perhaps unprecedented in any martyrdom in any religion. He suffered an intense and prolonged agony, travelling 750 miles—1,200 kilometres—naked in a primitive open vehicle, he bore inconceivable insults and injuries to his human dignity. I repeat, probably no apostle, no martyr, no supreme being of any religion of mankind suffered the way he did. This was an infamous act, the

work of hyenas, not human beings. It gives us an indication of what the Security Police in South Africa must be like.

135. Any member of the Council who has had any political experience knows that among security police—whether in the north, the south, the east or the west—may be found, and often are found, mercenaries, men without conscience, cruel and inhuman monsters who lack any respect for human dignity. This may be regarded as a mere accident in any civilization. But when, after Mr. Kentridge, the distinguished lawyer for the Biko family, a man deserving of recognition, has exhaustively detailed that whole series of insults to black consciousness and to the consciousness of our so-called Western Christian civilization, which incidentally does not exist in South Africa, we see a magistrate like Marthinus J. Prins, the Chief Magistrate of Pretoria, absolving the Security Police of responsibility for that atrocious crime, then we have a clear

idea of the standard of justice and the kind of values that obtain in that country. In absolving the Security Police of Port Elizabeth, in revealing by an act of monstrous injustice how detestable is the Pretoria régime, that magistrate in effect passed a sentence of condemnation against that opprobrious régime. That is why the decision taken today is of great importance for mankind. We cannot overlook it, since it is in effect a tribute to the physical and moral courage of Steve Biko whose image will be our ideal for generations to come.

136. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Panama for his impassioned speech, for the kind words addressed to me and for his constant co-operation, which I have always valued.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

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