

ed in the adoption without a vote of a draft resolution,¹⁴⁸⁹ slightly revised,¹⁴⁹⁰ at the end of the 2049th meeting on 24 November 1977.¹⁴⁹¹ Resolution 419 (1977) reads as follows:

The Security Council,

Having heard the statement of the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Benin to the United Nations, especially regarding the threats of aggression by mercenaries,

Deeply concerned over the danger which international mercenaries represent for all States, in particular the smaller ones,

Convinced of the necessity of co-operation between all States, in conformity with paragraph 10 of resolution 405 (1977) of 14 April 1977, to collect more information about the mercenaries who operated against the People's Republic of Benin on 16 January 1977,

1. *Reaffirms* its resolution 405 (1977), in which it had, among other provisions, taken note of the report of the Security Council Special Mission to the People's Republic of Benin established under resolution 404 (1977) of 8 February 1977 and strongly condemned the act of armed aggression perpetrated against the People's Republic of Benin on 16 January 1977 and all forms of external interference in the internal affairs of Member States, including the use of international mercenaries to destabilize States and/or to violate their territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence;

2. *Takes note* of the report on the evaluation of damages contained in document S/12415;

3. *Calls upon* all States to work in close co-operation in order to gather all useful information concerning all mercenaries involved in the events of 16 January 1977, in compliance with paragraph 10 of resolution 405 (1977);

4. *Takes note* of the desire of the Government of Benin to have the mercenaries who participated in the attacking forces against the People's Republic of Benin on 16 January 1977 subjected to due process of law;

5. *Appeals* to all States and all appropriate international organizations, including the United Nations and its specialized agencies, to assist Benin to repair the damage caused by the act of aggression;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance to Benin for the implementation of paragraph 5 of the present resolution;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to watch over the implementation of the present resolution, with particular reference to paragraphs 3, 4, 5 and 6, and to report to the Security Council not later than 30 September 1978;

8. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

By letter¹⁴⁹² dated 9 March 1977 addressed to the President of the Security Council the representative of Nigeria, Chairman of the African Group for the month of March, requested the convening of a meeting of the Council to consider the question of South Africa, in conformity with previous relevant General Assembly and Council resolutions, in particular General Assembly resolution 31/6 and Council resolution 392 (1976).

By letter¹⁴⁹³ dated 21 March 1977 addressed to the President of the Security Council the representative of Liberia transmitted the text of a message by the

President of Liberia on the question of South Africa. He called on the Council and all Member States to demonstrate through positive action that *apartheid* was indeed a crime against humanity which contravened the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and was increasingly leading to a racial conflagration in southern Africa. In his view, positive action meant application against South Africa of Chapter VII of the Charter, in particular Article 41.

By letter¹⁴⁹⁴ dated 18 March 1977 addressed to the President of the Security Council the Acting Executive Secretary of OAU to the United Nations transmitted the text of a message from the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU stating that OAU expected the Council to impose economic sanctions and a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

At the 1988th meeting on 21 March 1977 the Security Council adopted¹⁴⁹⁵ the agenda and considered the item at the 1988th to 1992nd, 1994th, 1996th, 1998th and 1999th meetings between 21 and 31 March 1977.

In the course of its deliberations the Council invited the representatives of Algeria, Bahrain, Botswana, Burundi, Cuba, Egypt, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sweden, the Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia, at their request, to participate, without vote, in the discussion of the item.¹⁴⁹⁶ It also extended invitations to the President and other members of the United Nations Council for Namibia, to Mr. Mfanafuthi Johnstone Makatini of the African National Congress, to Mr. Potlako Leballo of the Pan Africanist Congress, to Mr. Olof Palme, to Mr. Abdul S. Minty and to Mr. William P. Thompson.¹⁴⁹⁷

At the 1988th meeting the representative of Mauritius drew the attention of the Security Council to the imminent danger of a general war in southern Africa. Rapid and effective measures were needed to deal with the real causes of the conflict which otherwise would inevitably grow more serious and might spread to other parts of Africa. It could produce the most serious international crisis. South Africa, he said, possessed an awesome military power and continued to develop its military capabilities at a rapid rate, building the most powerful military machine in Africa south of the Sahara for the purpose of maintaining and protecting its system of minority rule. This military power constituted a threat to neighbouring States and other States farther afield; it had mounted a full-scale invasion of Angola, imposed an occupying army on Namibia, attacked Zambia and was giving military assistance to the Smith

¹⁴⁸⁹ S/12454, sponsored by Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius and introduced by the representative of Mauritius at the 2048th mtg., paras. 74-86. It was replaced by S/12454/Rev.1.

¹⁴⁹⁰ S/12454/Rev.1 differed from the original draft only in that the language of paragraph 1 underwent a very small editorial change.

¹⁴⁹¹ For the adoption of the draft, see 2049th mtg., para. 96.

¹⁴⁹² S/12295, *OR, 32nd yr., Suppl. for Jan.-March 1977*, p. 12.

¹⁴⁹³ S/12301, *ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁴⁹⁴ S/12303, *ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁴⁹⁵ 1988th mtg., preceding para. 5.

¹⁴⁹⁶ For details, see chapter III.

¹⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.* At the 1991st meeting the representative of the United Kingdom raised a procedural point concerning the invitation of Mr. Thompson (see 1991st mtg., paras. 6-9).

régime in Southern Rhodesia. Its policy was inflexible and aggressive and it had, through foreign investment and foreign loans, created a garrison State to prevent, not promote, change.¹⁴⁹⁸

The representative of Nigeria, in his capacity of current Chairman of the African Group of Member States and Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, stated that the Security Council continued to adopt resolutions on mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia but would not apply any sanctions against South Africa, which provided the main loophole in those sanctions. It was easy for the Security Council to apply Chapter VII of the Charter against Southern Rhodesia because Western vested interests in that country had been limited at the time of the unilateral declaration of independence by Ian Smith and because Southern Rhodesia was no major source of raw materials and was of little strategic importance. He hoped that Powers which had in the past vetoed mandatory arms embargoes against South Africa would heed the appeals from the overwhelming majority of Member States.¹⁴⁹⁹

At the same meeting the representative of Egypt drew the attention of the Council to the danger of the increasing ties between South Africa and Israel, which continued to refuse to implement resolutions of the United Nations and to participate in the search for peaceful and just solutions. He expressed his conviction that the violence and repression by the South African régime had greatly aggravated the situation in South Africa and would certainly lead to violent conflict and racial conflagration, with serious international repercussions. The Council should call on the South African régime to take steps to comply with its obligations under the Charter and the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the Council and to report within a specific time-limit on the steps it had taken. If that régime failed to comply with such resolutions, the Council should consider immediate action under all the appropriate provisions of the Charter, including those of Articles 5 and 6 and Chapter VII.¹⁵⁰⁰

At the 1990th meeting on 23 March 1977 the representative of Sierra Leone noted that a repeated call by the world body for a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter had failed to gain acceptance from the Western Powers in the Security Council on the grounds that the situation in South Africa did not constitute aggression or a threat to peace and security in the area. But the Council was well aware of South Africa's aggression against Zambia and Botswana, and the involvement of that régime in Angola, after its accession to independence, was now in the open. Therefore, the excuse that South Africa was not an aggressor and a threat to peace and security could not be seriously maintained.¹⁵⁰¹

At the 1991st meeting on 24 March 1977 the representative of China observed that the South African

authorities, while continuing their political manoeuvres, had intensified their violent repression of the Azanian and Namibian peoples and their armed provocations against the neighbouring independent African countries, thereby demonstrating once again to people the world over that the nature of the racists would never change.¹⁵⁰²

At the 1992nd meeting on 25 March 1977 the representative of Zambia stated that the time had come for the United Nations to re-examine its methods. The Security Council had to decide what role it was going to play regarding the grave threat to international peace and security in southern Africa. Since the voluntary arms embargo against South Africa had not been effective the Security Council should no longer leave it to the good will of States to ban arm sales and other forms of military collaboration with South Africa. He called on the Council to impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter and prevent any further foreign economic investments in South Africa.¹⁵⁰³

At the same meeting Mr. Abdul S. Minty stated that the international arms embargo against South Africa was being evaded in a number of ways. The United Kingdom, for example, claimed to implement it, yet the way in which it interpreted and applied the embargo left gaping loopholes which permitted the South African armed forces to obtain a wide range of British equipment.¹⁵⁰⁴

Speaking in exercise of his right of reply the representative of the United Kingdom said that he rejected the allegations of Mr. Minty and reiterated the British Government's commitment to implementing its undertakings in respect of the United Nations arms embargo.¹⁵⁰⁵

At the 1998th meeting on 30 March 1977 the representative of Canada suggested that the Council depart for a time from the kind of approach which had so far proved ineffective and instead adopt a declaration of principles on southern Africa which would serve as a statement of purpose for all members of the Council in terms of their objectives in that region of the world. The adoption by consensus of such a document would serve as an unequivocal declaration to South Africa of the Council's intentions and as a vehicle to mobilize public opinion towards the Council's objectives.¹⁵⁰⁶

At the same meeting the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania stated that the South African régime was determined to perpetuate its white supremacy, using maximum violence and other repressive measures. Furthermore, to accomplish this objective, the régime had embarked on a frenzied military build-up. That excessive militarization was taking place not only in South Africa itself but also in the international territory of Namibia. South Africa's military power was

¹⁴⁹⁸ 1988th mtg., paras. 16-47.

¹⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, paras. 49-95.

¹⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, paras. 110-148.

¹⁵⁰¹ 1990th mtg., paras. 5-30.

¹⁵⁰² 1991st mtg., paras. 25-33.

¹⁵⁰³ 1992nd mtg., paras. 39-58.

¹⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, paras. 124-162.

¹⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, paras. 164-167.

¹⁵⁰⁶ 1998th mtg., paras. 5-20.

being used for internal oppression of the African people and external aggression against neighbouring independent African States. South Africa was the only country in the history of the Organization ever to be specifically condemned by the Security Council as an aggressor.¹⁵⁰⁷

At the 1999th meeting on 31 March 1977 the representative of France said that the Council and the world community had three basic complaints against South Africa: its *apartheid* policies; its illegal occupation of a territory with international status, Namibia; and its failure to comply with the mandatory measures imposed by the Security Council against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. But he did not agree with those who said that they had no further use for moral condemnation, the time for which had passed, or for pressure, the effectiveness of which they questioned, and with those who believed the time had come for obligatory sanctions. He expressed the belief that the most appropriate course would be to collect in a solemn document the principles which should be incorporated in the reforms that the Council would call upon South Africa to put into effect. He hoped the Pretoria Government would not be mistaken about the significance of the declaration that had been worked out in the working groups of the Council: the draft text rejected the basis of *apartheid*, the conduct of the South African authorities and the different aspects of the way of life unjustly imposed upon the black majority, and called upon Pretoria to carry out precise changes, to undertake a re-examination in depth of its policy.¹⁵⁰⁸

During the Council's discussions, a large number of speakers criticized South Africa's policies of *apartheid* as violating the provisions of the Charter. They called for action under Chapter VII against South Africa.¹⁵⁰⁹

Four draft resolutions were submitted to the Council, each sponsored jointly by Benin, the Libyan Arab Republic and Mauritius.¹⁵¹⁰

Under the first draft resolution,¹⁵¹¹ the Security Council would, *inter alia*, strongly condemn the South African racist régime, demand that régime end violence and repression against the black people and request the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the implementation of this resolution.

Under the text of the second draft resolution¹⁵¹² the Security Council would:

1. *Declare* that the South African racist régime had flagrantly and persistently violated the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations;

¹⁵⁰⁷ 1998th mtg., paras 46-55.

¹⁵⁰⁸ 1999th mtg., paras 64-78.

¹⁵⁰⁹ 1989th mtg., paras 18-21, 28 (Nigeria); *ibid.*, paras 33, 43 (Liberia); *ibid.*, paras 47, 61 (India); *ibid.*, paras 79, 80 (Bahrain); *ibid.*, para 98 (Zambia), 1990th mtg., para 39 (Yugoslavia); 1991st mtg., para 84 (Madagascar); 1992nd mtg., para 116 (Mr. Makatini); *ibid.*, para 146 (Mr. Minty); 1994th mtg., para 26 (Libyan Arab Republic); *ibid.*, para 43 (Ghana); *ibid.*, para 60 (Kenya); *ibid.*, para 76 (Mongolia); 1996th mtg., paras 63, 73 (Somalia); 1998th mtg., para 54 (United Republic of Tanzania); *ibid.*, para 81 (Romania); 1999th mtg., paras 31, 62 (Panama)

¹⁵¹⁰ 1998th mtg., para 4

¹⁵¹¹ S/12309, *OR*, 32nd yr., *Suppl. for Jan.-March 1977*, p. 48.

(This draft resolution was revised and adopted at subsequent meetings of the Council in October-November 1977 as resolution 417 (1977)).

¹⁵¹² S/12310, *ibid.*, p. 49.

2. *Further declare* that the policies and actions of the South African racist régime had seriously disturbed peace in the region and constituted a grave threat to international peace and security;

3. *Urgently call* on the South African racist régime to take steps to comply with its obligations under the Charter and the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council;

4. *Request* the Secretary-General to follow the situation and report on the implementation of the present resolution not later than 31 August 1977;

5. *Decide* that, in case of non-compliance with paragraph 3 of the present resolution, the Security Council should consider appropriate action under all the provisions of the Charter, including Articles 39 to 46 of Chapter VII.

Under the operative paragraphs of the third draft resolution¹⁵¹³ the Security Council would:

1. *Decide* that all States should cease forthwith the sale and shipment to South Africa of arms, ammunition of all types and military equipment and vehicles, and equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms, ammunition and military equipment and vehicles;

2. *Further decide* that all States should:

(a) Fully implement the provisions of paragraph 4 of resolution 282 (1970), adopted by the Security Council on 23 July 1970, for the strengthening of the arms embargo;

(b) Refrain from any co-operation with the South African racist régime in nuclear development;

(c) Take necessary steps to prevent corporations under their jurisdiction from providing any form of direct or indirect assistance to the South African Government in its military build-up;

3. *Request* all States to report to the Secretary-General not later than 31 July 1977 on measures taken to implement the present resolution;

4. *Request* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution, the first report to be made not later than 31 August 1977;

5. *Decide* to maintain this item on its agenda for further action as appropriate in the light of developments.

Under the text of the fourth draft resolution¹⁵¹⁴ the Security Council would:

1. *Call upon all Governments:*

(a) To refrain from any investments in, or loans to, the South African racist régime or companies registered in South Africa;

(b) To take all appropriate steps to ensure that companies and financial institutions within their jurisdiction cease all further investments in, or loans to, the South African racist régime or companies registered in South Africa;

(c) To refrain from any agreements or measures to promote trade or other economic relations with South Africa;

2. *Further call upon* all the specialized agencies and other international institutions of the United Nations to refrain from any loans, credits or assistance to the South African racist régime or companies registered in South Africa;

3. *Request* all States Members of the United Nations or members of the specialized agencies to report to the Secretary-General by 31 July 1977 on measures taken to implement the present resolution;

4. *Request* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution, the first report to be made not later than 31 August 1977;

5. *Decide* to maintain this item on its agenda for further action as appropriate in the light of developments.

The four above-mentioned draft resolutions were not put to the vote.

¹⁵¹³ S/12311, *ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁵¹⁴ S/12312, *ibid.*, p. 50.

Decision of 31st October 1977 (2045th meeting): resolution 417 (1977)

Decision of 31st October 1977 (2045th meeting): rejection of three draft resolutions

Decision of 4th November 1977 (2046th meeting): resolution 418 (1977)

By letter¹⁵¹⁵ dated 20 October 1977 addressed to the President of the Security Council the representative of Tunisia, Chairman of the African Group for the month of October, requested the convening of a meeting of the Security Council to resume urgent consideration of the question of South Africa in the light of the series of repressive measures which the racist régime had taken recently against the South African people.

By a letter¹⁵¹⁶ dated 21 October 1977 addressed to the Secretary-General the representative of Sri Lanka transmitted the text of a communiqué issued on that date by the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries on the most recent repressive measures adopted by the South African régime. The Co-ordinating bureau called, *inter alia*, upon all supporters of black African rights to demand that a time-limit be set to the negotiations being conducted by the five Western Powers and that, after the expiration of the time-limit, Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations be invoked against the Pretoria régime.

At the 2036th meeting on 24 October 1977 the Security Council adopted the agenda and considered the item at the 2036th to 2040th and 2042nd to 2046th meetings between 24 October and 4 November 1977.

In the course of its deliberations the Council invited 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.¹⁵¹⁷ It also extended invitations to representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress, to the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, to Mr. Horst Gerhard Kleinschmidt, External Representative of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, and to Mr. Elias L. Ntloedibe of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.¹⁵¹⁸

At the 2036th meeting the representative of Tunisia recalled that the General Assembly, by its decisions on 9 November 1976, had asked the Security Council to take action under Chapter VII of the Charter to implement military sanctions against South Africa, and to consider steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments there. But the measures advocated by the international community had not been adopted. South Africa had taken advantage of the situation to step up its repression, continue its *apartheid* policy, try to create more bantustans and pursue with impunity its attacks on neighbouring countries. He said that the situation in

South Africa was deteriorating swiftly, posing a greater threat to the area and to international peace and security. He expressed the hope of the African group of Member States that the Security Council would give unanimous approval to the four draft resolutions which had been submitted in March by three African members.¹⁵¹⁹

At the 2037th meeting on 25 October 1977 the representative of China strongly condemned the South African racist régime for the new series of grave crimes it had committed recently against the Azanian people. He called on the Security Council to adopt a resolution to condemn strongly the atrocities of the South African authorities, impose a mandatory arms embargo and economic sanctions against South Africa.¹⁵²⁰

At the same meeting Mr. Makatini said that the condemnations of and appeals to the South African régime by the international community through the United Nations had been ignored with impunity. The same went for the appeals to some States which had continued their economic, diplomatic and military collaboration with Pretoria. The result had been the intensification of repression and repeated massacres, as well as the aggression against Angola, the continued occupation of Namibia, economic and military support for the Smith régime, economic aggression against Lesotho, the repeated violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of land-locked States such as Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. He charged that some of the major trading partners of South Africa had increased their military collaboration with the Pretoria régime by furnishing it with licences which enabled it to be virtually self-sufficient in the production of war equipment and by supplying it with the technological know-how for producing atomic weapons.¹⁵²¹

At the 2039th meeting on 26 October 1977 the representative of the USSR noted that the system of violence and repression, which had been elevated by the South African régime to the level of State policy, and its acts of aggression against sovereign African States had created a situation in that part of the world that poses a direct threat to peace and security. The régime's military machine was being continuously improved; its intention of acquiring weapons of mass destruction including nuclear weapons was a challenge to Africa and to the whole world and was contrary to the proposal of the United Nations and the OAU that the continent of Africa be declared a nuclear-free zone. It was also contrary to the United Nations efforts to prevent the danger of the spread of nuclear weapons throughout the planet. He supported the African proposals before the Security Council that demanded, among other things, that South Africa cease its violence and repression of opponents of *apartheid*, release political prisoners, desist from the policy of bantustanization and end its attacks against African countries. However, it could not be expected that South Africa would heed the demands of the Security Council unless they were backed by

¹⁵¹⁵ S/12420, OR, 32nd yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1977, p. 40

¹⁵¹⁶ S/12422, *ibid.*, p. 46

¹⁵¹⁷ For details, see chapter III

¹⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹⁹ 2036th mtg., paras. 9-18. See footnotes 1511-1514 for details

¹⁵²⁰ 2037th mtg., paras. 30-38

¹⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, paras. 71-87.

sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, a step that he considered long overdue.¹⁵²²

At the 2040th meeting on 26 October 1977 the representative of Mauritius introduced¹⁵²¹ the revised texts (S/12309/Rev.1, S/12310/Rev.1, S/12311/Rev.1, S/12312/Rev.1) of the draft resolutions¹⁵²⁴ which were originally submitted to the Council jointly by Benin, the Libyan Arab Republic and Mauritius in March 1977 during the discussion of the question of South Africa and which had been revised — in general to update the texts and set new dates for the submission of reports to the Council. In some cases new provisions had been added.

The first draft resolution (S/12309/Rev.1) was revised to make reference to events since 19 October 1977 and to add a demand for abrogation of bans on organizations and news media.

The second draft resolution (S/12310/Rev.1) was updated.

In the revised text of the third draft resolution (S/12311/Rev.1) two new preambular paragraphs were added so that the Council would take note of the Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid* adopted at the World Conference in August 1977, and would express grave concern that South Africa was at the threshold of producing nuclear weapons. A new operative paragraph was added by which the Council would call upon all States to take measures to revoke contractual arrangements with South Africa and all existing licences granted to South Africa relating to the manufacture and maintenance of arms, ammunition of all types and military equipment and vehicles. The resolution was also updated.

The fourth draft resolution (S/12312/Rev.1) was updated and revised so that the Council would call on Governments to refrain from any investments in, loans to, "or any export and import credits" to the South African racist régime.

At the 2042nd meeting on 28 October 1977 the representative of the United Kingdom said that his country wanted a peaceful and democratic transformation in South Africa, rather than a disintegration into violence. The conflict could still be averted, but only if the South African Government began to change its present policies. For many years Britain had observed a voluntary arms embargo against South Africa and did not co-operate in the nuclear field. It had come to the conclusion that the acquisition by South Africa of arms and related material in the current situation constituted a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security and she would therefore accept and vote in favour of a mandatory arms embargo under Chapter VII of the Charter. South Africa had to begin serious steps to dismantle *apartheid*. Cosmetic changes were not enough.¹⁵²⁵

At the 2043rd meeting on 28 October 1977 the representative of Canada observed that the fact that the Security Council debate on South Africa and its policy of *apartheid* had been suspended for several months did not reflect any lack of interest but, on the contrary, was the result of the intensive international diplomatic efforts to resolve the problems of South Africa. South Africa had been advised that it travelled on a road to disaster, which only a commitment in favour of fundamental change could avert. But the response had been uncompromising. He went on to say that the Canadian Government was prepared to support the imposition of a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter and to support a call to all Governments to review their economic relations with South Africa. If adopted it would be the first time that a Member State was to be the subject of such measures.¹⁵²⁶

At the same meeting the representative of India noted that five generations of Africans had endured injustice peacefully in the hope that the international community would be able to bring about a change in South Africa. The African people of South Africa had now apparently no hope of any peaceful change for the better. There were only two choices open — either armed struggle or mandatory action by the Security Council.¹⁵²⁷

At the 2044th meeting on 31 October 1977 the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany said that the events of 19 October were a challenge to all who had worked for a peaceful change in South Africa. The acquisition of arms by South Africa in the current circumstances constituted a threat to peace and security. Consequently his Government was ready to accept and vote in favour of a mandatory arms embargo under Chapter VII.¹⁵²⁸

The representative of France stated that the international community had to take measures to make South Africa understand that it had to end its reprehensible and dangerous practices. He noted that in their statements a number of African representatives had suggested that some latitude should be allowed for negotiations. France shared their concern and wanted to preserve opportunities of arriving at peaceful solutions of the problems of that part of Africa. He added that in strictly legal terms, no country could be denied the right of self-defence provided for in Article 51 of the Charter, but the intention here, in the aftermath of the recent crackdown by the South African Government, was to protest against the stockpiling of weapons intended for purposes of internal repression. The French Government had therefore decided to vote in favour of a mandatory embargo on arms shipments to South Africa.¹⁵²⁹

At the 2045th meeting on 31 October 1977 the representative of the United States said that his Government was prepared to join with others in supporting

¹⁵²² 2039th mtg., paras. 38-48

¹⁵²³ 2040th mtg., paras. 78-84

¹⁵²⁴ S/12309, *OR*, 32nd yr., *Suppl. for Jan.-March 1977*, p. 48; S/12310, *ibid.*, p. 49; S/12311, *ibid.*, pp. 49-50; S/12312, *ibid.*, p. 50

¹⁵²⁵ 2042nd mtg., paras. 108-115

¹⁵²⁶ 2043rd mtg., paras. 26-36

¹⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, paras. 38-50

¹⁵²⁸ 2044th mtg., paras. 19-29

¹⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, paras. 30-40

Security Council action to establish a mandatory arms embargo. He urged South Africa, as well as others which had not signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to do so promptly and to put all their nuclear facilities under full international safeguards.¹⁵³⁰

In their statements before the vote the representatives of Canada¹⁵³¹ and the United States¹⁵³² indicated that they were unable to support three of the proposed four draft resolutions, namely S/12310/Rev.1, S/12311/Rev.1 and S/12312/Rev.1. They called upon the members of the Council to have preliminary discussions that would enable them to come to a consensus.

The representatives of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,¹⁵³³ Benin¹⁵³⁴ and Mauritius¹⁵³⁵ on behalf of the African Group and as sponsors of the draft resolutions requested the President to proceed to put them to the vote.

At the same meeting the Council proceeded to vote on the first draft resolution (S/12309/Rev.1) and adopted it unanimously as resolution 417 (1977).¹⁵³⁶

The resolution reads as follows:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 392 (1976) of 19 June 1976, strongly condemning the racist régime of South Africa for its resort to massive violence against and wanton killings of the African people, including schoolchildren and students and others opposing racial discrimination, and calling upon the South African racist régime urgently to end violence against the African people and to take urgent steps to eliminate apartheid and racial discrimination,

Noting with deep anxiety and indignation that the South African racist régime has continued violence and massive repression against the black people and all opponents of apartheid in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council,

Gravely concerned over reports of torture of political prisoners and the deaths of a number of detainees, as well as the mounting wave of repression against individuals, organizations and the news media since 19 October 1977,

Convinced that the violence and repression by the South African racist régime have greatly aggravated the situation in South Africa and will certainly lead to violent conflict and racial conflagration with serious international repercussions,

Reaffirming its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination,

Affirming the right to the exercise of self-determination by all the people of South Africa as a whole, irrespective of race, colour or creed,

Mindful of its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security,

1. *Strongly condemns* the South African racist régime for its resort to massive violence and repression against the black people, who constitute the great majority of the country, as well as all other opponents of *apartheid*;

2. *Expresses its support for, and solidarity with, all those struggling for the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination and all victims of violence and repression by the South African racist régime.*

3. *Demands* that the racist régime of South Africa:

(a) End violence and repression against the black people and other opponents of *apartheid*;

(b) Release all persons imprisoned under arbitrary security laws and all those detained for their opposition to *apartheid*;

(c) Cease forthwith its indiscriminate violence against peaceful demonstrators against *apartheid*, murders in detention and torture of political prisoners;

(d) Abrogate the bans on organizations and the news media opposed to *apartheid*;

(e) Abolish the "Bantu education" system and all other measures of *apartheid* and racial discrimination;

(f) Abolish the policy of bantustanization, abandon the policy of *apartheid* and ensure majority rule based on justice and equality.

4. *Requests* all Governments and organizations to take all appropriate measures to secure the implementation of paragraph 3 of the present resolution;

5. *Further requests* all Governments and organizations to contribute generously for assistance to the victims of violence and repression, including educational assistance to student refugees from South Africa;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, to follow the situation and report to the Security Council, as appropriate, on the implementation of the present resolution, and to submit a first report not later than 17 February 1978.

The Council then proceeded to vote on the remaining three draft resolutions (S/12310/Rev.1, S/12311/Rev.1 and S/12312/Rev.1) which received 10 votes in favour to 5 against and were not adopted owing to negative votes of three permanent members.¹⁵³⁷

Following a brief suspension of the meeting¹⁵³⁸ the President¹⁵³⁹ informed the Council that in order to seek a consensus he took the initiative as the representative of India to circulate informally a new draft resolution for consideration as the basis of a consensus. Some members of the Council wanted more time to study it. As a result of the consultations, a draft resolution sponsored by Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany had been circulated¹⁵⁴⁰ by which the Council, *inter alia*, would determine, having regard to the policies and acts of the South African Government, that the acquisition by South Africa of arms and related material constituted a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security and would direct all States to cease forthwith any provision of arms to South Africa.

After a brief procedural discussion regarding the terms of rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure the President adjourned the meeting.¹⁵⁴¹

At the 2046th meeting on 4 November 1977 the President informed the Council that the draft resolution sponsored by Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany (S/12433) had been withdrawn. He also announced that a draft resolution¹⁵⁴² had been prepared in the course of consultations.¹⁵⁴³

¹⁵³⁰ 2045th mtg., paras 5-20

¹⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, paras 30-35

¹⁵³² *Ibid.*, paras 36-43

¹⁵³³ *Ibid.*, paras 44 and 45

¹⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, paras 46-48

¹⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, paras 49 and 50

¹⁵³⁶ *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council 1977*, pp 4-5

¹⁵³⁷ 2045th mtg., paras 53-55

¹⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, para 56

¹⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, paras 57-59

¹⁵⁴⁰ S/12433, *OR, 32nd yr., Suppl. for Oct-Dec 1977*, pp 50-51

¹⁵⁴¹ 2045th mtg., para 91

¹⁵⁴² S/12436, adopted without change as resolution 418 (1977)

¹⁵⁴³ 2046th mtg., paras 3 and 4

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to a vote and was adopted unanimously.¹⁵⁴⁴ It reads as follows:

The Security Council.

Recalling its resolution 392 (1976) of 19 June 1976, strongly condemning the South African Government for its resort to massive violence against and killings of the African people, including school-children and students and others opposing racial discrimination, and calling upon that Government urgently to end violence against the African people and to take urgent steps to eliminate *apartheid* and racial discrimination,

Recognizing that the military build-up by South Africa and its persistent acts of aggression against the neighbouring States seriously disturb the security of those States,

Further recognizing that the existing arms embargo must be strengthened and universally applied, without any reservations or qualifications whatsoever, in order to prevent a further aggravation of the grave situation in South Africa,

Taking note of the Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid*,

Gravely concerned that South Africa is at the threshold of producing nuclear weapons,

Strongly condemning the South African Government for its acts of repression, its defiant continuance of the system of *apartheid* and its attacks against neighbouring independent States,

Considering that the policies and acts of the South African Government are fraught with danger to international peace and security,

Recalling its resolution 181 (1963) of 7 August 1963 and other resolutions concerning a voluntary arms embargo against South Africa,

Convinced that a mandatory arms embargo needs to be universally applied against South Africa in the first instance,

Acting therefore under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Determines*, having regard to the policies and acts of the South African Government, that the acquisition by South Africa of arms and related *matériel* constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security;

2. *Decides* that all States shall cease forthwith any provision to South Africa of arms and related *matériel* of all types, including the sale or transfer of weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary police equipment, and spare parts for the aforementioned, and shall cease as well the provision of all types of equipment and supplies and grants of licensing arrangements for the manufacture or maintenance of the aforementioned;

3. *Calls upon* all States to review, having regard to the objectives of the present resolution, all existing contractual arrangements with and licences granted to South Africa relating to the manufacture and maintenance of arms, ammunition of all types and military equipment and vehicles, with a view to terminating them,

4. *Further decides* that all States shall refrain from any co-operation with South Africa in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons,

5. *Calls upon* all States, including States non-members of the United Nations, to act strictly in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution,

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution, the first report to be submitted not later than 1 May 1978,

7. *Decides* to keep this item on its agenda for further action, as appropriate, in the light of developments.¹⁵⁴⁵

Following the adoption of the resolution the Secretary General said that it was the first time in the 32-year history of the Organization that action was taken under Chapter VII of the Charter against a Member State. It was clear that the policy of *apartheid* as well as the measures taken by the South African Government to implement it were such a gross violation of human rights and so fraught with danger to international peace and security that response commensurate with the gravity of the situation had been required. He asked the Governments to provide him with the most complete information as quickly as possible on the measures taken by them to comply with this binding decision.¹⁵⁴⁶

The representative of the United States stated that the Council had sent a clear message to the Government of South Africa that its measures announced on 19 October had created a new situation in South Africa's relationship with the rest of the world. At the same time he looked forward to the day when South Africa would no longer be an issue before the Council and hoped that its resolution would not mark the beginning of a process of increasing international sanctions against South Africa but, rather, the end of a period of growing confrontation between South Africa and the rest of the world.¹⁵⁴⁷

The representative of the USSR observed that the resolution bore the traces of compromise and thus did not go as far as might have been wished. Nevertheless, the USSR was able to support it since, by its adoption, the Security Council was in essence taking the first definite step in the application against South Africa of mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.¹⁵⁴⁸

Decision of 9 December 1977 (2052nd meeting): resolution 421 (1977)

By letter¹⁵⁴⁹ dated 5 December 1977 addressed to the President of the Security Council the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon on behalf of the group of African States requested the convening, as soon as possible, of a meeting of the Security Council to consider the establishment of a body to supervise the implementation of Council resolution 418 (1977) concerning the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

At its 2052nd meeting on 9 December 1977, the Council adopted¹⁵⁵⁰ the agenda and considered the item at the 2052nd and 2053rd meetings on 9 December 1977.

At the 2052nd meeting the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon was invited, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. Subsequently such invitation was extended to the representative of Saudi Arabia at his request.¹⁵⁵¹

¹⁵⁴⁴ 2046th mtg., preceding para. 5.

¹⁵⁴⁵ By a letter dated 4 November 1977 (S/12439, *OR*, 32nd yr., *Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1977*, pp. 62-63) the representative of South Africa communicated the text of a statement issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa on 4 November, in which South Africa strongly protested the adoption of resolutions 417 (1977) and 418 (1977).

¹⁵⁴⁶ S/12439, *OR*, 32nd yr., *Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1977*, paras. 6-9.

¹⁵⁴⁷ 2046th mtg., paras. 22-28.

¹⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, paras. 49-52.

¹⁵⁴⁹ S/12470, *OR*, 32nd yr., *Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1977*, p. 89.

¹⁵⁵⁰ 2052nd mtg., preceding para. 4.

¹⁵⁵¹ For details, see chapter III.

The Council also agreed to extend invitations under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure to Mr. M. J. Makatini of the African National Congress and to the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Leslie O. Harriman, to participate in the debate.¹⁵⁵¹

At the 2052nd meeting the representative of Cameroon in his capacity as Chairman of the African Group for the month of December said that the adoption of resolution 418 (1977) opened up new prospects for the expansion and strengthening of measures of more substantial and more energetic external pressure against the racist minority at Pretoria. The draft resolution to be presented to the Council on behalf of the African countries was an extension of resolution 418 (1977) and 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 that resolution.¹⁵⁵²

At the same meeting the representative of Benin introduced the draft resolution¹⁵⁵³ sponsored by Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius.

The resolution was adopted unanimously as resolution 421 (1977).¹⁵⁵⁴

The resolution reads as follows:

The Security Council.

Recalling its resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977, in which it determined, having regard to the policies and acts of the South African Government, that the acquisition by South Africa of arms and related *matériel* constituted a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security and established a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa,

Mindful of the need to have appropriate machinery in order to examine the progress of implementation of the measures envisaged in resolution 418 (1977),

Noting that it requested the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the progress of the implementation of resolution 418 (1977),

1. Decides to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of its provisional rules of procedure, a Committee of the Security Council, consisting of all the members of the Council, to undertake the following tasks and to report on its work to the Council with its observations and recommendations:

(a) To examine the report on the progress of the implementation of resolution 418 (1977) which will be submitted by the Secretary-General;

(b) 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;

(c) 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);

2. Calls upon all States to co-operate fully with the Committee in regard to the fulfilment of its tasks concerning the effective implementation of the provisions of resolution 418 (1977) and to supply such information as may be sought by the Committee in pursuance of the present resolution;

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

At the same meeting the representative of China observed that since the adoption of resolution 418 (1977) the régime of South Africa had totally ignored the Council's decisions, and instead had stepped up its brutal repression of the just struggle of the Azanian people against racism and for national liberation. China supported the proposal of African countries to establish a Council Committee to examine and supervise the implementation of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. But in the light of the Rhodesian experience, he considered it imperative to urge all States Members of the United Nations strictly to implement resolution 418 (1977).¹⁵⁵⁵

The representative of Canada recommended that when the Committee began its work it should adopt procedures similar to those evolved over the years by the Committee on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.¹⁵⁵⁶

The representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany,¹⁵⁵⁷ the United Kingdom¹⁵⁵⁸ and France¹⁵⁵⁹ shared that view.

The representative of the USSR said his country regarded the Council's decision on the mandatory arms embargo as the basis for further effective measures in the struggle against *apartheid* in southern Africa and as a point of departure for the application of effective economic and other mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime.¹⁵⁶⁰

At the same meeting the representative of Panama noted that the Security Council had already established similar Committees made up of all members of the Council. It was logical, therefore, that the work of the Committee which had just been established should be governed by the same procedural rules.¹⁵⁶¹

At the 2053rd meeting Mr. Makatini stated that the Committee on Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia was riddled with so many loopholes that it was never intended to be effective. He hoped that the shortcoming of that Committee would not be repeated, that the new Committee would hold open public hearings of experts in the various fields and that decisions would be taken by vote.¹⁵⁶²

By letter¹⁵⁶³ dated 25 January 1978 addressed to the President of the Security Council the representatives of Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria, on behalf of the African Group, requested the convening of the Security Council to resume consideration of the question of South Africa.

At the 2056th meeting on 26 January 1978 the Security Council adopted¹⁵⁶⁴ the agenda, which also included a note¹⁵⁶⁵ dated 23 January 1978 from the Secretary-General transmitting the text of a letter dated

¹⁵⁵⁵ 2052nd mtg., paras. 68-72.

¹⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, paras. 75-77.

¹⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, paras. 83-85.

¹⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, paras. 88-90.

¹⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, paras. 94-96.

¹⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, paras. 113-119.

¹⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, paras. 123-135.

¹⁵⁶² 2053rd mtg., paras. 22-33.

¹⁵⁶³ S/12538, *OR, 33rd yr., Suppl. for Jan - March 1978*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁶⁴ 2056th mtg., preceding para. 29.

¹⁵⁶⁵ S/12536, *OR, 33rd yr., Suppl. for Jan - March 1978*, pp. 10-14.

¹⁵⁵² 2052nd mtg., paras. 14-21.

¹⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, paras. 25-34. S/12477 was adopted without change as resolution 421 (1977).

¹⁵⁵⁴ *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 1977*, p. 6.

19 January from the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and an enclosed review of developments in South Africa since 31 October 1977. In this letter the Chairman of the Special Committee stated that the *apartheid* régime not only had rejected the Security Council resolution 417 (1977) but also had intensified violence and repression. The Special Committee therefore considered it imperative that the Council consider the situation urgently and take measures to secure the full implementation of resolution 417 (1977).

The Council decided to invite the representatives of Sweden and Uganda at their request to participate without vote in the discussion.¹⁵⁶⁶

The Council also decided to extend invitations, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of its procedure, to Mr. Donald Woods, former editor of the South African *East London Daily Dispatch*, to Mr. M. J. Makatini of the African National Congress and to Mr. David M. Sibeko of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.¹⁵⁶⁶ The Security Council considered the item at the 2056th to 2059th meetings between 26 and 31 January 1978.

At the 2056th meeting Mr. Woods said that while race prejudices existed in many parts of the world, it was only in South Africa that racism had been institutionalized through statute. The United Nations had already agreed on the principle that *apartheid* was a threat to international relationships, and therefore to world peace, but he was more concerned now with its disastrous effects within his country and with the saving of as many lives as possible within South Africa itself. He therefore asked that the United Nations action against *apartheid* should be positive, constructive and non-violent. The adoption of such action depended on the nations of the West which for many years had resisted the implementation of effective punitive measures against South Africa. He urged the Western powers to reassess their past attitudes. Their first priority should be an immediate policy of disengagement from the existing diplomatic, cultural, sporting, trade, military, investment and general economic ties with South Africa.¹⁵⁶⁷

At the 2057th meeting on 27 January 1978 the representative of Gabon advocated the total isolation of South Africa in all fields—economic, trade, cultural, sports, diplomatic and military—and condemned the ignoble system of *apartheid* and all its practical manifestations, such as political trials, arbitrary arrests and detentions, and Bantustanization, which destroyed the territorial integrity and national unity of the country and deprived the black African majority of South Africa of its inalienable rights.¹⁵⁶⁸

At the same meeting the representative of Mauritius said that four things needed to be done to put significant pressure on the Vorster régime: (1) the creation of effective machinery to ensure that the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa was properly implement-

ed, (2) imposition of an oil embargo, (3) economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter and (4) creation of adequate machinery in the Secretariat to ensure the implementation of economic sanctions.¹⁵⁶⁹

At the 2058th meeting on 30 January 1978 the representative of the USSR stated that recent events in South Africa had shown that the racist rulers had practically unleashed racial war in the country in their unsuccessful attempts to repress and stifle the mass movement of the African population against the policy of *apartheid*. That situation had created a serious threat to peace and security in the southern part of the African continent and beyond. The USSR would support any effective decisions of the Council that were likely to bring nearer the day of total liberation of all peoples and the final elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism from the African continent. The embargo on the delivery of arms to the Pretoria régime was in itself insufficient and could be viewed only as a first step towards the full international isolation of the South African racists.¹⁵⁷⁰

The representative of China observed that the brutal murder of Steve Biko, who advocated non-violence, and the ruthless suppression of peaceful appeals, rallies and demonstrations had made the black people realize more clearly that in dealing with the white racist régime the use of non-violent means did not suffice and that it was imperative to use revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence if they were to win final victory in their struggle for national liberation.¹⁵⁷¹

At the 2059th meeting on 31 January the representative of Mauritius on behalf of the African members of the Council introduced two draft resolutions sponsored by Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria. He requested the Council to take note of the draft resolutions for the purpose of appropriate action on them in the near future.¹⁵⁷²

By the operative part of the first text,¹⁵⁷³ the Security Council would have: strongly condemned the minority racist régime of South Africa for its further aggravation of the situation by the escalating and massive repression against all opponents of *apartheid*, and for its defiance of Assembly and Council resolutions, in particular resolution 417 (1977); strongly condemned also the establishment of Bantustans and the proclamation of the so-called "independence" of Transkei and Bophuthatswana; declared that the violence and repression by the racist régime had greatly aggravated the situation in South Africa and would certainly lead to violent conflict and racial conflagration with serious international repercussions; and demanded that the racist régime of South Africa terminate all political trials, release all persons imprisoned under arbitrary security laws and all those detained for opposing *apartheid*, and end violence and repression against the black people and other opponents of *apartheid*.

¹⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, paras 46-69.

¹⁵⁷⁰ 2058th mtg., paras. 26-43.

¹⁵⁷¹ *Ibid.*, paras. 57-67.

¹⁵⁷² 2059th mtg., paras 46-51.

¹⁵⁷³ S/12547, *ÖR*, 33rd yr., *Suppl. for Jun.-March 1978*, pp. 20, 21.

¹⁵⁶⁶ For details, see chapter III.

¹⁵⁶⁷ 2056th mtg., paras. 33-88.

¹⁵⁶⁸ 2057th mtg., paras. 8-18.

By the operative part of the second text,¹⁵⁷⁴ the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, would have decided that all States, including non-member States of the United Nations, were to prohibit any loans to or investments in South Africa, or guarantees for such loans for investments, take effective steps to prohibit any loans to or investments in South Africa by corporations and financial institutions in their countries, and terminate all incentives for investments in or trade with South Africa; and urged all States to reconsider all their existing economic and other relations with South Africa.

The two draft resolutions were not put to the vote.

Decision of 5 April 1979 (2140th meeting): statement by the President

By letter¹⁵⁷⁵ dated 5 April 1979 addressed to the President of the Security Council the representative of the Ivory Coast, on behalf of the African Group of States at the United Nations, requested the convening of an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation created in South Africa by the renewed outbreak of acts of repression by the racist régime of South Africa against the African nationalist freedom fighters and against the black population of that country committed in implementation of that Government's policy of *apartheid*.

By letter¹⁵⁷⁶ dated 5 April 1979 addressed to the President of the Security Council the representative of Sri Lanka, as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, also requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the intention of the South African Government to execute Solomon Mahlangu. He also urged the President of the Security Council to contact the South African authorities to secure a stay of the execution.

By letter¹⁵⁷⁷ dated 5 April 1979, the representative of South Africa stated that the South African Government had in recent days received appeals for clemency in the case of Mr. Solomon Mahlangu. He furnished background information on Mr. Mahlangu and on the events which had led to his conviction for murder and subsequent sentence. Among other things, he stated that the trial court had found no extenuating circumstances.

At the 2140th meeting on 5 April 1979 the Security Council adopted¹⁵⁷⁸ the agenda and invited the representative of the Ivory Coast, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.¹⁵⁷⁹

The representatives of the Ivory Coast¹⁵⁸⁰ and Nigeria¹⁵⁸¹ urged the Security Council to take measures to save the life of Solomon Mahlangu.

At the conclusion of the meeting the President of the Council said that after consultations with the members

of the Council he was authorized to make a statement which would be conveyed immediately to the State President of the Republic of South Africa.¹⁵⁸² The statement reads as follows:

The Security Council expresses its grave concern lest the Government of South Africa proceed with the execution of Mr. Solomon Mahlangu despite appeals from various countries and a number of world leaders, as well as the Secretary-General.

It also recalls the appeal for clemency made by the family of Mr. Mahlangu to the South African authorities through his lawyer. The Security Council also recalls the efforts of the General Assembly to save the lives of Mr. Mahlangu and other South African leaders of the African people under sentence of death.

Members of the Security Council hereby endorse the appeal already made by their President. They make a solemn call on the Government of South Africa to spare the life of Mr. Mahlangu and others facing the same fate in South Africa.

Decision of 21 September 1979 (2168th meeting): statement by the President

By letter¹⁵⁸³ dated 14 September 1979 addressed to the President of the Security Council the representative of Liberia, Chairman of the African Group for the month of September, requested the President to undertake consultations among the members of the Security Council in order that appropriate action might be taken by the Council in the light of the proclamation of the independence of the Bantustan Venda on 13 September by the Pretoria régime.

By letter¹⁵⁸⁴ dated 20 September 1979, the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* transmitted the text of a statement which he had issued on 11 September deploring the proclamation.

At the 2168th meeting on 21 September 1979 the Council adopted¹⁵⁸⁵ the agenda.

The President of the Council stated that as a result of consultations held among members of the Council he was authorized to make a statement.¹⁵⁸⁶ The statement reads as follows:

The Security Council notes that on 13 September 1979 the South African régime proclaimed Venda, an integral part of South African territory, a so-called "independent" state, in pursuance of its *apartheid* and bantustanization policy.

The Security Council recalls its resolution 417 (1977), in which it demanded that the racist régime of South Africa abolish the policy of bantustanization. It also recalls its resolutions 402 (1976) and 407 (1977), in which it endorsed General Assembly resolution 31/6-A of 26 October 1976 on this matter. The Security Council further takes note of General Assembly resolution 32/105-N of 14 December 1977 on the question of bantustans.

The Security Council condemns the proclamation of the so-called "independence" of Venda and declares it totally invalid. This action by the South African régime, following similar proclamations of Transkei and Bophuthatswana, denounced by the international community, is designed to divide and dispossess the African people and establish client states under its domination in order to perpetuate *apartheid*. It further aggravates the situation in the region and hinders international efforts for just and lasting solutions.

¹⁵⁷⁴ S/12548, *ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁵⁷⁵ S/13223, *OR, 34th yr., Suppl. for April-June 1979*, p. 14.

¹⁵⁷⁶ S/13224, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁷⁷ S/13225, *ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

¹⁵⁷⁸ 2140th mtg., preceding para. 2.

¹⁵⁷⁹ For details, see chapter III.

¹⁵⁸⁰ 2140th mtg., paras. 9-14.

¹⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*, paras. 16-23.

¹⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, para. 24.

¹⁵⁸³ S/13542, *OR, 34th yr., Suppl. for July-Sept. 1979*, p. 137.

¹⁵⁸⁴ S/13548, *ibid.*, p. 140.

¹⁵⁸⁵ 2168th mtg., preceding para. 1.

¹⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 1.

The Security Council calls upon all Governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called "independent" bantustans; to refrain from any dealings with them; to reject travel documents issued by them; and urges Member Governments to take effective measures to prohibit all individuals, corporations and other institutions under their jurisdiction from having any dealings with the so-called "independent" bantustans.¹⁵⁸⁷

Following the President's statement the representative of the United States said that there was no such entity as Venda, that the territory was an integral part of South Africa and that the United States would treat Venda exactly as it treated South Africa.¹⁵⁸⁸

Decision of 13 June 1980 (2231st meeting): resolution 473 (1980)

By letter¹⁵⁸⁹ dated 29 May 1980 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Morocco, in his capacity as Chairman of the African Group for the month of May, requested the convening of the Security Council as a matter of urgency to consider "the question of South Africa", in the light of the situation then prevailing in that country.

At the 2225th meeting on 4 June 1980 the Council included the item in its agenda.¹⁵⁹⁰

In the course of its deliberations the Council invited the representatives of Algeria, Bahrain, Benin, Botswana, Cuba, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guyana, Mozambique, Nigeria, Romania, Seychelles, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia and Zaire, at their request, to participate, without vote, in the discussion of the item.¹⁵⁹¹

The Council also extended invitations as requested under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Johnstone F. Makatini, representative of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), and to Mr. Henri Isaacs, representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC).¹⁵⁹¹

The Council considered the item at the 2225th, 2227th to 2229th and 2231st meetings from 4 to 13 June 1980.¹⁵⁹²

At the 2225th meeting the representative of Mozambique, speaking on behalf of the African Group, said that the alarming and explosive situation in South Africa, which since the beginning of the year had been progressively deteriorating, was caused by *apartheid*. The international community could secure the elimination of tension in Africa by discouraging any military or nuclear collaboration with South Africa, since it consti-

tuted a threat to international peace and security. The South African régime not only was engaged in a massive hostile campaign against the neighbouring countries but had also systematically violated their airspace and territory in a deliberate effort to provoke an armed confrontation. Africa had never indiscriminately incited armed struggle in any decolonization process. South Africa itself was causing unrest and uprisings within the country. He opined that it was time for appropriate measures to be taken by the Security Council to end all the sufferings of the South African people.¹⁵⁹³

At the same meeting the representative of Nigeria, speaking also as Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, said that the Council should support the campaign to free Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. The situation in South Africa presented a challenge crying out for a solution. The United Nations had repeatedly proclaimed the way to a peaceful solution, which could be attained only by effective international action; such action had been constantly resisted by the Western Powers.¹⁵⁹⁴

At the 2227th meeting on 6 June 1980 the representative of Zambia noted that the South African régime had to be made to realize that there could be no peace in South Africa as long as the vast majority of that country was denied its inalienable political rights. South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its repeated acts of aggression against independent African States, particularly Angola and Zambia, could not and would not divert attention from the problem of *apartheid* in South Africa itself. He expressed the hope that the Security Council and the international community as a whole would contribute fully to the endeavour of bringing freedom and justice to all the people of southern Africa.¹⁵⁹⁵

The representative of the German Democratic Republic supported the request that enforcement measures be introduced with the aim of completely isolating the *apartheid* régime and favoured convening as soon as possible an international conference on sanctions against South Africa.¹⁵⁹⁶

The representative of Tunisia observed that the participation of the liberation movements in any settlement efforts should be regarded as fundamental. Any attempt to reach a settlement without them must be unsuccessful.¹⁵⁹⁷

At the 2228th meeting on 9 June 1980 the representative of the USSR said that *apartheid* was actually an official ideology and policy of the Republic of South Africa. The purpose of that policy was to split the indigenous population of South Africa into separate tribes, deprive the Africans not only of all their rights but also of formal citizenship, legitimize the creation of dependent territories and erect a barrier against the growing wave of the national liberation movement. At

¹⁵⁸⁷ In a letter (S/13552, *OR*, 34th yr., *Suppl. for July-Sept. 1979*, pp. 141, 142) dated 24 September 1979 addressed to the President of the Security Council the representative of South Africa stated that the South African Government rejected the statement made by the President, that the Council had no authority or jurisdiction in the matter and that Venda had become independent.

¹⁵⁸⁸ 2168th mtg., paras. 3-5.

¹⁵⁸⁹ S/13969, *OR*, 35th yr., *Suppl. for April-June 1980*, p. 72.

¹⁵⁹⁰ 2225th mtg., preceding para. 2.

¹⁵⁹¹ For details, see chapter III.

¹⁵⁹² By letter dated 5 June 1980 (S/13986, *OR*, 35th yr., *Suppl. for April-June 1980*, pp. 88, 89) addressed to the President of the Security Council the representative of South Africa transmitted the text of a letter from the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs and Information, who deplored the holding of a meeting of the Council and stated that, pursuant to the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, South Africa would not countenance interference in its domestic affairs.

¹⁵⁹³ 2225th mtg., paras. 6-24.

¹⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, paras. 26-55.

¹⁵⁹⁵ 2227th mtg., paras. 11-38.

¹⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, paras. 39-48.

¹⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, paras. 49-69.

the same time, the South African racists were expanding their acts of aggression against neighbouring African countries, in particular against Angola, and were continuing to carry out major punitive operations in Namibia. He added that the Soviet Union would support any effective measures on the part of the Security Council aimed at the final elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* on the African continent. A necessary condition for the attainment of this goal was strict observance of the sanctions already established by the Security Council against the racist régime of Pretoria and also the adoption by the Council of comprehensive sanctions as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.¹⁵⁹⁸

At the same meeting the representative of China called on the Security Council to condemn the crimes committed by the South African authorities, and demand that they stop forthwith all their repression and persecution of the Azanian people and release all political prisoners immediately.¹⁵⁹⁹

At the 2231st meeting on 13 June 1980 the representative of the United States called upon South Africa to make a gesture of good faith by freeing, recalling and dealing with those whose participation was essential to the country's peaceful and stable future. Such a gesture would warrant an equivalent response, in the form of co-operation instead of violent resistance. As to the role and responsibility of the Security Council, it could demonstrate a helpful attitude by offering its good offices, and those of the Secretary-General, as mediators and facilitators of a solution. He expressed some reservations about the language of the draft resolution before the Council and also suggested a new approach. The present draft, which he believed to be clearly under Chapter VI of the Charter, did not fit that new approach in its entirety—particularly paragraph 7 (b), which was not appropriately worded. He was grateful that some of the ideas he had presented earlier had been included in the draft but felt that it did not go far enough. Therefore he was sending to the President of the Security Council a letter containing the text of some of the suggestions that he had made in the past.¹⁶⁰⁰ He said that the United States would, however, support the draft resolution.¹⁶⁰¹

At the same meeting the draft resolution¹⁶⁰² was put to the vote and was adopted unanimously.¹⁶⁰³ It reads as follows:

¹⁵⁹⁸ 2228th mtg., paras. 13-33.

¹⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, paras. 46-49.

¹⁶⁰⁰ S/13998, OR, 35th yr., Suppl. for April-June 1980, p. 100. The letter subsequently submitted and dated 13 June 1980 contained the text of a draft resolution which would have the Security Council recognize that the situation in South Africa made the elimination of *apartheid* necessary; urgently request South Africa, as a first step, to release all political prisoners; and reiterate its strong hope that the inevitable change in South Africa's racial policies could be attained through peaceful means, while convinced that, failing a decision by the Government and people of South Africa to establish full and equal rights for all the citizens of that country, pressures for such change from the international community inevitably would grow and, with them, the further isolation and estrangement of South Africa from the family of nations.

¹⁶⁰¹ 2231st mtg., paras. 3-20.

¹⁶⁰² S/13995, adopted without change as resolution 473 (1980).

¹⁶⁰³ 2231st mtg., para. 40.

The Security Council.

Taking note of the letter dated 29 May 1980 from the Chargé d'affaires *à* l. of the Permanent Mission of Morocco to the United Nations contained in document S/13969,

Gravely concerned by the aggravation of the situation in South Africa, in particular the repression and the killings of schoolchildren protesting against *apartheid*, as well as the repression directed against churchmen and workers,

Noting also with grave concern that the racist régime has intensified further a series of arbitrary trials under its racist and repressive laws providing for death sentences,

Convinced that this situation has been brought about by the continued imposition by the South African racist régime of *apartheid* in defiance of resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions on the question of South Africa, in particular resolutions 392 (1976), 417 (1977) and 418 (1977),

Recalling further its resolutions 454 (1979) and 466 (1980), in which it condemned South Africa for the flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring African States,

Reaffirming its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of *apartheid* and the establishment of a democratic society in accordance with their inalienable human and political rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Taking note of the extensive demands within and outside South Africa for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners,

Gravely concerned about reports of supply of arms and military equipment to South Africa in contravention of resolution 418 (1977),

Taking note of the letter of 27 March 1980 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* concerning an oil embargo against South Africa,

Mindful of its responsibilities under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

1. *Strongly condemns* the racist régime of South Africa for further aggravating the situation and its massive repression against all opponents of *apartheid*, for killings of peaceful demonstrators and political detainees and for its defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, in particular resolution 417 (1977);

2. *Expresses its profound sympathy* with the victims of this violence;

3. *Reaffirms* that the policy of *apartheid* is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and is incompatible with the rights and dignity of man, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and seriously disturbs international peace and security,

4. *Recognizes* the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of *apartheid* and for the establishment of a democratic society in which all the people of South Africa as a whole, irrespective of race, colour, or creed, will enjoy equal and full political and other rights and participate freely in the determination of their destiny;

5. *Calls upon* the Government of South Africa urgently to end violence against the African people and to take urgent measures to eliminate *apartheid*;

6. *Expresses its hope* that the inevitable change in the racial policies of South Africa can be attained through peaceful means and declares, however, that the violence and repression by the South African racist régime and its continuing denial of equal human and political rights to the great majority of the South African people greatly aggravate the situation in South Africa and will certainly lead to violent conflict and racial conflagration with serious international repercussions and the further isolation and estrangement of South Africa.

7. *Calls upon* the South African régime to take measures immediately to eliminate the policy of *apartheid* and grant to all South African citizens equal rights, including equal political rights, and a full and free voice in the determination of their destiny; these measures should include

(a) Granting of an unconditional amnesty to all persons imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their opposition to *apartheid*,

(b) Cessation forthwith of its indiscriminate violence against peaceful demonstrators against *apartheid*, murders in detention and torture of political prisoners.

(c) Abrogation of the bans on political parties and organizations and the news media opposed to *apartheid*.

(d) Termination of all political trials.

(e) Provision of equal education opportunities to all South Africans;

8 Urgently calls upon the South African régime to release all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela and all other black leaders with whom it must deal in any meaningful discussion of the future of the country;

9 Demands that the South African racist régime should refrain from committing further military acts and subversion against independent African States.

10 Calls upon all States strictly and scrupulously to implement resolution 418 (1977) and enact, as appropriate, effective national legislation for that purpose.

11 Requests the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa, in pursuance of resolution 418 (1977), to redouble its efforts to secure full implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa by recommending by 15 September 1980 measures to close all loop-holes in the arms embargo, reinforce and make it more comprehensive;

12 Requests the Secretary-General to report by 15 September 1980 on the implementation of the present resolution;

13 Decides to remain seized of the question and to consider the situation again not later than 30 September 1980.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United Kingdom said that it was with some reluctance that his Government had voted in favour of the resolution. However, it had supported the resolution because it agreed with the important proposition which emerged clearly throughout the text—namely, that the fundamental problems of South Africa derived from the system of *apartheid*. The United Kingdom did not accept that the reference in the seventh preambular paragraph and paragraph 4 to the recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle related to armed struggle or extended to the use of force, and it did not regard paragraph 11 as prejudging the question of whether the arms embargo should be extended.¹⁶⁰⁴

The representative of France regretted that only some of the suggestions of the Western countries members of the Council had been accepted by the sponsors of the draft resolution and expressed reservations about the wording of some of its operative paragraphs.¹⁶⁰⁵

By letter¹⁶⁰⁶ dated 23 September 1980 addressed to the President of the Security Council the representative of Sierra Leone, in his capacity as Chairman of the African Group for the month of September, requested the urgent convening of the Council to consider the situation in South Africa.¹⁶⁰⁷

¹⁶⁰⁴ S/13995, adopted without change as resolution 473 (1980); see 2231st mtg., paras. 43-50.

¹⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, paras. 51-63.

¹⁶⁰⁶ S/14180, OR, 35th yr., Suppl. for July-Sept. 1980, p. 112.

¹⁶⁰⁷ In a letter dated 6 October 1980 (S/14212, OR, 35th yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1980, p. 9) addressed to the President of the Security Council the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the OAU, confirmed that it was the wish of the African Group that the Council remain seized of the question and added that, after consultations, an appropriate date would be suggested for the Council's consideration of the matter.

At the 2261st meeting held on 19 December 1980 the Council adopted the agenda.¹⁶⁰⁸

At the beginning of the meeting the President drew the attention of the members of the Council to the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of resolution 473 (1980), submitted to the Council on 12 September 1980,¹⁶⁰⁹ and to the report of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa, submitted on 19 September 1980,¹⁶¹⁰ on ways and means of making the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa more effective.

The Secretary-General indicated in his report that on 13 June he had transmitted the text of the resolution to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa and that on 2 July he had addressed a note¹⁶¹¹ to all States, drawing attention to paragraph 10 of the resolution, in which the Council had called on all States strictly and scrupulously to implement resolution 418 (1977) and to enact, as appropriate, effective national legislation for that purpose, as well as to paragraph 12, in which the Council had requested him to report by 15 September on the implementation of the resolution.

The report of the Security Council Committee dealt with the objectives, scope and State obligations set out in resolution 418 (1977), the mandate of the Committee, problems encountered in the implementation of the arms embargo, including circumvention of the embargo and cases of alleged violations of the embargo, legislative and other measures taken by States and the compliance of those measures with the arms embargo, the phraseology of resolution 418 (1977) and the Committee's conclusions and recommendations.

The representative of Bangladesh, speaking in his capacity as Chairman of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa, introduced the report of the Committee stating that it represented the culmination of intensive discussions and sustained efforts to arrive at a general consensus, with very few reservations. He added that although the experience gained by the Committee during the period which had elapsed since its establishment might have been disappointing in some respects, it had been most useful in showing the way to a more effective embargo in the future. Breaches and violations did exist, and little could be done to stop them unless decisive action was taken, at both the national and the international levels. The conclusions and recommendations contained in the report were addressed specifically to that problem and aimed at laying down a new basis for the future work of the Committee. A great deal would depend on the manner in which the Committee was able to discharge the tasks in the future, and on the

¹⁶⁰⁸ 2261st mtg., preceding para. 1.

¹⁶⁰⁹ S/14107 and Add. I, OR, 35th yr., Suppl. for July-Sept. 1980, p. 84.

¹⁶¹⁰ S/14179, *ibid.*, pp. 95-108.

¹⁶¹¹ S/14167, annex I, OR, 35th yr., Suppl. for July-Sept. 1980, p. 84.

means which would be put at its disposal. In that connection, the recommendations of the Committee emphasized the need for a clear and organized system to be adopted in setting up the necessary infrastructure to service the Committee.¹⁶¹²

The representative of Zambia stated that some Western countries continued to flout the embargo against South Africa. The flow of arms and related material to South Africa constituted a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, not only in Africa but also in the world as a whole. He added that the Council's commitment to the enforcement of a comprehensive mandatory arms embargo should not be doubted. Resolution 421 (1977) had been adopted to ensure the full implementation of the arms embargo by closing possible loopholes. Despite this effort some members of the Council had deliberately created difficulties for the Committee by according different interpretations to resolution 418 (1977). He proposed that the Committee should summon representatives of countries which violated the embargo to appear before it. It should not be content with correspondence; a system of verification and independent investigation had to be established quickly. Excessive reliance by the Committee on secondary sources undermined its ability to discharge its responsibilities.¹⁶¹³

The representative of the USSR said that there was special significance in the recommendations contained in the report on the need to end all forms of co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear sphere bearing in mind the aggressive nature of the racist régime in South Africa. The Security Council had repeatedly warned South Africa that if it did not comply with the demands of the Security Council, the Council would consider more effective measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. The Soviet Union favoured the adoption of sanctions against South Africa, as provided for by Chapter VII of the Charter, in their full scale. That was the most effective way to ensure that South Africa would comply with United Nations decisions on granting independence to Namibia and eliminating the system of *apartheid* in South Africa itself.¹⁶¹⁴

At the outset of the discussion of the question of South Africa at that meeting the President stated that, as had been agreed among members of the Council, consultations would be held in January 1981 with a view to continuing consideration of the agenda item.¹⁶¹⁵

COMPLAINT BY MOZAMBIQUE

Decision of 30 June 1977 (2019th meeting): resolution 411 (1977)

By letter dated 22 June 1977,¹⁶¹⁶ addressed to the President of the Council, the representative of Mozam-

bique transmitted the text of a message addressed to the Secretary-General on 18 June by the President of Mozambique requesting an urgent meeting of the Council regarding the increased tension in southern Africa, which had been further intensified by the recent attacks against Mozambique, said to have been initiated by Southern Rhodesia.

At its 2014th meeting on 28 June 1977, the Security Council included the complaint by Mozambique in its agenda. The representatives of Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Brazil, Cuba, Egypt, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Lesotho, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Swaziland, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia were invited, at their request, to participate in the discussion of the item without the right to vote.¹⁶¹⁷ The Council considered the issue at the 2014th to 2019th meetings from 28 to 30 June 1977.

At the 2014th meeting, the representative of Mozambique gave an account of the human and material losses suffered by his country as a result of attacks by Southern Rhodesia, and stated that his country had become the target of aggression because of its support for the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe and its implementation of resolutions adopted by the international community to that end. He claimed that the Smith régime was trying to internationalize the conflict by diverting the attention of the international community from this colonial issue. He referred to resolution 386 (1976) which had called for financial, technical and material aid to Mozambique, and noted that to confront this problem that threatened international peace and security, Mozambique needed increased material support from the international community.¹⁶¹⁸

At the same meeting, the representative of Zambia pointed to the fact that the Council in its previous considerations of the issue had adopted resolutions 393 (1976) and 403 (1977), both regarding cases of aggression by Southern Rhodesia, and had imposed mandatory sanctions against it that remained in force. He stated that the existence of the illegal régime in Rhodesia was a threat to international peace and security and called upon the international community to fully apply sanctions against it.¹⁶¹⁹

The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania stated that the Council, in its consideration of the conflict, should take into account the source of the aggression, which in his view was the continued existence of the illegal régime of Ian Smith. He pointed out that the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and pressures arising from the resolutions of the United Nations would bring about the collapse of this illegal régime. He urged the Council to take immediate and concrete action against this régime and its collaborators

¹⁶¹² 2261st mtg., paras. 2-8.

¹⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, paras. 34-45.

¹⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, paras. 46-56.

¹⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, paras. 109 and 110.

¹⁶¹⁶ S/12350/Add.1, OR, 32nd yr., Suppl. for Apr.-June 1977, pp. 57-59.

¹⁶¹⁷ For details, see chapter III

¹⁶¹⁸ 2014th mtg., paras. 16-51

¹⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, paras. 56-74.