

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-NINTH YEAR

1807th MEETING: 30 OCTOBER 1974

NEW YORK

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12 p.

NOTE

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

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EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 30 October 1974, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Michel NJINÉ
(United Republic of Cameroon).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1807)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Relationship between the United Nations and South Africa:
 - (a) Letter dated 30 September 1974 from the President of the General Assembly to the President of the Security Council (S/11525);
 - (b) Letter dated 9 October 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11532)

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

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Relationship between the United Nations and South Africa:

- (a) Letter dated 30 September 1974 from the President of the General Assembly to the President of the Security Council (S/11525);
- (b) Letter dated 9 October 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11532)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken previously by the Council [1796th-1798th and 1803rd meetings] under Article 31 of the Charter and in accordance with the pertinent provisions of the provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Bangladesh, Barbados, the Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, India, Kuwait, Liberia, the Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar,

Mali, Mauritius, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Emirates, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia and Zaire to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's discussion of the question before it.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Rahal (Algeria), Mr. Karim (Bangladesh), Mr. Waldron-Ramsey (Barbados), Mr. Mondjo (Congo), Mr. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. Smíd (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Adjibadé (Dahomey), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Boaten (Ghana), Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé (Guinea), Mr. Jackson (Guyana), Mr. Jaipal (India), Mr. Bishara (Kuwait), Mr. Harmon (Liberia), Mr. Maghur (Libyan Arab Republic), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Traoré (Mali), Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius), Mr. Zaimi (Morocco), Mr. Ogbu (Nigeria), Mr. Akhund (Pakistan), Mr. Jamal (Qatar), Mr. Dăţcu (Romania), Mr. Baroody (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Palmer (Sierra Leone), Mr. Hussein (Somalia), Mr. Botha (South Africa), Mr. Kelani (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Driss (Tunisia), Mr. Kinene (Uganda), Mr. Humaidan (United Arab Emirates), Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. Yağuibou (Upper Volta), Mr. Petrić (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Mutale (Zaire) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): More than 40 representatives have addressed the Council before me on the item on today's agenda. They have covered at length and with great eloquence the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa. Every aspect has been thoroughly discussed; there is really nothing new to add to the indictments which have been made against the racist régime of South Africa. My delegation has no intention of trying the Council's patience by repeating them.

3. Indonesia's position with regard to the policy of *apartheid* and other forms of racial discrimination practised by South Africa in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, and to its defiance of the United Nations also with regard to Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, is similar to the views which have been expressed by the delegations from Africa, Asia and Latin America that have spoken before me. Indonesia's views have been expressed on many previous occasions in the General Assembly and in

the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Committee of 24,¹ of which bodies Indonesia is a member. They do not need further elaboration now. It is superfluous to stress Indonesia's unwavering support for the struggle for freedom and independence of the liberation movements in southern Africa.

4. It has always been the practice of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, of which Indonesia is a member, together with Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, to be guided primarily by the views of the countries of the region concerned when they are confronted with efforts at finding solutions for problems that have arisen in that region. Of course, we have our own views with regard to the principles involved in each problem. That is why the countries of the Association gave their unequivocal support to the decision rejecting the credentials of the South African delegation and the resolution bringing the question of the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa before the Security Council.

5. The views of the African countries regarding the question have been clearly expressed in the statements of their representatives who have spoken in the Council. The representatives of the countries of the Association have requested me to express in the Council their sympathetic understanding of those views.

6. Three African members—Kenya, Mauritania, and the United Republic of Cameroon—together with Iraq, have submitted to the Council a draft resolution [S/11543] embodying the views of the African countries with regard to the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa. My delegation is prepared to support the draft resolution recommending to the General Assembly the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations.

7. This recommendation for expulsion is a very serious matter and our decision to support it has not been taken lightly. My delegation would like to make it quite clear that this support does not in any way mean the weakening of Indonesia's strong attachment to the principle of the universality of the membership of the United Nations, to which we remain fully committed. In the case of South Africa it is not so much the Organization which wants to expel South Africa but in fact South Africa itself, which, by its persistent defiance of the United Nations, by its constant refusal to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Council, has systematically dissociated itself from the Organization. By its policies and actions the racist régime of South Africa has consciously emphasized its disdain, its defiance of the United Nations, of the Charter

and the principles of human rights. Its actions can be interpreted only as the expression of that desire to dissociate itself from the Organization.

8. Indonesia had hoped that South Africa would be able to see the light. The statement of the representative of South Africa [1800th meeting] however, has not given any indication of that being so. We have not heard any definite commitment by South Africa to abandon its policy of *apartheid* and recognize the just rights of the black African majority. Nothing has been said about its readiness to return Namibia to the administration of the United Nations so that this Territory will become a sovereign and independent country. Nothing has been said about ending South Africa's assistance to the illegal white minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. No withdrawal of its military and police forces from that territory has been announced.

9. My delegation would wish that South Africa had heeded the warnings and condemnations of the United Nations, that it had taken to heart its exclusion from various agencies and that it had expressed its readiness to co-operate in implementing United Nations resolutions, proving in a concrete and adequate manner its respect for the Organization and the Charter. We regret that South Africa has persisted, consciously and systematically, in its defiance of the United Nations, leaving the Organization no alternative but to take up its challenge. My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution in document S/11543.

10. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTCHENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, may we express our sincere satisfaction at the fact that you, the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon, an independent African State, are the President of the Security Council during the consideration of an extremely important question which is closely linked with the struggle against colonialism and racism and for the strengthening of the peace and security of the peoples of the African continent.

11. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, basing itself upon its positions of principle on matters concerning the struggle against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, actively supported General Assembly resolution 3207 (XXIX) adopted at the present session, which calls upon the Security Council "to review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa in the light of the constant violation by South Africa of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

12. The positive changes which are taking place in the international arena, the relaxation of international tension brought about by the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community and the non-aligned States, and the

¹ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

successes of the national liberation movements, are establishing favourable conditions and new possibilities for a widening of the struggle of the oppressed peoples for freedom and independence and for the elimination of the last remnants of colonialism and racism and the liquidation of *apartheid*.

13. The heroic victory of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the establishment of a new sovereign State in Africa, the fall of the Fascist régime in Portugal and the *de facto* collapse of one more colonial empire, the steps to grant independence to Mozambique and Angola, all these are concrete facts and events pointing to these actual conditions and new possibilities. These positive changes are also illustrated by the determination of the peoples of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe to fight even harder against colonialist and racist régimes, as well as by the constantly growing solidarity with this struggle evidenced by the peoples of the socialist community and other freedom-loving and peace-loving forces and the constantly growing international efforts in the United Nations in support of the just cause of the peoples of southern Africa.

14. Numerous delegations which have spoken in the Council have painted an impressive and accurate picture of the situation in southern Africa. They have adduced numerous acts which expose the inhumanity of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa, and the policy of the South African racist minority which has established dominion over Namibia is providing support to the colonial Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia and threatening peace and security in southern Africa. The policy of South Africa's ruling circles, as representatives have testified, is in flagrant contradiction with the provisions of the Charter.

15. The white racists holding power in the Republic of South Africa have established there a régime of cruel oppression of the indigenous African population. The Republic of South Africa has become virtually a police State, a prison for the African and Coloured population and for all dissenters. The legislation of South Africa is subordinated to a single end, the maintenance and strengthening of the system of slavery to enrich a small handful of prosperous South African bosses and foreign monopolies.

16. The cruel racist laws which regulate the life of the African and Coloured population from birth to death are coupled with legislative decrees aimed at the suppression of the slightest manifestation of discontent in the Republic of South Africa, such as the act on subversive activities, the Unlawful Organisations Act and the Suppression of Communism Act. Persons accused of such "crimes" are deprived of their right to freedom, personal security and even their right to life. Virtually Gestapo-like methods that have been condemned by the whole civilized world and crimes of the kind for which Hitler's executioners paid a severe penalty after the

collapse of fascist Germany have become standard procedures of the special squads of South African police established to fight the opponents of *apartheid*.

17. The General Assembly has already categorically stated that the policy of *apartheid* constitutes a crime against humanity and that practice of such a policy is a negation of the Charter. Last year, the Assembly adopted the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*. The adoption of that instrument represents an important contribution by the United Nations to the struggle against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. It would be as well to remind the racists in the Republic of South Africa and those who are conniving at the policy of *apartheid* that the Convention provides that international criminal responsibility shall apply to all who participate in the crime of *apartheid* or abet it. The Byelorussian SSR was one of the first States to sign the Convention, thus furnishing the first proof of our determined struggle against racism and one of its worst manifestations, *apartheid*.

18. The Byelorussian delegation was among the first to demonstrate in the United Nations the spiritual kinship of the ideology of Hitlerism and South African racism. It was among the first to advocate declaring *apartheid* a crime against humanity, as nazism was at Nürnberg. During the Second World War, in a fight to the death against Hitlerite fascism, the Byelorussian people came face to face with Hitler's policy of racial superiority. Our people, like many other peoples of Europe, knows what it was like. One in every four Byelorussians died in the Second World War.

19. In 1975 we shall celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the victory over German fascism, to which a decisive contribution was made by the peoples of the Soviet Union. After the victory of the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the foundations of the United Nations were laid and its Charter was drafted and adopted, and next year the United Nations will likewise mark its thirtieth anniversary. In that connexion it is relevant to refer to the direct link proclaimed in the Charter, which speaks of the determination of the peoples "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person". That was done so that no one might forget that fascism is war. It is racial domination, trampling on the rights and freedoms of man. It is the destruction of whole countries and peoples.

20. Between the ideology of Hitlerism and the policy of *apartheid* there is a close spiritual kinship. In the documents of the United Nations, *apartheid* is described as a system of racial segregation, oppression and exploitation and a form of modern slavery.

21. Preventing the spread on the African continent of the ideas of freedom, democracy and progress; maintaining colonialism in its most barbarous form; strengthening the ideology of domination and oppression, the ideology of slavery; strengthening among the oppressed peoples the feeling of doom; depriving them of any hope for the future—those are the political and ideological aspects of the policy of *apartheid*, the policy pursued by the Vorster régime.

22. Despite vehement condemnations by the United Nations, the policy of the South African racists is generously assisted and supported by the leading member countries of NATO [*North Atlantic Treaty Organization*] and their international monopolies. In spite of the decisions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, there is a steadily increasing flow of capital investment from Western countries to the Republic of South Africa; there is growth in trade; there is continued support for and development of economic, political and even military ties. Such assistance and support by monopoly capital reflects the far-reaching political, economic, military and strategic interests of the most reactionary and aggressive forces of imperialism. Our delegation firmly condemns colonialism, racism and zionism.

23. In the Security Council a large body of evidence has also been provided that the South African racists are engaged in a military build-up in the Republic of South Africa and carrying out a policy which threatens the peace and security of African countries. While it has been in power the Vorster Government of South Africa has imported more weapons and military supplies than all the other countries south of the Sahara combined.

24. The racist régime of the Republic of South Africa is defying the United Nations by refusing to implement the relevant decisions of the various organs of the United Nations and by continuing its unlawful occupation of the Territory of Namibia, heedless of the demands of the African majority of the people of Namibia for the right to self-determination and national independence.

25. The dangerous alliance between the Vorster régime and the Southern Rhodesian racists merits the most vigorous condemnation; it is an alliance which threatens the peace and security of the countries of Africa. In violation of Security Council decisions based on Chapter VII of the Charter, the racist régime of South Africa continues to maintain diplomatic relations with Southern Rhodesia, and is openly violating the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Council. It is maintaining its military and police forces there, and is providing continuing military assistance to the unlawful Southern Rhodesian régime in its struggle against the national liberation movement of the people of Zimbabwe.

26. I could say much more and provide a long list of violations by South Africa of the provisions of the Charter and its negative response to numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Our delegation wishes to draw attention to the fact that South Africa has not become a party to any of the treaties limiting the arms race. It opposed the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the General Assembly resolutions on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and numerous other important decisions aimed at strengthening peace and international security.

27. In terminating my statement I should like once again to point out that the decision of the General Assembly to refer the question of the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa to the Security Council illustrates the success of the forces which are resolutely opposing colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. The Byelorussian delegation is in favour of drastic measures to put an end to this most shameful of the phenomena of our time. We consider also that it is necessary to take practical action within the framework of the United Nations to curb the South African racists.

28. Our delegation is convinced that the Security Council would not have been dealing with this question today if all States had abided by the United Nations decisions and had discontinued their political, economic and military co-operation with South Africa and had ceased supporting the racist régime in the Republic of South Africa. The Byelorussian delegation is ready to support any proposals that would resolutely call on Member States providing any assistance or support to the South African racists to desist from that action. We favour the adoption by the Council of the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania and the United Republic of Cameroon [S/11543]. We consider it to be timely and justified and we call on all the members of the Council to vote for it.

29. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR will continue to fight for the total and complete liquidation of colonialism, for the granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples and for the strengthening of peace and international security.

30. Mr. ZAHAWIE (Iraq): Mr. President, my delegation is deeply gratified and finds it highly appropriate that you, Sir, a true son of Africa, should be presiding over the Security Council during its historic deliberations in reappraising for the first time in the history of the Organization the relationship between the United Nations and a Member State, deliberations the outcome of which could deeply

influence the future of the African continent and of the world Organization itself.

31. An impressive succession of distinguished speakers have come before this Council and given eloquent testimony on the undesirability of the continued presence of South Africa within the United Nations. They have convincingly argued that the policy of *apartheid* is not only a flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations, and a massive and ruthless denial of human rights, but also a threat to the peace and security of Africa. They have drawn our attention to South Africa's central role in helping to maintain and perpetuate colonial and racist rule in southern Africa, its illegal occupation of Namibia, its systematic violation of the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, its armed interventions in neighbouring territories, and its military build-up and threatening posture towards the rest of the continent.

32. I shall not dwell upon the evils of the system nor go into the criminal methods employed by the South African régime in implementing its abominable *apartheid* policies. Those, alas, are facts all too well established by now and the Council has been presented over the years with ample documented evidence confirming the depth of the degradation and the enormity of the crime in South Africa.

33. The question of racial conflict in South Africa has been before the Council since 1960. The Council, then, recognized in its resolution 134 (1960) that the situation in South Africa was one that had led to international friction, and, if continued, might endanger international peace and security. In 1963, by resolution 181 (1963) the Council called on all States to cease forthwith the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles to South Africa. That ban was later extended to include the sale to South Africa of equipment and material for the maintenance and manufacture of arms and ammunition and has been reiterated and strengthened on several occasions.

34. In those early years of the 1960s, following the Sharpeville massacre, there were some signs which indicated that effective measures were at last being taken to end international co-operation with Pretoria. Yet the decade was not over, when all hopes of effective sanctions against South Africa were brutally dashed, and with them the hope of applying peaceful measures to instigate a change in South Africa's racial policies. The last few years witnessed, instead, a dramatic upsurge in South Africa's fortunes, an upsurge that was by no means fortuitous. It was in fact closely connected with events which had occurred in our part of the world. We believe that the South African régime, being the outcast it is among the great majority of the international community, is willing and ready to play the surrogate, a role which no self-respecting State would undertake, in order to

maintain and perpetuate colonial and racist rule not only in southern Africa but in the whole of that continent and beyond, if necessary. And South Africa has already found merely preparing itself for such a role highly profitable. It is considered by its collaborators as a global pivot and a bastion of the southern hemisphere.

35. The growth in the stature of South Africa can be traced directly to the 1967 war in the Middle East and its aftermath. How and why South Africa came into the Middle Eastern picture is tellingly revealed by an American general, General S. L. A. Marshall, in a study prepared for the American-African Affairs Association in November 1967, entitled *A Special Study of South Africa: The Strategic View*. He even mentions my country, Iraq, as a possible point of strategic importance where South Africa could play a vital part. On page 4 of his study, General Marshall writes:

"When a line is drawn through the top of Africa across the Arabian peninsula to the corner where Iran meets West Pakistan and with this base, with one point at Karachi and the other at the Canaries, an isosceles triangle is projected evenly towards the Cape, much open ocean is enclosed as well as a twelfth or thereabouts of the earth's surface. With Aden out, now that the British are yielding it to the Arabs, the only modern and friendly ports are in South Africa ... The United States must not discount the connexion between such a facility and the conserving of its worldwide strategic interest. In the event of a major war in the Middle East—a struggle over Iraq, for example—in which our forces became engaged, we would have to lean on that prop. We have done so before."

36. To illustrate South Africa's importance, General Marshall goes on to state:

"South Africa this year"—that is 1967—"plays the most dramatic, the least dispensable role, in keeping lamps lit and wheels turning around the world at a close-to-normal rate, despite the prolonged blocking of the Suez Canal which will certainly extend into 1968 and possibly beyond. All of South Africa's ports began adjusting to the overload of work that was certain to come, this while the shooting was still on.

"South Africa has prepared itself to help to moderate what might have developed as a far costlier world emergency. During the preceding five years, \$35,000,000 was spent in improving the harbours."

37. General Marshall then asks a pertinent question:

"Why was South Africa embarked on the harbour improvement programme in the timely hour?"

His answer is:

"Precisely because, during the other Suez Canal crisis in 1956, when the Canal was closed for eight months, these several harbours around the Cape were called on to handle some 12,000 diverted ships. The Government [of South Africa] anticipated that the same thing could happen again."

38. According to General Marshall, South Africa embarked on the harbour improvement programme in the timely hour precisely because it anticipated that a crisis like that of 1956 could happen again. One could well ask whether South Africa knew ahead of time about a war which was being secretly prepared. It could also be noted that the harbour improvement programme was embarked upon exactly at the time that the Security Council and the international community had begun to take some effective action against the Pretoria régime after Sharpeville.

39. It does not require a great deal of imagination to come to the conclusion that the South African régime would find collaboration with another racist régime, situated at the northern end of the African continent, the best means of preserving their mutual and common interests.

40. In 1971, Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, writing in *The New York Times* of 30 April of that year, in an article entitled "Strange non-alliance", speaks of "this relationship between the nation controlling Africa's southern tip and the nation still holding the gate to its northern tip"; and in the course of that article he states that, "there is, in addition to everything else, considerable military understanding."

41. Thus the two settler-colonialist régimes would also provide the best instrument to control and obstruct the nationalist liberation movements in the whole continent and in the neighbouring Middle East. Racism confirmed its natural alliance with imperialism and colonialism.

42. After describing the importance of the route around the Cape for the giant oil tankers as profitable and a bargain for oil companies, General Marshall, in the study I referred to earlier, states:

"The diminution of Egypt's power and position cannot fail to have the effect not only of profiting South Africa monetarily, but of proportionately enhancing her position and prestige over the long run."

43. And so it has: so much so that by April 1973 Pretoria's Minister of Defense, Mr. P. W. Botha, in a "White Paper on Defense and Armament Production", could write the following:

"The threats against us are rooted in and nurtured by the currents of the times in which we live, and they reach far beyond our borders.

"The Republic of South Africa is part of the modern world and, as such, involuntarily involved in the prevailing international struggle for power. Furthermore, as a result of the relative check-mate obtaining between the super powers in the sphere of nuclear weapons, we find ourselves in a position of increasing strategic importance in that struggle. Like the rest of the free world, the Republic of South Africa is a target for international communism and its cohorts—leftists activists, exaggerated humanism, permissiveness, materialism, and related ideologies. In addition, the Republic of South Africa has been singled out as a special target for the by-products of their ideologies, such as black racialism, exaggerated individual freedom, one-man-one-vote slogan, and a host of other slogans employed against us on a basis of double standards. Nor can the Western Powers control these movements; in the United Nations they are ensnared by the application of their own one-man-one-vote slogan—to such an extent that they even failed to persuade that body to adopt a resolution condemning international terrorism. Because the Republic of South Africa holds a position of strategic importance, these ideological attacks are progressively being converted into more tangible action in the form of sanctions, boycotts, isolation, demonstrations and the like ... Geographically the Republic of South Africa is a part of the third world; in the military and cultural spheres it is a captive ally of the West, and ideologically a direct obstacle in the path of communism.

"The state of stability and order in neighbouring countries has a direct bearing on the security of the Republic of South Africa. Consequently, should requests for assistance be made by those countries, such requests will be considered by the Government who will react in accordance with the mean available and the applicable provisions of international law.

"In the view of the Government, the Republic of South Africa's survival is closely interwoven with the future of the present free world. Consequently, the measures instituted for our defense are designed constantly also to assist in promoting the security of the free world in general."

The White Paper further states that:

"The Defense Force must at all times be able to assist the South African police in preserving internal order."

44. If the West, the "free world", in fact subscribes to this South African interpretation of the world

situation, the more the pity, for the world is then, indeed, in deep trouble. Mr. Botha's words could have been more easily dismissed as delusions of grandeur had it not been for the increasing commercial, diplomatic and military co-operation with Pretoria. What makes this trend even more ominous is the fact that certain partners of South Africa have lately been threatening action against developing countries which are producers of strategic raw materials, particularly the oil producers in the Arabian Gulf area. Coupled with this is South Africa's own increasing military capability, including the development of the uranium enrichment technique—uranium 235 at that—which can be used for hydrogen weapons.

45. South Africa, counting on the protection of the major Western Power, is thus ready to embark upon any action which the imperialist Powers would assign to it, flouting world public opinion, the principles of the Charter and the precepts of international law.

46. Put in proper perspective, the adamant refusal of South Africa to abide by its obligations under the Charter, its persistent disregard of the rights of the majority of its population and the sensitivities of its African neighbours, should not be a cause of wonder. Pretoria's attitude, however, is alarming enough for the States in that whole area to undertake an immediate reassessment of their entire relations with the big Powers of the West. In addition to making concerted efforts to force South Africa to respect the will of the international community.

47. Since 1962, the General Assembly has been calling upon all States to impose a trade and diplomatic boycott on South Africa. In 1972, in resolution 2923 E (XXVII), the Assembly requested the specialized agencies "to discontinue all collaboration with the Government of South Africa until it renounces its policies of *apartheid*". In 1973, in resolution 3151 G (XXVIII), the Assembly requested "all specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations to deny membership or privileges of membership to the South African régime". It has also, since 1970, refused to accept the credentials of the South African delegation.

48. The Security Council cannot ignore these actions and resolutions adopted in the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority. If it fails to take any measures in response to the request put before it by the Assembly, it would mean that, rejecting all the evidence before it, it does not accept the fact that South Africa has persistently violated the principles of the Charter, and that the situation in South Africa does not constitute a threat to international peace and security, contrary to the Council's considered judgement as far back as 1960. Failure to act would create an untenable position whereby the Council would not only be shirking its primary responsibility but also obstructing the will of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

49. We should also remember that man does not accept bleak or bitter facts simply because they are there. He has conquered formidable mountains simply because they were there. Even less does he accept oppression. Brute force may tyrannize him into submission for a while, but this is far from acceptance. The shock and the fury of his revolt is all the more terrible when the final explosion does occur. And God has created no race, no élite, no chosen people almighty enough to oppress others for eternity.

50. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): The draft resolution which was introduced in the Council yesterday by the representative of Kenya and which recommends to the General Assembly the immediate expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations in compliance with Article 6 of the Charter [S/11543], has confronted my Government, along with all Governments represented in the Council, with a grave responsibility. This is the first time in the life of the United Nations that a Member State has been faced with an explicit call for its expulsion from the Organization. Expulsion must be regarded as a most serious act, to be undertaken only after profound and searching consideration of all the circumstances involved.

51. To mention only one regrettable aspect, it represents a regression from the cherished principle of universality of membership which has offered dynamic inspiration to this Organization ever since its foundation, and which has symbolized a goal that has so far been coming closer year by year. There is, indeed, an element of irony in a situation where a founding Member State located in southern Africa is under the threat of expulsion at a time when the next substantial increase in our membership could itself well come from southern Africa in the shape of independent former Portuguese Territories.

52. All these and other considerations, arguments for and against, have been most carefully weighed by my Government in deciding what attitude it should adopt towards this recommendation. The paramount consideration, however, and the most compelling is the strong sense of revulsion in the Government and among the people of Australia against South Africa's *apartheid* laws and the administration of them. It can hardly be contested that, for many years past, South Africa has been in persistent violation of the provisions of the Charter concerned with human rights and individual dignity, and has ignored all demands from the United Nations to mend its ways. It has also failed to comply with long-standing and increasingly imperative requests from the United Nations that it discharge its solemn obligations in respect of the Mandated Territory of Namibia and that it obey relevant resolutions of the Security Council condemning the military assistance it has given to the illegal régime in Rhodesia.

53. Successive Australian Governments representing different political parties have sought to persuade South Africa to be more responsive to the numerous resolutions critical of its policies that have been adopted by large majorities in the United Nations. In 1961, for example, Prime Minister Menzies described to the Australian Parliament how he had told South African Prime Minister Verwoerd that South Africa's policies offended his conscience and were alienating world opinion, and warned him that the non-white South Africans would not tolerate indefinitely the status of second-class citizens and would be demanding their due, not in friendship but with hostility and possible violence. The present Australian Government has expressed its own repugnance to South Africa's policies in unequivocal statements and in actions ranging from the severance of traditional associations in the field of sports to the dissolution of partnership arrangements within the Governing Board of the International Monetary Fund, as the representative of Mauritius recalled earlier in this debate [1797th meeting]. Council members may recall that in his statement in the general debate at the last session of the General Assembly,² the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Willesee, said that Australia utterly rejected the intolerable practice of *apartheid* in South Africa and would continue to take every opportunity to condemn it and to co-operate with all those seeking responsibly to eliminate it.

54. In its most conscientious and careful study of all the considerations raised by the recommendation contained in draft resolution S/11543, my Government has reached the conclusion that the moral considerations, as it sees them, must be decisive. My delegation will, accordingly, vote in favour of this text.

55. Let me conclude with three brief observations.

56. First, in case my delegation's vote in favour of this recommendation should be contrasted with our

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2138th meeting.

recent vote in the General Assembly on the report of the Credentials Committee, let me say that there is no inconsistency. My delegation has consistently taken the view over the years that the function of the Committee is limited to verification of the identity of the official government signatory of the delegation's credential and does not extend to questioning the right of a particular Government to issue credentials. In effect, we are prepared to accept the credentials of the South African delegation so long as South Africa remains legally a Member of the United Nations.

57. Secondly, if this recommendation should be approved by the Council and subsequently adopted by the General Assembly, it must, in the view of the Australian Government, be treated as a special and exceptional action which must on no account be applied indiscriminately to countries that may happen to attract the opposition of a majority in the Assembly or in the Council in respect of particular acts alleged to be contrary to the Charter. We are dealing here not with unsupported allegations and questionable charges against South Africa, but with a well-documented case established over many years, to the point where it has in effect been tried long since by each of us individually and by all of us collectively in the United Nations. But we must not allow it to be seized upon and used as a facile precedent to be followed in the future.

58. Thirdly, and finally, I am bound to say that it is greatly to be regretted that South Africa's inability thus far to reconcile its domestic laws and policies with the demands of present-day world opinion should have brought it to the pass where it lies under the threat of expulsion from the United Nations. We can only hope that if this threat becomes a reality, the South African Government will feel sufficiently conscious of increasing isolation from the world community to be persuaded to change its policies to the point where it can apply successfully for re-admission to the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.

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