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## NOTE

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## 1982nd MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 22 December 1976, at 10.30 a.m.

*President:* Mr. Ion DATCU (Romania).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Benin, China, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania and United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1982)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint by Lesotho against South Africa:  
Letter dated 16 December 1976 from the Permanent Representative of Lesotho to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12257)

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

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Complaint by Lesotho against South Africa:**  
Letter dated 16 December 1976 from the Permanent Representative of Lesotho to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12257)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with decisions taken by the Security Council at its 1981st meeting, I shall now, with the consent of the Council, invite the representatives of Lesotho and Madagascar to participate in the Council's discussion without the right to vote.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Molapo (Lesotho) took a place at the Security Council table, and Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In addition, I have received letters from the representatives of Botswana and Mauritius in which they ask to be invited to participate in the debate. I therefore propose that the Council agree, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

3. I invite the representatives of Botswana and Mauritius to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when they wish to address the Council.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mogami (Botswana) and Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The speaker is the representative of Mauritius. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

5. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): First of all, I should like to place in the record of the Security Council my sincere appreciation for the co-operation I have received from my distinguished and beloved African brother, Mr. Blaise Rabetafika of Madagascar, who in my brief absence from New York addressed the Council yesterday [1981st meeting] as the current Chairman of the Group of African States on the complaint by Lesotho against South Africa.

6. Now that I have returned, I shall speak first as representative of Mauritius as well as representative of the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

7. On 26 October, Transkei, one of the 10 so-called African homelands in South Africa, was declared independent. But on that same day, the General Assembly, in its resolution 31/6 A, rejected the declaration of the so-called independence and declared it invalid. It condemned the establishment of bantustans as designed to consolidate the inhuman policies of apartheid, to destroy the territorial integrity of the country, to perpetuate white-minority domination and to dispossess the African people of South Africa of their inalienable rights. In calling upon all Governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called independent Transkei and to refrain from having any dealings with the South African bantustans, the Assembly called for the isolation of the Transkei and other bantustans. The adoption of resolution 31/6 A constituted a firm commitment of the international community to reject any attempt by the Pretoria régime at balkanizing South Africa and to stand for one-union and democratic South Africa.

8. Lesotho is now suffering hardship for abiding by this commitment and for complying with a United Nations resolution. It has decided to withhold recognition of the so-called independent Transkei, and South Africa is determined to coerce the Government of Lesotho into reviewing that decision. In this connexion, may I be permitted to read out a message dispatched by my Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, who is also the current Chairman of OAU, to the Prime Minister of Lesotho. This message was dispatched on 19 November. It says:

"I have the honour to refer to recent information of the deliberate inhuman decision by South Africa regarding the closure of frontier posts with the Kingdom of Lesotho and inform Your Excellency of my support in denouncing the blatant violation by the South African racist Government of the customs treaty to keep borders open under international law regardless of the non-recognition of the Transkei. The African Group at the United Nations has already alerted the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the South African blockade. You can be assured of the firm and unrelenting support of our African brothers to denounce in the strongest terms this racist and inhuman move of the Vorster régime. As Chairman of OAU, I admire and endorse your decision not to recognize Transkei in compliance with resolution D/133",—this is a reference to a resolution adopted at Port Louis by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU—"the resolutions taken by OAU and the non-aligned countries, despite the blockade by South Africa coercing you to do so. Fraternal considerations. I should be grateful if you would communicate developments."

9. It is in this light that the Council should view the unilateral closure of about one third of Lesotho's common border with the Republic of South Africa. The entire population of the country's south-eastern region is affected by the closure of the border. The historic dependence of these Sothos on neighbouring areas in the Republic of South Africa, particularly in the Transkei region, for trade and services is only natural under normal circumstances of good-neighbourly relations. To deny them free access to the areas concerned is to deprive them of their livelihood. We should understand their plight, considering that the part of the country where they live is a highlands region which is hardly accessible from other parts of Lesotho. A smooth flow of goods and human traffic between their mountains and adjoining South African territory is essential for their survival.

10. The Government of Lesotho is in duty bound to take emergency action to redress the situation, and the international community is duty-bound to assist Lesotho in that endeavour. In deciding not to recognize the so-called independent Transkei, Lesotho has made an important contribution to the realization of United Nations objectives in South Africa. It has

helped the Organization to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter. For this Lesotho deserves the active support and assistance of the international community. As we all know, being a land-locked country surrounded by South African territory, Lesotho is confronted with problems of a unique nature. We have therefore always followed with understanding its efforts to solve those problems, in particular its efforts to attain economic self-sufficiency. We should encourage the Lesotho Government in its endeavours by assisting it to overcome the emergency situation confronting it and to meet the special economic needs arising from the closure of the border.

11. South Africa should be condemned for the closure of the border, and the Council should demand that it take the necessary steps to reopen the border forthwith. As the African Group stated in its communication of 12 November [S/12227], South Africa's action is a flagrant breach of international law, which stipulates safe passage of transit goods to and from land-locked countries. The African Group also expressed the view that the situation arising from South Africa's unilateral action not only poses a serious economic problem for the people of Lesotho but constitutes a threat to peace and security in the region. It is in this context that we call on the Security Council to take urgent appropriate action.

12. By refusing to recognize the independence of the so-called independent Transkei, Lesotho has concretely demonstrated its abhorrence of the policy of separate development. It should be commended for its decision and accorded the means to maintain its position. The *apartheid* régime believed that it could coerce Lesotho into accepting the bantustanization of South Africa. Lesotho's will to resist the South African pressures in spite of its vulnerability is symbolic of Africa's determination to combat the evils of *apartheid* and racism. By assisting Lesotho, it is Africa's struggle for freedom that the Council would be supporting. It is the basic rights of the people of South Africa that the Council would be upholding.

13. On behalf of OAU, I urge all members of the Council to support the programme of assistance presented yesterday [1981st meeting] by the Foreign Minister of Lesotho.

14. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At its meeting yesterday [*ibid.*], the Security Council heard the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho, Mr. Charles Molapo. We recognize that Mr. Molapo gave us an account which was moderate, in good faith and prudent. At the same time, however, it was extremely dramatic, because the fact that the representative of the victim country took a dignified position by using moderate language in no way detracts from the tragedy of the situation which, as he described it, is causing suffering to a quarter million of his fellow citizens. They are virtually in a

state of siege because of an arbitrary act that is also illegal, unjust and contrary to international law, an act for which South Africa is responsible.

15. My country would advocate solving this problem in such a manner as to conclude with a decision taken by the Council with the approval of all its members. What is happening requires effective Security Council action—specific action—in order to give satisfaction to a country which is at this very moment suffering great anxiety because of the closure of some border posts between Lesotho and South Africa as a result of the actions of the South African Government.

16. After having listened to the preceding speakers in the debate and having had an opportunity to participate in the consultations so wisely guided by the President of the Council, we are in favour of the Council's adopting a decision which would not only give satisfaction to the Government and people of Lesotho in respect of the offences they have suffered in the political field but also pave the way to a resolution of the economic situation, which is so precarious and difficult for Lesotho, through international co-operation and the use of United Nations mechanisms.

17. No doubt the Council, in taking a decision, will bear in mind that the General Assembly of the United Nations, in its resolution 31/6 A, has already pronounced itself against any form of recognition of the sham Transkei, an artificial creation of the Government of South Africa designed to thwart the resolutions adopted by various bodies of the Organization. In this regard, we believe that Lesotho is acting in accordance with United Nations resolutions in not recognizing the Transkei.

18. We think that South Africa has taken a very dangerous course and one that is full of risks, in trying to sow discord among African States, in particular the independent African States in southern Africa. Its attempt to have Africans fight one another will certainly not lead to constructive results but will only aggravate the internal crisis which South Africa will have to suffer in the future, unless we find a solution to these problems which are, in our opinion, burning issues of our time.

19. My delegation believes that the Government of Lesotho deserves praise for abiding by the General Assembly resolutions in not recognizing the so-called Transkei and that South Africa's closure of the three border posts mentioned by the Foreign Minister of Lesotho can only be considered undue pressure on an independent State to coerce it into recognition of the artificial creation of the sham State of the Transkei.

20. The Council would also be justified in making an appeal to all Member States of the Organization to co-operate in resolving the financial and economic crisis from which Lesotho is suffering and to co-operate in its programme for economic develop-

ment. In this respect, I believe that United Nations bodies such as the Economic and Social Council, the food programmes and others, might consider direct assistance to the people of Lesotho. Likewise, ways could be found so that the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the competent organizations, might prepare and provide a programme of technical and financial assistance for Lesotho so as to assist that country to overcome the difficulties it is encountering because of the closure of the border posts between that country and South Africa.

21. In our opinion, the Council should also keep the matter under review so that the situation will not deteriorate but rather be resolved.

22. Lastly, my country, a Latin American country, has a sense of brotherhood and of identification with the peoples of Africa, and we therefore wish to declare our total identification with the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho yesterday. He said:

“To us, South Africa belongs to all South Africans regardless of their race, colour or creed, and my Government will not acquiesce in any scheme which violates the territorial integrity of South Africa by balkanizing it into so-called independent tribal homelands, without the consent of the majority of the people of South Africa.” [*Ibid.*, para. 14.]

In that statement, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho demonstrates that herein lies the crux of the problem. This is not an isolated problem of Lesotho; it is an integral problem of southern Africa and of the independent States in the southern part of Africa. This is a problem linked to the solution of the question of Zimbabwe, the question of Namibia and even the human tragedy of *apartheid* in South Africa. We therefore endorse the words of the Foreign Minister of Lesotho inviting the Council to reach a unanimous conclusion. In this case, the Council has had the benefit of this rational, prudent and intelligent presentation by the Foreign Minister of Lesotho.

23. I have just been informed that there is an excellent possibility of members of the Council reaching a solution either through consensus or by unanimity on this question, and I am really very pleased because the decision will no doubt have great political, spiritual and, particularly, economic impact.

24. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Before referring to the question before the Security Council, I should like to address to Mr. Kikhia my sincere gratitude for the cordial words addressed to me in the course of his statement yesterday. He may rest assured of my complete co-operation.

25. I have listened most attentively to the preceding speakers. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho [*1981st meeting*], whom I wish to greet here, most

clearly stated the needs of his country in the difficult situation which it is undergoing at present. The statements which we have heard since yesterday have brought to light the keen feelings and the censure aroused by the attempt of the Pretoria authorities to coerce Lesotho into recognizing the existence of an entity whose establishment was condemned by the entire international community. The delegation of France joins in this censure. As was indicated in the course of the debate in the General Assembly by the representative of the Netherlands,<sup>1</sup> the countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) have no intention of recognizing the sham independence of Tanskei.

26. Thus my delegation understands the attitude of Lesotho. As several delegations have done before us, we should like to pay tribute to the courage displayed by the Government and people of Lesotho in refusing to accept the situation imposed upon them. By taking up the challenge which has been thrown down, they have proved that they are determined to respect principles rather than protect material interests. My delegation is aware, indeed, of the considerable difficulties created in Lesotho by that decision. We know that the rerouting of traffic will impose a heavy burden on the economy of that country. We have learned from the Minister for Foreign Affairs himself what major efforts will be required to improve roads and airports and to create new traffic routes.

27. The international community cannot remain indifferent: it is up to the Security Council to pronounce itself. No doubt it would be desirable for the Secretary-General to send a team of experts to proceed to evaluate the aid which Lesotho will need in order to set up a communications system that will enable it to maintain its economy. The countries of the European Communities have already decided to grant emergency assistance to Lesotho. I should like to assure the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho that my Government will, for its part, consider the problems of his country with the utmost understanding.

28. By expressing censure and recommending the granting to the Kingdom of Lesotho the aid required as a result of a situation imposed on it, the Security Council will be carrying out an act of solidarity and justice.

29. I do not believe that it would serve any useful purpose to extend my comments beyond the item on our agenda. I am certain, furthermore, that I am thereby reflecting the general wish and, in particular, the wish of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho. In the same spirit, the draft resolution which will be submitted to us should be limited to the subject of the debate. This would make it even more meaningful.

30. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Botswana. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

31. Mr. MOGAMI (Botswana): I should like, first of all, to thank you, Mr. President, and through you the other members of the Council for allowing my delegation to take part in this debate.

32. The Security Council is dealing today with a question which has very grave implications not only for Lesotho but ultimately for other States in the region, and certainly also for the international community as a whole. The gravity of the situation is reflected in the fact that the Council has seen fit to discuss the issue.

33. The United Nations has always responded, if not always speedily and forcefully, to various crises in southern Africa that threatened, or indeed violated, the tenets of its Charter and its decisions. I have in mind here the positive way in which the United Nations responded to the call of the People's Republic of Mozambique for assistance when it closed its border with the rebel Rhodesia in order to enforce United Nations resolutions on sanctions against that régime; the United Nations condemnation of attacks against Zambia and the People's Republic of Angola by South Africa; the declaration by the United Nations that South Africa must withdraw from Namibia since its presence there was illegal; and the imposition of sanctions against Ian Smith's rebel Rhodesia so as to force that régime to yield to the principle of majority rule for the people of Zimbabwe.

34. Once again the United Nations is called upon to act in yet another southern African crisis, and will certainly be called upon to act in other crises, for these are bound to occur so long as minority rule, racism and *apartheid* remain. So long as oppression persists in that region, many more complaints will be brought before this august body. In order to live up to its mission, and to the spirit of the Charter, the Security Council should act with resolve and speedily solve this and other crises emanating from the volatile southern African situation. Only in this way can the stature and credibility of the United Nations be enhanced. Failure to act with resolve and speed in this instance can only regrettably give comfort to those who perpetuate these crises, and will indeed encourage them to precipitate similar crises elsewhere in the region.

35. Lesotho is being blackmailed because it has steadfastly stood by the internationalist obligation to implement the decision of the United Nations not to recognize the "independence" of the bantustan Transkei.

36. In abiding by the decision of the United Nations, Lesotho has in fact also implemented the resolutions of OAU and the non-aligned countries calling for non-recognition of the "independence" of the bantustan Transkei, which is, for us, still an integral part of South Africa.

37. Botswana's position is that the bantustan Transkei is an integral part of South Africa, and for this reason we fully support Lesotho's position in this regard. Any dealings between Lesotho and that part of South Africa called the Transkei must be as agreed between Pretoria and Lesotho, and this must hold for any dealings in whatever sphere between any independent State in the region and any part of South Africa which that régime calls a bantustan.

38. The international community must not allow any State, now or in the future, to be blackmailed into recognizing bantustans as independent entities because of the hardships they may encounter as a result of implementing decisions of the United Nations. The decisions relating to the Transkei are those of the international community, and so the solutions to the problem should be the collective responsibility of the international community.

39. The present crisis is replete with lessons and warnings. Probably the most important lesson is that bantustans can be used to create havoc in the neighbouring African States. They are cat's-paws for *apartheid* policies beyond the borders of South Africa. The warning is simply that the dangerous pattern of things now evolving in Lesotho is likely to be extended to other States with bantustans on their borders. A glance at a map of South Africa shows that all States in the area—Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe, when it finally becomes independent soon—have bantustans on their borders. It should be recalled that attempts by South Africa to do likewise in Namibia have not been abandoned.

40. What will prevent the use of these bantustans for purposes that they are now being used for in Lesotho? So long as *apartheid* persists, bantustans will exist and are likely to create problems in the region. This is what I meant when I stated in my opening remarks that the ramifications of this crisis extend beyond Lesotho, but it is in Lesotho that the surgery must be performed so that this cancer can be arrested—not only in Lesotho but in the body politic of the region.

41. Failure to heed the lessons and the warnings in the Lesotho crisis can only be regretted later. History instructs us that those who ignore the warnings of an impending crisis do so at their own peril. Throughout history many have suffered because of this serious error.

42. Lesotho has called for international assistance, and it is our hope that the international community will respond generously in terms of the short—and long-term objectives directly related to this crisis. The people of eastern Lesotho must continue to have access to the bare necessities of life—food, clothing and the like. They must also continue to export their produce in order that their well-being and that of Lesotho will be assured.

43. It should be borne in mind that assistance to Lesotho can only be a temporary and partial solution to the problem. The ultimate and only effective cure is the elimination of *apartheid*, which creates bantustans. The present crisis serves as a reminder that concerted effective action against *apartheid* is urgent and imperative.

44. Finally, I should like on behalf of my delegation to say how grateful we are to the Foreign Minister of Lesotho for the address he made here yesterday. I should also like to assure him of our solidarity with the nation of Lesotho and its Government, and also of our support for all the efforts that Lesotho is seeking today before the Council.

45. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): First of all, I should like to join my Libyan colleague in extending a personal welcome to Mr. Jacques Leprette of France and in expressing regret that a number of colleagues with whom we had the privilege and pleasure of working last year have left the Council, and that others will be soon leaving it, and to wish them well in their new and, in some cases, higher duties.

46. I wish also on behalf of my delegation to express our welcome to Mr. Molapo, the Foreign Minister of Lesotho, from whom the Council heard yesterday [*ibid.*] a most lucid and, in the circumstances, dispassionate account of the predicament which his country is facing as a result of South Africa's unilateral decision of 26 October last to close three outposts on the border between South Africa and south-eastern Lesotho.

47. The action has resulted not only in the severing of the economic links of Lesotho with the rest of the world but, because of the mountainous topography of the country, with the rest of Lesotho itself. South Africa's action has created—and created deliberately—a grave economic crisis for Lesotho. The primarily agrarian economy of Lesotho, we were told, relies heavily on border trade with South Africa, and the closure of the border posts is creating mounting difficulties for it.

48. Why has South Africa created this situation? The answer is plain from South Africa's refusal even to discuss it with the Kingdom of Lesotho: it has informed Lesotho that the matter is one between Transkei, the supposedly independent bantustan, and the Kingdom of Lesotho; and, further, that if Lesotho were to comply with the border formalities imposed by Transkei, the problem could be resolved. Such is the *raison d'être* of South Africa's closure of the border.

49. The General Assembly in various resolutions—and, in particular, in its resolution 3411 D (XXX)—has condemned the establishment of bantustans and called on all Governments not to recognize them. Moreover, the General Assembly, in its resolution 31/6 A of the current session, enjoins all States

specifically to deny any form of recognition to the Transkei and to refrain from having any dealings with this so-called independent country. Lesotho's compliance with the resolutions of the United Nations on this matter—its refusal to recognize Transkei—is all the more commendable, given the geopolitical situation and the economic situation of the country. Lesotho finds itself today in virtually a state of economic siege. Who can deny that South Africa's action is a transparent attempt to apply economic pressure on Lesotho in order to force it to recognize the fictitious entity of the bantustan Transkei?

50. The concept of dividing South Africa into bantustans is but a means towards the end which *apartheid*, in more crude fashion, seeks to attain, namely, the exploitation of the wealth and resources of the territory for the benefit of the white minority, reducing its black majority to political subjugation and economic servitude. An article which appeared recently in *The New York Times* on the self-styled "white tribe" of South Africa, sets out the pseudo-intellectual trappings and spurious arguments which the white ruler employs to justify his actions towards his black fellow citizens. Reduced to its essence, the policy would herd the 18 million indigenous Africans into tribal bantustans which would in fact be no better than rural slums. While 10 per cent of the white population would reserve for themselves 87 per cent of the territory of South Africa, its industry and its resources, the rest of the indigenous population would be penned up in 13 per cent of their own homeland, formally deprived of all rights and claims therein, and free only to continue to live and slave for the benefit of the white ruling minority. The bantustan concept cuts across the very root of the idea of independent nationhood by seeking to divide the black Africans through territorial separation. The policy is a thinly disguised attempt to perpetuate the colonial domination of the white minority over the indigenous population.

51. In this perspective, South Africa's action in closing the border with Lesotho cannot be viewed in isolation. Lesotho is being told in unmistakable terms that it should recognize Transkei, and if it were not to comply, it would be made to suffer unbearable economic privation, not excluding a shortage of food and medical supplies. As more bantustans bordering Swaziland and Botswana are brought into being, the same tactics would no doubt be applied to coerce those countries, whose economic lifelines run through South Africa, to bring them to recognize the situation.

52. Contemptuous of world public opinion, oblivious of the universal condemnation of its *apartheid* policies, disregarding the warnings provided by the disturbances in Soweto and Cape Town, South Africa presses on with its repugnant policies, policies which cannot but engender more unrest, more violence and bloodshed. In using coercion against Lesotho, South Africa is telling the world that its essential policies

and objectives remain unchanged. It is heightening tension in southern Africa and creating a situation which will bring suffering and violence to the peoples of southern Africa.

53. It is the view of my delegation that South Africa must not be allowed to succeed in its attempt to compel Lesotho to recognize Transkei. My Government fully supports Lesotho in its courageous decision to uphold principle and in its refusal to succumb to pressure. It is our hope that the Security Council, by unanimously adopting a decision on the matter, will give Lesotho unequivocal support and serve warning on South Africa that its pressures and manoeuvres will not be allowed to succeed.

54. Mr. SUNDBERG (Sweden): First of all, I should like to welcome most warmly Mr. Jacques Leprette of France, and to congratulate him on his important assignment as Permanent Representative of his country to the United Nations. He is indeed no newcomer here. He has a long and distinguished career in United Nations affairs and his diplomatic skill will undoubtedly be a great asset in the work of our Organization.

55. The adoption of General Assembly resolution 31/6 A of 26 October this year on the so-called independent Transkei and other bantustans, signified the broad international condemnation of South Africa's efforts to establish bantustans as designed to consolidate the inhuman policies of *apartheid*, to destroy the territorial integrity of the country, to perpetuate white minority domination and to dispossess the African people of South Africa of their inalienable rights. On that occasion the General Assembly further called upon all Governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called independent Transkei and to refrain from having any dealings with the so-called independent Transkei or other bantustans.

56. As was made clear in the important statement yesterday by the Foreign Minister of Lesotho [*ibid.*], the South African Government has now resorted to the application of counter measures in order to force a break-up of the total international isolation of their artificial creation, the so-called independent Transkei. By suddenly applying administrative measures against the traditional transit movements of people and goods between various parts of Lesotho through border areas of South Africa, the South African Government tries to put pressure on the Government of Lesotho to give up its loyal support of the General Assembly resolution. It is obviously an effort to force Lesotho to become the first country to have dealings with the so-called independent Transkei.

57. Lesotho is placed in an especially difficult position vis-à-vis South Africa. Lesotho's geographical situation exposes the economic and social life of the country to South African pressures. In spite of this, Lesotho has calmly and systematically worked to

decrease and diminish the effects of this South African pressure. Such a policy cannot but have short-term economic repercussions on the situation of Lesotho. Nevertheless, the people of Lesotho has supported that policy. The new hardship now inflicted upon the people of Lesotho as a consequence of its refusal to have any dealings with the so-called independent Transkei, adds considerably to the heavy burden already placed on it. Against this background yesterday's statement by the Foreign Minister of Lesotho was particularly encouraging and inspiring in its clearly demonstrated will to resist South Africa's schemes.

58. The Swedish delegation considers it a natural and logical step by the international community to come to the support of the people of Lesotho in this difficult situation. For several years it has been the policy of the Swedish Government to assist the small independent countries in southern Africa with the purpose of supporting their efforts to preserve their independence against pressures from South Africa and to help those countries to build an economy less dependent on South Africa.

59. It should be a common task, in particular for the industrialized countries, to encourage the economic strengthening of African States standing up against South Africa's ambition for domination. Otherwise, the danger of neo-colonialism based in Pretoria will remain. Only when all African States have also gained their full economic independence can there be hope for an end to the new forms of imperial ambitions represented by the South African régime.

60. Against this background, Sweden will support decisions by the Council recommending increased international economic aid to Lesotho.

61. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): This year the Security Council has already discussed various items relating to the actions, policies and heinous practices of the South African racist régime, which continues to throw down the gauntlet to the peoples of the entire world and to the United Nations.

62. The representatives of the African countries which have freed themselves from colonial domination, the representatives of the socialist countries and others have frequently demanded that the Security Council take effective steps against the racist régime which is grossly flouting the dignity and rights of the indigenous population of South Africa, inflicting brutal repression on its population and perpetrating aggressive acts against neighbouring African States. We have constantly warned that, if forthright steps are not taken against South Africa and its Fascist régime as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, the racists who prevail in South Africa might expand the scope of their crimes and extend them on a wide scale to neighbouring countries and regions.

63. The letter of the representative of Lesotho, which is the reason for convening the Security Council, provides fresh proof of a turn of events in South Africa which is dangerous for peace in the world. A serious situation has arisen as a result of South Africa's closure of the border between the south-eastern part of Lesotho and that part of South Africa called Transkei. That is virtually tantamount to a blockade—a minor one, not a particularly powerful one—on the part of the South African State against Lesotho.

64. In the letter of 12 November 1976 from the Chairman of the African Group in the United Nations to the President of the Security Council [S/12227], it is pointed out that the closure of the border is intended to force Lesotho to recognize the bantustan Transkei, which is a sorry puppet contrivance invented by the Government of South Africa in pursuance of its policy of *apartheid*.

65. Thus, as has been stated here by representatives who have spoken before me and as was very cogently demonstrated by Mr. Molapo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Lesotho [1981st meeting], the situation in that area has become serious. Not only have South Africa's actions caused economic problems, they are also a test of how the United Nations will react to subsequent acts of this nature against other neighbouring States.

66. It is quite obvious that there can be no question about whether the measures of gross coercion connected with the closure of the border are admissible to force any particular State to recognize another State—even less, to recognize a fraudulent Statelike entity which has arisen as a result of the manoeuvres of the South African racists who are attempting at all costs to maintain their domination in the south of Africa. There can be no two opinions about this. It is perfectly clear that such actions are inadmissible; they are a gross violation of the elementary principles of contemporary international law.

67. The actions of Lesotho, which has refused to recognize the bogus "independence" of the bantustan Transkei, are in full accord with the genuine situation in that region and coincide with the desires of the vast majority of the membership of the United Nations. Progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world have quite properly considered that the international recognition of the Transkei would be tantamount to justifying the system of *apartheid* and the racist policies of bantustanization.

68. The United Nations has frequently come out against the creation of bantustans in the Republic of South Africa. The General Assembly has described the bantustanization of that country as a consolidation of the inhuman policy of *apartheid* and a step intended primarily to destroy the territorial integrity of the country. It has called upon all Governments and organizations not to enter into relations with any

institutions or authorities in the bantustans and not to give them any form of recognition.

69. Public opinion throughout the world has long ago realized the real purposes of the racist régime and its policies of bantustanization. Under the guise of bantustanization, South Africa is virtually attempting to maintain the social and racial *status quo*. The racist régime is trying to create reserves of free or cheap labour and maintain the present heinous system of *apartheid*. Even after the proclamation of the bantustans as "States", they would be doomed to backwardness and complete dependence on South Africa. In that the racists see a guarantee that they would be able to continue their political and economic domination in the southern part of the continent.

70. The genuine liberation of southern Africa cannot be supplanted by a fictitious one. The peoples of Africa, like peoples throughout the world, are calling for the dismantling of the inhuman system of *apartheid* and racial oppression which has become rooted in the southern part of the African continent, and that demand is winning ever more understanding and support.

71. That position, as has frequently been stated, has been reflected in resolution 31/6 A adopted at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly concerning the so-called Transkei and other bantustans, for which 134 delegations voted. It is important to recall that not a single delegation voted against it. The General Assembly rejected the declaration of the so-called independence of the Transkei and declared it invalid; it called upon all Governments to refrain from any form of recognition of that bogus "independent" entity and to refrain from any dealings with the so-called Transkei or other bantustans. That is precisely how the Government of Lesotho has reacted, namely, in strict accord with that Assembly resolution to which I have referred. We should like to express our profound conviction that, in its decision, the Security Council will stand fully behind that Assembly resolution.

72. The totally illegal and heinous actions of South Africa in response to that decision show that the South African racist régime is striving to conduct relations with the liberated countries on that continent from a position of brute force and overt coercion. And responsibility for that lies not only with the racist régime of South Africa but also with those circles in Western countries who are in collusion with the racists and are helping them step up their military potential, thus increasing the threat to international peace and security in that area. It is also further fostered by the broad economic co-operation of certain transnational monopolies which facilitate the development of South Africa's economy and military potential, and by the moral support which is sometimes rendered by certain Western States to South Africa.

73. South Africa's policies, including the actions it took recently against Lesotho, show that it is essential for effective steps to be taken. We must ensure in the final analysis that South Africa is completely isolated in the international arena. We must also ensure that there is a complete cessation of military, economic and any other form of support to that régime.

74. The explosive situation that has arisen as a result of South Africa's unilateral actions vis-à-vis Lesotho has deep-rooted causes that are connected not only with the actual existence of those racist régimes. Our delegation has already commented on this on many occasions. If we do not now take steps that are appropriate to the serious situation that has arisen, the Council's actions might be interpreted to mean that it has acquiesced in the fact that there exist racist régimes in the southern part of Africa and in their endless provocations against neighbouring African countries.

75. The events that are now being considered by the Security Council are the alarming consequences of more deep-rooted causes that have frequently been spoken of by members of the Council, including my own delegation.

76. The position of the Soviet Union on questions of decolonization, on all matters relating to the struggle of peoples for genuine freedom and independence, is abundantly clear. Any unbiased observer must know that the Soviet Union vehemently eschews the pursuit of any rivalry or hegemony. The following is stated clearly in the report of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, to the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Party:

"Our Party is giving and will continue to give support to those peoples that are fighting for their freedom. In so doing, the Soviet Union is not seeking any advantages for itself. It is not in quest of concessions. It is not seeking any political domination. It is not seeking military bases. We are acting in accordance with the behests of our revolutionary conscience and our communist convictions."

The report goes on:

"We are doing and we shall continue to do everything to develop and strengthen friendship with those who genuinely seek it. We are linked with the vast majority of States which have arisen as a result of the breakdown of the colonialist system. We have those links because of our deep dedication to peace and freedom and our repugnance for any forms of aggression, domination or exploitation of one country by another. This fundamental community of ideas is a rich and fertile soil in which our friendship will continue to thrive and flourish."

77. That is the way relations are developing between the Soviet Union and many independent African States. The community of our positions on many key issues of the present day has been clearly endorsed in a number of international documents recently. I shall give only one example. The Soviet-Libyan communiqué published on 10 December this year states on behalf of both parties that they will give constant support to the struggle of the African peoples fighting for their political, economic and social freedom. The two parties reiterate their persistent support for the African liberation movements struggling for freedom and independence. They express their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, as well as the African peoples in southern Africa. The Soviet Union and the Libyan Arab Republic condemned the racist régimes in Africa and the plans and inroads of imperialism designed to restore and protect the positions of those régimes and to eliminate the African national liberation movements.

78. That is the position held as a matter of principle by the Soviet Union with regard to the eventual implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and with regard to all matters connected with the struggle against racist régimes, which continue to foster tension in the southern part of the African continent. Whatever is said and wherever it is said, the Soviet Union will always be guided by this position in the future, until the time when the racist régimes are totally eradicated. We are deeply convinced that the downfall of those régimes is historically inevitable.

79. In the light of those views, which we hold as a matter of principle, the Soviet delegation is prepared to support any decisive, forthright and effective measures that are responsive to the seriousness of the situation that has arisen in connexion with Lesotho.

80. I should like at this point to express my sincere gratitude to the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic, Mr. Kikhia, for the kind words and good wishes he addressed to Mr. Malik. My delegation will not fail to communicate his remarks to Comrade Malik, who has already started to perform his new and very responsible duties as head of the African Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union. We should like to say also that we entirely support Mr. Kikhia's assessment of the development of Soviet-Libyan relations. We agree entirely that the recent visit to the Soviet Union by Colonel Al-Qadhafi, Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, was a distinguished contribution to the strengthening of friendship and comprehensive co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Libyan Arab Republic.

81. What sort of resolution can the Security Council adopt on the present item? We can adopt a resolution which condemns outright the actions and practices of

the South African régime. We are prepared to support the sort of resolution which, in addition to expressing condemnation, sets forth steps that will force the Government of South Africa to put an end to its blockade of Lesotho. Finally, we consider that the Council must recall and demand the implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly and Security Council that have demanded that an end be put to military assistance, economic co-operation and any other form of help to the South African régime. We believe that other steps, too, should be envisaged to respond to the very burdensome economic situation that has just arisen in Lesotho.

82. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): A draft resolution, co-sponsored by seven States members of the Security Council, has just been distributed [S/12260].

83. I now call on the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, who wishes to introduce that draft resolution.

84. Mr. CHALE (United Republic of Tanzania): I should like at the outset to express my delegation's great pleasure in welcoming amongst us here today the Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho, Mr. Molapo. The presence of the Foreign Minister during this debate is as important as it is necessary. On the part of the Kingdom of Lesotho, it is a reflection and demonstration of the seriousness of the problem besetting the Government of Lesotho

85. It was on 26 October 1976 that the so-called independence of the Transkei was proclaimed in *apartheid* South Africa; and it was on the same date that the General Assembly adopted resolution 31/6 A on the so-called independent Transkei and other bantustans. As we are all aware, that resolution, *inter alia*, totally rejects the declaration of independence of the Transkei and declares it invalid. I repeat: invalid; and it calls upon all Governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called independent Transkei and to refrain from having any dealings with the so-called independent Transkei or other bantustans.

86. Before that date, the Thirteenth Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU and the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, in July and August respectively, had adopted similar resolutions on the question of the so-called independence of the Transkei and other bantustans. They categorically rejected and condemned the bantustan policy and the fake independence of the so-called Bantu homelands.

87. The decisions of OAU, the non-aligned countries and the United Nations General Assembly were made on the conviction that the so-called independence of the Transkei and the bantustan policy are no more than the extension and consolidation of the inhuman and

abominable policies of *apartheid* practised by the racist minority régime of South Africa.

88. My delegation has spoken at length several times before, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, on the doctrine, policy and practice of *apartheid*, the root cause and root reason of the problem. On each occasion my delegation has insisted on the elimination of this ignominious scourge by whatever means, and we have never failed to express our disappointment at the ineffectiveness of the Council in dealing with this perplexing evil which creates such tragedy. Bantustanization is the extension of *apartheid* in the sense that bantustans are intended to nourish *apartheid* into maturity, which is complete geographical *apartheid*. So recognition of the independence of any bantustan, for that matter, is tantamount to accepting *apartheid* in the logical culmination of the ideal.

89. We listened very carefully to the elaborate statement presented by the Foreign Minister of Lesotho [1981st meeting]. He has given us a vivid picture of the difficulties being faced by a large portion of the population of Lesotho due to the closure of the border posts by the racist régime between the eastern part of Lesotho and that part of South Africa which the South African authorities call independent Transkei. The closure imposed on the people of Lesotho by racist South Africa clearly shows the intention of the *apartheid* racist authorities to force Lesotho into submission and recognition of the Transkei. The desperate racist régime of South Africa, having failed to gain support for the sham independence of the bantustans, is resorting to arm-twisting and blackmailing tactics. This we must reject.

90. The situation in Lesotho, as presented to us by the Foreign Minister of Lesotho, warrants the Council's immediate attention and action. The United Nations ought to give immediate technical and economic assistance to Lesotho to alleviate the acute problem being faced by the Government of Lesotho and the part of the population who find themselves without their daily needs due to the malicious acts of the racist régime. The unwarranted closure South Africa has imposed upon the people of Lesotho, which has resulted in extreme hardship for the people of eastern Lesotho, is cause for concern to us all. It calls for concerted action by the Council to assist the Government of Lesotho. As has been explained very well to us by the Foreign Minister of Lesotho, the action taken by the racist South African régime to close the border posts is contrary not only to the principles of international law but also to the Customs Union Agreement between Lesotho and South Africa.

91. My Government commends the decision taken by the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho not to recognize the so-called independence of the Transkei and not to have any dealings with the installed puppet chiefs. It is high time that South Africa was made to

know that its policies of *apartheid*, and in particular the closure of the border posts with the south-eastern part of Lesotho, will only continue to damage its image. We therefore call upon South Africa to undertake to reopen the border posts as an urgent measure to ease the difficult situation in Lesotho.

92. Having made those remarks, my delegation has the honour to introduce the draft resolution in document S/12260 on behalf of Benin, Guyana, the Libyan Arab Republic, Panama, Romania and the United Republic of Tanzania.

93. The first preambular paragraph is a statement of fact. In the second preambular paragraph we express our deep concern at the serious situation created by the closure of certain border posts between South Africa and Lesotho, an action aimed at coercing Lesotho into according recognition to the bantustan Transkei.

94. In the third and fourth preambular paragraphs we recall General Assembly resolutions that have condemned the establishment of bantustans and the call to all Governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called independent Transkei.

95. In the next three preambular paragraphs the Council takes note of the actions of the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho and the urgent needs of that Government arising from the situation created.

96. In operative paragraph 1, the Council endorses General Assembly resolution 31/6 A. In operative paragraph 2, it commends the action of the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho. In operative paragraph 3, it condemns any actions calculated to coerce Lesotho into negating the thrust of General Assembly resolution 31/6 A, mentioned in operative paragraph 1. In operative paragraph 4, it calls for South Africa to take immediate action to reopen the border posts.

97. In operative paragraph 5, an appeal is made to all States to provide immediate financial, technical and material assistance to Lesotho so that its development programmes are not jeopardized and so that its capacity to implement United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* and bantustans can be enhanced. In operative paragraph 6 the Council requests the United Nations system to assist Lesotho as appropriate.

98. In operative paragraphs 7 and 8 it requests the Secretary-General, in collaboration with the appropriate organizations, immediately to organize all forms of assistance to enable the Kingdom of Lesotho to overcome the economic difficulties arising from the situation created and to keep the situation under constant review, to maintain close liaison with Member States and to report to the Security Council on the question. Operative paragraph 9 speaks for itself.

99. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the United Republic of

Tanzania for his well-known activities as a negotiator on the text of the draft resolution. I wish to announce that Pakistan has joined the sponsors of the draft resolution listed by the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania.

100. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): Let me at the outset pay tributes to our colleagues who have recently left us. First—and I use strict chronological order—I should like to ask the Soviet delegation to convey to Mr. Malik our full appreciation of him. Mr. Malik, who has returned to his Foreign Ministry, has left with us an indelible memory of him as an accomplished diplomat and as a fine person. Secondly, I would ask the Chinese delegation to convey to Mr. Huang Hua, who has left us to become Minister for Foreign Affairs, our sincere greetings and congratulations. During his five years with us at the United Nations, Mr. Huang Hua has won our appreciation for his skills as a diplomat and for his distinctive charm as a person. The contributions of Mr. Malik and Mr. Huang Hua to our debates and to the Organization will always be remembered.

101. Mr. Rydbeck of Sweden has also left us to become his country's representative at the Court of St. James, and I should like to pay my respects to his eminent qualities as a diplomat and as a representative whose empathy for the problems of the developing world will not be forgotten. I should like, through the delegation of Sweden, to extend our sincere wishes to Mr. Rydbeck for the future and to say how refreshing it was to work with him during the past two years.

102. Once again the Security Council has been convened as a result of the application of the policies of the Pretoria régime based on concepts of domination and racial superiority. In this instance the policies concern the extension of inhuman and illegal practices to a Member State of the Organization with a view to coercing that State—the Kingdom of Lesotho—into disregarding resolutions of the General Assembly.

103. It was on 26 October 1976 that the General Assembly, in considering the item regarding the policies of *apartheid* perpetrated by the minority régime in South Africa, adopted, with the overwhelming support of 134 States, resolution 31/6 A rejecting the so-called independence of the Transkei. That resolution further called upon all Governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called independent Transkei and to refrain from having any dealings with that creation or any other of its ilk. It was on the same day, 26 October, that the Pretoria régime effected a closure of certain border posts between Lesotho and the bantustan called Transkei. The closure of those posts was crudely designed to pressure Lesotho into disregarding the aforementioned resolution and to coerce it into according recognition to a bantustan created by the warped racists in South Africa.

104. The *apartheid* policy of South Africa has for some considerable time demonstrated fully how repugnant it is to those, both within southern Africa and in the international community at large, who value freedom. The blatant attempt to apply pressure to an independent African State, which stands by its commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, places in clear perspective the ends to which the Pretoria régime will go to seek to maintain those policies which have been consistently condemned and denounced by the Organization.

105. The contrived independence of the Transkei thus takes on dangerous dimensions for the States of southern Africa. Immediately it becomes a further pretext for creating critical human and economic problems for Lesotho, a land-locked State with the additional disadvantage of being physically encircled by *apartheid*. In this special regard, the consideration by the Security Council of the complaint brought by Lesotho against South Africa will have profound importance in connexion with both South Africa's exercise of pressures on Lesotho and its contemptuous response to the will of the international community.

106. The Council is fully aware of the fact that Pretoria has never implemented the Council's resolutions enforcing sanctions against Rhodesia. Indeed, that régime has been the main conduit enabling the Ian Smith clique in Zimbabwe to defy Security Council resolutions in that regard. Today, however, the action of the Fascists in Pretoria is directed against a Member State of the Organization which seeks to abide by the decisions of the General Assembly.

107. My delegation wishes to congratulate the Government of Lesotho on its courageous and exemplary demonstration of respect for the principles and decisions of the Organization. This position of Lesotho stands in appreciable contrast with that of South Africa, which contumaciously flouts United Nations resolutions.

108. When the Council considered the request by Mozambique under Article 50 of the Charter in relation to the situation which had arisen as a result of its decision to impose sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in full implementation of the relevant decisions of the Council, my delegation [1891st meeting] called attention to the heavy price exacted from certain States in their defence of principle and justice. In accordance with the gallant example of Mozambique in March with regard to its obligations as a Member State, Lesotho is likewise today determinedly abiding by its obligations. The international community—and the Council in particular—has a responsibility to respond positively. Let us support Lesotho effectively in its defence of the obligations prescribed in Assembly resolution 31/6 A and in the Charter.

109. In his statement to the Security Council, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho, Mr. Molapo

[1981st meeting], declared yesterday that Lesotho would stand firmly by the decision of the General Assembly and would not be cowed by South Africa's closure of the border posts. He noted correctly that Lesotho had been pushed into a confrontational situation. However, the Foreign Minister importantly reaffirmed that his country would not shirk its responsibilities. Neither should the Council. We cannot be selective. We should not lose sight of the real implications of this attempt to compel recognition of bantustans. Today it is Lesotho that South Africa is attempting to cow into submission; but, with other bantustans being goaded into a kind of pseudo-independence, other African States, sharing geographical situations similar to that of Lesotho, may eventually be faced with similar pressures to recognize bantustans.

110. The challenge to the Security Council is clear. There is nothing ambiguous about it. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to be alive to the real implications of the closure of the border posts, to take note of and to endorse resolution 31/6 A, to condemn the coercive action of South Africa against Lesotho and to agree to give Lesotho support to overcome its present difficulties.

111. Mr. ABE (Japan): My delegation listened carefully to the statement the Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho, Mr. Molapo [*ibid.*], delivered yesterday in the Council. According to him three border posts between south-eastern Lesotho and a region belonging to the so-called Transkei have been closed since 26 October. As a result, about a quarter of a million people of Lesotho living in the borderland have lost access to the area where they used to buy their daily necessities and sell goods and services to earn their living. They virtually have no substitute for what they have lost, because of the peculiar geographical situation of their land.

112. We have also learnt from the Foreign Minister that the South African Government stated, in response to what I presume were the Lesotho Government's desperate efforts to save its people from their plight, that representations of that kind must be made to the Transkei Government.

113. More precisely, in response to the letter dated 12 November [S/12227] from the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic—the then Chairman of the African Group—addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of South Africa wrote on 16 November to the Secretary-General:

“The Republic of Transkei has already denied that it has closed the borders between Lesotho and Transkei, but merely insists, as is its right, on valid travel documents for people crossing the border into Transkei.” [S/12231, *annex.*]

The letter gave no reason for the new requirement of travel documents.

114. Since 16 November until today we have not been informed whether travel permits have been denied or, if granted, have been very much restricted for residents of the area of Lesotho and if, as a result, traffic and communications have been disrupted or virtually stopped. We have no details. However, if it is so, we cannot but conclude that this arbitrary and inhuman measure, which constitutes a serious menace to the life of the people of Lesotho in that area, has been taken without any decent reason.

115. One may easily understand the very difficult position in which the Government of Lesotho has been placed. The only alternative for it is either to negotiate with the so-called Government of Transkei on the border problem or to refuse to do so and to accept the obvious consequences of the continued closing of the border.

116. The Government of Lesotho, as the Foreign Minister of Lesotho assured the Council yesterday, is firmly determined not to negotiate with the so-called Government of Transkei. Therefore, Lesotho is compelled to accept sacrifices in its economy in order to comply with the overwhelmingly expressed will of the international community with regard to the so-called independence of Transkei, and to stand firm against the evil design of bantustanization, which is merely a variation of the abhorrent *apartheid* policy.

117. Here I should like to assure the Foreign Minister of Lesotho that the Government of Japan cannot fail to appreciate how painful was the decision that his Government has had to make. Lesotho commands our deepest sympathy and appreciation.

118. We believe that it is necessary and timely for the Security Council to express its obvious position on the so-called independence of Transkei; to condemn those actions that give rise to the complaint of the Government of Lesotho; to demand their redress and appeal to the international community to extend effective assistance to Lesotho in its unprecedented predicament.

119. Addressing myself now to the draft resolution [S/12260] that has just been submitted to the Council for consideration, I should like to say that my delegation is happy to be able to support it.

120. Before concluding, I should like to join with previous speakers in expressing deep regrets at the departure of several eminent colleagues on the Council, namely, Mr. Huang Hua, Mr. Malik and Mr. Rydbeck, and at the same time extending best wishes for their further success in their new assignments.

121. Presuming that this will be the Council's last meeting this month, I should like to take this opportunity as a retiring member to express to all my colleagues around this table the deep appreciation of my delegation for the great help and constant and kind

co-operation that they have so generously accorded my delegation during a term of two years. My delegation extends best wishes to the Council for its further success.

122. Mr. VINCI (Italy): The General Assembly, during its thirty-first session, which is concluding today, has had its attention focused to a great extent on the domestic and international consequences of the *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa. Numerous aspects and effects of that anachronistic policy have been thoroughly scrutinized and condemned by both the General Assembly and the Council.

123. The complaint of the Government of Lesotho that we are considering at present draws our attention to yet one more negative consequence of that system of *apartheid*, and a particularly serious one. What we are this time confronted with is, in fact, the adoption by the South African Government of measures threatening the economic stability of Lesotho and the working system on which the very life of its population depends. No one can be so naïve as not to see behind that move an attempt to interfere with that country's sovereign right to make its own decisions on the question of the so-called independence of Transkei. The well-balanced and straightforward statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Lesotho [1981st meeting] threw further light on that as well as on other points.

124. The Italian Government has repeatedly stated its firm opposition to the policy of separate development and the programme of bantustanization in the territory of South Africa. We have refused, and will continue to refuse, to associate ourselves in any way with the design whose purpose is certainly not that of granting freedom and independence to the black populations of that region but merely an attempt to confer a new sort of legitimacy upon the system of oppression embodied in the practice of *apartheid*. It was in the light of these considerations that we joined with the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly, when, in its resolution 31/6 A, it invited Member States to withhold recognition of the Transkei on 26 October, the same day that the independence of that Territory was proclaimed; and we full concur with the stand of the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho on this matter, a stand that is taken in accordance with resolutions of the United Nations.

125. It is, therefore, a matter of grave concern to my delegation that the particular geographical position of Lesotho is being used by the South African Government to exert on that country intensive and unacceptable pressure. Our concern is all the greater in the knowledge that the only existing communication links between certain districts inside Lesotho and the rest of South Africa have been included within the territory of the so-called Transkei, and we can hardly consider this to be a mere coincidence. Thus has the South

African Government given itself a most effective instrument in its effort to break the solidarity of Lesotho with other African countries on this vital issue and to force it to recognize an entity whose very existence serves only to perpetuate a brutal system of oppression over millions of its fellow Africans.

126. Indeed, we feel that it is the duty of the Council and of the United Nations to move speedily and effectively in a positive response to the moving appeal made yesterday by Minister Charles Molapo and help the Government of Lesotho to resist those pressures. The EEC has already taken urgent measures in that direction, as was mentioned by the French representative, and further action is being considered by the Nine. However, we think that the United Nations, which has always played a leading role in the struggle against *apartheid*, bears the primary responsibility to assist Lesotho to overcome its present difficulties.

127. That is why my delegation fully supports and will vote in favour of the seven-Power draft resolution [S/12260], which was so effectively elaborated on and introduced by the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Chale. The measures proposed in it will probably not suffice to resolve all the problems which Lesotho is now facing and will continue to face in its adherence to United Nations resolutions. Further efforts by that country will continue to be necessary. It is most important, however, that the international community should give immediately a tangible sign of its solidarity with an African Member State that is courageously struggling, at the cost of considerable economic sacrifice, to uphold some of the very principles on which the Organization was founded.

128. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): With the permission of the members of the Council, I now wish to make a statement as representative of ROMANIA.

129. At the request of the Kingdom of Lesotho, the Security Council is now considering a situation which is both the result and one of the aggressive manifestations of the *apartheid* policy of the Pretoria racist régime. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho, Mr. Charles Molapo, in the important statement he made here yesterday [1981st meeting] and the other participants in this debate have informed us of the facts and developed convincing arguments regarding the grave situation created in Lesotho as a result of the arbitrary measures taken by South Africa. It is quite obvious that the Pretoria racist authorities' closure of the border between the south-eastern region of Lesotho and the region of South Africa called the Transkei is an illegal, wilful act aimed at coercing Lesotho into recognizing the so-called independence of the Transkei.

130. It is an act of economic and political coercion against a sovereign State, the purpose of which is to

impose by force the policy of *apartheid* and of bantustanization on the indigenous people of South Africa. There is no need to prove that these aggressive actions of the Pretoria régime are totally contrary to the decisions of the Organization regarding the elimination of the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* and of the direct consequences thereof.

131. What is happening in southern Africa in general, and on the Lesotho border in particular, is proof that the vestiges of colonialism and the persistence of the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination are permanent sources of tension which engender acts of aggression and jeopardize international peace and security. It is high time that certain anachronistic phenomena were totally eradicated. Accordingly, the Security Council cannot ignore the actions of the racist southern African régimes, which are reflected in the violations of fundamental principles enshrining the right to self-determination and independence for countries and peoples subjected to colonial, racist and foreign domination. The Council must take a firm stand against the persistent violation of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations and in particular against the policy of *apartheid* of the Pretoria régime. It is the sacred duty of the Organization to support by every means available to it the legitimate aspirations to freedom and independence of the peoples of southern Africa, and of all peoples that are subjected to racial discrimination and colonial and foreign oppression.

132. In this spirit, we consider that the Security Council should condemn South Africa for having resorted to coercive measures against Lesotho in order to impose its *apartheid* policy on it.

133. At the same time, the Romanian delegation considers it perfectly natural that the Council should respond speedily, effectively and, above all, unanimously to Lesotho's request for assistance in confronting the economic difficulties caused by the arbitrary measures taken by South Africa, especially since, by resisting the pressures exerted against it, Lesotho is only acting in implementation of the decisions of the United Nations.

134. That is why, in the opinion of the delegation of Romania, the measures to be agreed on to assist Lesotho are important in principle for the Organization and must be conceived and placed within the broader range of the concerns of the Security Council in respect of the situation in southern Africa. We believe, therefore, that there are sufficient reasons to adopt emergency assistance measures for Lesotho.

135. Speaking now as PRESIDENT, I should like to point out that several delegations have expressed the wish that the seven-Power draft resolution should be adopted by consensus.

136. If I hear no objections, I shall take it that the draft resolution in document S/12260 is adopted by consensus.

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 402 (1976)).*

137. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who have expressed the desire to explain the position of their delegations after the adoption of the draft resolution by consensus.

138. Mr. SHERER (United States of America): The United States has joined in the consensus adoption of this resolution because we wish to make very clear our support for its main point. Restricting movement between Lesotho and that territory known as Transkei has imposed serious burdens on the economy of Lesotho, and we believe the world community should assist Lesotho in this difficult period.

139. At the same time, I must comment on paragraph 1 of the resolution. It endorses and quotes General Assembly resolution 31/6 A, on which the United States abstained.

140. My delegation abstained in the General Assembly but not because we intend to recognize that territory known as Transkei. On the contrary, we have made it eminently clear that we have no intention of recognizing the so-called Transkei. We do, however, reserve the right to attend to the welfare and protection of United States citizens. Realistically, the occasion may arise in the future when it would be necessary to have some contact with the authorities of the entity in question. Despite the foregoing, we feel that the main purpose of the present resolution clearly is to encourage assistance to Lesotho, and, accordingly, we have joined in the adoption of the consensus.

141. In that connexion, I should like to point out that the United States already is extending substantial assistance to the Government of Lesotho. We have co-operated in a regional health project involving maternal and child health care and family planning services in rural areas, and in the development of a more comprehensive programme intended to upgrade the knowledge and skills of health personnel in planning and managing a national health system. We also are co-operating with projects in land and water conservation and livestock, farm management, irrigation and agriculture. We currently are examining other ways to assist the Government of Lesotho.

142. What I have just said demonstrates our commitment to helping the Government and the people of Lesotho to overcome the obstacles which have been placed in the way of their national development. We hope that the concern of the Council will be heard and that the border posts in question will be opened promptly to the free movement of the people of Lesotho.

143. Before concluding, I should like to express our appreciation for and satisfaction with the spirit of

co-operation and close co-ordination which went into the preparation of the draft resolution. Such co-ordination clearly assisted the Council in reaching a consensus agreement. It is an example of the type of co-ordination and co-operation which can only assist us all in resolving problems before us. We hope that this example may be followed in the future.

144. Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): Mr. President, with your permission I should first like to ask the representative of China to convey to Mr. Huang Hua our congratulations on his elevation to the rank of Foreign Minister. It should be a matter of satisfaction to us all at the United Nations that the Foreign Ministry of China is now guided by someone so familiar with and skilled in the problems of the United Nations.

145. Might I also ask my Soviet colleague to convey to Mr. Malik our best wishes on his new appointment, and in particular to express the hope that he is now fully recovered from the consequences of his accident. I am divulging no secrets if I say that Mr. Malik and my delegation did not always see eye to eye on the topics that came before us here. But our differences of policy were never allowed to spill over into personal relationships, which remained extremely cordial, except possibly when the smoke from one of Mr. Ivor Richard's fiercer cigars drifted across the front of the Soviet delegation.

146. We have already had an opportunity elsewhere to express our regrets to Mr. Rydbeck on his departure. I need only say here that we are delighted that he has been transferred to London.

147. I turn now to matters of substance. We heard yesterday a very clear statement from the Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho, Mr. Molapo [*ibid.*]. No one who listened could fail to have been convinced of the problems which confront a State which is both small and economically vulnerable. I hope the Foreign Minister will forgive that description, but the relationships between his country and mine are sufficiently close, friendly and long-standing for us to be honest and straightforward with each other. It can be no easy matter for a State which has set its face against *apartheid* to find itself by historical accident totally surrounded by the Republic of South Africa, without any other access to the outside world. We understand that such a situation poses every day for the Government of Lesotho a host of difficult and uncomfortable problems.

148. As seen by my delegation, the main thrust of the resolution which we have just adopted is the clearly expressed call for all border posts to remain open without let or hindrance, and the appeal for the world community to assist Lesotho in its present economic difficulties. My delegation associates itself with both these sentiments, and we have therefore been able to join in a consensus of the Council on the resolution.

149. But in endorsing this appeal for economic assistance on behalf of my delegation, I do not disguise

the fact that my delegation has certain reservations about the resolution. We doubt that it is appropriate for a Security Council resolution to endorse a resolution of the General Assembly such as resolution 31/6 A. The functions of the General Assembly and the Security Council are separate, and it is neither appropriate nor necessary for one to have the endorsement of the other for its actions.

150. At this stage it is opportune that I should inform the Council that the United Kingdom, for its part, has long been aware of the communications problems facing Lesotho, and has not been indifferent to the requests received from Maseru. As Mr. Molapo knows, Her Majesty's Government has already increased projected aid to Lesotho by £5 million to help repair rain-damaged roads, and this as a result of a direct appeal made to the British Prime Minister by the Prime Minister of Lesotho a few months ago. I should also mention that EEC, of which my country is a member, decided recently to approve the amount of 1 million European Units of Account by the European Development Fund under the Lomé Convention of 28 February 1975<sup>2</sup> by way of exceptional assistance to Lesotho for upgrading the road from Sekakes to Mount Morosi. It should be clear that, at least for the British Government and some of its close friends, the plight of Lesotho and the needs for an expanded road-building programme are well known and have already attracted not only our sympathy but also, and this is much more important, our positive financial help.

151. Since we are talking about practical assistance to Lesotho, it seems to me right that I should remind the Council that my Government has already a substantial aid programme for Lesotho. We have been the major donor of aid to Lesotho over the years since independence. While much of our aid has been budgetary support, our capital aid disbursements have amounted to a total of over £22 million, and we have committed ourselves to a further programme of £11 million for the period 1976 to 1979. In addition, Her Majesty's Government has supplemented the salaries of technical assistance staff and university teachers, as well as providing funds for training Lesotho nationals in the United Kingdom.

152. Finally, since much has been made in many statements that the Council has heard on the question of the Transkei, I should like to make the attitude of my Government on this matter quite clear. I can do no better than refer to the statement made by the representative of the Netherlands to the General Assembly on 26 October during the debate on *apartheid* when he explained the vote of the nine member States of EEC. He said:

"our nine Governments do not intend to recognize the so-called independence of the Transkei. False solutions to the problem of *apartheid* such as the establishment of bantustans... promote rather than diminish racial discrimination in South Africa."<sup>3</sup>

He added that the consensus did not prejudice the manner in which the European members would deal with specific problems of a practical and legal nature with regard to that territory and its inhabitants.

153. In closing, I should like to take the opportunity to thank the Foreign Minister of Lesotho for his helpful statement earlier and to express the hope that the appeal launched here today will result in real assistance to the Kingdom of Lesotho.

154. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho.

155. Mr. MOLAPO (Lesotho): On behalf of my delegation, my Government and the people of Lesotho, I wish only to express our most sincere and heartfelt gratitude to you, Mr. President, and through you to the members of the Security Council, for the overwhelming support that they have given to my country by adopting the resolution by consensus. The Council has demonstrated its opposition and that of the world to the oppression and racial policies of the Government of South Africa. This resolution convinces us in Lesotho more than before that we are not alone in this struggle. The most important countries in the world are behind us. Let us not forget, however, that the adoption of this resolution is but a step—a major one indeed—towards enabling Lesotho faithfully to carry out the resolutions of the United Nations and to live up to its obligations under the Charter. We shall expect all peace-loving and freedom-loving Member States to rally behind the implementation of this resolution.

156. I am happy to note that friendly countries have already promised concrete assistance. We are well aware of the fact that this resolution will not solve the hard-core problem of our region, namely, that of *apartheid*. The elimination of racial discrimination and *apartheid* in southern Africa will eliminate and eradicate problems like the one which we brought here, and indeed will save our region from an impending blood-bath and destruction.

157. We once again pledge our commitment to the struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

158. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before I adjourn the meeting, and since it seems to me that this meeting will be the last this year—at least that is my wish—I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express my warm gratitude, on behalf of the Security Council and on my own behalf, to the representatives of the delegations of the five non-permanent members who are leaving us at the end of the year: Guyana, Italy, Sweden, Japan and the United Republic of Tanzania. We thank them for the major contribution that they have made to the Council's work during their term of office. I believe I am expressing the feelings of all members of the Council by saying how very much we have appreciated the constructive, substantial contribution of those five

countries to the Council's activities and how happy we have been with our close co-operation with their representatives in the work we did together. I want also to wish them every success in their future activities at the United Nations and elsewhere.

159. A week ago we bade farewell to Mr. Rydbeck of Sweden. During this month two other eminent colleagues departed to assume important functions in their countries: Mr. Huang Hua of China and Mr. Yakov Malik of the Soviet Union. May I on this occasion pay a well-deserved tribute to them and express our gratitude and admiration for the work they accomplished while on the Council. May I request the representatives of China and the Soviet Union to transmit to Mr. Huang Hua and Mr. Malik, respectively, our feelings of friendship and our best wishes for success in their future activities.

160. I could not end without paying a special tribute—or without associating therein all the members of the Council—to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose work has been assiduous throughout the year and whose mandate was recently unanimously renewed. That unanimous confidence authorizes me to state once again our common conviction that the Secretary-General will be able to continue his mission with the same selflessness and dynamism and, as in the past, place his eminent qualities at the service of the noble ideals and principles of the United Nations.

161. With this feeling of confidence in the future the United Nations, I wish to express to all members of the Council and all members of the Secretariat my best wishes for the holidays and the New Year.

162. Mr. VINCI (Italy): Assuming that this would be the last meeting of the Council for this year, I had prepared a statement. But, since the hour is late and I do not want to delay further the luncheon period—I think all our colleagues will appreciate that—I shall subscribe to everything that you, Mr. President, have said and reserve my right to circulate my statement by personal letter. I am sure that all our colleagues will also appreciate the fact that that letter will not require any action. I associate myself also with your kind words about our former colleagues who have left the United Nations family—in particular, I have in mind Mr. Rydbeck, Mr. Huang Hua and Mr. Malik.

163. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I am willing to be the interpreter of the unanimity of our colleagues by expressing our gratitude to the representative of Italy.

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*

*Notes*

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 42nd meeting.

<sup>2</sup> See A/AC.176/7, of 16 September 1975.

<sup>3</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 42nd meeting, para. 205.

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