



PM/81/20

PRIME MINISTER

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Prm. is } inter L. F.C.O. informed.
for. Prm 5/5

United Nations Security Council Debate on Namibia

1. As I explained in Cabinet this morning, although strenuous efforts continue in an attempt to avoid a confrontation, there is a strong possibility that the Africans will force a vote in the Security Council later today on five draft resolutions tabled on 29 April. These demand comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, a new arms embargo and an oil embargo. (Full texts have been sent to your office and to copy addressees separately). Voting is set to take place at 10.00 p.m. London time.

2. I hope that you will agree that the resolutions are unacceptable. On this assumption, I have instructed our delegation at the United Nations to vote against all five resolutions on the understanding that the Americans and, almost certainly, the French will also veto. The Africans have declared their intention of re-submitting their draft resolutions, if vetoed in the Security Council, to the General Assembly under the 'Uniting for Peace' procedure. They are certain to secure a very large majority in favour, with the Five and only a few other countries voting against. The resolutions would thus be carried in the Assembly, but they would not impose binding obligations on member states.

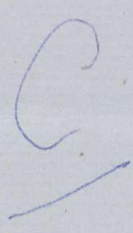
3. In explanation of our votes in the Council and, if necessary, the Assembly, Sir Anthony Parsons will make it clear that our opposition to sanctions in no way implies that the British Government is taking sides with South Africa against the rest of Africa, or supporting South Africa's policies. He will re-state our firm conviction that sanctions would end all hope of a negotiated settlement of the Namibia problem, and would at the same time cause grave damage to the economies of many African and Western countries, including the United Kingdom. He will also re-affirm our determination to continue our efforts to achieve a



negotiated settlement to the problem.

5. Since the African governments mainly concerned have made clear their desire for the Five to continue their efforts over Namibia, regardless of the outcome of the proceedings in the UN, we do not expect significant retaliation in Africa against the UK or other Western interests, although we cannot rule out the risk of some gesture against us in Nigeria or elsewhere, which could be commercially harmful. Nor do I expect the outcome of the debate materially to affect the attitudes to a fresh round of negotiations of the South Africans, SWAPO or the Front Line States. But our vetoes and the approval by the General Assembly of demands for sanctions, with the Five in a small minority of dissenting votes, are bound to sour the atmosphere for a fresh round of negotiations and may encourage South Africa to adopt an even more intransigent attitude. They will also present propaganda opportunities to the Russians and their allies.

6. I am sending a copy of this minute to our colleagues in OD and to Robert Armstrong.


(CARRINGTON)

30 April 1981

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF FIFTH AFRICAN DRAFT RESOLUTION:

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

HAVING EXAMINED THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA,
HAVING HEARD THE STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA,

HAVING HEARD THE STATEMENT OF MR. PETER MUESHIHANGE, SECRETARY
FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE' S
ORGANIZATION (SWAPO),

HAVING HEARD THE STATEMENTS OF THE MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS OF ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, NIGER, NIGERIA, SIERRA LEONE,
TOGO, THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, UGANDA, ZAMBIA AND
ZIMBABWE, MANDATED BY THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE
ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AT ITS THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION HELD
IN ADDIS ABABA (ETHIOPIA) TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DEBATE OF THE
SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA,

HAVING HEARD THE STATEMENTS OF THE MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS OF ALGERIA, CUBA, ETHIOPIA, INDIA, INDONESIA, JAMAICA,
PANAMA, SENEGAL AND YUGOSLAVIA, MANDATED BY THE CO-ORDINATING
BUREAU OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AT ITS EXTRAORDINARY
MINISTERIAL MEETING HELD IN ALGIERS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DEBATE
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA,

HAVING EXAMINED THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
CONTAINED IN DOCUMENT S/14333,

REAFFIRMING THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA
TO SELF-DETERMINATION, FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE IN A
UNITED NAMIBIA, IN ACCORDANCE WITH GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION
1514 (XV) OF 14 DECEMBER 1960 AND THE LEGITIMACY OF THEIR
STRUGGLE TO SECURE THE ENJOYMENT OF SUCH RIGHTS,

RECALLING ITS RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS, IN PARTICULAR
RESOLUTIONS 269 (1969), 385 (1976), 431 (1978), 432 (1978),
435 (1978) AND 439 (1978),

REAFFIRMING THE LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
OVER NAMIBIA IN ACCORDANCE WITH GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS
2145 (XXI) AND 2248 (S-V),

/DEEPLY CONCERNED

DEEPLY CONCERNED AT THE PERSISTENT REFUSAL BY SOUTH AFRICA TO IMPLEMENT THE RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEMANDING IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ITS ILLEGAL ADMINISTRATION FROM NAMIBIA,

GRAVELY CONCERNED AT THE BLATANT REFUSAL BY SOUTH AFRICA TO IMPLEMENT THE PROVISIONS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 435 (1978),

DEPLORING THE FACT THAT THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA TOWARDS THE COUNCIL'S DECISION ON NAMIBIA UNDERMINES THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS,

GRAVELY CONCERNED AT THE REPEATED ACTS OF AGGRESSION PERPETRATED AGAINST INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN STATES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA,

CONSCIOUS OF ITS DUTIES UNDER ARTICLE 25 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, TO TAKE APPROPRIATE MEASURES IN ORDER TO ENSURE COMPLIANCE BY MEMBER STATES OF THE DECISIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

CONSCIOUS ALSO OF THE DUTIES INCUMBENT UPON IT UNDER ARTICLE 6 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS,

ACTING THEREFORE UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS,

1. DETERMINES THAT THE PERSISTENT REFUSAL OF SOUTH AFRICA TO COMPLY WITH SECURITY COUNCIL AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS ON NAMIBIA CONSTITUTES A SERIOUS THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY;

2. FURTHER DETERMINES THAT THE CONTINUED ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA BY SOUTH AFRICA IS A BREACH OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND AN ACT OF AGGRESSION;

3. DECLARES THAT THE REPEATED ACTS OF AGGRESSION PERPETRATED BY SOUTH AFRICA AGAINST INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN STATES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA CONSTITUTE GRAVE ACTS OF AGGRESSION;

4. CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICA FOR ITS CONTINUED ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA AND ITS PERSISTENT REFUSAL TO COMPLY WITH RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THUS DEFYING THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND VIOLATING PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER;

5. CONDEMNS ALSO SOUTH AFRICA FOR ITS REPEATED ACTS OF AGGRESSION AGAINST THE INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN STATES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA;

6. DECIDES, UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND IN CONFORMITY WITH ITS RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY, TO IMPOSE COMPREHENSIVE MANDATORY SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA:

7. DECIDES THEREFORE TO THIS END, AND AS A PRELIMINARY URGENT MEASURE, TO ADOPT THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS:

- (A) ECONOMIC SANCTIONS;
- (B) OIL EMBARGO, AND
- (C) ARMS EMBARGO.

8. CALLS UPON ALL STATES MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AND IN PARTICULAR THOSE WITH THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY UNDER THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY, TO ASSIST EFFECTIVELY IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MEASURES CALLED FOR BY THE PRESENT RESOLUTION, IN CONFORMITY WITH ARTICLE 25 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS:

9. FURTHER CALLS UPON THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES TO TAKE ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO IMPLEMENT THESE RESOLUTIONS:

10. URGES, HAVING REGARD TO THE PRINCIPLES STATED IN ARTICLE 2 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, STATES NOT MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE PRESENT RESOLUTION:

11. DECIDES TO ESTABLISH IN ACCORDANCE WITH RULE 28 OF THE PROVISIONAL RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL A COMMITTEE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO FOLLOW-UP THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS RESOLUTION:

12. CALLS UPON STATES MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OF THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES TO REPORT TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON MEASURES TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT THE PRESENT RESOLUTIONS:

13. INVITES THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE PROGRESS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS RESOLUTION AND TO SUBMIT HIS FIRST REPORT BY ... AT THE LATEST:

14. DECIDES TO MAINTAIN THIS ITEM ON ITS AGENDA FOR FURTHER ACTION AS APPROPRIATE IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS OF THE SITUATION.