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Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

You might say:

- ① Let us continue to press the French & Americans to abstain as our first priority.
- ② if one or other of them abstains, so should we;
- ③ only if both are absolutely determined to vote in favour should we do so too.

27 November 1986

Dear Charles,

UN Security Council: Arms Embargo on South Africa

A draft resolution on the UN Arms Embargo against South Africa is being submitted to the Security Council by the UN Arms Embargo Committee and will be put to the vote on 28 November. The text is the product of lengthy negotiation. The pressure for it has come from African and other non-aligned members of the Council who have argued that the Arms Embargo was not being fully implemented. We worked hard in the Committee to secure amendments to the text and I enclose a copy of the final draft.

We supported the 1977 mandatory Resolution establishing the Arms Embargo and have implemented it fully. The present resolution would be non-mandatory. Together with the Americans and France we took the lead in negotiating to remove excessive language that might have extended the provisions of the Arms Embargo. The present text would not commit us to doing more than we are already doing in respect of SCR 418 (the 1977 Arms Embargo Resolution), SCR 558 (the voluntary ban on the import of arms, ammunition and military vehicles) and our joint statements with the Commonwealth and our European Partners on no military cooperation with South Africa.

Our intention had been to abstain in the vote with the US and France. It is now clear that both our Partners will almost certainly support the resolution. Sir John Thomson has recommended that because of this and because the resolution would not place any new obligations upon us we should also be prepared to vote in favour.

A positive vote would have the advantage of gaining us some credit for our South African policy at the UN. We are likely to have to veto a sanctions resolution in the Security Council in the coming weeks and support for this resolution would thus strengthen our hand in the difficult debates ahead. It would be particularly ironic if the French, who have been less scrupulous than we have in observing the embargo, were allowed to upstage us on the matter.

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As it is non-mandatory
I think we can vote for it in company with U.S. or France but we should not do any thing to persuade them to vote that way.

Agree?
CDP
27/11

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We are satisfied that the resolution would not require us to adopt a more restrictive line than at present on the export of dual-purpose equipment such as Landrovers to South Africa. We have reassured the DTI on this point. On this basis their Ministers have agreed to a positive vote.

Sir Geoffrey Howe therefore intends to authorise our delegation in New York to vote for the resolution provided the Americans and French also vote in favour. The delegation will be instructed to make a detailed Explanation of Vote making it clear that we reserve our position on the interpretation of the resolution and regard it as clarifying, not extending, the existing Arms Embargo.

I am copying this letter to Timothy Walker in the DTI and Trevor Woolley in the Cabinet Office.

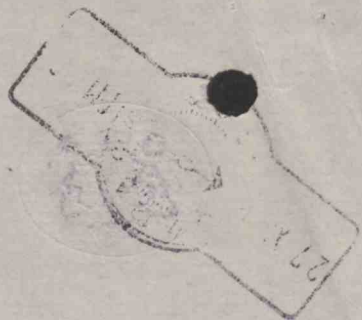
Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street

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From the Private Secretary

28 November 1986

UN SECURITY COUNCIL: ARMS EMBARGO ON SOUTH AFRICA

Thank you for your letter of 27 November about the draft resolution on the UN arms embargo against South Africa which is to be submitted to the Security Council and put to the vote later today.

The Prime Minister would not wish us to persuade the Americans or the French to vote for the resolution. Her preference would still be for us to abstain in company with either one, or ideally both, of them. We should make further efforts to persuade them towards an abstention. But if it becomes clear that both are determined to vote in favour, we should do so too, given that the Resolution is non-mandatory.

I am copying this letter to Tim Walker (Department of Trade and Industry) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

(C. D. POWELL)

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Security Council

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24 November 1986

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LETTER DATED 24 NOVEMBER 1986 FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SECURITY
COUNCIL COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED BY RESOLUTION 421 (1977)
CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA ADDRESSED TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for the attention of the Security Council, the text of the following recommendation adopted by consensus by the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa at its 75th meeting, held today.

"The Security Council,

"Recalling its resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977, in which it decided upon a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa,

"Recalling its resolution 421 (1977) of 9 December 1977, by which it entrusted a committee consisting of all its members with the task of, among other things, studying ways and means by which the mandatory arms embargo could be made more effective against South Africa and to make recommendations to the Council,

"Recalling its resolution 473 (1980) on the question of South Africa,

"Recalling the 1980 report of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa on ways and means of making the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa more effective (S/14179),

"Recalling resolution 558 (1984) of 13 December 1984, in which all States were requested to refrain from importing arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles produced in South Africa,

"Recalling further resolution 473 (1980), by which the Security Council requested the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) to redouble its efforts to secure full implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa by recommending measures to close all loopholes in the arms embargo, reinforce it and make it more comprehensive,

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

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

"Reaffirming its resolution 418 (1977) and stressing the continuing need for strict application of all its provisions,

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

"1. Urges States to take steps to ensure that components of embargoed items do not reach the South African military establishment and police through third countries;

"2. Calls upon States to prohibit the export of spare parts for embargoed aircraft and other military equipment belonging to South Africa and any official involvement in the maintenance and service of such equipment;

"3. Urges all States to prohibit the export to South Africa of items which they have reason to believe are destined for the military and/or police forces of South Africa, have a military capacity and are intended for military purposes, namely, aircraft, aircraft engines, aircraft parts, electronic and telecommunication equipment, computers and four-wheel drive vehicles;

"4. Requests of all States that henceforth the term 'arms and related matériel' referred to in resolution 418 (1977) shall include in addition to all nuclear, strategic and conventional weapons, all military, paramilitary police vehicles and equipment, as well as weapons and ammunitions, spare parts and supplies for the aforementioned and the sale or transfer thereof;

"5. Requests all States to implement strictly its resolution 418 (1977) and to refrain from any co-operation in the nuclear field with South Africa which will contribute to the manufacture and development by South Africa of nuclear weapons or nuclear explosive devices;

"6. Renews its request to all States to refrain from importing arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles produced in South Africa;

"7. Calls upon all States to prohibit the import or entry of all South African armaments for display in international fairs and exhibitions under their jurisdiction;

"8. Further calls upon States which have not done so to put an end to exchanges as well as to visits and exchanges of visits by government personnel, when such visits and exchanges maintain or increase South Africa's military or police capabilities;

"9. Further calls upon all States to refrain from participating in any activities in South Africa which they have reason to believe might contribute to its military capability;

"10. Requests all States to ensure that their national legislation or comparable policy directives guarantee that specific provisions to implement resolution 418 (1977) include penalties to deter violations;

"11. Further requests all States to adopt measures to investigate violations, prevent future circumventions, and strengthen their machinery for the implementation of resolution 418 (1977) with a view to the effective monitoring and verification of transfers of arms and other equipment in violation of the arms embargo;

"12. Further requests all States, including States non-members of the United Nations, to act in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution;

"13. Further requests the Security Council Committee established under resolution 421 (1977) in pursuance of resolution 418 (1977) on the question of South Africa to continue its efforts to secure full implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa in order to make it more effective;

"14. Further requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution, the first report to be submitted as soon as possible but in any event no later than 30 June 1987;

"15. Decides to remain seized of the matter."

(Signed) D. H. N. ALLEYNE
Chairman

Security Council Committee established by
resolution 421 (1977) concerning the
question of South Africa