The Council reiterates its concern at the slow progress in implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. The Council stresses the importance of full implementation of the political and all other aspects of the peace process. It underlines that several important tasks that were to have been resolved in the early stages of the peace process remain incomplete, including the exchange of detailed military information, the release of all prisoners, the redeployment of those government troops near quartering areas of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, and the final resolution of the issue of mercenaries. In this respect, the Council welcomes the recent announcement by the Government of Angola that it will terminate the contract and repatriate the personnel of the firm involved and will release all remaining prisoners.

The Council notes that the deployment of Mission troops is nearly complete and that four quartering areas are prepared to receive troops. The Council expresses its disappointment at the slow pace at which the quartering process has proceeded. It calls upon the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and the Government of Angola to fulfil their commitments regarding the expeditious quartering and demobilization of former combatants, the quartering of the rapid reaction police and the return of the Angolan Armed Forces to the nearest barracks.

The Council expresses deep concern at the delays in establishing modalities for the integration of the armed forces, which is vital for the process of national reconciliation. The Council notes with dismay the series of disruptions in the military talks between the parties. It urges the parties to continue the military talks without interruption and to conclude an equitable and practicable agreement without further delay. The Council underlines that such an agreement should give particular attention to the expeditious completion of the demobilization and integration of former combatants. It recognizes that the prompt and complete exchange of military information is vital to the success of these talks and urges the parties to provide the information required by the Lusaka Protocol without further delay.

The Council is gravely concerned by continued violations of the ceasefire and military offensives, in particular events in the north-west. The Council calls upon both parties to refrain from military activities or troop movements which lead to increased tensions and resumed hostilities and to implement without delay the disengagement plan being prepared by the Mission. The Council deplores the recent threat to the safety of Mission personnel. The Council reminds the parties, in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, that they must take the steps necessary to ensure the safety and security of all Mission and other international personnel.

The Council expresses regret that the Mission radio is not yet operational. The Council calls upon the Government of Angola to facilitate its immediate establishment. It also calls upon both parties to cease the dissemination of hostile propaganda.

The Council is concerned at delays in implementing mine-clearance programmes planned by the United Nations and by Member States, and calls upon the Government of Angola to facilitate issuance of necessary authorizations to relevant personnel. The Council calls upon the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to intensify their individual and joint demining efforts. It underlines the fact that the opening of roads within Angola, including the clearance of mines and the restoration of bridges, is vital not only to the peace process and the complete deployment of the Mission, but also to the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance and future peacebuilding efforts. The Council is gravely concerned at the reports of remining in violation of the Lusaka Protocol.

The Council emphasizes that Angolans themselves bear ultimate responsibility for restoring peace and stability in their country. The Council stresses that concrete actions are urgently needed from the parties to put the peace process on an irreversible course. It notes that continued support for the Mission will depend on the extent to which the parties demonstrate their political will to achieve a lasting peace.

The Council notes the important role played by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and by the three observer States in the promotion of the peace process in Angola and calls upon them to further contribute appropriately to the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol within the agreed time framework and to assist the Mission in the successful fulfilment of its tasks.

The Council requests the Secretary-General to update it on the progress of the Angolan peace process and the deployment and activities of the Mission at least on a monthly basis.

2. The question of South Africa

Decision of 19 February 1993: letter from the President to the Secretary-General

On 22 December 1992, pursuant to resolution 772 (1992) of 17 August 1992, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report on the

question of South Africa in which he reported on the findings of his Special Envoys to South Africa, on his good offices and on the activities of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA).¹ The

¹ S/25004.

Secretary-General said that, taking into account ongoing developments in the country, and following consultations with the Government of South Africa and the parties, he had appointed two Special Envoys who had carried out separate missions to South Africa from 16 to 27 September; and 22 November to 9 December 1992, respectively,² and had met with high Government officials and leaders of political parties, as well as with representatives of non-governmental organizations and leaders of the international observer teams.³ They had reported to the Secretary-General that although there were fundamental differences yet to be bridged between the South African Government and the African National Congress (ANC), there appeared to be a convergence of positions and a willingness on both sides to negotiate with one another and with others. The regional structure of a new South Africa, and the relationship of the regions to the central government, remained a major preoccupation with all the parties. Agreement on effective multiparty machinery based on the principle of inclusiveness remained an essential first step for a resumption of multiparty negotiations. They had also reported that despite continued violence, there was a wide agreement that without the deployment of international observers in the country the level of violence would be higher.

The Secretary-General reported on his good office efforts to expedite the resumption of multilateral negotiations. He said that all his interlocutors had expressed support for the efforts being made by the United Nations to facilitate a peaceful transition to a democratic society in South Africa and had assured him of their continued cooperation. At a meeting, on 26 September, between President de Klerk and Mr. Mandela, facilitated by the Secretary-General, agreement was reached on key issues relating to the securing of hostels, release of all remaining political prisoners, the prohibition of the carrying and display of dangerous weapons, and on the need for a democratic constituent assembly/constitution-making body and constitutional continuity during the interim transitional period. The Secretary-General also informed the Council that on 27 November 1992, he had received a letter from the Permanent Representative of South Africa containing a statement and accompanying background paper, issued by the President of South

Africa, setting out a proposed timetable for the transitional process in South Africa, which envisaged that a fully representative government of national unity would be in place by the first half of 1994.⁴

The Secretary-General noted that the contribution of the international observer teams had been welcomed by all concerned and had had a salutary effect on the political situation in the country. Some had nevertheless contended that UNOMSA needed to be strengthened while others were of the view that its mandate should be expanded. He therefore informed the Council that, in view of the delicate situation prevailing in South Africa characterized by the rising levels of violence, he intended to reinforce the strength of UNOMSA with an increment of 10 additional observers.

The Secretary-General concluded that, while there had been distinct progress, the Council had to remain actively seized of the situation, as it had undertaken to do, to achieve the goal of the establishment of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

By a letter dated 19 February 1993,⁵ the President of the Security Council informed the Secretary-General that the members of the Council had considered his report of 22 December 1992 and were grateful for the comprehensive and helpful account of events in South Africa contained therein. They noted that the presence of international observers had had a salutary effect on the political situation in the country, and welcomed his decision to reinforce the Mission by 10 additional observers. The members of the Council looked forward to receiving further reports from the Secretary-General on the situation in South Africa and the work of the United Nations there.

Decision of 12 April 1993 (3197th meeting): statement by the President

At the 3197th meeting, on 12 April 1993, the President (Pakistan) stated that, after consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁶

² Messrs. Virendra Dayal and Tom Vraalsen.

³ From the Commonwealth, the European Community and theOrganization of African Unity (OAU).

⁴ S/24866.

⁵ S/25315.

⁶ S/25578.

The assassination of Chris Hani, a member of the African National Congress National Executive Committee and Secretary-General of the South African Communist Party, is a deplorable and troubling event. This brutal murder saddens all who are working for peace, democracy and justice in South Africa. Mr. Hani's murder further underscores the urgent need to end violence in the country and to push ahead with the negotiations which will create a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Chris Hani actively supported these negotiations and only last week called for an end to violence so the negotiations could proceed in a climate of peace and stability. In this regard, the Security Council welcomes the announcements by all those who have reaffirmed their commitment to the negotiating process, including the ANC, the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Negotiations leading to non-racial democracy must not be held hostage by the perpetrators of violence.

The Council states its determination to remain supportive of efforts to facilitate this peaceful transition to a non-racial democracy for the benefit of all South Africans.

Decision of 24 August 1993 (3267th meeting): statement by the President

At the 3267th meeting, on 24 August 1993, following the adoption of the agenda, the President (United States) stated that, after consultations among the members of the Council, she had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁷

The Security Council deplores the recent upsurge in violence and discord in South Africa, especially in the East Rand. This violence — terrible in its human toll — is even more tragic as the country proceeds on the path to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa and a new, more promising future for all its citizens.

The Council recalls its statement in resolution 765 (1992) of 16 July 1992 that it is the responsibility of the South African authorities to take all necessary measures to stop the violence immediately and protect the life and property of all South Africans. The Council affirms that all parties in South Africa must assist the Government in preventing opponents of democracy from using violence to threaten the country's democratic transition. In this regard, the Council notes the proposal for a national peace force to restore and maintain order in volatile areas. Any such force should be genuinely representative of South African society and its major political bodies. Just as importantly, it must have the confidence, support and cooperation of the people of South Africa. The Council also welcomes efforts by the leaders of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party to convince their followers to avoid further violence. The Council urges all of South Africa's leaders to work jointly to prevent violence in the election period ahead.

The Council commends the international community, including the Organization of African Unity, the European Community and the Commonwealth, for playing a constructive role in helping to curb the violence in South Africa. The United Nations Peace Monitors, under the able supervision of the Chief of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa, have made a difference. People are alive today because of the tireless and courageous efforts of these and other international peace monitors. Yet far too many are dying. The world community must continue to signal firmly that it will not allow the violence to derail South Africa's political transition.

The Council emphasizes the key role of the multiparty negotiating process in securing the transition to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. It urges the parties to reaffirm their commitment to the multiparty negotiating process, to redouble their efforts to reach consensus on the transitional arrangements and constitutional issues still outstanding and to proceed to elections as planned in the coming year.

The Council reaffirms its determination to remain supportive of efforts to facilitate the peaceful transition to a non-racial democracy for the benefit of all South Africans. The Council is following developments in South Africa closely and will remain seized of the matter.

Decision of 23 November 1993 (3318th meeting): statement by the President

At its 3318th meeting, on 23 November 1993, the Security Council invited the representative of South Africa, at his request, to participate in the proceedings without the right to vote. The President (Cape Verde) then stated that, after consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁸

The Security Council welcomes the successful completion of the multiparty negotiating process in South Africa and the conclusion of agreements reached therein on an interim constitution and electoral bill. These agreements constitute a historic step forward in establishing a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

The Council looks forward to the elections to be held in South Africa in April 1994. It urges all parties in South Africa, including those which did not participate fully in the multiparty talks, to respect agreements reached during the negotiations, to re-commit themselves to democratic principles, to take part in the elections and to resolve outstanding issues by peaceful means only.

⁷ S/26347.

⁸ S/26785.

The Council reiterates its determination to continue to support the process of peaceful democratic change in South Africa for the benefit of all South Africans. It commends once again the work being done by the Secretary-General and the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa in assisting that process. It invites the Secretary-General to accelerate contingency planning for a possible United Nations role in the election process, including coordination with the observer missions of the Organization of African Unity, the European Community and the Commonwealth, to enable expeditious consideration of a request to the United Nations for such assistance. In this connection, the Council urges early establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and the Independent Electoral Commission.

The Council considers that South Africa's transition to democracy must be underpinned by economic and social reconstruction and development, and it calls on the international community to assist in this regard.

Decision of 16 December 1993: letter from the President to the Secretary-General

By a letter dated 13 December 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council,9 the Secretary-General informed the Council that, taking into account the progress achieved in the peace process, including the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council on 7 December 1993, he intended to appoint Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi as his Special Representative for South Africa, with immediate effect, to assist him in the implementation of relevant Council decisions and resolutions concerning that country. The decision was made in accordance with a statement issued on 23 November 1993 by the President of the Security Council, by which the Council invited the Secretary-General "to accelerate contingency planning for a possible United Nations role in the election process" in South Africa.10

By a letter dated 16 December 1993, the President of the Security Council informed the Secretary-General that his letter of 13 December had been brought to the attention of the members of the Council and that they had agreed with the proposal mentioned therein.¹¹

Decision of 14 January 1994 (3329th meeting): resolution 894 (1994)

On 10 January 1994, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report on the question of South Africa in which he gave an account of the consultations held by his Special Representative for South Africa and submitted his proposal on an expanded UNOMSA mandate.¹²

The Secretary-General reported that, at its first meeting on 7 December 1993, the Transitional Executive Council had endorsed a resolution adopted the previous day by the Multiparty Negotiating Council, which requested, inter alia, the United Nations to provide a sufficient number of international observers to monitor the electoral process and to coordinate the activities of the international observers provided by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the European Union and the Commonwealth, as well as those provided by Governments. Accordingly, he had dispatched a survey team to South Africa to assess the needs of the United Nations in carrying out the requests made. In the discussions held by his Special Representative for South Africa with the South African Government and the political parties, both had recognized the positive contributions made by UNOMSA to curb the violence and to the peace process and had called for a strong United Nations presence during the electoral process.

In response to those requests, the Secretary-General proposed that the mandate¹³ and size¹⁴ of UNOMSA be expanded to include the observation of the elections scheduled for 27 April 1994. He noted that, in that new context, UNOMSA would have a significant role not only in assessing the ultimate freedom and fairness of the elections, but in monitoring the electoral process at each stage. He also outlined the operational approach for the expanded United Nations operation.

The Secretary-General also informed the Council on his intention to set up a special Trust Fund to finance the participation of additional observers from Africa and other developing countries and expressed

⁹ S/26883.

¹⁰ See S/26785, above.

¹¹ S/26884.

¹² S/1994/16 and Add.1.

¹³ For further details on the proposed expansion, see S/1994/16, para. 57.

¹⁴ An additional number of 1,278 United Nations observers was proposed.

the hope that some Member States would make voluntary contributions to the Fund.

At its 3329th meeting, on 14 January 1994, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of South Africa, at his request, to participate in the proceedings without the right to vote. The Council also extended an invitation under rule 39, at the request of the representatives of Djibouti, Nigeria and Rwanda,¹⁵ to Mr. Kingsley Makhubela, Acting Chief Representative of ANC. The President (Czech Republic) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁶

The representative of South Africa welcomed the Council's proposal to assist his country to promote the peaceful and transparent constitutional transition to a government of national unity. The main thrust of the expanded UNOMSA mandate, as reflected in the Secretary-General's report, would be to assist in ensuring that the election was free and fair, so that its legitimacy would be placed beyond all doubt. The speaker warned that the electoral process may not be smooth, and attempts may well be made to draw the international observers into local disputes. In that context, the Mission's objectivity and impartiality would be of crucial importance. He assured the Council that the observers would receive the full cooperation of the South African authorities and all those involved in the electoral process, including respect for their safety.17

Mr. Kingsley Makhubela, observer for ANC, welcomed the Secretary-General's report and hoped that all other parties concerned would adhere to the recommendations contained therein. He expressed the view that the draft resolution would assist his country in its efforts to secure a peaceful transition from apartheid to democracy and the hope that the Council would continue to render effective support to the South African people during the transition.¹⁸

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Djibouti stated that the draft resolution covered most of the requirements for the United Nations to be able to fulfil the requests of the Transitional Executive Council. His delegation therefore supported the draft resolution. It also supported the Secretary-General's intention to set up a trust fund to assist African and other developing countries wishing to participate as observers.¹⁹

While endorsing the deployment programme outlined in the Secretary-General's report, the representative of Pakistan stressed the importance of deploying United Nations observers well ahead of the general election in South Africa. He pointed out that in the ultimate analysis, the adequacy of the number of observers deployed would depend on how peaceful the run-up to the election and the polling itself were. He also made the point that all the regions of the world should be adequately represented in the United Nations Observer Group.²⁰

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 894 (1994), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 765 (1992) of 16 July 1992 and 772 (1992) of 17 August 1992,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 10 January 1994 on the question of South Africa,

Welcoming the further progress made in establishing a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa and in particular the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and the Independent Electoral Commission and the agreement on the Interim Constitution,

Noting that the legal framework of the electoral process in South Africa leading to the elections to be held on 27 April 1994 is defined by the Independent Electoral Commission and the Electoral Acts, the Independent Media Commission Act and the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act,

Commending the positive contribution already made by the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa to the transitional process in South Africa and to efforts to curb violence,

Commending also the positive contribution of the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Union in this regard,

Reiterating its determination to continue to support the process of peaceful democratic change in South Africa for the benefit of all South Africans,

¹⁵ S/1994/33.

¹⁶ S/1994/28.

¹⁷ S/PV.3329, pp. 4-10.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 10-16.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 17-20.

Recalling the statement made by the President of the Security Council on 23 November 1993, in which the Council invited the Secretary-General to accelerate contingency planning for a possible United Nations role in the election process, including coordination with the observer missions of the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Union, to enable expeditious consideration of a request to the United Nations for such assistance,

Taking note of General Assembly resolutions 48/159 A of 20 December 1993 and 48/230 of 23 December 1993, in which the Assembly, inter alia, requested the Secretary-General to accelerate planning for a United Nations role in the election process, in consultation with the Security Council and in coordination with the observer missions of the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Union,

Having considered the request of the Transitional Executive Council that the United Nations provide a sufficient number of international observers to monitor the electoral process and to coordinate the activities of the international observers provided by the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and European Union, as well as those provided by Governments, and accepting the need to respond urgently to this request,

1. Welcomes with appreciation the report of the Secretary-General of 10 January 1994, and agrees with the proposals contained therein concerning the mandate and size of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa, including the proposals for the coordination of the activities of the international observers provided by the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Union, as well as those provided by any other intergovernmental organizations or Governments;

2. *Urges* all parties in South Africa, including those which did not participate fully in the multiparty talks, to respect agreements reached during the negotiations, to adhere to democratic principles and to take part in the elections;

3. *Calls upon* all parties in South Africa to take measures to end the violence and intimidation and thus contribute to the conduct of free and fair elections, and expects that anyone who seeks to disrupt the elections will be held accountable for such actions;

4. Also calls upon all parties in South Africa to respect the safety and security of the international observers and to facilitate the carrying out of their mandate;

5. *Welcomes* the intention of the Secretary-General to set up a special trust fund to finance the participation of additional observers from Africa and other developing countries, and urges States to contribute generously to this fund;

6. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter until a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa is established.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States said that the vote marked another step in

the United Nations long history of support for the dismantlement of apartheid and the transition to non-racial democracy in South Africa. His Government welcomed the transformation of the role of the United Nations peace observers to that of election observers and, in that regard, strongly supported the resolution which called for the immediate deployment of United Nations observers to assist in South Africa's electoral process. It also called on all South Africans to cooperate with the efforts of the United Nations and other observers to ensure that the elections were free and fair.²¹

The representative of New Zealand stated that the draft resolution responded to South Africa's need for practical assistance from the United Nations. It was appropriate that the United Nations response would involve both the Council and the General Assembly in giving effect to the request from the Transitional Executive Council. His delegation was pleased that the resolution provided for cooperation between the UNOMSA and the Commonwealth Observer Mission as well as with OAU and the European Union.²²

The representative of Nigeria drew attention to a number of issues which had to be urgently addressed by the international community, namely the issue of violence, the elections themselves and the needs of post-apartheid South Africa. On the first issue, his delegation believed that there was an urgent need for the reorientation and retraining of the existing police force. It recommended a more proactive role by UNOMSA in that regard. On the elections, his delegation observed that the presence of an adequate number of international electoral observers was intended not only to help South Africans in the electoral process but also to help in building confidence in that process. As far as the era of postapartheid was concerned, his delegation stressed that without massive international assistance, South Africa would not be able to cope with the acute social and economic problems.23

Decision of 19 April 1994 (3365th meeting): statement by the President

On 14 April 1994, pursuant to resolutions 772 (1992) and 894 (1994) of 17 August 1992 and

²¹ Ibid., pp. 27-30.

²² Ibid., pp. 30-33.

²³ Ibid., pp. 50-56.

14 January 1994, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a further report on the question of South Africa.²⁴ The Secretary-General noted that the past three months had witnessed intensive efforts by concerned political parties and the Government of South Africa to establish the transitional structures agreed to in the multiparty negotiations to help level the political playing field and create conditions for free and fair elections. The Transitional Executive Council and the Government had progressively moved towards a modus operandi, where they worked in tandem for the elections. Despite the strenuous efforts that had been made to ensure that all parties took part in the elections scheduled to be held from 26 to 28 April 1994, it would however seem that the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and other parties would not do so. Political violence continued to pose a grave threat to the electoral process.

Reporting on his Special Representative's efforts to enhance the political process, the Secretary-General said that his Special Representative had held consultations with the leaders of the main political parties on the preparations for the elections, the general political situation and the expanded mandate of UNOMSA. The question of security during the elections in general, and safety of observers in particular, had been high on the agenda of all the discussions.

High priority had also been given to the timely and full deployment of the Mission. By 24 March, all the United Nations observers called for in the operational approach had been deployed throughout the country.

Particularly concerned by the opposition to the electoral process by IFP, the Secretary-General urged all parties concerned to eschew violence and to participate peacefully in the political process and respect everyone's right to vote or not to vote.

At its 3365th meeting, on 19 April 1994, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of South Africa, at his request, to participate in the proceedings without the right to vote. The President (New Zealand) then stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:²⁵

The Security Council has noted with appreciation the report of the Secretary-General of 14 April 1994 on the question of South Africa, as well as the oral information received from the Secretariat on the latest developments in the electoral process.

The Council welcomes the agreement reached on 19 April 1994 between the Inkatha Freedom Party, the African National Congress and the Government of South Africa, following which the Inkatha Freedom Party has decided to participate in the forthcoming elections in South Africa. It commends all the parties involved for the statesmanship and goodwill which they have displayed in reaching this result.

The Council expresses the hope that this agreement will bring an end to the violence which has scarred South Africa and that it will promote lasting reconciliation among the people of South Africa. It calls upon all parties to contribute to the conduct of free and fair elections in which all South Africans will be able to participate peacefully.

The Council commends the positive contribution by the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa and the international community to the transitional process in South Africa and reiterates its determination to support the process of peaceful democratic change for the benefit of all South Africans. It calls upon all parties to respect the safety and security of the international election observers and to assist them to carry out their mandate.

The Council looks forward to the successful completion of the electoral process in South Africa and to the establishment of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa that will take its place in the international community.

Decision of 25 May 1994 (3379th meeting): resolution 919 (1994)

By a letter dated 23 May 1994 addressed to the President of the Security Council,²⁶ the representative of South Africa transmitted to the Council a copy of a letter dated 18 May 1994 from the President of the Republic of South Africa, addressed to the President of the Security Council, in which Mr. Mandela appealed to the Council to revoke all the remaining sanctions enforced against his country at the earliest possible occasion.

At its 3379th meeting, on 25 May 1994, the Security Council included in its agenda the letter dated 23 May 1994 from the representative of South Africa. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council

²⁴ S/1994/435.

²⁵ S/PRST/1994/20.

²⁶ S/1994/606.

invited the representatives of Algeria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, the Congo, Egypt, Greece, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Morocco, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania, Tunisia, Zambia and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate in the proceedings without the right to vote. The Council also extended an invitation, under rule 39, at the request of the representative of Nigeria, to Mr. Abdul Minty, Director of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.²⁷ The President (Nigeria) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.²⁸

The representative of South Africa said that the Council was meeting to close a particular chapter in the history of the relations between South Africa and the nations of the world, as represented by the United Nations. His delegation trusted that at the conclusion of that meeting, the Security Council would terminate the mandatory sanctions imposed against its country. He recalled that the embargo had been imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter at a time when the prevailing system of government in his country, and its actions, constituted a threat to international peace and security. His delegation viewed the decisions that the Council was about to take as an acceptance by the world body that South Africa had become a democratic country which could be counted on to subscribe and adhere to the pursuit of the important goals of international peace and security. His Government was committed to discharging its responsibilities as a Member of the United Nations in the collective effort to secure peace for its people and for the peoples of the world.29

The representative of Egypt, speaking on behalf of OAU, stated that while the dream had come true at the political level, South Africa's struggle had not yet ended. The reconstruction stage was no less important than the struggle against the racist regime. She stressed that solutions had to now be found for its economic and social problems in order to build a better future and to raise the standard of living of the majority of its population which had long suffered under apartheid and called on the international community to help South Africa. Her delegation supported all steps towards South Africa's recovery of its place within the international community. $^{\rm 30}$

The representative of Greece, speaking on behalf of the European Union, noted its readiness to support the efforts of the new Government of South Africa to accomplish the goal of leading the country to a democratic and non-racial society in which respect for human rights, the rights of minorities, the rule of law, social justice and the elimination of all forms of discrimination would prevail. In that context, he announced that the European Union had decided to lift the last remaining autonomous restrictive measure it had taken since 1985 against South Africa, namely the refusal to cooperate in the military field. Furthermore, the European Union recalled the decision of the General Affairs Council of 19 April 1994, in which it had pledged a package of immediate measures to respond to the immediate needs of the South Africans.31

During the course of the debate, most representatives welcomed the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial Government in South Africa supported the termination of the mandatory arms embargo and other restrictions imposed on that country as timely and appropriate and urged the international community to extend all necessary support to South Africa, as it returned to its rightful place among the community of nations.³²

Speaking before the vote, the representative of China said that the emergence of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa was bound to have a major impact on peace and stability in the region and the world as a whole. As a permanent member of the Security Council, China had always supported the South African people in their just struggle against apartheid and for racial equality and democratic rights and stood ready to develop friendly relations of cooperation with the new South Africa in all areas, on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.³³

²⁷ S/1994/618.

²⁸ S/1994/610.

²⁹ S/PV.3379, pp. 2-4.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

³² Ibid., p. 4 (Botswana); p. 5 (Zambia); p. 6 (Zimbabwe);
p. 7 (Congo); pp. 7-8 (Sierra Leone); pp. 8-9 (Algeria);
pp. 10-11 (Malaysia); pp. 11-12 (United Republic of Tanzania); p. 14 (India); pp. 14-15 (Senegal); pp. 15-16 (Tunisia); and pp. 18-19 (Bosnia and Herzegovina).

³³ Ibid., p. 22.

The representative of the Russian Federation welcomed the Council's prompt and positive response to the appeal made by the President of the Republic of South Africa to abrogate the sanctions against his country. The international community had now to welcome South Africa into the family of nations and help it to participate in the work of the United Nations system.³⁴

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 919 (1994), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions on the question of South Africa, in particular resolutions 282 (1970) of 23 July 1970, 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977, 421 (1977) of 9 December 1977, 558 (1984) of 13 December 1984 and 591 (1986) of 28 November 1986,

Welcoming the first all-race multiparty election and the establishment of a united, democratic, non-racial Government of South Africa, which was inaugurated on 10 May 1994,

Taking note of the letter dated 18 May 1994 from Mr. Nelson R. Mandela, President of the Republic of South Africa,

Stressing the urgent need to facilitate the process of reintegration of South Africa in the international community, including the United Nations system,

1. *Decides*, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to terminate forthwith the mandatory arms embargo and other restrictions related to South Africa imposed by its resolution 418 (1977);

2. *Decides also* to end forthwith all other measures against South Africa contained in resolutions of the Security Council, in particular those referred to in resolutions 282 (1970), 558 (1984) and 591 (1986);

3. *Decides further* to dissolve the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa, in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council, effective from the date of the adoption of the present resolution;

4. *Invites* all States to consider reflecting the provisions of the present resolution as appropriate in their legislation.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United Kingdom stated that the lifting of the arms embargo represented the formal and symbolic acknowledgment by the Council that apartheid was dead and that South Africa's isolation had come to an end. The resolution just adopted might be technical in its content, but it represented the culmination of an astonishing political transformation which few had predicted in that timescale. The United Nations could be proud of the role it had played in providing observers for the first multiparty democratic elections in South Africa and in helping to control and mitigate the tide of political violence. The international community had to demonstrate its support and encouragement for the new Government and its policies, not just by lifting any remaining restrictions, but also by helping to encourage investment, providing technical assistance and offering open and liberal trade arrangements. In conclusion, he noted that the resolution also cited the urgent need to facilitate South Africa's reintegration into the international community, including the United Nations system. Citing Article 19 of the Charter, he stated that his Government believed that the question of the arrears owed by South Africa to the United Nations should not prevent it from taking its rightful place in the Organization and from exercising its right to vote. His Government looked forward to the new South Africa resuming its seat in the General Assembly as quickly as possible.35

The representative of France welcomed the recent events in South Africa that had led to the "historic" meeting of the Security Council on Africa Day and the lifting of the sanctions imposed on that country almost 20 years previously. The Council was also showing that it was able to respond to the political evolution of certain situations by putting an end to sanctions when circumstances permitted it. His delegation hoped that South Africa would very quickly recover its place in the family of nations, and more particularly, in Africa, where it had already become the fifty-third member of OAU.³⁶

The representative of the United States stated that the resolution represented a timely recognition of the dramatic changes that had taken place in South Africa, changes that the United Nations had helped to bring about. The resolution was an important step to bring South Africa into the fold of the community of democratic nations. His delegation hoped to see South Africa play a leading role — through OAU and the

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 22-23.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 25-26.

United Nations — in promoting peace and stability in its region and its continent.³⁷

Decision of 27 June 1994 (3393rd meeting): resolution 930 (1994)

On 16 June 1994, pursuant to resolutions 772 (1992) and 894 (1994) of 17 August 1992 and 14 January 1994, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his last report on the question of South Africa.³⁸ The report focused on the Mission's electoral mandate and the "breathtaking developments" which had taken place in South Africa during the month of April 1994, culminating in the holding of elections from 26 to 29 April, the proclamation of the official results on 5 May, and the inauguration of the new President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr. Nelson Rolihlala Mandela, on 10 May 1994.

The Secretary-General recalled the public march organized in Johannesburg by IFP which had ended in bloodshed, with over 50 people dead and 250 wounded. Those events had contributed to increasing the tension in some provinces. The constitutional negotiations had been further complicated by King Zwelethini's call on 18 March for the restoration of the Zulu kingdom. At a meeting on 19 April, however, the Government, ANC and IFP reached agreement providing for, inter alia, IFP participation in the elections to be held on 26, 27 and 28 April. The IFP decision to participate in the elections resulted in an immediate and dramatic reduction in violence. On 5 May, the Independent Electoral Commission, after careful consideration of numerous issues raised by various parties relating to alleged or actual irregularities in the polling and voting, pronounced the elections for the National Assembly to have been substantially free and fair.

The Secretary-General noted that, as an exercise in preventive diplomacy, drawing on the strengths of several international organizations to support indigenous efforts towards peace and national reconciliation, the international community's efforts in South Africa since 1992 offered a unique and positive demonstration of the benefits of such cooperation. He intended to invite OAU, the Commonwealth and the European Union, as well as other concerned regional organizations, to work out guidelines for future cooperation based on the success, as well as the mistakes, of their common experience in South Africa.

At its 3393rd meeting, on 27 June 1994, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of South Africa, at his request, to participate in the proceedings without the right to vote. The President (Oman) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations,³⁹ as well as to a letter dated 26 May 1994 from the representative of Greece, addressed to the Secretary-General,⁴⁰ transmitting a declaration by the European Union on South Africa, issued on 6 May 1994.

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 930 (1994), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 772 (1992) of 17 August 1992 and 894 (1994) of 14 January 1994,

Noting with great satisfaction the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic Government of South Africa,

Welcoming General Assembly resolutions 48/13 C and 48/258 A of 23 June 1994,

1. *Welcomes* the final report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa;

2. *Commends* the vital role played by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the Mission, together with the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Union, in support of the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa;

3. *Decides* that, with the successful completion of its mandate, the Mission is terminated forthwith;

4. *Also decides* that it has concluded its consideration of the item entitled "The question of South Africa" and hereby removes this item from the list of matters of which the Council is seized.

The Security Council thus concluded its consideration of the item "The question of South Africa", which, in accordance with paragraph 4 of resolution 930 (1994), was removed from the list of matters of which the Council is seized.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

³⁸ S/1994/717.

³⁹ S/1994/752.

⁴⁰ S/1994/627.