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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
SIX HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 30 December 1985, at 4 p.m.

President: Mr. BASSOLE

(Burkina Faso)

Members: Australia
China
Denmark
Egypt
France
India
Madagascar
Peru
Thailand
Trinidad and Tobago
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland
United States of America

Mr. WOOLCOTT
Mr. LI Luye
Mr. BIERRING
Mr. KHALIL
Mr. LOUET
Mr. KRISHNAN
Mr. RABETAFIKA
Mr. ALZAMORA
Mr. KASEMSRI
Mr. ALLEYNE
Mr. SKOFENKO
Mr. TROYANOVSKY

Sir John THOMSON
Mr. OKUN

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The meeting was called to order at 5.15 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

COMPLAINT BY LESOTHO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

LETTER DATED 23 DECEMBER 1985 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF LESOTHO TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/17692)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2638th meeting, I invite the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of South Africa, Burundi and Senegal to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Makhele (Lesotho) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Aldrich (South Africa), Mr. Bwakira (Burundi) and Mr. Sarre (Senegal) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The Security Council will now resume discussion of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them the text of a draft resolution submitted by Burkina Faso, Egypt, India, Madagascar, Peru and Trinidad and Tobago in document S/17701.

The first speaker is the representative of Senegal. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (interpretation from French): In expressing my respects to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho, I would like also to express to you, Sir, my sincere and warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. Your experience in foreign affairs and your sense of moderation and objectivity will ensure that our

(Mr. Sarre, Senegal)

work will culminate successfully. I know that your country is going to be leaving the Council, and our delegation would like to pay you a tribute for the exemplary way in which you have contributed to its work.

Your predecessor, Ambassador Richard Woolcott of Australia also deserves to be congratulated on the responsible manner in which he carried out his duties.

On behalf of His Excellency Mr. Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal and Acting Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), I should like to extend our thanks to you, Mr. President, and to other members of the Security Council for having been kind enough to authorize me to take part in the debate on the South African aggression against the fraternal Kingdom of Lesotho.

In attacking once again an independent and sovereign African State, this time the Kingdom of Lesotho, South Africa has once again given an indication to world public opinion by acts to which it has unfortunately accustomed us and whose logic by now escapes no one.

Indeed, the Pretoria régime has decided to defy the international community and its loftiest values by pursuing a policy of tyranny and lawlessness in three areas.

Within South Africa, continuing to refuse to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the martyred people of South Africa whose sole offence has been to demand the right to life and the establishment of a democratic, multi-racial society, the South African authorities have intensified and accentuated their inhuman and odious policy of apartheid by bloody repression, which the press no longer has the right to bring to the attention of world public opinion.

Outside South Africa, this policy of defiance and denial of human rights has been translated in Namibia by the persistence of the South Africa's illegal

(Mr. Sarre, Senegal)

occupation of that international Territory, contrary to all the relevant resolutions of this Council.

In its dealings with neighbouring African States, Pretoria has raised destabilization, aggression and invasion to the level of a principle of "good-neighbourliness". The recent South African aggression committed against Lesotho, as was so well described by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of that fraternal country, appears in its true light as part of the framework of the policy of a desperate forward leap by the South African régime, which shows how little it values the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and the conscience of the entire world.

For its part, Africa expresses its wholehearted indignation at and condemnation of the cynical act of aggression committed by South Africa against the independent and sovereign State of Lesotho and calls for a mission of enquiry to be sent to that country to assess the damage resulting from that act of aggression and to evaluate the cost in human casualties. Compensation to Lesotho and to the victims of this illegal and illegitimate act by the apartheid régime constitutes the very minimum that the Security Council can determine. In doing so, it will have renewed the confidence which the founding fathers of the universal Organization and its Member States have placed in this primary organ for the maintenance of international peace and security. If right and morality still have some meaning in international life, the Security Council is in duty bound to assume fully and entirely its mandate and the responsibilities conferred upon it by the Charter of San Francisco.

But there can be no doubt at all that South Africa's policy of intransigence and defiance of human rights, reason and law in the face of the appeals, warnings and resolutions of the Security Council poses a threat to international peace and

(Mr. Sarre, Senegal)

security and, if we do not beware, risks plunging southern Africa and perhaps the entire continent into chaos.

In that respect, the only consistent response that the United Nations Security Council as the main guarantor of international peace and security might bring to South Africa is to accelerate concerted efforts by the international community with a view to eradicating totally the abominable system of apartheid through the application of comprehensive and mandatory economic - and even political - sanctions, which alone are likely to make the adherents of the racist policy see reason before the African continent goes up in smoke.

(Mr. Sarre, Senegal)

That is the main concern of the current Chairman of the OAU, His Excellency Mr. Abdou Diouf, who has called for the convening in the very near future of a world conference on sanctions against South Africa - a call that the Council and the General Assembly have just endorsed - hoping in that way to bring South Africa to see reason. That is in fact the only way to make it possible to end that anachronism, which wants the South African people - a people that is only claiming its fundamental right to dignity, life and freedom - to continue to live under the pitiless apartheid régime, wants the people of Namibia to continue to put up with the illegal occupation by that same régime and wants the independent, sovereign States to continue to be victims of acts of aggression by the South African authorities.

You have noted, Mr. President, that I did not want this statement to be long, because this is not the first time the Council has been asked by certain States to meet to consider the actions of South Africa. I am convinced that, having considered in the past year a number of complaints against South Africa, the Council can correctly assess the threat hanging over the African continent, particularly southern Africa, and that therefore the Council will be able, bearing in mind the mandate conferred upon it by the Charter, to take with the objectivity for which it is noted all the measures necessary to make South Africa heed reason and ensure that peace and stability return to southern Africa and thus to the whole African continent.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Senegal for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): It seems that the Government of South Africa is determined that the Security Council shall conclude its meetings for 1985 by considering a fresh act of aggression perpetrated by its

(Mr. Khalil, Egypt)

forces against its African neighbours - this time, Lesotho. This comes following the discussion by the Council, over the past year, of South Africa's repeated acts of aggression against other neighbours - Angola and Botswana. This time South Africa pushed its forces at night to Maseru, the capital of Lesotho, where they killed nine civilians, including a number of women. Some of them were refugees: the others were Lesotho nationals.

Horrendous as that criminal act may be, it was no surprise to those who follow developments in that region of southern Africa. This morning we heard a statement by the Foreign Minister of Lesotho, Mr. Makhele, in which he made clear the dimensions of this premeditated act of aggression against his country. The Permanent Representative of Lesotho indicated in his letter to the Secretary-General (S/17689) that his Government had reliable information that South Africa was planning aggression against Lesotho at this time.

Moreover, a review of the South African Government's behaviour over past years clearly reveals that the Pretoria régime, which faces internal problems as a result of the opposition of the majority of the inhabitants of South Africa to its racist policies, always resorts to aggression against its African neighbours in order to divert attention from developments inside South Africa itself and to shift the blame for its problems to actions by external elements from neighbouring countries.

A review of correspondence between the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho and the Government of South Africa during the period 13-19 December this year (S/17689) reveals the intentions and actions of both States. While the Government of Lesotho indicated clearly its willingness to negotiate and enter into dialogue in order to solve any problems that might arise between the two States, the

(Mr. Khalil, Egypt)

communications from the South African Government contained several threats: implicit and explicit. Those threats were indeed implemented by the Pretoria régime against the capital of Lesotho on 19 December.

We would point out that South Africa's recent acts of aggression were not confined to Lesotho; at the same time, South Africa attacked Angola. Last week the forces of the racist régime penetrated the territory of Swaziland and made threats to the villagers of the eastern region of that country, resulting in the displacement of some residents. We wish in particular to draw attention to the recent threats made by the Pretoria régime against its neighbours that it will disregard international borders.

The actions by the Pretoria régime against the neighbouring African countries are but an extension of the policy of apartheid pursued by that régime against the majority of the South African population; they represent the external manifestation of that policy of violence and suppression followed inside the country. The fact that has become crystal-clear to the whole world, a fact that the Pretoria régime will not succeed in suppressing, is that all the problems facing the régime are only the result of its insistence on pursuing the policy of apartheid, thus defying the will of the majority of the population of the country and of the international community.

What is astonishing - indeed, it is ridiculous - is that the press release issued by the Pretoria régime on 20 December this year referred to the unanimity of the United Nations in condemning terrorism. If the Pretoria régime attaches such importance to the unanimity of the United Nations, why does it insist on challenging the will of the world Organization when it condemns the policies of apartheid inside South Africa and its aggressions against its neighbours, and when it calls upon the régime to end its illegal occupation of Namibia?

(Mr. Khalil, Egypt)

In discussing the complaint of Lesotho today, the Security Council has a clear responsibility to protect the territory of that peace-loving State and its innocent nationals against the aggression of the South African forces. The Council must also reaffirm South Africa's responsibility for paying compensation to the families of the victims who lost their lives as a result of the recent acts of aggression perpetrated by the forces of the racist régime against the capital of Lesotho. The Council should also help Lesotho fulfil its international commitment to receive political refugees and those who have fled the oppression of the racist Pretoria régime. We are confident that the Council will shoulder that responsibility today.

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

Mr. ALDRICH (South Africa): I would at the outset, Sir, associate myself with what my Ambassador said here earlier this month in congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for December.

Lesotho has once again elected to impose upon the time of this Council with accusations against South Africa.

Mr. President, I have been instructed by my Government to object in the strongest possible terms to the charges of "unprovoked armed aggression against Lesotho by South Africa" (S/17692) which the Permanent Representative of Lesotho lodged with you on 23 December 1985, requesting that these charges be considered by the Council. The Council has nothing to consider. These charges are rejected by my Government.

The hands of Lesotho's principal advisers, who are masters of the techniques of misinformation and of disinformation, are clearly discernable in this latest manoeuvre.

The Lesotho Government is again attempting to deflect attention from its internal instability and from the deep alienation of a large part of the Lesotho population from the present Government in that country. It is well known that this alienation, which has its origin in, amongst other things, the illegal usurpation of power by Premier Jonathan in 1970 - aggravated by the recent electoral machinations - has spawned armed resistance inside Lesotho.

It is also of particular relevance that there is a strong tide of resentment in Lesotho - resentment at the presence of a violent organization funded, sponsored and organized by Moscow and imposed on the people of Lesotho by their Government. Furthermore, elements within Lesotho's security forces are sympathizers and collaborators with the African National Congress (ANC), and dissident groups in Lesotho view these pro-ANC elements as their enemies.

(Mr. Aldrich, South Africa)

As in the past, Lesotho is simply endeavouring to exploit the situation, by addressing pious appeals for financial aid to the international community.

It needs to be recorded that South Africa has on numerous occasions in the past sought to solicit Lesotho's co-operation to address mutual security problems. Lesotho has, however, consistently been unwilling, for obvious reasons, to commit itself to co-operation in this regard. As recently as 11 October 1985 the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs requested the then Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lesotho to secure his Government's approval for the establishment of a joint monitoring mechanism to investigate security incidents. In order to facilitate this proposal, my Foreign Minister offered to provide facilities and to bear incidental expenses. To date Lesotho has failed to respond to this invitation. On 24 December 1985 attention was once again formally drawn to this offer, but the matter was again ignored.

I would in this regard refer to the Lesotho Foreign Minister's statement of this morning, in which, inter alia, he stressed that his Government was

"willing to talk, to negotiate, to seek peaceful solutions to common problems"

(S/PV.2638, p. 9-10)

and that

"Lesotho genuinely wanted to resolve any differences with South Africa ...

through discussion and negotiation". (S/PV.2638, p. 7)

I would submit that, in the light of those statements by the Lesotho Foreign Minister, my Foreign Minister's proposal for a joint monitoring mechanism should indeed be seriously considered by the Lesotho Government.

South Africa has experienced terrorist violence emanating from Lesotho's territory, where the ANC is given sanctuary under the convenient guise of refugee status. Lesotho should be charged in this Council. The fact is that Lesotho

(Mr. Aldrich, South Africa)

welcomes and harbours these persons - people who plan violence and kill indiscriminately in South Africa. In this regard, Lesotho will do well to ponder in whose company it finds itself. It is in the company of organizations like the one responsible for the Rome and Vienna massacres, organizations that indiscriminately kill and maim people. These acts evoke feelings of the utmost revulsion in the hearts and minds of people all over the world.

My Government welcomes the unanimous General Assembly resolution of 9 December condemning

"all acts, methods and practices of terrorism wherever and by whomever committed, including those which jeopardize friendly relations among States and their security". (General Assembly resolution 40/61, para. 1)

Why does the Security Council not take this a step further and investigate the links between the terrorism in southern Africa and organized international terrorism - the brotherhood of evil which shares the same methods, sponsors and masters?

As Lesotho is well aware, the real question at issue concerns terrorists operating from Lesotho against South Africa. I wish on behalf of my Government to call upon this Council, in the spirit of the General Assembly resolution of 9 December, to prevail upon Lesotho to co-operate with South Africa in order to eliminate the scourge of terrorism in our region.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next speaker is the representative of Burundi, who wishes to speak as Chairman of the African Group for the month of December. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. BWAKIRA (Burundi) (interpretation from French): Before turning to the substance of the subject under discussion today, I should like, through you,

(Mr. Bwakira, Burundi)

Mr. President, to thank the Security Council for allowing me to speak on the agenda item entitled "Complaint by Lesotho against South Africa". I already had an opportunity of paying a tribute to you at the beginning of this month. I had the opportunity also of congratulating your predecessor. I am delighted to see you again in your capacity as President of the Council, and I am convinced that, owing to your diplomatic talents and your wisdom, the Council will at the end of the present meeting take the necessary decisions to ensure respect for international law.

The statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho, Mr. Makhele - whose presence here I welcome - is clear. There can be no doubt from all the information available to us - indeed, the facts have been established - that the racist South African régime has once again distinguished itself by violating international law. It holds the record for such violations. The Kingdom of Lesotho has been the victim of a further act of aggression and terrorism by apartheid. Its sovereignty has been trampled upon; nine of its citizens and refugees have been massacred by armed bands sent to Maseru on 20 December 1985 by the apartheid régime.

(Mr. Bwakira, Burundi)

The provisions of the Charter are clear: all Member States of the United Nations must refrain in their international relations from resorting to the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other way incompatible with the purposes of the United Nations. The recent attacks and the premeditated aggression against Lesotho by the racist régime in violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Lesotho have serious consequences on peace and security in southern Africa.

As I stated at the beginning of the month when the Security Council took up the most recent complaint of Angola against South Africa, the Pretoria régime will never comply with international law as long as it enjoys impunity for its acts of aggression against the front-line countries and as long as its acts of repression against the black populations of South Africa are not even the subject of condemnation on the part of the entire international community.

The massacre of nine innocent persons can in no way be justified and the Security Council must call on the racist régime to provide compensation forthwith to the Government of Lesotho and all the families of the persons murdered in cold blood, and give it an order to refrain from its acts of aggression against neighbouring countries.

We still have fresh in our minds the acts of aggression as follows: committed solely in this month on 15 December 1985, South African troops, with the support of armoured cars and helicopters, made a new incursion into the southern part of Angola. On 20 December, after having organized a so-called check of civilian dwellings in Maseru, South African commandos attacked. The massacre of nine innocent persons was the grave and inexcusable consequence of that.

(Mr. Bwakira, Burundi)

All those facts prove that South Africa has no intention of giving up its policy of apartheid: to the contrary, it is determined to pursue its policy of oppression within South Africa itself, and of destabilization of the front-line States. Pretoria's aggression against Maseru constitutes a flagrant violation of the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Lesotho, as well as a threat to international peace and security in the region.

The Group of African States in the United Nations, on whose behalf I am speaking, would like to express its indignation and its firm condemnation of the premeditated act of aggression perpetrated by South Africa against the Kingdom of Lesotho which resulted in the loss of human lives, which we deplore.

The African Group condemns this act of aggression especially since it is not the first of which Lesotho has been the victim. In expressing our solidarity with the people of Lesotho, we call on the international community to provide economic assistance to Lesotho, to resist South African aggression and to strengthen its ability to receive refugees from South Africa.

The African Group calls on the Security Council to make the recalcitrant racist Pretoria régime put an end to its odious policy of apartheid and destabilization, as well as to its acts of aggression against the Kingdom of Lesotho and to pay immediate and adequate compensation for the loss of life and property.

South Africa must put an end to its odious apartheid policies, to its attempts to destabilize the countries of southern Africa and to its illegal occupation of Namibia in flagrant violation of Council resolution 435 (1978), which sets forth the plan for Namibian independence.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Burundi for the very kind words he expressed to me.

Mr. KRISHNAN (India): My delegation has already had the opportunity of congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. Your high ability to give guidance and leadership to this Council is already a matter of record. I am confident that in the two days that still remain of this month, which, as it happens, are the last days of your tenure, as well as my own, I might add, in the Security Council, we will have more evidence of it.

We are meeting today to consider the grave situation resulting from the latest unprovoked act of armed aggression against Lesotho by South Africa. The attack took place on 20 December when members of the defence forces of the racist Pretoria régime attacked the capital city of Lesotho, Maseru, and murdered in cold blood, nine people, some of whom were registered refugees. This latest attack was preceded by other heinous acts which have been brought to our notice by the Permanent Representative of Lesotho in his letter to the President of the Council (S/17689). Those actions constitute the latest in the long catalogue of South Africa's criminal deeds against its independent African neighbours.

The Foreign Minister of Lesotho, Mr. Makhele, apprised the Council this morning of the details of the latest act of aggression perpetrated by the forces of the racist régime against Lesotho and the loss of human life and material damage inflicted as a result. There can be little doubt that South Africa's action was unprovoked and premeditated and that it is in complete contravention of the Charter and of international law and in violation of United Nations resolutions. It is an action that evokes our strong condemnation.

This, as well as earlier similar actions on the part of South Africa, are clearly intended to terrorize Lesotho, a small and peace-loving State, which finds itself in a particularly vulnerable situation. They are nothing less than blatant acts of State terrorism, which has been declared as inadmissible and has been

(Mr. Krishnan, India)

rejected by the international community as contrary to the Charter. The racist régime has, over the years, been subjecting the Government of Lesotho to various types of pressure and intimidation, as well as intervention and interference with a view to bullying that Government into submission. Lesotho has clearly no alternative but to come to the Council for support and redress.

The Government and people of India have been deeply shocked to learn of this the latest wanton attack by South African forces against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of friendly Lesotho, a fellow non-aligned country and a fellow member of the Commonwealth. The racist régime has been engaging in a series of such actions under the pretext of hot pursuit of African National Congress activists and on the basis of familiar arguments justifying them in terms of its own security. We view such actions as another instance on the part of the Pretoria régime to pursue its sinister policy of destabilizing Governments in front-line and other neighbouring States.

The savage killings of these innocent people living in Lesotho, a country which has given repeated assurances of not permitting its territory to be used for launching attacks on neighbouring countries, shows yet again that the racist South African régime is willing to flagrantly violate all laws of civilized behaviour. We affirm our solidarity with the Government and people of Lesotho in their hour of distress and support their just claim for full and adequate compensation. We also reaffirm Lesotho's right to give sanctuary to the victims of apartheid in accordance with its traditional practice, humanitarian principles and its international obligations. We express our heartfelt sympathies to the families bereaved by the recent attacks.

The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned countries, held in New Delhi in March 1983, had, in its Declaration,

(Mr. Krishnan, India)

"noted with great concern the increased acts of military, political and economic destabilization perpetrated by the South African racist régime against the independent neighbouring States," (S/15675, annex, p. 20, para. 60)

including Lesotho. The Conference had further:

"commended the Front-line States and other neighbouring States for their courage and determination in the face of brazen intimidation by South Africa and called upon the world community to provide all possible assistance and support to these countries to strengthen their defences as well as to create conditions to avert bloodshed in the whole of southern Africa." (p.22, para. 68)

(Mr. Krishnan, India)

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries stands by Lesotho - a peace-loving, non-aligned country - as it courageously faces the continuing menace posed by South Africa.

This is not the first time that the frontiers of an independent peace-loving African State have been violated, without provocation, by South Africa. Rather, the recent invasion of Lesotho adds yet another sordid chapter to Pretoria's record of aggression. Even now South Africa illegally occupies Namibia, in defiance of innumerable United Nations resolutions and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. Angola has been the victim of South African aggression on innumerable occasions and to the present day Pretoria's troops sit on part of Angolan territory. Similarly, South Africa's military adventurism has extended to Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Seychelles and, of course, Lesotho.

The hope that all of us have so frequently expressed that South Africa would comply with United Nations and Security Council resolutions has yet to be realized. With its customary arrogance South Africa has repeatedly defied the call of the international community and moved on from one aggression to another, whether against neighbouring States or against its own people. We remain convinced that comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter are the only effective international answer to that racist régime's obstinacy. We reiterate our hope that the few remaining members of the Council who have so far opposed mandatory sanctions will soon come round to this view.

The non-aligned countries have stood by Lesotho steadfastly and will continue to do so. This Council, too, has in the past stood by this beleaguered Member State. It must do so again. Greater pressures need to be brought on that recalcitrant racist régime in Pretoria. We urge that all members of the Council proceed from this conviction and unite their efforts in meaningful action.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of India for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): Once again the Security Council must meet to consider another act of aggression committed by the armed forces of South Africa against a neighbouring independent African country, the Kingdom of Lesotho. In 1985 alone the Council has had to adopt seven resolutions condemning South Africa for maintaining the system of apartheid against the will of its own people and because of its constant policy of aggression and intimidation against neighbouring African countries. But the racist régime of Pretoria, which has arrogated to itself the role of policeman of southern Africa, continues to ignore growing pressure brought to bear on it by the international community and still scorns General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

Regarding Lesotho in particular, it was our privilege this morning to hear the statement of the Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho on the recent act of aggression of South Africa in violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lesotho. I should like to take this opportunity to ask him to transmit to his Government, the people of Lesotho and to the bereaved families our fraternal sympathy.

Once again we remember resolution 527 (1982) which was adopted unanimously on 15 December 1982 following an attack by units of South African forces against Maseru. In paragraph 7 of this resolution the Council:

"Calls upon South Africa to declare publicly that it will, in the future, comply with provisions of the Charter and that it will not commit aggressive acts against Lesotho either directly or through its proxies;"

As we note today, South Africa has never respected this or any other Council resolution. On the contrary, it has harboured, equipped and trained on its

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

territory a rebellious movement, the "Lesotho Liberation Army" (LLA), the avowed objective of which is the destabilization of the Government of Lesotho by committing acts of sabotage and killing in Lesotho. In a note dated 10 July 1985 the Permanent Mission of Lesotho to the United Nations drew the attention of States Members of the Organization to this state of affairs. This band of puppets, in the pay of the South African racist régime, on 4 December last, killed seven citizens of Lesotho in the district of Qacha's Nek. After that serious incident, South Africa not only rejected the legitimate protests of the Government of Lesotho, but once again sent armed forces out to kill people in Maseru. Nine persons were killed, four of whom were registered refugees.

There is hardly any need to dwell on the facts. It is the root-causes of the hostile acts of the Pretoria régime against African countries in the area which we must denounce. In this connection, we must realize first that the oppressive systems of apartheid, colonialism and racism are the principal causes of the flow of refugees in southern Africa and that the peace and stability of the region require the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a majority government.

The present events in South Africa have had a negative effect on the security of neighbouring African countries which are exposed daily to reprisals from South Africa because of their attitude regarding the South African refugees whose numbers have increased considerably this year. Nevertheless, even though its economy depends largely on South Africa, Lesotho, since its independence in 1966, has always strongly condemned apartheid and adopted an unequivocal attitude towards South African refugees by greeting them and facilitating their transit to their second country of exile.

In fact, by attacking a peaceful defenceless country like Lesotho, the racist régime of Pretoria wishes to deter the Government of Lesotho from giving

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

assistance and political asylum to the victims of apartheid in keeping with the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 and wishes to make that country even more dependent on South Africa.

There is no doubt that these acts of terrorism and war - armed, premeditated, unprovoked attacks - by South Africa against neighbouring African countries constitute deliberate, flagrant and repeated violations of the Charter and are contrary to the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States. That is why we unreservedly condemn attacks by South African forces against Lesotho. This act of terrorism is particularly unjustifiable because Lesotho, which poses no threat to South Africa, has always preached coexistence and negotiation to settle bilateral problems.

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

Furthermore, we do not recognize that South Africa has a right to justify its acts of aggression against the African countries in the area by alleging that terrorist activities have been launched from them. Indeed, we have already reaffirmed in Security Council resolution 560 (1985) of 12 March 1985 the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa against apartheid and, for our part, we have always said that the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the legitimate movement representing the aspirations of the majority, which has been outlawed by the racist Pretoria authorities, has the right to rebel and, if necessary, use arms to respond to violence and repression.

It is in that spirit that the delegations of Burkina Faso, Egypt, India, Madagascar, Peru, and Trinidad and Tobago have joined in sponsoring the draft resolution contained in document S/17701, which would have the Council condemn the racist régime of South Africa for its recent act of aggression against the Kingdom of Lesotho; demand that South Africa pay adequate compensation for the damage and loss of life resulting from its act of aggression; and reaffirm Lesotho's right to receive and give sanctuary to the victims of apartheid in accordance with its traditional practice, humanitarian principles and international obligations. The draft resolution requests all States to extend urgently all necessary economic assistance to Lesotho in order to strengthen its capacity to receive, maintain and protect South African refugees; calls upon South Africa to live up to its commitment not to destabilize neighbouring African countries nor to allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks against neighbouring countries; and, finally, demands the dismantling of apartheid.

We hope that this draft resolution will be adopted unanimously.

Mr. ALZAMORA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): Once again we pay a tribute to the very skilful way in which you, Mr. President, are guiding the Council and extend our solidarity to the delegation of Lesotho headed by Mr. Makele.

The struggle for freedom in South Africa is taking ever more victims. The dozens killed in recent weeks in South Africa itself have now been joined by those victims of racist repression beyond its borders in the front-line States, and now once again in Lesotho, among the exiles of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and nationals of that country.

But they are not the only ones dying. With those who have died, in increasing numbers, the illusions of those who believe that the problem of South Africa will resolve itself with a bit more time and if the Pretoria régime is allowed to act with impunity also die.

Let us - the countries represented here - be careful that faith in this Council's action not die as well and the hope that some day the Council will be able to exercise and use fully the legitimate means with which it has been endowed.

One more year has thus gone by in frustration and loss of hope. With the new year there should be a resumption of actions that should be taken by this Council so that it may discharge the political responsibilities that it has formally assumed. One such very important action is that which concerns the origin of weapons that make it possible for South Africa to continue its internal and external aggression. This investigation can be delayed no longer.

The Peruvian delegation, on behalf of the new Government which took office only last July, began its term in this Council by calling precisely for that investigation last September, and now - just a few hours before the end of its term - we are once again pleading that this crucial aspect of the South African problem not be disregarded so that those who have died in Lesotho, South Africa and the

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

other victims of racist aggression may know that their sacrifices have not been in vain, that their sacrifices have finally awakened lulled consciences, and that in this process of discharging responsibilities we shall be able on their behalf to lay claim to the truth on this crucial part of the combat of the peoples of South Africa for freedom, security, dignity and justice.

Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): I know that it is the wish of the delegation of Lesotho and Council members to move rapidly to the adoption of the draft resolution. Nevertheless, I would like to say a few words in the light of the United Kingdom's special ties with Lesotho, our Commonwealth partner, whose Foreign Minister I am delighted to welcome today.

In the brief period since the Security Council last convened, we have witnessed a further horrifying outcrop of killings relating both to southern Africa and the Middle East. I must therefore begin by reiterating my Government's shock at these events and at the deaths of so many innocent men, women and children, and by expressing our deepest sympathy to the bereaved. I stress the importance of the presidential statement to be adopted by the Security Council later today on the question of terrorism. We condemn all terrorism.

Once again the Security Council marks the turn of the year by having to consider an attack on a country neighbouring South Africa. At the end of 1982 we were confronted with an earlier South African attack on Lesotho. At the end of 1983 continuing into the beginning of 1984, we debated South Africa's incursion into Angola. Now, as we close a year which has seen South African military activity directed against Botswana and Angola, we must address ourselves to the killing of nine persons in Lesotho in the early hours of 20 December.

It is hard to avoid the view that there is a pattern in these and similar events. It is, moreover, a pattern based on a profoundly mistaken policy. It is

(Sir John Thomson, United Kingdom)

not for me to delve further into the details of what happened on 20 December in Maseru: the Council has been given a comprehensive account by the Foreign Minister of Lesotho. I have also taken note of the denials issued by the South African Government and repeated today by the Acting Permanent Representative of South Africa - although I note that was all he said on the incident which is the cause of our meeting. Members of the Council will of course form their own view.

I would like simply to set out three fundamental points which govern the United Kingdom's approach to this matter.

First, it is clear to all that Lesotho harbours no aggressive designs against South Africa. Lesotho is surrounded by South Africa. Its Government frankly acknowledges that Lesotho is heavily dependent, economically and otherwise, upon South Africa and has no alternative to a policy of peaceful coexistence. There can be no excuse for the violation of Lesotho's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

(Sir John Thompson, United Kingdom)

The Security Council must make it emphatically clear to the South African Government that it will in no way acquiesce in any attacks on neighbouring States. That is certainly the position of the British Government. In this particular case, any such attack belies the dialogue which has taken place between the Governments of Lesotho and South Africa over many years and through which any problems between the two countries should be resolved. My Government therefore strongly condemns those responsible for the raid on Maseru on 20 December and has expressed its full support for Lesotho, with which we have close ties of friendship.

Second, the South African Government will be aware that the United Kingdom, like many other countries, has no sympathy for those who choose violence in preference to dialogue or negotiation and for those who kill and maim innocent people. We have repeatedly, consistently and emphatically condemned violence from any quarter. Our sympathy extends to all who have suffered from these mindless acts. As I have said before in this Council, violence begets more violence. Retaliation is not a solution. The problems of South Africa are complex and fraught. They will not be resolved through raids against South African exiles in neighbouring States. Such attacks can only increase and make more dangerous the polarization which already exists. It is necessary to go to the root of the problem and resolve it there. There is a need for fundamental change.

Third, I make no apology for drawing the attention of this Council again to the Commonwealth Accord on Southern Africa, which was concluded at Nassau in October of this year. We continue to believe that the Commonwealth Accord, enjoying as it does a very wide degree of support in the international community, offers a practicable way forward. In the light of the latest events, the appeal in the Accord for the initiation of a process of dialogue in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides has particular relevance. The members of the Commonwealth frankly acknowledged the difficulties which their efforts were likely

(Sir John Thompson, United Kingdom)

to encounter. Nevertheless they believed it to be their duty

"to leave nothing undone that might contribute to peaceful change in South Africa and avoid the dreadful prospect of violent conflict that looms over South Africa, threatening people of all races in the country and the peace and stability of the entire southern African region" (A/40/817, para. 4).

This, I submit, is a proposition worthy of the support of the members of the Security Council. We should not under-estimate the effect which our actions can have, if we apply ourselves to the task of assisting peaceful solutions. We are now ending a year in which the Security Council has been almost continuously seized of problems generated by South Africa. It is a year in which we have had many days of debate and in which we have adopted a large number of resolutions. I am well aware that the South African Government's reaction to much of our activity has been simply to reject it. I dare say there will be a similar reaction to the resolution we adopt today. But that is far from the end of the story. The South African Government pays close attention to what happens in this Council. No one likes to be condemned by the international community. I do not believe that the ruling minority in South Africa are happy with this situation or with their isolation from the rest of the world. The adoption of the many resolutions I have mentioned cannot encourage them to think that they are pursuing the right course. We must not deepen their intransigence, but we must prevail upon them, through persuasion and pressure, to change their ways.

It is in this spirit, and to underscore our condemnation of the latest raids on Maseru, that my delegation gives its support to the draft resolution before the Council.

Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council is once again meeting on an emergency basis to consider the question of unprovoked aggressive actions by South Africa against Lesotho - on the night of 19-20 December of this year. As a result of those actions

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

nine persons were killed, including refugees from South Africa and citizens of Lesotho. And so to the long list of aggressive actions by South Africa there has been added yet another perpetrated against what may well be a small country but is nevertheless a sovereign country, a Member of the United Nations, of the Organization of African Unity and of the Non-Aligned Movement. Yet another challenge has been made to the international community, which has witnessed still another flagrant violation by South Africa of the generally recognized norms of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

In welcoming the Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho, Mr. Makhele, whose important statement the Security Council has heard with great attention, the delegation of the Soviet Union would express its deepest sympathy to the Government and people of Lesotho. We would also convey our condolences to the families of those who so tragically died on 19 December as a result of the outrageous raid on Maseru. At the same time we would extend to the Government and people of Lesotho our full support and solidarity in their just struggle against the apartheid régime of South Africa.

The detailed information on the raid against Maseru provided to the Security Council by the Foreign Ministry of Lesotho convincingly shows that there was indeed a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of Lesotho by the South African régime, which requires the strongest condemnation and the adoption of appropriate measures against South Africa.

This is not the first time that South Africa has under various pretexts committed acts of aggression against neighbouring States. An analysis of current events in southern Africa shows that in pursuing their barbaric policy of apartheid within the country and dealing in a most violent and brutal manner with the black population, persecuting it for its struggle for justice and freedom, the apartheid authorities are also trying to impose their colonialist hegemonism on all of

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

southern Africa and to maintain their illegal occupation of Namibia. To that end they are continuing and extending their armed attacks against the neighbouring African countries, Angola, Botswana and now Lesotho, and they are also carrying out subversive activities against Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique and other countries of southern Africa.

The apartheid régime of South Africa is the crystallization of the most hideous and repulsive evils of the world today: racism, colonialism, State terrorism and aggression. It is for that very reason that the South African régime is the constant source of serious threats to international peace and security and to stability in southern Africa.

The Security Council will no doubt reject the false statements made by the representatives of South Africa, through whom the apartheid régime is trying in vain to justify its aggressive actions against Lesotho and also against other neighbouring States.

The recently concluded session of the General Assembly showed once again that the overwhelming majority of the States of the world call for the application against Pretoria of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter and that they vote for such sanctions. Unfortunately, at the last meeting of the Security Council on the question of Namibia, on 15 November of this year, the Security Council was once again, for well known reasons, unable to adopt a resolution on sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa.

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

If the protection of the apartheid régime in the Security Council through use of the veto by certain well-known Western Powers that are permanent members of the Council continues, then it is clear that Pretoria will continue in future to threaten neighbouring African States and to widen the scope of its terrorism against those countries.

However the representatives of those Western countries attempt to explain their policy of protecting South Africa and defending it against sanctions, the result of their policy of constructive engagement with South Africa speak for themselves in the increased aggression by South Africa, which convincingly exposes that policy for what it is in the eyes of the entire world.

The Soviet Union strongly condemns the criminal actions of Pretoria against Lesotho. The time is long overdue to eliminate the hotbed created by continuing acts of aggression and State terrorism against the countries of the region. In view of the special danger to world peace posed by the aggressive policy practised by the South African racists, the Soviet Union advocates adoption by the Security Council of effective measures against South African under Chapter VII of the Charter.

The Foreign Minister of Lesotho, Mr. Makhele, who spoke here in the Council earlier, has heard from the Foreign Minister of the USSR confirmation of the policy of the Soviet Union, which as a matter of principle defends the interests of all freedom-loving peoples and progressive forces in South Africa. The Soviet Union has consistently adhered to that policy, and it expressed it again at the recent summit meeting at Geneva.

In the draft new programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union recently published for consideration by the people of our country, the following point is made in connection with this matter:

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

"The Soviet Union stands side by side with countries and peoples who repel attacks by the aggressive forces of imperialism and defend their freedom, independence and national dignity. Solidarity with them is today part of an over-all struggle for international peace and security."

Mr. LI Luye (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation listened attentively to the statement by Mr. Makhele in which he convincingly set forth the crimes committed by the South African commando force on 20 December 1985 in its invasion of Maseru, the capital city of Lesotho, in which nine innocent people were killed.

The Chinese delegation strongly condemns the South African authorities for their gross violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the norms of international law, as well as for the flagrant invasion of the territory of Lesotho. The Chinese delegation would also like to express its deep sympathy and solidarity with the people and Government of Lesotho.

It has been only a few days since the General Assembly at its fortieth session adopted an important resolution condemning the South African authorities for their intransigence in persisting in the practice of racial discrimination and apartheid and for their invasions against neighbouring countries. The South African authorities have seen fit to disregard that resolution in toto and have recently launched new invasions against neighbouring countries. Not only have they carried out a surprise attack on the capital of Lesotho; they have on several occasions sent troops to invade southern Angola and to murder the inhabitants of that country. They have also amassed troops on the border of Zimbabwe in order to exert the threat of military force and blackmail against that country. Such acts by the South African authorities are an open provocation to the international community.

The South African authorities always blame the struggle of their own people against racial persecution on outside instigation by neighbouring countries in order

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

to find excuses for their own aggression. As everyone knows, since the beginning of this year various elements of the South African population have joined in a mighty struggle against apartheid. Those participating in that struggle and its scale have rarely before been seen in the history of South Africa. The South African authorities are attempting to divert public opinion and to subvert right and wrong by drawing a parallel between the South African people against apartheid and the acts of terrorism elsewhere in the world in order to cover up their own crimes. They are attempting to divert the attention of their own people and to extricate themselves from their internal plight by committing aggression against neighbouring countries and through threats and blackmail. All of that, however, is to no avail.

The surprise attack on Lesotho by the South African authorities is not only a gross violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their neighbours but also poses a threat to peace and security in all of southern Africa. The Chinese delegation calls upon the Security Council strongly to condemn South Africa for its aggression against Lesotho and to demand that South African compensate Lesotho for all the losses its invasion has caused. In our opinion, the Security Council should also mobilize the international community and adopt additional sanctions against South Africa so as to provide powerful support to the just struggle against apartheid, to gain independence for Namibia and to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the countries of southern Africa.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next speaker is Mr. Neo Mnumzana, whom the Council has invited to speak under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MNUMZANA: On behalf of the African National Congress and the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your accession to the helm of the Security Council for the month of December. We are particularly gratified and proud of the aplomb and distinction with which you have executed your immense responsibilities. In the same vein, I should like to congratulate and thank your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Australia His Excellency Mr. Woolcott, for a job well done.

Through you, Sir, I also wish to thank the Security Council for having allowed us to speak today.

(Mr. Mnumzana)

It is my singular honour to recognize and salute the presence of His Excellency the Honourable V.M. Makhele, the distinguished Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho, and to thank him for his important statement.

There is a saying in my language that if you run long enough after a crazy man people might begin to doubt your own sanity. Yet in the case of apartheid we have no choice but to continue the pursuit, because every minute of apartheid is a minute too much.

Thirty-seven years ago the butchers of Pretoria set in motion a spiral of violence into which they have since drafted our entire country and the region of southern Africa, systematically punishing with death those who seek freedom, senselessly destroying the considerable national wealth of our country even while millions of our people are afflicted with poverty, disease and ignorance.

Never able to marshal even the semblance of a popular mandate but determined to cling to power at all costs, the Pretoria racist régime has resorted in ever increasing measure to the use of violence in order to perpetuate itself.

As the inevitable struggle of the people of South Africa against apartheid has naturally continued to gather might, making apartheid more and more unworkable and the country itself more and more ungovernable; as the tide of African liberation has rolled down to the very frontiers of our country, the Pretoria racist régime has responded by instituting a reign of terror against our people, going to war against the neighbouring States and attacking the very freedom of Africa.

For at least 10 years the Pretoria racist régime has sought to destabilize neighbouring States through outright military aggression, economic blackmail and sabotage, as well as political subversion. In this way it has sought to impose a pax apartheid on the region, to establish the so-called Constellation of Southern African States, whose central purpose is to lock up the peoples of South Africa in

(Mr. Mnumzana)

the vise of apartheid oppression and exploitation as well as to extend the domain of the Pretoria racist régime into as large a part of Africa as apartheid can swallow.

Part and parcel of this nefarious objective is the Pretoria racist régime's practice of pursuing South African refugees and exiles into countries that offer them sanctuary, to assassinate them as well as citizens of those countries.

In this way apartheid not only violates the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring States, but also rides roughshod over their sovereign right to give sanctuary to men, women and children of conscience.

The recent attack against the Kingdom of Lesotho is not the first. Unfortunately it has precedents too numerous to enumerate. If we do not punish the apartheid régime for this crime, by default we will be punishing the peoples of Lesotho, South Africa and southern Africa. By condoning apartheid violence we will be punishing freedom itself as well as those who seek and cherish it.

The exporting of apartheid violence into neighbouring States will not solve the Pretoria racist régime's problems. In letter, spirit and deed the fundamental problem is apartheid itself, and there is only one solution: the complete dismantling of apartheid and the creation of a free, united and non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The longer the Pretoria racist régime persists in its intransigence and the more it uses its military muscle against the peoples of South Africa and southern Africa, the greater the chance that it will engulf the region in a catastrophic interracial bloodbath of the most horrendous dimensions, which apartheid itself will not survive.

Time is running out. In the name of freedom, democracy, peace and progress, apartheid must be stopped without further waste of time. It must be isolated now.

(Mr. Mnumzana)

At this difficult hour I want in particular to register the African National Council's profound gratitude to the Kingdom of Lesotho, its Government and people for the courage and commitment manifest in their willingness, consistent with international law, to give refuge to the victims of apartheid. We stand solidly with them at this moment. We shall remember them with pride and warmth in freedom. We likewise reaffirm our undying solidarity with the peoples and Governments of the front-line States. To all of them we say: your heroic sacrifices on behalf of South African freedom will be crowned with victory.

Mr. SKOFENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): It is with great satisfaction, Sir, that our delegation welcomes you to the important post of President of the Security Council. Your devotion to the goals of this Organization and your great diplomatic experience enable you effectively to preside over the work of the Council in this month of December, which is indeed a fitting end to your country's participation in the Council's work as a non-permanent member.

I should like to express appreciation also to the President of Australia, Ambassador Woolcott, for his able guidance of our meetings last month.

When two years ago the Ukrainian SSR and four other States became non-permanent members of this Council and our delegations took their places at this table, we were obliged at our very first meeting to take up this question of South African aggression against Angola. It is indeed typical that today, at our last meeting of 1985, we once again have to deal with aggression by the South African racists, this time against Lesotho. For two years questions relating to South Africa and Pretoria's aggressive actions against sovereign African countries have been the subject of consideration at 29 official meetings of the Council - approximately one fourth of all its meetings over the last two years. This is

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

because of the exceptionally tense and indeed explosive situation in southern Africa, where the racist régime of South Africa, founded on violence acts through terrorist methodologies not only within the country but also outside it against its neighbours.

A manifestation of that policy is the raid against Lesotho. To listen to the representative of South Africa, that small country, which does not even have a regular army, poses a near-fatal threat to South Africa's security. Under the false pretext that "terrorists" operate from Lesotho - that is what the racists call fighters against apartheid - a group of commandos were sent to Maseru, where they perpetrated this bloody massacre of local inhabitants and of refugees from South Africa.

The Lesotho Government has frequently appealed to the South African authorities to put an end to such acts of aggression, which are a violation of their country's sovereignty and constitute intervention in its internal affairs. They have asked South Africa to refrain from trying to shift onto Lesotho the responsibility for South Africa's own internal problems.

However, despite these legitimate demands, Pretoria is pursuing its policy of oppression, blackmail and aggression. The United Nations General Assembly, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), countries members of the Non-Aligned Movement and the socialist States have all frequently called on the Security Council to adopt effective measures against South Africa, to introduce comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of Pretoria. However, these fully justified demands are disregarded by two permanent members of the Security Council which have blocked the introduction of effective measures provided for in the Charter of the United Nations, thereby supporting and indeed encouraging the reactionary apartheid régime to continue its policy of repression, aggression and State terrorism.

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The Ukrainian delegation strongly condemns South Africa's acts of aggression against Lesotho and believes that the Security Council should adopt effective measures against the aggressor, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Such measures are essential to the maintenance of peace in the region, to the defence of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of young independent African countries, and to the immediate granting of true independence to Namibia and the elimination of the inhuman system of racial oppression.

Since the term of membership of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the Security Council comes to an end tomorrow, I should like in conclusion to express to you, Mr. President, and to all the other members of the Security Council, as well as to officials of the Secretariat, our delegation's great appreciation for the help and co-operation extended to us during our period of work together. I wish you all a Happy New Year and all success in the important activities undertaken here for the strengthening of international peace and security.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): On behalf of my delegation I should like to offer our sincere felicitations to you, Sir, on your presidency of the Security Council for this month. The fact that this is a historic first for the United Nations as well as for Burkina Faso is well recognized by all - that is, it is the first time in the annals of the United Nations that any country has presided thrice over the deliberations of this body. The fact that you, Mr. President, spent part of your formative years in my country adds to my delegation's pleasure and pride at seeing you in the Chair. During the past two eventful years, you have so ably represented your country on the Security Council. On the eve of your departure from the Council, my delegation wishes to express its sincere appreciation to you

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

for your dedicated efforts on behalf of the international community.

Permit me also to express on behalf of the delegation of Thailand our deep appreciation to the President of the Security Council for the month of November, Ambassador Richard Woolcott of Australia, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the business of the Council last month.

My delegation has listened carefully to the statements today, particularly the informative statement of the Foreign Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Lesotho. We extend a warm welcome to him to the Council table.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lesotho has brought to our attention the facts and circumstances of the dastardly acts committed by the Pretoria régime. Such unprovoked criminal acts constitute yet another violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lesotho and a direct consequence of the abhorrent policies and practices of apartheid of the racist South African Government. Such acts should be condemned in the strongest possible terms. Moreover, the Pretoria régime must pay full and adequate compensation to the Kingdom of Lesotho for the damage and loss of life resulting from such acts.

Apartheid has indeed become the scourge not only of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia but also of all the front-line and other States in the region. Any neighbouring country is subject to constant threats of attack and aggression should it ever open its doors to the victims of apartheid. Any humanitarian policy regarding refugees from the apartheid régime can be maintained by the neighbouring States only at the risk of border incursions and armed attacks by South Africa. The Security Council has in the past determined that such a humanitarian policy is in accordance with the right of the neighbouring States, whose wish is not to burden themselves but rather to assist the international community in a noble, humanitarian task. Their actions deserve our full support and appreciation.

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

It is indeed a well-recognized principle that to give refuge to refugees is not a hostile act towards the country of origin. Furthermore - and here I wish to quote the eloquent words of the Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho:

"It is a well-known fact that Lesotho has received refugees from South Africa belonging to various organizations on condition that they not use Lesotho territory as a springboard for attacks against South Africa. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees always makes the necessary arrangements for moving these people to second countries of asylum. This has been the practice in particular since the 1982 South African Army attack on refugees in Lesotho, when South Africa alleged that some refugees in Lesotho were a threat to its security. Lesotho does not go out of its way to recruit South African refugees. The refugees come to Lesotho of their own accord and are afforded refuge on humanitarian grounds and on the basis of international conventions". (S/PV.2638, p. 7)

My delegation would request the delegation of Lesotho to convey Thailand's sympathy to its Government and people, including the bereaved families.

It is indeed a matter of concern to my delegation - and here again I wish to quote the eloquent words of the Foreign Minister of Lesotho - that

"the situation within South Africa is such that there are likely to be more refugees coming into neighbouring countries in the foreseeable future, and unless South Africa is checked there is a risk that the South African Government will behave with increasing lawlessness towards the refugees and the neighbouring countries". (S/PV.2638, p. 11)

For the foregoing reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/17701 now before the Security Council.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Thailand for the kind words he addressed to me.

Since there are no other names on the list of speakers, I should like to make a statement now in my capacity as Permanent Representative of Burkina Faso to the United Nations.

Racist South Africa has once again demonstrated to the world its firm will to continue to violate with impunity the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring States. Its brazenness has become obvious to all of us from the moving description of events made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho.

What can one say that has not already been said? In spite of our repeated condemnations, the Pretoria racist régime obstinately refuses to come to its senses.

The United Nations Charter has been violated so often and the patience of the international community has been so severely tried by that régime that words to describe the situation confronting the Security Council fail us; they have become worn from repeated use.

(The President)

The old arguments that the representative of the racist régime habitually adduces before the Council to justify the barbaric acts of his authorities, deceive no one, nor are they acceptable to the members of the Security Council. The only true problems that South Africa must tackle reside not in the cowardly acts of aggression perpetrated against neighbouring States, but right inside South Africa, where apartheid had been established as a system of government and where over 20 million blacks are denied the most fundamental human rights. They reside in Namibia, which Pretoria continues to maintain under its colonial boot.

Acts of aggression follow in quick succession, as do Security Council resolutions. Yet the Pretoria racist régime remains unperturbed and even goes so far as to ignore and flout the most serious warnings of those whose aid and comfort permit it to defy our decisions and resolutions without fear of punishment. Every day the bursts of violence in southern Africa trouble our consciences more and more and call for action.

Adopting resolutions that forcefully condemn Pretoria will not suffice to eradicate apartheid. That is clear. The action that we have in mind need not be invented; it already exists. It is given to us ready-made by the Charter, and therefore need only be set under way. This, unfortunately, is beyond a few members of the Security Council who are as responsible for what happens in southern Africa as is the racist régime of Pretoria itself because of the way in which they obstruct the adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against that régime.

For its part, Burkina Faso pledges always to stand by its brothers who are struggling for freedom and independence and for their sovereignty, in Lesotho, which has been severely tried today, and in all the States of southern Africa.

I now resume my role as President of the Council.

(The President)

I believe that the Council is now prepared to proceed to vote on the draft resolution which it has before it. If there are no objections, I shall now put the draft resolution contained in document S/17701 to a vote. Since there are no objections, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The PRESIDENT: (interpretation from French): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has thus been adopted unanimously as resolution 580 (1985).

I shall now call on members of the Council who wish to make statements after the vote.

Mr. OKUN (United States of America): I should like, if I may, at the outset, to give my salutations to the Foreign Minister of Lesotho, whose presence here has both enlightened our debate and encouraged us all. At the same time, Mr. President, I should also like to signal your own activity during this month, during which time you have led the Council with the wisdom, tact and skill that were noted in your activities, even before assuming the presidency, and we thank you for that.

The United States is deeply concerned over the recent escalation of violence in southern Africa. The Security Council has been considering one recent manifestation of that spiral of violence, the killings, in Maseru, on the night of 19-20 December.

(Mr. Okun, United States)

The United States Government deplored those killings. We note that according to witnesses, the perpetrators of that crime fled into South Africa. The United States calls upon the South African Government to investigate the matter, apprehend the guilty parties, and bring them to justice, regardless of their identity and station.

We have made clear to the South African Government that we cannot accept the idea that South Africa may dispatch troops for military actions beyond its borders. The solution to South Africa's problems lies rather in the elimination of the abhorrent system of apartheid and in strengthening its dialogue with its neighbours through all channels and at all levels.

My delegation supports the resolution condemning the killings in Lesotho presented to the Council. We believe that this is a constructive, moderate resolution, which is a tribute to the constructive, moderate attitude of Lesotho. Its words were chosen with care. We particularly welcome operative paragraph 3, which calls upon all parties to employ established channels of communication to resolve differences. There is already enough passion in the region as a result of assassinations, land mine explosions, and bombings. The territory of States in the region cannot and should not be used as launching pads for attacks against each other. This is a principle that applies to all. Creative minds should be looking for ways to dampen the tensions and dangers in the region, and we believe that direct dialogue between the concerned parties is the best way to encourage this process.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words addressed to the Presidency.

I call upon the Foreign Minister of Lesotho, who has asked to speak.

Mr. MAKHELE (Lesotho): I thank you, Mr. President, for allowing me to speak again.

First of all, I should like to express my country's appreciation to the Security Council for having been kind enough to listen to our complaint and particularly to adopt the draft resolution unanimously, as has just happened. This will, indeed, console our people, who live perpetually under the threat of the racist régime of South Africa, which would like to deceive the world by attacking our country, while it avoids admitting that it is the people of South Africa, inside South Africa, that wants its freedom, and that it is not our neighbouring countries that are responsible for what is happening in South Africa.

There are over 28 million people that are deprived by the minority régime of their solemn right of deciding how they are to be governed - 28 million that are governed by only 4 million minority whites. That is the fundamental problem that South Africa must face, and unless it faces it squarely there is no other way of resolving the problem.

What has been said about Lesotho avoiding internal problems is just a fallacy that has been transmitted to the Security Council. Lesotho has no internal problems. Lesotho's problems are always those that originate from the hegemony of South Africa, which would like to use our territories to bring up opposition parties that are nurtured by the Foreign Minister of that country, and which are founded and funded by the Foreign Minister of that country, together with the murderous bandits that live inside South Africa and exchange written information with the Foreign Minister of that country.

Having said that, I once again thank the Council for its kind consideration. I thank all the members for their understanding and co-operation.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I shall now suspend the meeting in order to make it possible for members of the Council to hold consultations.

The meeting was suspended at 7 p.m. and resumed at 8.10 p.m.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: (interpretation from French): The Security Council has reached the conclusion of the present stage of its consideration of the agenda item before it.

Before adjourning the meeting, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the members of the Council:

"The members of the Security Council strongly condemn the unjustifiable and criminal terrorist attacks at the Rome and Vienna airports which caused the taking of innocent human lives.

"They urge that those responsible for those deliberate and indiscriminate killings be brought to trial in accordance with due process of law.

"They call upon all concerned to exercise restraint and to refrain from taking any action inconsistent with their obligations under the United Nations Charter and other relevant rules of international law.

(The President)

"They reaffirm the statement of the President of the Security Council of 9 October 1985 (S/17554), Security Council resolution 579 (1985) of 18 December 1985, and endorse the Secretary-General's statement of 27 December 1985, in which he noted General Assembly resolution 40/61 of 9 December 1985, and expressed the hope that it would be followed by determined efforts by all governments and authorities concerned, in accordance with established principles of international law, in order that all acts, methods and practices of terrorism may be brought to an end."

With the Council's permission, and in the hope that this meeting is our last until 1986, I should like to make a very brief comment.

My dear colleagues, just a few hours before the end of Burkina Faso's term of office in the Security Council, and right before the end of the year, I should like, on behalf of my people, the National Council of the Revolution and its Head, Captain Thomas Sankara, to extend to you all our best wishes for a very happy year.

I should also like to extend to the entire world the message of peace of the Security Council, that peace that we all want to bring about for a better world, a world for which we have all worked tirelessly.

I should like lastly to thank the members of the Security Council, the Secretary-General and the members of the Secretariat for their support and co-operation, which have never failed us in the past years during which we have been members of the Security Council.

The meeting rose at 8.15 p.m.