



**Security Council**

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ENGLISH

**PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND  
SIX HUNDRED AND NINETY-SECOND MEETING**

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Tuesday, 17 June 1986, at 11.00 a.m.

<b>President:</b>	Mr. RABETAFIKA	(Madagascar)
<b>Members:</b>	Australia	Mr. WOOLCOTT
	Bulgaria	Mr. TSVETKOV
	China	Mr. HUANG Jiahua
	Congo	Mr. MOUSSAKI
	Denmark	Mr. BIERRING
	France	Mr. de KEMOULARIA
	Ghana	Mr. DUMEVI
	Thailand	Mr. KASEMSARN
	Trinidad and Tobago	Mr. MCKENZIE
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. SAFRONCHEUK
	United Arab Emirates	Mr. AL-SHAALI
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. MAXEY
	United States of America	Mr. OKUN
	Venezuela	Mr. PABON GARCIA

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The meeting was called to order at 11.45 a.m.

#### ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

#### COMPLAINT BY ANGOLA AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

LETTER DATED 12 JUNE 1986 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ANGOLA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/18148)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): In accordance with decisions taken by the Council at its 2691st meeting, I invite the representative of Angola to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Cuba, South Africa, the Syrian Arab Republic, Zaire and Zambia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Velazco San Jose (Cuba), Mr. von Schirnding (South Africa), Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Ludunge Kadahi Chiri-Mwami (Zaire) and Mr. Mfula (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the German Democratic Republic, Nicaragua, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Viet Nam in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Richter (German Democratic Republic), Miss Astorga Gadea (Nicaragua), Mr. Skofenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) and Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Security Council will now resume consideration of the item on the agenda.

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

Mr. SKOFENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): I should like to welcome you sincerely, Sir, to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. Your political experience and diplomatic skills guarantee the success of the Council's work under your guidance.

We wish also to pay a tribute to Ambassador Gbeho, the Permanent Representative of Ghana, for the skilful way in which he guided the Council's activities in May.

The attention of the Security Council has been constantly focused on the question of the situation in South Africa, particularly in regard to the aggressive acts committed by the racist South African régime. The cynicism and stubbornness with which Pretoria has been trampling upon generally accepted standards of international law and civilized behaviour are incontrovertible evidence of the serious threat posed by the apartheid régime to the peoples of Africa and to international peace and security as a whole.

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The terrorist action in the Angolan port of Namibe, where attacks were carried out on the oil depot and on merchant vessels from the Soviet Union and Cuba, is a new link in the chain of constant acts of aggression by the South African régime against independent African States. This act was committed immediately after the bandit-like attack against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe and, like other similar acts, is a desperate attempt by the apartheid régime to frighten free African countries, to subject them to its diktat and to force them to forgo support for the legitimate cause of the patriots of South Africa and Namibia, who are fighting for their freedom and independence.

It must be emphasized that the aggressive acts by the South African racists are being escalated with the protection of a number of Western Powers, mainly the United States of America. It is quite clear that the vetoes by the United States and the United Kingdom of the Security Council draft resolution on the question of South Africa's aggression against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe was viewed by Pretoria as direct encouragement to continue its policy. As a result, we have this new act of international terrorism carried out by the racists - an act that can have far-reaching and dangerous consequences.

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The crimes of the Pretoria régime, made possible by the infamous policy of "constructive engagement" and by various types of assistance to the racists provided by certain Western countries and Israel, arouse genuine indignation among African peoples and the world community at large. We cannot permit the crimes of the racists to go unpunished.

The Ukrainian SSR vigorously condemns South Africa's actions and calls for an immediate end to all support for the Pretoria régime. We are in favour of effective international measures, including the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

General Assembly decisions have called for the international isolation of the apartheid régime, as have many intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. In particular, this call was made in the declarations adopted recently at seminars on oil and weapons embargoes against South Africa, which were held at London and Oslo. The same goals are being pursued by the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, which began its work yesterday at Paris. We are convinced that the adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions would promote the establishment of peace and stability in the interests of all the peoples of the region, including the white population of South Africa.

Various political machinations claiming to "transform" apartheid and to bring about "gradual" reforms have been praised by some Western countries, but in fact they represent nothing more than a hopeless attempt to camouflage the criminal apartheid system and the aggressive policies of the racist régime of South Africa. Apartheid cannot be reformed or transformed; it must be completely, immediately and finally eliminated. This will not take place by itself; it must be fought for vigorously.

(Mr. Skofenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The Ukrainian SSR most categorically condemns South Africa's banditlike attack against Angola and demands an end to aggression against that country. We call upon the Security Council to adopt the measures necessary to put an end to the arbitrary acts of the Pretoria racists.

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

The next speaker is the representative of Nicaragua. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

Mrs. ASTORGA GADEA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish first of all to thank you, Sir, and the other members of the Security Council for this opportunity to participate in the debate on the complaint by Angola against South Africa. I wish also to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of this important body for June. Madagascar's foreign policy is exemplary in its commitment to the principles of this Organization and in its solidarity and support for the cause of freedom in southern Africa. Added to your great experience in the United Nations, your moral convictions, and the impartiality you have displayed on so many occasions, this ensures that the work of the Council will contribute to the peace and security of nations.

This is not the first time Angola has appealed to this Council as the victim of constant attacks against its sovereignty and territorial integrity by the racist régime of South Africa. The history of the People's Republic of Angola as an independent country is marked by such cowardly and unjustified attacks. The events of 5 June, described by Ambassador de Figueiredo in his statement yesterday, form yet another link in the long chain of aggression; moreover, they took place during a particularly critical situation in South Africa.

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

That situation is marked by the irrepressible rise of the South African people's struggle for freedom, equality, justice and national identity and by growing international repudiation of the apartheid régime, as well as a whole series of acts of aggression by Pretoria against its own population and against the front-line States, demonstrating its mounting desperation at the prospect of the inevitable downfall of its odious, inhuman régime.

At the end of May this year, South African troops joined with UNITA mercenary bands to attack Xangongo in Cunene province; the smoke still lingers from the recent South African bombings carried out against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. We come here again today to call for an end to this policy of State terrorism, manifested in this case in an attack on the Angolan port of Namibe.

At the internal level we have also seen the South African régime increase the repression of its people through the re-imposition of a state of emergency. That was President Botha's response to the mediation efforts of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons, which had sought fruitlessly to seek a peaceful end to apartheid.

News agencies report that since 12 June, when the state of emergency was again proclaimed throughout South Africa, 19 have died, hundreds have been wounded and thousands detained. That is how the Pretoria authorities prepared for the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre in the midst of a massive orgy of blood-letting. Press reports this morning have confirmed this.

I think it is very important to quote a few of the conclusions reached by the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons who recently travelled to South Africa. Among the conclusions of their report are the following:

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

(spoke in English)

"While we are not determining the nature or extent of any measures which might be adopted or their effectiveness, we point to the fact that the Government of South Africa has itself used economic measures against its neighbours and that such measures are patently instruments of its own national policy. We are convinced that the South African Government is concerned about the adoption of effective economic measures against it. If it comes to the conclusion that it would always remain protected from such measures, the process of change in South Africa is unlikely to increase in momentum, and the descent into violence would be accelerated. In these circumstances, the cost in lives might have to be counted in millions.

"The question facing Heads of Government is in our view clear. It is not whether such measures will compel change: It is already the case that their absence and Pretoria's belief that they need not be feared defers change. Is the Commonwealth to stand by and allow the cycle of violence to spiral, or will it take concerted action of an effective kind? Such actions may offer the last opportunity to avert what could be the worst blood-bath since the Second World War".

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

(continued in Spanish)

The only comment that we would add, given the clear-cut nature of those conclusions, is that the need for concerted actions and particularly sanctions against the apartheid régime under Chapter VII of the Charter, has always been asserted in the Security Council from the very moment when South Africa refused to heed its resolutions. Additionally, that blood-bath referred to in the report is already under way, and the suffering that the people of South Africa will have to bear indirectly as a result of the sanctions we are demanding are minimal compared with the horrors suffered by that people throughout the 100-year existence of apartheid and the horrors that await it if such measures are not immediately taken.

The international outcry for the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa as the sole effective way of dismantling the apartheid system grows daily. That outcry can be heard at this moment in Paris, at UNESCO headquarters, where the Second International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa is being held. That outcry will also be heard more forcefully yet at the forthcoming International Conference on Namibia, to be held in Vienna in July.

The well-known absence of the United States delegation in Paris indicates that the Reagan Administration is prepared to continue to lend a deaf ear to that universal outcry and that of its own people, which is increasingly demanding an end to the crime against humanity that apartheid represents. That absence is one of an accomplice; it is a guilty absence.

The international community could not and cannot ignore the existence of the apartheid régime; it cannot evade its responsibility to contribute within the framework of international law and the United Nations Charter to the dismantling of the apartheid system.

(Mrs. Astorga Gadea, Nicaragua)

We have the historical certainty that the South African people and the Namibian people will find the right way to obtain freedom, democracy and equality of citizenship. The struggle may be shorter or longer, depending to some extent on the international community's actions. That is our challenge; that is the challenge of all democratic and peace-loving peoples and Governments the world over.

Once peace and freedom have been achieved in South Africa and the apartheid system dismantled, there will be no acts of aggression against neighbours, no genocide of the black population, and no more Sowetos.

Allow me on this occasion to reiterate our support for and solidarity with the Government of the People's Republic of Angola in its struggle to preserve its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. We also reiterate our complete support for the heroic combatants of the African National Congress of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization and convey to them in these decisive times our encouragement and militant solidarity with their just struggle.

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

Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): At the moment when the international community is looking towards the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, in Paris, to seek ways and means to eliminate the base system of apartheid in South Africa, the Security Council is again called upon to consider this act of outright aggression carried out by the South African régime against the People's Republic of Angola.

Less than two weeks after the aggression by the Pretoria racists against Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe, the world once again witnessed a barbaric act of

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

State terrorism by South Africa against a neighbouring country. As stated in the communiqué of the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency published on that occasion:

"The arrogant terrorist act carried out on 5 June last by the South African racists against the Angolan port of Namibe has been met with deep concern, indignation and anger by Bulgarian public opinion. A Cuban ship was sunk and two Soviet merchant vessels were damaged. Major material damage has been caused and port installations have been destroyed."

The facts presented here by the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Angola irrefutably prove that decisive measures should be taken against the Pretoria régime's constantly growing aggressiveness, which in recent months has been the cause of a dangerous worsening of the already serious situation in that region. At the end of last week the Security Council expressed its concern over the tension that prevails in South Africa, where for decades the racists have been waging a destructive war against the country's black majority. The culmination point of that barbaric policy was the racists' violence in 1976 at Soweto, when hundreds of innocent citizens, infants and schoolchildren, were viciously killed. At a time when the world is marking the tenth anniversary of that sad event, the international community is alarmed by the communications that testify to a new blood-bath in South Africa.

This repressive policy against its own people is expressed abroad in constant acts of aggression against independent States, in a worsening of tension in the region and in a threat to international peace and security. For years on end Pretoria, protected by Washington, has with impunity been pursuing a policy of aggression and State terrorism against the People's Republic of Angola. The recent visit by the bandit Savimbi to Washington was a demonstration of the open and direct commitment of the United States to South Africa's attempted destabilization

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

of Angola. Hence it should come as no surprise that the United States provides constant protection for South Africa within the international Organization, as can be seen from the most recent events right here in the Security Council.

From the moment that the heroic people of Angola led by Agostinho Neto gained its independence, imperialism and its bastion in the southern part of Africa - the racist Pretoria régime - have constantly attempted to put the brakes on the peaceful development of the young Angolan State, which had been drained by colonial domination for centuries.

Numerous Security Council resolutions adopted during this period have met with the racist South African régime's most brutal scorn. What is more, by flagrantly violating standards and principles of international law and contradicting decisions of this lofty forum, Pretoria continues to occupy part of Angolan territory. South Africa's subversive activities, carried out through the mercenary Savimbi, have certainly not ceased. Pretoria unrelentingly attempts to ruin the fragile economic infrastructure of that non-aligned country.

The racists are still receiving all kinds of aid - political, military, economic and other - that enable them to acquire an enormous military power. As is well known, Pretoria has concentrated large military units near Angola, on the territory of occupied Namibia. A new adventure is being prepared. The increased threats by the fascists in Pretoria, Johannesburg and Durban have not ceased. The danger of a serious conflagration with unforeseen consequences for international peace and security is evident. Also, taking into account the racists' nuclear ambitions, the Security Council should draw attention to the great danger to international peace and security inherent in the racist South African régime's aggressive policy.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

The racists' refusal to implement the numerous resolutions and solutions offered by the Security Council is a constant challenge to the United Nations and the Council; it clearly shows, especially in the light of the latest violent acts within the country and the latest aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, that the only way left to the Security Council is the adoption of effective, mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime in keeping with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. In addition to comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Pretoria, the Security Council must include a demand that the South African racists make complete compensation to the People's Republic of Angola for the damages it has suffered. Those are the only ways to guarantee a halt to the aggressive acts of the racists. Moreover, as has been emphasized here on many occasions, such measures would contribute to putting an end to the acts of destabilization and aggression by the racist South Africans against sovereign neighbouring African countries and would lead to the final and total eradication of the underlying cause of the serious threat to peace and security that prevails throughout that region, namely, the inhuman régime of apartheid.

As was noted in the statement I quoted earlier,

"The Bulgarian people categorically condemns this new premeditated act of State terrorism and expresses its solidarity with the struggle of the Angolan people against the South African aggressors in defence of its national sovereignty and their legitimate right to determine its own future. The total responsibility for such acts of defiance lies with the racist South African régime."

Mr. WOGLCOTT (Australia): Since this is the first occasion on which I have spoken in the Security Council this month, I would like to take a moment to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of June and to say how glad the Australian delegation is to see you in this important office for the second time. Apart from the growing and close relations between our two countries, I know from our close and friendly personal association over the last three and a half years that, with your great experience of the United Nations, your wisdom, your patience and your skill, you will serve the Council well.

I would also like to congratulate Ambassador Victor Gbeho of Ghana for the energetic and skilful way in which he conducted the affairs of the Council during the active month of May.

It is with real concern that the Australian delegation recalls that during the past 18 months the Security Council has met on numerous occasions to consider the matter of South Africa's illegal incursions into neighbouring States.

On four of those occasions, we have had to deal with action by South Africa's security forces directed against Angola, in violation of international law and in disregard of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of that nation. On each of those occasions the Australian delegation has supported fully the resolutions condemning those actions. It will be recalled that the Australian delegation participated in the Commission of Investigation established under Security Council resolution 571 (1985) to investigate South Africa's armed intervention in Angola in September and October of last year. The findings of that Commission were unequivocal: South African military forces were unacceptably and directly involved in Angola.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

On this latest occasion my delegation has again listened with concern and sympathy to the representative of Angola. His description of the loss of life and property earlier this month in the port of Namibe was an eloquent and damning indictment of those responsible. South Africa has denied that its troops were involved - we heard that here yesterday. Yet, time after time in recent years, South Africa has used its superior armed force against its neighbours in contravention of the norms of international behaviour. The attack against Namibe followed very closely on the heels of the flagrant, carefully planned and premeditated incursions by South African forces against targets in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana in violation of the individual sovereignty of those countries. Frankly, it is asking a lot of the Council to accept South African denials at their face value, to accept that - as it claims - South Africa "has no quarrels with any of its neighbours." That is really stretching its credibility.

In the past the representative of South Africa has in this Council advanced the - to us quite unacceptable - argument that South African actions in Angola have as their aim the maintenance of the stability of Namibia, which, of course, South Africa occupies illegally. That argument is untenable in law and fatuous in terms of common sense and morality, and the Australian delegation rejects it outright. The fact that South Africa persists in its acts of aggression against neighbouring States and in the face of outraged international opinion, which has been reflected in successive unanimous resolutions of the Security Council, is, in our view, especially deplorable.

It is timely to reflect that apartheid and the illegal occupation of Namibia remain at the root of violence in that region. The abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a multiracial democratic society in South Africa is vital, not

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

only for South Africa itself and its immediate region, but for the whole world. It is a matter for profound regret that international concern has again and again washed so far unavailingly against the wall of intransigence and obduracy erected by the South African Government. But that cannot last. By its attitude, for example, to the efforts of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, South Africa has shown that there is no present prospect of meaningful dialogue within its borders. By its own actions, South Africa is in fact daily increasing the pressures on the world community to adopt sterner measures to bring it to its senses.

Australia, for its part, condemns without reservation all violations of territorial integrity and appeals to South Africa in particular to respect international law and the terms of the Charter of the United Nations and to desist from all aggression against its neighbours. Such aggression cannot be justified, it cannot be condoned and it must be condemned.

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

Mr. BIERRING (Denmark): It is a great pleasure for me to extend to you, Sir, my warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. Your eminent human and professional qualities and your long and successful service with the United Nations have secured you well-merited membership of the exclusive club of eminent persons in the Organization and are a guarantee of the fruitful completion of your lofty mission.

I also pay tribute to Ambassador Gbeho, of Ghana, who guided the Council's proceedings in May with his well-known ability and devotion to the cause of the United Nations.

Less than a month ago the Security Council met to discuss the South African armed attacks against neighbouring Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Unfortunately, the Council was not then able to take a decision, in spite of the condemnation of South Africa's acts of aggression expressed by all its members. It is indeed distressing that we have to meet to discuss yet another case of South African aggression against a neighbouring State.

Angola has in the past repeatedly been subjected to violations by South Africa of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The latest attacks on ships in the Angolan port of Namibe are only the latest in a series of premeditated acts of aggression against Angola. The Council has over and over strongly condemned those acts and made it clear to South Africa that they are in clear violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

At a time when the international condemnation of South Africa for its policy at home and abroad is voiced in ever stronger terms, the South African régime persists in pursuing its acts of repression and destabilization. South Africa is gravely mistaken in believing that its neighbours can be forced into compliance with its own design for the region. South Africa's repeated and flagrant

(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

violations of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State, in defiance of the Council's decisions, is another indication of the fact that no true peace can come to southern Africa as long as apartheid prevails in South Africa. South Africa must bear the heavy responsibility for the consequences of its aggressive acts.

In his letter (S/18156) dated 13 June 1986 to the Secretary-General, with reference to the incursion into Angola which took place last year, the Permanent Representative of South Africa shamelessly denied any involvement of his country in acts of aggression against Angola, and stated that South Africa considered itself under no obligation to pay compensation to that country. It is, of course, totally unacceptable that South Africa thus chooses once more to ignore the decisions of the Security Council, and it highlights the futility of the proposal yesterday by the South African representative for the dispatch of yet another investigating team.

During the latest events in southern Africa South Africa has openly shown its hand of brutality and repression. It is the Council's duty, before it is too late, to take unanimous action in order to make South Africa understand that the path it has now taken could easily have disastrous consequences.

Denmark believes that increased international pressure must be brought to bear on South Africa if a peaceful solution is still to be achieved to the critical problems of southern Africa. The situation is rapidly approaching the point of no return. South Africa's contemptuous and repeated acts of aggression against Member States in the region as well as its violent and oppressive policies towards its own people have reached a level where international peace and security are seriously threatened.

(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

If a disaster is to be avoided the Security Council should take a firm stand now, before it is too late.

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

Mr. HUANG Jiahua (China) (interpretation from Chinese): At the outset, Sir, I warmly congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am convinced that, with your outstanding talent and rich diplomatic experience, you will discharge your duties for this month in an excellent manner. I also take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador James Gbeho, for the successful job he did last month.

On 19 May the South African racist régime launched armed invasions into the capital cities of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Soon afterwards, on 5 June, it dispatched naval ships to attack Namibe, an oil port city in Angola, sank and wrecked Angolan merchant vessels and destroyed an oil depot, causing serious damage to the port facilities. All justice-upholding countries and people the world over are vehemently indignant at, and have strongly condemned, those barbarous crimes by the South African authorities, which have repeatedly encroached upon the sovereignty of neighbouring States, in gross violation of the Charter and the norms of international law.

We have pointed out on many occasions that the root cause of the instability in southern Africa lies in the South African authorities' insistence on pursuing the policy of apartheid, their continued illegal occupation of Namibia and their incessant aggression against the neighbouring countries.

In recent years the South African people's struggle against apartheid has gathered new momentum, and more and more people throughout the world have strongly

(Mr. Huang Jiahua, China)

demanded the abolition of that system and the establishment of a non-racial, democratic and equal society in South Africa based on majority rule. However, the racists in South Africa, totally ignoring the condemnation by the international community, are still obstinately clinging to their perverse course, obdurately pursuing a racist rule, and have even intensified their repression of the South African people.

On the eve of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre the South African authorities declared on 12 June a nation-wide state of emergency, resorting to fascist means in massive arrests and suppression of the South African people fighting against apartheid. They have also repeatedly disrupted the peace and stability of the front-line countries and repeatedly violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the neighbouring countries. Not only has the oil port of Angola been subjected to South African raids, but Zambia too has become the target of planned, large-scale South African aggression. South Africa's other neighbours are also under a constant threat of being invaded.

The international community can no longer tolerate such barbarous acts by the South African authorities, which have wantonly and repeatedly trampled underfoot the Charter and the norms of international law, and seriously violated peace in the region. Strong, firm and effective measures should be taken to enforce sanctions against the South African authorities.

(Mr. Huang Jiahua, China)

The Chinese Government and people wish to express their deep sympathy with, and support for, the Government and people of Angola in the wake of the aggression by the South African racist régime. We are firmly against racism and strongly support their struggle to defend their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

The Chinese delegation holds that the Security Council, which has been entrusted with the special responsibility of maintaining international peace and security, should truly discharge its duties. Since the acts committed by the South African authorities have seriously jeopardized international peace and security, the Council should impose comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against them in compliance with Chapter VII of the Charter. We also sincerely hope that those countries that are still hesitating will set store in the overall interests of maintaining peace and stability in southern Africa and adopt stern sanction measures so as completely to isolate the South African authorities and bring about an early end to the system of apartheid. That is the only way to secure genuine stability and peace in the southern African region.

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

The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

MR. RICHTER (German Democratic Republic): At the very outset, my delegation would like to express its thanks for the opportunity given to it to participate in the meetings to consider the complaint by Angola regarding the raid perpetrated by the South African navy against the port of Namibe.

(Mr. Richter, German Democratic Republic)

Mr. President, my delegation notes with satisfaction that a representative of free Africa is presiding over this important debate. May I congratulate you, Sir, on the assumption of this high office and express my confidence that we all will profit from your great experience and your outstanding diplomatic skill.

Let me also extend our thanks to Ambassador James Victor Gbeho, the Permanent Representative of Ghana, for the exemplary manner in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

Lately, the South African régime has escalated its criminal acts of terror both against the majority of its own population and against sovereign neighbouring States in such a way that outrage and indignation have been provoked the world over. At the same time, these machinations of the apartheid régime have, in many countries that are committed to peace and freedom, led to a new wave of sympathy and manifold solidarity with the just and bitter struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia as well as of the African front-line States.

An expression of this is that, especially these days, mighty demonstrations and other activities have taken place in connection with the tenth anniversary of the bloody Soweto massacre. Included in that spectrum of activities are also the measures and decisions taken by the United Nations Security Council, among them the adoption of your message, Mr. President, to the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa now being held in Paris, as well as the statement of the Security Council made by you, Sir, on 12 June on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre.

Under the agenda item demanded by Angola on 12 June 1986, the Council has again to deal with a particularly disgusting aspect of South Africa's policy of violence, namely, with the terrorism of South Africa and its violation of the

(Mr. Richter, German Democratic Republic)

sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, with which the German Democratic Republic has close and friendly relations.

With regard to the raid perpetrated by the South African navy against the port of Namibe on 8 June 1986, the German Democratic Republic takes the following position:

By this brutal act of State terrorism, the racist régime of apartheid has again trampled upon recognized norms of international law. As before, it has arrogantly disregarded world public opinion.

There is no doubt that such a policy would not be possible without the open support given by the most aggressive circles of imperialism. The criminal attack against the People's Republic of Angola unveils, once again, the policy of apartheid as the root-cause of the explosive situation in southern Africa. It once again illustrates the peace-threatening character of South Africa's aggressive policy and the resultant dangers to regional and international security.

The German Democratic Republic resolutely condemns that act of terror which is a link in the chain of 10 years of South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. We reiterate our demand for the immediate discontinuation of political, economic and military interference by South Africa and other States in the internal affairs of Angola. The German Democratic Republic considers it indispensable to curb without delay the aggressive actions of the apartheid régime which, by means of war and terror against independent States and peoples of the region, attempts to divert attention from its deep social crisis.

(Mr. Richter, German Democratic Republic)

In a message sent on 16 June 1986 to the Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa just opened in Paris, the Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic declared that

"The German Democratic Republic most resolutely condemns the apartheid régime's aggressive policy of destabilization vis-à-vis the African neighbouring States, the illegal occupation of Namibia and the escalation of terror within South Africa itself. The German Democratic Republic calls for the immediate discontinuation of the political, economic and military collusion of imperialist States and transnational corporations with the racist régime. Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter now are more imperative than ever before."

(Mr. Richter, German Democratic Republic)

My delegation holds the view that the speedy practical implementation of the realistic proposals made by the People's Republic of Angola is appropriate to bring about a just, lasting and peaceful solution of the problems in the region, including the question of Namibia. Also, in the future the German Democratic Republic will actively support and display solidarity with the struggle of the People's Republic of Angola against imperialist policies of aggression and diktat for the consolidation of its national sovereignty, for peace and security.

Pretoria's political isolation has never been so strong as it is today. To make it even stronger, and to put an end at last to the inhumane fanaticism of apartheid, should be the overriding concern of the Council at these meetings. In this connection my delegation is well aware - and are the reports about the preparation of massive military attacks by Pretoria against Zambia not alarming enough? - that South Africa will use every conceivable means to postpone the end of the régime, which is doomed by history. It must be prevented by all means.

My delegation expects the Security Council to adopt decisions which contribute to further increasing international pressure on South Africa. Only when the world succeeds in halting once and for all the policy of institutionalized racism and in paving the way for a democratic, non-racist and just society in South Africa will stability prevail throughout the region of southern Africa and the threat to international peace and security emanating from it be banished.

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

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

Mr. MEULA (Zambia): Mr. President, may I on behalf of the Zambian delegation thank you and the other members of the Security Council for giving me this opportunity to participate in this important debate on the complaint of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola against racist South Africa.

Before I go into the substance of the complaint before the Council, let me congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. Your well known diplomatic skills and the commitment of your country to the eradication of the evil system of apartheid assure us of a successful outcome of this debate. I wish also to pay a deserved tribute to another illustrious son of Africa, Ambassador James V. Gbeho of Ghana, for the excellent manner in which he handled the deliberations of this Council during the month of May.

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Angola has very ably put before the Security Council his country's complaint against racist South Africa concerning its armed attacks against Angola in the south-western province of Namibe at dawn on 5 June 1986, in which it hit oil installations and cargo ships anchored at the port of Namibe.

Once again South Africa is engaged in its only contribution to our region - the perpetration of unprovoked acts of aggression and destabilization of the independent African countries in southern Africa. The raid on the People's Republic of Angola comes in the aftermath of the three armed attacks against Botswana, Zimbabwe and my own country, Zambia, on 19 May 1986. Not only has racist South Africa escalated its raids against its neighbours, but it has also increased its military activities in the southern parts of Angola, helping the UNITA rebels against the Government of Angola. This escalation of war by UNITA rebels and racist South Africa in Angola follows the infamous visit to the United States by Savimbi, a desperado and an opportunist who is using the American military aid against his own people.

(Mr. Mfula, Zambia)

In South Africa itself the racist régime continues to face mounting opposition to its obnoxious apartheid policy. Children, some of them below the age of 10 years, have joined their elder brothers and sisters and their parents in fighting apartheid despite the régime's brutal methods of dealing with its opponents.

The recent imposition of a state of emergency in the whole of South Africa attests to the régime's desperate ways of maintaining its cherished goal, the preservation of white supremacy and the perpetual suppression of the black majority - in other words, the status quo at any cost. The arrest, maiming, torture and murder of innocent black South Africans who are committed to bringing about freedom and justice in South Africa continues unabated. South Africa's posture of State terrorism in defence of apartheid has brought about untold suffering among the black South Africans and Namibians. I wish to reiterate that apartheid is the root cause of tension in South Africa and the entire southern African region. Apartheid South Africa thus continues to pose a serious threat to regional and international peace and security.

We are gravely concerned that South African raids against the People's Republic of Angola and the other countries of our region and its repression of the black majority seem to be insufficient to cause some - who are also permanent members of this Council - to consider the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against that terrorist régime as demanded by the oppressed people of South Africa and the international community. For reasons of which we are all aware - namely the protection of their business interests in South Africa - they have conveniently hidden behind the irrational reasoning that economic sanctions cannot be effective in bringing about positive change in that troubled country. Yet they are the same countries that have used sanctions against other countries. If sanctions do not work, why oppose them so vehemently?

(Mr. Mfula, Zambia)

The only remaining peaceful and effective way to put pressure on racist South Africa is by the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. There is no peaceful and effective alternative. Policies of appeasement such as so-called constructive engagement only serve to strengthen the régime's resolve to further entrench apartheid. Our call for sanctions is not just an empty gesture, nor does it spring from a lack of objectivity on our part; it is a well thought out last resort after decades of fruitless efforts to negotiate.

South Africa has simply been intransigent and aggressive. If anyone here can give us a better alternative to sanctions which bring about an end to apartheid, we will gladly go along with it, because our interest is the complete eradication of that evil system which only uncivilized people can espouse and condone.

(Mr. Mfula, Zambia)

But such an alternative ought to be better than "constructive engagement", which has been a dismal failure and has contributed to the suffering of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. But since such an alternative does not exist, we are genuinely convinced that only sanctions will do the trick. We hope that the Council will meet in the near future to consider the recommendations of the World Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, which is now in session in Paris. Its recommendations should not be treated with disdain but should serve as a basis for concrete action by the Council.

South Africa is acting under a delusion that its security lies in the repression of the black majority and attacking its neighbours; yet the simple truth - which does not even need common sense to realize - is that apartheid is South Africa's greatest enemy and not the people of South Africa or indeed the neighbouring countries. In the interest of peace and stability in southern Africa, we demand the immediate unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from Angola, the lifting of the state of emergency in South Africa, the unbanning of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the total eradication of apartheid and the immediate independence of Namibia in terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

The credibility of the Council and its members is at stake, because failure to act decisively to avert further suffering and an imminent catastrophe in South Africa will reflect badly on the United Nations as a whole. How can the Security Council - which under the Charter of the United Nations is the only organ charged with primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security - acquiesce in the apartheid system of South Africa, which more than ever poses a serious threat to international peace and security?

Let us all look at the problem as it is: apartheid is immoral and it must be eradicated without further delay. Bogus protestations by South Africa of a

(Mr. Mfula, Zambia)

communist onslaught in the region are as imaginary as they are diversionary. The Security Council has an obligation to come to the defence of the oppressed people of South Africa. The Council has an obligation to take measures that will ensure the immediate eradication of apartheid, thus helping to bring about a secure political climate to enhance good-neighbourliness in southern Africa. That is indeed what must be done, and the time to do it is now.

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

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

Mr. BUI XUAN NHAT (Viet Nam): I should like to begin my statement on a happy note by saying how pleased I am to see you, Sir, such an able and experienced representative of a country with which we have enjoyed good and friendly relations, presiding over the work of the Council this month. That gives me reason to believe that the work of this body will be geared to success. I wish also to extend my congratulations to Ambassador Gbeho of Ghana for having fulfilled with style and devotion his responsibilities as President of the Council for May. Finally, I thank all the members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to take part in the work of the Council.

On 5 June we witnessed a premeditated and unprovoked attack by the South African forces against the Angolan port of Namibe, the targets this time being unarmed ships of the Soviet Union and Cuba, which were anchored there and unloading. The result was one ship sunk and two others damaged. This is an open act of aggression and State terrorism on the part of the racist régime of South Africa against Angola, a sovereign and peace-loving country. The attack is all the more serious since it came only a few weeks after the raids by South African armed forces against other front-line States - Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia. These

(Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat, Viet Nam)

acts have further shown that the South African apartheid régime is a constant factor of instability in the region. It is notorious for its policy of internal suppression of the black majority and of war and aggression against the neighbouring countries. It has been condemned by the whole world for its policy and practices.

No one can be so naive as not to see that the Pretoria régime cannot act in total disregard of world public opinion without the support and protection provided by certain Western allies. To paraphrase an old saying, these allies are indeed the ones who pay the piper, and the tunes they call are those very armed attacks against the front-line States. This accounts for the veto votes cast over the draft resolution calling for sanctions against South Africa just three weeks ago. By misusing the veto power and by rendering partial sanctions ineffective, those Western countries concerned have exposed themselves as demagogues giving the racist régime a helping hand. The latest attack against Namibe has a direct and an indirect causative relation with such attitudes.

The acts of aggression by the Pretoria racist régime against Angola and other front-line States have further aggravated tension in southern Africa. They constitute a stark violation of the United Nations Charter and international law and an insolent challenge to the entire international community. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam strongly condemns these acts and demands that South Africa put an immediate end to acts of piracy and destabilization of the situation in the region. We urge the Security Council to adopt strong measures - including those under Chapter VII of the Charter - against the apartheid régime of South Africa.

On 10 June the Foreign Minister of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement strongly condemning South Africa for its acts of aggression against Angola. The statement reads in part as follows:

(Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat, Viet Nam)

"This is a new escalation of aggression and evidence of State terrorism taken by the apartheid régime of South Africa, a tool of imperialism against the independence, sovereignty, peace and security of all African nations.

"The people and the Government of Viet Nam strongly condemn these acts of aggression by the South African authorities against Angola and demand that it put an end to its acts of piracy, stop lending a hand to the UNITA bandits and respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and other countries.

"The Vietnamese people and Government reaffirm their militant solidarity with and full support for the just struggle of the Angolan and other southern Africa peoples for defending their national independence and sovereignty and eliminating apartheid to its very roots."

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

There are no further speakers on my list for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on its agenda will be held tomorrow, 18 June, at 3 p.m. I understand that a provisional draft resolution is being prepared, the text of which will be made available to members of the Council this afternoon. I hope that at our meeting tomorrow we shall be able to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

