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2209th MEETING: 10 APRIL 1980

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NOTE

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2209th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 10 April 1980, at 4.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Porfirio MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, China, France, German Democratic Republic, Jamaica, Mexico, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2209)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint by Zambia against South Africa:
Letter dated 8 April 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13878)

The meeting was called to order at 5.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Zambia against South Africa:
Letter dated 8 April 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13878)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola, Cuba, Liberia, Mauritius, Nigeria and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the 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 accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Roa-Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Tubman (Liberia), Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius), Mr. Clark (Nigeria) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Council is meeting today in response to a request

from the representative of Zambia, which is contained in a letter dated 8 April addressed to the President of the Council and circulated in document S/13878.

3. The first speaker is Mr. Reuben C. Kamanga, member of the Central Committee of the United National Independence Party of the Republic of Zambia and Chairman of the Political and Legal Committee of the Central Committee. I cordially welcome him and his delegation and invite him to make his statement.

4. Mr. KAMANGA (Zambia): Mr. President, I thank you and, through you, the other members of the Council for welcoming me and my delegation. I am aware of your outstanding qualities as a diplomat and the seriousness with which you take the responsibilities of the Council. My delegation is gratified that our complaint about continued aggression against Zambia by the racist régime of South Africa is being considered by the Council under your presidency. Indeed, we are grateful to you and to all the other members of the Council for promptly responding to our request for this meeting.

5. This month of April 1980 is of remarkable importance for our region of southern Africa. After many years of immense sacrifice and heroic armed struggle, the people of Zimbabwe have, at long last, attained their long-denied inalienable rights and will accede to genuine and legal independence in a few days. We in Zambia, and in Africa as a whole, rejoice with the people of Zimbabwe at this momentous event. The United Nations, which was also steadfast in its support of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for the enjoyment of their inalienable rights, cannot but also applaud the liberation of that country.

6. We have come to the Council to complain about persistent and escalating South African aggression against Zambia. Our complaint, at this time of festivity in connexion with the independence of Zimbabwe, is a sad but fitting reminder to the international community, and in particular to the Council, that the process of liberation in southern Africa is not yet complete. The Namibian people are still denied their independence in spite of having bent over backwards in co-operation with the United Nations to facilitate and obtain the withdrawal of South Africa from their country, which it is still illegally occupying. The vast majority of the people of South Africa continue to languish under the degrading, racist, oppressive and repulsive system of *apartheid*.

7. The members of the Council are no doubt aware of the unique position taken by Zambia in the many turbulent years of the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa. No less than four wars of liberation have been fought in countries with which Zambia shares common borders. Out of principle, we have steadfastly supported the legitimate struggles of our neighbours of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia for freedom and independence, enemy aggression notwithstanding.

8. The liberation of Mozambique and Angola brought in its train conditions of peace and good-neighbourliness between Zambia and those countries. Such now will be the case with Zimbabwe as well: aggression from there is now a thing of the past. We therefore look forward to the independence of Namibia, to which we are resolutely committed—an event which will ensure conditions of peace on our borders.

9. The movement for the liberation of southern Africa as a whole is an inevitable and irreversible historical force. Yet, there is still no evidence that the Pretoria régime will learn a lesson even from the happy development in Zimbabwe and become realistic in respect of the situation in Namibia and South Africa itself. It seems that the régime is still deluding itself into believing that the *status quo* in Namibia and South Africa can withstand the tide of liberation of the entire continent of Africa. Repeated and escalating South African acts of aggression against Zambia and Angola are a vain attempt to preserve the *status quo* of white minority and racist rule in southern Africa, which certainly is bound to crumble. In the final analysis, as we in Zambia have repeatedly pointed out, it is the devilish system of *apartheid* and the existence of white minority domination in southern Africa which constitute a serious threat to international peace and security.

10. Zambia has been a constant victim of South African aggression launched from Namibia and, until recently, from Southern Rhodesia. This indeed was the case last November, when the Council adopted resolution 455 (1979), in which it strongly condemned the then illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, as well as South Africa, for their acts of aggression against Zambia. With the advent of the independence of Zimbabwe, South Africa has beefed up its military presence in Namibia and concentrated all its acts of aggression against Zambia and Angola on the utilization of that Territory—which it occupies illegally—as a launching pad. South Africa today maintains huge military bases in Namibia for the purpose of repressing the people of Namibia and of committing acts of aggression against Zambia and Angola.

11. The records of the Security Council, and the United Nations in general, are replete with details of specific South African acts of aggression against my country going back many years. I wish, in particular, to refer to document S/13539, which is a letter dated

13 September 1979, to the Secretary-General from our Permanent Representative, bringing to the attention of the Secretary-General and of the international community a catalogue of South African acts of aggression against Zambia over a period of time ranging from January to September 1979.

12. I shall not tax the patience of the members of the Council by reciting the catalogue of acts of aggression already communicated. Suffice it to say that South African aggression against my country not only has continued unabated, but also reflects a consistent pattern of such bestial acts as intimidation, harassment, torture and wanton destruction of Zambian life and property. Zambians in the Western Province of the country, who are the targets and victims of South African terror tactics, live in a state of tension and fear.

13. There is an urgent need for the Council to act decisively and effectively. The presence of South African troops on Zambian soil and their terror tactics have led to a disruption of normal life in the area concerned. Programmes of economic and social development of the area have come to a virtual stand-still because of the unfavourable conditions obtaining, including the presence of land-mines. Even the supply of such essentials as food and medicine in the area has been adversely affected. It is therefore imperative and urgent that the situation in the area return to normal. Our people yearn for peace, to which they are entitled.

14. I should like at this juncture to inform the Council of specific South African acts of aggression committed against Zambia since January 1980.

15. Between 12 and 14 January, South African troops crossed over from Namibia into the Sesheke District, in the Western Province, and fired at Zambian workers at the Mulubesi sawmills. During the same period, South African war-planes violated Zambian air space in the Sesheke District. On 21 January, South African troops crossed into Zambia from Namibia, between the Kasanga river and Mabumbu, in the Sesheke District.

16. On 6 February, the following incidents occurred: South African troops, numbering 50, established a camp between Sitwala and Kandala villages in the Sesheke District and harassed travellers; South African troops mounted a road-block between Katima Mulilo police post and Likanda, in the Sesheke District, and impounded a land-rover and a truck; South African troops searched the house of Mr. Sikota Wina, in the Mwandu area of Sesheke District, and later flew off in a helicopter; South African warplanes violated Zambian air space in the Sesheke District. On 9 February, South African warplanes bombed Mukinga village in the Sesheke District, killing two and injuring four Zambians. In the same incident, five trucks belonging to Zambian businessmen were destroyed. On 11 February, South African warplanes bombed

the home of a Zambian national, Mr. Samuel Chingila, in the Sesheke District. Four people were injured. On 12 February, South African troops established a camp 20 kilometres west of Katima Mulilo on Zambian soil. On 18 February, South African troops established a camp at Ngambwe and another one east of Sesheke Boma, in the Sesheke District.

17. On 5 March, South African troops entered Zambia in the Sesheke District, using three helicopters, which were escorted by two jets. On 22 March, at 1800 hours, South African troops bombed the Kalongola pontoon and abducted three civilians at a causeway in Senanga District, also in the Western Province of Zambia. On 24 March, South African troops destroyed a causeway bridge at Nasilele. On 25 March, South African troops destroyed and sank the Kalongola pontoon. On the same date, South African troops abducted four Zambians at the Kaanja rural reconstruction centre, again in the Senanga District. They also took away the belongings of Zambians at the rural reconstruction centre. In a separate incident on the same date, South Africans destroyed the Kaunga-Lueti bridge in the same district. On 26 March, four houses in Likamba Village in the Sesheke District were burned down by South African troops. In the same incident, a boy was killed and five others were injured. On 27 March, a Zambian, Mr. Shalengi Lizilo, of Namunde Village, Chief Mulangu, in Senanga District, was killed by South African troops. On 28 March, Kalenge Village in the Sesheke District was burned down by villagers on the orders of South African troops. In this incident, a man and a boy were killed by the South African troops.

18. That is a catalogue of some of the most recent South African acts of aggression committed against Zambia which, of course, have prompted our request for this meeting. Let me emphasize that, in addition to the specific incidents just mentioned, South African war-planes have violated Zambian airspace on a daily basis in the Western Province of the country. As of this day, hundreds of South African troops are still on Zambian soil in total violation of our territorial integrity, and we demand their immediate withdrawal.

19. My Government has, as in the past, exercised maximum restraint in the face of repeated and unprovoked South African violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zambia. South Africa is under pressure from the Namibian people under the leadership of their national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which is supported by almost the entire international community, to terminate its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia. Against the background of that pressure and South Africa's stubborn determination to maintain its stranglehold on Namibia, South African strategy would seem to be aimed at provoking an international conflict through acts of aggression against Zambia and Angola. In this way it hopes to obscure its illegal occupation of Namibia and buy time

for its policies of *apartheid* by attracting the sympathy and support of some Western countries which collude with it in the exploitation and plunder of the rich mineral and other resources in the region.

20. Zambia does not share a common border with South Africa. We share a common border with Namibia. We have no problem with the Namibian people, whose quest for freedom and independence we understand and fully support. The Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, are waging a gallant struggle for their freedom and independence from within Namibia itself, not from Zambia. South African acts of aggression committed against us are totally unjustified because the war for Namibian independence is being fought and will continue to be fought from within Namibia itself. In the end, the Namibian people, like the people of Zimbabwe, will be victorious.

21. I need not stress here Zambia's interest in the United Nations efforts to resolve the problem of Namibia. We have co-operated fully, together with other front-line countries and SWAPO, in the search for a solution on the basis of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). All the reports of the Secretary-General on this matter, including his most recent one [*S/13862 of 31 March 1980*], attest to this fact. In pursuing the objectives of the freedom and independence of Namibia, we have been pragmatic.

22. Yet, the illegal occupation of Namibia persists. South Africa continues to procrastinate and to prevaricate. South Africa also seeks to consolidate its grip on Namibia by imposing a so-called internal settlement on the Namibian people. The Western Five, the countries that initiated the proposal for a settlement, have not demonstrated any willingness to pressure South Africa in a meaningful way to co-operate in the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council for Namibia's independence. It is also in the nature of the Western Five to be ambivalent in their reaction to South Africa's acts of aggression against independent African States. We know that, given the political will, they could prevail on South Africa to co-operate in solving the Namibian problem and in terminating its acts of aggression against us.

23. Our people cannot continue to be subjected to intimidation, harassment, torture and cold-blooded murders perpetrated by the trigger-happy and wanton South African troops. We have come to the Council, as in the past, because we are a peace-loving nation. We still subscribe to the ideas that inspired the founding fathers of the United Nations. We know that the majority of the members of the Council, and indeed of the Member States, recognize, along with us, the threat to international peace and security posed by the policies and practices of South Africa.

24. On behalf of my delegation, I therefore call upon the Council to take the following course of action against racist South Africa without delay: first, it should strongly condemn the racist régime of South Africa for its continued intensified and unprovoked acts of aggression against the Republic of Zambia, which constitute a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zambia; secondly, it should demand that South Africa withdraw forthwith all its military forces from the territory of the Republic of Zambia, cease all violations of Zambia's air space and henceforth scrupulously respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Zambia; thirdly, it should solemnly warn South Africa that, in the event of any further acts of aggression against the Republic of Zambia, the Council will meet to take enforcement measures against it under Chapter VII of the Charter.

25. In our opinion, that is the minimum action required of the Council in regard to the grave situation caused by South Africa. Let no one in the Council doubt the threat posed to international peace and security by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

26. In conclusion, I would only repeat that the root cause of the problems of southern Africa is the existence of white minority rule, thriving as it does on the abominable system of *apartheid*. The United Nations—the Security Council in particular—should rededicate itself to the eradication of *apartheid* and white minority rule in southern Africa.

27. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Mauritius, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the African Group of States at the United Nations for the month of April. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

28. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and through you the other members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to speak at this stage on behalf of the African Group. Also, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of April. As current Chairman of the African Group and in my own name, I pledge to you my full cooperation.

29. My congratulations go also to my Caribbean cousin, Ambassador Mills, who so ably presided over the Council during the month of March.

30. On many occasions last year, the Council considered the question of the aggressive actions of the white minority régimes in southern Africa against neighbouring States, particularly Zambia. Until recently, Zambia had suffered from wanton acts of aggression committed by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. Whenever the Council looked into the situation it found a pattern of collusion by South

Africa in those actions. With the emergence of a free and independent Zimbabwe, the illegal Government there has been eliminated.

31. From the statement that we have just heard from my beloved African brother, Mr. Kamanga, it appears that, in spite of the welcome change in the situation in southern Africa, aggression against Zambia continues unabated. Its air space and territorial integrity have been repeatedly violated; South African troops have crossed into Zambia from Namibia, abducted a number of people and established camps on Zambian soil, although they were later forced to withdraw; South African fighter aircraft have bombed Zambian villages, killed civilians and destroyed private and public property. There are clear indications that the actions of the South African authorities are aimed at destroying the economic infrastructure of Zambia. We cannot find any other explanation for the destruction of bridges and other communication links which are so vital for supplies, particularly food supplies, to Zambia.

32. Last November when the Council considered the situation arising from the repeated acts of aggression launched against Zambia by the rebel forces in Southern Rhodesia, it underlined and condemned South Africa's collusion therein. From confirmed reports that South African army units had been stationed in Southern Rhodesia, it appears that the extent of South Africa's participation in those aggressive actions might have been greater than we all believed. In any event, there is no doubt about the responsibility of the South African Government with regard to the situation which now prevails in Zambia and to which the Council has decided to address itself. That situation cannot be considered in isolation from the developments in southern Africa as a whole. From the statement of the representative of Zambia we know that South African troops which are responsible for the killings and the destruction we have to deplore today have crossed into Zambia from Namibia. In its resolution 455 (1979), adopted last November, the Council emphasized that the existence of the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security. Now, with the elimination of that régime and the restoration of peace in Zimbabwe, the Council should turn its attention to the other underlying causes of instability in southern Africa, namely, South Africa's illegal presence in Namibia and the policies of the South African authorities.

33. South Africa recently increased its efforts to disrupt SWAPO in Namibia. Many SWAPO officials and sympathizers have been arrested and placed in detention throughout the Territory. Large areas of control in northern Namibia have been declared "security zones", and a large-scale build-up of South African forces has been reported in many areas, particularly in Ovamboland.

34. We deplore the fact that, while discussions are under way for the implementation of the Security

Council's settlement proposal for Namibia, South Africa should find it necessary to strengthen its military presence in the international Territory which it occupies illegally, and, in addition, to extend its military activities to neighbouring countries. It should be recalled that SWAPO has accepted not only the settlement proposal but also the concept of the demilitarized zone, and is prepared to co-operate fully with the United Nations. But until final agreement is reached and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group can proceed to the Territory, SWAPO has no choice but to continue the armed struggle and, in the circumstances, the front-line States are in duty bound to continue to assist in the liberation struggle.

35. Any attempt by South Africa to coerce Zambia or any other front-line State into abandoning its support of SWAPO should be condemned. The United Nations has proclaimed the legitimacy of the liberation struggle in southern Africa. Zambia and the other front-line States are committed to supporting the liberation movements. The United Nations should not tolerate acts of retaliation being committed against them because of their support.

36. For its part, the African Group reaffirms its solidarity with Zambia. It appeals to the international community urgently to take the necessary measures to put an end to South Africa's continuing aggression against the valiant people of Zambia. The Security Council should demand that South Africa respect the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Zambia. The aggressive actions of South Africa against Zambia threaten peace and security in southern Africa. It is for the Council to take all appropriate steps to prevent any further deterioration of the situation.

37. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Liberia, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as the representative of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

38. Mr. TUBMAN (Liberia): It is always an honour to address the Security Council. As I do so today, representing the current Chairman of the OAU, my first duty is to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for again showing the same interest in African affairs that the Council has always shown when States members of the OAU have been the victims of aggression.

39. The expression of thanks which I have just uttered is no mere formality. We in the OAU are keenly aware of the fact that, because African States are constantly compelled to raise complaints about South African aggression before the Council, there is a danger that people will get tired of having to listen to our complaints and that they will treat those complaints with a lightness bordering on indifference. We realize this danger; in fact, we believe that it is

precisely the kind of situation in which the South African Government has sought to place the African States. South Africa would like to see African Governments appear ridiculous, to be considered a nuisance, to be thought of as being given to exaggerations and eager to bring matters before the Council at the drop of a hat. If this has been an objective of South African strategy, neither here in the Council nor anywhere else in the United Nations has it succeeded, thanks to the high degree of understanding of and sympathy for African problems always shown by the international community, for which the OAU is grateful. Be that as it may, the African States can never lose sight of the danger that people may in fact become tired of hearing our complaints and that they may be tempted to turn, not against the aggressor, but against the victims of aggression. That is why, although we are always honoured and pleased to appear before the Council, our appearance today is one we wish had not been necessary.

40. We feel a certain sense of unease in approaching the Council at this time, because the international situation has remained very charged and tense almost without let-up since the end of last summer. Indeed, in recent days there have been ominous signs that the crisis situations which have been simmering in Asia and which are pregnant with the danger of a violent confrontation between the super-Powers may be heating up. In the Middle East the unsettled State of affairs continues to make immense demands on the time and resourcefulness of the Council—and still it remains unsolved. Even in Africa, we see fierce civil strife flaring up again among our brothers in Chad, where many have been killed and thousands more have been forced to flee into neighbouring territory, thereby further aggravating the refugee problem of Africa, which is already of crisis proportions.

41. At such a time as this, Africa would have preferred to concentrate its exertions on bringing international opinion to look with the appropriate degree of urgency at, and assist in relieving, the massive scale of human suffering being borne by the staggeringly large number of refugees on our continent, who we sometimes feel, quite frankly and not without reason, are the forgotten refugees of the world.

42. Besides problems of the type just mentioned, there is the devastation being caused to the economies of most of the African States today by the world-wide recession, soaring energy costs and high inflation—all concerns that will be exercising the minds of our leaders when they convene in Lagos in a few days' time for an economic summit.

43. The problems which afflict Africa at the present time are many, but in spite of them Africa would have wished to focus its attention at this time on the approach of Zimbabwe to independence—an event for which so many sacrifices have been made by the people of that country and by Africa as a whole.

44. In this context it is not inappropriate to point out that no country in Africa feels greater joy at Zimbabwe's impending independence than does Zambia, a major front-line State which made immense contributions towards the liberation struggle in that country. But no self-respecting Government could remain silent when, since the beginning of this year alone, six of its citizens, including a Chief of one of its districts, have been killed, 13 others injured and three abducted as a result of naked aggression by South Africa. In addition, considerable property damage has been inflicted by South African troops during illegal incursions into Zambian territory. Vehicles have been impounded or destroyed, villages burnt or bombed, pontoons and bridges blown up and Zambian air space violated on a daily basis by South African military aircraft.

45. Each and all of these despicable acts are wholly in violation of international law and they must be strongly condemned. But their mere recital here does not begin to convey the climate of fear and uncertainty in which many innocent civilians, including women and children, in many parts of Zambia are forced to live. These people cannot know when or why or where or how large the next attack from South Africa will be. This is an intolerable situation, and the Government of Zambia rightly feels compelled to do everything in its power to put an end to such brazen harassment. The Security Council bears responsibility under the Charter for prevailing upon and indeed compelling South Africa to desist from aggression against Zambia, aggression which, unless stopped, could threaten international peace.

46. All the States of independent Africa view these attacks upon Zambia with dismay and alarm, and that is why the current Chairman of the OAU has directed me to appear before the Council for the purpose of making an urgent appeal to it to take all necessary steps as quickly as possible to bring to an end these wanton attacks by South Africa against the gallant nation of Zambia and so many of its innocent and defenceless citizens. We are confident that the plea of Zambia and of Africa will not go unanswered by the Council.

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Cuba, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as the representative of the Chairman of the non-aligned movement. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

48. Mr. ROA-KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I wish to thank you and the other members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to take part in this debate in my capacity as representative of the Chairman of the non-aligned movement.

49. The abhorrent behaviour of two international criminals seems to be governing the meetings of this

important body, which is considering alternately the depredations and crimes of the one and of the other. While yesterday the Council was considering the evil actions of the Zionist régime of Israel, today it is called upon to give urgent consideration to the acts of aggression committed by the racist régime of South Africa against Zambia.

50. In both cases, which recur so often that they are an almost endemic taunt for the international community, the criminals are in cahoots in the commission of criminal acts and are fed on the same imperialist milk. At the same time, the victims of aggression belong to the same family of peoples, united by their desire for national independence, sovereignty and the right freely to determine their own destiny. The Arab people of Palestine, and now the people of Zambia, are suffering under the claws of imperialist and colonialist aggression, just as in the past it has been the Arab peoples and the African peoples of other front-line States which have suffered.

51. One might say that the Security Council is constantly meeting to hear evidence of this tragic phenomenon of the global spread of counter-revolutionary aggression. New and increasing evidence of this process of exporting counter-revolutionary aggression is reaching us, and that is why the Council is being convened more and more frequently.

52. This well-synchronized onslaught by the forces of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, including zionism and *apartheid*, is no accident. If there is anything that can explain such a counter-revolutionary pattern, it is precisely the upward surge of the peoples of the world towards national liberation, decolonization and political and economic emancipation, a process that the United Nations has rightly and consistently supported.

53. Today it is the courageous and devoted people of Zambia who come before us to denounce a series of repeated and savage acts of intimidation, harassment, torture and open destruction of lives and property committed in their territory by the racist troops of the white minority régime of Pretoria. In the first quarter of 1980 alone, 21 acts of aggression by the South African racists were committed against the lives and property of peace-loving Zambian citizens.

54. Why this savage concentration of attacks, which include the use of armoured forces, air forces and troops, especially during the second half of the quarter? We have no doubt that such a policy of force is related to the glorious victory of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, which put an end to decades of ignominious colonialism in the former British colony of Rhodesia and which confirmed the historical trend that prevails in the African peoples' struggle for liberation in the southern part of the continent. There is no longer a Smith, much less a local "Uncle Tom", capable of serving the many purposes of the monstrous policy

of Pretoria. Now the people of Zimbabwe are truly controlling their own destiny, and this reality is difficult, if not impossible, for the proud Afrikaners to digest. The punitive means used seem to be systematic harassment and aggression against Zambia and other front-line States for the clear purpose of destabilizing them. The fact that racist actions originate in the occupied Territory of Namibia is no mere accident of geography. While destabilizing the situation in Zambia, they are doing everything they can to repress the national liberation struggle of the Namibian people and of the people of South Africa itself.

55. The persistence and the systematic repetition of these acts of aggression place the peace of the world in the most serious jeopardy. In such a delicate situation, the non-aligned countries feel in duty bound to repeat what has been recognized on previous occasions by the international community, namely, that if the odious fact of *apartheid* continues to exist, if racist oppression is a lacerating reality in southern Africa, it is only because a monstrous régime continues to survive in South Africa. And if that South African régime is there, in open defiance of resolutions adopted by the United Nations, it is because such a creature can prosper and survive under the protective wing of the Government of the United States and of other imperialist Powers, whose political, diplomatic, economic, military, nuclear and other forms of co-operation with Pretoria are undeniable.

56. Further, and as a corollary of the foregoing, I wish to recall here that the Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries, meeting last September in Havana, agreed that:

“Freedom, peace, security and progress cannot be achieved in southern Africa unless the *apartheid* system of institutional racial discrimination, exploitation and oppression is crushed and is replaced by a democratic State whose policy will conform to the principles of the OAU, the non-aligned movement and the United Nations. . . . the problems of southern Africa could not be dealt with piecemeal, because they are inextricably interlinked politically, economically and militarily and therefore have to be tackled together.”¹

57. In recalling in this chamber the problems faced by the peoples of southern Africa, which threaten and jeopardize the security of the front-line States, I wish to stress the extreme importance of Council resolution 418 (1977) on the compulsory arms embargo against South Africa. At the same time, I would urge that the formulation of that resolution be strengthened so as to preclude the possibility of its continued violation and improve the machinery and procedures of the Council for ensuring strict compliance with the arms embargo.

58. With regard to Zambia, the victim of successive racist acts of aggression along with other States of the

region in the past, it is imperative for the Council, and through it all Member States, to express its firm condemnation of the racist aggressor and its unshakable solidarity with the Government of Zambia, a respected member of the non-aligned movement.

59. Today, confronted by the difficulties experienced by our brother country, Zambia, we must repeat what we have been proclaiming with a single voice as non-aligned countries, namely, that the front-line States are not and will not be alone in their courageous determination to resist the racist enemy and resolutely contribute to its total defeat.

60. The revolutionary Government of Cuba, which has consistently stood in solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and with their natural rearguard, the front-line States, takes this opportunity to affirm once again its unconditional solidarity with its Zambian brothers. It also emphasizes the extreme importance of the recommendations of the Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries contained in paragraphs 94 and 95 of the Political Declaration of the Summit Conference, held in Havana, which deal with the ways and means of furnishing political, diplomatic, financial and material support and military assistance to the front-line States.

61. We stand at a momentous cross-roads. International peace and security have been put to a test by the enemies of the peoples and of their inalienable right to true independence. This Council must adopt effective measures to force Pretoria and its imperialist protectors to stop brandishing its sword at the peoples, national liberation movements and independent States of southern Africa. If we did not do so, we should be legitimizing the philosophy of war and plunder.

62. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Angola, who wishes to make a statement on behalf of the front-line States. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

63. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): Mr. President, the Government of the People's Republic of Angola hopes that you will accept its best wishes on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the representative of Jamaica. We of the People's Republic of Angola have the warmest fraternal relations with both Mexico and Jamaica.

64. I am speaking today on behalf of all the front-line States, which are deeply involved in the liberation struggle in southern Africa. While all progressive forces support genuine freedom fighters everywhere, the front-line States have a special responsibility, recognized by the OAU and the non-aligned movement, because of their geo-political situation.

65. I speak today in the cause of African liberation and that of the African fight against imperialism, racism and *apartheid*. My own country and people have been the victims of the racist imperialist policies of the junta ruling in Pretoria. On countless occasions we have brought our case before the Council, but the Council's resolutions have failed to deter South Africa from its chosen path of imperialist aggression against its southern African neighbours. Our brother, the front-line State of Zambia has also seen repeated attacks against its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

66. In fact the latest list compiled by the Government of Zambia catalogues unceasing attacks mounted by the racist minority régime in Pretoria against the territory and people of Zambia between January and March 1980. Zambia is the victim of South Africa's imperialist and racist policies. Zambia's fault is that it is situated in southern Africa; Zambia's crime is that it is a front-line State which has always given full support to all progressive forces in the area that fight for the right to self-determination, that struggle for justice and that battle for survival and freedom.

67. It is an historical fact that both the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Zambia are being repeatedly punished by Pretoria for daring to support the struggle against imperialism and *apartheid* in southern Africa.

68. The minority régime in Pretoria is in a state of panic. It has seen the writing on the wall and it is trying desperately to out-manceuvre the forces of historical justice. For it is inherent in the situation that majority rule must come to the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, its liberation movement, and to the people of South Africa itself, just as it has come to the victorious people of Zimbabwe.

69. The recent events in Zimbabwe appear to have further contributed to the panic in Pretoria and have possibly hardened the attitude of those who are more determined than ever to maintain their bastion of minority privilege in southern Africa. The Pretoria régime wishes at all costs to avoid the repetition in Namibia of the genuine people's victory which has taken place in Zimbabwe. The fallacy of propping up puppets was disproved by the people's verdict, as it will be in Namibia and in South Africa itself.

70. As part of its "constellation strategy" and to ensure the reduction of neighbouring sovereign States to a position of satrapies and dependencies, Pretoria has become increasingly militaristic and aggressive in its posture. It wishes to make a political statement and to establish military *faits accomplis* by its unceasing invasions, raids, bombardments and other attacks against the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Zambia.

71. In keeping with its posture of paramountcy in southern Africa, South Africa mounted an offensive

against both Angola and Zambia. In fact, the lists compiled by our Governments show more clearly than ever the complementarity of the South African attacks. If I refer to the attacks on the People's Republic of Angola, it is not to detract from the seriousness or the importance of the attacks against Zambia; rather it is to show that they form two prongs of the same imperialist military plan, a plan based on renewed South African minority intransigence, an intransigence based, in its turn, on the new militarist doctrine being developed in some Western capitals to quash national aspirations and progressive forces wherever they may threaten Western imperialist interests.

72. Pretoria has taken its cue from some Western imperialist capitals. Thus, if the war against racism and *apartheid* is prolonged even further, if many more lives are lost, if the increasingly tense situation in southern Africa continues to escalate, then the reasons are to be found as much in those Western capitals as they are in Pretoria itself.

73. South Africa's rulers boast openly about their military might, their economic power and their gold reserves. They talk about their need to define their borders to protect themselves from the inevitable onslaught of self-determination and majority rule. We state with even more pride our willingness to fight for as long as is necessary to destroy racism and imperialism on our continent.

74. Regarding the matter under immediate discussion, we, the front-line States, strongly condemn the racist minority régime of Pretoria for its attacks against Zambia. We demand the immediate withdrawal of the racist troops from the territory of Zambia and the immediate cessation of the killing and terrorization of Zambian nationals and the destruction of Zambian property.

75. My own Government, in particular, offers to the Government and people of Zambia its total support in their quest for justice and redress. We also wish to renew the call my Government has so often made in this very chamber for the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, for we believe that such sanctions and their proper implementation are required to introduce stability and peace in southern Africa.

76. How much blood must be shed in Africa before those Western imperialist countries which support South Africa and guarantee the survival of its *apartheid* system agree to the imposition of total sanctions against Pretoria? The world is already in turmoil, and the connection between political and economic affairs needs no further elucidation.

77. We need action now: action that will contribute to stability in our region, action that will safeguard

the sovereignty and territorial integrity of front-line States under attack by South Africa, action that will protect Zambia from future attack, and action that will lead to majority rule in those areas of southern Africa that are still denied it.

78. Our vision of the United Nations is predicated on a vision of justice. And a vision of justice is necessary for a vision of peace. We, the front-line States, make this demand for Zambia, for ourselves, for

southern Africa, for our African continent and for the entire third world. *A luta continua.*

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

NOTE

¹ A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 78.

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