



Security Council

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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
SEVEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 20 November 1987, at 3.40 p.m.

President: Mr. KIKUCHI (Japan)

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|-----------------|---|-------------------------------|
| <u>Members:</u> | Argentina | Mr. DELPECH |
| | Bulgaria | Mr. TSVETKOV |
| | China | Mr. YU Mengjia |
| | Congo | Mr. ADOUKI |
| | France | Mr. BLANC |
| | Germany, Federal Republic of | Mr. Count YORK von WARTENBURG |
| | Ghana | Mr. DUMEVI |
| | Italy | Mr. BUCCI |
| | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics | Mr. TIMERBAEV |
| | United Arab Emirates | Mr. AL-SHAALI |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland | Mr. BIRCH |
| | United States of America | Mr. OKUN |
| | Venezuela | Mr. AGUILAR |
| | Zambia | Mr. ZUZE |

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The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

COMPLAINT BY ANGOLA AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

LETTER DATED 19 NOVEMBER 1987 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ANGOLA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/19278)

LETTER DATED 20 NOVEMBER 1987 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ZIMBABWE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/19286)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Angola, India, Mozambique, South Africa, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity 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 Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. da Silva de Moura (Angola) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Gharekhan (India), Mr. Dos Santos (Mozambique), Mr. Manley (South Africa), Mr. Pejic (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Mudenge (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting today in response to requests contained in a letter dated 19 November 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/19278, and a letter dated 20 November 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/19286. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/19283, which contains the text of a letter dated 18 November 1987 from the President of the People's Republic of Angola addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the Vice-Minister for External Relations of Angola, His Excellency Mr. Venancio de Moura, on whom I now call.

Mr. da SILVA de MOURA (Angola) (interpretation from French): Owing to its past colonization, my country uses Portuguese as its language, but in conformity with the rules of the United Nations I shall attempt to express myself in one of the official languages of the Council. I therefore appeal for understanding if I make mistakes in the language of the great sages of France.

I should like to state my Government's pleasure, Sir, at seeing you presiding for the month of November over the work of a body that is so important for the maintenance of international peace and security: the Security Council. I am glad to see the representative of a country with which my Government maintains bonds of friendship in the name of progress and social justice guiding its work for this month, during which it must once again consider threats to peace in the People's Republic of Angola. I am convinced that your skill and experience in the political and diplomatic spheres will make a significant contribution to the attainment of

(Mr. da Silva de Moura, Angola)

the purposes of this Council, and specifically to the success of its deliberations on the question before it.

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola has been compelled once again to request the convening of an urgent meeting of the Security Council for the purpose of considering the extremely grave situation in southern Angola resulting from intensified acts of aggression and terrorism by the South African army.

Members will recall that since 1975 the People's Republic of Angola has been the victim of an undeclared but constant war of aggression waged by the regular army of South Africa, which, in its military operations of aggression and destabilization, makes use of mercenaries, bands of puppets and Angolan renegades. They perpetrate all manner of crimes and acts of terrorism against the Angolan people and foreign citizens who are making a peaceful contribution to the struggle against underdevelopment in the People's Republic of Angola.

The indirect cause of this undeclared war of aggression against my country may be found in the neo-nazi essence of the apartheid ideology, which prompts the Pretoria régime to pursue a policy of racial discrimination by a white minority against the black majority, using methods whose cruel and inhuman nature evokes the spectre of the nazi régime during the Second World War.

Bearing in mind how seriously the nazis harmed mankind, I wish to draw attention to the threat posed to international peace and security by the policy and practice of State terrorism of the régime in South Africa, which is encouraged in its actions by the connivance and support of certain Western Powers, in particular, unfortunately, the United States Administration.

(Mr. da Silva de Moura, Angola)

The policy of apartheid is not confined solely to the vile and repugnant domination of 25 million blacks by a white minority in the geographical confines of South Africa itself or to the illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia, to which this vile political system has been exported; it also aims at extending its sway to independent sovereign States throughout the southern portion of Africa. That is the background of the policy of systematic military aggression pursued by South Africa against the front-line States, and in particular against the People's Republic of Angola, a part of whose territory has long been occupied by the army of the racist South African régime.

(Mr. da Silva de Moura, Angola)

Through this policy of aggression against the countries of the region, the racist régime is seeking to divert towards those States the explosive internal situation in South Africa itself, which is the result of that régime's practices that have turned the black majority of the population into slaves and foreigners in their own country.

Hence, throughout its existence as a sovereign and independent State and as a member of the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the People's Republic of Angola has not known a single day of peace and remains the victim of constant acts of aggression by the racist Pretoria régime.

As members will recall, from the communiqué of the Ministry of External Relations of the People's Republic of Angola circulated as document S/19222 dated 21 October 1987, and the letter dated 5 November from His Excellency, President José Eduardo dos Santos to the Secretary-General, the situation prevailing in the southern part of our territory has dangerously deteriorated in recent months as a result of the intensification of the military acts of the army of the racist régime of South Africa. This situation has led to a new large-scale invasion with a view to expanding the part of Angolan territory occupied by South African forces for several years in the provinces of Cunene and Kuando-Kubango, bordering on Namibia, which is still occupied.

During the first six months of this year the South African racists perpetrated approximately 75 violations of the air space of the People's Republic of Angola; they carried out 33 attacks against our troops and against defenceless civilian populations, against the townships of Mupa and Mongwa, also in the southern part of the country, as well as raids against the Namibe railway and the region of Bibala. During the months of June and July the military actions of the racist régime

(Mr. da Silva de Moura, Angola)

increased in the sector and in the air space of Tchamutete, in the Province of Cunene, Anhanca, Evale, Mupa, Mongwa and Xangongo, which led to the encirclement of the town of Ondjiva, capital of that Province - towns which are being shelled daily by heavy artillery. Moreover, the Provinces of Huila and Namibe are experiencing constant incursions by the racist régime, as is the Province of Kuando-Kubango, particularly in the sectors of Mavinga and Cangamba, where the penetration has attained a depth of approximately 350 kilometres into Angola territory in order to support the parachuting of war matériel for the UNITA puppets and, at the same time, carry out reconnaissance in connection with our troop positions.

In these military operations the South African armies using sophisticated military hardware, such as Valkiri G-5 and G-6 artillery, 150-millimetre and 105-millimetre cannons and AML-90, Kasper, Buffalo and Wolf armoured vehicles, as well as Mirage, Impala MK and Buccaneer fighter aircraft and Puma-type military helicopters, among other kinds of sophisticated war matériel.

To give a picture of what is occurring in the field, I should like to enumerate some of the actions that have taken place in recent months.

The South African forces of the Buffalo battalion, supported by AML-60 and AML-90 armoured vehicles, attacked the Angolan army. There were 21 South African dead, and four AML-90 vehicles and three Kasper-type vehicles were destroyed by our army.

Six Impala and one Mirage aircraft of the South African air force were also shot down while they were conducting reconnaissance flights over positions of the Angolan army. A helicopter was also shot down in Kuito-Kuanavale. In the Lomba and Cujamba regions, our armed forces inflicted the loss of three helicopters on the South African enemy. Later, on the banks of the Lomba, four battalions,

(Mr. da Silva de Moura, Angola)

supported by eight to ten fighter aircraft and Valkiri G-5 and G-6 artillery pieces, also attacked our army, which sustained considerable losses in human life and combat matériel.

In the region of Kuito-Kuanavale, again in the southern Province of Kuando-Kubango, five kilometres from that town, a light reconnaissance aircraft was shot down while another flew over the south-east sector of the region. Furthermore, we noted the deployment of non-identified South African troops in armoured vehicles in the sectors of Ondjiva, capital of the Province of Cunene, and Kuanhama. Some 16 South African aircraft, in groups of two to ten, overflew the whole region of Cunene and bombed Namacunde. In a single attack the South African army called for some 70 aircraft to support the advance of its land forces.

(Mr. da Silva de Moura, Angola)

That military deployment, which began in July, led to violent clashes between the Angolan army and the South African forces in September and October. The South African army suffered a serious reverse in those clashes, leaving more than 230 dead soldiers in the field. It also left behind 11 AML-90 armoured vehicles, 24 Kasper and Wolf vehicles, light arms of all types and equipment of other kinds, which were displayed at the meeting of the Heads of State of the front-line countries last Sunday.

I stress that those direct clashes took place when our armed forces were preparing to annihilate the bands of UNITA puppets which are sowing terror in certain regions of the country. For our part, in these direct clashes with the South African army, powerfully supported by its air force, we have had to mourn the loss of many men, and have suffered considerable material losses.

What has happened is further proof that the South African régime's claim that its army's incursions into Angolan territory are in pursuit of Namibian patriots allegedly operating from our territory is fallacious and that this is a totally unfounded pretext. It is clear that by its acts of aggression the South African racist régime is seeking to bring about the political and economic destabilization of my country, using for that purpose terrorist forces and mercenaries that it trains and equips and that operate virtually under the command of the South African army.

This reality is recognized today by the racist South African leaders themselves, who did not seek to conceal the facts in the declaration of Magnus Malan, the South African Minister of Defence, that their troops were fighting against the Angolan army to avoid the dismantling of their auxiliary forces, the terrorists of the so-called UNITA.

(Mr. da Silva de Moura, Angola)

In an arrogant gesture paralleled only in the history of the Second World War when the leaders of the Nazi régime visited territories occupied by their Fascist troops in Europe, the head of the racist régime in Pretoria illegally entered our territory, without prior authorization, accompanied by five members of his Cabinet, perhaps intending to lift the morale of his troops, downcast by their defeats. That act, which was contrary to the ethics of international relations, reveals the character of the policy and morality of the South African racist régime. There can be no doubt that it deserves vigorous condemnation and rejection by the whole international community, particularly the members of the Security Council, who are today called upon to watch over international peace and security on the basis of the principles and norms of international law enshrined in the Charter.

It is inadmissible that racist South Africa, which on several occasions has had to answer to this body for its acts of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, in flagrant violation of the norms and principles of the Charter, should remain unpunished, with no measure having been taken to compel that State, a rebel against international order, to pursue a line of conduct worthy of the concert of independent States and nations.

While condemning all those acts and the accomplices that encourage the aggressive activities of the régime and make its dismantling difficult, we ask that the Council dispassionately analyse the dangerous situation prevailing in the southern part of Angola and adopt a relevant resolution calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Pretoria's troops, so that they cease to support their UNITA puppets, and so that there is an end to aggression.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Angola for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. DOS SANTOS (Mozambique): First, Sir, I congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for November. Your diplomatic skills and experience will help you steer the Council's work to a successful conclusion. May I also take this opportunity to express my great appreciation to your predecessor for the able manner in which he conducted the Council's affairs last month.

The Security Council, at its last meeting to consider the question of Namibia's independence, unanimously adopted resolution 601 (1987), on 30 October 1986. The resolution was about a cease-fire; it was about peace; it carried a message of peace, not war. It was not a declaration of war; it was an olive branch extended to the apartheid régime. Of course, we all recall that this peaceful gesture was rejected out of hand by the racists. We all know now why they found the resolution unacceptable. They are not interested in peace. They abhor peace. At that very moment they were preparing to invade the People's Republic of Angola. Apartheid and peace cannot coexist. War is as essential to the apartheid system as water is to fish. As fish cannot live out of water, so apartheid cannot live without brutal violence. Apartheid is a synonym of violence; the words have the same meaning.

The Security Council is compelled to meet once again to consider the aggression by racist South Africa against, and the occupation of large tracts of territory in, southern Angola. Once again the international community is witnessing what has become institutionalized aggression by Pretoria against a State Member of our Organization. In fact, since Angola's independence the apartheid régime has never ceased its acts of aggression and sabotage against Angola, and since 1982 racist South African troops have permanently occupied the southern part of Angola.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

The statement made by the Deputy Foreign Minister of Angola clearly shows that we are dealing not with isolated facts but with a permanent repetition of acts that reveal a blind and callous determination to impose and preserve apartheid by force, in violation of the sovereignty of other States. The facts presented are overwhelming and speak for themselves.

Whatever racist South Africa's explanations in its attempts to justify its latest brutal aggression, there is no doubt that it has yet again violated Angola's sovereignty and our Organization's Charter. There is no excuse for racist South Africa's actions in Angola.

The ongoing aggression against Angola is one part of the well-known hostile policy of racist South Africa towards the region, aimed at entrenching its domination. While carrying out the barbarous, ferocious, cruel and repugnant policy of apartheid at home, the minority régime of South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia and systematically uses that territory as a springboard for its aggression against sovereign States in the region, particularly Angola. As the Council is meeting the racist South African régime, in addition to its troops already in Angola, is amassing a huge military apparatus in northern Namibia aimed at increasing its aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. The racist régime of South Africa has increased its acts of aggression, destabilization and terrorism against independent neighbouring States by the use of its army and mercenaries and terrorists trained, financed and supported by it.

Those activities by the racist régime of South Africa are the main source of all the tension in our subregion and seriously threaten international peace and security. The atrocities perpetrated by the racist South African authorities cannot fail to arouse the strongest indignation and unanimous condemnation of world public opinion.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

It must be emphasized that the ongoing invasion of Angola is taking place at a time when the Angolan army has been inflicting heavy losses on the terrorists operating in Angola. This invasion is aimed at rescuing them from total defeat and annihilation. The racist Pretoria régime has publicly admitted that its troops are fighting in Angola to prevent the Angolan army from destroying its puppets.

While in the past the racist régime has justified its aggression against Angola and other front-line States in terms of "hot pursuit", it now publicly admits that its main intention is to prop up terrorists in Angola. By fighting for those terrorists the racist régime of South Africa is once again confirming to the international community its involvement against Angola and the true nature of those terrorists.

The war being waged in Angola is not a war between the Angolan armed forces and Pretoria's surrogates but a clear war of invasion, aggression, occupation and destabilization by South Africa, using terrorists and mercenary forces as an integral part of its regular army against the sovereign State of Angola, a member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement.

To illustrate clearly racist South Africa's level of involvement in the war of aggression against Angola, suffice it to recall the recent illegal entry into the occupied territory of Angola by some prominent figures of racist South Africa. That visit represents the most abject lawlessness and a naked show of gangsterism. It is an event unparalleled in recent history, one that can find a parallel only in Hitler's Germany. It constitutes a threat to international peace and security, for it is a declaration of war.

Unfortunately, what we are seeing in Angola is just a prelude to things to come. In the past seven years or so, despite unprecedented concerted international action against apartheid, racist South Africa has found solace and comfort in

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

the support by a handful of its allies in the West. That situation is likely to experience some changes in the coming 12 months. The Pretoria régime is therefore frantically trying to take full advantage of that fact so as to inflict as much damage, destruction, desolation and suffering as possible on southern Africa while the going is good for the racists.

We strongly condemn this violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola, and international law and practice.

We warmly congratulate the Angolan armed forces on the heroism that they have shown in firmly confronting this brutal aggression and extend our fraternal and militant solidarity to the MPLA Worker's Party and the people and Government of the People's Republic of Angola.

The Council has adopted several resolutions in which it has condemned racist South Africa for its premeditated, persistent and sustained aggression against Angola. It has repeatedly called upon racist South Africa immediately to cease those hostile activities against its neighbour. The only response from racist South Africa has been one of total defiance and rejection of the Security Council's decisions.

On this subject, the Heads of State or Government of the front-line States, at their meeting in Luanda, considered the timing of the aggression against Angola as an attempt by the racist régime of South Africa to frustrate the efforts of the international community to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in our subregion.

As I said earlier, this is not the first time that racist South Africa has carried out an invasion. Regrettably, in the past the concrete and appropriate measures envisaged in the Charter were not applied, for reasons with which we are familiar. What the Council must now do is seek the proper ways and means of

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

effectively implementing its resolutions. What must be done is to ensure that racist South Africa puts an end to all its acts of aggression and immediately and unconditionally withdraws all its troops from Angolan territory.

In the discharge of its obligations under the Charter, the Council must not hesitate to take all necessary measures aimed at putting an end to this violation of international law. If peace is to be maintained and the mandate entrusted to the Council fulfilled, a clear, firm and unequivocal message must be sent to racist South Africa. The question we must ask ourselves is: are we prepared to do this here and now?

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

Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): It is with genuine pleasure that my delegation congratulates you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. Our satisfaction is all the greater in view of the friendly relations that link Japan and my country, and your qualities as an accomplished diplomat, which guarantee skilled guidance of the Council's work.

To your predecessor, Ambassador Bucci of Italy, we wish to express our appreciation for the skill and competence with which he assumed his task last month.

The Angolan people, which triumphed over five centuries of colonialism, was certainly entitled to expect to celebrate in serenity a few days ago the twelfth anniversary of its independence and to be able to assess, in conditions of peace, its efforts to achieve economic development and social well-being.

None the less, because of the hegemonistic ambitions of South Africa, the People's Republic of Angola is again obliged to remind the international community of the armed aggression it faces and the territorial occupation to which it is subject.

Because of Pretoria, Angola has never known a single day of peace. Over and above the heroic sacrifices it made to defeat colonial domination, the Angolan people has had to draw up a tragic balance sheet of \$12 billion in material losses, 700,000 persons displaced because of invasion and occupation by South Africa, and tens of thousands killed and wounded in their courageous and stubborn defence of their national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Angola has already paid a very heavy price for fulfilling its duty of solidarity with the Namibian people and for defending its own inalienable right to

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

free choice of its national destiny, confronted with mercenary soldiers supported from abroad and the declared aggression of Pretoria. This price is all the heavier because the international community in its entirety, and the Security Council in particular, have many times had to learn of South Africa's military adventurism against Angola.

On 21 October last the Government of Angola informed the President of the Security Council of South Africa's escalating aggression. Angola pointed out that since the beginning of the year it had suffered 75 violations of its airspace and 33 attacks against its troops and defenceless civilians. Angola also alerted the Security Council to the large-scale military operations begun by 6,800 South African soldiers in the southern part of its territory.

Because the alarm it sounded and its appeal for international solidarity did not meet with the unanimous response for which it had hoped, Angola is today facing an even greater onslaught by Pretoria's machine of aggression.

In today submitting these particularly disturbing facts to the Security Council, Angola is drawing its attention to the movement, beginning in northern Namibia, of large South African reinforcements, including 10,000 men from the Eighth Tank Division. The situation created in Angola, where the racist soldiers have gone as far as 350 kilometres into the country, is too serious for the international community, through unanimity in the Security Council, not to adopt the unequivocal and speedy response dictated by these exceptionally dangerous circumstances.

The new armed aggression into Angola deserves to be analysed in the light of all the evidence.

First of all, in again attacking Angola from Namibia, which has been illegally occupied, Pretoria is sending the Security Council a veritable message of

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

provocation. Clearly, through this new violation of international law South Africa is proclaiming its rejection of resolution 601 (1987) of 30 October last calling for South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia and implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of that Territory.

Secondly, in confessing to the trip of its leader, Botha, to occupied Angolan territory, the apartheid régime attests to its true nature in imposing State terrorism. By this rarely equalled act of defiance, Pretoria is placing itself above the law and confirming that its power is not that of reform or of reason, but of combat. That is its response to those who have been excessively complacent towards it. Thus the régime confirms anew, if that were necessary, that it has made a clean break with the international community and has justified punishment by the community of nations.

Thirdly, and finally, in recognizing that its new armed intervention in Angola is intended to save the UNITA mercenaries, the Pretoria régime confirms a well established threefold overwhelming truth:

To begin with, as Africa and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have constantly proclaimed, South African aggression in Angola has no object other than destabilization of an independent and sovereign country, a Member of the United Nations.

Next, the UNITA mercenaries are just what the entire international community has constantly said they are: instruments and agents of South African expansionist policy.

Finally, and in view of all this, any act tending to grant credibility to those mercenaries, any material or financial support they might be given, any support for South African political and military blackmail in Angola and Namibia - all, in the final analysis, are nothing but expressions of complicity in prolonging South Africa's reign of violence and terror in southern Africa.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

In informing the Security Council of the escalation of South African aggression against Angola, Africa is testifying to its deep belief in the authority of an organized international society, and it is calling for law to regain the upper hand over these multiple manifestations of apartheid, which has rightly been called a crime against humanity.

As for Angola's right to preservation of its national sovereignty, respect for its territorial integrity and guaranteed security, it is up to the Security Council to assume its urgent duty of solidarity with and assistance for a country that, though a victim, has constantly contributed to the bringing of peace and stability to southern Africa.

Everyone has long known of Pretoria's unique responsibility for the continued aggression and destabilization in Angola. It is up to the Security Council to render its verdict and to see that it is carried out immediately.

South African armed aggression against Angola must cease immediately.

The occupation forces of Pretoria must without delay withdraw from the whole territory of the People's Republic of Angola.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

The external assistance of all kinds to the UNITA bands must end, otherwise those responsible may be identified with these attempts at the destabilization of Angola, which Pretoria has now publicly admitted. Angola has a right to all the necessary international assistance for the defence of its national independence and territorial integrity, and is entitled to the assistance of the community of nations in repairing the damage suffered and achieving its economic development.

Through these measures of support for and solidarity with Angola, the international community must, by means of the long-awaited action of the Security Council, finally commit itself to the collective effort necessary for the complete eradication of apartheid and the liberation of Namibia.

This is the price of preserving the nobility of what the United Nations represents for us all: an ideal of peace, justice and harmony among all men. It is in southern Africa that these values are being subjected to the outrage that is apartheid. It is in southern Africa that the United Nations message of peace has been so cruelly confronted with what has been left undone.

In the fight which has again been imposed on it, the People's Republic of Angola is assured of the unfailing solidarity and the unstinted support of my country, because, in the final analysis, in the defence of the independence of all the States of southern Africa, in the struggle for the dignity of the South African people and in the struggle for the freedom of the Namibian people, Algeria finds a part of its own independence to be protected, a part of its own freedom to be achieved, a part of its own dignity to be restored.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Algeria for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): At the outset, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the duties of President of the Security Council for the month of November. I am convinced that your proved commitment to the cause of peace, independence and sovereignty will contribute to the successful consideration of the question of aggression against Angola.

Your predecessor, Ambassador Maurizio Bucci, Permanent Representative of Italy, displayed ample wisdom and diplomatic skill while presiding over the deliberations of the Council during the month of October, for which he has our appreciation.

It is 12 years since Angola attained independence - hard-won independence, I may say - but peace continues to be denied to the people of Angola and the exercise of its sovereign right to independent political, social and economic development is still threatened. Racist South Africa has never ceased its aggression against this non-aligned country, still occupies part of its territory and has never abandoned the vain hope of destabilizing and overthrowing its legitimate Government. In this shameless undertaking South Africa is attempting to foist its stooges upon Angola. We all know that the armed bands operating in southern Angola are directed, financed and armed from abroad. Recently, however, the régime in Pretoria has said publicly that it assists UNITA materially and militarily, has declared that UNITA is the defender of the interests of South Africa in the region and has acknowledged that the objective of the occupation of and aggression against Angola is the protection and defence of the forces of UNITA.

The recent military attacks by the racist army its large-scale incursions deeply into the territory of Angola, and the huge concentration of military forces in northern Namibia bordering on Angola, are yet further evidence of South Africa's bid to protect its allies. It is also an attempt to increase tension and bring about the internationalization of the conflict in the region.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

I should also like to express our deepest indignation at the recent illegal visit by the President of racist South Africa to Angolan territory, which constituted a flagrant violation of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola.

The régime in Pretoria is trying to turn southern Africa into a region of bloc confrontation and a struggle for spheres of influence and domination. The attempts to put the struggle of peoples for independence, self-determination and sovereignty into the context of East-West rivalry are tantamount to denying those peoples their right to decide on their own destiny and to achieve their legitimate aspirations. The policy of linkage and of making the solution of the problems of southern Africa conditional in various ways is therefore unacceptable. The only way to achieve a solution is by the creation of the conditions for the peoples of the region to decide their own destiny freely and independently, and by ensuring full respect for the sovereign rights of the Government of Angola.

The fact that a new and even larger act of aggression against Angola has occurred precisely at the moment when greater efforts are being made to achieve the peaceful solution of the problems of the region on the basis of United Nations resolutions is telling proof of the lack of readiness on the part of South Africa to accept such a solution. The People's Republic of Angola has recently demonstrated once again exceptional constructiveness in exerting efforts to find a peaceful solution to the problem of southern Africa. The latest proposals of the President of Angola, Mr. Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, are aimed at creating the atmosphere of peaceful coexistence and understanding necessary for the establishment of a just and lasting peace, and they deserve full support.

The dramatic and exceptionally dangerous developments in the region, which, if unchecked, could lead to a broader confrontation, make it incumbent upon the

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

international community to undertake urgent action against the policy of terrorism pursued by the racist régime in Pretoria and to ensure the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination and the creation of conditions for the free and independent development of all countries.

The international community must not wait for the blood-bath to begin. Action is needed now. It is needed particularly on the part of those countries and elements which still maintain relations and co-operation with the régime in Pretoria. South Africa's aggression against Angola and other neighbouring countries, its policy of terror, apartheid and racial discrimination carried out against the majority population of South Africa, and its colonial occupation of Namibia constitute a flagrant violation of the basic principles of the United Nations Charter and the norms of international behaviour. The United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, must be unanimous in the condemnation and punishment of that policy. I repeat once again that Yugoslavia considers that the imposition against the racist régime of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter is the only remaining peaceful means of bringing about change and ensuring a just and lasting solution.

In its overall political activities for the promotion of international relations the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has always emphasized the need to take resolute action to protect the legitimate rights of the people of Namibia and the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and other front-line States. We expect that the following appeal to the international community, adopted yesterday at the meeting of non-aligned countries,

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

"to take effective and urgent measures in order to stop this escalation of South Africa's acts of aggression against the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola, and to render increased material, moral and political support to that country to enable it to consolidate its national independence and safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity", will be received with all seriousness.

Yugoslavia will continue to be actively involved in the efforts to bring about a lasting, just peace in southern Africa and the urgent, complete and unconditional withdrawal of racist troops from the territory of Angola. Intervention and interference in internal affairs and overt and covert attempts to destabilize a legitimate Government are hindering the free and independent development of Angola. What Angola needs is peace in order to be able to rededicate itself to the solution of the problems of its economic and social development.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Yugoslavia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Zimbabwe, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MUDENGE (Zimbabwe): The Zimbabwe delegation extends its congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of November. We are confident that, under your guidance, the Council will prove equal to the tasks required of it.

We would also like to express our appreciation to the Ambassador of Italy for the able manner in which he guided the affairs of the Council last month.

As a student of history, I have decided to review the development of the issue before the Council from its beginnings. Any discussion of the repeated and sustained aggression against the People's Republic of Angola by the apartheid régime of Pretoria must start with a clear examination of the facts. Such a review of the facts will indicate that, while Angola has never invaded South Africa, the apartheid State has consistently violated Angola's territorial integrity since independence. Indeed, documentary evidence establishes that South Africa launched a massive attack against Angola a full month before the independence of that country, in October 1975. In their book entitled Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War, Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas have this to say:

"The first major South African intervention in the Angolan civil war began in late October 1975 ... A South African armoured column swept through southern and coastal Angola, taking in rapid succession the cities of Sa da Bandeira, Mocamedes, Benguela, Lobito and Novo Redondo ... the column was equipped with Alouette helicopters, Panhard armoured cars, Marmon Herrington light tanks,

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

and 4.2-inch mortars - all of which are used in the South African army. The armoured column reportedly received its supplies from South African bases in Namibia, as well as from a forward base set up at Sa da Bandeira."

That is a matter of historical record, not conjecture.

In a separate chronology of these events, in his book entitled In Search of Enemies, John Stockwell, the chief of the Central Intelligence Agency's Angolan Task Force, notes that the CIA was involved in Angola long before the arrival of the Cubans. He states that the CIA began covert funding of the FNLA on 7 July 1974. The Soviet response to this, he says, was merely an expression of moral support for the MPLA. On 26 January 1975, Stockwell writes, the 40-Committee of the CIA provided an additional \$300,000 for the Roberto FNLA. On 29 July 1975, the first C-141 planeload of United States arms left South Carolina for Kinshasa, bound for Roberto and Savimbi. Another followed in August.

All this time the South Africans were already present in Angola, and Stockwell writes that the CIA preferred them because they were more reliable than mercenaries. Stockwell mentions the so-called French Hoods, paid \$500,000 to fight against Angola. He also reports an abortive attempt by the CIA to recruit Portuguese-speaking mercenaries in Brazil - an attempt which failed only because the Brazilian Government would not allow it.

It is important to note that all this activity took place in defiance of the call of the African States for an arms embargo against all Angolan factions after civil war had broken out in July 1975.

There is no question as regards who is responsible for the conflict in Angola, or who started it. The Cuban forces were requested to come in only after the massive South African invasion of October 1975 and when the South African army was literally at the gates of Luanda. South Africa declared that its motive was to stop what it called a communist take-over in Angola, and leaflets dropped by

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

mysterious black planes were calling on citizens of Luanda to "Kill all the Russians, Hungarians and Poles who command the MPLA". According to the well-known Polish journalist, Mr. Kapuscinski, at that time

"there was only one person from Eastern Europe - me"

meaning the journalist himself. Mr. Kapuscinski also wrote that, on

5 November 1975, about three weeks after the South African invasion of Angola, he had been taken to Luanda Airport, where he witnessed the first landing of the Cuban troops requested by the Angolan Government. Mr. Stockwell, then Chief of the CIA Angolan Task Force, agrees with this chronology in his book In Search of Enemies.

After its defeat, the South African army withdrew from much of Angola in January 1976. But it was not for long. On the spurious grounds of defending Namibia against the incursions of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) guerillas, the racist troops kept up pressure against the People's Republic of Angola. The South African Defence Forces joined up with UNITA and Portuguese mercenaries to destabilize the Republic of Angola. SWAPO reported a successful attack in July 1976 on a base at Omboloka in the north of Ovambo, at which was stationed a unit consisting of South African Defence Forces, UNITA and ex-Portuguese army mercenary troops. Massacres of Angolan and Namibian civilians became commonplace. An example was the massacre of 800 refugees at Kassinga, Angola, in May 1978.

Following the collapse of the Geneva Pre-Implementation Meeting on Namibia at the beginning of 1981, South African aggression became even more blatant. On 15 January of that year, the very day that the talks finally broke down, South African troops attacked a unit of the Angolan army stationed at Cuamato, in the Kunene Province of Angola. Major General Charles Lloyd, Commanding Officer of

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

South African forces in Namibia, subsequently told foreign journalists, who had been taken on a tour of the Namibian border region, that in future South African troops might engage in direct battle with the Angolan army. He was as good as his word.

Fact Paper on Southern Africa No. 10 of January 1982 of the International Defence and Aid Fund, states that:

"South Africa's strategy in Namibia has had four main aspects. It has attempted, by military force, to destroy the People's Liberation Army in Namibia (PLAN). This effort has been increasingly coupled with sustained attacks on neighbouring African States, notably Angola, aimed not only at PLAN bases, supply lines and SWAPO refugee camps, but also at controlling the Southern part of Angola and destabilizing the Angolan Government and administration."

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

The escalation of attacks against Angola by the racist South African troops and the subsequent Hitlerite visit to the area of operations by the chief apostle of apartheid are all part of this politics of intimidation. The attack by South African troops against Angolan army positions last week was not aimed at combating SWAPO; it was aimed at supporting UNITA bandits to defeat the Angolan army. It is a clear illustration of policies South Africa has pursued since Angolan independence on 11 November 1975. It is also part of South Africa's strategy of destabilization against independent African States in the region. Pretoria cannot afford to have the UNITA bandits eradicated because they are useful to it in the destabilization of the Angolan economy and Government. So let us not hear any more talk of Cubans or communists. The curse has another name, a sinister name. That name is apartheid, a doctrine that thrives on agony and hate, a doctrine that is antithetical to peace.

Apartheid is the central feature of the mosaic of the relations of violence that characterize southern Africa. It is in defence of apartheid that South Africa invades its neighbours and destabilizes them. It is in defence of apartheid that South Africa continues illegally to occupy Namibia. It is in defence of apartheid that South Africa butchers and incarcerates its own children and practises levels of internal repression unseen since the demise of Adolf Hitler.

One wonders why Botha has chosen to be so brazen and contemptuous of international public opinion this time round. We are informed that he, the commander-in-chief of his country's armed forces, actually visited the area of operations deep inside Angola last week. The Afrikaner Hitler - like his Germanic predecessor 48 years ago, revelling in his rape of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland - posed like a latter-day Napoleon amid the smouldering embers of southern Angola. Like his ideological master, he could have said, as Hitler did,

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

"It matters not whether it is right or wrong. All that counts is who has the power."

Yet the poignant question is why. Shall we read from this shameful episode a revelation of Afrikaner weakness? Are these the last kicks of a dying horse? Or is it internal pressure? Does Botha feel the need to assuage the fears of diehard Afrikaners inside South Africa by gloating over the death and misery of a couple of hundred more blacks? Or is it that Botha has his eye towards the coming elections in the United States? Is it that, since he is unsure of the next President of the United States, he would like to so implicate the United States in the Angolan imbroglio that whichever President comes in will already be so committed he cannot back out? This is an interesting thought. Could a United States President fall for it? I am reminded here of a remark by John Stockwell, whom I have already quoted. In his book In Search of Enemies, Mr. Stockwell relates how his country's operation with South Africa in the Angolan conflict ensured that its "goose was cooked", so to speak. Having examined at length the success of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) propaganda at spreading false rumours about Soviet advisers and Cuban troops in the international media, just one dispatch from Lusaka destroyed it all. Stockwell writes:

"On November 22 [1978], a journalist, Ken Bridgefield, filed a story in the Washington Post, from Lusaka, reporting that South African soldiers were fighting in Angola. The propaganda and political war was lost in that stroke. There was nothing the Lusaka [CIA] station could invent that would be as damaging to the other side as our alliance with the hated South Africans was to our cause."

Nothing has happened since to convince Africans that an American alliance with South Africa is good for their health.

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

The Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have already stated that apartheid is the root cause of violence in southern Africa. For peace to prevail in the region, for Angola to stop being invaded, for the front-line States to stop being destabilized, for ordinary South African civilians to stop being brutalized, for the occupation of Namibia to end, apartheid has to be eradicated. The cost of apartheid to the region must be counted in millions of lives, billions of dollars in property, and I do not know what amount in anxiety: how can one put a price on that? I will just quote a few statistics here. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) report of 1986 entitled "Children of the front line: the impact of apartheid, destabilization and warfare on children in southern and South Africa" states:

"By 1986, the number of Angolan and Mozambican children under the age of five whose lives were lost as a consequence of war and destabilization totalled an estimated 140,000. In 1987, the figure is likely to be even higher."

Huambo, Angola, now "boasts" the world's largest wooden-leg factory.

In Mozambique alone, according to the UNICEF report,

"Four hundred and eighty-four health posts and centres have been destroyed since 1982 [42 per cent of the total]. This means that over two million people had, by 1985, been deprived of access to health care. More than 300,000 primary schoolchildren are without places because their schools have been destroyed."

I could go on. But is this not enough to enrage the conscience of the international community? We believe it is. That is why we have said that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be completely eradicated. That is why we agree with the international community that comprehensive economic sanctions under

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

Chapter VII of the Charter are the only remaining peaceful means of compelling the abandonment of apartheid. That is why we view with dismay those who say apartheid can be dismantled voluntarily and oppose the imposition of sanctions. Nothing is supposed to cause greater heartbreak than the death and misery of children. And they shall continue to die as long as apartheid is allowed to persist and thrive by the veto powers of certain members of the Council.

This is not the first time the Council has discussed South African aggression against Angola. Last time we asked that South Africa be required to pay reparations for such aggression and that more assistance be rendered to the People's Republic of Angola in order to enable it to deter such aggression. The use of the veto by Pretoria's friends on the Council defeated that move. We hope those friends have learnt from subsequent history that theirs is an indefensible client. Thousands of deaths and billions of dollars in damages later, we do hope their faith in their client has been chastened. Perhaps now they are willing to go along with the rest of the international community and call for comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against the racist apartheid régime. We cannot call for anything less, if only because nothing less will do.

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

We have in mind here our friends from the West who have in the past used their vetoes, in particular the United States; our good friends of the Federal Republic of Germany who need to tell us about the sale of German submarine plans to South Africa in the light of the latter country's manufacture of its own submarines; our special friends of the United Kingdom, with its aversion to imposing sanctions against South Africa; and, of course, our very own brother, Japan, which has now become South Africa's number one trading partner following the imposition of sanctions by the rest of the international community. What are all these good friends of ours going to do now to restrain their other dear comrade, apartheid South Africa, from killing us in Angola?

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zimbabwe for his kind words addressed to me.

I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received a letter from the representative of Malawi in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Since there are no objections, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mangwazu (Malawi), took a place at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The representative of Malawi wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of November. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MANGWAZU (Malawi): First of all, Sir, I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. I also want to take this opportunity to say how grateful we are to the Ambassador of Italy for carrying out so well his functions as President of the Council last month.

The Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Angola has eloquently given us facts and figures concerning the current grave and shocking situation in Angola caused by the increased and persistent incursions into his country by the armed forces of the apartheid régime of South Africa. We have learnt with horror of the recent large-scale and unprovoked invasion of the People's Republic of Angola. We have also learnt with dismay of yet another flagrant violation of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola by the illegal visit to Angolan territory of the President and some of the Ministers of the apartheid régime.

This time the armed forces of the apartheid régime have made incursions into the provinces of Huila, Moxico, Cunene and Kuando-Kubango, with the occupation of parts of those Provinces. Such acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola have resulted in grave losses of lives of innocent and defenceless people, including women and children. The recent South African invasion of Angolan territory has exacerbated the situation in that country. The untold misery and sufferings, apart from the destruction of the badly needed social and economic infrastructures, make it impossible for the Angolan Government to improve the living standards of the people.

The amassing of troops by the South African apartheid régime along the southern border of Angola not only causes grave concern but is a matter that requires immediate action by the international community to stop it.

(Mr. Mangwazu, Malawi)

It is our belief that the main cause of this problem, as we have seen in Angola, is apartheid. The South African apartheid régime is trying desperately and hopelessly to buttress the obnoxious, immoral and indefensible system of apartheid. We shall continue to see the whole of southern Africa in a state of turmoil for as long as apartheid exists in South Africa.

We of the African Group strongly condemn the illegal invasion and continued occupation of Angolan territory by this stubborn and unrepentant apartheid régime. We also view with trepidation and disdain the arming of the rebel UNITA forces by some States Members of the United Nations, which forces are fighting side by side with the armed forces of the apartheid régime of South Africa.

We ask the Security Council through you, Mr. President, to use whatever means it has at its disposal to ask the South African apartheid régime to withdraw its forces from Angola and stop its acts of aggression.

We urge the international community to take effective and urgent measures aimed at ending the South African aggression and South Africa's illegal occupation of parts of the Angolan territory.

We call on the international community to join us in expressing our solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola and in extending it the necessary moral and material support so that it can consolidate its national independence and safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Malawi for his kind words addressed to me.

I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received a letter, dated 20 November 1987, from the representatives of the Congo, Ghana and Zambia, which reads as follows:

(The President)

"We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that during its meetings devoted to consideration of the item

'Complaint by Angola against South Africa' the Security Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Mfanafuthi Makatini, Director of the International Department of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)".

That letter will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/19289. If I hear no objections, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation, under rule 39, to Mr. Makatini.

As there are no objections, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Makatini to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MAKATINI: Mr. President, on behalf of the African National Congress of South Africa I wish to thank you and the Security Council for giving us the floor to join the international community in addressing this most urgent matter before the Council today. We must also congratulate you on your assumption of the helm of this body, and at the same time we thank your predecessor, the Ambassador of Italy, for a job well done. We are confident that the deliberations of the Security Council cannot but benefit from your guidance.

(Mr. Makatini)

Racist South Africa's undeclared but naked war of aggression against the front-line States and neighbouring countries has had occasion to be discussed in these very Chambers more frequently perhaps than most other issues that pose a threat to international peace and security. This has been particularly true in the specific case of racist South Africa's frequent aggression against and invasion of the People's Republic of Angola, as well as its occupation of portions of the southern part of that country. Each time, the guilt of the Pretoria racist régime has been crystal clear, if not established beyond doubt; yet each time attempts to adopt measures designed to compel the Pretoria racist régime to comply with the norms of international law have been sabotaged by certain permanent member States. Meanwhile the racist régime has interpreted each failure of the international community to act as permission and encouragement to proceed apace on its criminal warpath. The longer the Council fails to act, the more emboldened Pretoria will be to drown the entire region of southern Africa in a horrendous interracial blood-bath.

It is public knowledge that at least three battalions of the Pretoria racist régime have for a long time been occupying positions in southern Angola, positions which they have sought to expand by launching forays into the rest of the country. The régime now also has some 30,000 troops massed on the border with Namibia as back-up for its current unprecedented escalation of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. In a blatant display of contempt for the very principles of national sovereignty and territorial integrity, P. W. Botha and three of his henchmen have had the temerity to visit the racist occupation troops on Angolan soil. In a statement which confirms what has always been public knowledge, namely that the UNITA bandits are the ignominious cat's-paw of apartheid, the Pretoria racist régime claimed that its heightened military aggression against Angola was in

(Mr. Makatini)

the interest of preventing a UNITA defeat. If clarity were ever needed, the elements are all in place. Pretoria's vain attempt is to create a so-called constellation of southern African States under the dominance of pax pretoriana. This is also intended to serve the objective of buying more time for Pretoria to impose a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) type settlement in Namibia, thus effectively sabotaging resolution 435 (1978) and extending its illicit lease on the use of Namibian territory, which it occupies illegally, as a launching-pad for its acts of aggression and destabilization against the front-line and other independent African States in the region.

There are those who have made it their vocation to see glimmers of hope even in the darkest aspects of the conduct of the Pretoria racist régime, frequently defying common sense and flying in the face of irrefutable historical evidence. It is alarming enough that they have persistently taken the position that apartheid should be given time to reform itself even as the régime's domestic reign of terror and its state terrorism against neighbouring African States have been consistently intensifying. At the dangerous extreme they have sought to purchase extra time for apartheid by militarily supporting the Pretoria racist régime's surrogates, as is the case in the United States Administration's support for the UNITA bandits. P. W. Botha's visit to his occupation troops on Angolan soil, apart from being an act of flagrant defiance, is also calculated to exploit this disposition on the part of its allies. This high-profile visit, taken in conjunction with the Pretoria régime's assertion that it is upping its war against Angola in order to prevent a UNITA defeat, is without doubt intended to involve the United States, which supports UNITA, more deeply and extensively in Pretoria's war against southern Africa. Nothing could be more dangerous than for the United States

(Mr. Makatini)

Administration to fall for this cheap ploy. In the name of international peace and security we strongly counsel against this horrendous possibility.

We must remember that attempts to accommodate Hitler even as he began to invade Poland led to his military occupation of the greater part of Europe. To fail to take decisive action as Pretoria is escalating its military aggression against Angola will have the effect of giving Pretoria carte blanche to overrun all of southern Africa. If we cannot turn Pretoria back from Angola, if we cannot accelerate the process of Namibian decolonization under the provisions of resolution 435 (1978), we hardly have grounds to hope that Pretoria can be prevailed upon to leave southern Africa alone.

The Security Council must, therefore, condemn racist South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. It must demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of its troops from that country. The Security Council must make it clear that racist South Africa's failure to comply with this demand within a clearly fixed period will leave the Security Council no choice but to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions on racist South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Makatini for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on its agenda will take place on Monday, 23 November 1987, at 10 a.m.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.