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MEETING: 23 MARCH 1979 UN/SA COLLECTION

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## NOTE

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## 2135th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 23 March 1979, at 11 a.m.

*President:* Mr. Leslie O. HARRIMAN (Nigeria).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2135)

#### 1. Adoption of the agenda

#### 2. Complaint by Angola against South Africa:

Letter dated 16 March 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13176)

*The meeting was called to order at 11.55 a.m.*

#### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

#### Complaint by Angola against South Africa:

Letter dated 16 March 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13176)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken by the Council at previous meetings [2130th, 2132nd and 2133rd meetings], I invite the representative of Angola to take a place at the Council table, and the representatives of Algeria, Benin, Botswana, Bulgaria, the Congo, Cuba, Egypt, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Liberia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Romania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Togo, the United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola) took a place at the Council table and Mr. Bouayad-Agha (Algeria), Mr. Houngavou (Benin), Mr. Tlou (Botswana), Mr. Yankov (Bulgaria), Mr. Mondjo (Congo), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Worku (Ethiopia), Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Sekyi (Ghana), Mr. Yansané (Guinea), Mr. Sinclair (Guyana), Mr. Tubman (Liberia), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Honwona (Mozambique), Mr. Marinescu (Romania), Mr. Conteh (Sierra Leone), Mr. Hussen (Somalia), Mr. Rodrigo (Sri Lanka), Mr. Sahloul (Sudan), Mr. Kodjovi (Togo), Mr. Chale (United Republic of Tan-*

*zania), Mr. Ha Van Lau (Viet Nam) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

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

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Jaipal (India) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.*

3. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2132nd meeting, I invite Mr. Mishake Muyongo, Vice-President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), to take a place at the Council table.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Muyongo (South West Africa People's Organization) took a place at the Council table.*

4. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 22 March from the representatives of Gabon, Nigeria and Zambia [S/13187] which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that, during its meetings devoted to the consideration of the item 'Complaint by Angola against South Africa', the Council should extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. David Sibeko, representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania."

If I hear no objection I shall take it that the Council agrees to that request.

*It was so decided.*

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

6. Mr. MONDJO (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since the debate started on the repeated criminal acts of aggression by South African troops against the People's Republic of Angola, I know that you

have been literally bowed down under a heavy load of compliments, all equally deserved. If I may say so, you are thus the "victim" of the manifestations of gratitude by other Member States towards your great country, Nigeria, towards its dynamic people and its enlightened leaders who have committed themselves before history to take an active part henceforth in the struggle for the total liberation of our continent, Africa, from colonialism, racism and all other forms of foreign domination and exploitation. My delegation in turn wishes to express its sincere satisfaction at seeing you presiding with the requisite competence and urbanity over the debate on this important question submitted to the Security Council by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola.

7. At all times, here and everywhere, our approach to the criminal conduct of the racists of Pretoria and Salisbury has remained the same. We have incessantly, in all the international forums, denounced the rabid rage of the *apartheid* cliques which have clamped a heavy lid on the Namibian file in an attempt to thwart the efforts of the international community to bring the people of that Territory to independence. Assured of the unction of their masters and adulators from the West, Vorster and his clique obstinately seek by every possible means to achieve their demented dreams by unceasingly resorting to brute force against the front-line States, where the South African and Rhodesian troops have exacted a heavy toll from the innocent civilian populations by carrying out a series of manoeuvres, the perfidy of which can be ignored only by those who, claiming to defend the so-called interests of the West, cover their inaction by maintaining a benign neutrality towards these Fascists, whom they have been arming. Immured as they are within the archaic world of racial hatred and implacable logic of the deadly philosophy of *apartheid*, these minority régimes will inevitably remain opposed to any peaceful solution in southern Africa. The policy of scorn and contempt that they practise with regard to the relevant decisions of the United Nations and the impunity in which they revel—alas, with justification—have more than once dragged the Organization to the brink of failure.

8. Those who have so far chosen to harbour very moving illusions about the so-called metamorphosis of the Vorster team should renounce definitely their compliant attitude, which has served only to tarnish and lessen the prestige of the Security Council, the guarantor of the maintenance of international peace and security.

9. The complaint before the Council at this time brings new facts which add to and aggravate an already voluminous dossier against the South African Government, which definitely seems to take a perverse pleasure in cultivating unpopularity as though it were a virtue. The representative of the People's Republic of Angola, my brother and comrade, Ambassador de Figueiredo, provided the Council [2130th meeting] with a grim description of the circumstances and consequences of recent barbaric aggressions directed by the Pretoria soldiery against the territory of Angola. These gratuitous acts of international banditry caused enormous losses to the brother people of Angola just as that people, under the guidance of its avant-garde party, MPLA [*Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola*], and its prestigious leader, President Agostinho Neto, were courageously

taking up an historic challenge—to build on the ruins of a long and deadly war of national liberation an Angolan socialist and fraternal State, strong and powerful, from which the exploitation of man by man would be irrevocably banished. Both the tone and the substance of the statement made by Ambassador de Figueiredo shed a wholesome light on this debate and, I am sure, enabled the Council to perceive the vastness of the tragedy. Although the South African racists have shrewdly kept a low profile of late, their nature has not changed. Their recent acts of aggression against the neighbouring African States have definitely torn away the mask of respectability with which their defenders had provided them. As always, the truth will out. Sad to say, the facts once again prove us to be right and support the statements we have so far made.

10. The unfailing assistance given to SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, by the People's Republic of Angola is a decision that deserves the unequivocal support of the entire international community, and particularly of the Security Council, which in its numerous resolutions has consistently urged Member States to support the struggle for the liberation of the colonial peoples or victims of *apartheid*. At any rate, everyone here must be convinced that this aid is non-negotiable, despite Pretoria's frenzied attempts to destroy the achievements of the Angolan revolution.

11. We are continually witnessing an escalation of the Salisbury and Pretoria aggression against the front-line countries, which have received from the Organization of African Unity the sacred mission of being the refuge and the support of the liberation movements in southern Africa. The troops brought by helicopter from Salisbury and Pretoria, which sow death and distress in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana, will never be able to shake the determination to achieve freedom and independence of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, represented respectively by the Patriotic Front and by SWAPO. The historic rise of the masses in these two African territories will foil any plots hatched in secret and disarm the traitors to the cause of their people, recruited from here and there, and lured by pompous titles of liberation movements, produced out of the blue to make things cozy for racism and imperialism at the precise moment when the people of Namibia see the light of a new era dawning on the horizon, an era when radical changes are to be made as a result of their heroic struggle.

12. It is high time for the African racists to be cured of their schizophrenia and their absurd complexes. Now, as feelings run high and the situation is serious, we wish to remind the Council that the People's Republic of Angola is not alone; it has reliable friends and active solidarity throughout Africa. In any case, I should like to reaffirm here on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of the Congo and of the revolutionary institutions of my country that the Congolese people, today as yesterday, totally support the just struggle of the Angolan people to defend their territorial integrity and the independence they have acquired at the cost of so much sacrifice.

13. At a time when contacts are being concocted in New York supposedly to create a brighter tomorrow, we can no longer be taken in by certain bold moves. On 6 May

1978 the Council, in its resolution 428 (1978), committed itself to consider effective measures up to and including the application of Chapter VII of the Charter in the event of "further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola".

14. Without trying to overstate the case, we would suggest that the Council should seriously consider the relevant analyses provided by the delegations which have been heard so far. To remain unarmed before the self-infatuation of the racist leaders of South Africa is to aggravate the loss in standing of the Council and the impression of decay and decline which has been created whenever we consider a complaint about the crimes of the Pretoria régime. Here is the opportunity for the Council not only vigorously to condemn this régime because of its persistent armed invasions of the territory of Angola, a sovereign State Member of the United Nations, but, beyond these ritual formulas, to carry out on the stage where these evil deeds are committed a mission of inquiry to draw up an inventory of the destruction and losses resulting from these acts of aggression and their consequences on the Angolan economy. This time the Council will not fail to adopt the necessary measures to prevent the recrudescence of these scandalous armed invasions which jeopardize the security and stability of Angola. We must not allow any crossing of the line beyond which it will not be possible to bear the unbearable.

15. Turning now to my brothers, the representatives of the front-line States, I should like to remind them that African peoples have placed in them a trust which makes their responsibilities particularly heavy in the face of history. It is in the nature of imperialism to arouse antagonistic contradictions by abusively dramatizing the divergences which may at times appear between States whose priority mission assigned by the Organization of African Unity is to assist, at all costs, the liberation of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. A permanent watch is required therefore in order to maintain unity in our ranks and to thwart the manoeuvres and intimidation of the enemies of the African nation.

16. Despite the unleashed fury of the South African racists and of their offshoots at Salisbury, the conscious mass struggle waged with heroic courage by the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, under the banner of SWAPO and of the Patriotic Front, will soon bear fruit. For the historic inevitability of the victory of these valiant fighters for freedom cannot be doubted.

17. Mr. N'DONG (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): At the time of the adoption of resolution 428 (1978) which unequivocally condemned the attack by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola, I stated the following:

"It is not only an obvious threat to international peace and security but also undeniable proof that the Security Council will always be seized of such base acts so long as Fascist minority régimes persist in southern Africa."  
[2078th meeting, para. 33.]

18. The concern then expressed by my delegation unfortunately has now been confirmed. Indeed, fewer than 20 days ago the Council met to condemn the attacks by the illegal Smith régime against the independent African ter-

ritories of Angola, Mozambique and Zambia. Today, the Council has before it a complaint by the People's Republic of Angola following the attack by South Africa on its territory, a criminal attack launched from Namibia, an international Territory that the South African régime has been occupying illegally, notwithstanding international opinion and the decisions of the Council.

19. My delegation has listened with particular attention to the representative of the People's Republic of Angola, who in his statement described quite clearly the most recent South African acts of aggression of which his country was a victim. We see clearly from that statement that recently the territory of Angola as well as the territories of other front-line countries are the targets for constant violations by the adventuristic South African forces from all quarters. For, in order to commit its ultimate crime, South Africa has undertaken a veritable military expedition using the most murderous means of destruction: infantry, artillery, armoured vehicles and planes. The sad results of this military foray need no embellishment, ending as they did in the death of a large number of innocent Angolans and in much property damage.

20. In seeking to understand the real meaning behind South Africa's acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and other front-line countries, we are compelled to mention the very disturbing situation prevailing in Namibia. In other words, the problem we are discussing today is but one of the tragic consequences which the Namibian people have suffered since Pretoria decided to occupy its country illegally and to establish *apartheid* there, the institutional expression of the most brutal kind of racist ideology.

21. As many eminent representatives who spoke before me have stressed, the attack of which the People's Republic of Angola was victim was not really aimed at reaching and destroying camps of SWAPO—one of the most important members of the Namibian equation—but, rather, at intimidating and destabilizing Angola in order to divert it from its sacred duty to support and assist the liberation movements struggling against the minority racist and retrograde régimes of southern Africa. The latest South African attacks quite clearly show Pretoria's true intentions, which are to perpetuate its ominous neo-colonialist designs in Namibia, and are irrefutable proof of the total contempt of this régime for international law and all the decisions of the Organization. For, South Africa, like any society partisan of slavery, has an almost pathological fear of those whose existence it refuses to recognize; hatred and fear of the black majority are the dominant factors of all political life in South Africa and it is that hatred and fear which drive South Africa to commit such rash acts both inside its territory and against neighbouring countries. South Africa believes that it can maintain its hold over Namibia, a particularly rich Territory, and protect its sordid interests in that country thanks to its military strength. It is easy to understand, therefore, why violence is inherent in the system of *apartheid*.

22. South Africa must know that its acts of intimidation will not lead to a cessation of the assistance and support of all kinds which Angola is giving to its Namibian brothers struggling for the liberation of their country or shatter the revolutionary zeal for freedom of the Namibian

nationalists. In this connexion, I should like to recall the statement of the President of the People's Republic of Angola, which is contained in the communiqué issued by the Angolan Ministry of Defence and appears in document S/13177:

"the imperialists can come with their planes, their tanks, their cannons and their warships, but they will not be able to prevent our heroic people from fulfilling their sacred internationalist duty towards the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, to whom we once again reiterate our militant solidarity".

23. This is certainly not the first time that South Africa has attacked Angola, but the latest attacks have taken place at a particularly delicate time. We all know that five Western countries, three of which are members of the Security Council, have made strenuous efforts in the search for an internationally acceptable peaceful solution of the Namibian problem. We also know that on 18 and 19 March "proximity talks" were to be held in New York between the five Western countries and all the parties concerned in the Namibian problem. It was precisely a few days before the start of these talks that we learned that South Africa had once more attacked the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, a sovereign State Member of the United Nations, to commit acts of aggression and vandalism there, whereas it had been reasonably expected that South Africa would refrain, before these "proximity talks", from any action which might endanger prospects for an internationally acceptable peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem, as provided for by the Security Council plan.

24. My delegation sincerely hopes that this belligerent attitude of South Africa will not affect the process aimed at establishing genuine independence in Namibia, in accordance with Council resolution 435 (1978).

25. The Council must forcefully condemn the attack against the People's Republic of Angola and consider any measure deemed useful so that in future neither Angola nor any other front-line country will ever again be the victim of savage aggression by the minority racist régimes of southern Africa.

26. In conclusion, my delegation reaffirms its solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola, for, as His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo said before the General Assembly on 14 October 1977:

"What is the good of talking of justice or of emancipation if they both stop at the Zambezi?

"The misfortune of our brothers makes it incumbent upon us to prepare to deliver them. Once the noble fight has begun for them, no one can doubt that we will have to win it for ourselves."<sup>1</sup>

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

28. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Before stating the views of the Romanian delega-

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 34th meeting, paras. 91 and 92.

tion, with your permission, Mr. President, I should like to thank the Security Council for having given me the opportunity to participate in the debate on Angola's complaint against South Africa.

29. The present debate, in which a large number of States are participating, reflects the legitimate indignation aroused throughout the world by the latest acts of aggression of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. This debate once more shows that the policy and practices of the Pretoria and Salisbury minority racist régimes and their unceasing attacks against neighbouring independent African countries, in open defiance of international law and relevant resolutions of the United Nations, are most vigorously condemned as infamous by the international community.

30. These repeated acts of aggression give the Security Council a clear view of the particularly grave and complex situation that the racist régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria have created in southern Africa. They once more confirm the fact that the armed attacks against the independent front-line African countries have become common practice for the racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia. The uninterrupted chain of such acts of aggression, which have taken place in previous years and at the beginning of this year and which have each time resulted in the loss of many lives and heavy property damage, makes these régimes one of the most serious factors threatening peace in Africa and the whole world.

31. The air raids against the young independent and sovereign Angolan State, which is devoting its efforts to the peaceful reconstruction of the country, and the bombings of civilian localities and Namibian refugee centres are not random in nature, as is claimed in South Africa's letter [S/13180], and cannot be justified in any way. What we have here is, in fact, a whole series of systematic and premeditated acts of aggression, well known to the Security Council, directed against the Namibian and Zimbabwean peoples and against the independent African States. The real aims of South Africa, which have been repeatedly unmasked in the past during the deliberations in the Council, are undoubtedly meant to stifle the national liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa, to maintain the state of racial and colonial domination, to destabilize the economies of Angola and the neighbouring independent African States and to preserve conditions of domination in that important strategic region. Those criminal acts, which have been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations, show the grave danger to peace and international co-operation of the continuation of racist and *apartheid* régimes and régimes of colonial domination. They call for the adoption of specific and urgent measures which go beyond merely again condemning and appealing to the racist régimes to heed reason. They must put an end to the roots of aggression and ensure respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the African States; they must allow for the immediate implementation of the sacred right of the Namibian and Zimbabwean peoples to a free and independent life.

32. By their acts of aggression, the minority racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury have left no doubt of their real intentions with respect to the demands for independence by the Namibian and Zimbabwean peo-

ples. Those acts show, at the same time, the real positions of those régimes with respect to the initiatives and efforts to find a peaceful solution to the grave situation in southern Africa.

33. The new armed attacks by South Africa against Angola, at the very moment when negotiations are taking place to finalize the United Nations plan to implement resolution 435 (1978), constitute, in our view, a flagrant and provocative act. Those attacks can only serve to hamper and block efforts to realize the aspirations and the fundamental rights of the Namibian people to freedom and independence.

34. There is no doubt that the racist régime of Pretoria is sparing no effort to promote its strategic plans in southern Africa and thus to ensure its control over the Territory of Namibia, which it holds by force, illegally and in a brutal fashion.

35. We are firmly convinced that all the manoeuvres of the racist régimes as well as their abusive acts of force and repression cannot prevent the final victory of the struggle being waged by the Namibian and Zimbabwean peoples more and more staunchly for their freedom of independence.

36. The aggressive actions of the racist régimes, like the one now before the Council, can only worsen the situation in southern Africa, increase tension in the region and increase the danger to international peace and security. That serious situation requires, without further delay, energetic action so that the Council can discharge the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter and use the means provided for situations in which peace and security are threatened. At the same time, the situation requires better co-ordination of efforts and actions by the international community against the racist régimes. In this respect, the Romanian delegation supports the requests addressed to the Council by the African delegations, including assistance measures for the front-line African countries.

37. The Government and people of Romania, which have also in the past resolutely condemned the irresponsible acts of aggression of the racist and *apartheid* régimes, firmly demand that an end should be put to any armed intervention against the African States and that their sovereignty and independence should be respected. We call for the cessation of the illegal occupation of Namibia so that the Namibian people can exercise, without any restriction, their inalienable right to a free, unified and independent homeland, in conformity with their profound aspirations.

38. Romania is firmly opposed, in its foreign policy, to the imperialist policy of domination and oppression and supports respect for the right of each people to a free and independent existence. In this spirit, we express our complete solidarity with the people of Angola, a friendly country, and with the peoples of other front-line African countries in their struggle against the provocation and aggression of the racist régime of Pretoria. We repeat the firm support of Romania for the people of Namibia and their legitimate national liberation movement, SWAPO, until final victory is achieved over foreign domination and until national liberation and independence are won.

39. Romania, as has recently been emphasized by President Nicolae Ceaușescu, considers that the time has come to act firmly to put a complete end to the colonial policy, in whatever form, in order to ensure the independence of all peoples, with respect for their right to a free life. It is along these lines that the Romanian delegation supports the adoption of energetic and effective measures by the Security Council.

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

41. Mr. HONWONA (Mozambique): I should like to begin by addressing a word of thanks to the members of the Security Council for the honour and privilege of speaking before this body.

42. The Security Council has, through the years, established a tradition of sensitivity to the major problems affecting our peoples, especially the people whose daily lot is to feel in their flesh the odious nature of the racist, minority régimes of southern Africa. When the people of Angola rose up in arms against Portuguese colonialism, the Council took an unequivocal stand in favour of their cause, the cause of freedom and independence. That in itself gives us the certainty that, now that that same freedom and independence is directly threatened, the Security Council will have no difficulty in once again giving the Angolan people its full support.

43. On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, I wish to pay a special tribute to the President of the Council, Ambassador Leslie Harriam, and through him to the people and Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, that great African country whose proved commitment to the cause of freedom in Africa augurs well for the success of this meeting.

44. Once again the Security Council is meeting to discuss wanton aggression against an independent African State by the South African *apartheid* régime. The People's Republic of Mozambique strongly condemns South Africa's attacks against Angola, and indeed against Zambia and Botswana. The people of Angola, with whom we shared the experience of colonial oppression, exploitation and humiliation and with whom we fought for freedom and independence, continue to enjoy our militant solidarity and support.

45. The South African régime is a régime condemned by the entire international community for its inhuman *apartheid* policies. This is the régime that, not content with oppressing and exploiting the people of South Africa, cold-bloodedly massacres men, women and children, whether in Sharpeville or Soweto, for the simple reason that they demand their legitimate rights. This is the régime which, in defiance of Africa and the international community, illegally occupies Namibia, divides its people through the extension of the bantustan policies and subjects them to the most cruel forms of colonial domination and exploitation. This is the régime that has embarked upon a major military build-up, including the development of nuclear weapons. This is the régime which, disregarding the most basic principles of international law, has enacted legislation giving itself the right to intervene militarily anywhere in Africa south of the equa-

tor. This is the régime that brutally attacks Angola and other front-line States.

46. The Angolan people have had to fight a 14-year war of liberation from Portuguese colonialism. Angola had to repel the South African and imperialist aggression of 1975. Angola is even today having to defend itself against constant South African acts of aggression and sabotage.

47. In spite of all those difficulties, the People's Republic of Angola has courageously assumed its duties as a member of the Organization of African Unity and accepted all sacrifices for the furtherance of the struggle of the African continent for total liberation.

48. We do not regard South Africa's aggression against Angola as an isolated act. We see it, first, as an aggression against Africa as a whole and as an attempt to curtail the liberation efforts of OAU. Furthermore, such a blatant violation of the Charter of the United Nations constitutes an affront to the international community. Indeed, we witness today in southern Africa an escalation of racist acts of war at a time when all the front-line States are the victims of aggression and at a time when South Africa has seen fit to reject the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, after having for so long pretended to accept it.

49. Our own country also has recently been the victim of racist acts of aggression and provocation. From 1 January to 14 March—in other words, in the first 73 days of this year—there were 67 registered armed racist acts of aggression against Mozambique. In those attacks a total of 45 people have died and the damage includes the destruction of two warehouses, five motor cars, five agricultural tractors and two electricity generators.

50. There is a danger that the international community will come to accept racist armed attacks against front-line States as the normal state of things. But our people cannot accept violent loss of life and property as normal; they cannot accept as normal the permanent insecurity which the racist régimes of southern Africa have created in the region, for we know that the racists use the most modern and sophisticated weapons that Western countries can supply. They openly recruit mercenaries from those countries to assist in carrying out massacres of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and the front-line States. Furthermore, the racist régimes claim to be doing all that in defence of Western civilization and Western interests. How, then, are our people to interpret persistent Western vetoes against the Security Council's adoption of stronger measures against the racist régimes? How are our people to interpret the increasingly high level of technological co-operation, including in nuclear weapons, between the West and South Africa? How are our people to interpret present attempts by Western countries to lift United Nations mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia?

51. South Africa and Rhodesia have often enough been identified as a threat to international peace and security by the United Nations and other international bodies. There have been enough appeals, warnings and condemnations of South Africa and Rhodesia. It is important that at this time the Security Council should act in such a way as to boost our people's traditional confidence in it

by undertaking strong measures in defence of our people and in opposition to the racist aggressors.

52. The Western countries whose weapons and fighting men are being used, whose civilization is invoked to perpetrate and justify these barbaric acts of aggression, have the responsibility to demonstrate in clear and unequivocal actions to the racist aggressors, to their victims and to the international community that they are not on the side of the racists and that they are not party to the racist régimes' constant violations of the Charter.

53. In the words of President Samora Machel of the People's Republic of Mozambique: "It is easier to kill the crocodile when it is still young and stays on the river bank than when it is fully grown and moves to deeper waters". We feel that now is the time for action.

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

55. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): I should like at the outset to associate myself with preceding speakers in congratulating you, Sir, on the assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and in expressing our happiness at seeing you, a distinguished and able African diplomat, presiding over the deliberations of the Council on a vital issue for Africa and the third world.

56. The complaint before the Council is grave and serious and has been amply substantiated by the representative of Angola. Once again the illegal racist minority régime of South Africa has resorted to its usual practice of international terrorism and launched a barbaric aggression against the territory of an independent African State, bombing towns and villages and killing peaceful, innocent populations and refugees.

57. We have been following with great concern and indignation the news of the recent intensified armed attacks by the illegal racist régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria against the front-line States. These acts of aggression are rapidly increasing with ominous and dangerous dimensions to which the United Nations can no longer afford to be indifferent, since they aim at entrenching the white minority régimes in southern Africa and undermining every international effort to eliminate those racist régimes and to achieve genuine independence for the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

58. The timing of the recent armed attacks by South Africa against the sister African country of Angola and other front-line countries is not without significance. It is crystal clear now that South Africa has no intention whatsoever of withdrawing from Namibia. It is fully convinced that SWAPO, which enjoys the overwhelming support of the people of Namibia as well as of the international community, will win the elections supervised by the United Nations by a sweeping majority. Therefore, South Africa has decided to resort to its usual practice and has launched the current wave of armed aggression to destroy SWAPO, to terrorize the neighbouring countries which courageously support SWAPO, and at the same time to sabotage the process of bringing about genuine independence for Namibia, in accordance with the provisions of resolution 435 (1978).



59. There is no doubt in our minds but that the international community in general and the supporters of those racist régimes in particular bear a grave responsibility for the racist war now raging in southern Africa. The international community has so far failed to crush the rebellion in Rhodesia and to end the illegal racist minority régime of Ian Smith; it has so far failed to end the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of Pretoria; and it has so far failed to end that most inhuman *apartheid* régime in South Africa. The international community has failed also to deal with the unholy alliance between the racist minority régimes and their supporters. The racist minority régimes, encouraged by the failure of the international community, have felt free to add to the oppression of the black majority, to claim the right to attack the camps of those refugees who have succeeded in fleeing to other independent African States, and to claim the right to violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent States.

60. Egypt, along with other African and other friendly countries, has on numerous occasions drawn the attention of the international community to the detrimental effects of the negative attitude adopted vis-à-vis the racist régimes. We have voiced deep concern that, unless the aggressors feel that the world's denunciation of their attitude will be translated into action and political and military measures, they will continue to believe that they can persevere in their aggression without having to pay the price for it.

61. The expected result is what is occurring now in southern Africa, where an extremely complex situation exists, fraught with danger to peace and security not only in Africa but in the whole world. We do earnestly hope that the Security Council will at this stage assume its full responsibility and consider appropriate measures against South Africa under the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

62. It is also our conviction that the least the international community can do is to help Angola and other front-line States increase their defensive capacity in order to deter racist armed attacks in the future and help reconstruct the areas devastated by racist military incursions.

63. I should like to conclude by expressing to our brothers of Angola and other front-line States in southern Africa, and also to all the freedom fighters in the region, our firm and unwavering support in all domains and to assure them that Egypt will always give its support without hesitation to the oppressed peoples and will defend the right of man everywhere to live freely and with dignity and enjoy all his human rights and fundamental freedoms. We shall stand determined and firm with all the other peoples beside our brothers who are struggling against injustice and racism in southern Africa.

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

65. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, I should like to express to you and to the members of the Council my delegation's gratitude for this opportunity to state our views.

66. Only a few days ago the Council discussed the attack against Angola launched by the armed forces of the illegal Smith régime of Rhodesia. And now the Council is considering a series of attacks against Angola by the South African air force and armoured and infantry units, involving aircraft, artillery and napalm bombs. These are deliberate and unprovoked attacks against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola. No one in the Council has taken the slightest notice of the South African allegation that Angola had first attacked South African forces.

67. Evidently the timing of the South African attacks is related to the so-called proximity talks on Namibia—talks in which apparently physical proximity makes up for lack of proximity in regard to agreement over the United Nations plan. It is clear to us that South Africa is trying to bully those involved in the talks into accepting United Nations monitoring of SWAPO bases in neighbouring countries, or else to continue to face South African attacks against Angola, Botswana and Zambia.

68. This imperial dispenser of African destiny is obviously totally insensitive to the urgings of those Powers that claim to have influence at Pretoria. The extent of insensitivity was demonstrated when the Foreign Minister of South Africa had the impertinence to demand condemnation of SWAPO. Surely it must now be recognized that no one State or group of States has any influence on South Africa, and it is therefore on that basis that the Council should decide its future course of action. The recent attacks against Angola and their timing are proof enough of the inability of some Western States to put good sense into South African heads. I am afraid that those Western States must acknowledge their incapacity, or else provide proof to the contrary. There are limits beyond which we cannot strain the credulity of African States.

69. Members of the Council will have to choose between legality and illegality. The choice is really quite as simple as that for those who accept the fact of collective responsibility for the only Territory that has international status. The very presence of South Africa in Namibia is illegal and its attack against Angola is doubly illegal; this illegality cannot be permitted to continue with impunity.

70. When the Security Council adopted resolution 428 (1978) last year, it warned that, in the event of further aggression against Angola, enforcement measures would be taken against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. That warning has to be made good by the Council. My delegation was then a member of the Council and had suggested a study of a variety of enforcement measures to be applied progressively so as to secure such limited objectives as the Council might decide on from time to time. It is along those lines that the Council should now direct its attention, with the co-operation of the Western countries, because their co-operation is essential for the successful application of Chapter VII.

71. South Africa is clearly looking for an excuse to wreck the United Nations plan or to turn it to its own benefit and to wean the Western Powers away from supporting the plan which they themselves conceived but unfortunately have so far failed to deliver through no

fault of theirs. The recent scandal brought to light by the BBC [*British Broadcasting Corporation*] has exposed the two faces of South Africa.

72. What is the responsibility of the Security Council in the face of South African aggression against Angola? Some have suggested that the answer is to provide economic and humanitarian assistance to Angola and to call upon all the parties concerned to exercise the utmost restraint. We are not satisfied with this answer. In our view it is high time that the Council demonstrated its seriousness of purpose through action-oriented decisions. In our view it should seriously begin the process of considering the application of selective enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

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

74. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to thank you and the other members of the Council for affording me this opportunity to state the views of my delegation.

75. Barely three weeks ago, before the Council, my delegation most energetically condemned the barbaric and indiscriminate aggression being perpetrated by the racist illegal régime of Ian Smith against the front-line States because of their consistent support for the liberation movements in southern Africa which, in Zimbabwe and Namibia, are striving to eradicate the opprobrious *apartheid* régime and to win complete independence.

76. Today once again I have come to the Council to condemn the attacks perpetrated by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola.

77. It is no mere chance that these violations occur and have even increased lately. Ian Smith's Rhodesia and the Pretoria régime are but instruments of imperialism, and all their actions are designed to safeguard their selfish interests in the region. To this end they do not hesitate—nor have they ever hesitated—to undertake military and other operations against sovereign neighbouring States, seriously threatening international peace and security.

78. Racist South Africa, the principal bastion of the imperialist oppressor régime in Africa, exists and subsists—against the will of the vast majority of the African people in South Africa and of the international community—precisely because certain Western Powers, the very ones which daily beat their breasts and proclaim themselves to be democratic and in favour of independence, daily violate resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly and keep up an uninterrupted flow of the financial, technological and military resources which the South African Fascists need.

79. It would seem a sterile exercise to complain about this shoddy complicity in this forum if we only took into account the results that might be expected from Security Council action. But its resolutions are in fact nothing more than wet paper, in so far as they concern some Western Powers which, under the shield of alleged plans for a peaceful change-over to independence and majority

government in Zimbabwe and Namibia, have repeatedly sabotaged the attainment of the true objectives of the people of the region contained in the programmes of the Patriotic Front and of SWAPO. It is nevertheless an inescapable duty to reiterate this condemnation and to unmask those who tauntingly and perfidiously mock the peoples of the world and the Organization.

80. The recent attacks against Angola and those against Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana are calculated to prevent a genuine solution in Zimbabwe and Namibia. It is not, as the racists argue, a matter of operations directed solely against the fighters of the Patriotic Front and SWAPO, since the camps that have been bombarded are inhabited predominantly by children, women and old people. The purpose is to sow terror among the citizens of Zimbabwe and Namibia who have found refuge in the front-line countries and to strike various centres and cities in those sovereign States, even damaging their economic production so as to weaken them economically and militarily and above all to compel them to stop supporting the liberation movements.

81. The imperialists have recourse to such inhuman and shameful practices while, like Pharisees, they proclaim their will to negotiate. It is sufficient to recall that the escalated bombing of Haiphong, Hanoi and other Vietnamese cities was ordered by the President of the United States after official talks have been started between the representatives of his Government and those of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. In the jargon of those who comment on international events, this bullying is called "negotiating from a position of strength".

82. Is it not obvious that the present attacks against Angola and neighbouring States of Rhodesia and South Africa have coincided very strangely with the famous New York talks on the so-called peaceful settlement of the situation in Namibia and are the prelude to the spurious elections to be held at Salisbury whereby it is intended to sabotage genuine independence for the people of Zimbabwe? Apparently these "negotiators" have no arguments to persuade the representatives of SWAPO and the front-line States that they are acting for their benefit and not for the benefit of their racist partners.

83. The imperialists and their allies, Botha and Smith, offer the fake carrot of an agreement while they brandish the stick: bombings and indiscriminate massacre from Puma helicopters, using napalm and machine-guns manufactured in the "free world". This is the nauseating and undisguisable face of fascism; the trumpeting of "good intentions" by the hangmen of Rhodesia and South Africa amount to this. The vermin of *apartheid* do not deserve to be given the chance to engage in a peaceful dialogue; they deserve to be hanged as war criminals.

84. In the recent attacks the South African racists bombed the regions of Melunga, Kahama and Catengue, in the People's Republic of Angola. They violated the territorial integrity and air space of that sister nation and made forays into Angola with tanks and infantry, penetrating many kilometres into its territory and strafing the inhabitants.

85. And it is these gentlemen, these barbarous Nazi murderers, who afford themselves the luxury of publicly

objecting to the United Nations plan for Namibia; it is they who cavil at the report of the Secretary-General and seek to impose conditions on the international community for the accession to independence of a country which they are occupying against the will of its people and of all progressive mankind; it is they who shamelessly propose to the Security Council the adoption of a resolution condemning SWAPO.

86. The insolence of Vorster and company merits but one response: the heroic struggle being waged by the Namibian people under the banner of its only legitimate representative, SWAPO. Rights are won; they are not begged for. When all roads are closed to a people's will for freedom, that people has no choice but to defeat its oppressors, weapons in hand. The imperialists and their racist partners obstinately try to impose neo-colonial solutions on Zimbabwe and Namibia and to maintain in South Africa the monstrous *apartheid* régime. They wish by every means to ensure their continued domination of southern Africa for ever and ever. Beyond doubt, this plan is at odds with history, with the irreversible trend of our times towards true independence and the final overthrow of colonialism, neo-colonial exploitation and imperialist predominance. Hence, their efforts are doomed to failure.

87. My delegation considers that the international community must express its resolute support for the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, that the Security Council must unequivocally condemn the South African racists for their continued acts of aggres-

sion against the People's Republic of Angola and apply to South Africa the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, and that Member States should increase all forms of assistance to the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the African National Congress of South Africa, with a view to strengthening their just and legitimate struggle for freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

88. We must reject most energetically the electoral farce orchestrated by Ian Smith and the traitors Sithole, Chirau and Muzorewa for 20 April next. We must also condemn the shady manoeuvres of Mr. Botha and his Western sponsors. Namibia must be independent. Walvis Bay must be recognized as an integral part of its territory. The roster of electors concocted by the racist South African occupation forces must be repudiated as fraudulent and unusable. Only SWAPO represents the Namibian people. The puppets created by South Africa have no right at all to speak on their behalf. Let us therefore take the necessary steps to make sure that freedom and independence will be for Zimbabwe and Namibia a radiant glimmer of coming dawn, and not a twilight curfew.

89. Lastly, I wish to reaffirm the unwavering solidarity of the Government and people of Cuba with the Government and people of the People's Republic of Angola, who today as in the past are courageously defending their territorial integrity against the deadly blows of the racist Pretoria régime and, with internationalist zeal, continuing to lend their unconditional, fraternal assistance to the liberation movements in southern Africa.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*

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