



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-THIRD YEAR

**2077<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 5 MAY 1978

NEW YORK

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## NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## 2077th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 5 May 1978, at 8.30 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Rubén CARPIO CASTILLO (Venezuela).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Bolivia, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Kuwait, Mauritius, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2077)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint by Angola against South Africa:  
Letter dated 5 May 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12690)

*The meeting was called to order at 9.30 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### Complaint by Angola against South Africa:

Letter dated 5 May 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12690)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia in which they request to be invited to take part in the discussion. Consequently, I propose, in conformity with past practice and with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola) took a place at the Council table and Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) and Miss Konie (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The members of the Council have before them in document S/12694 the text of a letter dated 5 May from the

representatives of Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria, 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 entitled ‘Complaint by Angola against South Africa’, the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO).”

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

*It was so decided.*

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Council is meeting today in response to a letter dated 5 May from the representative of Angola to the President of the Council. The letter is contained in document S/12690. I wish also to bring to the attention of the members of the Council the other documents on this item: document S/12689, containing a letter dated 5 May from the representative of Angola to the Secretary-General, and document S/12693, containing a letter dated 5 May from the representative of Zambia to the President of the Council.

4. The first speaker is the representative of Angola, on whom I now call.

5. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (Angola): Once again an African country and an African people are facing the guns of a racist minority régime, behind which stands the might of imperialist allies. Once again the People’s Republic of Angola is under attack by the troops of the racist minority régime at Pretoria. Once again my delegation is appealing to the international community to help to defend the cause of territorial integrity and a people’s just aspirations to liberation and independence.

6. On 4 May at 6 a.m., the South African Air Force, based in the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia, began an invasion and aerial bombardment of a Namibian refugee camp in Angola, in the vicinity of Kassinga, some 155 miles inside the sovereign borders of the People’s Republic of Angola, in the province of Cunene. The bombing was followed by a drop of parachute troops, which was accompanied by ground support aircraft. This continued throughout Thursday, and the latest news from my country is that South African troops are still inside Angola, giving the lie to the myth of the “limited operation” claimed by the racist, Fascist minority Government at Pretoria. A

general of the racist clique is quoted in the news media as saying that this "limited operation has now been completed". But reinforcements are still being brought in even now and the troops show no signs of withdrawing. Instead, the bombardment has extended to Chitiquela and Bombondola as well as to the Calueque Dam.

7. The dangerous duplicity of South Africa will not succeed. We are aware of what the racist régime is up to. This latest aggression, which is still continuing, is not aimed only at attempting to destroy SWAPO and the liberation struggle of the Namibian people; it is also intended to destabilize the situation inside the People's Republic of Angola in the vain hope of helping puppets being trained by South Africa in the Territory of Namibia. Further, it was the abstention of the Western five on the just Programme of Action adopted at the ninth special session of the General Assembly [resolution S-9/2] that gave Pretoria the encouragement it needed to embark on the invasion of my country.

8. We are still waiting for the racist minority régime to make good the just claims of the People's Republic of Angola for full compensation for the damage and destruction inflicted on us and for the restoration of the equipment and materials seized by the South African invading forces when South Africa launched its first major invasion on our soil and against our nation, when we were but a few months old as a sovereign State. And now comes another armed, large-scale invasion, striking a brutal blow at the economy and stability of my people and my country.

9. It appears that certain countries have asked South Africa for an "urgent explanation" of its military action. But urgent explanations required or given can hardly begin to compensate the People's Republic of Angola for this blatant aggression, this attack upon our national sovereignty, our territorial integrity, and the principles of independence and the inviolability of our national borders.

10. The last time the Security Council was seized of this matter, in March 1976, it adopted resolution 387 (1976), condemning the utilization by South Africa of the international Territory of Namibia to mount aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and further condemning South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. The same resolution demanded that South Africa scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola and desist from utilizing the international Territory of Namibia to mount provocative or aggressive acts against the People's Republic of Angola or any other neighbouring African State.

11. That invasion did not signal the end of South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. Instead, we have been faced with a series of acts of aggression committed by the racist minority régime of Pretoria with consistent regularity, in flagrant violation of the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

12. As a vanguard of the revolutionary struggle to liberate southern Africa from the imperialist yoke, the People's Republic of Angola has been singled out by the Fascist

junta that rules at Pretoria and by its allies. However, as my country's delegation stated at the recently concluded ninth special session of the General Assembly,

"it must be borne in mind that there is one country—the People's Republic of Angola—which is constantly being subjected to aggression and one aggressor, the racist and Fascist régime of South Africa, that is the justification for the military apparatus which has been set up by the glorious armed forces of Angola in order to ensure the defence of our national territory and the achievements of our revolution".<sup>1</sup>

In the same statement, the People's Republic of Angola firmly and clearly declared:

"So long as Namibia and its people have not gained independence, we shall not cease giving SWAPO all logistical facilities and all material, political and diplomatic support so that the Namibian people may win their legitimate right to be free and independent."<sup>2</sup>

13. We shall not consider our own revolution complete until all of southern Africa is free of the fetters of colonialism, *apartheid*, minority régimes and the denial of the human right of the peoples to genuine independence. We are witnessing the final stage of colonialism in Namibia. A people's inexorable march towards freedom and independence can be delayed but not prevented by the imperialist, racist minority régime of Pretoria. What the heroic people of Namibia are now going through is but the culmination of their long history of fierce resistance to the savage inroads of colonialism over their land and people. The original sons of the soil have been restricted to reservations on poor agricultural land or in the sandy tracts of the Kalahari, while the rich natural resources—diamonds, copper, lead, zinc, vanadium, uranium, off-shore fisheries—are white-owned and, in the case of minerals and fishing, dominated by large South African or international companies. Namibia is one of the world's largest producers of diamonds, while the Rossing mine near Swakopmund on the Atlantic coast is expected to become the largest single uranium producer in the world by the 1980s.

14. Pretoria has governed Namibia as its *de facto* fifth province. The mining sector in Namibia is almost totally dominated by multinational corporations. The two most important companies are Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, a South African subsidiary but with extensive British participation, and Tsumeb Corporation Ltd., owned by American Metal Climax Inc. and other United States and South African corporations. It is these extensive economic and imperialist interests shared by South Africa and its international trading partners which keep alive and well the *apartheid* system and régime and its stranglehold over the Namibian land and people. It is these same interests which hamper and delay, but will never be able to prevent, freedom and genuine independence from coming to southern Africa.

15. The West remains a staunch financial, political and military ally of *apartheid*, with Namibia and Zimbabwe as

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 12th meeting, para. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 62.

buffer zones, extending, in effect, South Africa's borders hundreds of miles to the north. It is international credit which enables South Africa to carry out its military build-up, to stockpile oil and expand its ability to withstand economic and military sanctions. We have consistently warned that South Africa's militarization of Namibia, which it continues to occupy illegally, poses a threat to international peace and security. South Africa's military build-up in Namibia is exemplified by the expansion of its military air base at Grootfontein into one of the largest of its kind in Africa, and by the building of a major air base at Mpacha in the Caprivi Strip. The South African armed forces are equipped with sophisticated military weapons and material, most of which have been acquired or built under licence from various Western countries. South Africa has been reinforcing its Namibian troops with elite soldiers from the Bloemfontein base and thousands of mercenaries, with a large-scale invasion of Angola planned for the middle of 1978; the preparations for this invasion were laid last September, with large quantities of ammunition shipped to Namibia and barracks being built at key positions.

16. This is the posture of a racist clique which walked out of negotiations earlier this year and, with malicious timing, seemingly accepted the proposals put forward by the five Western members of the Security Council, but with impossible conditions attached. A genuine liberation movement can never betray the sacred trust placed in it by the people it represents. At the recently concluded special session of the General Assembly on Namibia, SWAPO once again demonstrated its willingness to continue to negotiate. However, no genuine liberation movement can accept the dicta of the Fascist clique of Pretoria and still represent a people. That sort of mercenary dealing is left to puppets who continue to serve the interests of imperialism and colonialism while attempting to delude the world and their own people that they are independent.

17. Vis-à-vis Namibia, the international community has already adopted, by an overwhelming majority, the Declaration and Programme of Action for the liberation of Namibia. It is not coincidental that the People's Republic of Angola is subjected to a brutal invasion by the racist, Fascist Pretoria régime just a few days after South Africa appears to accept the proposal of the Western five. South Africa has no intention of giving up what it has virtually colonized, and shows every intention of continuing to use Namibia as a base for aggression against neighbouring sovereign African States.

18. South Africa's invasion of my country is further directed towards pre-empting international attempts to help SWAPO and the Namibian people work their way towards achieving independence, for which they have struggled so long.

19. South African troops are still inside the People's Republic of Angola. It is pertinent here to invite the Western five to examine South Africa's contravention of the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, and to question Pretoria's motives and good faith, for it is on this latter non-existent item that the Western five seem to be relying for the success of their proposals.

20. My delegation appeals once again to the international community and to progressive forces all over the world to stand by us in our hour of need, strongly condemn South Africa for its invasion of the People's Republic of Angola and implement strictly the embargoes on arms and oil and observe economic sanctions against Pretoria in accordance with the Programme of Action adopted at the ninth special session of the General Assembly.

21. Southern Africa refuses to live under the guns of imperialist South Africa and its allies. We refuse to be sacrificed to fill the coffers of imperialism. We will admit of no threat to our sovereignty or our territorial integrity; nor will we ever betray our revolutionary principles by denying whatever support may be needed to aid in the attainment of true independence by the people of Namibia, led by their liberation movement, SWAPO. If necessary, every Angolan man, woman and child will courageously face the imperialist threat, from whatever quarter; we will give our blood, we will lay down our lives, so that southern Africa may become and remain free of imperialism, neo-colonialism and *apartheid*.

22. The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

23. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is Mr. Sam Nujoma to whom the Council has addressed an invitation under article 39 of the provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

24. Mr. NUJOMA: First and foremost, I should like to thank the representatives of Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria for having sponsored our participation in this crucial debate on the complaint by the People's Republic of Angola against racist South Africa. I also thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for agreeing to this request.

25. At 6 a.m. on 4 May, just a few hours after the conclusion of the special session of the General Assembly on Namibia, the racist régime of South Africa launched a premeditated and massive invasion of the People's Republic of Angola using French-made Mirage jet fighter-bombers, British-made Buccaneer bombers, airborne troops and helicopter gun-ships. The racist troops took off from their illegal bases in Namibia at Grootfontein, Ondangua, Runtu, Ruacana and Onuno and concentrated their indiscriminate attack on the Kassinga refugee settlement.

26. The concentrated attack on Kassinga was aimed at the massacre of thousands of Namibian women, old people and children who had been given shelter there by the Angolan Government after having fled the racist terror of the criminal occupation régime of South Africa in our country. The aim of this mass murder was to intimidate the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, and force them to succumb to South Africa's neo-colonial designs to impose a puppet régime on the Namibian people. It is also a part of the aggressive imperialist action throughout southern Africa and one of the many attempts to undermine the sovereignty and violate the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola.

27. In pursuit of its imperialistic and hegemonic designs in Africa in general and in southern Africa in particular, Pretoria has built up a huge military network in Namibia, consisting of regular forces, commandos, citizen forces and tribal armies as well as the Angolan counter-revolutionaries of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola.

28. In my address to the ninth special session of the General Assembly on 24 April<sup>3</sup> I pointed out the fact that recently South Africa had embarked on reinforcement of its already huge army of occupation in Namibia. This reinforcement, I stated, involved the shipment into Namibia of large numbers of tanks, combat aircraft and artillery pieces and large quantities of ammunition.

29. Racist South Africa's invasion of the People's Republic of Angola testifies to our contention that, in refusing to withdraw its troops from its numerous military bases in Namibia, including Rooikop at Walvis Bay, Grootfontein and Oshivelo, South Africa not only intends to perpetuate its illegal occupation of our country, but also to use it as a spring-board to commit acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States.

30. As we have stated on several occasions before this body and elsewhere, racist South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia constitutes a serious threat to peace in Africa in particular and the world in general.

31. The invasions of Angola and the attack on Namibian refugee settlements in that country are but part of South Africa's over-all strategy to destroy the Namibian people's liberation movement, SWAPO, which is the only effective, organized political force capable of frustrating Pretoria's schemes to install a puppet régime in Namibia.

32. The other aspect of this strategy is the so-called AG 26 regulation, by which racist South Africa's newly appointed Colonial Governor, M. T. Steyn, has unleashed a repressive terror campaign against SWAPO leaders and supporters inside Namibia. As a consequence, hundreds of SWAPO leaders, members and supporters have been arrested and detained.

33. All these new measures of terror and intimidation by the South African occupation régime in our country are being undertaken at a time when the world is being urged to believe that South Africa has finally come to adopt a conciliatory and co-operative attitude regarding its withdrawal from Namibia. It is against this background that SWAPO has insisted and continues to insist that the international community should not be deceived into believing that conditions for a negotiated settlement exist in Namibia. It is also against this background that we consider it imperative that a number of the outstanding and crucial points of disagreement in the context of the current talks must be resolved to ensure that conditions for holding free, fair and democratic elections leading to genuine independence will exist in Namibia.

34. The Security Council and the international community as a whole should resolutely condemn racist South Africa's act of aggression against the Namibian people and the People's Republic of Angola. Furthermore, the Council should not sanction any inadequate measures which will enable South Africa to implement a neo-colonial solution in Namibia, thereby compromising the genuine and legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people.

35. In the light of the ongoing massacres, arrests, detentions and harassment of the Namibian people, as well as the provocative invasion of the People's Republic of Angola, SWAPO calls for the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions and a comprehensive oil and arms embargo provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter.

36. In conclusion, I should like to reassure the Council and the world community that no force of intimidation or harassment would deter the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, from prosecuting and intensifying the political and armed liberation struggle until racist South Africa is forced to end its occupation of Namibia.

37. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Zambia, who wishes to make a statement in her capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

38. Miss KONIE (Zambia): Sir, on behalf of the African Group, I have the pleasure and great honour to welcome you to the United Nations as the new Permanent Representative of Venezuela, and to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council for the month of May. The commitment of your great country to world peace, justice and development, particularly in the developing countries, is well known. We in Africa appreciate in particular the active and leading role that Venezuela has always played in the United Nations, including in the Security Council, in support of the struggle of the oppressed people of southern Africa for self-determination and national independence.

39. I also wish, at the outset, to thank all the members of the Council for having promptly responded to the request for this meeting to consider the invasion of the People's Republic of Angola by the military forces of the racist régime of South Africa. The Council's action in this regard manifests its firm dedication and sense of responsibility in respect of a question which is but one integral aspect of the challenging situation in southern Africa.

40. It is evident to us that the speed with which the Council has proceeded to consider the question serves to underscore not only the significance of this specific problem but also the impact of its ramifications, especially in the light of the firm resolve of the United Nations and the international community at large to achieve a speedy solution to redress the over-all situation in southern Africa. It is needless for me to stress that the situation in southern Africa, the root cause of which remains the continued existence of racist minority régimes, increasingly constitutes a grave threat to peace and security in the region, and to international peace and security.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Plenary Meetings, 1st meeting.

41. I shall not delve into the details of the latest invasion of Angola by the military forces of the racist régime of South Africa. My brother and colleague, the representative of Angola, who preceded me, has indeed given eloquent testimony of the barbaric and cowardly nature of the attack and its dimensions. It has now been firmly established that on 4 May South Africa unleashed a premeditated and unprovoked massive ground and air invasion of the Kassinga area of Cunene Province in Angola.

42. South Africa, of course, used the most modern weapons of mass destruction, supplied by some Members of the Organization, to attack refugee camps, killing and maiming many women, men and children, and destroying valuable property. Racist Premier Johannes Vorster and his cohorts have proudly admitted this and went so far as to congratulate themselves for their savage acts. What arrogance and audacity!

43. Africa and the world know that, contrary to propaganda from South Africa and its allies, the attack was directed against the sovereign and independent State of Angola—period. Once again, racist South Africa has invaded an independent African State, a member of the Organization of African Unity.

44. The history of South African aggression against Angola and other African States is very well known to us. In fact, South African aggression against the people of Angola predates the heroic independence of that country. South Africa was a partner of the defunct Portuguese colonial régime, which ruled over Angola for centuries. In recent times, South Africa has stubbornly and naïvely refused to concede defeat by accepting the independence of Angola. Racist Pretoria has interfered and continues to interfere with the inalienable right of the people of Angola to freedom and independence.

45. We say to Vorster and his allies that the independence of Angola and all independent Africa is truly irreversible. The people of Africa, who have long been subjected to colonial exploitation, are on the forward march to realize our potential and maintain our hard-won independence by all the means at our disposal.

46. Africa is indeed aware that these sustained acts of aggression against Angola are part of South Africa's expansionist policies and militarism. South Africa is intent on controlling Africa, but this will never happen. The *apartheid* régime still lives in the past by entertaining the illusion that its expansionist designs will succeed. They are doomed to failure.

47. By attacking refugee camps, South Africa erroneously believes that it can force Angola, other African States and freedom-loving people the world over to abandon their support for the oppressed people. Let it be known that Angola is a host to refugees who have fled their home country, Namibia, to escape South Africa's brutal repression. Angola is pursuing a humanitarian policy of caring for refugees. For how long can innocent refugees continue to be killed and maimed by the very forces which create their situation? Africa will not stand idly by while its people are being killed every day. Furthermore, Angola is supporting

the people of Namibia in the fight for their independence in accordance with the provisions of the Charters of the Organization of African Unity and of the United Nations. Particular mention should be made of the landmark resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960.

48. Permit me to remind members of this august body that this latest act of aggression against Angola is a familiar devilish tactic adopted by the white racist minority régimes in southern Africa against neighbouring countries. The racist régimes have adopted more and more desperate measures in their relentless but futile struggle to retain power. Fortunately, Africa knows that their days are numbered.

49. The African Group views this most recent and outrageous act of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola by racist South Africa with indignation. It is not only a show of arrogance by the Pretoria régime but also a challenge to the Western Members which, in the recent debate during the special session of the General Assembly on Namibia, were at pains to enjoin the African Members and the rest of the international community to give South Africa the benefit of the doubt so that the racist régime's genuineness in its so-called acceptance of the Western five's proposals could be put to the test. We are now firmly of the opinion that not only is racist South Africa buying time: it is in effect doing everything possible to neutralize SWAPO and to put that vanguard for genuine independence in disarray in order to facilitate the imposition of a so-called internal settlement in Namibia. It is therefore paradoxical and difficult to reconcile racist South Africa's reported willingness to negotiate for the peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem with its continued barbaric acts of aggression and repression.

50. Let me reiterate our observation that this latest invasion confirms our fears that South Africa is intent on militarizing Namibia and using that Territory as a base for attacking African countries. This situation must not be allowed to continue. The international community not only must condemn it, but should adopt positive measures to end the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. That is the root cause of the problem. Time for prompt action is running out.

51. Much as this latest act of aggression is deplorable and its consequences ominous, the States members of the Organization of African Unity are not at all surprised at its occurrence; for it is not coincidental that this barbaric and reprehensible act has been perpetrated in the wake of the recent ninth special session of the General Assembly, on Namibia. Likewise, it was not by coincidence that the acceptance by racist South Africa of the so-called Western proposals for a negotiated settlement of the Namibian question was accompanied almost immediately by that régime's further detention of leaders of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of Namibia.

52. The invasion of Angola by the trigger-happy military forces of South Africa has additional ominous consequences for Namibia, SWAPO and the United Nations. It is not by coincidence that South Africa planned and carried out an attack on Namibian refugee camps inside Angola

immediately after the special session of the General Assembly on Namibia.

53. The African Group calls upon the Security Council to adopt prompt and effective measures to stop South African aggression against Angola forthwith. South Africa must be condemned in the strongest possible terms for its latest invasion of Angola and for the killing of innocent people, including refugees. The Council must tell racist Pretoria scrupulously to observe the territorial integrity of Angola. This principle cannot be compromised on the altar of irrelevant rationalization either by South Africa or by any Member of the United Nations.

54. The Security Council must further censure the *apartheid* régime for using the international Territory of Namibia as a launching pad for committing acts of aggression against Angola. South Africa must get out of Namibia; it must stop the militarization of Namibia and abide by resolutions calling for its withdrawal from Namibia. The Council should impose mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions, an oil embargo and an arms embargo under Chapter VII of the Charter against the Fascist, racist and arrogant white minority régime in South Africa, in accordance with the Programme of Action adopted at the ninth special session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-9/2*].

55. Finally, I wish to reiterate the fraternal solidarity of the African Group with the Government and people of Angola in their resistance against repeated attempts by South Africa to undermine their hard-won national independence. The African Group similarly reiterates its unrestrained support for the Namibian people, who, under the leadership of SWAPO, are waging a gallant struggle for the liberation of their country from illegal occupation by South Africa and the enjoyment of their inalienable and inalienable right to self-determination and genuine national independence. Africa will never rest in the fulfilment of its sacred duty to liberate every inch of its soil.

56. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

57. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, if the circumstances necessitating the convening of the Council are deplorable and unfortunate, the fact that the Council is meeting under your presidency is very reassuring. The Government and the people of Venezuela have consistently supported the struggle of the African people for self-determination and independence. Your esteemed head of State, His Excellency President Pérez, is an eloquent and steadfast spokesman for the cause of colonized people. Venezuela's support has been manifested in many ways, including at the diplomatic, political and material levels. It is, for example, very gratifying for me personally to record with satisfaction the ties of militant co-operation and understanding that prevail between our two delegations here at the United Nations. Therefore, the commitment of your country, coupled with your own unquestionable talents of statesmanship and devotion to the principles for which the Organization stands, is an obvious guarantee that the Council, under your wise and

dynamic leadership, will seriously and responsibly address itself to the problem before us.

58. We have come to the Council not so much to declare our unequivocal support for and solidarity with the fraternal people and Government of the People's Republic of Angola as they face the ferocious armed invasion on their soil by the racist régime, for to do so would simply be stating the obvious. Tanzania and Angola are linked by militant ties of brotherhood and solidarity. The struggle of the Angolan people is in fact the struggle of the Tanzanian people. The acts of aggression against Angola indeed constitute acts of aggression against Tanzania. But I shall go beyond that. It is not so much to express Tanzania's sense of solidarity, for in this as in other similar situations Africa has always spoken with one voice. Thus it is not just Angola that is complaining before the Council here today; it is all the independent States of our continent, and indeed all the men and women in the still unliberated areas. For Africa, through the voice of the Chairman of the African Group, Miss Gwendoline Konie, the representative of Zambia, has already stated its collective position in a most eloquent manner. And also the statement which we have heard from the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, constitutes not only the authentic voice of the Namibian people but, indeed, the valid expression of indignation of all the fighters in southern Africa.

59. Nor have we come to the Council simply to draw the attention of this distinguished body to the dangers inherent in the situation in southern Africa as a result of the continued acts of aggression of the minority racist régime. The Council in its collective wisdom is more than aware of that. It has on numerous occasions not only condemned these acts of aggression of the racist régime but, more importantly, unequivocally affirmed and reaffirmed that only the liberation of Namibia and Zimbabwe and the elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa will create conditions for the attainment of justice and lasting peace in the region.

60. I do not want to be cynical, for this is not the moment for cynicism. Yet, let me add that we have not come to the Council because we are surprised at this latest act of aggression committed by the Pretoria authorities. A régime which is in itself the embodiment of aggression cannot be expected to behave in a way consistent with recognized international norms. Furthermore, we are not surprised because this is not the first time that South Africa has had the audacity to commit acts of aggression against independent States. Need I refresh the memories of the members of the Council by recalling that, as recently as March 1976, South Africa became the first State Member of the Organization to be specifically condemned as an aggressor? Need I also remind this august body that, since then, that régime has persisted in its acts of military adventurism against both the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Zambia? All the representatives present are serious persons representing serious Governments. It is therefore a logical assumption that all of you are familiar with the record of the Pretoria racists as well as the record of Council actions.

61. Why, then, considering that background, have we brought this question to the Council and why has my



delegation found it necessary to take part in the current proceedings?

62. I said I did not want to be cynical, but the truth is that the *apartheid* régime at Pretoria believes that it can treat the international community and in particular the Council with contempt and cynicism and get away with it. For how else can one explain the behaviour of the racist authorities? Is it a mere coincidence that one day after the General Assembly concludes its special session devoted to Namibia, the South African régime mounts a full-scale invasion of a sovereign African State with the declared objective of physically eliminating Namibians? Is it a mere coincidence that, at a time when the collective will of the international community is more unanimously manifested in terms of demanding the end of illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia, the South African authorities not only have intensified their brutal repression of Namibians but have once again, and in a more arrogant manner, utilized Namibia as a spring-board for aggression against an independent African State? Can this be anything but a calculated rebuff to and defiance of the international community? Is this not yet another deliberate challenge and affront to the international community?

63. And while we are still asking questions about coincidences, I should like to pose yet another question: Is it a mere coincidence that, at a time when efforts by the five Western members of the Council are under way to secure a negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia, the Vorster régime has unleashed its massive acts of aggression? Indeed, is it just coincidental that these developments have taken place on the eve of further talks between SWAPO and the representatives of the five Western Governments? Is this not a challenge to those who have persistently reassured us that there are in fact hopes for a negotiated solution? Are we to believe that the way to negotiation lies in further aggressions and acts of wanton murder, plunder and pillage? Can we believe that South Africa is really desirous of complying with the will of the international community and terminating its illegal occupation when it resorts to further escalation of violence against Namibians and indeed embarks on a premeditated invasion with the objective of killing Namibian women and children and destroying refugee camps? Is the perpetration of human and material destruction symptomatic of the so-called desire of the régime at Pretoria to withdraw from the international Territory?

64. It is our submission that this latest criminal adventure of the Pretoria authorities constitutes a particular challenge to the Western world, and more specifically to the five Western members of the Council. How they respond to this challenge, how the five Western Governments act to confound the arrogance of the Pretoria authorities, will determine, first, their own credibility and, secondly and more importantly, the nature of the path that lies ahead of us in the struggle for the liberation of Namibia.

65. We make that assertion in all seriousness and in all solemnity. We have in the past repeatedly emphasized that it is only the support and protection that the South African Government enjoys from its major trading partners and allies that has enabled that régime to perpetrate its internal

aggression and run amuck in its external ventures. In the past, we have never failed to emphasize the need for these countries to act in concert with the rest of the international community to treat South Africa as the international pariah that it is. At no time has such concerted action had more urgency and relevancy.

66. It is not enough to condemn in unequivocal terms this latest aggression by the South African régime. It is not enough to denounce its continued occupation of the international Territory of Namibia and its utilization of that Territory as a spring-board for aggression against independent sovereign African States. It is not enough to reiterate our demand for the immediate ending of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. All this the Security Council and the General Assembly have done before. Nor is it enough to express our moral outrage and verbal condemnation. The need of the hour is to act, and act firmly and decisively. The Council can ill afford a further deterioration of the situation in southern Africa. It cannot afford to have one of the Member States behave systematically, persistently and consistently in contravention of all the principles and purposes of the Organization. The Council cannot afford to allow a recalcitrant Member to defy its decisions at will. For to equivocate can lead only to two things. First, it will be sending a message to the peoples of southern Africa, both those still under colonial and racist domination and those that have liberated themselves, that the only way left for them is armed resistance to the finish. Secondly, a lack of firm decision by the Council can have the effect of further eroding the credibility of this body which is primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. We can afford such erosion only at our own collective peril, for then South Africa and similar outlaws will conclude that the law of the jungle pays.

67. We urge the Council and more particularly those who have in the past frustrated its actions to assume their responsibilities and meet the challenge of the hour. The People's Republic of Angola expects no less. Tanzania expects no less. But, above all, free Africa as a whole demands no less. We urge the Council in its collective wisdom to demonstrate through its actions that aggression does not pay. We urge it to show that there can be no compromise with evil. For any compromise with aggression or any compromise with the forces of evil will make the Council an accomplice of such aggression and evil.

68. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I wish, orally but formally, to introduce a draft resolution at this stage on the complaint by Angola against South Africa. The document will be issued and distributed by the Secretariat in all languages tomorrow morning under the symbol S/12692. Members already have in their hands a working paper containing the draft resolution, except for some minor changes which will soon become clear.

69. I introduce this draft resolution on behalf of the following seven sponsors: Bolivia, Gabon, India, Kuwait, Mauritius, Nigeria and Venezuela.

70. The first preambular paragraph would refer to the fact that the Council has considered the letter from the

Permanent Representative of Angola transmitting a communication from the First Vice-Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Angola [S/12690] and the letter from the Permanent Representative of Zambia on behalf of the African Group of States at the United Nations [S/12693].

71. The second and third paragraphs would refer to our hearing of the statement of the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Angola and that of Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO.

72. In the fourth paragraph, the Council would refer to the fact that all Member States are obliged to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of any State and from acting in any other manner inconsistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. Those are general principles which we have adopted in the past.

73. In the fifth paragraph, the Council would recall its resolution 387 (1976) in which, *inter alia*, it condemned South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and demanded that South Africa scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola. I should like to emphasize here that the sponsors have used the word "recalling" intentionally, bearing in mind the fact that some members did not vote in favour of resolution 387 (1976). So we are not using the word "reaffirming".

74. In the sixth paragraph, the Council would express its grave concern at the armed invasions committed by South Africa in violation of the sovereignty, air space and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola and in particular the armed invasion of Angola carried out on 4 May 1978.

75. In the seventh and eighth paragraphs, the Council would express its grief at the tragic loss in human lives, including those of Namibian refugees in Angola, caused by the South African invasion of Angolan territory, and its concern at the damage and destruction done by the South African forces in Angola.

76. In the ninth paragraph, the Council would reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of such rights as set forth in the Charter. This paragraph is very much in line with, indeed almost a reproduction of, the relevant provision in all previous similar Security Council resolutions.

77. In the tenth paragraph, the Council would reaffirm that the liberation of Namibia is one of the prerequisites for the attainment of justice and lasting peace in southern Africa and for the furtherance of international peace and security.

78. In the eleventh paragraph, the Council would reiterate its grave concern at South Africa's brutal repression of the Namibian people and its persistent violation of their human rights, as well as its efforts to destroy the national unity

and territorial integrity of Namibia, and its aggressive military build-up in the area. This is really a repetition of Council resolution 385 (1976).

79. In the twelfth paragraph, the Council would reaffirm its condemnation of the militarization of Namibia by the illegal occupation régime of South Africa. This again is the wording of resolution 385 (1976).

80. I shall now deal with the operative part of the draft resolution.

81. In paragraph 1, the Council would strongly condemn this latest armed invasion perpetrated by the South African racist régime against the People's Republic of Angola, which constitutes a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola.

82. In paragraph 2, the Council would condemn equally strongly South Africa's utilization of the international Territory of Namibia as a spring-board for armed invasions of the People's Republic of Angola.

83. In paragraph 3, the Council would demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all South African forces from Angola.

84. In paragraph 4 the Council would further demand that South Africa scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola.

85. In paragraph 5, it would reaffirm its support for the just and legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia for the attainment of their freedom and independence and for the maintenance of the territorial integrity of their country.

86. In paragraph 6, the Council would commend the People's Republic of Angola for its continued support of the people of Namibia in their just and legitimate struggle.

87. In paragraph 7, it would demand that South Africa put an end to its illegal occupation of Namibia without any further delay, in compliance with the relevant Security Council resolutions, in particular resolution 385 (1976).

88. In the last paragraph, paragraph 8, the Council would decide to meet again in the event of further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola by the South African racist régime in order to consider the adoption of more effective measures, in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter, including Chapter VII thereof. I must here emphasize that we have intentionally used the words "to consider the adoption of more effective measures". In other words, at the appropriate time members will have the opportunity to consider negatively or positively. I might recall that the Council has only recently invoked Chapter VII and voted unanimously for a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

89. I have great faith in the sense of justice of the Council and have no doubt that members will not find it difficult to vote in unanimity in favour of the draft resolution I have just introduced.

*The meeting rose at 10.50 p.m.*

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