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NOTE

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2237th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 26 June 1980, at 6 p.m.

President: Mr. Ole ÅLGÅRD (Norway).

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2237)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint by Angola against South Africa:
Letter dated 26 June 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/14022)

The meeting was called to order at 6.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Angola against South Africa:
Letter dated 26 June 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/14022)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola, Cuba, India, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Romania and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola) took a place at the Council table and Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Mishra (India), Mr. Lobo (Mozambique), Mr. Tinoco (Nicaragua), Mr. Naik (Pakistan), Mr. Marinescu (Romania) and Mr. Mujezinović (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: The Council is meeting today in response to the request contained in the letter dated

26 June from the representative of Angola, which is contained in document S/14022.

3. The first speaker is the representative of Angola, and I call upon him to make his statement.

4. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): The classics tell us of the oratory that resounded through the *agora* of ancient Greece and the declamations that rang through the halls of imperial Rome. Historians have left us vivid accounts of the battles of Olympian heroes. Dramatists have skilfully woven history into poetry and plays.

5. I have neither the pen nor the brush to evoke for the audience the scenes of mighty battles, fallen heroes, mourning wives and weeping Hecubas. I am not Homer, nor am I Ulysses. But today the people of Angola are angry, bitter and frustrated, and I shall try to convey the revolutionary passion that fires them, the sorrow that fills them and the determination that inspires them.

6. The Government and people of the People's Republic of Angola have petitioned the Security Council many times since our admission to the United Nations, but to no avail. At least one may admire persistence: the persistence of the racist South African attacks against the People's Republic of Angola, the persistence of my Government in bringing our case before the Council and the persistence of the international community in doing precisely nothing about it.

7. In November 1979 I came here and asked the Council a number of questions [2169th and 2170th meetings]. In fact, many other representatives have done the same. All of us wonder why the United Nations was created, why the Security Council was established. It is not that the Council is impotent; it is immobilized by the lack of will of some of its members effectively to implement what are supposed to be mandatory resolutions. I received no answers to my questions in November, and I am still waiting. I also remember answering my own queries, arguing that this body was formed so that our conflicts could find a forum for debate, dialogue and eventual resolution.

8. If I indulge in a little bitterness, that is surely understandable. Surely it is not normal for men, women and children to be massacred as a matter of routine. And yet that is what happens with alarming

frequency to the Angolan people at the hands of the racist South African troops. My Government keeps the international community informed of these attacks. Do we have new principles in international law that one may kill with impunity? Not exactly; I must correct myself. Certain people may kill with impunity; certain States may do anything with impunity. And the victim is further punished, while the accused is acquitted or exonerated. That is the only conclusion we can come to when we see the racist South African régime go unpunished for its crimes inside South Africa itself, inside Angola and in southern Africa as well.

9. I will get to the point, one I have made so often in this chamber. The racist minority régime in Pretoria, with its capitalist, colonialist and imperialist ambitions, has once more attacked the People's Republic of Angola. They have killed over 370 men, women and children. They have wounded more than 255 persons, many of whom will succumb to their injuries. They have destroyed vehicles, bridges and houses. They have killed much of the livestock, depriving the remaining populace of its food and livelihood. They have mined roads and fields. In the days ahead they will kill many more barefoot children and women tilling the land. Seventeen patriots belonging to FAPLA [*Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola*] have sacrificed their lives in defense of the motherland. Since 23 June, two days ago, a motorized infantry brigade of the racist South African armed forces has been on Angolan territory. There is one infantry battalion in Eval, another in Mongua and a third north of Cuamato. Then there are two battalions of paratroopers, one on the road between Ankuaka and N'giva and the other on the road north of Neone. One company of armoured cars is north-east of Ongo and one motorized infantry battalion supported by 32 artillery units of 155-mm mortars and AML-90 armoured cars is in the area of Xifufua.

10. I have dispassionately described the positions of the racist troops. I have recited the number of dead and wounded. But I cannot adequately convey the full dimensions of the national tragedy we face as the racist minority régime in Pretoria uses our territory as its battlefield and our people as its sport.

11. The Secretary-General sent a letter to the racist Botha on 20 June [S/14011]. This is Botha's answer. This is his reply to the international community on what sort of South African participation to expect in United Nations efforts towards the independence of Namibia. It is South Africa's warning to the Angolan commitment to liberation, self-determination, majority rule and a revolutionary path of national development. It is South Africa's answer to Africa. It is South Africa's response to the commitment of the front-line States. And it is South Africa's announcement of what sort of neighbour it intends to remain in the years ahead.

12. The South African Parliament had already in 1976 passed the Defence Amendment Act, extending South Africa's defence periphery up to the equator. After the dismantling of the Smith régime in Salisbury and the emergence of independent Zimbabwe, the infamous terrorists, the Selous Scouts, were disbanded. They are now being added to South African forces. Jobless mercenaries are being wooed and recruited for duty in southern Africa. A massive transfer of combat equipment has taken place from South Africa to Namibia, with the military strengthening of Caprivi base.

13. These are not merely war preparations; this is war. Our war was declared a long time ago. It was declared when the first settler set foot on our continent, when he came to loot, to plunder, to kidnap and to kill. And this war shall continue until the last racist, the last imperialist and the last puppet is defeated by the forces of revolutionary justice.

14. Africa has ample room for those who wish to live with us on terms of mutual respect. But our vast continent has no room for settler colonialists or overseas rule. We will not tolerate minority rule and *apartheid* and we will fight imperialist attempts to destabilize our region.

15. To quote a cliché, 1 million killed is a mere statistic, one person killed is a national tragedy. Fifty persons held hostage plunged the Western world into a reassessment of policy, into a hunt for military bases, into boycotts, into sanctions, into military actions. But thousands of persons massacred by racists merits no response other than sanctimonious resolutions without teeth.

16. Can Africa expect no justice? Sanctions are imposed on small nations which cannot be considered a threat by either Western Governments or Western transnational corporations. But the biggest fiend of them all—a racist structure that brutalizes and dehumanizes its own majority inhabitants, a military Power with nuclear capability enough to threaten all of Africa—this monster in our midst goes unchecked and unpunished, despite strong demands from the third world.

17. What South Africa does cannot be entirely divorced from the larger context in which South Africa plays its hand. For every child killed in Soweto, in Namibia and in Angola, responsibility must be accepted by those Western friends of Pretoria who help the *apartheid* régime to survive, and survive rather well.

18. I have repeatedly pointed to South Africa's various strategies for the survival of its system within its *laager*. The timing of the latest series of attacks is designed to present a *fait accompli* to the international community; a group of puppets and renegades who would have no existence were it not for the char-

ity given them by their masters in Pretoria, who have no legitimacy outside the safe retreats and bases provided for them inside Namibia by the minority régime, who have no support but that provided by the South African armed forces.

19. José Eduardo dos Santos, President of the MPLA-Workers' Party and President of the People's Republic of Angola, together with the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party and all the militants of the Angolan Revolution stand steadfast in the face of imperialist attempts to sabotage the march of liberation in southern Africa. The people of Angola will not betray their revolution, nor will they allow its corruption by others. The earth of Africa is stained with the blood of freedom fighters and the air is filled with their exhortation.

20. It is a pity that the Council can neither see that earth nor hear those cries. However, if something is not done, and soon, about the explosive situation in southern Africa, the whole world will see and hear and smell blood—the rebellion against exploitation, the rejection of imperialism, the denial of colonialism and the destruction of *apartheid*. It will be the masses of the third world, and not only of Africa, who will fight for justice, equality and security against imperialist intervention. And we can be sure that the people of Angola, led by their vanguard party, the MPLA-Workers' Party, will be in the forefront of the fight, as they have been demonstrating in southern Africa.

21. War cannot be contained or confined and, if the West wants to save itself and its shores, then it must not bolster the minority régime that is causing the chaos in southern Africa. The only way to prevent a holocaust in southern Africa is to make South Africa realize the necessity for change. And the only way to do that, since all other methods have been tried and have failed to yield results, is through implementation of total sanctions against the minority régime.

22. Africa is running out of patience; Africa is running out of time. If the Council does not act beyond the adoption of yet another resolution, if the Council does not effectively implement these resolutions, then southern Africa will be the match that will ignite the world, and only the archives of the United Nations will be left to bear a silent testimony to our repeated pleas and warnings.

23. The people of Angola stand vigilant from Cabinda to the Cunene, but they expect support from the international community. Maybe that was why the United Nations was created. Maybe that is a simple answer, indeed. After all, the people of Angola will know in a few hours if the United Nations justifies its creation.

24. Finally, Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for this month. The usual procedure is to do so at the

beginning. But I was and still am too full of the tragedy brought by the racist Pretoria régime on my people to pay much attention to form.

25. Until the final victory, *a luta continua*.

26. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Mozambique, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States at the United Nations for the month of June. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

27. Mr. LOBO (Mozambique): Mr. President, on behalf of the African Group, I should like to thank you for giving us this opportunity to participate in the debate on the invasion of Angola by South Africa.

28. The heroic struggle waged by the people of Angola under the leadership of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) against Portuguese colonialism has been carried on from the beginning with unreserved solidarity from the entire African continent as well as from progressive peoples the world over. Africa went along with the freedom fighters of Angola in the most difficult struggle against an enemy supported by strong organizations and countries of the Western world. When victory was finally achieved, the people of Africa rejoiced everywhere because it was an African victory.

29. Whatever happens in Angola, and for that matter anywhere else in Africa, will greatly affect the mood of the African Group in the United Nations. Since the beginning of this month, we have been receiving the sad news that the People's Republic of Angola has been the target of massive armed aggression perpetrated by the racist régime of Pretoria. Then, as late as yesterday, we learned from the representative of the People's Republic of Angola that since last Monday, 23 June, a brigade of racist South African armed forces had been inside his country. As a result of that, civilians were massacred and villages, houses, bridges, roads and vehicles destroyed.

30. There is no doubt that the armed aggression and occupation of Angola by South African forces is part of an imperialist strategy against the liberation of Africa. The régime of South Africa is the direct agent in this imperialist aggression against Angola. South Africa is the same régime that has given shelter and arms to lackeys of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) and has trained them militarily in the service of imperialism against African liberation.

31. I go back to the information about the massive South African invasion of Angola. We are told that South Africa has inside the territory one infantry brigade, which corresponds to three battalions; two battalions of paratroopers and one company of armoured cars. Now, we ask, is this senseless show

of power the reply to the Secretary-General's letter of 20 June addressed to the Foreign Minister of South Africa [*ibid.*]?

32. The armed aggression against Angola is directed against all peoples looking for a just and peaceful solution of the Namibian problem, because it comes three days after the letter sent by the Secretary-General, which was the synthesis of world-wide opinion and wisdom. Therefore, this body, on behalf of world public opinion, should condemn South Africa in the strongest possible terms and demand that it unconditionally withdraw all its military forces from Angola and scrupulously respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola.

33. We know that these criminal actions of South Africa against Angola are meant to discourage the people of that sister country from supporting the struggle of the national liberation of the people of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). However, these criminal actions will only reinforce the determination and involvement of Angola and African States in their fraternal support of the colonized and oppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa.

34. Angola, as a part of Africa, will continue to play its fundamental role in the history of our continent's liberation. Africa knows that Angola is under attack for taking a just stand in the matters of the continent in the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and oppression. And since the present military aggression of the racist forces against Angola arises in the context of imperialist actions in southern Africa and, in particular, in Namibia, Africa will fight side by side with Angola. Africa is certain that the peoples of Angola, Namibia and South Africa will be victorious because their struggle is the just struggle of Africa's peoples.

35. Mr. MUTUKWA (Zambia): As we have heard from the representative of Angola, since 23 June several battalions of the racist South African armed forces have been operating inside Angolan territory on a mission of plunder and genocide. After violating Angolan territory, the South African troops massacred well over 370 people, mostly old men, women and children. Two hundred and fifty Angolans were either wounded or maimed. The destruction of property cannot be measured. Bridges and livestock have been destroyed and roads mined. That is the sad record of what racist South Africa can do to other human beings. It is a sad account of genocide. We convey our sincere condolences to the bereaved families in Angola.

36. The latest unprovoked and brutal massive invasion of Angola by the armed forces of racist South Africa is a flagrant violation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola. It is a very dangerous development, which not only threatens peace in our region

but will have serious consequences for international peace and security. The Security Council should respond with one voice, not only to condemn *apartheid* South Africa for committing yet another act of aggression but also to devise appropriate measures to ensure that these acts of aggression are not repeated. The time is at hand for this Council to devise ingenious methods of dealing with international recalcitrants like South Africa to deny them the means with which they commit naked aggression against neighbouring independent African States. It is not enough merely to warn the racists in South Africa that unspecified action will be taken against them if they do not comply with Council decisions. There is more than adequate proof of South Africa's intransigence and defiance of United Nations resolutions.

37. It is important that the Council had to interrupt its consideration of the reckless and defiant behaviour of Israel, which is an ally of South Africa, to turn to yet another reckless act of aggression by the Pretoria régime. Would it not be only logical to conclude, given all the evidence available to us, that the South African and Israeli régimes are the most aggressive and repressive régimes in the contemporary world? A casual glance at the issues brought before the Council in any one calendar year bears testimony to the danger to international peace and security caused by the policies and practices of racist South Africa and Israel.

38. Members of the Council will recall that South Africa had pursued a policy of permanent aggression against Angola even before that country became independent. It is pathetic that the South African authorities have not yet reconciled themselves to the unchangeable reality of the free existence of an independent Angola. South Africa must be forced to accept and respect the sovereignty of Angola.

39. Since the independence of Angola, the Council has been called upon at regular intervals to consider repeated cases of aggression against Angola by South Africa. Since November of last year, the Council has held two sessions to deal with racist South African aggression against Angola and my own country, Zambia. These armed attacks and subsequent military activities involving planted land-mines and the use of incendiary weapons of destruction have resulted in the death and wounding of hundreds of our people in Angola and Zambia. We strongly deplore this genocide. We demand help from the international community, and not equivocation and duplicity, especially on the part of those States which arm South Africa. We are victims of violence, and any talk of cycles of violence coming from certain Western capitals must be condemned and denounced.

40. South Africa must be aware that aggression against any independent African country only serves to strengthen Africa's resolve to free our continent from racist oppression. Indeed, the timing of this attack, coming as it does during the meetings of the

Organization of African Unity (OAU), will serve to mobilize Africa to rise to the occasion.

41. We refuse to be used as a scapegoat for South Africa's attempts to divert attention from the massive internal revolt inside the *apartheid* territory. South Africa wants the eyes of the world to be turned away from the brutal repression which that régime has unleashed against peaceful protestors and strikers all over South Africa. Fortunately the world cannot be deceived by these devilish manoeuvres. The international community is fully aware that the problems which racist South Africa faces today are all made and manufactured in South Africa. It is the oppressed people of South Africa that are struggling for freedom from *apartheid*. It is also the Namibians under the leadership of SWAPO that are fighting from inside the territory of Namibia itself to liquidate South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. Only an end to *apartheid* and the establishment of a democratic State based on the principle of universal suffrage can end South Africa's problems. The racist South African rulers must know from simple geography that Soweto, Langa, Sasolville and Sharpeville are not on Angolan territory, nor are they located in Zambia.

42. African countries want peace. They have offered olive branches to all those who genuinely desire to resolve southern African problems peacefully. We continue to act in good faith on all issues. Yet, I submit, what do we get in return from racist South Africa? Who is acting in bad faith, other than the racist and intransigent Pretoria régime?

43. On behalf of Zambia I wish to appeal to members of this Council collectively and individually to do everything in their power to stop South African aggression against Angola and the other front-line States. The Council should as a matter of urgency demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory. South Africa should be censured for its numerous acts of aggression.

44. We join the people of the sister Republic of Angola in mourning. We stand beside them in their resolve to maintain their hard-won independence and sovereignty.

45. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Once again the Security Council has to take up the question of South Africa's acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. For several days now the incursion by the armed forces of the racist régime of Pretoria into the territory of Angola has been continuing. Built-up areas even 90 kilometres within Angolan territory have been bombarded. There are victims among the civilian population, including women and children. Many buildings and bridges have been destroyed, and the interventionists have mined a number of roads. The representative of the People's Republic of Angola

has informed the Council that right now within the territory of his country there are South African troops, artillery units, paratroopers and tanks.

46. Clearly this is a deliberate act of aggression against an independent sovereign African country by a Fascist State in which racism is the official policy. The Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has in his statement published today decisively condemned the fresh act of aggression by South Africa committed at a time when we are marking the anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations.

47. The Security Council has several times issued warnings to South Africa and demanded the cessation of all acts of aggression against neighbouring countries, but Pretoria has remained deaf to all demands by the world community and United Nations bodies to desist from the criminal policy of aggression, which is a threat to international peace and security.

48. One asks: Why has Pretoria not heeded the reasonable desires of the African States to live in peace and security? Obviously, the policies of the leading circles of South Africa are not directed towards seeking peace. They are directed in principle towards committing aggression against other countries. Even the letter of the Foreign Minister of South Africa addressed to the Secretary-General dated 12 May [S/13935] demonstrates that criminal policy.

49. The Council has no choice: it must not only decisively condemn Pretoria's acts of aggression against African countries but also seriously take up the matter of enforcement action which is provided for in the Charter in cases of acts of aggression. There is already a ban on arms deliveries to South Africa; yet that aggressive country continues to arm itself and to use those arms against sovereign African countries. The arms embargo should be stepped up. African countries have repeatedly pointed to the need to stop oil deliveries to South Africa. It is high time for that matter to be taken up as well. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic favours its settlement. We call upon all countries not to deliver oil to the aggressor country, that is, South Africa.

50. Then there is the general matter of increasing the isolation surrounding the aggressive forces of Pretoria. Those countries which maintain relations with South Africa should seriously consider the fact that South Africa views that situation, whether or not the Western countries like it, as a form of encouragement allowing it to violate international law by committing acts of aggression against neighbouring countries.

51. The abuse of the occupied Territory of Namibia by South Africa, which uses it as a springboard for armed attacks against the People's Republic of Angola, is also a violation of international law. The Council

should severely condemn such use of the Territory, for which, as members know, the United Nations is responsible. There is no doubt that the actions of South Africa are creating an obstacle to a peaceful solution of the Namibian question.

52. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic is certain that the Council will call upon South Africa immediately to withdraw its armed forces from the entire territory of the People's Republic of Angola and to respect the territorial integrity of that independent country. South Africa should bear responsibility for its criminal actions and give compensation for the damage sustained by the People's Republic of Angola. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic supports the just demand of Angola.

53. In conclusion, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic would like to assure the representative of the People's Republic of Angola that our country will continue in the future to give all possible assistance to his country in its struggle to preserve its independence and territorial integrity. The German Democratic Republic is faithful to the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation which was signed last year by the heads of our States.

54. Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA (Portugal): Once again Angola has been the target of a most serious incursion by South Africa's military forces. Given the historical links between our two countries and the friendship that unites our two peoples, the Portuguese delegation would be failing in its duty if it did not immediately join its voice with those who have expressed their solidarity with the Government and the people of Angola in these trying moments.

55. We deeply feel the loss of life that has resulted from these attacks, and the Portuguese delegation wishes to avail itself of this opportunity to extend to the families of the victims and to the Government and the people of Angola its most heartfelt condolences.

56. The climate of violence in southern Africa must be eliminated. The hope of the international community has been raised in recent times by the solution of some of the conflicts in the area, while, it would seem, important progress has been made in relation to others. Let us hope that this is the last reflex in a cycle about to be closed, and not the start of a new one.

57. The Portuguese delegation states again that it is imperative that all aggressive acts across international borders cease forthwith and appeals to the South African régime immediately to withdraw its forces from Angolan soil and refrain from further action of this nature against Angola, in full respect for the territorial integrity of that country.

58. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): This

latest act of gross and naked aggression by the armed forces of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola has compelled the Security Council once again to take up the aggressive policies of the racist régime of Pretoria. For several days now in the territory of an independent sovereign country, Angola, there have been a motorized infantry battalion, two battalions of paratroopers and also units of armoured troop-carriers belonging to South Africa. In fact, South African troops have occupied part of the territory of an independent State.

59. As a result of the acts of aggression by the regular troops of the Pretoria régime, 370 people have been killed, most of them old men, women, and children; 255 people have been wounded; 30 vehicles have been demolished; bridges and houses have been destroyed; and almost all the livestock in that region have been killed. Thus, it is quite clear that South Africa's acts of aggression were perpetrated against the civilian targets and population of Angola.

60. This armed incursion by the troops of the racist régime of South Africa is not an isolated case. The Council has a detailed list of the many acts of aggression by South Africa against Angola. Yet, South African troops quite recently committed an incursion into Angolan territory which caused many victims and considerable material damage. The documents of the Council show that South Africa has turned the People's Republic of Angola into a target of continual bombing raids, incursions and armed acts of aggression which are perpetrated in violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

61. By making continual armed attacks against Angola, the Pretoria authorities are aiming to subvert the process of social and economic reform which is successfully taking place in that country, to make the economic situation more complicated and to hamper the successful development of that country along its chosen path. Pretoria uses UNITA counter-revolutionary gangs in its activities aimed at subverting Angola's popular régime. Those gangs are being maintained, armed and reinforced by the South African racists. It is known that they are supported by certain sponsors overseas.

62. It is quite obvious that the enormous scope of the recent operations by the South African racists, the use of regular army troops and the wide use of various types of offensive techniques amount to a dangerous escalation of the acts of aggression by South Africa against Angola—and not only against Angola. In April of this year the Security Council decisively condemned the racist régime of South Africa for its continuing, ever-growing and unprovoked acts of aggression against Zambia, representing a scandalous violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

63. Until quite recently, South Africa gave active support to the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhode-

sia in an attempt to prevent the victory of the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe. Moreover, it is recognized that the danger of South African interference in the affairs of that new State of Zimbabwe has not been eliminated; there are still large concentrations of South African armed forces on the border with Zimbabwe.

64. The acts of aggression by the racist régime of Pretoria against the People's Republic of Angola and other African States pose a serious threat—indeed, a growing threat—to their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to peace and security in southern Africa.

65. An important element of South Africa's strategy aimed against independent Africa is its occupation of Namibia, which is being used by Pretoria as a trampoline from which to launch acts of aggression against Angola and other African States. The Pretoria régime is doing its utmost to hamper the attainment by the people of Namibia of genuine independence and freedom. We have recently seen the ever more obvious attempts by South Africa to stop the coming to power in Namibia of the patriotic forces under the leadership of SWAPO, which has been recognized by the United Nations as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. The Pretoria régime has undertaken further actions to strengthen the puppet groups in Namibia, to create there what in the final analysis would amount to a neo-colonialist régime. Those attempts are being made in defiance of the explicit provisions of Security Council resolutions which stated, *inter alia*, that the results of the illegal elections held in Namibia by the South African régime were null and void and should not be recognized by anyone.

66. In deliberately making unacceptable demands to the United Nations, Pretoria is obviously trying to use its participation in negotiations with the Organization to gain time and to prepare conditions which would be conducive to the implementation of its own racist plans for the so-called internal settlement: to set up in Namibia a puppet régime and to entrench a neo-colonialist order in that Territory. South Africa's true plans for Namibia have been quite blatantly demonstrated in its acts of aggression against Angola.

67. It is quite obvious that the defiant behaviour of South Africa, its perpetration of acts of aggression against Angola and other African States are explained by the fact that the Pretoria racists know they have the support of the United States and certain other countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which call for tolerance and understanding of the South African racists. By pandering to the South African régime, the monopolistic circles of the NATO countries are trying to prevent the adoption of effective measures in the Security Council in respect of that racist régime. As a result, the Pretoria authorities are stepping up their acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States, in particular the People's Republic of Angola.

68. The delegation of the Soviet Union reaffirms its unswerving support for the People's Republic of Angola in the struggle that it is waging against encroachments by the racist régime of South Africa on its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Soviet delegation decisively condemns the armed incursions by South Africa into Angola. We consider that the Security Council should not merely roundly condemn acts of aggression and demand the withdrawal of the armed South African units from Angola, as it has already done in previous resolutions, but also envisage the adoption of effective and specific measures stemming from Chapter VII of the Charter to put an end to such actions by the aggressor. The experience of recent years has shown that there is no other way to attain that goal.

69. Mr. CHOU Nan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): On 23 June, the South African racist régime flagrantly launched another large-scale military invasion of the People's Republic of Angola from the Territory of Namibia, which it has illegally occupied, brutally slaughtering innocent people and causing very serious damage to the lives and property of the Angolan people. This is the third time that the South African racist régime has grossly encroached upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola, following its armed attacks on Angola in the latter part of May and the middle of June this year, seriously threatening the peace and security of the region. The Chinese delegation expresses great indignation at the aggressive acts committed by the South African authorities and strongly condemns them. Our deep sympathy goes to the Angolan people who are the victims of aggression.

70. It is by no means accidental that since the beginning of this year the South African racist régime has intensified its armed invasion of Angola, Zambia and other front-line African States, because this is a component of its criminal scheme to sustain its illegal occupation and colonial rule of Namibia. It is well known that under the leadership of SWAPO the Namibian people have initiated and persisted in protracted and effective armed and political struggles, dealing heavy blows to the South African racists. In spite of the threats and repeated attacks made by South Africa, the front-line States, regardless of heavy sacrifices, have given tremendous support and assistance to the just struggle of the Namibian people. At the same time the just cause of the Namibian people is obtaining ever broader international sympathy and support. Particularly since the independence of the people of Zimbabwe, there has been a growing call from the international community and public opinion for a negotiated peaceful settlement of the Namibian question and the immediate attainment of the independence of Namibia.

71. SWAPO and the front-line States have exerted tremendous and sincere efforts to promote the early implementation of the United Nations plan for a set-

tlement of the Namibian question, thus winning broad acclamation and support from the international community. This has landed the South African racist authorities in ever greater isolation. In these circumstances, while continuing to obstruct and delay a negotiated settlement and stepping up the moves for a so-called internal settlement, the South African racist authorities are repressing the armed struggle of the Namibian people with increasing brutality and have repeatedly launched armed invasions into front-line States in an attempt to weaken and stamp out the armed struggle of the Namibian people and coerce the front-line States into ceasing their support for the just struggle of the Namibian people, so as to achieve their ferocious aim of continued illegal occupation of Namibia.

72. However, as a Chinese saying goes, "Since the people are not afraid of death, why intimidate them with death?" The heroic peoples of Namibia and Africa cannot be cowed or crushed. The wanton acts committed by the South African racist authorities can only evoke greater indignation on the part of the Namibian and other African peoples and cause them to unite further and carry on their struggle more staunchly, thus accelerating the collapse of the colonial rule of the South African authorities.

73. The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the Namibian people in their just struggle for national independence and liberation and firmly supported the front-line States in their just position of giving assistance to the Namibian people's struggle. In the view of the Chinese delegation, the Council should strongly condemn the South African authorities for their military invasion of Angola, demand that they put an immediate end to their acts of aggression, withdraw forthwith all their invading forces and ensure against the recurrence of similar incidents. The Security Council should also demand the immediate ending of the South African racist authorities' illegal occupation of Namibia. It is also our view that the Security Council should support the various correct ideas put forward by the African States, including the demand for South Africa to compensate for the losses incurred.

74. We are deeply convinced that the Namibian people and other African peoples, with their rich experience in struggle, will fight on to thwart the schemes of the South African racist authorities, overcome the interference and sabotage by outside hegemonist forces and win the final victory of national independence and liberation.

75. Mr. MILLS (Jamaica): The people of Angola have won the admiration of peoples all over the world because of their heroic struggle for liberation and independence. We are all aware of their efforts to build their nation in the face of continuing difficulties in a world full of problems.

76. It is a matter for deep regret that that country should be the victim of repeated and brutal aggression by South Africa. This latest act, which is the subject of the Council's meeting today, is yet another manifestation of the bitter experiences of Angola and of the nature of the racist régime of South Africa.

77. Jamaica has given its unqualified support to the request by the Government of Angola for the convening of this urgent meeting of the Council. By so doing, the Government and people of Jamaica reiterate their strong indignation and their condemnation of these acts by South Africa, which constitute not only a serious violation of the principles of the Charter but equally of international law respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States.

78. The full magnitude of South Africa's latest aggressive actions is highlighted in the letter dated 26 June from the representative of Angola, and was further elaborated in the eloquent and detailed presentation which he gave this evening. They have revealed that South Africa's unprovoked and unwarranted aggression has caused considerable loss of life and wanton destruction of property. We deplore the continued deployment of the racist South African armed forces inside the territory of the People's Republic of Angola.

79. All this comes at a time when the world is still reacting with deep satisfaction and with understanding to the recent victory of Zimbabwe in its struggle for freedom. It is a time when we all watch with active interest the development of the movement by the people of Namibia and by the United Nations to wrest Namibia from the clutches of South Africa. But it is also a time when the people of South Africa itself are demonstrating their determination to change the evil system of *apartheid* under which they suffer.

80. By this latest act, South Africa seeks to remind Angola, the people of Namibia and its own people, as well as the rest of the world, that it will not yield to the forces of history and will continue to defy world opinion.

81. The story of South Africa's aggression against Angola and other independent African States is not a new one. Many speakers in past deliberations and during this debate have spoken of atrocities perpetrated by South Africa against Angola even before its emergence as a sovereign State. This Council itself, by its resolution 428 (1978) and resolution 454 (1979), strongly condemned the racist régime for its acts of aggression committed against Angola and firmly warned that further acts of aggression could lead to the adoption of enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

82. My delegation is encouraged by the speed with which the Council has responded to the request by the representative of the People's Republic of Angola

to hold an urgent meeting on this murderous action by South Africa. But the failure of some members of the Council in the past to agree to the necessary strong measures provided for in the Charter has undoubtedly emboldened Pretoria to persist in committing acts of aggression. Those acts should not only be condemned; they must be stopped. The Council must call for the immediate withdrawal of all South Africa forces occupying Angolan territory and it must begin the process whereby effective enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter may be applied to halt such acts of aggression.

83. Mr. GARBA (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): The South African racists have again sent their murderous bands into Angola. The Angolan people have for several days been under the artillery fire of several South African battalions. Bridges have been destroyed, roads have been mined and cattle have been slaughtered.

84. Coming after the merciless repression of the student demonstrations that recently took place in several South African towns, this large-scale attack on an independent African State denotes the incorrigible character of the South African racists, who are resolved to put Africa to fire and the sword in order to safeguard their abusive privileges.

85. This is also a grotesque demonstration of the Pretoria authorities' scorn for the decisions of the Council. Should it be seen as evidence of the solidarity and collusion which have always existed between Israel and the South African racist minority régime? Has South Africa wished to associate itself, in its own way, in the discussion on Jerusalem, the subject of which is the catastrophic consequences of Israel's repeated aggression against the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories?

86. The South African attack against Angola and the recent Israeli measures on the future of Jerusalem are parts of the same conspiracy which, from the Cape to Beirut, mobilizes the energies of the enemies of the African and Arab peoples, with the blessing of protectors who are powerful and insensible to the appeals for help of the oppressed masses.

87. Vigorous action by the Council is necessary to prevent the hangmen of Pretoria from stepping up the massacre in Angola. The South African racists must know that time is against them and that the fires of revolt, ignited and sustained by many centuries of humiliation, will never be extinguished. They will forever illuminate, in southern Africa, in the Middle East and elsewhere, the road to true freedom and independence.

88. The Government and the people of the Niger wish to express here, through me, their sympathy and their active solidarity with the Government and people of Angola, who without any doubt will triumph in the liberation fight against the enemies of Africa.

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

90. Mr. MUJEZINOVIC (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, the representative of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has already congratulated you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. I wish to thank you and the other members of the Council for having given me this opportunity to present the views of my country regarding the development of the situation in southern Africa, where non-aligned Angola has again become the victim of aggression committed by the racist régime in Pretoria.

91. We have not received the news of aggression by South Africa either with disbelief or with astonishment. The aggressor, whose conduct has been repeatedly investigated by this organ of the United Nations, has again violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a peaceful neighbouring country. According to the first accounts and explanation given to us this evening by the representative of Angola, the aggressors, in their onslaught, inflicted vast material damage, destroying objects of infrastructure, demolishing buildings and bridges which had been constructed with so much effort and, what is most dreadful, killing more than 370 innocent people. I think that there is no need to emphasize in particular what all this means while we express the profound feelings of indignation that these dastardly acts have aroused in us.

92. This most recent form of state terrorism is deliberately aimed at creating a situation which could easily turn into a tragedy of wider proportions, liable directly to threaten peace and security in that part of Africa and in the world at large. The Council has concluded several times that the racist régime in Pretoria is endeavouring, by complicating the situation in the region, to create conditions for the perpetuation of its existence and the continuation of its policy and practice of racism, racial discrimination, *apartheid* and colonial exploitation. South Africa's most recent aggression has resulted in a further deterioration of an already complex and tense atmosphere in international relations, threatening the foundations of peace and security. In cases such as this, the Council should resolutely fulfil its role as guardian of the basic principles and achievements realized since the founding of the world Organization.

93. We are convinced that the Council will react in a proper manner to the situation created by South Africa, which amounts to a challenge to the Council's prestige and authority. The response of the Council should be such as to arrest the current aggression as well as to check and prevent once and for all all possible future acts of aggression by the Fascist South African régime against peaceful African countries. We believe that it is high time to adopt without delay the effective measures provided for under Chapter VII

of the Charter, as it is clear that all the efforts exerted so far by the Security Council in cases where the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of other African countries in addition to Angola—namely Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana—were threatened or violated have failed to produce the desired results.

94. Yugoslavia insists on an urgent solution of the problem of Namibia, which is closely connected with the most recent developments in Angola. We are witnesses to a situation in which the relevant decisions of the United Nations, particularly the decisions of the Security Council, have not been implemented over a period of many years, and in which South Africa is resorting to tactics clearly aimed at allowing it to procrastinate and to postpone the start of the process of the decolonization of Namibia, a Territory which it continues to hold under illegal occupation, while it endeavours to create conditions that would ensure its continued presence and further exploitation of the natural resources of that rich country. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for Namibia, Yugoslavia urges the Security Council to make use of its rights and competence and take effective action for the implementation of its own decisions.

95. At all their gatherings, and at the summit Conferences of the heads of State or Government in particular, the non-aligned countries have pledged their full and unreserved support for all United Nations actions and especially for actions aimed at finding just solutions to problems in the southern part of the African continent. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana, pledged, *inter alia*,

“all forms of support and assistance to the front-line States that, in spite of all kinds of difficulties, give their militant solidarity to and serve as the safe rearguard for the liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. It condemned all acts of armed aggression and destabilization carried out by South Africa . . . and reaffirmed that such actions represent an attempt by the enemy to block the support given by the front-line States to the liberation struggle. The Conference reaffirmed that the front-line States are not and will not be alone in their courageous determination to resist the racist enemy and resolutely contribute to its total defeat.”¹

96. The South African neo-Nazi régime, in co-operation with forces that are reaping huge profits as a result of the exploitation of southern Africa or are striving to secure permanent strategic strongholds, is endeavouring to undermine the freedom and independence of peoples who have won, through immense sacrifices, their right to free and unhampered development, to an equal place among sovereign States and co-operation with all peoples and States on the basis of the principles of equality, non-intervention, non-

interference and non-use of force in relations between States. We are actually faced with a new attempt at destabilizing the region of southern Africa, at suppressing the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, at breaking up the unity and solidarity of African countries and at weakening solidarity with and support for the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa against the oppressive South African régime, against *apartheid*, racism and racial discrimination.

97. The Yugoslav delegation wishes to express once again its solidarity with Angola at this moment of trial. My country is linked with the people of Angola by close ties of friendship and co-operation which were forged during the long liberation struggle of the Angolan people and further developed and consolidated through all-round co-operation since the liberation of that country. Yugoslavia will lend full support to every action taken by the Security Council aimed at arresting the aggression of the racist South African régime against the independence of Angola and at creating conditions liable to prevent the racist régime from repeating similar acts and threatening the sovereignty of neighbouring States and international peace and security. The behaviour and actions of the racist régime are all the more absurd in that they are taking place at a time when efforts are being made to find a just and peaceful solution to the problem of Namibia. The Yugoslav delegation would like to believe that these most recent acts of aggression will have a sobering effect on those international factions which exercise direct influence on the racist régime and will impel them to endorse the appeal of non-aligned countries, and the countries of Africa in particular, calling for the elimination of the racist régime, which is a permanent source of instability in the region and a threat to the independence of neighbouring countries.

98. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): Hardly three weeks ago the Council met and had an exhaustive debate on southern Africa and South Africa's racist policy of *apartheid* perpetrated against the majority population of the country. Today we are again meeting to discuss the mayhem of raids, bombings, indiscriminate killings and armed aggression by South Africa against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola. As we were told by the representative of Angola, the latest raid of South Africa has resulted in the deaths of hundreds of Angolan citizens and the maiming of hundreds of others.

99. We have supported the request of the Government of Angola to convene this urgent meeting to consider this latest act of aggression launched by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. We have done so to express our indignation, anger and unreserved condemnation of this aggression, which violates the most rudimentary principles of international law respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States.

100. The central problem in the entire episode of death and destruction, man's inhumanity to man, emanates from the ruthless determination of the white minority régime in South Africa to maintain its privileged position, no matter the cost. As I have said previously, in spite of the remarkable restraint of the front-line States, particularly Angola, South African aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola continues unabated. To say the least, the latest act of aggression has created a situation fraught with dangerous and serious consequences. It is the firm belief of my delegation that this Council must condemn the racist régime of South Africa for its continuing aggression against all the front-line States, particularly Angola. Further, the time has come for this Council to move beyond mere condemnation and consider further measures, including those under the relevant provisions of the Charter. There is an imperative need to render all assistance to the front-line States to strengthen their sinews, so that they can maintain their struggle against South Africa. This Council must therefore demonstrate forcefully that the process towards peace in southern Africa can no longer be impeded by South Africa.

101. Finally, I wish to reaffirm the full support of the Government of Bangladesh for the just struggle of the oppressed peoples of Namibia and southern Africa for their national liberation, and I reaffirm our firm solidarity with and support for all the front-line States in their just struggle in safeguarding their national honour, sovereignty and territorial integrity. I wish to express our deeply felt condolences to the Government and the people of Angola and to the wounded and the families of the victims of this dastardly act of aggression.

102. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): We have read the reports and heard the statement of the representative of the People's Republic of Angola concerning the armed incursions by the racist South African troops into the territory of Angola which have occurred since 7 June, and which are continuing up to the present time. By now those forces, fully armed and equipped with sophisticated weaponry, amount to a brigade. About 400 Angolans have been killed and hundreds more wounded, most of them civilians. Damage to property and livestock is extensive.

103. Without doubt, these attacks and armed incursions are a flagrant violation of international law and particularly of the Charter, and cannot but be strongly condemned and censured by the international community. What further aggravates the situation is the deplorable fact that they were perpetrated by a racist régime that has been universally condemned for its persistent aggression against neighbouring States, in which it often uses Namibia as a springboard from which to launch such attacks.

104. That is ironic and deplorable, because Namibia is supposed to be under United Nations administration

and protection. Therefore, to my delegation, this is plainly a cynical and defiant act by the *apartheid* South African régime at a time when the international community had been entertaining sincere hopes that progress could at last be achieved towards the implementation of a United Nations plan for Namibia which would ensure peace and security in that troubled region.

105. It would seem to us that such a peace plan is not to the liking of the Pretoria régime; perhaps it does not accord with its ideas for a solution of the problem of southern Africa. In the circumstances, we cannot help but conclude that these acts of provocation and destruction against a neighbouring State have only one purpose—to undermine and perhaps derail the moves to achieve a just and peaceful solution of this problem by the United Nations.

106. We have no alternative but resolutely to oppose any act that offends our sense of decency, threatens the peace of the region and makes a solution much harder, if not impossible to achieve.

107. The Council must use every means at its disposal to resolve the present situation peacefully; it must demand a cease-fire, the immediate withdrawal of the invading troops and full restitution to the Angolan people.

108. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Botswana and Brazil, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Semichi (Algeria), Mr. Modisi (Botswana) and Mr. Corrêa da Costa (Brazil) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

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

110. Mr. CORRÊA da COSTA (Brazil): Mr. President, I should like to thank you and the other members of the Security Council for allowing my delegation to participate in this most important debate. The situation we are considering is, indeed, very serious and once again brings into the open the persistent refusal of the South African authorities to comply with the basic and fundamental principles of the Charter. We had hoped that the negotiating process launched after the adoption of Council resolution 435 (1978) on the United Nations plan for Namibia would, in the final

analysis, restrain South Africa's expansionist and aggressive policies, for the sake of bringing about stability and prosperity in the southern part of the African continent. Unfortunately, instead of lending its co-operation to the efforts now under way intended to enable the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, the authorities in Pretoria, by dubious and unclear responses filled with qualifications, have been protracting the implementation of the settlement proposal while pursuing an internal solution aimed at establishing a puppet régime in Windhoek. Both the Brazilian and the Angolan Government have already expressed their joint concern over the manoeuvres of the South African régime tending to block United Nations resolutions, in particular resolution 435 (1978), and have reaffirmed their joint support for the just claims of the Namibian people and of SWAPO.

111. South Africa's defiance of United Nations peace efforts goes even further. It includes brutal and wanton acts of aggression against neighbouring and front-line States. This time, once again, the victims were the brave and courageous people of Angola. Only an entity totally uncommitted to the authority of this Council would dare to engage in the atrocities described by the representative of Angola, in spite of the undisguised warnings already given by the Council. And yet we are facing a repetition of unjustifiable acts which have caused the deaths of almost 400 people in Angola, whose territory at this moment bears the spurious and illegal presence of one South African motorized infantry brigade, two battalions of paratroopers and one company of armoured cars. There can be no denying that, together with the now already voluminous collection of Pretoria's crimes, these latest incidents constitute another serious violation of international peace and security and, as such, should be dealt with by the competent United Nations body.

112. Speaking of crimes, one may wonder what crime was committed by our Angolan brothers for them to suffer such a harsh and heavy punishment. They are guilty only of pursuing the consolidation of their own freedom and development. The good faith and peaceful intentions of the Angolan Government need no further proof. Indeed, we owe to the late President Agostinho Neto the concept of a demilitarized zone along the northern borders of Namibia as a means of assisting the implementation of the settlement proposal.

113. It is indeed naive to expect that a State whose foundations rest on the abhorrent policies of *apartheid* might relinquish expansionist and aggressive policies. The crux of the whole matter is that *apartheid* must be terminated. Until then, southern Africa will know no peace and no prospect of prosperity. The South African Government would do better if it came to its senses and ceased imposing upon its peo-

ple the inhuman and anachronistic segregationist policies they are now subjected to.

114. The Brazilian Government and people pledge their uncompromising solidarity with the people and Government of Angola, and we fully share their present grief. This solidarity has been recently strengthened by the visit paid to Angola by Brazil's Minister of State for External Relations only a few days ago. We have already strongly condemned the inadmissible acts of aggression of the South African régime against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola and repudiated the massacres conducted against the civilian population, as well as the deliberate destruction of economic centres, aimed at crippling and destabilizing that country.

115. I am certain that my country now more than ever will be in a position to share the Angolan sorrow and to provide the Angolan people with assistance in order to help them in consolidating their independence and promoting their economic and social development.

116. Mr. WECKMANN (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to express its grave concern over the new and serious acts of aggression on the part of the Republic of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola, one of the most recent and valiant States Members of the Organization. We wish to express to the people and Government of Angola, through their representative here, our firmest solidarity in the face of the tragedy that that sister country is suffering and our most heartfelt sympathy to the families of so many innocent victims.

117. We view this moment as one of the bloodiest episodes in the process of decolonization and the elimination of racism in Africa. The spirit of freedom and independence has been opening a way in the African continent, thanks to the sacrifice of its citizens and to the growing sympathy of all countries which wish to live under the symbol of equality. Faced with this movement for liberation—most recently exemplified in Zimbabwe, which we soon expect to welcome at the United Nations—a movement that is not only impossible to contain but is about to culminate in a formal political phase, the remnants of colonialism and racism in that continent, which unfortunately have accomplices, are entrenching themselves behind their bulwarks and launching counter-attacks in order futilely to prolong the supremacy that they have enjoyed for too long, based as it is on oppression, inequality and racism. Those attacks have been systematically directed against all neighbouring States, using, in cases such as the one at hand, Namibia as a forward base, a place where South Africa has maintained an illegal presence for decades.

118. My delegation does not hesitate to point out to the Council that many of our resolutions con-

demning the continued acts of aggression by South Africa remain for the most part a dead letter. It is making an appeal that those resolutions establishing an embargo on arms and military equipment and strategic aid to Pretoria may be implemented in the most effective way and is ready to offer to make its contribution to a new resolution that would categorically bring about once and for all the cessation of that policy that flagrantly violates the principles of international coexistence and of the Charter.

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

120. Mr. TINOCO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, permit me first of all to thank you and the other members of the Council for offering me this opportunity to take part in this debate.

121. The delegation of free Nicaragua is participating in the work of the Council for the first time because it is deeply concerned over the massive act of aggression committed by the racist régime of Pretoria against the brother country and people of Angola, an act that has so far left nearly 400 persons dead and involves the introduction of a motorized infantry brigade, two battalions of paratroopers and a company of armoured cars into Angolan territory.

122. Nicaragua wishes to protest as strongly as possible that inexcusable act of aggression and the consequent loss of human life.

123. Those countries that belong to the non-aligned movement, Nicaragua among them, fully understand what is behind these acts of aggression and the manner in which the international community should face up to them. Thus in the Final Declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries it is emphasized that

“the problems of southern Africa could not be dealt with piecemeal, because they are inextricably interlinked politically, economically and militarily and therefore have to be tackled together”²

and that

“Freedom, peace, security and progress cannot be achieved in southern Africa unless the *apartheid* system of institutionalized racial discrimination, exploitation and oppression is crushed”²

124. We recall that this act of aggression is part of the entire systematic policy of the racist régime against the territories of front-line States. Suffice it to point out the 15 acts of aggression committed in the course of this year that were mentioned by the representative of Zambia when he addressed the Security Council on 10 April last [2209th meeting] and the two cases of aggression brought to the attention of the Council by

the representative of Angola on 28 May [S/13965]. They left more than 200 dead and many wounded, in addition to incalculable material damage and destruction.

125. We would further recall resolutions 454 (1979), 466 (1980) and 473 (1980), in which the Council condemned South Africa for its flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring African States.

126. My country wonders how many more deaths there will be, how many more resolutions. How long will South Africa continue to disregard the decisions of the United Nations and engage in its policy of aggression and terrorism with impunity? Responsibility rests not only with the ruling circles of Pretoria. Given the information concerning the supply of weapons and military equipment to South Africa, and in view of the ambivalence of certain countries in their reaction to the acts of aggression and the absence of any effective pressure being exerted on Pretoria by those same countries to make it apply the relevant resolutions of the Council so that Namibia may attain independence, those countries share responsibility for what is occurring today.

127. Nicaragua calls upon the Council to demand once again that the racist régime refrain from undertaking any further military actions and acts of subversion against African States; it should also demand the immediate withdrawal of the racist troops from Angola; and, considering the innumerable appeals unheeded by the racist régime and the extreme seriousness of what now appears to be a full-fledged invasion, the Council should decide upon the application of other more appropriate measures that have a real and decisive effect.

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

129. Mr. MISHRA (India): Mr. President, may I first of all congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Given your wisdom and diplomatic skill, we have no doubt that you will successfully guide the deliberations of the Council at a time when it is seized of some of the vital issues facing the international community.

130. I should also like to pay tribute to the representative of the Niger for his accomplishments during his presidency last month.

131. Mr. President, I am grateful to you and to the other members of the Council for this opportunity to make a statement on the serious situation arising out of the most recent acts of aggression committed by the South African racist régime against the People's Republic of Angola.

132. The Council has met today at short notice to consider South Africa's armed invasion of the People's Republic of Angola. This has come within two months of the unanimous adoption by the Council of resolution 466 (1980) strongly condemning South Africa for its continued intensified and unprovoked acts against another of its neighbours, the Republic of Zambia.

133. In its characteristic manner, South Africa has ignored the dictates of this Council and, indeed, of the entire peace-loving world and has unleashed aggression against a young African nation. The fact that the Council has decided to convene urgently to consider the grave threat to international peace and security caused by South Africa's action against Angola rekindles the hope of humanity that the Council will take a grave view of the South African aggression against Angola. We hope that the Council will take such adequate measures as will force the racist South African régime to vacate its wanton aggression and restore peace in the area.

134. The representative of the People's Republic of Angola has given us a graphic account of the growing escalation of acts of aggression and intimidation that have culminated in the present situation. The brutalities committed by the South African régime are clearly contrary to all norms of civilized international behaviour and are unbecoming to a Member of the United Nations.

135. We should commend Angola for its heroic resistance to South Africa's sustained effort to intimidate the young republic and for bringing the facts of the case to the attention of the Security Council.

136. The reasons for South Africa's anger against Angola and the other frontline States are not far to seek. The People's Republic of Angola has been the champion of human dignity and liberty, and it has consistently supported the oppressed people of Namibia, who have been denied their inalienable right to national independence. The struggle for independence in Namibia led by the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia, SWAPO, has reached its final stages, and the South African racist régime is desperately trying to prevent its inevitable ouster from Namibia by intensifying its acts of oppression and terror. Faced with the overwhelming challenge of the liberation movement, South Africa has committed aggression against Angola in a bid to force that country to give up its stand of principle in support of the Namibian people.

137. My delegation has in the past, while dealing with South Africa's acts of intimidation against the front-line States, had occasion to refer to them as not isolated and individual acts of State terrorism but a systematic effort at intimidation and destabilization of the neighbouring independent front-line States in an effort to secure their acquiescence, if not co-operation,

in the strengthening of its illegal occupation and exploitation of the people and resources of Namibia.

138. The fact that the non-white population of South Africa itself has over the past decades been seething under the tyranny and exploitation of the white *apartheid* minority should have given the Pretoria régime sufficient cause for attention and effort. Far from securing a just and equitable solution of its own problems, the racist régime in Pretoria has sought to divert attention from its own lamentable plight by launching acts of aggression and intimidation against the front-line States. The world community, no doubt, has long since seen through these transparent schemes.

139. In this context, the increased activities by South Africa in the direction of acquiring nuclear weapons have assumed grave and ominous proportions. South Africa's military prowess, together with its nuclear capability, is posing a threat not only to the people of Africa but also to the entire world. The aggressive policies of South Africa and its own building up of a dangerous arsenal of weapons have been facilitated by the support it has received from Western interests in certain parts of the world. It is regrettable that certain countries continue to give encouragement to the inhuman policies of South Africa for narrow and selfish economic benefits.

140. The Council should condemn South Africa in the strongest terms for its aggression against Angola and demand immediate and complete withdrawal of its troops, auxiliaries and surrogates from the territory of Angola. The Council should also take note of this latest action as a part of South Africa's plan to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia and to sabotage the activities of the United Nations to secure an internationally acceptable solution to the question of Namibia. South Africa's policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination is at the root of its belligerence and should be condemned again. The entire international community should not fail to express its solidarity with the people of Angola in their heroic resistance against South Africa. Economic difficulties and a threat to its integrity are the price that Angola is being called upon to pay for its support of the cause of the Namibian people.

141. My delegation expresses the hope that the Council will be able to summon the necessary political will to take enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter if South Africa persists in its behaviour and does not reverse an aggressive policy which already stands universally condemned.

142. 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.

143. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the Romanian delegation would like to thank you and the other members

of the Council for giving it the opportunity to take part in these deliberations dealing with an extremely serious question for international peace and security.

144. For the second time in two weeks, the Council has to consider the matter of the evil deeds of the South African authorities. A few days ago, in taking part in the Council debate on the situation in South Africa, the Romanian delegation [2229th meeting] highlighted the deeply reactionary and aggressive nature of the racist régime of Pretoria and the extremely dangerous risks posed by the very nature of that retrograde régime to peace on the African continent and throughout the world.

145. The present debate on the recent acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist régime of Pretoria against the young independent State of Angola once again show the baleful implications of the policy of *apartheid* and the very serious situation created in that part of the African continent. They reflect at the same time the indignation of the international community at the aggressive actions of South Africa against Angola and its legitimate concern over the ever-growing dangers which the racist and *apartheid* régime represents for the security of African States and for world peace.

146. The recent South African incursions into Angola, a State which has been devoting its efforts to the peaceful reconstruction of the country, and the very presence of armed forces of South Africa on Angolan territory are a flagrant violation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State of the United Nations, an insolent violation of the norms of international law and an open defiance of world public opinion and the resolutions of the Organization concerning South Africa. These brutal actions are part of an uninterrupted chain of acts of violence and aggression committed by the South African racist régime against neighbouring States, acts which have caused a number of victims and severe material damage and which can in no way be justified.

147. The real aims behind these systematic and premeditated acts committed by the racist authorities, which have been unmasked repeatedly in the past during the Council debates, are without doubt to stifle the struggle for liberation and the national emancipation of the peoples of southern Africa, to maintain a régime of colonial domination in Namibia, to destabilize the economy of Angola and of other neighbouring African countries and to carry out South Africa's designs for domination in that part of the continent.

148. The harmful effects of such a policy and the explosive state of the situation in South Africa itself and in the whole region of southern Africa are a real threat to peace in the area, with unforeseeable repercussions for peace and world security.

149. That is why, in the opinion of our delegation, the complaint by Angola and the present debate are a serious alarm signal for the Security Council which, under the Charter, has the special responsibility to ensure a climate of peace and security conducive to co-operation and the free development of all nations.

150. The Romanian delegation, like other delegations, has called more than once—in our statement made on 12 June [*ibid.*], for example—for the adoption of strong measures to put an end to the policy of *apartheid*, the most degrading expression of inequality and oppression, breeding violence on the domestic front and acts of aggression against independent African States.

151. The abolition of the policy of *apartheid* and the elimination of the causes of tension in that region are, in the opinion of the Romanian delegation, an imperative need of extreme relevance and urgency. They have attracted the attention of progressive and democratic forces everywhere that support the just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. To achieve them requires the adoption of resolute measures to compel the Pretoria régime to respect the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. The present debate on the acts of aggression against Angola, which is taking place scarcely two weeks after the Council's adoption of resolution 473 (1980), which demands that "the South African racist régime should refrain from committing further military acts and subversion against independent African States", once more highlights the defiant refusal of the Pretoria leaders to heed the appeals to reason addressed to them by the Council.

152. The Romanian delegation would like to take this opportunity strongly to reaffirm the unswerving solidarity of Romania with the Government and the people of Angola in their heroic struggle to defend and strengthen the national independence of their country. We consider that it is absolutely essential that, following this debate, the Security Council adopt measures conducive to putting an end to the provocative and aggressive actions which represent a brutal violation of the independence and sovereignty of Angola as well as peace and security throughout the African continent and the whole world. We unreservedly support, as measures to be taken immediately, the resolute condemnation of those acts of aggression and the demand for withdrawal forthwith of South African troops from Angolan territory.

153. Romania has condemned and continues strongly to condemn the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination which represents defiance of mankind, a flagrant violation of the rights of the majority population of South Africa and of the Charter and of resolutions of the United Nations, and which engenders serious dangers for international peace and security.

154. As is well known, Romania actively supports the people of southern Africa, their national liberation

movements, the young independent States, as well as actions taken by the United Nations to abolish once and for all the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination and to bring about the realization of the aspirations of the South African people to freedom, human dignity and social progress. That consistent position of Romania, which has been expressed on several occasions by its President, stems from its steadfast policy of resolute support for the national liberation struggle of peoples against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of domination and foreign oppression, and for respect for the sacred right of each people to be master of its own destiny.

155. The Romanian delegation would like on this occasion to reaffirm the position of Romania of militant solidarity and constant support for the struggle of the Namibian people to enjoy its inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

156. We are profoundly convinced that, in the present circumstances of a worsening international situation, the settlement of the problem of Namibia in accordance with the aspirations of the Namibian people and the implementation of its legitimate right to independence have become one of the most pressing problems affecting peace and co-operation among peoples.

157. In conclusion, the Romanian delegation expresses its conviction that the Security Council will take the necessary steps resolutely to condemn the aggressive actions by the racist Government of South Africa against Angola, to affirm the solidarity of the international community with the just struggle of the Namibian people for its national independence, and to bring about the immediate withdrawal of the South African forces from Angolan territory, as well as taking any other steps to satisfy the legitimate requests made by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola.

158. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Islamic Conference. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

159. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): Mr. President, I wish to express our gratitude to you, Sir, and to the other members of the Security Council for having afforded my delegation the opportunity to speak on behalf of the States members of the Islamic Conference on the grave situation resulting from the recent invasion by South Africa of the territory of Angola, a prominent member of the Movement of Non-Aligned countries.

160. We have learned with a deep sense of grief from the representative of Angola that several hundred innocent men, women and children lost their lives as a result of the wanton attack of South Africa, which involved several battalions of armed troops, artillery

units and armoured cars. That brutal act of plunder and genocide has shocked peace-loving people all over the world and evoked their strong indignation. That blatant act of aggression is just another manifestation of the despicable nature of the racist régime of South Africa, which has time and again shown utter disregard for universally respected norms of international and civilized behaviour. The invasion of Angola, which is one of a series of criminal assaults committed by South Africa against the territories of its neighbours, is a flagrant violation of the principles enshrined in the Charter as well as a threat to the peace and security of the region.

161. The Islamic countries, which share the experience with other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America of a common struggle against colonialism and imperialism, fully understand the vicious nature of those evil forces and are conscious of the anguish and tragedy of those who suffer under colonialist and imperialist subjugation. The Islamic countries have therefore fully sided with the heroic struggle of our African brothers to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism and imperialism from that continent. The Islamic countries have also resolutely condemned the abhorrent and criminal policies of racial discrimination and *apartheid* practised by South Africa.

162. This common position of the Islamic countries is based on the eternal message of the brotherhood and equality of mankind proclaimed by Islam, our respect for fundamental human rights and self-determination and our abiding commitment to human dignity and peace. Motivated by this spirit, the States members of the Islamic Conference have repeatedly expressed their complete solidarity with the African people in their just struggle for the right to self-determination and national independence and have undertaken to extend to them all possible help and assistance, moral and material, in their resistance to colonialism and racism. In 1974, the Fifth Islamic Foreign Minister's Conference formally called for co-operation and consultations with OAU, with a view to promoting solidarity between the two organizations and thus frustrating the machinations of world imperialism.

163. The Islamic Conference has consistently opposed and condemned the practices of hatred and discrimination in the economic, cultural and social fields, as well as the continued unjustified imprisonment and torture of innocent citizens, and has called for the release of political prisoners and the immediate recognition of basic human rights for the oppressed majority and the restoration of such rights.

164. The acts of aggression by South Africa against its neighbours have been committed in the face of clear warnings issued by the Council, particularly in its resolution 428 (1978), in which the Council solemnly warned that in the event of further acts of violation of the territorial integrity of Angola, the Council would consider the adoption of more effective measures, in

accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter, including Chapter VII thereof. The same warning was repeated by the Council in resolution 454 (1979). However, South Africa continues to carry out its wanton acts of aggression, which have resulted in large-scale damage to life and property. This sustained pattern of aggression betrays an insidious design by the racist régime of South Africa to impede and obstruct the process of national reconstruction of its neighbours and to weaken and destabilize them.

165. Undeterred by the censure and condemnation of the United Nations, South Africa has not only persisted in its despicable policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination but has been emboldened by the support it continues to receive from certain quarters to intensify its aggression against its neighbours. However, that support cannot halt the advance of history. The brave people of Namibia and South Africa, who are fighting for human dignity, civilized values and recognized norms of international law, and above all for their right to self-determination, will inevitably triumph.

166. The Security Council has a primary responsibility to bring this deplorable situation to an end. The Council must vigorously condemn the latest South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. South Africa must be asked to withdraw forthwith its military troops from the territory of Angola and to respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty and national independence of its neighbours. The Council must also give a clear warning that it can no longer tolerate wanton acts of aggression by the racist régime of South Africa and that, if such acts are repeated, the Council will not hesitate to impose the sanctions provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter. Finally, the Council should also declare its complete solidarity with the Government and the people of Angola and other front-line countries and call upon Member States to extend all necessary assistance to those countries to strengthen their defence against the predatory attacks of the racist régime of South Africa.

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

168. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I wish to thank you and the other members of the Council for the opportunity being offered to me to participate in this debate.

169. The non-aligned countries, whose group at the United Nations I have the honour of presiding over, have learned with deep indignation the news of a new, brutal and unprovoked act of aggression by the racist minority régime of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola, a member of our movement and of its Co-ordinating Bureau.

170. Hundreds of dead and wounded, among them defenceless women, children and old people—mostly civilians—this is the result of what has been done once again by racist barbarity in that brother country. Since 23 June, a brigade of the South African armed forces has been tramping through the fatherland of Agostinho Neto, deploying AML-90 tanks, battalions of motorized infantry, artillery, and armoured cars at Eyal, Mongua, Cuamato, Ongo, Ankuaka, N'giva and Neone. Its Mirage planes and its Alouette helicopters, a sinister reminder of the flagrant support of certain Western Powers to Fascist Herr Botha, violate the airspace to a depth of 50 kilometres within Angola's borders.

171. This is not the first time in the period of a few months that this body has been urgently convened to consider the acts of armed aggression by the Pretoria régime. Zambia, Angola and Mozambique have indiscriminately and repeatedly suffered and been mauled by it without the international community having been able to adopt any measure against the aggressor. Neither has this Council been able to apply the measures provided for in the Charter to safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of those countries or to mete out the punishment deserved to any country that daily tramples on it.

172. This new crime committed by the South African racist régime cannot remain unpunished. It is not possible to tolerate Mr. Botha's Fascists continuing, in disregard of all the protests of the progressive international community, to massacre, persecute, torture and imprison the black patriots of South Africa and the members of its national liberation movement, the African National Congress, and to bring death, destruction and horror to the neighbouring independent States.

173. It is totally inadmissible for South Africa to make use of the Territory of Namibia, which it occupies illegally in complete defiance of the United Nations and showing scorn for its Members, as a trampoline for its attacks on Angola. It is shameful for this to be happening despite the repeated decisions that have been adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for the Territory, and despite the demand by the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly that an end be put once and for all to the criminal policy of the South African racists.

174. If the abominable and monstrous *apartheid* régime has justly been considered to be a crime against humanity, the international behaviour of those who represent it and embody it deserves the repudiation of all and the rigorous sanction of the Council.

175. The non-aligned countries and other progressive forces have demanded that sanctions be imposed against South Africa. At the sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government, our countries urged the Coun-

cil to impose general mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. Almost one year has elapsed since then, and despite the fact that every passing day brings fresh proof of the criminal and aggressive behaviour of South Africa, which thus becomes the main threat to international peace and security in southern Africa, the Council remains immobilized by the inaction of some of its permanent members, not to mention the shameful veto against the just demands of the qualified majority of the States Members. It is truly inconceivable that the juicy profits extracted from South Africa by the multinational corporations of those same countries should paralyse the action of the supreme body of the United Nations, whose main responsibility is to defend the principles of the Charter and to oversee the maintenance of international peace and security.

176. The Council must condemn this new act of aggression by the so-called Republic of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. The Council must unequivocally condemn the utilization by South Africa of the Territory of Namibia—which, I repeat, it illegally occupies against the will of the international community—for launching its aggression against independent countries in southern Africa. The Council must demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the racist armed forces from the territory of Angola and it must demand reparations for the damage done to the population, to property, to the means of communication and to the agriculture of Angola. The Council must demand the immediate and unconditional cessation of violations of Angolan airspace by the South African Air Force. The Council must, in brief, apply the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter against the racist, oppressor, expansionist and aggressor régime of South Africa.

177. States Members, for their part, should refrain from selling weapons, military technology and oil to the Pretoria Government and should require the immediate cessation of such sales by States which continue to engage in such trade and which contribute in this way to the strengthening of the military potential and the aggressive capacity of South Africa. Above all, Member States should lend urgent, generous assistance of many kinds to the People's Republic of Angola and to the front-line countries, in order to strengthen their defence capability in the face of the continuing acts of aggression by South Africa.

178. Angola is not alone in its heroic resistance to the invader. By its side are the people of Africa, the non-aligned countries and the progressive forces of the socialist camp. Whosoever attempts to conquer fraternal Angola will, as a patriot of Cuban independence put it, gather the dust of its land or will perish in the attempt.

179. No people will stand idle in the face of the aggressive policy of the South African racists against

the independent States of Africa. Those who support them today for reasons which cannot be confessed will tomorrow face the inevitable consequences as well.

180. The struggle continues; the victory is certain.

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

182. Mr. SEMICHI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Algerian delegation, I should like first to thank the members of the Council for having given my delegation the opportunity to participate in this important debate.

183. The Algerian delegation has already had the opportunity to extend its congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. These congratulations, which we have the pleasure of renewing today, were contained in a statement made by the representative of Algeria [2228th meeting] during the debate on the stepping up of repression by the racist forces of Pretoria against the people of South Africa on the eve of the anniversary of the people's uprising at Soweto. In that statement, we had the opportunity to speak about the danger posed to international peace and security by the oppressive and bellicose behaviour of the *apartheid* régime, a régime which practises institutionalized racism, tramples under foot all democratic freedoms within its borders and exercises intimidation and aggression on the international level against all neighbouring countries, which it tries unceasingly to destabilize.

184. The question before the Council today is obviously well known to its members, for it is another link in a very long chain of systematic aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, since its accession to independence in 1975. We have to say that the racist régime of Pretoria has never been able to accept the victory of the national revolution and its *avant garde*, the MPLA, in this former Portuguese colony, and has constantly attempted such acts as direct intervention by its troops in Angola at the moment of the historic victory of the Angolan liberation movement. Beyond this, South Africa has always tried to divert the revolutionary current which is, and has been since 1975, following its path in Angola.

185. The special nature of the debate which has begun today in the Council stems from the well-known plans and ulterior motives of South Africa, at the very time when the international community—in whose forefront are the members of the Council—is urging that country to join a consensus within the United Nations to bring about a peaceful negotiated settlement of the Namibian issue on the basis of Council resolution 435 (1978). We believe that these ulterior motives and designs have to do with the determina-

tion of the Pretoria régime to give another dimension to the issue of Namibia and to extend the zone of tension, to Angola, to Zambia and to the whole southern portion of Africa, thus diverting the attention of the international community from the obvious issues.

186. Permit me to sum up the situation prevailing in that part of Africa. That situation is crystal clear. First, South Africa is illegally occupying Namibia. Secondly, the international community as a whole has prepared a plan for a peaceful solution in order to try to resolve that situation. Thirdly, only South Africa is opposed to the implementation of that settlement plan. Fourthly, in order to put an end to the delaying manoeuvres of Pretoria, the United Nations, through the Secretary-General, asked South Africa recently to take a clear stand explaining its own intentions with regard to implementing that plan.

187. In the opinion of the Algerian delegation, the South African reply to the Secretary-General's letter [S/14011] is to be seen in this bloody act of aggression against the brother people of Angola, against its historic revolution and against its leaders, who up to now have made only a positive contribution to the efforts of the United Nations to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia and to resolve that problem.

188. Hence South Africa's reply is, to our mind, the expression of the utter scorn that South Africa has for the United Nations; it is the expression of the utter arrogance that that country has never ceased to demonstrate on the basis of what it claims is its military superiority over the other countries of southern Africa and a kind of invulnerability which, it would seem, it owes to the political, economic and military support it finds in certain Western countries.

189. In this precise context and in this difficult phase today confronting the People's Republic of Angola, whose people has just added 370 more martyrs to the victims of South African aggression, the Algerian delegation wishes to express its complete and entire support for that friendly country. The trials now confronting Angola affect us all, just as they affect all African countries, the long-suffering African continent and all the oppressed peoples of the world. We should like to reiterate here Algeria's total commitment *vis-à-vis* Angola to any initiative or decision to be taken by that country to strengthen its internal security and to safeguard its national independence.

190. Furthermore, with regard to the other international implications of this South African aggression against Angola, in particular the Namibian dimension of this aggression, my country wishes to recall here its total support for SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, which is successfully waging its armed struggle to recover its national rights.

191. In conclusion, we consider that the Security Council must now respond to the hopes placed in it by

the entire Angolan people, which has brought a complaint here as a result of the South African aggression of which it is the victim, and respond in an appropriate way to the aggressive behaviour of the Pretoria régime.

192. In taking any decision, the Council must bear in mind the contents of the letter of the Secretary-General of the United Nations addressed to the Pretoria authorities on 20 June [*ibid.*]. More than ever before the prestige of the Organization and of the Council as the guarantors of international peace and security is at stake. That is the responsibility of the members of the Council, and we earnestly hope for an adequate solution to the crisis prevailing in southern Africa.

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

194. Mr. MODISI (Botswana): Mr. President, I should like to thank you for having allowed my delegation to participate in this debate. My delegation is confident that you will guide our deliberations to a successful and satisfactory conclusion.

195. We have just heard a complaint by the representative of the People's Republic of Angola concerning the South African invasion and occupation of part of the territory of Angola since the beginning of this month. The South African Government itself has confirmed that its soldiers—some of whom were killed—invaded the territory of Angola beginning on 13 June. The South African Government further admits that it has used aircraft, helicopters, armoured vehicles and several battalions to carry out the attack against the People's Republic of Angola. The South African Government has declined to give any specific reason for the attack against Angola.

196. We have met several times in past years to consider and take decisions on similar South African aggression against neighbouring independent African countries. The decisions taken by this Council have invariably demanded that South Africa stop all these diabolical attacks against its neighbours and withdraw its forces from their territories. These decisions are a matter of public record and the South African Government is fully aware of them. Yet South Africa continues, in a blind rage against the neighbouring independent African countries, to attack their territories, killing, as they did in this case, innocent men, defenceless women and children, destroying, as always, property and livestock, crippling strategic installations and cutting off communications by destroying bridges and telecommunication lines.

197. As recently as April, Zambia brought a similar complaint to this body. The catalogue of the crimes the South Africans have committed on Zambian soil were identical to the crimes they have committed and continue to commit within the territory of Angola. In that debate, South Africa was strongly condemned for aggression against Zambia.

198. My delegation would like to observe that South African aggression against Angola and Zambia follows a pattern directly related to the search for solutions to the problems in the area. Representatives around this table will recall that in May 1978, during the so-called proximity talks on the future of Namibia, South Africa unleashed a wanton attack on Assinga, in Angola. The attack brought home the true nature of the South African intentions in those talks, in which it was a principal party. At that time, South Africa has announced its widely reported acceptance of the Western plan that formed the basis for those negotiations. Early this year, the Secretary-General sent a team to southern Africa to consult Governments in the area on the modalities of the implementation of the demilitarized-zone component of the Western plan. On their way to the area, the United Nations representatives were met with a series of South African bombings, as South Africa was then engaged in an invasion of the territory of Zambia. Today, almost before the ink could dry on the Secretary-General's reply [*ibid.*] to the South African letter seeking clarifications on the demilitarized zone [S/13935], the South African armed forces are boasting about their invasion of Angola, in which they have killed more than 370 men, women and children, destroyed property and crippled strategic installations.

199. It is evident, therefore, that, whenever South Africa is faced with a reasonable proposal based on international law and supported by the entire international community, its response has invariably been to resort to armed invasions of its independent African neighbours. The inevitable conclusion to be drawn from the pattern of events my delegation has just outlined is that the South African Government finds it very difficult to reason with the international community and that, whenever it fails to wrestle with the tasks before it, it takes out its frustrations on its neighbours. That is the cruel punishment that Angola and Zambia in particular have had to endure. It would be remiss of my delegation if it did not add that they are, indeed they must be, taking this punishment on behalf of the international community. What is the international community prepared to do in retribution? Does South Africa, a renegade régime condemned for its evils against humanity, have no one to account to?

200. Western countries continue to sell destructive arms to South Africa, which the latter in turn uses in its invasion of neighbouring independent African countries. Western Powers do so even as they admit to us that it is illegal to sell arms to South Africa. Security Council resolution 418 (1977) outlawed sales of arms to South Africa, and those countries among us which engaged in such trade with South Africa undertook to stop it.

201. The Council must take measures to see to it that resolution 418 (1977) is respected and that South Africa is denied the military hardware that it now misuses at the expense of independent African coun-

tries. Western countries, in particular, must exert fresh efforts to stop the flow of arms and military technology to South Africa. Only effective action by the Western Powers will give meaning to our work here in the United Nations and lend credibility to the pious declarations of concern that we in southern Africa and the oppressed peoples in South Africa and in Namibia, in particular, have heard so much about.

202. The Government and people of Angola, for their part, have demonstrated their adherence to international principles and law. They have demonstrated their courage and determination to gain their independence from colonial rule and to retain that independence in the face of tremendous challenges. They have striven to normalize their relations with the neighbouring countries, and in a mere five-year period have succeeded in gaining the confidence of the international community.

203. In the search for a solution of the problem of the illegal South African occupation of Namibia, Angola has taken courageous initiatives and has proposed the establishment of a demilitarized zone between its territory and that of Namibia. The demilitarized zone concept was proposed by Angola in direct response to South African concerns. All parties concerned have recognized that concept as an eminently pertinent, reasonable and responsible approach to the problems raised. The co-operative and innovative attitude of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola must be reinforced and encouraged by all of us who believe in the rule of law and reason. The international community, acting through the Council, should be seen not to be failing in its duty to safeguard the principles and tenets that mankind throughout the ages has valued.

204. In conclusion, the people of Angola have the right to demand retribution for the evil that South Africa has frequently and without reasonable cause visited upon their country. They have the right to defend their territory against wanton and unprovoked invasions. This right is enshrined in international law and in the Charter, of which the Council is the guardian.

205. My delegation strongly condemns the Government of South Africa for its acts of aggression against the sister front-line State of Angola and demands that it withdraw forthwith and unconditionally all its forces now in Angola.

206. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 26 June from the representatives of Niger, Tunisia and Zambia [S/14025], which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that during its consideration of the item entitled "Complaint by Angola against South Africa" the Security Council extend an invitation, under rule 39 of its provisional

rules of procedure, to Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab, Permanent Observer for the South West Africa People's Organization to the United Nations''.

Unless I hear an objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to this request.

It was so decided.

207. The PRESIDENT: I invite Mr. Gurirab to take a place at the Council table to make his statement.

208. Mr. GURIRAB: Mr. President, I am most grateful to you and to the other members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to address you during this debate. It is a personal privilege for me and an honour for SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people and, indeed, an honour for the Namibian people.

209. The Security Council, charged by the Charter with the critical questions of war and peace and the maintenance of security in the world, has met once again to debate racist South Africa's violations of international law and the Charter, of which *apartheid* South Africa is a co-author, one of its representatives having—ironically—served as one of the original Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly.

210. For the umpteenth time, the Council has before it a complaint by an African front-line State charging armed invasion of its sovereign national territory and the commission of massive acts of aggression, entailing a tragic loss of human lives and wanton destruction of property at the hands of the Fascist military forces of the racist junta of Pretoria operating from Namibia, which it continues to occupy illegally in open defiance of the United Nations, which is the legal authority over Namibia.

211. We listened attentively to the serious and compelling statement of the representative of Angola at the beginning of this debate. We were moved by his eloquence, but more than that we were traumatized by the grim facts and figures of the explosive situation created in his country by the latest massive unprovoked act of aggression against and armed invasion into the People's Republic of Angola.

212. We are compelled by the gravity of the situation thus created and by its serious implications to make our voice heard in the Council. The southern African region is at a critical stage. The members of the Council are fully aware of repeated pleas in this body by representatives of the front-line countries recording the repeated wanton acts of aggression, destruction and loss of lives in Angola and in Zambia, in particular. We know that the people of South Africa, no less than the peoples of Angola and Zambia, are suffering at the hands of the racists who are supported and abetted by powerful imperialist forces in the Western world. We are convinced that, despite these provo-

cations, despite these armed attacks, they—with the support of the rest of Africa, with the support of the non-aligned movement and of all progressive mankind—will persevere in the struggle. We are convinced that the struggle will be intensified, and that final victory in southern Africa is certain.

213. We are heartened by the sufferings and sacrifices that the people of Angola and Zambia endure on our behalf in order to help us to resist the illegal colonial occupation of our country. We express once again on this occasion our heartfelt grief and condolences to the MPLA-Workers' Party, to the Government and to the fraternal people of Angola in their sad hour of national emergency and tragedy. They are shedding their blood and undergoing daily hardships as a result of provocations and attacks. SWAPO will never forget what they are doing for us. The future generations of Namibia, of free and independent Namibia, will not forget their suffering and sacrifices.

214. We are dealing with a small group of die-hard racists who are desperate and losing their senses. They have chosen to be on a collision course with history. They shoot and kill small schoolchildren in the townships and cities of South Africa. They are using brutal military occupation as an instrument of persuasion, and they are daily killing and torturing Namibian patriots throughout the country. To them, good-neighbourliness means repeated armed invasions and acts of aggression against independent front-line African countries. Their co-operation with the United Nations on, for example, the question of Namibia, is characterized by persistent defiance, non-compliance and rejection of the authority of the Organization over Namibia.

215. For more than three years, protracted efforts have been made to promote Namibia's independence through the holding of free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. Security Council resolution 435 (1978), however, remains in limbo. Its continued viability as a basis for settlement is becoming increasingly doubtful. South Africa has been and remains the sole obstacle.

216. Less than a week ago, on 20 June, the Secretary-General sent yet another conciliatory letter to the Pretoria racists so as to enable them to accept speedy implementation of the United Nations plan on Namibia. The fact that the Council is meeting at the instance and on a complaint of Angola is an indication of South Africa's real intentions in Namibia. It is an indication that South Africa is not ready, is not willing, is not prepared to implement the United Nations plan.

217. It is most significant to note that the latest aggression is taking place at a time when OAU is in session at Freetown, Sierra Leone—a continental body of sovereign independent African States whose co-operation with and support for United Nations efforts to superintend Namibia and bring it to genuine

independence is crucial and essential. Why did Botha and his henchmen choose this time to remind us of their true intentions? What conclusions are the African leaders supposed to draw from the current situation created in Angola? Is it not the same racists who are expected to co-operate with the front-line States in resolving the colonial conflict in Namibia? How is that possible? If the Boers believe that they can threaten or attack SWAPO and make it submit, they are seriously mistaken. The struggle, which is our patriotic duty and commitment in Namibia, will continue until final victory. We are convinced that Angola's support for SWAPO and the Namibian people will remain unswerving. We are pleased and proud of Africa's determination and the support and material assistance coming from the world's progressive anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-racist, anti-Zionist and anti-capitalist forces.

218. The resolution to be adopted at the end of this debate may, like the previous ones, be nothing more than a mere show of solidarity, a post-mortem reaffirmation of the lofty ideals of the United Nations. Peace and security are seriously threatened in southern Africa. Chapter VII of the Charter enjoins this Council to act, and it is action that the gallant people of the People's Republic of Angola look for as they listen to the deliberations of this Council. They expect action. No reaffirmation, no gestures of solidarity will suffice to fight against brigades, battalions, armoured cars and the rest.

219. Therefore, in conclusion, may we once again appeal to the Council to assist the front-line countries, which are front-line countries not only in terms of OAU; they are front-line countries also because they are members of the non-aligned movement, and, most importantly, because they are helping the United Nations to realize its ideals, to assist the people of Namibia and enable them to realize their right to self-determination and independence. Therefore the Council should do more than merely condemn, express solidarity and reaffirm principles.

220. Mr. MUTUKWA (Zambia): I should like to introduce the draft resolution in document S/14024. I am speaking on behalf of the seven sponsors of this draft resolution: Bangladesh, Jamaica, Mexico, the Niger, the Philippines, Tunisia and my own country, Zambia.

221. After what has been said in this marathon debate there is very little one can add, except to indicate that this particular draft resolution is intended to go at least some way in responding to the grave situation we face following the aggression by the racist régime of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. One could have wished to have stronger measures adopted at this time, but consultations have indicated that there is need to present what we have been able to achieve so far.

222. The draft resolution now before the Council is based on several previous positions and it relies on some language used in previous resolutions, such as resolution 418 (1977), which was adopted unanimously by the Council. It is our hope that no delegation will find any difficulty in going along with a number of positions that have been accepted previously.

223. It is on the basis of a clear assessment and the consultations undertaken that we commend the draft resolution for adoption by the Council at a time to be determined by the President.

The meeting rose at 9.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹ A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 92.

² *Ibid.*, para. 78.