

UNITED NATIONS



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR

**2169<sup>th</sup>**

MEETING: 1 NOVEMBER 1979

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#### NOTE

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

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

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

## 2169th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 1 November 1979, at 4.30 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Sergio PALACIOS de VIZZIO (Bolivia).

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

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2169/Rev.1)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint by Angola against South Africa:  
Letter dated 31 October 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13595)

*The meeting was called to order at 4.40 p.m.*

### Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from Spanish*): As I assume the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November, I have the honour, on behalf of the members of the Council, of paying a tribute to my predecessor, Mr. Khwaja Mohammed Kaiser, Permanent Representative of Bangladesh. In fulfilling his duties as President of the Council, Ambassador Kaiser earned our deep appreciation for his diplomatic talents and the tact and skill with which he conducted the work of the Council.

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

- Complaint by Angola against South Africa:  
Letter dated 31 October 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13595)

2. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola, Brazil, Cuba and Liberia 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; Mr. Corrêa da*

*Costa (Brazil), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba) and Mr. Tubman (Liberia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

3. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Council is meeting today in response to a request from the Permanent Representative of Angola contained in document S/13595. Members have before them also document S/13599, containing the text of a note verbale dated 31 October from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the Secretary-General.

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

5. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of November.

6. Why was the United Nations created? Why was the Security Council established? Why are Council resolutions supposed to be mandatory? Why does the international community gather here year after year? Why? To provide a forum for diplomats? To provide an opportunity for politicians eager to rise in domestic politics? To provide the occasion for speeches intended for home consumption? No, it was not for this that the United Nations was created. It was formed so that our hopes, our wants, our needs, even our follies and our wars could all find a forum for debate, dialogue and eventual resolution.

7. But what should I, as Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations, tell the mother of a ten-year-old child whose corpse she holds in her arms? What should I tell the countless victims of the innumerable South African attacks?

8. I come here with a heart full of bitterness and a mind full of rage: bitterness at the seeming or deliberate impotence of the international community to prevent the wholesale and brutal slaughter of my people and the violation of the territorial integrity of my country; rage at the regular attacks carried out by the racist South African vandals, carried out with impunity, carried out with total disregard for the opinions of this august body, carried out without thought to the various resolutions of the Council.

9. Why is the racist butcher régime of South Africa allowed to get away, literally, with murder? Why does the Fascist minority Government run by Botha blithely disregard the norms of international law and the Charter of the United Nations? What makes the butchers and vandals of Pretoria so confident not only that they will not be con-

victed by this court, not only that they will be acquitted by this jury, but that they will be exonerated? What do they know that we do not know? Do they know that even after the most flagrant attack on Angolan sovereignty, in the first few days after our independence in November 1975, even after the most brutal massacres, such as that at Cassinga in May 1978, even after the massive aerial and ground shelling and bombardment of our territory and our people—even after all these invasions and acts of aggression, they will be allowed to get away with nothing more than a gentle slap on the wrist in the form of a mild resolution adopted by the Security Council and thereafter consigned to oblivion in the archives of the United Nations?

10. But the people of Angola will not relegate the bodies of our best and bravest to obscurity. Their names will be written in blood on our rolls of honour, to act as a reminder and as encouragement to the Angolan nation to continue to resist racism, imperialism and colonialism so long as the last racist, the last imperialist, the last *colon* is alive.

11. My complaint before the Council is not new; nor is the story of the Angolan struggle to bring liberation to southern Africa. Ever since the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations on 1 December 1976, Angola has raised its voice about every instance of imperialist aggression in the third world. Guided by the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party, the Angolan nation has considered all anti-imperialist and anti-racist struggles to be an extension of their own revolution. That is why the racist minority junta at Pretoria considers the People's Republic of Angola such a threat to its *apartheid* existence. It has quite correctly identified Angola as one of the spearheads of change in the vast ocean of imperialism that southern Africa once was. And it has further sensed that we Angolans consider liberation and revolutionary change indivisible: we shall none of us be free until all of us are free.

12. The South African attacks in the past few days against Angola are nothing new. We have long been subjected to these attacks—indeed since 1975. However, the extent of these armed attacks and the damage they have inflicted necessitated my requesting an urgent meeting of the Security Council.

13. In this latest series of armed attacks, 19 Puma helicopters landed racist South African troops in Angola. A massive airborne and ground-troop assault was launched on 28 October on the southern provincial towns of Porto Alexandre, Moçâmedes and Lubango, which left 18 civilians and two soldiers of FAPLA [*Popular Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola*] dead. The South African armed forces aimed at the destruction of vital economic sites at Leba, where they attacked and destroyed railroad tracks, blockading others at Moçâmedes. The tunnel leading to railways at Leba, four bridges, five automobiles and one bus in the Moçâmedes area were destroyed. At Porto Alexandre, 11 Puma helicopters landed close to 150 soldiers of South African special troops, who carried out acts of sabotage, blockading main highways and subjecting the unarmed population to criminal acts of intimidation. Railway tracks adjoining Lubango, Covango and Tongo were also destroyed, and mines were planted in highways through Lubango, Jamba and Tchamutete.

14. The timing of this attack further confirms the use of the Cassinga tactics by the racist imperialist armed forces of South Africa. Whenever the international community has appeared to be close to a negotiated settlement of the issue of the decolonization of Namibia, South Africa has staged a massive armed attack against Angola to try to sabotage the process of settlement. Prior to his untimely and unfortunate death, our beloved leader, President Agostinho Neto, the founder of our nation, outlined a series of proposals designed to break the deadlock on the Namibian issue. The international community hailed these proposals and set to work on their further clarification and eventual implementation; our new leader, President José Eduardo dos Santos, has reaffirmed Angola's commitment to these proposals.

15. Caught in a vice of its own racist imperialist contradictions, South Africa has resorted once more to the use of massive military force to subvert any progress on the Namibian question. The Pretoria junta hopes to buy more time to establish a few more faits accomplis inside the occupied Territory of Namibia in order more firmly to establish the puppet group that they brought to power last year in bogus elections. In this manner, South Africa hopes to implement its scheme to rule over a constellation of subservient States of which Pretoria would be the kingpin, controlling defence and foreign affairs. A pliant Assembly in Namibia and another at Salisbury are vital to this design. This is why Botha declared that South Africa would be prepared to intervene militarily even in Zimbabwe.

16. On 27 July this year the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council information compiled by my Government on the human casualties and material and other damage resulting from repeated acts of aggression by South Africa against the territorial integrity of Angola from 27 March 1976 to 11 June 1979 [S/13473]. In fact, from November 1975 to the present the racist South African armed forces have maintained constant military pressure on our sovereign border, characterized by violations and air bombing, landing of troops by helicopter, border provocations, infantry attacks supported by armoured car units, artillery shelling and the mining of agricultural fields, bridges and highways, in addition to the looting of various kinds of equipment and means of production. The loss of human lives, the death of Angolan children, civilians and refugees and of our brave FAPLA soldiers, cannot be measured in statistics. Our losses in financial terms alone total approximately \$393 million. In fact, the South African reaction to Security Council meetings on the present issue has been most explicit and unequivocal. For example, on 28 March 1979 the Council adopted resolution 447 (1979). On 29 March two South African Mirage-III aircraft bombed Angolan territory with napalm bombs.

17. According to the South African White Paper on defence released in March 1979, Pretoria's defence strategy is to prepare for total war—yes, for total war—against the people and territory of Angola, against the people of Namibia and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the liberation movement, against the possibility of majority rule in Zimbabwe and the victory of the Patriotic Front: in short, against black Africa and African plans for the liberation of our entire continent.

18. South Africa's racist imperialist actions are predicated on its diplomatic, political, military and economic ties with the Western Powers. Without the latter's active participation and assistance, South Africa's minority régime and *apartheid* structure could not survive, let alone be militarily powerful enough to attack the free and sovereign States surrounding it. On every appropriate occasion my delegation has presented evidence to the international community on the economic ties between South Africa and the industrialized Western countries and how those economic links allow South Africa to perpetuate the inhuman *apartheid* system, deny to its majority inhabitants their human and national rights and expand its military activities beyond its borders. The participation of foreign economic interests in the *apartheid* system in South Africa and in Namibia and the direct connexion of those economic interests and activities with the denial of human rights in South Africa and Namibia have been amply documented.

19. South Africa's nuclear capability is no secret. It is immaterial whether the nuclear explosion of last week was by South Africa or by some other State. What is undeniable is that South Africa does have the nuclear capability and has acquired it from the West. There is evidence of Western collaboration, specifically with the United States, the United Kingdom, France, West Germany, Belgium and Israel, in the following ways: the training of, and exchanges with, South African scientists involved in the nuclear sector, and the granting of visas to them; the conclusion of contracts and agreements concerning uranium extraction and processing in South Africa; the importing of South African and/or Namibian uranium; the reprocessing of South Africa's nuclear fuel, and particularly the provision of plutonium for it; the provision of financial, economic and other forms of support for South Africa's nuclear, ancillary and related industries; the transfer of technology and the provision of equipment and financial support for South Africa's uranium enrichment programme, including the separation of isotopes. In fact, the Seminar held in London in February 1979<sup>1</sup> concluded that

"In view of the nature and record of the *apartheid* régime, no international or bilateral safeguards, including the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguard system and the system of control of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons . . . are adequate." [See S/13157, para. 203, point 10.]

20. I should like at this point to elaborate a little on South Africa's nuclear activities. Its main such facility is at Pelindaba, which contains various plants, in addition to the nuclear power station under construction at Duynefontein.

21. South Africa has two nuclear reactors: Safari-I, a 20-megawatt unit which utilizes highly enriched uranium, more than 90 per cent U-235, and which has been in operation since 1965, and Pelindaba Zero, which went critical in 1967. The first nuclear reactor was provided by the United States; the second was manufactured in South Africa. South Africa has a pilot uranium hexafluoride plant as well as a pilot uranium enrichment plant. At the latter, South Africa developed its own application of the jet-nozzle technique

<sup>1</sup> United Nations Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.

for the enrichment of uranium perfected by a West German scientist, Mr. Erwin W. Becker, at the nuclear research centre of the Federal Republic of Germany located at Karlsruhe. At Koeberg in Duynefontein in the Western Cape a 2,000-megawatt power station is under construction, to be completed by 1984—a sinister date. This \$2 billion project consists of two 1,000-megawatt nuclear-power reactors which are being built by a French consortium, FRAMATOME.

22. South Africa's uranium resources, including those illegally exploited in Namibia, not only feed Pretoria's engines but also are a vital link in its ties to the West. South Africa already has available nuclear delivery systems in the form of aircraft and short-range missiles and rockets which can cover substantial portions of southern Africa. Already in 1977 it was clear that South Africa had constructed a nuclear explosion test facility in the Kalahari Desert.

23. None of the foregoing would have been possible without the substantial collaboration of the West, although this was disguised as "peaceful" development of nuclear power. How does one explain "peaceful" development to the victims of a nuclear attack?

24. The credibility of those countries which are actively involved in the search for a negotiated settlement in southern Africa is rendered suspect by the existence of this nuclear collaboration. This is also one explanation of the inordinate attention given to the nuclear plans of such countries as Brazil and Pakistan, while disapproval of the rapid nuclear build-up in South Africa has been muted.

25. I have devoted all this time to South Africa's nuclear threat to Africa because Pretoria's nuclear capability will play an increasingly major role in its efforts to stave off change, to protect its *apartheid* system and minority rule, to threaten sovereign States and genuine liberation movements and prevent them from dismantling the racist and imperialist structure of the Broederbond and the Botha régime.

26. In addition to the military and political clout that its nuclear power gives it, South Africa gains a number of tactical and strategic options in its war against independent neighbouring States and liberation movements. For example, as part of its "forward defence" military strategy, South Africa is poised to deploy tactical nuclear weapons of certain varieties. Further, the more South Africa feels engulfed and threatened by the tide of liberation and change sweeping southern Africa the more it will be tempted to use a nuclear response.

27. This hydra-headed monster has to be effectively combated. We have the means, the tools and even the political will of the majority of the Security Council's members. However, according to the rules of the game, we need a unanimous vote, a mandatory resolution without abstentions, without a veto, that will force South Africa to abandon its military adventurism and acts of aggression in southern Africa. The Council must call for total sanctions against Pretoria and we must have an effective mechanism which will monitor the application and implementation of those sanctions.

28. I speak in sorrow and in anger—sorrow for the thousands who suffer under the *apartheid* system and who die in racist attacks, sorrow for the sabotage of the national reconstruction activities of our young Republic, sorrow for the civilian refugees massacred in camps and schoolrooms, and anger at the tacit permission enjoyed by South Africa, by default or otherwise, to pursue its imperialist and racist policies, anger at Western connivance in South Africa's adventurism, with no regard for the movements and causes which are Africa's own, and anger over the annual dividends and profit sheets which appear to dictate so much of the West's policies.

29. Mr. President, through you I should like to tell the Western collaborators of South Africa that they are sadly out of touch with Africa. If and when any of the third-world continents explodes into war, annual dividends will not save the Western transnational corporations; in fact South Africa will not be able to save its Western friends from the holocaust that will ensue. The tragedy is that neither you nor I, neither we nor they, will survive.

30. To prevent that Armageddon, we have to take effective action now, in the form of a resolution asking for total sanctions, as envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter. Pretoria's policies and actions are a threat not to southern Africa alone but to the entire continent and hence to the international community. Such a resolution may be an answer, partial and perhaps not entirely satisfactory, to those hundreds of bereaved mothers and those thousands of newly-orphaned whom my Government must face in Angola. That may also be an answer that the movement of non-aligned countries seeks in its attempt to solve global and regional issues; it may be an answer that the Organization of African Unity seeks as it faces imperialist, racist and neo-colonialist activity in its continent; and it may be an answer to the third world, of which both you and I are members, Mr. President, as it faces situations imposed on it by Western economic and military imperialism.

31. I bring my country's complaint before the Security Council, but we are not part of the problem; we are part of the solution of the issues that plague southern Africa.

32. Finally, if I may quote Burke, "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing"—and we are all of us good men, I hope. Until final victory—and may it not be a final nuclear holocaust unleashed by South Africa—a *luta continua*.

33. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Liberia, who wishes to be allowed to speak on behalf of the current President of the Organization of African Unity. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

34. Mr. TUBMAN (Liberia): Mr. President, my delegation would like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. It is most appropriate that your country, a member of the non-aligned movement with which Africa is so closely identified, should be presiding over the deliberations of the Council at this time when Angola and, indeed, all members of the Organization of African Unity are approaching the Council

once again concerning South Africa's aggression against Angola. We are confident that, under your leadership and through your wisdom, justice will prevail in the outcome of our deliberations and will enable positive actions to be taken.

35. Africa appreciates the speed with which the Council has moved in order to be able to hold this meeting this afternoon. If there were any who doubted Africa's and the third world's faith and trust in the United Nations in general and in the Security Council in particular, the recent and still unfinished elections in the General Assembly to fill a seat on the Council show clearly that, for the third world, the moral and legal authority of this great Organization remains as high and as important as ever.

36. The Security Council is the most prestigious and authoritative of the organs of the United Nations, entrusted as it is by the Charter with the authority to take mandatory decisions. But our esteem for the Council derives not only from the binding character of its authority but also from the moral and ethical foundations on which its decisions must rest. Nothing less than the highest morality can give to this or any other body the authority to determine a question so grave as whether a breach of or threat to the peace of the world has occurred. Because we respect the Security Council so much, we would be the first to say and agree that it is not to be approached lightly or upon the slightest disturbance or provocation.

37. I am speaking in this manner because, in the course of this year alone, Angola has more than once been compelled to lodge grave complaints against South Africa before the Council regarding flagrant armed attacks against its territory and the barbaric killing of scores of defenceless innocent Angolan citizens. Those complaints, let me stress, are not prompted by separate and isolated occurrences; they are caused by continuing outrages by South Africa against not only Angola and other front-line States but all the independent States of Africa. Only last month, for the first time, one of Angola's provincial capitals was savagely bombed and many people were killed; and now, just four days ago, according to reports from Angola, about 19 helicopters landed South African troops on Angolan soil and a massive assault by airborne and ground troops was launched in the southern provincial towns of Porto Alexandre, Moçâmedes and Lubango. This left 18 civilians and two soldiers of FAPLA dead. South African forces destroyed railroad tracks and blockaded other tracks in the region. They destroyed the tunnel leading to the railways at Leba, four bridges, five automobiles and one bus. At Porto Alexandre the South African troops carried out acts of sabotage, blockading main highways and subjecting the unarmed civilian population to criminal acts of intimidation. Numerous other acts of vandalism and destruction were carried out.

38. The serious nature of those attacks derives not only from the savagery and suddenness with which they were carried out, or from the fact that they have been repeated and intensified; those acts are particularly serious and of grave concern to Africa because their timing indicates that they are aimed at intimidating not only the brave Angolan people but also the Governments of all the front-line States,

so as unjustly to intensify the pressure upon the Patriotic Front negotiators at the constitutional talks in London and upon the leaders of SWAPO in the talks—which are stalemated, though not through any action of theirs—that form part of the ongoing attempts to implement the United Nations plan for the peaceful transition of Namibia to independence.

39. But South Africa's acts of savagery will not intimidate the freedom fighters in southern Africa or cause them to surrender; nor will those acts oblige the front-line States to abandon the freedom fighters. Africa, for its part, will stand united in the struggle for the total liberation of southern Africa, and we appeal to all nations to support the causes of right and justice which are at stake in that unhappy portion of our continent today, as never before. We call upon those who are aiding South Africa to murder innocent Africans to listen to their conscience while there is still time.

40. Finally, we call upon the Security Council to discharge its duty under the Charter and to history by taking decisive actions, including actions provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter, to end once and for all the growing and serious threats which the *apartheid* régime continues to pose to the peace of southern Africa, the African continent and the entire international community.

41. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Cuba, who will be speaking as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

42. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all, I wish to present to you our compliments as you assume the presidency of the Security Council. May I thank also you and the other members of the Council for allowing me to speak in my capacity as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries.

43. This is not the first time that the Council has had to take up a complaint by an African country regarding military aggression by the racist Government of South Africa. Over the last few years we have seen how the South African and Rhodesian racists, like thieves in the night, have stepped up their incursions into the front-line countries, and in particular into Angola, Mozambique and Zambia. Not so very long ago, the plenary meeting of Permanent Representatives of the non-aligned countries to the United Nations unequivocally condemned the cunning attack of the South African and Rhodesian troops against Zambia. Today the representative of the People's Republic of Angola has summoned us as a matter of urgency to consider the complaint of his Government regarding the new violation of Angola's territorial integrity by the Fascist army of Pretoria.

44. According to news from the international agencies, South African troops, which had been transported by helicopter, invaded the Angolan provincial towns of Moçâmedes, Porto Alexandre and Lubango on 28 October, causing serious loss of life and material damage. They destroyed four bridges and cut off communications with the

rest of the country. We do not know exactly the extent of the damage to the homeland of President Agostinho Neto—of undying memory—nor do we know for a fact whether the South African bandits have withdrawn from the territory of that fraternal country. But there can be no doubt about how these international criminals were received: they were met with determined and heroic resistance.

45. It is now common knowledge that the southern African racist régimes are surviving thanks solely to the economic, financial, military, diplomatic, technological and other forms of support given them by certain Western Powers. And the latter in turn are benefiting from the exploitation by the white minority régimes at Salisbury and Pretoria of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa itself. The entire strategy is aimed at maintaining imperialist and neo-colonialist dominion over the States of southern Africa and the territories that they illegally occupy, against the will of the international community and the expressed decision of their inhabitants.

46. It is impossible not to be suspicious at the coincidence of this latest aggression against Zambia and Angola, and holding of negotiations in London on Zimbabwe and the forthcoming consultations on the so-called United Nations plan for Namibia. That coincidence should come as no surprise to us. Whenever there seems to be the possibility of a peaceful negotiated settlement of the questions of Zimbabwe and Namibia, the racist régimes and their allies find a way of torpedoing that possibility, managing in one way or another to make it impossible for the people in those countries to exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

47. With a rapacity worthy of a Hitler, Vorster, Smith and company have sucked the blood of the front-line countries with impunity, but those countries, heedless of the odds against them and willing to make any sacrifice, have never hesitated to offer asylum in their countries to the refugees from Namibia and Zimbabwe and material and political assistance to the fighters of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front in their just struggle against colonial oppression and *apartheid*.

48. One cannot be misled. This new, reprehensible and cowardly attack by South Africa against Angola is no isolated event with the sole object of shedding innocent blood and destroying the property so selflessly created by the Angolan people. It is part and parcel of an over-all plan aimed at preventing the liberation of Namibia, Zimbabwe and the African people of South Africa and hindering the independence of Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Botswana and Zambia, in order to guarantee the racist and neo-colonial domination of South Africa in the southern part of the continent.

49. Sinister proof of this policy was provided by the report regarding the possible explosion by South Africa of a nuclear device towards the end of last September. Whether it is true or not—and we are not convinced by the denials of Pretoria and its imperialist allies—it is obvious to everyone that the Pretoria régime, with the assistance of well-known Western Powers and Israel, has acquired the necessary technological capability to produce nuclear weapons. That

in itself constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

50. The facts presented to the Council for its consideration cannot fail to arouse serious concern on the part of the international community. The members of the Council have a grave responsibility. Once again they must confront the naked truth of death and destruction caused by a Government whose racist policy and practices have been repeatedly condemned by the General Assembly and by the Council itself, without its being possible to implement the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter or to establish an effective *cordon sanitaire*, notwithstanding the demands of the international community. But it is possible for the Council to put an end to all the aggression, degrading treatment and various crimes perpetrated by the racist minorities of Salisbury and Pretoria against the peoples of Africa and, indeed, against every honourable human being.

51. The non-aligned countries, which represent the will of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the Organization, hope that the members of the Council will punish the perpetrators of this new crime against the People's Republic of Angola and will apply, strictly and justly, the legal instruments provided for in the Charter.

52. It is time to move from words to deeds. The very prestige and credibility of the United Nations are at stake.

53. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Brazil, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

54. Mr. CORRÊA da COSTA (Brazil): It is especially gratifying for me to address the Security Council under your presidency, Sir, as the representative of Bolivia, a sister nation with which my country has the closest relations. Your talents and well-known proficiency are the best guarantees of the success of the Council's business during the month of November.

55. The Security Council has been convened today to examine another complaint by an African State Member of the Organization concerning the armed aggression of another Member State, South Africa, whose policies of arrogant defiance of the Charter and total disregard for the Organization it is not necessary to recall.

56. It was with indignation that Brazil learned of the latest action carried out by the racist régime of Pretoria against a newly independent country, to which we feel closely attached by so many ties of an ethnic, historical and cultural nature. It would thus be impossible for us to remain silent while our Angolan brothers are being victimized by a brutal aggression perpetrated by a régime whose foundations run contrary to the Brazilian tradition of a multiracial society that takes pride in its African heritage.

57. We should be neither surprised nor dismayed by the latest of South Africa's act. It reflects, in our view, an additional and deliberate attempt to impose by military force South Africa's determination to perpetuate the present illegal occupation of Namibia, to disrupt all efforts to achieve independence for that Territory by negotiation, and

to intimidate the Angolan Government, whose people so gallantly and at the cost of immense sacrifice has sought to build its economy after centuries of colonial rule.

58. The news that reached us indicates an unprecedented military escalation of South Africa's armed forces, which have caused more destruction and the death of innocent people. According to the official reports, vital economic sites at Leba, Moçâmedes, Lubango, Covango and Tongo have suffered heavily from the consequences of this intrusion.

59. How much longer will the international community allow this situation to continue and permit the racist authorities of Pretoria to carry out a policy of defiance of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations? How much longer, in other words, is the Security Council prepared to condone aggression without resorting to coercive measures as provided for in Chapter VII and which, time and again, have been called for by the General Assembly?

60. The condoning of such acts of aggression by the United Nations, without the adoption of the options provided for in the Charter, will encourage the Pretoria régime to continue in its complete disregard of world public opinion, thus severely undermining the prestige and credibility of the United Nations. The paralysis of the Security Council, we have no doubt, will certainly aggravate the instability and insecurity that loom in that part of Africa and invite outside interference, adding an extremely dangerous threat to international peace and security.

61. Brazil wishes to add its voice to the voices of those who in the Security Council and elsewhere have espoused the need for new and decisive action beyond resolution 418 (1977), which has proved insufficient against South Africa.

62. It is all the more regrettable that this recent escalation may severely affect the results of the late President Agostinho Neto's final efforts to reach a negotiated independence for Namibia. Judging from these unfortunate events, one is led to believe that the South African Government is determined to thwart the incessant, repeated attempts made by the Secretary-General to implement a peaceful plan for the independence of that Territory.

63. To the delicate situation created by the constant acts of aggression committed by South Africa one should add a new fact which was recently made public and which, if confirmed, would corroborate the urgency of new steps to curb the dangerous policies of the Pretoria authorities. I refer to the prospective acquisition of a nuclear-weapon capability by South Africa which, in the opinion of my Government, would be a matter of the utmost concern.

64. The facts exposed by Ambassador de Figueiredo are clear and simply confirm what, over a number of years, has become a recognized pattern of behaviour by a country which has come to be regarded opprobriously by the world community.

65. The Brazilian people and Government wish to add their voice to the demand for the condemnation of South Africa for this unjustifiable act of aggression and for material compensation for the damage inflicted on Angola. We



are confident that the Security Council will respond positively to any initiative inspired by the need to provide Angola with the necessary assurances that the Council will live up to its responsibilities.

66. Before concluding, let me unequivocally pledge Brazil's solidarity with the Angolan people whose grief we share for the blood shed in the defence of their territorial integrity and independence.

67. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, permit me to congratulate you, Sir, a distinguished diplomat, on your assumption of the important responsibilities of President of the Security Council for November and express the hope that, under your skilful leadership, the Council will adopt effective decisions that will facilitate the strengthening of international peace and security. Permit me also to express my gratitude to the representative of Bangladesh, Ambassador Kaiser, for the successful performance of his duties as President of the Council last month.

68. The Security Council has met today to consider the question of the aggression of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. From the facts set forth here by the representative of Angola, as well as by other representatives, we can draw an entirely clear and definite conclusion: what we are faced with here is an unprovoked and naked act of aggression by the racist régime of Pretoria against a young independent State of Africa, Angola.

69. The history of the aggressive acts of South Africa against that country goes back a long way. During the period from 1976 to 1979, South African regular troops killed at least 570 Angolan citizens and wounded 594, most of whom were peasants. Furthermore, they killed 198 inhabitants of Zimbabwe and wounded 600, killed 612 Namibians and wounded 611. For the same period South Africa carried out 193 mining operations, 94 violations of air space, 21 armed incursions, 21 acts of frontier provocation, 7 artillery bombardments, 25 attacks by army detachments, 24 air raids and one major large-scale combined operation involving army and air force units. The total estimated value of the damage and losses inflicted on Angola for the period under consideration amounts to \$US 293,304,000.

70. As we know, the Security Council has repeatedly considered the question of South Africa's aggressive actions against Angola. In March of this year the Council adopted resolution 447 (1979), in which it categorically condemned the racist régime of South Africa for its premeditated, persistent and sustained armed invasions of the People's Republic of Angola, which constituted, as the resolution stated, "a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country as well as a serious threat to international peace and security". In that resolution the Council also called upon South Africa to "cease immediately its provocative armed invasions against the People's Republic of Angola and . . . respect forthwith the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country".

71. The current escalation of armed attacks against Angola is revealed by the fact that the aggressive actions

that have been undertaken have been of considerable scope, involving regular army detachments and broad use of various types of offensive military technology. There have been numerous human losses and casualties and a considerable amount of material damage has been inflicted.

72. In this attack on administrative centres in the south of Angola, the South African militarists used 19 military helicopters, various kinds of firearms and mines and about 200 parachutists, who killed 18 peaceful inhabitants and two soldiers of the Angolan army, destroyed and blew up peaceful targets—bridges, tunnels, railways, railway carriages, cars, buses—blocked the main motorways and mined them and terrified the defenceless population.

73. From the list of these facts it is abundantly clear that South Africa's aggression was carried out against peaceful targets and the civilian population, and not against military bases or detachments of the regular army.

74. There can be no doubt about the reasons for this act of aggression by the Pretoria racists against independent Angola. Whatever trumped-up arguments and pretexts the South African authorities might resort to in their attempt to cover up or to justify it, the true facts underlying their intrusion into Angola are quite obvious. Worried about the success of the national liberation movement in southern Africa, and this includes the activities of the movement in illegally occupied Namibia, the racist régime is resorting to the most criminal methods: armed aggression against neighbouring independent African States in an attempt to intimidate them, and to instil in them the idea that they will continue to be subjected to aggression by the racist State if they do not refrain from assisting the national liberation movements in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa itself.

75. By their constant armed attacks on Angola the Pretoria authorities hope to undermine the process of social and economic reform which is evolving so successfully in that country, so as to complicate its economic situation and shake the faith of the broad masses of the people in the possibility of the successful development of the country through the course of action they have chosen.

76. In this regard, it is worth while recalling that the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of South Africa, as reported by the press in African countries, has prepared a special plan of preventive action against independent African States, and in this regard is effecting major purchases of modern military technology in Western countries.

77. It is quite clear that the South African racists would not be able to carry out such an arrogant aggressive policy if they did not feel the support of the United States, Britain and other NATO countries behind them. This support has even been felt here in the Security Council. For this reason, and for this reason alone, the Council has hitherto been unable to adopt effective measures against the aggression of the South African racists.

78. The aggressive actions of South Africa against Angola and other African States represent a serious threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those countries and to peace and security in southern Africa, and are also aimed

at preserving the last bastions of colonialism and racism in that region.

79. The present act of aggression in Angola is a link, and a very important one, in the chain of actions which have recently been so actively undertaken in the most varied quarters to halt or slow down the process of the national liberation of the peoples of southern Africa, or at least to divert it into a channel which will suit the colonialist and imperialist forces. This course is manifested in the manoeuvres which are being undertaken with the idea of hindering the attainment by the people of Namibia of their genuine freedom and independence. These actions have also found expression in attempts to impose surrender plans on the national patriotic forces of the people of Zimbabwe.

80. The delegation of the Soviet Union reaffirms its unreversed support for the People's Republic of Angola in the struggle which it is waging against the encroachments by the racist régime on its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Soviet delegation vigorously condemns the armed actions of the racist régime of South Africa against Angola and believes that the time has come to implement paragraph 7 of resolution 447 (1979), which provides that the Council can

“determine the most effective sanctions in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter of the United Nations so as to ensure the cessation by South Africa of its acts of aggression against Angola and other front-line States”.

81. In this regard the delegation of the Soviet Union believes that the Security Council should not only condemn with the utmost vigour the actions of South Africa against a sovereign State Member of the Organization, namely Angola, but also provide for the adoption of effective and concrete measures under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to call a halt to the actions of the aggressor. As experience has shown, the Council has no other way of forcing South Africa to end its aggressive policy with regard to Angola and to respect the views of the international community.

82. Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA (Portugal) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, you are assuming the presidency of the Security Council at a difficult time in the course of Bolivian affairs. I should like to tell you that my delegation hopes that the Bolivian family will achieve reconciliation in friendship very soon.

83. I should also like to say that my delegation very much appreciates the way you conducted the brief consultations which preceded this formal meeting of the Council. We all know that in you we have a President who will certainly discharge successfully the weighty responsibilities of the Council. Please accept the sincere assurance of my delegation's co-operation.

[*The speaker continued in English.*]

84. I should like also to express my homage to the previous President of the Council, the representative of Bangladesh, for a presidency that for all of us was an example and, I would venture to add, also a relief.

85. My delegation may return in more detail to the subject under discussion at a later stage in this debate. We had no intention of speaking today, but when we heard from the representative of Angola of the most recent acts of aggression committed by South Africa against the territory of his country, those facts by themselves were enough to force us to express today to the Government and the people of Angola our solidarity and also our sorrow for the loss of life and all the suffering inflicted upon the innocent people of that country. Once again we are therefore bound to express our strong condemnation of those acts of violence against the people, the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of an African country to which we are united by strong bonds of mutual friendship and respect.

86. In this spirit, I should like to conclude these very brief remarks by stating that my delegation will not fail to co-operate with the other members of the Council in their attempt to formulate an appropriate response to these acts and to the problems of liberating the southern part of Africa from the racialism and colonialism which are at their origin.

87. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): I thank you very sincerely and gratefully for the kindness you showed me in your opening words, and for the honour you have done to my country. I thank also my colleagues around this table who have spoken in a similar vein. I deeply appreciate and cherish these kind gestures.

88. Mr. President, permit me to thank you as President of the Council, and to thank all my colleagues and the Secretary-General and his staff for the sincere and unstinted co-operation extended to me during my term as President.

*The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.*



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