

UNITED NATIONS



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SEVENTH YEAR

**2367<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 25 MAY 1982

NEW YORK

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## 2367th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 25 May 1982, at 4 p.m.

*President:* Mr. LING Qing (China).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Panama, Poland, Spain, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2367)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint by Seychelles:  
Report of the Security Council Commission of Inquiry established under resolution 496 (1981) (S/14905/Rev.1)

*The meeting was called to order at 5 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

#### Complaint by Seychelles:

**Report of the Security Council Commission of Inquiry established under resolution 496 (1981) (S/14905/Rev.1)**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [2359th, 2361st and 2365th meetings], I invite the representative of Seychelles to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Grenada, Honduras, Hungary, India, Kenya, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Sao Tome and Principe, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Hodoul (Seychelles) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Abada (Algeria), Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Roca (Argentina), Mr. Moseley (Barbados), Mr. Soglo (Benin), Mr. Mogwe (Botswana),*

*Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Mr. López del Amo (Cuba), Mr. Suja (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Lobo (Honduras), Mr. Rácz (Hungary), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Maina (Kenya), Mr. Srihirath (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Addabashi (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Zaki (Maldives), Mr. Traore (Mali), Mr. Gauci (Malta), Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius), Mr. Lobo (Mozambique), Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua), Mr. Naik (Pakistan), Mr. Cassandra (Sao Tome and Principe), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Rupia (United Republic of Tanzania), Mrs. Nguyen Ngoc Dung (Viet Nam) and Mr. Šilović (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bangladesh, Mongolia, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Swaziland and Zambia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sobhan (Bangladesh), Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Mr. Fafowora (Nigeria), Mr. De Silva (Sri Lanka), Mr. Malinga (Swaziland) and Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

3. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): Mr. President, since it is less than six hours since I extended my delegation's congratulations to you and to Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda of Zaire, I shall at this stage merely extend a very hearty welcome to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Seychelles, Mr. Jacques Hodoul.

4. The Council is meeting to consider the report of the Security Council Commission of Inquiry established under resolution 496 (1981). The specific context for the creation of that Commission was the dastardly act of aggression committed by a band of mercenaries against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Seychelles

on 25 November last. My delegation at once wishes to express its gratitude to the members of that Commission—its Chairman, Mr. Ozores Typaldos of Panama, Mr. Jeremy Craig of Ireland, and Mr. Katsumi Sezaki of Japan—for their report contained in document S/14905/Rev.1.

5. My delegation has carefully studied the report and, bearing in mind the serious constraints faced by the Commission, most particularly the unco-operative attitude of the South African authorities, as highlighted in that report, we feel that the Commission has performed creditably, fulfilling a substantial part of the mandate given it by the Council in resolution 496 (1981).

6. My delegation regrets, of course, that the Commission was unable to fulfil that part of its mandate regarding the origin, background and financing of the aggression committed against Seychelles. As was indicated in paragraph 282 of its report, the Commission was unable to reach, in its own words, "a definitive conclusion on the extent or level of South African knowledge or responsibility". The Commission is in no way to be blamed on this score, since it confronted certain obstacles from the South African side which frustrated it in its efforts to obtain a full picture in this regard.

7. Yet there is enough evidence of a significant South African role and complicity, at very high official levels, in the mercenary aggression against Seychelles. The Commission was able to substantiate that the preparations and planning for the mercenary attack took place in South Africa. Some of the mercenaries had previous military service in the South African armed forces, while a number of them were reservists in the South African defence forces to whom call-up papers had been issued. The mercenaries' weapons were tested by them in South Africa prior to their departure. One of the mercenary gang, Martin Dolinschek, revealed to the Commission that he was a serving member of the National Intelligence Service of South Africa. Moreover, as the trial of some of the perpetrators of the mercenary aggression proceeds in South Africa, an even clearer picture of South African complicity and high official involvement has begun to emerge.

8. It is in the light of that consideration and the Commission's admission of inability, because of South Africa's obstructionist attitude, to carry out its mandate fully that my delegation expresses its support for that recommendation of the Commission that it be authorized to furnish a supplementary report providing the Council with a more complete and comprehensive account of the background, origin and financing of the mercenary attack on Seychelles.

9. My delegation believes, without any doubt, that South Africa cannot escape blame for an act that originated on its territory. Moreover, past South

African behaviour towards neighbouring independent African States fortifies my delegation in its conviction of an official South African role. That outlaw régime has demonstrated total disregard for the norms and principles of international law and the demands of international opinion. Despite universal condemnation, it continues brutally to implement its inhuman *apartheid* policy. It defiantly continues in illegal occupation of Namibia. It invades at will the territory of neighbouring African States, wreaking incalculable destruction to life and property. Why then should the international community not believe that South Africa had a direct hand in the mercenary act of 25 November 1981?

10. Its own unco-operative attitude in refusing to have the Commission question members of the mercenary gang only adds to our suspicions about South Africa's role in this aggression. We call on those authorities to act responsibly by lending their co-operation to the Commission appointed by this Council when it continues its inquiry.

11. The phenomenon of mercenarism has been and continues to be a matter of growing concern to the international community. This most recent manifestation vindicates the concern so widely felt in the international community about this practice. My delegation reiterates its strong condemnation of the mercenary attack against Seychelles and restates its position of principle in opposition to the activity of mercenaries in general. Small States are particularly vulnerable to the machinations and violence of groups of mercenaries. Guyana therefore joins in supporting the Commission's recommendation that the ongoing work in the United Nations on the elaboration of an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries should be accelerated. As an active member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee charged with the early elaboration of that convention, my delegation pledges to redouble its efforts for the early and successful conclusion of that most important exercise, which will provide, for the first time, an international legal framework for dealing exclusively with and, it is to be hoped, eventually eliminating the repugnant phenomenon of mercenarism.

12. The Commission's investigation has shown that the mercenaries' attack resulted in considerable material damage to airport facilities and has had certain additional adverse consequences for the economy of Seychelles. Guyana whole-heartedly supports the recommendation by the Commission for financial, technical and material assistance to Seychelles. In particular, I wish to express our support for the idea of a voluntary fund, as proposed by the representative of France on Thursday, 20 May [2359th meeting, para. 64], and we pledge our fullest co-operation in this respect.

13. In general, my delegation would like to express its support for the thrust of the report of the Com-

mission of Inquiry and its recommendations. We would like to take this opportunity to reiterate our firm and unequivocal solidarity with the Government and people of the Republic of Seychelles as they confront South Africa's continuing threats to their national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

14. Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): First, I should like to welcome here Mr. Mogwe, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana and current Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and Mr. Jacques Hodoul, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Seychelles, a fraternal and friendly country, the entire progress of whose accession to independence we have followed with particular interest. We should especially like to thank Mr. Jacques Hodoul for his remarkable statement to the Council [2359th meeting].

15. I should next like to address my sincere congratulations to the Chairman and members of the Security Council Commission of Inquiry established under resolution 496 (1981) on the excellent work they accomplished, their methodical approach to the problems and the clear presentation of the report that they submitted to us.

16. Although the Commission's report as published in document S/14905/Rev.1 is an interim report, it already contains very important information whereby we can follow all these events and obtain quite a clear, albeit preliminary, idea about the reasons for which the Commission was established, namely: first, to investigate the origin, background and financing of the mercenary aggression against the Republic of Seychelles on 25 November 1981 and, secondly, to assess and evaluate economic damages.

17. In resolution 496 (1981), the Council condemned the mercenary aggression and the subsequent airplane hijacking and affirmed that the territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Seychelles must be respected.

18. My delegation would like here to reaffirm its full support of that condemnation, as well as its total solidarity with the people and Government of Seychelles during that painful trial.

19. The fact that during this second half of the twentieth century most of the activities of mercenaries for the purposes of political, economic and cultural destabilization are concentrated on our continent—against, in particular, such countries as Guinea, Sudan, Nigeria, Benin, Zaire, which was then called the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Seychelles and many others—has justified our resolve to secure from the international community and the United Nations the adoption of an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries and to put an end to the activities of

mercenaries, which should, we feel, constitute a crime against the peace and security of mankind.

20. When the General Assembly, on 4 December 1980, adopted resolution 35/48 relative to the drafting of that convention, a number of Member States seemed unconvinced of its usefulness. We venture to believe that the attack by mercenaries against the Republic of Seychelles, scarcely a year after the adoption of that resolution and at the very moment when the *Ad Hoc* Committee established by the United Nations was dealing with that problem, will have helped to allay any lingering doubts. It is obvious that the activities of mercenaries sap the very foundations of civilization, undermine relations of trust between nations and peoples and damage the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. It is for that reason that we have always believed and shall continue to believe that the activities of mercenaries must be regarded as a crime against the peace and security of mankind.

21. Therefore, the speedy adoption of an international convention would represent an important contribution to the progressive development of international law, in accordance with the spirit of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.<sup>1</sup>

22. The use of mercenaries to establish political, economic and cultural domination over other peoples and nations directly attacks the principles of national independence, sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the non-use of force in international relations, principles on the respect for which the peace and security of the world depend.

23. Since any threat to the peace in one region can imperil the security of the entire world—and I should like to emphasize here that Seychelles is in one of the world's most sensitive regions—it is essential that the international community assume collective responsibility for eliminating those activities that jeopardize international peace and security.

24. The delegation of Zaire shares the opinion that a State in which groups of mercenaries organize incursions into the territory of another State violates international law, just as does a State that uses mercenaries in armed attacks against another State.

25. Accordingly, the delegation of Zaire supports, on the one hand, the legitimate demands of the Government and people of Seychelles and, on the other, the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry.

26. My delegation unreservedly supports the establishment of a voluntary fund as well as material, technical and economic assistance to help the Republic of Seychelles repair the damage done its economy and, in particular, to assist it in rebuilding the airport,

as well as supporting the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee to co-ordinate and mobilize the fund's resources. On behalf of my delegation, I should like here to thank the representative of France who offered to play a part in this fund, as well as the representative of the United Kingdom, who offered help in rebuilding the destroyed airport.

27. Furthermore, notwithstanding the revelations of the mercenary Mike Hoare, revelations that shed new light on the planning, organization and preparation of the mercenaries' aggression against Seychelles, we believe that the Council should accede to the Commission's request, namely, that it be authorized to pursue its investigation and to present a complementary report containing any other data relevant to aspects of its mandate that could not be covered by the present report.

28. We also believe that the Council should request South Africa not to impede the work of the Commission, but rather to co-operate with it to establish the whole truth in this matter.

29. Before concluding, I should like to say how much I admire the Government and the people of Seychelles for having successfully repelled the aggressors and having defended with such resolve their territorial integrity and hard-won independence.

30. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Nicaragua. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

31. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like to express my thanks to you and to the other members of the Council for this opportunity to participate in the deliberations on the item before us.

32. The mercenary aggression against the sister people and Government of Seychelles not only was a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State but also constituted a serious threat to international peace and security, and for these reasons my Government cannot remain indifferent and silent.

33. We wish at the same time to express our appreciation to Mr. Ozores Typaldos of Panama, Mr. Craig of Ireland and Mr. Sezaki of Japan for their efforts made in compliance with its resolution 496 (1981), by which the Council decided to send a commission to the scene to investigate the mercenary aggression against the Republic of Seychelles.

34. It is clear from the report of the Commission that its efforts had the full assistance and co-operation of the Governments of Seychelles and Swaziland, which deserve praise for that.

35. It is our duty to denounce once again the now familiar scornful attitude shown by the Pretoria régime to the international community in refusing to co-operate with the Commission, thereby preventing it from completing its investigation and consequently impeding compliance with resolution 496 (1981). This attitude clearly shows that the South African racists were accomplices in the planning and financing of the invasion.

36. In this connection, Mike Hoare himself, the leader of the mercenary forces, stated in Johannesburg, as reported in *The New York Times* of 10 May, that "he was informed by the Deputy Director of the National Intelligence Service, N. J. Claasens, that the Cabinet had approved his plans to oust President France Albert René"; that "the operation was to be handled by Military Intelligence"; and that after a "bureaucratic obstacle was . . . overcome . . . he was provided with arms and offered a training area in the northern Transvaal." [*See S/15065, annex.*]

37. We must not forget that the racist régime in Pretoria has been receiving unconditional support from a permanent member of the Council, as happened with Israel in the Middle East, and that it feels supported in its acts of aggression and destabilization plans against the front-line States, Seychelles and the South West Africa People's Organization as it tries to perpetuate its reprehensible policy of *apartheid*. As long as it receives this support, South Africa will continue to defy the international community, threaten international peace and security and commit aggression against sister countries which wish only to determine their own destiny.

38. We believe it is necessary to respect the decisions and aspirations of the African peoples and of the rest of the world for the elimination of this crime against mankind, *apartheid*, for an independent and sovereign Namibia and for the ending of these aggressive policies against the front-line States.

39. Nicaragua wishes to state once again that it stands by its African brothers in their fight for their sovereign claims and in their struggle against South Africa and South Africa's attempt to continue plundering African resources.

40. There is something else which we find particularly significant and which should not be overlooked, because it is common practice not only in Africa but in Asia and in other continents. The leader of the mercenaries himself, Mike Hoare, said, according to *The New York Times* of 10 May,

"that he had met a representative from the Central Intelligence Agency in Pretoria and informed him of the coup plans. The United States was interested he asserted, because of 'the strategic value of the Seychelles'" [*ibid.*].

41. We can say that such actions constitute a common practice of the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] because we have had first-hand experience of this both in Central America generally and specifically in Nicaragua. Members of the Council know that such actions, both open and covert, have been engaged in against my country. In addition, Latin America has had bitter experience with regard to the CIA, which has left a deep impression on the Latin American peoples, especially those of Guatemala and Chile.

42. The constant threats and the possibility of aggression by mercenaries are a serious threat to the sovereignty of our countries. For this reason we fully support the statement of the Government of Seychelles and the recommendation of the Commission of Inquiry regarding an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries, and believe that the work on this matter should be speedily completed.

43. Nicaragua believes that the Council should condemn this new act of mercenary aggression, perpetrated and directed by South Africa, this time against the Republic of Seychelles. The violation of the territorial integrity, airspace, independence and sovereignty of that country constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations. The declarations of the mercenaries themselves regarding the planning of that aggression with the Pretoria régime and the facilities in the way of training areas, financing, and assistance with weapons given to the mercenaries make it essential that we condemn South Africa.

44. Similarly, my delegation considers the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry to be very appropriate, and we support them wholly, but we also believe that it is necessary that it present a more detailed report.

45. We also support the recommendation concerning financial, technical and material assistance to Seychelles to enable it to cope with the consequences of the aggression.

46. We support the suggestion of the Government of France regarding the creation of a special fund, to which, from today, and in spite of our difficulties, we pledge our support.

47. Nicaragua wishes to assure the Government and people of Seychelles of its complete and unconditional support and solidarity at this time and whenever it may need the militant support of our people and Government.

48. The blood shed by the heroes among that people in victoriously repulsing and defeating the mercenary aggression is a lesson for those who violate international law and continue to intervene in the internal affairs of States, engaging in all kinds of

destabilizing actions, including the use or threat of the use of force, endeavouring thereby to undermine the efforts that independent nations are making to build more just societies.

49. The people of Seychelles, by emerging victorious from this action, show that their determination to march towards their liberation is more powerful than any attempt to return to the past and exploitation. Seychelles is not, nor will it be, alone. The entire world stands with it. For our part, we reiterate to the people and Government of Seychelles that the People's Sandinist Revolution, in spite of the thousands of kilometres that separate us geographically, will always stand with them. Our peoples are marching with determination and united in a single body towards the future, consolidating the final liberation.

50. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Kenya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

51. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): I thank the Council for allowing me to make a statement. The Council is meeting to consider the report of the Security Council Commission of Inquiry established under resolution 496 (1981). I should like to thank the members of the Commission of Inquiry, and particularly its Chairman, Mr. Carlos Ozores Typaldos of Panama, for producing this report in such a short time, despite lack of co-operation on the part of South Africa.

52. We note that the Commission has recommended that it be authorized to furnish a supplementary report in due course. This appears reasonable, since further information could be obtained through the pending or incomplete court cases in Seychelles or in South Africa. In view of this, my delegation will regard this as an interim report and comment on it accordingly.

53. The report bears testimony to the events of 25 November 1981 and sheds some light on their planning. The events leading to the attack on the Republic of Seychelles have been carefully reconstructed. The identity and the motives of the mercenaries involved in this crime have been sufficiently established, both in the report and in the international press. There is sufficient evidence in the report to indicate that South Africa played a major role in the planning and execution of the aggression.

54. Testifying at the hijacking trial in South Africa, Mike Hoare revealed that the aggression was carried out with the help of South Africa. Preparation for the planning of the mercenary attack, including recruitment, took place in South Africa. The weapons used in the attack were obtained and tested in South Africa. An officer of the South African Intelligence Service was among the seven mercenaries captured by security forces in Seychelles following the mercenary attack.

55. The behaviour of South Africa after this infamous attack clearly indicated an attempt to cover up its involvement in the aggression. South Africa released 39 of the 44 mercenaries without charging them at first, or even disclosing their identities, after they had committed an act of piracy by hijacking an Air India aircraft to South Africa. The racist régime refused to co-operate with the Commission of Inquiry and did not allow the Commission to interview the mercenaries. This kind of behaviour by South Africa can be seen only as an attempt to conceal its involvement in the planning and execution of this aggression.

56. Since the Commission of Inquiry was not able to interview the mercenaries in South Africa, and in the light of the revelations coming from the trial of the mercenaries in South Africa, the report that we are now considering is clearly incomplete. A more comprehensive report should be prepared after all aspects of the attack are examined.

57. But while waiting for a complete report, we must respond to the call by the Commission of Inquiry for international assistance to the Republic of Seychelles to repair the enormous economic damage it has suffered as a result of the attack. The report contains an assessment and evaluation of economic damage sustained by the Republic of Seychelles. We strongly appeal to the international community to come to the aid of that peaceful country, which was subjected to a carefully planned aggression. We urge that an appropriate fund be set up to channel voluntary contributions from Member States.

58. We are painfully aware of the threat that mercenary activities pose to small independent States. We in Africa have witnessed the destructive activities of these mercenaries in various countries. African States have been the main targets of these mercenaries, whose breeding ground appears to be South Africa. It is for this reason that my delegation supports the recommendation of the Commission concerning the early conclusion of an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries. The attack on the Republic of Seychelles by a group of mercenaries emphasizes the need for the conclusion of such a convention.

59. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Mauritius. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

60. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity to make a statement.

61. For quite some time I have held the view that compliments to the President of the Council should be left to the members of the Council, except in special circumstances or on special occasions. For me this is indeed a special occasion. China, your great, proud and valiant country, was the first State to rec-

ognize the independence and sovereignty of Mauritius, the country that I have the honour to represent here, when it shed the yoke of colonialism on 12 March 1968. In fact, China did so even before the outgoing colonial Power. Therefore, I feel gratified to be participating in the deliberations of the Council when it is being presided over by an illustrious son of China.

62. To wish a mature diplomat of your well-established skill and stature, endowed with the proverbial Chinese wisdom, success during your present term of office as President of the Council would be presumptuous on my part. I take it for granted that you will steer the rocking ship safely to harbour, in spite of the storm raging during this month of May, a month that is normally symbolic of so many good omens.

63. This occasion is also special for me, Sir, since your immediate predecessor happened to be an enlightened son of Africa. I therefore pay a very special tribute to my beloved African brother, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda of Zaire, who faced the thorny problems before the Council squarely and dealt with them justly, calmly and with harmony during the delicate and difficult month of April. He was obviously guided in his task by the supreme architect of the universe.

64. I have studied the report of the Security Council Commission of Inquiry established by the Council under its resolution 496 (1981) with a mandate to inquire into the origin, the financing and the economic damages caused to the Republic of Seychelles by a band of mercenaries. I note with regret that the Commission has not been able to complete its report, issued on 15 March of this year, because of difficulties placed in its way, especially by a certain régime. Nevertheless, the report as prepared under the presidency of the representative of Panama, Mr. Carlos Ozores Typaldos, assisted by Mr. James Craig of Ireland and Mr. Katsumi Sezaki of Japan, is quite thorough. In my opinion it contains sufficient evidence to allow the Council to draw an interim but telling conclusion. I believe it would be proper for the Council to extend the mandate of the Commission so that it may complete the work entrusted to it.

65. I have also listened with special attention to the speech of my distinguished, beloved African brother, friend and neighbour, Mr. Jacques Hodoul, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Seychelles, whose presence among us I salute. His tone has been firm yet polite, his requests modest and reasonable. I have no doubt that the case of his country which he has so ably presented has already aroused the sympathy and won the support of the Council.

66. The views of African States on the issue under consideration have already been eloquently expressed by my beloved African brother, Mr. Abdel Meguid of Egypt, in his capacity as Chairman, for the month, of the African Group at the United Nations. Yesterday, Mr. Archibald Mogwe, Chairman of the Council of



Ministers of the OAU, whom I salute, presented the case of Seychelles even more brilliantly and dramatically. On behalf of my country, I fully support these statements.

67. Having said this, I feel I have very little to add except to place on the record of the Council certain facts. Immediately after the unprovoked, wanton and dastardly aggression against Seychelles took place, the Government of Mauritius, through its Governor-General and its Prime Minister, strongly condemned this criminal act of banditry. Mr. Seewoosagar Ramgoolam reiterated his feelings on this issue in his end-of-year address to the nation when he said:

“Political and military adventurism are very much alive in the world of today. A most flagrant example, an example which has a profound lesson for us, is the recent event in the Seychelles. The Seychelles are important to us because they are our neighbours, and the attempted takeover by outside guns-for-hire illustrates only too well and clearly that some interests will stop at nothing to gain political power. It is well worth noting that even peaceful nations which desire nothing more than the well-being of their citizens are not immune to this violent phenomenon. We are glad, however, that law and order have been re-established in Seychelles.”

68. Perhaps I may add that if law and order have been re-established in Seychelles, the Republic has been left bleeding economically. The Commission of Inquiry informs us in its first report that the global loss sustained by Seychelles amounts to \$18 million—peanuts, perhaps, to some countries, but to one like Seychelles with limited resources it is very significant if it is to redress its listing economy and bring it back to an even keel. I therefore hope and pray that Member States and international organizations, including the United Nations and its agencies, will not hesitate in coming voluntarily to the economic support of Seychelles by way of a special fund to be created for this purpose. In this connection, I am very encouraged by the statement of the representative of France [2359th meeting, para. 64].

69. Regarding the question of “mercenarism”—I understand the word does not appear in the English dictionary—I pay a tribute to Nigeria for its initiative in connection with the elaboration of an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries. Such a convention has today become more necessary than ever before. I look forward to a near future when it will be ready for signature by States Members and Observers of the United Nations.

70. My views on the question of “mercenarism” are well known to the Council and they are on record. I shall therefore refrain from repeating myself. For the benefit of those who may wish to refresh their mem-

ory of them or to learn of them for the first time, I refer to my statement of 6 April 1977, when I addressed the Council on the complaint of Benin [2000th meeting].

71. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

72. Mr. ADDABASHI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): Mr. President, I should like first of all to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for this month. I am confident that you will wisely and ably guide the deliberations of the Council.

73. I should also like to express my appreciation of the manner in which the representative of Zaire fulfilled his mandate as President of the Council during last month.

74. The question with which we are concerned today involves an act of aggression against an independent and sovereign State member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the OAU and the United Nations. That act of aggression was perpetrated by a band of international criminals at the expense of a peaceful African people committed to raising their standard of living and to the progress of their country.

75. The unsuccessful criminal act undertaken by the mercenaries against the Republic of Seychelles resulted in substantial material damage to the international airport and to loss of human life among the courageous people of Seychelles, who offered their lives in the cause of defending their country, its freedom and its dignity against the ravages of that criminal gang of mercenaries sent by the racist régime of South Africa in order to topple the nationalist Government of Seychelles and create a puppet régime which would tolerate the crimes of *apartheid* in southern Africa.

76. This is not the first time that mercenaries have attacked peaceful African nations that refuse to submit to racist and colonial domination. We have witnessed several similar acts before.

77. When the continent of Africa awoke in the second half of the twentieth century, it found itself enchained and deprived of freedom, its resources being plundered and its people being exploited. When Africa began a bitter struggle to restore its freedom, its resources and its dignity, it was expected that the colonialist interests would not accept the termination of their domination. The imperialist forces have attempted to use every possible means in order to maintain their domination of the African continent and its peoples. These means have included the use of mercenaries.

78. Why were the people of Seychelles the victim of aggression in this manner, as were the people of Congo, the people of Guinea, the people of Benin

and the people of Angola? Why are the African front-line States faced with direct threats? Indeed, why should the African peoples in those areas and others be confronted with aggression, murder and terrorism?

79. The answer to these questions can be found in the fact that those peoples have rejected the domination, control and exploitation which the racists and colonialists try to impose upon them and are supporting the struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa to achieve independence and eliminate the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. Those imperialists will not leave the African continent and its peoples alone to build their own future by themselves.

80. What happened in Seychelles on 25 November 1981 was an act of aggression not only against the people of Seychelles but also against the world community as a whole. One of the most basic objectives of this Organization is to ensure the safety and security of its Members, especially the small States which have recently attained independence. Those small States have difficulty in defending their freedom and dignity against those who hold ambitions to reimpose their domination and exploitation. The United Nations has already condemned the recruitment of mercenaries and has called upon all nations to withhold all assistance from such mercenaries. The OAU, for its part, has done the same several times. Furthermore, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, at its fourteenth session, held at Libreville from 2 to 5 July 1977, adopted a convention on mercenarism which contains the basic measures to eliminate the activities of mercenaries.

81. In the particular case of Seychelles, the Council of Ministers of the OAU at its thirty-eighth session, held at Addis Ababa from 22 to 28 February 1982, adopted a resolution in which, *inter alia*, it

“*Strongly condemns* this armed aggression against the people and the State of Seychelles;

“ . . .

“*Strongly condemns* South Africa and all countries that support it in carrying out its odious policy of expansionism and repeated acts of destabilization and aggression against independent and sovereign African States.”<sup>2</sup>

82. That is not enough. We call for the speedy conclusion of the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries.

83. Even though the Commission of Inquiry did not reach a definitive conclusion on the complicity of the racist régime of South Africa in the invasion by the mercenaries, in paragraph 282 of its report the Commission states that it “finds it difficult to believe that

the South African authorities did not at least have knowledge of the preparations . . .”.

84. The present situation is not the same as that at the time of the submission of the report. There is more information about the mercenaries, the operation and the role of the racist régime of South Africa. The revelations made by the mercenary Michael Hoare clearly indicate that South Africa was the author of the operation, and we believe that, in accordance with its recommendations, the Commission should be authorized to furnish a supplementary report containing any further information relevant to its mandate, including the revelations by the mercenaries that might emerge from the trials in South Africa and Seychelles. We also believe that the Council should ask South Africa to submit all the information emerging from the trial to the Commission and permit the Commission to interview the mercenaries.

85. Regarding the material damage inflicted on the Seychelles economy as a result of the invasion by the mercenaries, my delegation supports all the recommendations made by the Commission, especially the idea of creating a special fund for the repair of the damages and to assist the economy of the country.

86. Before I conclude I should like to pay a special tribute to the gallant people of Seychelles for the victory they achieved over the mercenaries on behalf of Africa and the international community as a whole. I should also like to express the sympathy of the people of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and its solidarity with the people of the Republic of Seychelles. We hope that the United Nations will undertake the measures necessary to prevent such a criminal act by mercenaries from taking place in the future.

87. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Zambia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

88. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): Mr. President, permit me first of all to express appreciation to you, and through you to the Council, for allowing my delegation to participate in the discussion of the report of the Security Council Commission of Inquiry established under resolution 496 (1981). It is a source of great pleasure to my delegation that the issue is being considered during your presidency this month. My delegation is confident that with your skill and tact, which you have already demonstrated, you will ably steer the work of the Council to a successful conclusion. My delegation also wishes to express appreciation to Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda of Zaire, who successfully presided over the Council's work during the month of April.

89. When the Republic of Seychelles was the victim of mercenary aggression on 25 November 1981, my Government condemned that atrocious action. It was

clear to my country that the mercenary aggression against the Republic of Seychelles, a non-aligned member State of the third world, was engineered by forces of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. The intentions of those forces have always been to ensure that developing countries like the Republic of Seychelles should not be allowed to develop in peace for the good of their people. The strong opposition to racism and *apartheid* and the support by the people and Government of Seychelles for efforts aimed at the eradication of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa have not been to the taste of those forces of colonialism and *apartheid*.

90. The despicable premeditated acts of aggression by the dogs of war on 25 November last against the independent sovereign State of Seychelles should be seen in the context of the overall strategy of *apartheid* South Africa to destabilize the peace and stability prevailing in countries opposed to *apartheid* and racism in South Africa.

91. The involvement of South Africa in the mercenary aggression against Seychelles cannot be swept under the carpet by the Pretoria régime. From a reading of the Commission's report, and from information contained in the statement made to this Council by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Seychelles, Mr. Jacques Hodoul [2359th meeting], and also from other sources, there is overwhelming evidence to this effect.

92. For example, volume 6, No. 7, of a publication by the African-American Institute entitled *South Africa Namibia Update* says the following in respect of South Africa's involvement in the abortive *coup*:

"The South African Government is reported worried over the charges by the leader of the bungled Seychelles coup—Col. 'Mad Mike' Hoare—that the South African Cabinet approved the attempt and the army supplied the weapons and ammunition.

"Five days after Hoare's court testimony, the security police raided the offices of three newspapers and confiscated reporters' notebooks and documents relating to another major figure in the abortive coup, Martin Dolinschek. He is detained in the Seychelles and claims to work for South Africa's intelligence service, which Dolinschek says is now trying to kill him.

"The Prime Minister's office, the intelligence service and the army declined to comment on Hoare's charges, and the Speaker of the Assembly turned down a request for a special debate because the issue was before the court."

93. This involvement by South Africa is a reflection of that régime's apparent fear and insecurity arising out of the pursuit of its *apartheid* policy. My country has repeatedly warned South Africa that as long as it

continues to practise its policy of *apartheid* it cannot expect peace from the people on whom it is practised, it cannot expect peace from independent African States in the region, indeed it cannot expect peace from the rest of the peace-loving nations of the world.

94. The Republic of Seychelles suffered much damage to its property at the airport as a result of the mercenary aggression. That aggression had very adverse consequences on the country's overall economy, as was explicitly stated in paragraphs 287 to 292 of the report which is before this Council. I wish on behalf of my delegation to congratulate the representatives of Panama, Japan and Ireland who are members of the Commission of Inquiry on producing the report in difficult circumstances. The costs that the Government of Seychelles has already incurred and will incur in making good the damage caused are very high. Seychelles cannot undertake this enormous responsibility on its own. It requires the international community to provide assistance in its reconstruction efforts.

95. It is against this background that my delegation fully supports and endorses the six recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry in paragraph 293 of its report, including that on the establishment of the fund. With regard to the Commission's discharge of its mandate in establishing the origins, background and financing of the mercenary invasion of Seychelles, my delegation fully endorses the request made to the Council on 20 May by the Foreign Minister of Seychelles that the Commission's mandate should be extended to enable it to prepare a supplementary report on these essential points.

96. I should like to conclude by reaffirming, on behalf of my delegation, the importance of the Commission's recommendation for the speedy conclusion of the work at present under way on an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries. We believe that this will be a very important convention which all States Members of the United Nations must sign. I am certain that by outlawing mercenaries in the world we shall be contributing greatly to international peace and security.

97. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Mongolia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

98. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): Mr. President, I should first of all like to join the previous speakers who have congratulated you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of May and to wish you every success in discharging your responsibilities.

99. I also wish to pay a tribute to Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda of Zaire for his skilful guidance of the work of the Council during the month of April.

100. I thank you and the other members of the Council for allowing me to speak today on this important item before the Council: "Report of the Security Council Commission of Inquiry established under resolution 496 (1981)".

101. The use of mercenaries is not a new phenomenon. With the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, which met with frantic resistance from colonialist and other reactionary forces trying to prolong their direct or indirect domination over the strategically and economically important areas throughout the world and especially in the south of the African continent, the use of mercenaries has acquired even more ominous dimensions. The Council is well aware of these developments and has adopted numerous relevant resolutions, including resolutions 239 (1967), 405 (1977) and 496 (1981).

102. Following its policy of principle directed at strengthening international peace and security and supporting the just struggle of peoples for national and social liberation, the Mongolian People's Republic strongly condemns the use of mercenaries and all other means employed by imperialism and other reactionary forces to halt the process of national and social liberation.

103. Prompted by the desire to contribute to the final outlawing and abolition of mercenarism, Mongolia became a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries.

104. The report of the Commission of Inquiry, which was so ably presented to the Council by the representative of Panama on 20 May [*ibid.*], contains sufficient evidence to show that South Africa played a major role in initiating and organizing the act of aggression against the Republic of Seychelles, a sovereign, non-aligned country situated in a strategically important region of the Indian Ocean. The hijacking trial shed additional light on this case. As is evident now, the act of aggression against the Republic of Seychelles was carried out with the knowledge of the South African Government and the participation of its intelligence service. The trial also revealed, as was rightly pointed out by many preceding speakers, that in September 1981 the South African Cabinet had taken a decision to topple the legitimate Government of the Republic of Seychelles through the use of mercenary forces. The revelation further enriches the criminal record of the racist régime of South Africa, which is still occupying Namibia illegally and constantly undertaking hostile acts, including acts of aggression, against the neighbouring African States. It should be pointed out that it is an open secret that the above-mentioned policy of the Pretoria régime is being inspired, encouraged and supported by certain Western Powers. As was reported in *The New York Times* of 10 May, the leader of the gang of mercenaries con-

fessed that before the Victoria fiasco he had met with a representative of the CIA and informed him of the plans for the *coup* [see S/15065, annex].

105. Therefore the Mongolian People's Republic supports the legitimate demand of the Government of Seychelles that those responsible for the act of mercenary aggression and their accomplices should be brought to justice and should be made to compensate fully for the damages inflicted upon the Government and the people of Seychelles.

106. As stated in the report, particularly in part VI, the information available to the Commission was far from complete, and the Commission still does not have full knowledge of the origin and background of the mercenary operation. Therefore, the Mongolian delegation fully supports the sixth recommendation of the Commission, reflected in paragraph 293 of the report, that the Commission should be authorized to furnish a supplementary report based on investigation of the origin, background and financing of the mercenary aggression of 25 November 1981 against the Republic of Seychelles, as originally envisaged in paragraph 3 of resolution 496 (1981). In our view this report should, *inter alia*, examine the root causes of the mercenary aggression. We also fully endorse the other recommendations of the Commission.

107. For our part, as a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee we shall spare no efforts to elaborate an effective international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries with a view to bringing it to the speediest possible conclusion.

108. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Nigeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

109. Mr. FAFOWORA (Nigeria): May I first of all thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council, for giving my delegation this opportunity to participate in the debate on the complaint by the Seychelles regarding the mercenary attack on that country on 25 November 1981. Since my delegation is also taking the floor in the Council for the first time this month, I should also like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's pleasure and satisfaction at seeing you preside over the meetings of the Council. The month of May has been an exceptionally busy and difficult one in which, under your wise and able leadership, the Council has had to deal with a host of very difficult, complex and grave issues demanding from all the members of the Council a display of the greatest diplomatic skills. It is no surprise to my delegation, Sir, that you have discharged your responsibilities to the Council so admirably. I should also like, if I may, to pay a warm tribute, on behalf of the Nigerian delegation, to your predecessor as President, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda of Zaire, for the equally able manner in which he guided the deliberations of the Council last month.

110. My Government has instructed me to participate in this important debate because of its great concern about the menace that the activities of mercenaries have for so long constituted for Africa. I need not bore you with additional details of mercenary activities in Africa, for previous speakers have adequately documented the nefarious activities of those international gangsters. It is sufficient to say that the catalogue of mercenary activities in Africa is a long one, stretching from the Congo in the early 1960s to Benin, Zimbabwe, Angola and now Seychelles. As a matter of historical fact, Nigeria itself did not totally escape the disruptive consequences of the activities of mercenaries, for it was itself a target of mercenaries from 1967 to 1970, when it was engaged in an internal battle to put down a misguided internal attempt at secession. At the time, those shameless and irresponsible gangsters took advantage of Nigeria's internal security problems to intrude their ugly faces into an issue that was of no concern to anyone but Nigerians.

111. Similarly, in the past 20 or so years, virtually every African nation has had to contend with the real possibility that it might be the next target of mercenary activities, activities that are totally unjustifiable and that are very often prompted by personal ambition as well as promoted by foreign economic and political interests. It might not be out of place to mention here the fact that in some cases those mercenaries have been found to be in the employ of foreign Governments that have a vested interest in overthrowing Governments they consider unfriendly. The activities of those "dogs of war", as they were so aptly called by the novelist Frederick Forsyth, are so ludicrous that they border on sheer lunacy. In one particular case, the mercenaries were simply prompted to move by nothing more than the contents of a novel that rather playfully described how the Government of a small African State might be toppled. The point of all this is to stress that these mercenaries engage in their nefarious activities sometimes for sport, sometimes for money, but never for any substantial or legitimate reasons.

112. The mercenary activities constitute a serious threat to the national sovereignty and integrity of African States. They represent a very serious violation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and should be severely condemned by all Members of the Organization collectively. We in Africa have had to wage a long and difficult struggle for our national independence. The liberation struggle in Africa, which is continuing with unabated fury, was in most cases a bloody one, leading to a considerable loss of life in our continent. The ending of colonialism in Africa is being achieved at enormous cost to our people, and we have not made this enormous sacrifice only to have a band of irresponsible international gangsters take away from us what was so dearly won. We in Africa need all the time, peace and energy that we can find to rebuild our countries, to develop our economies and to improve the living conditions of our

people, and we are determined that we shall not allow ourselves to be distracted from our objective.

113. In the case of Seychelles, the irresponsible attack of mercenaries on that peaceful country is absolutely shocking and can in no way be justified or condoned even by its worst enemies. Seychelles is a small country with a population of only 63,000. It does not by any stretch of the imagination constitute a threat to anyone. It cannot even be said that it harbours any African freedom fighters. As a matter of fact, it was a favourite tourist spot for racist South Africa. Yet on 25 November, mercenaries, after concocting their malign and evil plan in South Africa, launched a vicious, unwarranted and premeditated attack on that peaceful island in a brazen and callous attempt to topple its Government, damage its economy and create much chaos and disaffection in the country. There was obviously no foreknowledge on the part of the Government of Seychelles of the clandestine activities of the mercenaries. Had the *coup* attempt been successful, the people of Seychelles would have had foisted on them a government not of their own making, one neither answerable to them nor subject to their control. Seychelles would have become a vassal State of South Africa and would have lost all its attributes of national independence. That would have been a considerable set-back to us in Africa. It is therefore with much pleasure that the Government and people of Nigeria congratulate the vigilant and patriotic people of Seychelles for beating back and eliminating the vicious attack of the mercenaries on that fateful day.

114. There is a noticeable tendency in some quarters to ignore and underestimate the great dangers mercenaries pose, not only to the stability of Africa, but to international peace and security as well. Yet it is not inconceivable that States may be drawn into war on account of the activities of these soldiers of fortune. A few years ago, two African States were almost driven to war as a result of the intrusion of mercenaries into their countries. Mercenaries require a friendly base for their operations. If every State were to take its international obligations seriously and deny these dogs of war a base from which they could operate, they would cease to constitute any serious threat to anyone. That is why in the OAU we have adopted a convention on mercenaries and their activities. It is also why we are seeking at the international level a similar convention that will prohibit the recruitment of these dogs of war. The existing legislation in some countries on the recruitment of mercenaries contains several loopholes that are being exploited daily to make nonsense of the existing legal provisions. It is the hope of my delegation that the draft international convention on mercenaries will soon become a reality.

115. Turning now to the report of the Security Council Commission of Inquiry established under resolution 496 (1981), my delegation has considered its findings very carefully and is satisfied with the scope

of the investigation and its thoroughness. I would therefore like to associate my delegation with the deep gratitude expressed by previous speakers to the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Ozores Typaldos of Panama, as well as to the two other members of the Commission, Mr. Craig of Ireland and Mr. Sezaki of Japan. My delegation is particularly delighted that the Commission was able to establish South Africa's foreknowledge of the mercenary operations. Had the Commission been allowed by the racist South African authorities to interview the mercenaries who fled to South Africa after their abortive *coup*, particularly the notorious "Mad Mike" Hoare, it would no doubt have been able to establish South Africa's complicity as well.

116. Finally, before concluding my statement, I wish to express my Government's readiness to assist the Government and people of Seychelles in their effort to repair the considerable economic damage they suffered as a result of the abortive *coup*.

117. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Swaziland. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

118. Mr. MALINGA (Swaziland): My delegation extends its profound felicitations to you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of May.

119. The same sentiments apply to your predecessor, the representative of Zaire, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, for the outstanding manner in which he guided the deliberations of the Council in April.

120. My delegation would be failing in its duty if it did not convey its gratitude to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Seychelles [2359th meeting] for the clarity of his presentation and for the decision of his Government to bring this matter before the Council. As a result, the Council took a decision to send a Commission to investigate the origin, background and financing of the mercenary aggression of 25 November 1981 committed against the Republic of Seychelles and also to assess and evaluate economic damages.

121. The Council now has before it the report of the Commission. My delegation therefore wishes to take this opportunity equally to express through you, Sir, its gratitude to the Chairman of the Commission and to its members for the excellent way in which the Chairman has presented the report. The kind sentiments expressed by him regarding the co-operation the Commission received while in Swaziland have been conveyed to my Government. The Government and people of Swaziland will not hesitate to be of help, in whatever way, in the future if and when the Council extends the Commission's mandate further to carry out investigations that may be required by new devel-

opments and revelations that may emanate from the ongoing trial of the mercenaries.

122. The report before the Council makes various references to my country and to its airline, the Royal Swazi Airline. When the Council considers those references it may understand why we in Swaziland also regard ourselves, like the people of Seychelles, the sister country, to be abused victims of the mercenary aggression. The magnitude of the psychological and economic damages suffered by Seychelles cannot, of course, be compared with ours. They were the primary target of aggression. In our case, the circumstances of geoproximity were exploited and abused by the aggressors, so much that we too felt insulted, injured and abused, just like the people of Seychelles, when our only aircraft was caught in the cross-fire of that mad adventurism. The report states in paragraph 278:

"The immediate preparations for and planning of the mercenary aggression, including recruitment of over 50 mercenaries . . . took place in South Africa. A small number of those concerned had previous experience as mercenaries. For the most part they were persons who had military experience in the South African and former Rhodesian forces."

123. To get to Seychelles they came through Swaziland and boarded a regular scheduled flight. In Manzini, they posed as tourists. The detailed account of what took place is contained in the report, so that my delegation will not dwell in great detail on it.

124. For this body to get the full import of how the events of 25 November angered and revulsed the people of Swaziland, I shall begin by giving the Council a brief account of what the Royal Swazi Airline represented in the hearts of my people.

125. As a small, independent land-locked country, we have often desired to establish contacts with other sister African countries in the region as an act underlining the authenticity of our independence. The Council will recall that the region is experiencing a mushrooming of so-called independent countries in South Africa under the *apartheid* system. To the Swazis, the airline was therefore more than a commercial undertaking. It was a flying symbol of peace and solidarity with the rest of independent Africa. Hence it was nicknamed in our vernacular "*Lijuba-Ntendsele*", meaning a kind of dove quail. In August 1978, when the airline was inaugurated, most Swazis were present to see a new era of communication being ushered in. The event represented the realization of a dream to communicate independently with our sister neighbours. The sentiments behind the decision to establish direct contact with independent Africa were the same as those that found full expression in the establishment of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, a subregional economic association of independent States of southern Africa.

126. When the news of the mercenary aggression committed against Seychelles reached Swaziland and the fact became known that our only arm to the outside world had been amputated in the cross-fire there, every Swazi felt that a part of himself was destroyed. Our life artery of contact, as stated in my letter to the Chairman of the Commission, really was severed then. We estimated the cost to be in the region of some \$2.5 million, and that it would continue to increase until the aircraft was operational. To my knowledge, the aircraft is still in Seychelles; but thanks to the kind gesture of solidarity and brotherhood of the Republic of Mozambique, which placed its aircraft at our disposal, Swaziland still enjoys contact with its neighbours in spite of this unforeseen handicap.

127. The Government and people of Swaziland were deeply shocked and saddened to learn that a certain group of persons who arrived in Seychelles on 25 November subsequently committed serious acts of aggression against the people and legitimate Government of Seychelles. The Government dissociated itself immediately, as it does now, from that naked act of aggression against a sovereign sister State. My Government co-operated fully with the Government of Seychelles from the moment we learned of the tragic event. We sent a delegation to Seychelles, and the relevant authorities in Swaziland were instructed to carry out thorough investigations of this regrettable abuse of our airline.

128. The Swaziland Government offered every assistance to the Commission that subsequently came into Swaziland. The Commission met the Prime Minister and other officials of my Government. The report says in paragraph 149 that the head of Government expressed regret and said that:

"Swaziland's sister country, Seychelles, and the people there had suffered a great deal because of that incident: Swaziland had also suffered as a result of having lost its only commercial aircraft and having its name connected with such an attempt. The people of Swaziland were very happy to know that the mercenaries had been brought to account."

He went on to address the practice of destabilizing countries. He is quoted, in paragraph 150 of the report, as saying that:

"people had now realized that Africa was coming together to try to speak with one voice. Swaziland was worried by some evil elements which were trying by all means to destabilize African countries and disrupt their unity."

129. It gives my delegation pleasure that, in paragraph 284 of its report, the Commission concluded that:

"the mercenaries used Swaziland merely as a means of transit to Seychelles and that the Government

of Swaziland had no knowledge of the planned aggression until after it had taken place."

130. My delegation wishes to remind the Council that this is not the first time my country has been an object of abuse. Some time ago a large haul of arms intended for South Africa, contrary to a Council resolution [*resolution 418 (1977)*], was confiscated by our customs officers. Those responsible were tried and convicted in the courts of Swaziland. This demonstrates beyond any shadow of doubt that if our officers at the customs post had discovered the mercenaries' guns, they would immediately have confiscated them, as is our practice, and the mercenaries would have been put under arrest.

131. The Council is frequently faced with situations in which the will of the people is no longer considered as the basis for dispensing power, and as a result, external and dangerous forces of destruction are often co-opted and employed as vehicles to achieve power. In my delegation's opinion, the international community can deal with this problem only by speeding up the drafting of a draft international convention against the granting of security, financing and hospitality to mercenaries.

132. The Swaziland delegation sympathizes with the Government of the Republic of Seychelles over the expenditure incurred in connection with the urgent repair works needed to reopen the airport and over the economic damage caused to its tourist industry. The Swaziland delegation endorses the recommendation of the Commission that Member States and international organizations should urgently provide financial, technical and material assistance to enable the country to deal with the difficulties that it is facing because of the mercenary aggression.

133. We also share the view that the Commission's mandate should be extended in order to enable it to carry out its task, and that a special fund should be established for voluntary contributions by Member States to channel assistance to the reconstruction of the damaged economy of the Republic of Seychelles.

134. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Sri Lanka. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

135. Mr. DE SILVA (Sri Lanka): Let me take this opportunity, Mr. President, to express the appreciation and admiration of my delegation for the manner in which you are handling the work of the Council during this month. Similarly, I should like to express the appreciation of my delegation to Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda of Zaire, who conducted the affairs of the Council during the particularly difficult month of April.

136. My delegation wishes to express its gratitude to the Chairman and members of the Council Com-

mission of Inquiry, who so painstakingly and meticulously reconstructed the events surrounding the act of aggression against Seychelles. My delegation is aware of the difficulties and limitations within which the Commission was forced to carry out its work. Notwithstanding those limitations, the Commission has provided the Member States, through its report, with an impartial and factual account of what took place in Seychelles on 25 November 1981.

137. The report of the Commission of Inquiry has focused attention on several important aspects to which the international community should give its urgent consideration. First, it deals with the recurring problems of armed aggression against independent States with a view to overthrowing their Governments, in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Secondly, it deals with the role played by foreign mercenaries, a common phenomenon in African politics. It is hardly necessary for me to go into details of the activities of foreign mercenaries and their impact on the newly emerging African States during the past decade or two, as the members of the Council are fully aware of the role played by mercenaries in Africa during this period. Thirdly, the report draws the attention of the world community to air piracy, which threatens the lives of innocent passengers who become unsuspecting victims of aggression and international terrorism. Such crimes have become possible because the criminals are provided with safe havens by certain States that directly or indirectly support such illegal acts. Finally, the report highlights the short-term and long-term impact on the economies of States which become targets of foreign aggression.

138. Paragraph 282 of the report is of much interest to countries in the region. It says "the Commission finds it difficult to believe that the South African authorities did not at least have knowledge of the preparations in this matter." The Commission reached this conclusion after taking into account the identity of the mercenaries, where they came from and where they returned to, having failed to achieve their objective. We are confident that a clearer picture will emerge during the trial of the seven mercenaries who were arrested by the authorities in Seychelles. We note that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Seychelles has agreed to send full details of the trial, which is scheduled to take place on 16 June in Seychelles.

139. Those who have spoken before me have commented on the problems faced by countries, particularly small States, as a result of mercenary activities against them by those Powers that wish to destabilize independent nations. To achieve this objective they recruit, finance and train mercenaries and eventually unleash them upon unsuspecting countries. Their targets are strategically vital but economically unstable countries. The report amply demonstrates the ease with which a mercenary operation can be launched to take over small countries.

140. Small independent countries should not be exposed to threats such as the one faced by Seychelles in November 1981. The international community has to safeguard their right to exist without fear of being subjugated by ambitious nations. Further, everything within our means must be done to bring to book those who were involved in the act and take appropriate action to eradicate the threat that mercenaries pose to small independent nations. Finally, the international community has a responsibility to provide assistance to those countries that become the targets of these acts of destabilization.

141. While expressing our solidarity with the Government of Seychelles, my delegation shares the views expressed by previous speakers and supports the recommendations contained in paragraph 293 of the report of the Commission of Inquiry.

142. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Bangladesh. I invite him to take the place at the Council table and to make his statement.

143. Mr. SOBHAN (Bangladesh): It gives me great pleasure, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the high office of the presidency for this month. We have the highest regard for you and a profound sense of respect and friendship for the people of your great country. We are confident that under your able leadership and wise guidance, the Council will be able to accomplish its many difficult tasks during this month.

144. Our congratulations also go to your predecessor, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, for the able manner in which he steered the work of the Council during the month of April.

145. We have listened carefully to the detailed account of the event and its consequences, presented by Mr. Jacques Hodoul, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Seychelles [2359th meeting]. We have noted with great regret and dismay that his country was a victim of a mercenary aggression on 25 November 1981.

146. On 15 December 1981, the Council, by its resolution 496 (1981), unanimously condemned this act of aggression and decided to establish a commission of inquiry to investigate the origin, background and financing of the mercenary aggression. We wish to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to Mr. Ozores Tupaldos of Panama and the members of the Commission for the report which they submitted to the Council. We have noted from paragraph 272 of this report that the Commission was not permitted to interview the mercenaries who fled from Seychelles to South Africa by a hijacked Air India aircraft. The report further indicates, in paragraph 274, that the work of the Commission was far from complete. Therefore, we support the views expressed by the large majority of delegations that have participated so far in



the debate in the Council that the mandate of the Commission of Inquiry should be extended and that a supplementary report should be presented to the Council.

147. The report submitted by the Commission to the Council, however, provides us with incontrovertible evidence that the mercenary aggression was planned, organized and financed in South Africa. In paragraph 278, it is clearly stated that the recruitment of the mercenaries took place in South Africa and that some of them had well-known records as mercenaries and were also reservists in the South African Defence Force. We also learn from the report that the weapons used by the mercenaries were tested in South Africa. Though the Commission could not conclude how the weapons were procured, it is inconceivable to think that the weapons could have been procured and tested without the knowledge and active connivance of the racist régime in Pretoria.

148. The incident of last November against the people of Seychelles is not an isolated crime against a small country by a gang of mercenaries, but has to be seen in the context of the overall South African policy of destabilizing a number of African States and committing a variety of acts of aggression against them. What we are witnessing is a form of State terrorism that not only is contrary to international law and practice but is clearly against the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

149. Bangladesh, as a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries, has actively supported the speedy drafting of this convention. The mercenary aggression against Seychelles has underscored the importance of the need for the early conclusion of the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

150. The hijacking of an Air India aircraft by the mercenaries also clearly underlined the vulnerability of innocent civilians at the hands of the mercenaries. In this context, Bangladesh welcomes the resolution adopted by the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization on 17 December 1981.<sup>3</sup> We hope that further consideration will be given to ensuring the safety of innocent passengers and to preventing the illegal transportation of arms through commercial airlines.

151. The aggression against Seychelles caused considerable material, financial and economic damage. Tourism, which is the main source of the economy, has also suffered a serious set-back. South Africa bears full responsibility for such damages. The Commission of Inquiry concluded, in paragraph 291 of its report, that it "is clear that there will be a significant adverse impact on the Seychelles economy resulting from the aggression." Bangladesh, therefore, supports the recommendations of the Commission calling for financial, material and technical assistance to be given

to Seychelles. Such assistance can be directed through a special voluntary fund.

152. In conclusion, I should like to reiterate on behalf of the delegation of Bangladesh that my country remains firmly opposed to any interference, direct or indirect, in the internal affairs of any Member State. The fact that such interference should have occurred through an act of armed aggression committed by a band of mercenaries makes it doubly objectionable and a matter of unequivocal condemnation by the entire international community. The South African aggression against Seychelles is contrary to all norms of international behaviour and it is the responsibility of the United Nations to do everything possible to prevent such incidents from recurring.

153. Mr. CRAIG (Ireland): My delegation has followed closely the many statements made in this debate. We listened with particular interest to the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Seychelles, Mr. Jacques Hodoul, whom we are privileged to have here with us, and to his clear exposition of the issues which the Council should address [*ibid.*].

154. My country was honoured to have been asked to serve as a member of the Commission which was set up following the debate in the Council last December [2314th meeting] under the terms of resolution 496 (1981), in which the Council condemned the mercenary aggression against the Republic of Seychelles. I do not intend in the course of this statement to go into detail regarding the work and the conclusions of the Commission with which my delegation is associated. The report largely speaks for itself. Given the view generally expressed during the debate that it would be useful for the Commission to prepare a supplementary report, I do not think that my delegation should comment on or try to assess the information that has come to light since the Commission completed its report. This task will fall to the Commission itself, if the Council so decides.

155. My delegation would, however, wish to make a number of comments at this stage of our deliberations. In the statement by Ireland in the Council on 15 December 1981, we expressed concern at the attack from outside involving mercenaries directed at a small State which is particularly vulnerable to such attack [*ibid.*, para. 99]. That small States are vulnerable to attacks by relatively small forces is brought out clearly in the report of the Commission. Seychelles successfully resisted this attack. Yet small countries, in particular developing countries with limited resources, are faced with a cruel choice. They must either trust for their protection to the international community and the machinery which has been established for the maintenance of international peace and security, in particular the Security Council, or take steps to defend themselves against aggression mounted from outside and thereby

divert to military purposes scarce resources that are sorely needed for economic and social development. If the international community cannot give small States some assurance of security and deal with the causes of insecurity, then they will inevitably be driven towards the second option. My delegation profoundly hopes that Seychelles will not again be subject to an attack on its territorial integrity and political independence. But the more general problem must be addressed by the Council. That is why it is important that the origin and background of the mercenary aggression be clearly established so as to assist the Council in determining what to do about it.

156. The distinctive feature of the aggression against Seychelles was that it was carried out by mercenaries. The term "mercenary" is one with a long history. Simply put, a mercenary is one who carries out military functions for monetary gain rather than because of national or other loyalties. A mercenary need not necessarily be dishonourable. There are many examples in history of those who have for remuneration supported just and honourable causes and gained renown in so doing. But circumstances change. First, mankind has moved on from glorifying war to endeavouring by all possible means to avert it. Secondly, the term "mercenary" has come to have a more specific meaning—that is, the sale of services on demand to those who request them, usually for the overthrow of established Governments.

157. Nowhere is this more evident than in the recent history of Africa. Mercenary forces have been used in a particular context and have come to have a particular significance. At several stages during the emancipation of Africa from colonial rule, mercenary forces played a role in resisting this historic process. They have all too often lent support to efforts to preserve privilege and to deny the right of peoples to determine their own form of government.

158. The unhappy association of mercenaries with the maintenance of racial privilege is demonstrated only too clearly in the present instance. The intimate South African connection with the mercenary aggression is evident from the report and from the information that has since emerged. As members of the Council are aware, the Commission felt, for reasons that it has explained, that it could not reach a definitive conclusion on the extent or level of South African knowledge or responsibility. I do not wish here to make a judgement based on the additional information that has become available. The Commission will no doubt wish to do so if its mandate is extended. I wish rather to make the point that from the testimony of the mercenaries who were interviewed by the Commission it is clear that at least some of those who took part in the operation were motivated not only by monetary concerns but also by a certain view of the world. Those who hold this view find it difficult to accept the right of peoples to determine their own destiny free from outside intervention. This view unfortunately

arises from the nature of and the distortions inherent in South African society, based as it is on *apartheid* and systematic racial discrimination. In this context, the mercenary sees himself involved not simply for personal gain but almost as part of a crusade. This aspect in particular points up the need for international agreements directed against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries and for the dissemination of information about mercenary activities so as to enable Governments to take precautions.

159. I have already mentioned the expenditure which small States may feel obliged to incur through fear of external aggression. The consequences of an actual attack, albeit successfully thwarted in the case of Seychelles, are themselves serious. The Commission's report gives details of the direct damage caused at the airport in Mahé. It also draws attention to the potentially much larger effects on the economy of Seychelles as a whole. Dependent on tourism to a considerable extent, the Seychelles economy is particularly vulnerable to outside perceptions of safety and stability. My own country has reason to know that such perceptions, accurate or not, can influence the tourist business. The need for international assistance is evident, and the Irish delegation is confident that the Council will take appropriate action accordingly.

160. As a matter of principle, my delegation considers that investigative commissions can in certain circumstances assist the Council in discharging its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. This has been borne out by the experience of my delegation in the present instance. The primary purpose of such commissions must of course be to establish the facts and to lay these facts out in a manner that makes comprehensible to members of the Council the subject of the investigation. In discharging this duty, commissions of the Council are of course dependent on the full co-operation of Governments. They have no independent investigative powers. The degree to which a commission can be successful in carrying out a mandate is largely dependent on this co-operation by Governments.

161. Depending on the terms of reference, a commission of the Council may, of course, have responsibilities that go beyond mere fact-finding. Such was the case in the present instance. In accordance with its mandate, the Commission endeavoured, within the constraints to which the delegation of Panama, on behalf of the Chairman, has alluded [2359th meeting], to reach conclusions and to elaborate recommendations. A commission composed of a limited number of members of the Council can help the Council in this regard. It is the Council itself which has the power of decision and the competence to make a final judgement.

162. Before concluding, I should like, on my own behalf, to thank, through the Minister for Foreign

Affairs, the Government and people of Seychelles for the unstinted co-operation and hospitality which they extended to the members of the Commission during our visit to Seychelles. I hope I may have the opportunity of visiting the Minister's beautiful country again in circumstances that will give me greater leisure to enjoy its many attractions.

163. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of CHINA.

164. The Chinese delegation warmly welcomes the attendance at this series of Council meetings by Mr. Jacques Hodoul, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Seychelles, and Mr. Archibald Mogwe, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the OAU and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana.

165. The Security Council Commission of Inquiry established under resolution 496 (1981) and chaired by Mr. Carlos Ozores Typaldos of Panama submitted its report on 15 March 1982, after painstaking efforts of nearly three months. It can be seen from the report that the Commission has conducted extensive investigations and gathered numerous data, on the basis of which it has drawn certain conclusions and made a number of positive recommendations. It has thus fulfilled the mandate entrusted to it by the Council. The Chinese delegation wishes to express its thanks to the members of the Commission of Inquiry.

166. The numerous facts listed in the report and recent disclosures in the press clearly show that the armed invasion of the Republic of Seychelles by foreign mercenaries on 25 November 1981 was a carefully laid political plot to overthrow, by means of a *coup d'état*, the legitimate Government of the Republic of Seychelles. The racist régime of South Africa masterminded and organized this despicable operation and supplied the weapons used by the mercenaries. This is a glaring revelation of its hostile attitude towards the Government and people of Seychelles. The Chinese delegation is indignant at this grave crime against the African people and strongly condemns the racist régime of South Africa for its heinous conduct.

167. The Republic of Seychelles is an independent and non-aligned sovereign country. Its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity should be respected by all. The South Africa-sponsored mercenary invasion of Seychelles was a grave incident violating its independence and sovereignty and trampling upon the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. There were reports that in this criminal enterprise South Africa had been motivated by the need for a strategic outpost in the Indian Ocean to facilitate

its aggression and expansion. This insidious design must be sternly censured by the African countries and world opinion.

168. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the just struggle of the African countries and peoples to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We warmly hail the victory of the Government and people of Seychelles under the leadership of President France Albert René in foiling the mercenary invasion. As Premier Zhao Ziyang of the People's Republic of China pointed out in his message to President René dated 1 December 1981, "all criminal acts of invasion of independent African States by foreign mercenaries are doomed to ignominious defeat."

169. In our view, the Council should strongly condemn the racist régime of South Africa for launching the criminal mercenary invasion of Seychelles. It should, at the same time, reaffirm the principle contained in the Charter that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, irrespective of their size, should be respected. In view of the heavy damage to the international airport as well as the national economy of Seychelles resulting from the invasion, the Council should accept the recommendation of the Commission regarding the establishment of an aid fund for Seychelles. Furthermore, the Council should authorize the Commission to continue its work and submit a supplementary report in due course.

170. The report of the Commission further points out that as the possibility of aggression by mercenaries remains a grave threat to the sovereignty and independence of States, particularly small developing countries, the work at present under way on an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries should be brought to a speedy conclusion. Meanwhile, States and the international community as a whole should make every effort to prevent mercenary operations. The Chinese delegation supports the above recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry.

*The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.

<sup>2</sup> A/37/161, annex, resolution CM/Res. 906 (XXXVIII).

<sup>3</sup> *Action of the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization, 104th Session, Montreal, 1 October-17 December 1981*, appendix H.

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