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2365th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 24 May 1982, at 3.30 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/2365)

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 4.25 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 and 2361st 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, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Madagascar, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Sao Tome and Principe, 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. Srithirath (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Zaki (Maldives), Mr. Traore (Mali), Mr. Gauci (Malta), Mr. Lobo (Mozambique), Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua), Mr. Naik (Pakistan), Mr. Cassandra (Sao Tome and Principe), 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 Kenya, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius and the Syrian Arab Republic in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Maina (Kenya), Mr. Burwin (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first to extend a special greeting to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Seychelles, Mr. Jacques Hodoul, and thank him for his presence at this debate, which naturally enhances our deliberations.

4. We are met here to consider the report of the Security Council Commission of Inquiry established under resolution 496 (1981), report contained in document, S/14905/Rev.1. As the members of the Council know, after considering the complaint presented by Seychelles we decided to send a Commission of Inquiry made up of three members of the Council to consider the origin, background and financing of the 25 November 1981 mercenary aggression against the Republic of Seychelles, as well as to assess and evaluate economic damages, and to report to the Council with recommendations [resolution 496 (1981), para. 3].

5. The delegation of Spain wishes to congratulate the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Carlos Ozores Typaldos of Panama, and the representatives of Ireland and Japan on the diligence with which they carried out the Council's mandate, visiting Seychelles, Swaziland and South Africa and holding many interviews with various high officials of those countries, witnesses and even mercenaries in the custody of Seychelles. The information given by the mercenaries constitutes an important part of the report. Were it not for the underlying reality, which is tragic, I should say that the report was so interesting that it read like a novel. As the Commission itself said, small though the number of persons participating in the attack may have been, the attack was, bearing in mind how small the islands are, a serious threat to the country's sovereignty and independence and it seriously disrupted daily life. Such operations constitute a real tragedy, disrupting international relations.
6. We have studied with particular care the Commission's findings and conclusions, and we are concerned that, as the representative of Panama, who introduced the report, said in his statement [2359th meeting], the Commission is not fully informed about the origin of or background to the mercenary aggression. Furthermore, the Commission points out that it would be premature to make a final assessment of the damage to the economy of Seychelles, but the figures for the damage given in the report and the loss of income to the tourist industry, with its multiplier effect on the rest of the economy, seem to us serious enough to justify our support for action in this respect.
7. As the representative of Panama said in his statement, although the Commission received the full cooperation of the Governments of Seychelles and Swaziland, it was not, unfortunately, allowed to interview the group of mercenaries who fled the country and returned to South Africa in the hijacked Air India aircraft. Since the Commission itself says that it cannot reach final conclusions for that reason, and since important further information may emerge in the future, especially from the trials being held in South Africa, we fully support the suggestion that the report be completed when appropriate and then presented to the Council.
8. My delegation fully supports the Commission's recommendations. We listened with great interest to the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Seychelles, who, in his conclusion, summed up those recommendations as follows: there should be an appeal to the Members of the United Nations to provide, through an appropriate fund, financial, technical and material assistance to the Republic of Seychelles to enable it to deal with the problems arising from the mercenary aggression; Member States should be called upon to co-operate fully in the preparation of an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries; and the mandate of the Commission should be extended to enable it to complete its inquiry and to submit a supplementary report to the Council [*ibid.*, para. 52].
9. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to support the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry and most vigorously to reject the actions of the mercenary forces, against whom the international community as a whole must adopt measures of all kinds so that such forces cannot continue to disrupt the peaceful development of nations.
10. Mr. WYZNER (Poland): The Council is reconvening today to consider the report of the Commission of Inquiry it has established under its unanimously adopted resolution 496 (1981), following the complaint by the Republic of Seychelles that a band of mercenaries invaded its territory on 25 November.
11. The circumstances of that abortive invasion were outlined by the representative of Seychelles at the 2314th meeting of the Council, preceding the adoption of resolution 496 (1981). Further details are given in paragraphs 60-65 of the Commission's report. We have also listened with great interest to the succinct summary of events presented on 20 May by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Seychelles, Mr. Jacques Hodoul [2359th meeting].
12. A careful study of the main body of the report and of the annexes thereto makes it abundantly clear to an objective reader who the real culprit is. Additional light on this point has been shed by the press dispatches on the invasion and its aftermath: here I shall mention just three of them, which appeared in *The New York Times* of 22 April, 4 May and 10 May 1982, under the respective headings of "South Africa Tied to Abortive Coup", "Testimony Links South African Arms to Coup" and "Trial Gives Peek at South Africa Intelligence Web", plus those attached to Press Release No. 5 of the Permanent Mission of Seychelles dated 29 March.
13. It is evident that the racist régime of South Africa knew well in advance of the plans to invade Seychelles in order to overthrow its legitimate Government, explicitly approved those plans and provided substantial material assistance for their realization—in short, it had orchestrated this criminal act of armed aggression against the territorial integrity and political independence of a State Member of the United Nations, in flagrant violation of the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter.
14. In this context, one understands why, as stated in paragraph 272 of the report, the Commission was unable to have an interview with the leader of the invading mercenaries, "Mad" Mike Hoare, although we do not believe that the handicap thus created should have been very serious in view of other testimony available.

15. But as some might say, what else is new? The only really new element in this sordid affair is, indeed, its victim, the Republic of Seychelles—a new name added to a long list. How many times in the past have the rulers in Pretoria violated with impunity the Charter of the United Nations? How many of its provisions have they brutally trampled? I think we all know the answer. I also think we know why South Africa has been able to get away with its policies of *apartheid*, colonial exploitation and armed aggression.
16. I might add at this juncture that we see a clear organic link between the case of aggression against Seychelles and another matter regarding South Africa which the Council is bound to take up soon: namely, the question of implementation of its resolution 418 (1977) imposing a mandatory arms embargo against the *apartheid* régime.
17. My delegation has studied with interest the Commission's report, which we consider to be comprehensive, enlightening and useful. We appreciate the efforts of the Commission to produce as balanced and objective a document as possible. We also understand its cautious and dispassionate approach to certain very sensitive issues and its unwillingness to depart from two fundamental legal principles: *audiat et altera pars* and *in dubio pro reo*. We would be remiss if we failed to express our gratitude to its members for their dedication and toil. At the same time, I would be less than completely candid if I did not also say that we would have wished the Commission to be less circumspect in some of the findings and conclusions contained in Chapter VI of the report.
18. My delegation can easily endorse the part of the report concerning the assessment and evaluation of economic damages, based as it is on information provided by the most knowledgeable source, namely, the Government of Seychelles.
19. We also wish to join others in supporting the extension of the Commission's mandate in order to enable it to prepare an update which would take into account the additional evidence now available and, in particular, that which emerged during the trials of the mercenaries involved.
20. We likewise consider the second recommendation, in paragraph 293 of the report, calling for a speedy conclusion of the work on an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries, to be very useful and timely.
21. The Council can surely take all the necessary steps, long overdue as they are, in order once and for all to bring South Africa and its "dogs of war" to heel in order to prevent it from launching yet another aggression in the future.
22. My delegation stands ready to contribute to whatever action the Council might decide to take in this respect.
23. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.
24. Mr. RUPIA (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, I should like at the outset to express the gratitude of my delegation to the members of the Council for having allowed us to participate in this important meeting.
25. We are naturally glad to see you assuming the presidency at a time when the world is beset with profound conflicts. We have been impressed by the able and exemplary manner in which you have conducted the work of this body during this month. For Tanzania, which maintains steady and close relations with the People's Republic of China, your presidency gives us confidence.
26. I should equally like to congratulate Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda who, as President for the month of April, so ably presided over the work of the Council. I pay a tribute to him, as I have had the personal privilege of working with him and have appreciated his distinguished contribution in the service of Africa.
27. The Council is once again meeting to consider the complaint by Seychelles arising out of the naked act of aggression committed by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa against the peace-loving people of Seychelles. In that regard, my delegation is most appreciative of the lucid, factual and informative statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Seychelles [*ibid.*]. The Council has before it the report of the Security Council Commission of Inquiry established under resolution 496 (1981) and contained in document S/14905/Rev.1. We commend the members of the Commission, Mr. Ozores Typaldos of Panama, Mr. Sezaki of Japan and Mr. Craig of Ireland, for compiling such important data.
28. The events of 25 November 1981 epitomized South Africa's unfolding general policy of aggression against independent African States. Hence, for the Republic of Seychelles, a non-aligned country, an ardent supporter of the liberation struggle against *apartheid*, to be targeted as a victim of the mercenary adventure was not inconsistent with that policy. Seychelles, strategically located in the Indian Ocean, has taken on added significance, especially in the wake of the resurgence of the so-called strategic alliance with South Africa.
29. South Africa, which has arrogated to itself the role of gendarme in the region, has committed numerous acts of aggression against the neighbouring States of Angola, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zambia. Therefore for South Africa the toppling of the revolutionary Government of Seychelles, leading to the installation of a puppet régime, was part of the grand design against the opponents

of *apartheid*. What is also disturbing to all peace-loving people is the realization that certain countries find comfort in South Africa's self-prescribed role, adding a new dimension to the entire conflict in the southern African region. Naturally, the immediate result has been the intensification by the *apartheid* régime of efforts to destabilize the region and the area beyond.

30. The extent to which South Africa can go against the opponents of *apartheid* is unparalleled. Its constant armed incursions into Mozambique and its perpetual policy of intimidation and blackmail of the neighbouring States, including its continuing occupation of southern Angola, using the international Territory of Namibia, which is occupied illegally, as a platform for that aggression and for numerous other terrorist activities, are all part of that policy. This should not be allowed to continue, least of all to find sympathy in certain quarters of the Council. The arguments adduced to prevent indictment of South Africa cannot be considered as sound propositions in the light of the overwhelming amount of evidence which is before the world and which places South Africa squarely in the guilty position. Since that heinous act against Seychelles, the revelations through the international press and the testimonies of the mercenaries themselves have all been self-evident. What happened in Seychelles on 25 November 1981 is a continuation of South Africa's policy of installing well-tailored puppet régimes in order to enhance the destabilization of independent African States. The use of puppets in such criminal adventures did not start with Seychelles. The traitor Savimbi, who has been on the pay-roll of South Africa since before Angola gained its independence, has not stopped his conduit role against his own country. The Savimbis and Manchams pride themselves on being on the same pay-roll as the internationally acknowledged soldiers of fortune led by Mike Hoare. As far as we are concerned, all puppets stand as condemned as their masters and co-conspirators—the third dogs of war. We should like to submit as forcefully as we possibly can that the Seychelles débâcle of 25 November 1981 was the work of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

31. The international community is being presented with evidence to prove that South Africa was privy to, and actually sanctioned, the expedition. The behaviour of the South African authorities and their uneven-handedness in the handling of the whole affair leave no doubt that they were involved. The mercenaries came from South Africa and most of them are members of the security forces. That is why, when in the face of defeat at the hands of the gallant Seychelles defence forces and in their panic retreat and the subsequent hijacking of the Air India airliner, the mercenaries did not hesitate to go to South Africa, where they had come from. The swift act of clemency and the prompt release of most of the mercenaries cast initial light on the total involvement of the South African Government in the whole affair. The subse-

quent official silence on the matter and the refusal to grant permission to the Commissioners to interview the mercenaries, on the pretext that evidence given to the United Nations Commission might be prejudicial and that regard must also be had to the *sub judice* rule, serve to underscore the extent to which the *apartheid* régime was involved.

32. Evidently the racist Government could not charge the mercenaries with illegal possession of firearms, because it supplied them. It could not charge them with conspiracy to commit an offence outside South Africa, because the whole expedition was planned and financed by that régime.

33. Taking all these factors into account, my delegation wonders whether what is going on now in South Africa is anything like a trial, for what can be expected of a system which is itself an accomplice in the crime? What can be expected of a system which, in the first instance, chose to ignore the crime altogether and set the mercenaries free? Obviously, the South African "legal" system, being the total embodiment of the obnoxious system of *apartheid*, cannot be expected to punish those who commit offences in the service of the racist régime.

34. The Seychelles raid by a band of mercenaries is not the first raid on an independent, peace-loving African country. Since the early 1960s, numerous mercenary plots have been hatched and carried out. To date, the possibility of mercenary aggression remains a serious threat to the sovereignty and independence of many small States in Africa, and indeed elsewhere in the developing world; therefore the Council must categorically pronounce itself against mercenarism. It must condemn South Africa. Short of that, the Council may run the risk of appearing to be acquiescing in this evil system.

35. The Government of Tanzania opposes all mercenary activities, since we believe they are manifestations of crimes against peace. The international community must urgently enact an internationally accepted instrument that will proscribe all acts leading to the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries.

36. We have noted with distress the counter-initiatives by some countries during the consideration of this item both in the Sixth Committee and in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of a International Convention Against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries. We find it strange that the very countries that have labelled the national liberation movements "terrorist groups" have found logic in going into partnership with régimes that finance and use mercenaries in Africa and elsewhere.

37. Let us therefore come to grips with the realities of the day and declare that the activities of mercenaries are contrary to the fundamental principles of inter-

national law. Nations should denounce the whole concept of mercenarism as a crime against humanity, threatening the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

38. As the Commission anticipated, there is a strong need for the Council to examine once again the complaint submitted by the Government of Seychelles as more evidence comes to light, and indeed, to issue a supplementary report. This is especially necessary in view of the inadequate probe into the political aspects, for they relate significantly to the background and financing of the mercenary aggression, which were part of the Commission's mandate under Security Council resolution 496 (1981).

39. My delegation, however, welcomes the economic aspects of the recommendations, especially those which relate to the serious economic dislocation caused by the mercenary aggression. We hope the international community will respond positively to the appeal for assistance to Seychelles, to enable it to rebuild its damaged structures and equipment and, more significantly, to rehabilitate its economy, by contributing generously to the special fund. In this regard we note with appreciation the willingness expressed by the Government of France to play a special role in co-ordinating the resource mobilization for this purpose.

40. We cannot conclude this statement without paying special tribute to the gallant people of Seychelles for what they have done on behalf of Africa. South Africa's defeat at the hands of the revolutionary forces of Seychelles is the act of a courageous people who love their independence and are willing to defend it. Tanzania has already pledged total solidarity with the people of Seychelles. We would like to assure them that we will always be with them, even during these difficult moments of economic reconstruction. To that end Tanzania is ready to make a modest contribution to the voluntary fund to be established by the Council.

41. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana, Mr. Archibald Mogwe, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

42. Mr. MOGWE (Botswana): The first paragraph of resolution CM/Res. 906 (XXXVIII) on the mercenary aggression against the Republic of Seychelles, which was adopted by the Council of Ministers of the OAU at its thirty-eighth session, held at Addis Ababa from 22 to 28 February 1982, reads:

"Congratulates the valiant people of Seychelles and their Government on their resounding victory over the vile mercenaries in the pay of international imperialism."

That trenchant sentence contains the vital elements of the subject before the Security Council.

43. In the past few days, speaker after speaker has praised the valour of the people and Government of Seychelles. Speaker after speaker has condemned the mercenary attack which shattered the peace, disturbed the life, damaged and destroyed the property and disrupted the economy of this island State of some 63,000 people. And that is not all, for the attack also resulted in injuries and loss of life.

44. The valiant people of Seychelles stood up, fought against aggression and made short work of the attack in defence of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country. Botswana salutes them; the OAU Council of Ministers congratulates them. As the current Chairman of that Council, I am particularly gratified that the solidarity displayed in the condemnation of the mercenary aggression against this African country transcended whatever differences there might be in other areas of our political endeavours.

45. The world has been informed that the objective of the sinister and ignominious plot foiled on 25 November 1981 was to capture the entire leadership of the country, overthrow the Government and reinstate the former head of State. "Capture the entire leadership", I said. Bloodless coups are a rarity and, let us admit, the adventure would have resulted in loss of life.

46. The Government of Seychelles, the members of the Security Council Commission of Inquiry in their report and the news media have all identified the mercenaries, their country of permanent or temporary residence, their designations, their mode of operation and the haven of their escape. The roll of dishonour names, among others, the notorious mercenary Mike Hoare, Dolinschek—by his own account an intelligence officer in the National Intelligence Service of South Africa—and Puren, a Congo-crisis graduate. There are others, too, who seem to be associated with South African security forces in roles that go beyond the concept of mere involvement in the military routine of compulsory National Service. What about Mr. Steyn de Wet and Mr. van Huysteen? What about the statement by Commandant van der Spuy concerning his unit? These questions cry out for answers.

47. We have here not just a motley group of louts, but experienced mercenaries, professional men, some still in the active service of their country. And the holding of regular planning meetings; the assembling of exotic military hardware; the issuing of passports under false names and the promptness with which Puren's was issued; the use of the firing range to test weapons; the ease with which such a large body of men passed through customs, immigration and security without being searched—in short, the facility, blatancy and brazenness with which the mercenaries

carried out their coup preparations within South Africa—all serve to inspire incredulity about South Africa's protestation that it had neither initiated, approved nor known about the attempted coup.

48. We recognize and appreciate the unanimity with which the Council supports the recommendation that the present report should be considered an interim one and that the mandate of the Commissioners be extended in order for them to pursue their meticulous and methodical search for truth and to prepare and submit a supplement, a complementary report. The area of investigation has now been narrowed down to mercenaries inside South Africa itself. The Council should expect from the Government of South Africa all the possible assistance the Commissioners may require. It should seek South Africa's co-operation and facilitation of the inquiry.

49. Our concern here at this moment is first and foremost the question of Seychelles. But the larger question of mercenarism is a matter of concern to nations across the African continent.

50. The OAU has adopted a Convention which, by definition, excludes members of the enlarged international community. Our ultimate objective, however, is the adoption by the international community of a global convention. Mercenaries from other nations and continents can best be dealt with under a United Nations convention. We are aware that some Western countries have enacted legislation forbidding the recruitment of their nationals for foreign wars. However, the fact that mercenaries are still being recruited openly in the West through magazine advertisements shows that legislative measures such as the Neutrality Act in the United States and the Foreign Enlistment Act in the United Kingdom, to mention but two examples, are extremely inadequate. For that reason we welcome the recommendation relating to the establishment of an international convention against mercenarism.

51. Yesterday mercenaries were in the Congo and Angola, in Benin and Zimbabwe. Today they are in Seychelles. Tomorrow is anybody's guess.

52. What is no guess, however, is that if the international community genuinely accepts and upholds the principle of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and their right to embrace, without let or hindrance, the ideological and socio-economic systems of their choice; if the fundamental prerequisites of statehood—*independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States*—are held sacrosanct and inviolable; if the hegemonistic designs and hankering after spheres of imperialist influence cannot merely be curbed, but completely outlawed; and if no country provides a haven for mercenaries and each enacts legislation prohibiting its nationals from enlisting for mercenary service, then the death knell of mercenarism will have tolled.

53. We congratulate the valiant people of Seychelles and their Government on their resounding victory over mercenaries in the pay of international imperialism.

54. It has been reported by the Commissioners and acknowledged by all speakers that the Republic of Seychelles has, as a result of the invasion, suffered extensive material damage. The Foreign Minister of Seychelles has catalogued his country's requirements. What must be said, and said very loudly for even the deaf to hear, is that as a result of the reprehensible attack on Seychelles, the Government of that country is being compelled to divert its slender resources from essential development projects to the work of repairing the damage done and to strengthening its security and defence systems.

55. The international community is renowned for its generosity in times of dire need. We have no reason to believe that the plea of the people and Government of Seychelles will go unheeded and their valour unsung and unrewarded. We therefore support the recommendation that a voluntary fund be set up with the objective of alleviating in some measure the plight and suffering of the people of Seychelles.

56. On behalf of the OAU Council of Ministers, and on behalf of my own country, Botswana, I thank the Council for having permitted me to participate in this debate. I violated convention by not congratulating you, Sir, on your occupancy of the presidency for the month of May. This was no oversight on my part, but a deliberate act—not because you are not worthy of the kind words that have been addressed to you, but because all of the distinguished personalities who have preceded me have paid you every tribute in the book and left none for me, save to associate my delegation and the OAU Council of Ministers with everything that has been said here about your person, your country and the confidence you enjoy from us all.

57. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

58. Mrs. NGUYEN NGOC DUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam would like, first of all, to extend to you, Mr. President, and to the other members of the Council, its sincere thanks for providing it with this opportunity to participate in the work of the Council on the important subject of the attempted armed *coup d'état* against the Republic of Seychelles in November 1981.

59. My delegation listened attentively to the clear and convincing statement of Mr. Jacques Hodoul, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Seychelles (*ibid.*), and we fully share his evaluation of the results of the investigation by the Commission of Inquiry and the measures to be taken in the future.

60. Like the representatives of countries which have spoken before me, we regret that in spite of the efforts of the distinguished members of the Commission of Inquiry the result should have proved to be so limited with regard to determining the origin, financing and organization of that aggression. This major lacuna is due to the fact that the Commission was refused by the South African authorities any contact with the mercenaries who returned to South Africa after carrying out their mission, and therefore could not interrogate them.

61. This obstructive attitude on the part of South Africa did not succeed in suppressing the truth. The press, despite its limitations, has already made clear the essential fact—that those in charge of this operation intended to overthrow the Government of Seychelles—with information about the plan which had been drawn up, the source of financing, the supply of arms—everything, including details as to the undeniable role of a service of the South African armed forces, the Military Intelligence Service, and of the National Intelligence Service.

62. International public opinion is agreed that the abortive act of armed aggression was indeed planned and prepared in South Africa and that most of the mercenaries had served in the armed forces of South Africa. This revelation is a surprise to no one, since this is a racist régime which persists in pursuing its odious policy of *apartheid* and oppression against neighbouring countries, despite the chorus of international condemnation.

63. This abortive act of force against the young Republic of Seychelles is not an isolated case; far from it. In terms of the African continent alone, the same scenario has been acted out, with some variations, in Conakry, in Cotonou, in the Congo, in Zaire, in Zimbabwe, in the Comoros and against Angola, Mozambique, Togo and so on. In other continents too, this form of armed intervention, of destabilization by means of mercenaries, has become a dangerous scourge to the young, newly independent States already sorely tried by so many years of effort in the liberation struggle.

64. This proliferation of violent attempts at *coups d'état*, political attacks and armed interventions, which are now becoming more generalized, is no accident. It is to be explained by the plans for stemming the tide of the national liberation movements and by the hegemonistic policies pursued by international imperialist and reactionary forces that cannot tolerate the idea of their former colonies or vassal States becoming independent, enjoying self-determination and daring to choose a path of development which is not their own. In the world context where acts of open war are not always rewarding, those in imperialist, colonialist and reactionary circles often have recourse to underhand and disguised methods such as the use of mercenaries.

65. In our region, South-East Asia, there exists at the present time a new type of mercenary which reactionary hegemonistic forces have recruited from the ranks of nationals of the countries of Indo-China, in particular from among refugees who have left their countries following war or economic difficulties. Under various disguises—particularly as refugee camps—military mercenary training centres have been set up and are fully operational in the territory of neighbouring countries of Indo-China with the aim of destabilizing those countries. This type of mercenary activity is particularly dangerous because it gives rise to a permanent state of insecurity of half peace, half war, and causes indescribable suffering to the countries that are victims of these activities.

66. That is why Viet Nam is acting, in full awareness, in fully endorsing the proposal of Foreign Minister Jacques Hodoul for the preparation and rapid adoption of an international convention with effective provisions to combat this infernal scourge of the mercenary.

67. It is to be hoped that this juridical instrument will be drafted in such a way as to be applicable not only to mercenaries but especially to States which recruit them, finance them and use them and which have on their territory training camps disguised in various ways. We would hope that this convention would provide for severe punishment both of the mercenaries and of the States which employ them as an instrument of their policy of interference in the internal affairs of other States.

68. We consider mercenarism to be an international crime, an act of international terrorism which poses a grave threat to sovereignty, the territorial integrity and, in some cases, the very existence of many newly independent States.

69. With regard to the case of the Republic of Seychelles which is now before this Council, my delegation would like to associate itself with all non-aligned and other countries in expressing our respect and admiration for the people and Government of Seychelles, who dare to defy all imperialist intrigues, firmly and valiantly supporting all just causes, in spite of all threats, and who work so tirelessly and so consistently to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, a nuclear-free zone without military bases. Perhaps it is this courageous position of the Republic of Seychelles that has made it such a thorn in the side of the warmongers whose target it has become. The Republic of Seychelles may be sure that all those who cherish justice are on its side.

70. We should like to take this opportunity to quote a passage from the telegram sent by the President of the Council of State of our country, Mr. Truong Chinh, to the President of the Republic of Seychelles,

Mr. France Albert René, immediately after the event in question:

"The great victory of the armed forces and the people of Seychelles over the attempted aggression against the Republic of Seychelles once again demonstrates that they are capable of foiling all the designs of the imperialists and reactionaries and of effectively defending the national independence and integrity of their country.

"Viet Nam reaffirms its whole-hearted solidarity with and its energetic support for the people and Government of Seychelles in their fight for the defence and construction of a developed and prosperous Republic of Seychelles."

71. My delegation, in conclusion, urges members of the Council to follow up appropriately the just and logical proposals submitted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Seychelles, in particular those concerning the establishment of a special emergency assistance fund to compensate for the considerable damage caused by this aggression, the preparation as soon as possible of an international convention on mercenarism and the prolongation of the mandate of the Commission of Inquiry in order to create the necessary conditions for bringing this case to trial, as the international community has the right to expect.

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

73. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Sir, I should like to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the presidency for the month of May and to express my conviction that under your competent leadership the work of the Council will prove successful.

74. I wish also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda of Zaire, for the competence with which he carried out his functions.

75. I am very grateful for this opportunity to take part in this debate on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation.

76. The Council has already had occasion once [2314th meeting] to deal with the question of the attack by a group of terrorists against the Republic of Seychelles, an attack that failed thanks to the vigilance of and the effective measures taken by the armed forces of that country.

77. My delegation notes with profound concern that cases of the use of mercenaries in pursuit of a policy of destabilization and terror against newly liberated countries and national liberation movements, partic-

ularly in the African region, have become more frequent and more serious.

78. It is obvious that these acts all fall within the framework of the attempts of imperialist and reactionary circles to suppress by force the struggle of the peoples for their national liberation or to divert them from their freely chosen course of economic and social development. That is a new manifestation of the absurd aspiration to restore, at the end of the twentieth century, in one form or another, colonial or semi-colonial domination over those peoples and territories. Moreover, acts of aggression against the territorial integrity of the Republic of Seychelles cannot be dissociated from the negative processes that are developing in the region of the Indian Ocean as a result of the dangerous intensification of the military presence of certain imperialist Powers.

79. My delegation has carefully examined the report of the Commission of Inquiry and found it to be a very useful one. At the same time, we associate ourselves with the view expressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Seychelles, Mr. Jacques Hodoul, when he emphasised in his clear and precise statement that

"the report, in spite of the evident desire of the Commission fully to carry out the mandate entrusted to it, does not wholly elucidate the origin, background and financing of the aggression against the Republic of Seychelles" [2359th meeting, para. 46].

80. In this regard, I should like to express the hope of the Bulgarian delegation that these omissions will be repaired and that the Council will give the Commission a mandate to supplement its report by new facts, thus making it possible to obtain a full picture of the situation. Nevertheless, the facts available have demonstrated undeniably that the attack against Seychelles was inspired, organized and carried out with the direct participation of the racist régime of Pretoria. It was prepared with the approval of the South African Special Services and carried out with weapons supplied and mercenaries recruited by the South African armed forces. According to the revelations of the gang's leader, the racist Government had decided in principle in September 1981 to carry out this invasion plan, the specific objective of which was the overthrow of the legitimate Government of Seychelles.

81. What is particularly serious is that this act is not an isolated one. It falls within the framework of an extremely dangerous policy on the part of Pretoria which is well-known to the international community. It is one more link in a long chain of crimes committed by the racists, who are continuing their illegal occupation of Namibia and their acts of aggression against neighbouring States.

82. In the circumstances, there can be no doubt that the full and direct responsibility for the mercenary

attack and for the acts of aerial terrorism and the taking of hostages which followed that attack rests with the Government of South Africa. Full responsibility, under the norms of international law, includes responsibility for direct and indirect damage caused to the Republic of Seychelles as a result of this act of aggression. It should also be stressed that this is not the first time that the use of armed force and terrorism encouraged by those in imperialist and reactionary circles has proved detrimental to the economic development of newly liberated countries, which are already confronted with complicated social and economic problems inherited from the colonial era.

83. Examination of the report of the Commission of Inquiry provides further confirmation of the fact that the attack committed against Seychelles constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law. The racist régime of Pretoria is politically and juridically fully responsible for these illegal acts.

84. In the context, it is clear that all those that encourage that country in its policy of international adventurism and terrorism by openly demonstrating their friendship with it also bear their share of the responsibility.

85. I should like to reaffirm here the whole-hearted support of my Government and the Bulgarian people for the just cause of the Government and the people of Seychelles. We hope that, on the basis of the report of the Commission of Inquiry and the conclusions that will emerge from this debate, the Council will take appropriate effective measures to compile an even more complete record of all the aspects of the events of 25 November 1981, with a view to the final elimination of the negative consequences of this barbarous attack.

86. The mercenary attack against Seychelles is further proof that it is necessary to complete work on an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries.

87. In the Bulgarian delegation's view, appropriate and effective action by the Council would undoubtedly contribute decisively to the prevention of similar acts in the future; it would also help to strengthen the Charter of the United Nations and the effectiveness of the Organization.

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

89. Mr. ŠILOVIĆ (Yugoslavia): Sir, at the outset I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for the month of May. I am convinced that your known skill and vast experience will significantly contribute to the work of the Council,

as has already been amply proved during the deliberations on two very sensitive and important issues. I also wish most sincerely to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, the representative of Zaire, on his successful performance of this responsible duty during the month of April, which was no less difficult.

90. I should like also to express my gratitude to the members of the Council for allowing me to present my country's views regarding the complaint by Seychelles on the assault against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that small non-aligned State.

91. We listened attentively to the detailed account of the event and its consequences presented to the Council by Mr. Jacques Hodoul, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Seychelles, for which we are grateful.

92. A particular tribute goes to the members of the Security Council Commission of Inquiry for the work accomplished and the comprehensive and detailed report prepared pursuant to resolution 496 (1981), which was ably presented by the representative of Panama.

93. I shall now comment briefly on the basic results of the work of the Commission of Inquiry and the messages emanating from its report, which is contained in document S/14905/Rev.1.

94. It is obvious that the action carried out by mercenaries on 25 November 1981 in Seychelles represents a classic example and an illustration of the manner in which acts of aggression and overthrowing of so-called undesirable Governments are performed, especially against small, independent and, most frequently, non-aligned countries. We have witnessed similar cases in Africa, Latin America, Asia and elsewhere. During the talks with the members of the Commission of Inquiry, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Information of the Republic of South Africa stated that in Africa itself there had been 55 *coups d'état* in the last 30 years [S/14905/Rev.1, para. 186]. Mr. Botha forgot to state how many of them were inspired and assisted by his country.

95. The goal of the mercenary action in Seychelles, covertly planned, organized and equipped by the country which has so many times in this forum been condemned for the use of force and acts of aggression against its neighbours, was evidently aimed at overthrowing the legal Government of Seychelles. In our view, the report of the Commission of Inquiry and the talks held by the members of the Commission with the South African authorities unequivocally reveal that the mercenary action was planned in South Africa itself. There is no doubt that the South African racist régime was not only aware of the action and made it possible but was also directly involved in its organization and performance. Official denials made by ministers and officials of South Africa during the

talks with the members of the Commission could not stand up against the facts which point to the validity and justification of the accusations against South Africa. Testimony given by captured mercenaries and the fact that most of them are South African citizens, and some even intelligence and military officials of the racist régime, is further evidence of South Africa's involvement in this aggressive act.

96. The mercenary attack on Seychelles is a case of a double crime, a twofold violation of international law: first, the aggression against the sovereignty of a country, and secondly, the hijacking of an aircraft and the taking of hostages. Neither of them can nor should be tolerated by the international community, and particularly by this United Nations forum. The Council should react in fulfilment of its responsibilities and finally make South Africa obey the norms of international behaviour.

97. Yugoslavia cannot remain passive when a small, non-aligned country becomes the victim of outside aggression and the flagrant use of force. This act of terrorism constitutes aggression not only against the people of Seychelles and its legal Government but also against all freedom-loving peoples in the world, against the basic principles and norms of international conduct and against the Charter of the United Nations.

98. The aggression against Seychelles caused considerable material, financial and economic damage, which should be compensated. Undoubtedly, South Africa bears full responsibility for this damage.

99. We support the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry calling for financial, technical and material assistance to Seychelles by Member States and the specialized agencies in order to eliminate the consequences of the aggression, and for such assistance to be directed through a special fund. The Yugoslav delegation considers that international assistance to Seychelles should in no way lessen South Africa's obligation to compensate the damage caused by its subversive and illegal activities, not only in Seychelles but also in other neighbouring countries which have become victims of the impudence and brutality of the racist régime.

100. In this context, the Yugoslav delegation would like particularly to underline the need for speedier and more efficient work on the final elaboration of an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries. We hope that the attack on Seychelles and the report of the Commission of Inquiry will stimulate the exertion of utmost efforts in this direction and that an agreed text of the convention will be adopted as soon as possible.

101. The Yugoslav delegation expects that, after consideration of the report of the Commission of Inquiry, the Council will take the necessary measures to prevent similar attempts aimed at destabilizing and

jeopardizing the security of countries in the future, which constitute a threat to international peace and security in the regions involved and beyond them.

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

103. Mr. MOSELEY (Barbados): I should like to begin by thanking you, Sir, and through you the other members of the Council, for affording me the opportunity to address the Council. I also wish to add my own expression of pleasure at seeing you preside over the Council's affairs during the month of May. At this most trying time we have seen ample evidence that the Council's work benefits from your widely demonstrated diplomatic skills and the wisdom for which your country has been renowned from time immemorial.

104. My country has been faced on more than one occasion with threats of insurrection and invasion by mercenary forces. In consequence, the Government of Barbados feels a special sympathy with Seychelles with respect to the traumatic ordeal experienced by that country on 25 November 1981.

105. Barbados has at every possible opportunity made it quite clear that it abhors mercenary activity in any form or guise. Barbados was one of the delegations calling on the General Assembly, at its thirty-fourth session [*resolution 34/140 of 14 December 1979*] to include the item "Drafting of an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries" in the agenda of its thirty-fifth session. Barbados was among the sponsors of General Assembly resolution 35/48 of 4 December 1980, which established the *Ad Hoc* Committee. Barbados has been an active member of that Committee.

106. The Government and people of Barbados regard mercenarism as a crime against humanity. It is a crime which, in my country's view, ought to be regarded as being the more dangerous because of the legalistic loopholes that tend to frustrate its punishment. Barbados is convinced that peace-loving nations and civilized peoples everywhere should take all possible action to eliminate this menace from the international arena.

107. The dastardly assault on the Republic of Seychelles by a band of marauders operating out of South Africa underscores the vulnerability of small States to attacks by mercenaries. I need not belabour this point, since the arguments in support of this contention have been clearly enunciated by several delegations time and again. It is the hope of my delegation, however, that heed will be paid to the second recommendation in paragraph 293 of the report of the Com-

mission of Inquiry. The recommendation reads as follows:

"As the possibility of aggression by mercenaries remains a grave threat to the sovereignty and independence of States, particularly small developing countries, the Commission recommends that the work at present under way on an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries be brought to a speedy conclusion so that the convention may be opened for signature as soon as possible."

108. My delegation unreservedly supports that recommendation. We feel very strongly that every effort must be made to complete the convention with as little delay as possible, and certainly no later than the end of next year.

109. We appreciate the concerns of those delegations wishing to avoid the complications that would inevitably flow from the existence of more than one definition of "mercenary" in international law. We also appreciate the concerns of those delegations that seek to ensure that those of their nationals who might be engaged in mercenary activities are guaranteed humane treatment if and when captured. My delegation is not unaware that some delegations—even some of those serving on the *ad hoc* Committee—would prefer that a convention not be elaborated at all. My delegation once again appeals to all members of the international community to safeguard the principle of sovereign equality by taking necessary action to eliminate mercenary activity by their nationals and from within their borders.

110. In its issue of March 1982, the magazine *New African* quotes British journalist and author Tony Geraghty as having said: "it is doubtful whether any military entrepreneur, however influential, could engineer a risky political venture without Government help". The article in the magazine then proceeds to cite instances in which Mr. Geraghty has uncovered governmental links of one kind or another with mercenary activities perpetrated in African and Arab countries.

111. It is not enough for delegations to pay lip service on such an important matter; it is not enough for Governments of powerful nations to shed crocodile tears when mercenary activity, such as was attempted in Seychelles, results in failure; nor is it enough for the international community to turn a blind eye in cases in which mercenary activity does in fact succeed.

112. It is my delegation's view that States must assume some responsibility for eliminating mercenary activity, and we also believe that in this case the international responsibility must override the State's responsibility to protect its citizens when they are planning to commit, are in the process of committing or have already committed any form of mercenary activity.

113. My delegation therefore agrees whole-heartedly with the Commission of Inquiry in respect of its second, third and fourth recommendations. We also strongly urge compliance with the fifth recommendation, which calls upon the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) to give further consideration to preventive measures with regard to the checking and examination of baggage on commercial airlines. With regard to the first and sixth recommendations, my delegation is particularly happy to lend its support—moral as it can only be, in keeping with our limits in this forum—to the proposals so eloquently presented by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Seychelles, Mr. Jacques Hodoul.

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

115. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you our most sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for the month of May. We deeply cherish our ties of close friendship with your great country which, upholding principle, has always stood by Pakistan in its hour of crisis. Relations between our two countries are an example of good neighbourliness and a most positive factor for the peace and stability of our region. I am confident that your wide experience and understanding of international relations and your sagacious leadership will enable the Council to carry out its important responsibilities during this month with distinction and success.

116. I also wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express the deep appreciation of my delegation for the admirable manner in which Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda of Zaire guided the work of the Council during the past month.

117. In its resolution 496 (1981), the Council condemned the mercenary aggression of 25 November 1981 against the Republic of Seychelles and established a commission to investigate the origin, background and financing of this aggression as well as to assess and evaluate the resulting economic damages.

118. We now have the report of the Commission of Inquiry before us, in document S/14905/Rev.1. On behalf of the Pakistan delegation, I should first like to pay a sincere tribute to the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Ozores Typaldos of Panama, and to its two members, Mr. Craig of Ireland and Mr. Sezaki of Japan, for the detailed report they have presented on the various aspects of the mercenary aggression against Seychelles. We have noted with dismay, however, that owing to the refusal of South Africa to permit it to interview the mercenaries, the Commission has been unable to provide complete information on the origin and background of the mercenary aggression. We therefore feel that the mandate of the Com-

mission should be extended so as to enable it to submit a supplementary report to the Council.

119. The Commission of Inquiry's report, incomplete though it may be, leaves little doubt however that this mercenary operation was hatched and prepared in South Africa with the knowledge and support of the racist régime there.

120. The report has highlighted revealing information about the planning of the mercenary aggression, the recruitment of mercenaries and their background. A number of the recruited persons were reservists in the South African defence forces under call-up notice. The weapons were delivered to and tested by them in South Africa. One of the mercenaries, now in custody in Seychelles, is a serving member of the National Intelligence Service of South Africa. Accordingly, in paragraph 282 of its report, the Commission has rightly concluded that:

"Given the tight and effective control exercised by the security authorities in South Africa, and the nature of the preparations for the mercenary operation of 25 November 1981 in South Africa, particularly the procurement and test-firing of the weapons, the Commission finds it difficult to believe that the South African authorities did not at least have knowledge of the preparations in this matter."

121. Subsequent to the compilation of the report by the Commission, more light has been shed on the matter, particularly at the trial of the 43 mercenaries in South Africa accused of hijacking the Air India plane. The testimony of mercenary leader Mike Hoare is particularly revealing.

122. The findings of the Commission based on the available information and the testimony of the mercenaries in their hijacking trial clearly point to the complicity of South African authorities in this sordid episode. We feel that at the appropriate time the Council should have no hesitation in clearly placing the responsibility for this aggressive act on the racist régime in South Africa.

123. South African involvement in the mercenary aggression against the Republic of Seychelles should be seen in the context of the racist régime's policy of ruthless aggression, interference and destabilization perpetrated against neighbouring independent African States.

124. In conformity with Pakistan's total opposition to mercenary activities anywhere in the world, we condemn South Africa for its abetting of the mercenary aggression against the Republic of Seychelles. Such acts of violence and overt or covert attempts aimed at undermining the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States constitute serious contraventions of the Charter of the United Nations.

125. In its report, the Commission has provided some details of the loss suffered by the Republic of Seychelles as a result of that aggression. An adverse impact on the tourism industry and damage to the airport in Seychelles have been cited by the report. More details about short-term and long-term adverse effects of this mercenary aggression on the economy of the Republic were given in the lucid statement by the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Seychelles [2359th meeting]. Sharing the view that Seychelles should not be left to bear the burden of this loss alone, we support the recommendation of the Commission that financial, technical and material assistance should be given to Seychelles to enable it to overcome the difficulties it is facing as a result of the mercenary aggression. A special voluntary fund should be established immediately for that purpose, and it is the hope of the Pakistan delegation that Member States will contribute generously to that fund.

126. The mercenary aggression has underlined the urgent need for the speedy conclusion of an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries. This convention would no doubt address itself, among other matters, to the recommendations of the Commission that States make every effort to prevent mercenary operations and that Member States having information relating to mercenary activities should without delay communicate the same to the Governments concerned. The Committee's recommendation that the ICAO should give further consideration to preventive measures against the clandestine transportation of arms in baggage checked on commercial airlines also needs urgent attention. A concerted effort is required to bring under control the scourge of terrorism and mercenary activity in the world.

127. Before I conclude, I should like to extend to the people and the Government of the Republic of Seychelles—a sister Republic of the Indian Ocean—the full support of the people and the Government of Pakistan in safeguarding their territorial integrity, national sovereignty and political independence.

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

129. Mr. CASSANDRA (Sao Tome and Principe): Mr. President, first of all I am grateful to you and to the other members of the Council for giving my delegation this opportunity to participate in this important debate.

130. Since it is the first time that I have addressed the Council, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to extend to you our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for this month and to wish you success.

131. I should also like to express the most sincere appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda of Zaire, who so skilfully and effectively guided the work of the Council during the month of April.
132. The question under consideration is very clear, and I am not going to recall the facts because they have been amply and exhaustively set forth in the relevant documents before the Council. However, my delegation would like simply to note that the conduct of the mercenary operations, their careful preparation and their timing and objectives all strongly indicate the direct or indirect responsibility and involvement of South Africa.
133. Sao Tome and Principe, like many other African countries, is profoundly concerned by this aggression against our sister islands of Seychelles, not only because we are both small and economically fragile but also because evidence is mounting to suggest that this type of mercenary aggression forms part of a world-wide strategy by international reactionary forces to destabilize and reconquer independent and sovereign States, especially in Africa. We are concerned also because we were very nearly the victim of a mercenary mission in 1977, and because we recognize that the rapidly growing mercenary trade challenges national sovereignty in a fundamental way.
134. National sovereignty in a democratic system is really the sovereignty of the people. The covert use of mercenaries for foreign-policy goals undermines the public's hard-won right openly to govern the conduct of international affairs. I should like to cite a good example: in 1976, representatives of the American people in the United States Congress passed the Clark Amendment, which makes it illegal for United States agencies to aid rebels in Angola without the prior public approval of Congress. My delegation believes that the use of mercenaries undermines national sovereignty in a most dangerous and unlawful way in both the perpetrating and the victimized countries. Hence it is the responsibility of the Security Council, the OAU and our Governments to take concrete action on the Seychelles question in order drastically to increase the risks and costs of using mercenaries in the future.
135. A great deal of information on mercenaries exists. These data need to be centralized and disseminated so as to leave absolutely no loopholes for those Governments which are using mercenaries or allowing them to be recruited within their frontiers.
136. It could hardly be argued that a mercenary is capable of fighting for a good cause. However, one should contrast the sinister image of the mercenary with that of the freedom-fighter—the man or woman who takes up arms only when convinced that all else has failed and when the unbearable oppression of others compels the moral decision to use retaliatory force.
137. So far my delegation has suggested that two forms of action are in order as a result of the mercenary aggression against the Republic of Seychelles.
138. First, information about the extent and character of mercenary activity should be centralized and disseminated.
139. Secondly, action should be taken to outlaw the operations of mercenaries in an effective manner. In this regard we should like to draw attention to OAU resolution CM/Res. 906 (XXXVIII) on mercenary aggression against the Republic of Seychelles, adopted by the Council of Ministers at its thirty-eighth session, held at Addis Ababa last February which, in paragraph 9, appeals:
- “to the United Nations to speed up the drafting of the International Convention against the security, financing and granting of hospitality to mercenaries and guarantee its subsequent signature and ratification by all Member States;”¹
140. The third type of action my delegation supports is the commissioning of a more detailed follow-up report by the Commission of Inquiry which on 15 March issued its findings concerning the mercenary invasion of Seychelles. The follow-up report should, in our view, aim at determining the financial backing enjoyed by the mercenaries in question and the sources and implications of such aggression.
141. In conclusion I wish to say that my Government condemns that act of piracy which aimed at destabilization and the attempt at a *coup d'état* in Seychelles. We believe that what happened on that day in Seychelles could happen to us tomorrow, and the only effective way of stopping that is for each country to have laws which clearly prohibit those activities and unequivocally demonstrate the political will to enforce them.
142. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.
143. Mr. SRITHIRATH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like first of all to address to you and to all members of the Council my sincere thanks for allowing me to participate in the debate on the question of the armed aggression against the Republic of Seychelles.
144. The severe condemnation by the Council on 15 December 1981 [*resolution 496 (1981)*] of the shameless aggression by a gang of mercenaries against the Republic of Seychelles, a non-aligned sovereign country, clearly reflects the serious concern of the international community regarding the dangerous spread of the scourge of the criminal activities of merce-

naries. This unanimous, just and vigorous action by the Council, which the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic endorsed, was a harsh blow to the practice of using mercenaries as a treacherous instrument of subversion resorted to by racist, colonialist and imperialist circles to replace the legitimate Government by a Government favourable to themselves.

145. Although at that time no official proof had yet been established, my delegation expressed the certainty that this criminal coup was part of a cynical plot by the *apartheid* authorities of South Africa in connivance with certain imperialist circles. As regards the allies of the racist régime in Pretoria, while pretending to ignore the origin of the aggression, they tried to juggle all kinds of suppositions, such as: "Was this a purely internal affair? Is it legitimate for a Government surviving a *coup d'état* to ask that an inquiry be conducted by the United Nations?", and so on. They do that in order to minimize the importance of armed aggression and to play it down as an internal affair of the country against which aggression was committed.

146. However, these attempts have come to naught, for the statements by the leader of the mercenaries during his trial for the hijacking of an aeroplane that was held recently in South Africa have clearly revealed that the authorities in Pretoria and the imperialists are directly implicated.

147. This testimony has made it perfectly clear that the plan for invasion by the mercenaries against Seychelles had been decided by high governmental authorities in South Africa and executed with the full knowledge of the intelligence services of that country and its defence forces, which had supplied the personnel and weapons necessary for the carrying out of the operation. This revelation should dispel any lingering doubts for those who might still hold them regarding the danger of the South African Government's policy of *apartheid* to the territorial integrity and political independence of the countries of the area and regarding its role as a faithful executing agent for the sinister designs of imperialist circles. Relevant to this is the report that, according to *The New York Times* of 10 May, the leader of the mercenaries had kept the agent of the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) informed of the plan of aggression and that he had played an important role in the carrying out of the plan against the Republic of Seychelles. If that is true it should surprise no one, considering the important geographical position of Seychelles for United States strategy in the Indian Ocean.

148. The mercenary aggression of 25 November 1981 against the Republic of Seychelles not only caused loss of human life and considerable material destruction but also had serious repercussions on the economic situation of this developing country. In this connection, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the

Security Council Commission of Inquiry established under resolution 496 (1981), which carried out honourably its mission to assess the economic damage caused by this invasion and then consequently adopted specific recommendations for compensation, in particular the proposal to create a special fund. Considering the urgency of the circumstances, the speedy establishment of such a fund would benefit the entire population of Seychelles, who continue to suffer the harmful consequences of this odious attack.

149. However, we must note that the Commission of Inquiry confined itself to an account of the facts preceding and following the aggression without carrying out a thorough inquiry, in accordance with its mandate, into its origin, background and financing. It follows that it presented to the Council, as it pointed out, a report containing incomplete information, and consequently it was not possible for it to formulate concrete political recommendations that would have enabled the Council to take the necessary action against those responsible for the criminal *coup*.

150. For this reason, my delegation fully supports the proposal in the report that the Commission of Inquiry should continue its work until resolution 496 (1981) has been fully implemented and that it should present a further report to the Council as soon as possible.

151. There is much irrefutable proof justifying severe condemnation of the South African régime of *apartheid* for its political aggression and policies of destabilization against the Republic of Seychelles and other countries in the area. Failure by the Council to take such action would only encourage the Pretoria authorities and their accomplices to commit similar acts in the future.

152. The Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic wishes to pay a tribute to the people and the Government of Seychelles for the vigilance and courage with which they successfully thwarted this criminal action, and we would assure them of our unshakeable solidarity in their struggle to defend their national independence and their sovereignty.

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

154. Mr. TAYLOR (Grenada): Mr. President, at the outset I wish to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency for the month of May and to express the hope that under your wise leadership the Council will successfully carry out its onerous duties. I am grateful to you, Sir, and the other members of the Council for affording my delegation this opportunity to make a statement during the discussion of the report of the Commission of Inquiry on the mercenary attack against the Republic of Seychelles.

155. The delegation of Grenada also wishes to express its gratitude to Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda for the excellent work he did while he was President of the Council during the month of April.

156. My delegation decided to address the Council on the item before us not only because the sovereignty and political independence of a sister country is threatened but also because it is evident that the phenomenon of mercenarism is exercising the minds of peace-loving peoples of conscience the world over.

157. Today soldiers of fortune are virtually holding their guns at the heads of legitimate Governments in various parts of the world. Furthermore, the ability of such vagabonds to wreak havoc is enhanced by the fact that they are invariably in the service of powerful interests.

158. Several of the mercenary attacks in the recent past appear both ludicrous and comical. They therefore have elicited gargantuan laughter in some quarters. For millions of people, however, the threat of mercenary invasion is not a laughing matter. The presence of a single mercenary, even in an obscure corner of the world, destabilizes and intimidates certain Governments and peoples. The apprehensions of those Governments and peoples are justifiable and legitimate when we consider the fact that the use of mercenaries appears to be an instrument of foreign policy of certain Governments. I wish to point out also that it is the view of my delegation that the mercenary is the product of a certain political and economic environment.

159. It is no accident that the racist Government of South Africa has connived with mercenaries to overthrow the Government of the Republic of Seychelles. The Government of the Republic of Seychelles, by virtue of its militant and uncompromising stand against the genocidal system of *apartheid*, constitutes a pebble in South Africa's boot.

160. Mercenarism is as immoral as it is criminal. The practice is a cardinal transgression against the Charter of the United Nations. The Organization must therefore adopt a convention that stipulates very harsh measures against those who organize, finance, train, equip, promote, support or employ mercenaries. We cannot go on piously reaffirming our undying faith in the principles of the Charter, nor can we uphold the Charter as sacrosanct, if we fail to punish the paymasters of these modern-day buccaneers. The support of mercenarism is an invitation to revert to the law of the jungle.

161. My delegation speaks on the matter under consideration with some measure of authority because we know how debilitating it is to live in fear of mercenary invasion. Some months ago, one of the leaders of a mercenary group that planned the overthrow of the Government of Dominica pointed out, in an inter-

view with *The Globe and Mail* of Canada, that the ultimate ambition of his group is the overthrow of the Government of Grenada. The same mercenary leader also revealed that his group had had several discussions with Eric Gairy, the former Prime Minister of Grenada, who now resides in the United States.

162. The Grenada delegation listened very attentively to the statement made to the Council by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Seychelles [2359th meeting]. At this juncture, we wish to associate ourselves with the Minister's appeal to the United Nations and other organizations to provide without delay, through an appropriate United Nations fund, financial, technical and material assistance to the Republic of Seychelles to enable it to deal with the problems arising from the mercenary aggression. The Government of Grenada will contribute to such a fund.

163. In addition, however, we call upon the United Nations to make an inventory of individuals and groups that support, equip, hire, train or encourage mercenarism. Special note must be made of Governments that might allow the training or hiring of mercenaries to be carried out in any territory under their jurisdiction or in any place under their control, or that afford facilities for transit, transport or other operations of mercenaries.

164. In conclusion, I wish to recommend to this body the words written by Machiavelli on the question of mercenarism. Some 500 years ago he wrote:

"The mercenary and auxiliary are unprofitable and dangerous, and that Prince who founds the duration of his Government upon his mercenary forces shall never be firm or secure. For they are divided, ambitious, undisciplined, unfaithful, insolent to their friends, abject to their enemies, without fear of God or faith in men . . . In time of war they desert you, and the reason is because it is not love, or any principle of honour, that keeps them in the field; it is only their pay, and that is not a consideration strong enough to prevail with them to die for you. Whilst you have no service to employ them in, they are excellent soldiers, but tell them of an engagement and they will either disband before, or run away in, the battle."

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

166. Mr. ZARIF (*Afghanistan*): I should like at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of May. We are hopeful that the Council, under your able guidance, will achieve positive results. Our words of appreciation go to your predecessor, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda of Zaire, for the manner in which he conducted the work of the Council during the turbulent month of April.

167. Permit me also to express our thanks to the Council, through you, for allowing this delegation to speak before it on the item under discussion.

168. Because of its aggressive nature, international imperialism, headed by United States imperialism, is nurturing and hatching various plots and conspiracies through its intelligence services in various parts of the world, which are designed to aggravate tension and to fish in troubled waters. In order to implement their heinous designs, the imperialists have recourse not only to their own means but also to those available to their surrogates around the world. They extend financial, political and military support to the anti-peoples' régimes and forces and use them as a tool to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, to destabilize and overthrow their progressive and independent Governments and to suppress national liberation movements.

169. The racist régime of South Africa is one of the stooges of imperialism in this chain, assigned the task of toppling the legal Government of the young Republic of Seychelles.

170. The reasons this small but awakened nation appears on the imperialist hit-list are quite obvious: because Seychelles has adopted a socialist path for its socio-economic development; because, out of a firm commitment to peace and to the relaxation of international tension, the Government of Seychelles vigorously supports the turning of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and calls for the immediate dismantling of the imperialist military bases there; because, as a non-aligned and anti-imperialist nation, it stands by the side of all nations and liberation movements in their struggle to attain and preserve their independence; and because it opposes imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, *apartheid* and Zionism.

171. As a matter of fact, this is not the first time that the imperialists have attempted to overthrow the Government of Seychelles. Following its independence, Seychelles faced a series of conspiracies engineered by the imperialists and the racist régime of South Africa. On 29 April 1978, a *coup* was attempted against the Government, which was successfully suppressed. Only seven months later, another attempted *coup* was discovered. On 16 November 1979, the Government of the Republic of Seychelles, with the direct participation of the Seychellois people, foiled another *coup* which was attempted with the help of mercenaries. Thus, the last mercenary invasion did not come as a surprise at all.

172. The dogs of war had been unleashed before in many countries, as well as against many liberation movements. The hounds of imperialism followed the bloody trail left by their masters in Congo all the way to the assassination of African leader Patrice Lumumba.

173. Seychelles had also been long preceded as a victim of the mercenary offensive by Angola and Mozambique. It is truly amazing that the *apartheid* régime should, so late in the twentieth century, claim the right to invade sovereign neighbouring States in this fashion. It is even more outrageous that such a claim should be implicitly backed by the rulers and ruling forces of the West, which, so late in the day, still insist on carrying the "white man's burden" of loot in the dark continent.

174. Scores of identified criminals and professional terrorists from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Australia, Italy, Israel and Chile have quite openly participated in similar operations.

175. The notorious 32nd Special Battalion of the South African forces, the so-called Buffalo Battalion, is made up of veterans of the dirty war of Viet Nam, former soldiers of the "Green Berets", the special subversion units of the United States Army, and of men from punitive detachments of the former Rhodesian régime.

176. It is a thief shouting "Thief!" when the imperialists and their assorted allies raise a boring chorus about "international terrorism". It is they who increasingly resort to terrorism in defence of their last crumbling bastions. It is terrorism on an international scale, which respects no national boundaries and whose practitioners have taken up arms against progressive, peace-loving countries. Examples of the crude terrorism practised as a fine art by these forces are too numerous to need listing. But one among them that is perhaps most illustrative of the utter unscrupulousness of its nature is the increasing, and increasingly open, employment of mercenaries in the last-ditch battles against national liberation movements.

177. The topic at present under discussion is but the latest major instance of mercenary aggression. The details of the story bring out the diabolical nature of the operation—doubly so because of the open official Pretoria admission of the regular use of Western mercenaries by the racist régime in its bid to stifle all African protests.

178. It is significant that the "free world", far from cutting it off, actually encourages aid to the gangsters of the allied racist régime. Recruitment of the dogs of war is openly conducted in the Western press. The only pretext that Western officials use in their defence is that there is no legislation barring the citizens of their countries from service in the armies of other States. The medieval throwback to the recognition of the right to kill for money is thus sanctified as an integral part of the philosophy of the "free world" that is hardly negotiable. Presumably it is the "freedom of the individual" that provides for a free play of market forces with which considerations of other nations' freedom cannot interfere.

179. After their Seychelles misadventure, imperialists tried hard, through futilely, to portray the invasion as an internal incident. Hours later, however, irrefutable facts regarding the direct involvement of the intelligence services of the United States and South Africa surfaced. In his testimony before the Seychellois authorities, Dolinschek, a ranking officer of South Africa's secret service, the National Intelligence Service, who had been captured at Victoria, revealed that the Government of South Africa had not only been aware of the planned invasion of the islands but had also provided arms, training facilities and forged documents to the band of hired killers. According to the Johannesburg newspaper, *The Star*, the notorious Colonel Michael Hoare, who led the gang, recruited the mercenaries in South Africa with money received from the United States. The revelations of "Mad Mike" before the court have erased any doubt that might have existed about the direct United States and South African involvement. Speaking before the court, he admitted that the Government of South Africa had approved the invasion and that the arms used in the invasion had been provided by the South African army. He provided the court with the delivery invoice of those arms as a piece of evidence.

180. Hoare's connection with the CIA of the United States is a matter of record and goes as far back as the early 1960s, when he was commander of the mercenary forces in the Belgian Congo. According to him, the CIA had been consulted about the plan and was following it through one of its agents in South Africa. Eschel Rhoodie, former Information Secretary of South Africa, stated in an interview with the *Durban Sunday Express* that "no one will believe that the secret services of South Africa did not co-ordinate with across-the-ocean partners in the landing of mercenaries in Seychelles". Perhaps the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" between South Africa and the United States could best find its explanation in this context. Rhoodie said that in the framework of the existing so-called "gentleman's agreement", the British, French and American secret services have constantly exchanged information of mutual interest. He also pointed to the role being played in the invasion by British, French and Netherlands firms which have interests in Seychelles.

181. The more time that elapses, the more evident it becomes that the intelligence services of the imperialists, in close collaboration with the National Intelligence Service of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa, master-minded the whole operation, which was intended to install in power their subservient puppet, James Mancham.

182. It did not surprise anybody when it became known that Petty, a leading official of the Peace Corps of the United States, had been staying in Seychelles at the moment of the aggression. The Peace Corps is known to provide a cover for the subversive activities

of the CIA in the developing countries. Nor was it an accident that the United States Ambassador in Kenya, William Herrop, also accredited to Seychelles, was present on the island at that time.

183. The overwhelming majority of nations have condemned in the strongest terms the aggression of imperialist hirelings against Seychelles. The massive march of thousands of people through the streets of Victoria served as a true demonstration of the indignation of that people at the evil designs of imperialism. According to the newspaper *Beeld*, published in the Transvaal, the organizers of the attack on Seychelles have not relinquished their ominous plots. There is yet another large group of mercenaries in South Africa being trained for another attack on Seychelles. It is eloquent testimony to the desperation of the imperialists that they should cherish the illusion that hired professional terrorists can halt the advance of a whole nation.

184. It is time that an international initiative was taken to end this medieval practice which the world is being made to accept as a fact of modern life. We strongly call for the speedy preparation of an international convention against the use of mercenaries.

185. With regard to the report submitted by the Commission of Inquiry, all we can state at this stage is that the mandate of the Commission should be extended in order to enable it to gather more facts about the imperialist South African involvement in the aggression and to report on the implementation of the decisions of the Council pertaining to economic assistance to Seychelles.

186. The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are on the side of the people and Government of Seychelles. We strongly demand the extradition of all mercenaries to the Government of Seychelles. We support the setting up of an international tribunal to consider the crimes committed by the gang of hooligans. We support also the establishment of a special fund to assist the Government of Seychelles in repairing the damage caused by the invasion. For our part, we are prepared to make a contribution, though very modest, to this fund.

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

188. Mr. LOBO (Mozambique): Mr. President, at the outset, the delegation of the People's Republic of Mozambique wishes to congratulate you on the skilful manner with which you have conducted the work of the Council during the month of May. In addressing the Council today, my delegation cannot but recall here the bonds of friendship and solidarity that have united our two peoples in the course of many years of struggle. The People's Republic of China has

been in the forefront of the struggle of colonized peoples for independence and dignity.

189. My delegation wishes also to extend our respects to Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda of Zaire, whose presidency of the Council during the month of April was marked by his professionalism and dedication to peace and justice.

190. It is the feeling of our delegation that we are facing a threat to international peace and security resulting from the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Seychelles by a band of mercenaries based in the Republic of South Africa. That country, South Africa, has let loose a flood of threats, provocations and acts of destabilization throughout the entire southern African region.

191. The aggression by the mercenaries, aiming at the overthrow of the progressive Government of President France Albert René, constitutes the most recent of a series of acts of destabilization undertaken over the past four years by the Republic of South Africa.

192. Since the People's United Party of Seychelles took power on 5 June 1977, the archipelago has been the target of several attempts of aggression by mercenaries based in South Africa.

193. In April 1978 and November 1979, there were attempts to overthrow the Government of Seychelles. Those attempts failed because of the pre-emptive actions taken by the local authorities. On both occasions, large quantities of weapons and ammunition were found in the possession of the elements arrested by the authorities. Those weapons were smuggled into Seychelles from South Africa. James Mancham's complicity became evident. The aggression of 25 November 1981 was the largest and best planned operation carried out by the enemies of the Republic of Seychelles and reflected the increasing aggressiveness of imperialism in the region. It was the third attempt to install in Seychelles a pro-Pretoria régime since 1977, when the present Government achieved power.

194. It is not by mere coincidence that the Republic of Seychelles has been the victim of attempts at *coups d'état* and destabilization. The strategic location of the archipelago, placed at the crossroads of the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the southern African region—the routes of the oil tankers—has transformed that region of the world into one of the major hotbeds of tension confronting the international community today.

195. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Republic of Seychelles, a country in the forefront of the Non-Aligned Movement, should be the target of imperialism in the Indian Ocean region.

196. Of the countries of the Indian Ocean, the Republic of Seychelles is one of the most coveted on

military grounds by the imperialist circles. It is for this reason that we have witnessed continuing attempts at the installation of forces from outside the region in the Republic of Seychelles. Those attempts are part of the strategic plans of the United States and some of its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to extend the siege of the countries of the Indian Ocean and to secure for themselves control of the routes of the oil tankers and of other raw materials produced in the region. Today, Seychelles is no longer only a paradise for tourists. From a mere exotic paradise, it has become a coveted prize for some Western Powers, with a view to the installation of military bases.

197. The case of Seychelles must also be viewed from a political perspective. The constant attempts at destabilization of the Republic and the ever-increasing pressures on the Government of President France Albert René are but a response to the progressive policies in every domain, domestic and external, carried out by President René since he took office. The political orientation of the Government of Seychelles, if seen against the historical background marked by the last four years of British colonial rule in Seychelles along with attempts at neo-colonialism and dismembering of Seychelles, is necessary for its own survival as an independent sovereign State.

198. The encouragement and organization of mercenary activities against sovereign States is a breach of the principles of international law and runs counter to the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, which enshrines the aspiration of all States to live in peace and security, free from threats by outside forces.

199. Our own experience of revolutionary struggle and the history of resistance by the Mozambican people have taught us to respect the dignity of other nations, because for us freedom is not a gift or a paternalistic concession. Freedom is a conquest achieved through the immense sacrifice and bloodshed of the peoples in the struggle against oppression.

200. This being so, the People's Republic of Mozambique vehemently condemns South Africa and its collaborators for planning, organizing and financing the mercenaries' aggression against the Government of President France Albert René. Mozambique reiterates once more its profound support and solidarity with our valiant brothers, the people of Seychelles, who are fighting with the rest of Africa and the progressive people of the world against every concept and objective for which *apartheid* stands. The victory of Seychelles last 25 November is considered a victory for Mozambique as well. The mercenary attack at the airport in Seychelles is an extension of the cowardly and criminal attacks in Matola on 30 January 1981 and in Ponta de Ouro on 17 March 1981. The victory there represents a priceless contribution to the combat in which we are all engaged on a broad front in that confrontation zone between freedom and oppression in southern Africa.

201. The people of Mozambique wish to live in peace. Of paramount importance for the region is our strenuous and concerted effort, with all other countries of the region, to transform the Indian Ocean into a nuclear-free zone and a zone of peace. Therefore, we repudiate any manoeuvre for the establishment of foreign military bases in the region or of any military presence that would threaten peace in the region and the sovereignty of the Indian Ocean States.

202. We view the 25 November aggression against the Republic of Seychelles as a direct serious threat against the territorial integrity of a State Member of the United Nations and against the internal security of other countries of the region. The mercenary invasion of the Republic of Seychelles was an act of armed aggression against a State Member of the United Nations. Therefore, we call upon the international community to take the appropriate action provided for in the Charter.

203. The international community cannot stand idly by when an act of armed aggression is perpetrated by a band of international outlaws against a non-aligned country, State Member of the United Nations. The judicial organs of South Africa have proved to be a docile instrument in the hands of the *apartheid* régime. The criminal aggressors who violated South Africa's own domestic laws were set free after a farcical trial, which has only further blackened the reputation of South Africa for its grotesque involvement in the mercenary invasion of the Republic of Seychelles.

204. The Government of South Africa continues to pretend that it was not aware of the plans of the mercenaries. The Commission of Inquiry was not given access to the mercenaries in South Africa. The South African Government failed to co-operate with the Council. This can only stand as proof that the Government of South Africa had full knowledge of, and indeed co-operated in, the abortive invasion of the Republic of Seychelles.

205. The Mozambican delegation registers its appreciation of the Commission's report and fully supports its recommendations. In this context, we join in the appeal for financial, technical and material assistance to redress the considerable material damages resulting from the mercenary aggression against the Republic of Seychelles.

206. *A luta continua.*

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

208. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic): Sir, I should like first of all to convey our heartiest congratulations to you and to your great country on

your assumption of the presidency of the Council. We are sure that under your wise and dynamic leadership the Council will be able to shoulder its responsibilities at a particularly difficult juncture. We should like also to thank the outgoing President, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, for his diplomatic skill during the month of April.

209. My delegation has asked to speak not only to condemn the armed aggression against the Republic of Seychelles but also to express its solidarity with the Government and the people of Seychelles. In the light of the report before us and the additional information published since 15 March, we hold the Pretoria régime responsible for the 25 November 1981 mercenary invasion. This invasion constitutes a grave breach of the Charter of the United Nations, for it was perpetrated in stark violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a non-aligned and developing country. The purpose of the invasion was definitely to topple the Government of the Republic of Seychelles and to reinstate a puppet régime subservient to the racist régime of Pretoria and its allies. Thanks to the vigilance and the resistance of the Republic of Seychelles, the mercenary expedition was unable to realize its sinister designs, concocted in the dark and carried out in the open.

210. We cannot make a sound assessment of the motives behind this open act of aggression against a small State in a strategic area unless we remember the wider strategic context as well as the timing of the invasion, for it coincided with United States military activities within the framework of a major master plan called the "strategic alliance", and the activation of the rapid deployment forces in the area stretching from South Africa to the Middle East. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Seychelles drew the attention of the Commission of Inquiry established under resolution 496 (1981) to a possible link between the military operation against his country which took place on 25 November 1981 and the "Bright Star" operation carried out by United States armed forces on Egyptian soil. This is stated in paragraph 129 of the report of the Commission of Inquiry as follows:

"The Minister suggested that perhaps the Commission could ask the intelligence services of some of the big Powers if they had any knowledge about it, especially since the attempt had taken place while the 'Bright Star' operation was still on."

211. It is fitting to recall that the mandate of the Commission of Inquiry was to investigate the origin, background and financing of the 25 November mercenary aggression, as well as to assess and evaluate the economic damages sustained by Seychelles as a result of that aggression. While we commend the Commission for its recommendation relating to the damages incurred by the Republic of Seychelles—a recommendation which has been accepted by the victim—the

other aspects of the investigation remain to be completed. On 20 May, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Seychelles stated the following in the Council:

"However, in the view of my Government, the report, in spite of the evident desire of the Commission fully to carry out the mandate entrusted to it, does not wholly elucidate the origin, background and financing of the aggression against the Republic of Seychelles. For that matter, the Commission is well aware of this, as can be seen in paragraph 274 of its report, which states:

'. . . the information available to the Commission is far from complete. The Commission does not have full knowledge of the origin and background of the mercenary aggression.' [2359th meeting, para. 46.]

212. The Commission itself has never claimed that it has discharged all its fact-finding responsibilities. Paragraph 274 of its report to the Council reads as follows, in its entirety:

"In these circumstances, the information available to the Commission is far from complete. The Commission does not have full knowledge of the origin and background of the mercenary aggression. The Commission cannot exclude that further significant information relating to its mandate may become available, particularly during the course of the trial on the hijacking charges under way in South Africa."

213. It is therefore incumbent upon the Council to request the Commission, which has exerted its best possible efforts, to continue its search in order to establish the origin, background and financing of the 25 November mercenary aggression against the Republic of Seychelles. The pursuance of the inquiry is imperative, for since 15 March 1982, many new elements have come to the surface, including the testimony of Colonel Michael Hoare, the leader of the mercenaries, who is on trial in South Africa, but only on hijacking charges. According to *The New York Times* of 4 May, Michael Hoare is reported to have testified that:

"the South African Government had approved the attempted takeover and supplied the weapons . . . (He) submitted as evidence an invoice . . . from the South African Defense Force certifying the delivery to his home of weapons and ammunition to be used in the coup." [See S/15056, annex.]

There are other press reports relating to possible involvement of foreign Powers. In order not to prejudge the issue, it suffices to recall the article published by *The New York Times* of 10 May, which reported that the mercenary [Hoare]:

"had met a representative from the Central Intelligence Agency in Pretoria and informed him of the coup plans. The United States was interested . . . because of 'the strategic value of the Seychelles.'" [See S/15065, annex.]

214. The question before us is not a perfunctory one, for South Africa has made the use of mercenaries an institution to carry out armed aggression not only against Seychelles but against a number of African countries. South Africa encourages mercenaries as a means to promote its aggressive designs against neighbouring countries. The Minister of Justice of South Africa is reported to have said that he was not aware of any law, either statutory or common, which as such prohibited people from conspiring against another Government. Such statements prove beyond any doubt that South Africa was and remains a haven of mercenary activities. Therefore, the full responsibility of the South African white minority régime should be in the forefront of the priorities of any investigation. An organized international riposte to the constant challenges of the *apartheid* régime is more than a necessity for the survival of small States in those parts of Africa which are vulnerable to the long-arm policies and practices of the Pretoria régime.

215. Mercenarism must be eradicated once and for all. Therefore, we support the second recommendation in paragraph 293 of the Commission's report, that:

"the work at present under way on an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries be brought to a speedy conclusion so that the convention may be opened for signature as soon as possible."

216. Meanwhile, nothing prevents the Council from addressing a demand to the Pretoria régime to extradite forthwith to Seychelles all those who participated in the mercenary attack against the Republic of Seychelles. We firmly believe that the ongoing trial in South Africa of the hijackers is but an attempt at circumventing the real issue—that is, the original crime, the crime of mercenarism.

217. Let me conclude by repeating what was said in the Council a few days ago by the representative of Benin [2359th meeting, para. 138], that we consider mercenaries to be anonymous special units, part of the regular troops of the imperialist armies, because they are recruited, financed, led, trained and armed by officers of the regular army of South Africa, and that we cannot denounce and fight international mercenarism without exposing those forces that organize it and set it in motion. The use of armed mercenary groups is a new weapon of mass destruction which has entered into the global strategy of international imperialism for the colonial reconquest of the third world States.

218. We third world countries cannot remain without an adequate riposte to the new challenges posed by mercenarism, for mercenarism is one of the most perfidious forms of warfare today.

219. We should all remember Viet Nam. We should remember the Zionist gangsterism against the people of Palestine as well as against the people of Syria, carried out by Zionist gangs collected from the four

corners of the globe with the specific task of killing, destroying and spoiling, without hesitation or scruples.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.

NOTE

¹ A/37/161, annex.

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