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

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2409th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 16 December 1982, at 4 p.m.

President: Mr. Włodzimierz NATORF (Poland).

took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

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/2409)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint by Lesotho against South Africa:
Letter dated 9 December 1982 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Lesotho to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15515)

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

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Rupia (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Sallam (Yemen) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

The meeting was called to order at 4.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

3. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 16 December from the representatives of Togo, Uganda and Zaire [S/15526], which reads as follows:

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Lesotho against South Africa:

Letter dated 9 December from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Lesotho to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15515)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings of the Council on this item [2406th to 2408th meeting], I invite the representative of Lesotho to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Egypt, Grenada, Guinea, India, Kenya, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Nicaragua, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Swaziland, Yugoslavia, Zambia and Zimbabwe to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

"We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Johnstone Makatini, the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, during the course of the Council's consideration of the item 'Complaint by Lesotho against South Africa'."

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

It was so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Molapo (Lesotho) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Ogouma (Benin), Mr. Legwaila (Botswana), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Kaba (Guinea), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Wabuge (Kenya), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles), Mr. Koroma (Sierra Leone), Mr. Steward (South Africa), Mr. Malinga (Swaziland), Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia), Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) and Mr. Mashingaidze (Zimbabwe)

4. Mr. KAM (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I consider it a privilege to greet you, Sir, in your capacity as President of the Council for the month of December. My delegation extends to you its sincere congratulations and wishes to express publicly its appreciation for the brilliant manner in which you are conducting the work of the Council. During the days in which you have presided over the Council, you have confirmed your well-earned prestige as a talented and skilful diplomat. This does honour to your great country, with which Panama maintains cordial relations of friendship and co-operation.

5. I wish to extend a cordial greeting to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho, Mr. Charles Molapo, who has been with us throughout this week.
6. On behalf of Mr. Carlos Ozores and the entire delegation of Panama, I express sincere gratitude for the kind words which the members of the Council and other delegations have addressed to us concerning Panama's presidency of the Council in November.
7. Exactly a week ago today the international community learned with just indignation of the brutal aggression perpetrated by the racist South African régime against Lesotho, which left more than 42 victims, men, women and children, and caused extensive material damage. The eloquent statement of King Moshoeshoe II [2406th meeting], delivered with the serene dignity that characterizes those who have reason and justice on their side, makes it unnecessary for us to dwell on the details of that aggression, which has been unanimously condemned by the international community.
8. This new act of aggression by the South African *apartheid* régime has now been added to the long chain of violations which South Africa has been perpetrating consistently and arrogantly against the Charter of the United Nations and resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.
9. South Africa is continuing its unlawful occupation of Namibia, its brutal repression of the Namibian people, its cruel exploitation of the people and the natural resources of Namibia, and is continuing its efforts to destroy the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia. The South African *apartheid* régime has increased its repression, indiscriminate torture, murder of workers, students and other opponents of *apartheid*, and has continued to impose death sentences on freedom fighters. The Pretoria régime has intensified its acts of aggression, destabilization, subversion and State terrorism against independent African States, particularly Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Seychelles.
10. Lesotho has been merely the most recent victim of the delinquent conduct of South Africa, which is defiantly destroying peace and endangering international security.
11. My delegation wonders how many more acts of aggression must South Africa perpetrate against its neighbours, how much more racist oppression must be tolerated, how many more victims must we mourn, how much longer will Namibia be occupied before we can hope that the Council decides to take effective measures against the racist régime of South Africa, including comprehensive mandatory sanctions.
12. I know in advance that the question of imposing sanctions against South Africa will give rise to enormous, almost insuperable, difficulties of all kinds, including legal and constitutional difficulties for some members of the Council and for other Members of the United Nations. Yet I must note in all frankness that this is in contrast to the almost expeditious manner, to the facility with which those same countries imposed sanctions against a brother Latin American country which early this year exercised its sacred right of restoring its territorial integrity.
13. Like all other members of the Council, my delegation most vigorously condemns this new dastardly act of unprovoked aggression by the racist régime of South Africa, an act which was in flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lesotho.
14. My delegation expresses its gratitude to Lesotho for its declared policy of opposition to *apartheid* and for its support of South African freedom fighters.
15. We express our sympathy to the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and to the oppressed people of South Africa, to whom we reaffirm our support in their struggle to eliminate *apartheid* and in their just struggle for liberation and the building of a democratic society in which the South African people will fully enjoy human rights and fundamental freedoms in conditions of equality.
16. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Botswana. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.
17. Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): I should like to begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. We repose a great deal of confidence in your ability to lead these meetings to a successful conclusion. The same sentiments go to your predecessor, who ably managed the affairs of the Council last month.
18. Anyone who believes that Lesotho, completely surrounded by South Africa and totally dependent on it for economic survival, could be so callous, so suicidal as to allow its territory—let alone its dangerously exposed and vulnerable capital—to be used as a launching-pad for a so-called terrorist campaign mounted against South Africa by the ANC must be so gullible as to be irredeemably capable of believing anything. Just as my own country did, Lesotho proclaimed 16 years ago, on gaining its independence, that because of its geographical predicament it would not and could not allow its territory to be used as a sanctuary for guerrilla activities against its powerful neighbour, South Africa. Lesotho, like all of us around South Africa, has remained faithful to this policy. It has no choice.
19. Lesotho, more than any other country around South Africa, has no other choice but to live in peace with South Africa. It does not enjoy the comfort of distance. It is totally beleaguered and ineluctably held to ransom by geography and by one of the most brutal.

unfeeling and merciless régimes that has ever scourged the face of this earth. Lesotho, in other words, is the very last country that should be suspected of harbouring, wittingly or unwittingly, any ANC guerrillas, particularly in its capital, where some houses are only a few metres from the fence which marks the boundary between Lesotho and South Africa.

20. But Lesotho, like the other majority-ruled States of southern Africa, has a soul it is not prepared to sell at any price. It refuses to be intimidated; it refuses to be a puppet of South Africa. It refuses to give comfort to the policies of *apartheid* or to those who practise them against our fellow men in southern Africa.

21. Lesotho harbours no ANC guerrillas in Maseru or anywhere else in its territory. Lesotho, like Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe, has given sanctuary and will continue to give sanctuary to thousands of South Africans in their flight to freedom from racial tyranny. They are the innocent victims of South Africa's murderous raids into the neighbouring countries. The 42 victims of South Africa's brutal massacre in Maseru on Thursday of last week were not freedom fighters plotting an attack on South Africa, but innocent refugees and Basotho nationals. They were murdered in cold blood, not because they posed any threat to racial tyranny in South Africa, but rather in an attempt to intimidate Lesotho, to force it to seal its border against the influx of refugees from South Africa.

22. The price for the defence and preservation of *apartheid* is paid in blood, the blood of the black people of South Africa and of innocent nationals of neighbouring States. South Africa is not embarked on so-called political reforms; it is busy trying to reshape racism. There is not even any attempt to get rid of *apartheid*, but only a deliberate campaign to protect and preserve *apartheid* at all costs.

23. Yes, South Africa's apologists will argue that the minority régime has every right to protect itself against so-called terrorist attacks. Who perpetrates terrorism in southern Africa, we ask. Is it those in South Africa whose daily lives are subjected so cruelly and so thoroughly to the inhumanities of *apartheid* and racism? Is it the thousands of refugees scattered all over the world—men, women and children who have fled racial tyranny in South Africa to seek refuge in the neighbouring States? Is it the Nelson Mandelas or the other leaders of black South Africa incarcerated for life? Is it the Bikos, the Tiros or the Ruth Firsts, who have paid the heavy price for the defence and preservation of an inhuman system which has caused so much suffering to so many?

24. The perpetrator of terrorism in southern Africa is none other than the white minority régime in South Africa. That régime's record of political intolerance and violence is known to all. Where are the Nelson Mandelas and several other prominent leaders of

black South Africa? The régime has brutally deprived them of their freedom and incarcerated them for life, their only crime having been to aspire to be free and to seek to live in peace and dignity in their own land. Where are the Bikos, the Tiros, the Hector Petersons and the Firsts? They have been brutally deprived of their youthful lives, their only crime having been to speak of freedom and justice.

25. South Africa sent its troops into Maseru last week not to kill ANC guerrillas who were engaged in some terrorist plot but to murder innocent refugees and Basotho nationals in their sleep, to sow terror among the people of Lesotho with a view to forcing them to close their doors to refugees from South Africa and to demonstrate in a most brutal fashion what the future has in store for other neighbours of South Africa. That is what we call terrorism. South African troops have been occupying the southern part of Angola for the past 18 months. That is terrorism. South Africa finances the terrorism of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] against the legitimate Government of Angola. That is what we call terrorism. It gives all manner of sustenance to the National Resistance Movement in its terrorist campaign against the legitimate Government of Mozambique. That is what we call terrorism. It is the godfather of the so-called Lesotho Liberation Army, whose acts of terrorism against Lesotho need no reciting here. That is terrorism. Yes, it is responsible for the sudden proliferation of dissident movements in the region whose murderous activities are known to all.

26. Yes, it is our contention that the white minority régime in Pretoria thrives on terrorism—terrorism perpetrated against black South Africans who have refused and will continue to refuse and must continue to refuse to be treated as aliens in their own country. *Apartheid* is by conception, design and application a terrorist philosophy that, as the *Johannesburg Star* puts it, has to feed on the freedom and happiness of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa to sustain itself. The application of the philosophy of *apartheid* can be enforced only through the use of brutal force, as the 1976 massacre of defenceless children in Soweto so brutally demonstrated. Those children paid with their very lives, the ultimate price that the defence and preservation of *apartheid* exacts from its victims. They were massacred in the defence of *apartheid*. Their young lives were destroyed so that *apartheid* may live.

27. Lesotho does not give sanctuary to ANC guerrillas bent on overthrowing the white-minority régime in Pretoria. Lesotho does not harbour terrorists in its capital or anywhere else on its territory. Lesotho harbours refugees, the victims of racial oppression in South Africa. Lesotho is a defenceless victim of South Africa's terrorism, like the innocent refugees South African troops mercilessly pursue into exile.

28. But I can assure the Council that neither Lesotho nor the other majority-ruled free nations of southern Africa will turn against South African refugees or turn them over to their persecutors for the sake of peace in servitude. It is our international obligation as free peoples to open our doors and our hearts to victims of political and racial tyranny in South Africa. We will carry out this obligation regardless of the consequences. If the price of our uncompromising fidelity to the principles we hold so dear as a free people is being invaded and murdered in the middle of the night, so be it.

29. The international community equally has an obligation to the victims of racial tyranny, not only within South Africa itself but also in the countries surrounding South Africa. The front-line States, and that includes Lesotho and Swaziland, are acting not only on their own behalf in looking after thousands of refugees from South Africa; they are in fact performing a duty demanded of them by the international community. The international community is therefore duty-bound to rise to the challenge and the threat posed by South Africa to the security, the peace and indeed the very survival of the free nations of southern Africa. Lesotho deserves not simply our sympathy but our collective commitment to rendering all the necessary assistance we can to that beleaguered and yet brave and proud action caught up in the belly of a restless and vicious monster.

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

31. Mr. WABUGE (Kenya): May I first express my thanks to you, Mr. President, and the members of the Council for allowing me and my delegation to participate in this crucial debate prompted by the racist régime of South Africa and its overall policy of spreading *apartheid* policies to the neighbouring States and beyond.

32. Mr. President, my delegation takes great satisfaction in seeing you, the representative of Poland, presiding over the deliberations at this important debate. We of Africa are fully aware of the support Poland has given us in the long history of the problem we are now debating. We wish to register our appreciation for the support Poland has given us in all our efforts to decolonize Africa.

33. It was indeed with horror and shocked indignation that the international community learned of the latest acts of aggression by the racist régime of South Africa against the independent State of Lesotho, a brutal attack on the capital of an independent State carefully planned and carried out with a barrage of rockets and bursts of machine-gun fire. In the course of the attack, grenades were hurled from helicopters onto houses. People running screaming from those houses were gunned down by the attacking forces.

The attack left many dead, mostly children and women, and much property and many houses were destroyed.

34. A few days before the attack on Lesotho, the racist régime had also resumed its attacks on Mozambique, another independent country that has constantly been harassed by the racist régime of South Africa. This latest attack on Mozambique by the racist régime was conveyed to the Non-Aligned Group here yesterday. It is quite clear that South Africa is prepared to extend its evil policies of *apartheid* beyond its boundaries through use of its sophisticated military power.

35. According to its own version, South Africa's attack on Lesotho was prompted by the presence of the ANC, which was planning to attack South Africa. The ANC is a liberation movement which operates inside South Africa and is not only recognized by Africa and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) but also has the recognition and support of a much larger part of the international community. It is a liberation movement dedicated to rid South Africa of the evils there brought about by the racist system of *apartheid*. It is precisely what the ANC stands for that gives it such wide recognition in the world community. South Africa therefore has no legitimate right of any kind to attack Lesotho. The ANC, as a liberation movement, has the full support of the OAU, and we will continue to give it every possible assistance in its legitimate struggle against the oppressive régime until final victory is achieved.

36. Lesotho as an independent State has every right to give assistance and sanctuary to those who have found life intolerable in *apartheid* South Africa. It is the right of every State to assist the victims of *apartheid*, and I should like to commend the Government of Lesotho for its courage in extending its arms to those refugees in the face of the brutal enemy which surrounds it.

37. The day before yesterday, we listened with great pain to the statement made by King Moshoeshoe of Lesotho in the Council [*ibid.*]. He narrated very carefully the events of the early hours of 9 December 1982—the killing of innocent children and women and the material damage caused in the commission of that overt aggression.

38. South Africa's behaviour and ill-intentions are known to us all. The attack was carried out to intimidate the Lesotho Government and force it to hand over to South Africa genuine refugees who had escaped from the repressive and oppressive racist régime. South Africa is trying to force the Government of Lesotho to compromise and to accept the obnoxious policies of *apartheid*. The racist régime hates Lesotho for the moral support that it has given to the oppressed people of South Africa and for the help Lesotho has given to the refugees who have fled there from South Africa.

39. In pursuance of its policies of seeking to perpetuate racist domination in South Africa and maintaining its illegal occupation of Namibia, as well as expanding its imperialist influence beyond its borders, the régime has resorted to all kinds of aggression, subversion, destabilization and terrorism against the neighbouring independent States.

40. We recall South Africa's repeated military interventions in Angola, its occupation of the southern part of that country, its constant acts of aggression against Mozambique and its attacks against Zambia and Botswana and the other front-line States. The attack on Seychelles by mercenaries organized by South Africa is very fresh in our memories. Who can believe that Seychelles, a small country very far away from South Africa, poses any threat to warrant such barbaric attacks by the racist régime?

41. The time has come when the international community must wake up to the gravity of the situation in southern Africa. There is no longer any time left for ambiguity and prevarication over what South Africa stands for. The time has come, as events have proved, for the Council to be convinced that the régime in South Africa and the system of *apartheid* represent a threat to international peace and security.

42. During the many years that the United Nations has considered the problems of *apartheid* and the serious threat coming from South Africa, a consensus has emerged in the continent of Africa to the effect that that evil Government must be brought to an end. The world community has encountered powerful resistance from the most powerful nations which, although they claim to have recognized that *apartheid* is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, have frustrated the efforts of the world community to take the only effective measures against that régime, which include economic sanctions. We cannot forget that in April 1981, after painstaking negotiations on taking concrete measures against South Africa, the hopes of the entire world community were shattered under the weight of a triple veto by France, the United States and the United Kingdom, despite a clear world-wide cry for action against South Africa.

43. It is precisely the use, or misuse, of the veto to support South Africa that clearly encourages it to defy the demands of the world community. It is precisely that kind of support and encouragement that emboldens South Africa to ignore the repeated appeals of the world community. It is that support that encourages it to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia. In ignoring the world call for the negotiation of independence for Namibia, it has found an ally to support its utterly unrelated ideological demands. The present impasse over Namibia's independence is directly related to the support which South Africa receives from some of the Western Powers.

44. Enough resolutions have been adopted by both the General Assembly and the Security Council con-

demning South Africa for its repeated acts of aggression against the neighbouring independent States.

45. Condemnation is certainly not what will make South Africa respect the demands of the Organization. We have adopted enough of these resolutions. We want to make it clear to South Africa that the world community is now ready to take concrete steps against it for its continued defiance of the international community. Therefore we urge those permanent members of the Council that are the friends of South Africa to declare without qualification that the situation in South Africa poses a threat to international peace and security within the meaning of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. The attack on Maseru was an unprovoked aggression committed by South Africa. We should start now all preparations for the effective measures and actions necessary to bring the racist régime to its senses.

46. We remain confident that the struggle to put an end to the *apartheid* system will succeed. We urge the world community to continue to give every assistance possible to the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia so that they may carry on their legitimate struggle until final victory is achieved.

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

48. Mr. OGOUMA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to express to you my appreciation for the honour you have accorded me in permitting me to speak on behalf of the People's Republic of Benin before the representatives of the States members of the Council. I should like also to express to you the wholehearted satisfaction of my delegation at seeing you preside over the work of the Council at a time when the brother country of Lesotho has just been the victim of a dastardly and treacherous act of aggression on the part of Pretoria's troops. As you represent Poland, a country with which my own country has the honour of sharing the same ideals of peace and justice, we have no doubt that you will successfully guide the proceedings of the Council.

49. I should like also to express to your predecessor, the representative of Panama, our great appreciation for the way in which he conducted the business of the Council last month.

50. The people of Benin learned with consternation and indignation of the heinous act of aggression committed against Lesotho, a friendly and fraternal country and a member of the OAU and Member of the United Nations. When that distressing news was announced, the President of the People's Republic of Benin, head of State and President of the National Executive Council, sent the following message to

his brother and friend, Prime Minister of Lesotho, Leabua Jonathan:

"We have learned with great surprise and profound indignation of the base, barbarous and inhuman act of aggression against your country and people committed by the racist authorities of Pretoria.

"At this time of trial, I wish, on behalf of the people of Benin, its vanguard party, the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin, and its National Executive Council and on my own behalf, to assure you of our sympathy and our unswerving support.

"We firmly and vigorously condemn this barbarous act of aggression, which once again demonstrates the diabolical determination of the racist forces of Pretoria to thwart by every possible means the efforts of the free and independent States of the region which are helping to bring about the emancipation of the black majority and the triumph of the noble ideals of equality, justice and peace.

"Extending to you once again the expression of our vigorous support, we beg you, Excellency and dear brother, to accept the assurances of our high and fraternal consideration."

51. It cannot be repeated too often that this inhuman act of aggression is part of a premeditated plan, a diabolical strategy prepared by the racists of Pretoria to subjugate the peoples of the region for the benefit of international imperialism.

52. Thus, the intensification of the barbaric repression of the Namibian patriots, the policy of bantustanization, the efforts to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, the ruthless exploitation of its people, the militarization of the Territory of Namibia and its use as a base for committing acts of aggression against the front-line States, particularly Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique—these are all crimes which have created an extremely dangerous situation in southern Africa.

53. One year ago, the Republic of Seychelles was the victim of this fascist barbarism. Today it is Lesotho that in its turn has fallen victim to the criminal policies of South Africa.

54. In spite of the many resolutions adopted in both the Security Council and the General Assembly condemning the *apartheid* régime, Pretoria continues to defy the international community. This constant defiance casts doubt on the capacity of the United Nations, and in particular of the Security Council, to translate into actions its own unanimously adopted decisions. It reflects, above all, the acquiescence, and indeed, active complicity of certain great Powers with regard to South Africa.

55. The people of Benin, who, unfortunately, know only too well the cost of imperialistic armed aggression from the events of 16 January 1977, share the grief of the fraternal people of Lesotho and offer it its militant support.

56. The remarkable statement by King Moshoeshe before the Council [*ibid.*] testifies to the confidence his people place in this important decision-making body of the Organization.

57. Thus Benin wishes to express the hope that resolution 527 (1982), adopted unanimously yesterday by the Council, will be implemented.

58. Ready for the revolution—the struggle continues.

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

60. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of my delegation, I should like first of all to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for allowing me to take part in this debate, which is of special interest to our people and our Revolutionary Government. I should also like, Sir, to extend my warmest congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for December. I am convinced that, given your outstanding qualities, you will successfully fulfil your responsibilities this month.

61. At the same time, I wish to pay a tribute to Mr. Carlos Ozores Typaldos of Panama for his efforts and effective work last month as President of the Council.

62. Two days ago the King of Lesotho, in his brilliant statement before the Council [*ibid.*], informed us of the latest aggression perpetrated against his country and people by the racist South African régime. We were told how South Africa sought to justify the deaths of 42 African brothers, many of them refugees, by resorting to the well-known claim that the victims were aggressors and vice versa. We also heard how South Africa sought to implicate Lesotho in an alleged communist manoeuvre against the Pretoria régime, trying thus to put the problem of southern Africa in the context of East-West confrontation.

63. We were also informed how the criminal acts of the South African régime against Lesotho constituted an act of revenge by South Africa for the firm and dignified position assumed by that country in the face of the pressure exerted by South Africa against it so that it should cease to act as a country loyal to its history and its principles, that is, through its participation in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries or by welcoming refugees whose exodus was forced upon them by South Africa itself.

64. All of these actions and arguments are only too well known, since, unfortunately, we have felt them in our own flesh and we hear them daily from South Africa's allies on our own continent, especially in relation to the problems of Central America. That is not merely a coincidence, but rather here as well as there, reflects the systematic behaviour of some great Powers. It shows, once again, the high price that peoples have to pay to achieve or maintain their independence and how far those who seek to impose their political and economic interests on peoples seeking self-determination are prepared to go.

65. It is well known that in the Council itself South Africa has an ally which defends its interests while ensuring that resolutions adopted by the Council are the least unfavourable possible for the Pretoria régime. It is that same country which in the Council protects Israel so that even the minimum treatment it deserves because of its Pretorian behaviour in the Middle East cannot be meted out.

66. It is well known that South Africa has unsuccessfully endeavoured to create puppet governments that would enable it to perpetuate its domination in southern Africa.

67. In the case of Central America, we know of some countries which are ready to wage war on Nicaragua even at the expense of the sacrifice of their own peoples. We should mention here that the visit of the sinister Israeli Defence Minister to Honduras two days after President Reagan's visit to that same country clearly demonstrates the link between Washington and Tel Aviv, two fundamental pillars of strategic alliances of which the ramifications also affect the African continent.

68. The violation of the territorial integrity of Lesotho and the massacres perpetrated there are but another link in the chain of aggression which South Africa has committed in southern Africa, including the escalation of repression against the inhabitants of Namibia and South Africa itself, where brave patriots are fighting to become the masters of their own destiny, to which they are justly entitled.

69. This latest act of aggression is a new destabilizing manoeuvre in southern Africa to suppress the liberation struggle being waged by the people of Namibia, under its sole and authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), in order to achieve its much desired and well-deserved independence.

70. For us, the events that have taken place in Lesotho are but one more proof of the contempt of the South African Government for the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations in relation to southern Africa. At the same time, this aggression constitutes a new challenge to the United Nations, which has important and special responsibility in respect

of Namibia. In this connection, this world forum must redouble its efforts to obtain the implementation of its resolutions, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which is the fundamental and only basis for achieving a satisfactory transition from the colonial status of Namibia.

71. In contrast with the warlike and intransigent attitude of South Africa, we have witnessed the flexibility and readiness of SWAPO to comply with that resolution. The delaying tactics employed by South Africa, with the support of its allies, in connection with Namibia lose all credibility when that same South Africa tries to prove to the world that sovereign States must take all the measures they consider necessary to protect themselves, as is being done against the military power of the ignominious South African Government.

72. On the other hand, we see that the powerful friends of South Africa reward its good behaviour and grant it a loan of \$1 billion, through the International Monetary Fund (IMF), while at the same time they pressure multilateral banks to deny loans to poor countries struggling to achieve a better life.

73. In a strange communiqué issued shortly after the approval of that loan, the State Department of the United States indicated that because the IMF was a technical body there was no room in its decisions for arguments of a political character. This poor reasoning would deserve a minimum of credibility if it were applied consistently, but, as we all know, it is precisely the opposite that is true. The use of political and economic pressure is what prevails.

74. In conclusion, I should like to express once again the solidarity of our people and Government with the people and the Government of Lesotho and the other front-line States, which constantly suffer from the acts of aggression of the racist Pretoria régime. At the same time, we urge the international community to take appropriate measures in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to prevent the continuation of such crimes and secure the implementation of a just and lasting solution in southern Africa.

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

76. Mr. TAYLOR (Grenada): Permit me first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of December. Being aware of your talents as a diplomat, my delegation is confident that under your guidance the work of the Council will undoubtedly be conducive to the cause of peace and justice in southern Africa. May I also take this opportunity to express my delegation's profound appreciation of the efficiency with which your predecessor, Mr. Carlos Ozores Typaldos of Panama,

carried out the business of the Council during the month of November.

77. The attack on Lesotho on 9 December is yet another episode in a macabre series of acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist Pretoria clique, in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations and contrary to the accepted norms of international behaviour, against States that cherish peace and freedom.

78. Racist South Africa, aided and abetted by its powerful friends and ideological soul-mates, continues to disregard scornfully the innumerable United Nations and other resolutions that call upon it to put an end to its acts of aggression against its defenceless neighbours. Even as we deliberate here in the Council chamber, South African troops occupy a portion of the southern province of the sister Republic of Angola. Even as we express our profound condolences to the Government and to the people of Lesotho and to the patriots of the ANC, the Pretoria racists are stubbornly denying our brothers and sisters in Namibia their inalienable right to become the guardians of their own destinies.

79. South Africa's arrogance and its iron-clad defiance are, I submit, no accident. South Africa's aggression must be situated in the context of a wider imperialist conspiracy to frustrate the noble and legitimate aspirations of the oppressed peoples and to derail and ultimately overthrow progressive Governments. To this end, imperialism has handpicked its gendarmes to do its dirty work in the so-called trouble-spots around the world.

80. In the Middle East, the agents of imperialism have slaughtered thousands of Palestinian Arabs and are at this moment occupying Arab territories. In Central America, they murder hundreds of innocent men, women and children and are reportedly poised to strike at the heart of the sister Republic of Nicaragua.

81. Racist South Africa is a creature of imperialism. The abominable system of *apartheid*, which holds millions of our brothers and sisters in bondage, is maintained fundamentally because South Africa continues to receive strong diplomatic, political, economic, military and other support from its imperialist backers.

82. Day after day, the United Nations is treated to sermons given by ideologues who pompously tell us that there are two worlds, that there is a free world and another world. Those ideologues, after engaging in all sorts of semantic stunts, often remind us that South Africa is a member of the so-called free world. What freedom? Is it the freedom to murder and to hold millions of people in captivity, or is it the freedom to make the world safe for the transnationals? Those of us who cherish true freedom have a right to know what freedom it is.

83. In conclusion, I wish to read the text of a message addressed to the Prime Minister of Lesotho from Comrade Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister of my country:

"The People's Revolutionary Government and the people of Grenada have been profoundly saddened by the cruel and sadistic murder of citizens of Lesotho and the patriots of the African National Congress (ANC) by the bloody Pretoria régime.

"We extend to you, the Government and people of the Kingdom of Lesotho, as well as to the ANC, our deep sympathy at the loss of life and the material damage which has been caused.

"We regard the South African incursion into Lesotho as a flagrant violation of the territorial integrity of your country, and we most strongly condemn this open act of aggression by the forces of this contemptible gang of racists.

"As we mourn with you the untimely death of so many of your people, we recognize that they are the newest heroes on the road of Africa's long struggle to remove for ever the scourge of *apartheid*, racist bigotry and the Trojan horse of imperialism which is the illegal régime in Pretoria.

"We are likewise satisfied that the dedication of the Government and the people of Lesotho to the sacred cause of liberation is irreversible and that you will continue to be identified with those who relentlessly pursue the struggle to achieve freedom and justice and human dignity for Namibia and for the martyred people of South Africa.

"Long live the struggle of our brothers and sisters of Africa."

84. I wish also to say that we believe that history is on our side, and therefore the people will triumph.

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

86. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): May I thank you most sincerely, Mr. President, for this opportunity to participate in the deliberations of the Council on the question of South Africa's unprovoked aggression against Lesotho.

87. Before I proceed with my statement on the subject, I wish, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for the month of December. I also wish to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the representative of Panama, who did such an excellent job as President last month.

88. The recent, undoubtedly premeditated act of aggression by the Pretoria régime against peace-loving

Lesotho clearly demonstrates South Africa's determination to live up to its now all too familiar reputation as a criminal, mad, reckless and foolish neighbour. For only a Government inspired by savagery and barbarism could brag about and derive satisfaction from the cold-blooded massacre of defenceless and dispossessed refugees, women and children. This inhuman act, directed by a Government of immoral and irrational persons, is an act of genocide and aggression against the people of Lesotho. Under international law, it is a very serious violation of that country's territorial integrity.

89. The act is foolish and reckless because it threatens peace and security in the whole region. We call upon all States and individuals professing a belief in the rule of civilized law to denounce and condemn in the strongest terms this uncalled-for aggression and genocide. The racist régime must be made to pay for the loss of human lives and the severe damage to property in Lesotho. Also, because the act of aggression is a breach of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations, the Council must take appropriate action against the Pretoria Government.

90. Zimbabwe's sympathy with the Government and people of Lesotho, our solidarity with the Basotho people and our support for and solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa have already been conveyed to the Government of Lesotho. I wish, in this regard, to read the message sent by Comrade Robert G. Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, to Mr. Leabua Jonathan, the Prime Minister of Lesotho, as soon as the news of the massacre was received in Harare. It reads:

"It is with a profound sense of horror and deep shock that the Government of Zimbabwe learned of the cold-blooded massacre carried out by the troops of the racist Pretoria régime against the peace-loving and defenceless people of Lesotho in the early hours of yesterday morning.

"This latest example of savage aggression waged in the bloody name of *apartheid* and in total defiance of the international laws governing respect for the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of an independent State, left many dead and wounded in its wake. As usual, the racist troops did not content themselves with the slaughtering of defenceless refugees, but proceeded to murder innocent women and children before fleeing back to their racist bases.

"Coming after the Matola massacres in Maputo last year and the continuous massacres in south Angola in the last two years, we see a pattern here of intensified aggression in the whole region. The two attempts to enter Zimbabwe which have been uncovered and neutralized confirm that the racist régime is bent on naked aggression and destabilization of the whole region.

"We offer our deepest sympathies to the Government and people of Lesotho, and more especially to those whose loved ones fell in this heinous and dastardly attack. We in Zimbabwe feel their losses as our own and are one with them in the tears they shed for the victims of Pretoria's genocide. So often during our own hard struggle for liberation the racist forces of Rhodesia tried to destroy us and break our spirit by using the same sort of tactic as used by the racists at dawn yesterday. But they failed—and they failed because we knew that we were right, that our struggle was a just one and that in spite of the odds weighing heavily against us we would win in the end.

"And so it is in South Africa. For, as the struggle progresses, and as contradictions begin to show within the *apartheid* edifice, the enemy is becoming more irrational and thus more savage and vicious in his reactions. In his panic he is turning his guns onto refugee camps, the shelters for women and children, and onto a small and peace-loving nation.

"The Government and people of Zimbabwe condemn in the strongest possible terms this monstrous act. We deplore the pain and suffering inflicted upon the people of Lesotho, who, despite their small numbers, have stood firm and proud in their opposition to the *apartheid* evil that surrounds them.

"We call upon the international community to condemn this murderous act of aggression and to come forward to the assistance of the Kingdom of Lesotho.

"In this respect, we fully support the call made by the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho for an emergency meeting of the Security Council.

"The struggle continues."

91. Finally, we can only say, as the delegation of Zimbabwe, that we very strongly urge the international community to respond to the calls and demands contained in resolution 527 (1982), unanimously adopted yesterday by the Council.

92. The PRESIDENT: 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.

93. Mr. RUPIA (United Republic of Tanzania): May I first, Sir, offer you the very sincere compliments of my delegation on your assumption of the post of President for the month of December and wish you all success in your work. Well-deserved congratulations also go to your predecessor for the way he conducted the Council's work during the month of November.

94. The day before yesterday [*ibid.*], the Council had the privilege of receiving a first-hand account from

no less a person than the head of State of Lesotho, King Moshoeshoe II, of the most recent act of aggression by the *apartheid* Pretoria régime. So naked and brazen was this criminal act that there is no room for anybody to doubt the wickedness of the perpetrator. As a result, the Council, without debate, was unanimous in convicting and condemning the Pretoria régime as an aggressor and demanding from it full compensation for the damage done to Lesotho.

95. We view the action taken by the Council as no more than firm recognition that an act of aggression has been committed by the Pretoria régime. It is clear that the remedy for the damage has yet to be found and that a permanent solution to the problem has not even been considered. For this is not the first time a complaint has been made to the Council about such an act of aggression. Not a single country neighbouring South Africa has not been attacked or had its sovereignty violated, not only once but several times.

96. And there is no doubt that this is not going to be the last unprovoked act by that régime against neighbouring States, condemnation by the Council notwithstanding. This latest act of aggression by the Pretoria régime is therefore simply a reminder to the Council that a cancerous situation exists in that part of the world which, if no timely cure is applied, cannot but worsen and ultimately result in international conflagration.

97. In an attempt to rationalize its criminal act, the *apartheid* Pretoria régime explained that Lesotho was threatening its security. Indeed, it is in the name of its security that the Pretoria régime has been perpetrating acts of aggression against all its neighbours. The Council has correctly called on South Africa to look elsewhere for the cause of its sense of insecurity, for even if the *apartheid* régime has not yet itself realized it, the Council, indeed the rest of the world, is fully aware that that so-called insecurity is simply the restlessness of a régime besieged by its *apartheid* and fascist policies. The policies of *apartheid* can never be embraced by the people of South Africa. The racist minority in South Africa cannot blame any neighbour for the resistance that is mounting within South Africa. It cannot blame any other country for the exodus of refugees from *apartheid* South Africa. If anything, we can only assure the racist minority that there will be no comfort for it within South Africa until and unless the obnoxious policies of *apartheid* are eradicated.

98. That the *apartheid* Pretoria régime had to go out and pick quarrels with neighbouring States comes as no surprise to us. For, unlike South Africa, those neighbouring States are free States, and a fascist régime has never been known to be at ease with democratic neighbours. The fact that nationals of South Africa should find sanctuary in the territories of neighbouring countries is in itself an indictment of the régime in its country of origin. However, what is even

more evident is that with the attainment of independence by the countries neighbouring South Africa, the last pocket of oppression and fascism has been totally exposed. The fire of liberation is at the doors of South Africa. There can be no escape from it. The only security for the racist minority lies in welcoming the wave of democracy into that country.

99. While we shall not tire of calling upon the Pretoria régime to abandon its *apartheid* policies, we remain convinced that with the comfort afforded it by certain Western Powers that régime will not readily listen to these warnings. Those that collaborate with South Africa therefore bear a direct responsibility for the behaviour of the *apartheid* Pretoria régime. If the Council is seriously concerned about peace in southern Africa, it must recognize that link and look for a solution on the basis of that fact.

100. We do not believe that it will have any effect for the Council to continue regretting the criminal acts of the Pretoria régime while some of the very influential members of the Council continue at the same time to extend all the economic and military assistance the régime badly needs to survive. Indeed, it is most unfortunate that this body, the last resort in the maintenance of international peace and security, should by its equivocation invite for itself the cynicism of those that would look to it for their redemption from criminal oppression. The Council, therefore, must seriously consider the imposition of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

101. We call in particular on the Western permanent members of the Council to reconsider their policy towards South Africa so that the Council can fulfil its responsibility regarding the future of southern Africa. It is only then that the problem of the security of the States neighbouring South Africa will be properly addressed.

102. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Yemen, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Arab States. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

103. Mr. SALLAM (Yemen): Mr. President, I should like to express our gratitude to you and, through you, to the other members of the Council for giving us this opportunity to participate in the debate on the complaint by Lesotho against South Africa, concerning the latter's recent act of aggression against Lesotho.

104. Furthermore, in my capacity as Chairman of the Group of Arab States, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of December and to express the firm conviction of the Group that your dedication, leadership and diplomatic skills will enable the Council, the main body entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, to live up to its obligations

and uphold the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations relating to such flagrant violations of its principles.

105. The Council has been convened on an urgent basis once again to deal with yet another unprovoked act of aggression by South Africa against neighbouring independent and sovereign African States. Mozambique, and then Angola, have in the past been victims of aggression, and more recently, on 9 December, columns of racist South Africa's so-called Defence Force (SADF) invaded Lesotho, inflicting heavy and wanton damage and causing the loss of the lives of at least 42 innocent civilians. Men, women and children, refugees displaced and forced out of their homes and native land in southern Africa, are being bombed and shelled in their camps. Many of them had originally fled their country because they were unable to bear the humiliation, torture and absolute degradation perpetrated against them by the Pretoria clique, blinded by its so-called white supremacy and bent on practising all forms of racism and racial discrimination in order to deprive the majority of the native population of South Africa of the exercise of their elementary human rights, including the right to live their daily lives in dignity and respect.

106. It is well known to the international community and to world public opinion that, each and every time it commits acts of aggression in defiance of all the norms of international law and elementary behaviour which govern relations between States, South Africa fabricates lies and half-truths to cover up those acts. Such was its method on this occasion, after its act of aggression against Lesotho.

107. In his statement of 14 December, the King of Lesotho said:

"The reasons are well known to the members of the international community. In the first place, the Pretoria régime resents our oft-expressed abhorrence, in line with the whole of civilized mankind, of the obnoxious policy of *apartheid*. They hope to intimidate us into dissociating ourselves from the world-wide condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* and from offering moral support to the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle for justice, freedom and equality. They resent our membership in the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, whose main objective is to reduce our undue economic dependence on South Africa—an objective that would give us greater freedom of action. They are opposed to our membership in the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. In short, South Africa is against the very existence of a sovereign and independent African State within its geographic boundaries which will not do its bidding." [*Ibid.*, para. 30.]

108. It is evident and amply clear that South Africa neither seeks nor wants peace with neighbouring

States, and that applies to the entire continent of Africa, for its strategy is predicated on diverting world public opinion and mankind as a whole from condemning its *apartheid* system as a crime against mankind and as the greatest threat to international peace and security. By introducing evasive and cosmetic changes in its internal policy of *apartheid*, Pretoria is convinced that it can placate world public opinion and dampen the fervour of the struggle waged by the indignant population. Likewise, South Africa seeks to buy time in order to consolidate its military capability, both nuclear and conventional, in order to frustrate the aim of the front-line African States to act as a leverage and sustenance for the struggle of the peoples of Africa, and specifically the Namibian people's struggle to achieve its internationally recognized rights, independence and freedom. By so doing, South Africa is holding the whole continent of Africa hostage to its potential military and striking power.

109. One wonders how long South Africa and its counterparts will be allowed to establish counter-legitimacy to the legitimacy of the United Nations, its resolutions, its Charter, the norms of international law and international consensus. And for how long are we going to pretend that an aggressor must be persuaded rather than penalized? The answer to this is obvious: when we see that aggression, without sanctions, opens the floodgates for a series of violations, aggressions and brutality.

110. In this connection, we call upon the members of the Council to exert the utmost pressure on South Africa to make it desist forthwith from its present policies of aggression, wanton destruction and State terrorism. For we believe that former pronouncements by the Council and scores of condemnations of South Africa have proved ineffective. Instead, they have been construed as encouragement by the aggressor, whose built-in contempt for unanimously adopted Security Council resolutions, and whose intent to demolish the credibility and effectiveness of the United Nations mechanism in order to perpetuate its racist, fascist and colonial-settler policies are too well known to be mentioned. Therefore it is incumbent upon the permanent members of the Council to carry out their obligations in the maintenance of international peace and security and to take effective measures in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to apply mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, as has repeatedly been requested by the General Assembly and the non-aligned countries.

111. We in the Group of Arab States have unanimously called for the imposition of sanctions as decided by the Arab League Council at its meeting held at Tunis in September 1981, at which it emphasized and reaffirmed the firm resolve of the Arab States to isolate the South African régime and to implement a boycott against it in all fields, particularly

in petroleum and oil, as decided by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries in its resolution 26/5, adopted at its thirty-sixth session, held at Kuwait on 5 May 1981 [S/14750, annex].

112. Our brothers and sisters in South Africa, in Namibia and in the neighbouring States of South Africa have borne more than their share of oppression, of suffering, of injustice and of death and destruction. We take this opportunity to salute their freedom fighters in their just struggle and to assure them that the Arab nation, one and all, will continue to extend its total support until all vestiges of racism are erased from our globe.

113. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 16 December from the representatives of Togo, Uganda and Zaire [S/15527], which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that the Council extend an invitation, under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, to Mr. I. F. Mafole, the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, during the course of the Council's consideration of the item 'Complaint by Lesotho against South Africa'."

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

It is so decided.

114. The PRESIDENT: I invite Mr. Mafole to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

115. Mr. MAFOLE: In thanking you, Mr. President, for allowing us to address the Council, let me also take the opportunity to join those who have preceded us in congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency for the month of December.

116. I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Government and the people of Lesotho for the continued principled support, hospitality and protection they have always offered our people and will continue to do so because our struggle is theirs, our suffering is theirs and our happiness is theirs. We are one people.

117. It is the view of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), custodian of the true aspirations of the African masses of Azania, that no amount of intimidation or terror by blitzkrieg-type invasions and attacks in independent States that are neighbours of racist South Africa will reverse the irresistible course of events or history, nor will those acts of aggression and the wanton destruction of human life and property dampen or daunt the spirit of resistance of the dispossessed, oppressed and exploited African majority of

Azania and all those committed and dedicated to the total liberation and unity of Africa. The perimeter of liberation has now reached the very doorstep of the last bastion of Western colonialism, imperialism and racist minority rule in Africa. The *apartheid* colonialism of the white minority rulers of South Africa will fall just as the Portuguese African empire and others did before it, notwithstanding Western imperialist support led by the United States.

118. Invading Lesotho and killing innocent Azanian refugees and the local inhabitants will not divert the attention of the oppressed from waging the consistent and determined struggle to overthrow the settler colonialism of the racist minority and imperialism in our country. Our struggle has entered its final and decisive phase of armed struggle—the principal method for liberation, the only means to recover our true humanity and humanize the dehumanized racists, and the only way to ensure genuine victory and the repossession of the usurped fatherland, the basis for national independence and self-determination.

119. The "total strategy" of the racist minority rulers of South Africa is too well known to us to deserve repetition here. Angola, Mozambique and other front-line States are living victims of this strategy of war against the liberation movements and those supporting the just struggles of the oppressed in Namibia and Azania. The Cassinga and Nyazonia massacres of Namibian and Zimbabwean refugees are still fresh in our minds. The recent invasion of Lebanon and the massacre of Palestinian refugees by Zionist soldiers in Beirut and Damat is not different from what happened at Cassinga, Nyazonia and today at Maseru. They are the same, and from similar desperate, oppressive, repressive and murderous racist régimes of our time. The blood of the innocent at Cassinga, Sabra, Shatila and Maseru will continue to nourish the spirit of resistance of the dispossessed, oppressed and exploited peoples of Namibia, Palestine and Azania. The massacre of unarmed Azanian refugees and Lesotho nationals is yet another of the most odious and serious of crimes for which the terrorist *apartheid* régime will have to answer when the time of reckoning comes.

120. Sharpeville and Soweto are still green in our memories, and now there is Maseru with over 40 innocent refugees and Lesotho nationals killed. These were men, women and children with flesh, blood, bones and feelings like you and me. Their lives have been brutally snuffed out by the most barbarous and inhuman régime of the twentieth century, supported and encouraged by some of the most powerful and civilized nations of the world.

121. Where can our people go? Tortured, persecuted, prosecuted and murdered daily in the country of our birth, and pursued even outside. What options do we have left? In 1960 and 1976, we were massacred at Sharpeville and Soweto, respectively, and today in

Maseru. What have we learned from those tragic experiences? Only to be massacred. That seems to be the lesson we have learned, and the representatives here all know about this tragic situation. What is their answer to this brutal and barbarous killing of our people? Are condemnations enough for an answer? We know that economic sanctions have been frustrated by those who have the power and leverage over racist South Africa. But of course, we do not despair.

122. We have the answer. The oppressed people have the answer. In 1960, we were prepared to die for our freedom. But 1976 taught us not only to die for our freedom but also to kill for it. This is the path that we have chosen, because it is the only one that will restore our true humanity; the only one that will bring genuine liberation; and the only one that will restore our usurped ancestral and natural heritage, that is, our fatherland.

123. The only option remaining therefore is armed struggle involving the entire oppressed and exploited African people of Azania and their liberation movements. It is a people's war under the broad united front of all existing liberation movements, patriotic and democratic forces that will bring an end to aggression, subversion, repression and murder in southern Africa. PAC is committed to armed struggle because this is the only way that will bring peace and security in southern Africa, by overthrowing and destroying *apartheid* colonialism of the white settler minority and imperialism—the causes of destabilization and war.

124. In conclusion, I wish to say that no oppressed nation which took up arms to fight was ever defeated. The Azanian nation is not an exception. Victory is certain.

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

126. Mr. STEWARD (South Africa) I should like to congratulate you most sincerely, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council.

127. I must at the outset protest against the manner in which the Council has conducted its consideration of this matter. Despite the fact that South Africa is a party to this dispute and despite the fact that it requested to address the Council in terms of Article 32 of the Charter of the United Nations, it was not permitted to speak before the Council adopted resolution 527 (1982). It is perhaps understandable that those members of the Council with an imperfect understanding of the rules of fair play and of the judicial principle of *audi alteram partem* should have gone along with this procedure. What is incomprehensible is that other States should have decided to condemn South Africa without even going through the form of allowing it to state its case. But then perhaps it is

not so surprising because this is, after all, the United Nations, and there never was the slightest intention that the Council should consider both sides of the case, or that it should attempt to encourage a peaceful resolution of this matter instead of exacerbating it.

128. It is alarming that States from which one would have expected better have associated themselves with this kind of behaviour. Those countries represented in South Africa are well aware of what happens in Lesotho. However, in the Council, States are evidently not concerned so much with facts as with effect. It is to be hoped that they are ashamed when, in private, they endeavour to reconcile the truth with the positions which they assume at the United Nations. But be they ashamed or not, the South African Government will steadfastly maintain its position that it will not tolerate the granting of sanctuary to terrorists who plan and execute sabotage and violence against South Africa.

129. It is also somewhat ironic that the Council should have felt itself qualified to pass judgement on South Africa's recent action against ANC terrorists in Maseru in the resolution which it adopted yesterday afternoon. Only last week, nine members of the Council supported a General Assembly resolution [resolution 37/69 A, of 9 December 1982], which commended the ANC for intensifying its campaign against the institutions and people of South Africa. By a distorted brand of logic, clandestine marauders are applauded when committing acts of violence; when counter-action follows, they are transformed into refugees.

130. The action of the United Nations in endorsing this resort to violence against a Member State is in direct contravention of the principle of the Charter that international disputes should be settled by peaceful means. How in these circumstances can the United Nations presume to pass judgement on South Africa when, in direct violation of its own Charter, it has incited and encouraged the pattern of terrorist aggression which led directly to the limited action forming the subject of the complaint today before the Council, and when the resolutions of the United Nations have urged war and forgotten peace?

131. How in these circumstances can South Africa be expected to have any confidence in the Council's ability to carry out its functions with the meticulous impartiality required by the Charter? How, indeed, can any State confidently put its case to the Council, when its members have once again proved themselves to be so partial and its actions so irreconcilable with the Charter?

132. Resolution 527 (1982) is grotesquely one-sided. No mention whatsoever is made of the terrorist activities of the ANC which gave rise to South Africa's action. No mention is made of the fact that Lesotho has allowed its territory to be used as a springboard

for attacks against its neighbours. We must reluctantly conclude that the members of the Council are not concerned about attacks launched by terrorists against South Africa and against its citizens of all races. This comes as no surprise in respect of those members of the Council that, in contravention of the Charter, openly support the terrorist activities of the ANC. It is, however, disturbing that other members of the Council should have decided to go along with a formulation which so blatantly ignores the role played by ANC terrorism in this matter.

133. The representative of the United Kingdom, in particular, seemed to be quite content to turn a blind eye to terrorist attacks against South Africa. Evidently—and incredibly—his country expects the Republic to do likewise—as though South Africa were under some moral obligation to endure such attacks without defending itself. The representative of the United Kingdom also referred to the statesmanship and restraint of Lesotho [2407th meeting]. Does the United Kingdom really believe that Lesotho showed statesmanship and restraint when it accused the Republic of trying to overrun and rule its neighbours as colonies? While we are on the subject of colonialism, what, may we ask, did Britain do to prepare Lesotho for independence and to ensure that it would be a viable State? What, indeed, is it doing now to assist Lesotho?

134. As for the calls for compensation, the present Government of Lesotho has to accept responsibility not only for this incident but also for the damage caused in South Africa as the result of sanctuary afforded to terrorists by Lesotho.

135. For too many years have Members of the United Nations turned a blind eye to the activities of organizations such as the ANC. For too many years have they equivocated, tolerated and condoned the blatant violation of the central principles of the Charter by offering no more than token opposition to the General Assembly's promotion of violence by such organizations. Indeed, many of these States have lent the ANC overt or covert support in an attempt to ingratiate themselves with radical opinion.

136. South Africa is, therefore, the last country that should bear responsibility for creating the situation that led to the action of a small unit of the SADF against ANC targets in Lesotho on 9 December.

137. These targets served as planning and control headquarters as well as bases for launching acts of violence against South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei. The South African action was aimed exclusively at ANC terrorists and their bases and can in no sense be construed as hostile to the people of Lesotho. Indeed, the South African unit had firm instructions to avoid contact with civilians in carrying out their task. The members of the unit made every effort to adhere to these instructions. It is a matter of considerable regret to the South African Government that civilians have died or suffered as a consequence of the ANC's tactic

of siting its bases in residential areas, with women and children in close proximity. This is a well-known terrorist device used by, among others, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Lebanon. The ANC headquarters were deliberately located in civilian houses spread throughout the residential suburbs of Maseru to render action against them more difficult.

138. The ANC command in Lesotho has been responsible for various acts of sabotage in South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei. The attention of the Council is drawn to the cold-blooded assassination in the streets of Umtata, Transkei, by a Lesotho-based ANC execution squad, of a former official of the ANC who had become disillusioned with the extent of communist influence and control over the organization. The South African Government repeatedly objected to the presence of ANC terrorists in Lesotho in a number of discussions with the Lesotho Government. The Lesotho Government was informed of acts of violence and sabotage as well as plans for committing subversion in South Africa by persons who had fled to Lesotho and found a haven there, and details of ANC terrorists were provided to the Lesotho authorities. The Lesotho Government was on numerous occasions asked to remove the ANC terrorists from Lesotho.

139. Thus, for example, the South African Government addressed representations to the Lesotho Government concerning the presence of a leading ANC terrorist who engaged in subversive activities against South Africa. The Lesotho Government intimated that this person would be removed, and this was done. However, soon afterwards he was replaced by an even more dangerous individual, resulting in a worse situation. In addition to specific incidents, a number of ANC terrorists who have infiltrated into South Africa and independent neighbouring States from Lesotho have been arrested, and large arms caches have been uncovered.

140. The Lesotho Government has repeatedly been warned by the South African Government that murder and sabotage planned and executed by the ANC or other terrorist groups from within its territory would not be tolerated, and that it would have to bear the consequences of harbouring these elements. The Lesotho Government has maintained that it has granted asylum only to genuine refugees from South Africa. The facts, however, indicate otherwise. Known ANC terrorists have been permitted free rein to plan and execute operations against South African targets.

141. The South African Government has also on a number of occasions proposed to the Government of Lesotho that joint border patrols should be instituted to control illegal border crossings in the interest of the security of both South Africa and Lesotho. This elicited a negative response. A further proposal that officials be stationed on each side of the border to facilitate daily consultation on border problems proved similarly unacceptable.

142. In talks with Lesotho representatives on 19 August and 28 November 1981 and 19 March and 2 September 1982, South African representatives pointed to the serious stresses being placed on South African-Lesotho relations by the continued presence of ANC terrorists in Lesotho. At these meetings, there appeared to be an understanding on the part of the Lesotho Government for the South African position, and for months the South African security authorities patiently restrained themselves in the hope that this understanding would be translated into positive action leading to the removal of this evil. However, this never materialized, and the ANC terrorists have been allowed to remain in Lesotho and continue their role as a major destabilizing element in the surrounding areas and in Lesotho as well. The destabilizing effect of the presence of the ANC on Lesotho is known to cause concern to certain members of the Lesotho Government. In this connection, a member of the Lesotho Government indicated that in his view South African security forces should simply take the required action against ANC terrorists in Lesotho without involving the Lesotho Government.

143. Lesotho is regarded by the ANC as geographically and strategically well-placed for the planning, co-ordination and execution of acts of terrorism in large areas of southern Africa. According to information at the disposal of the South African Government, plans were well advanced for the perpetration of a number of deeds of terror by the ANC in South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei during the coming festive season. This evidence is indisputable and is supported by the fact that several well-trained terrorists have been deployed in Lesotho from elsewhere in southern Africa during the past month in order to unleash their programme of violence against the people of South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei.

144. The operation against ANC terrorists has brought to light, *inter alia*, the following plans of the ANC aimed against South Africa and neighbouring States: first, sabotage against an important railway complex and other South African transport service installations; secondly, an assassination attempt on the life of the President of a neighbouring country; and thirdly, the identification for attack of a number of other targets in neighbouring States.

145. The revised strategy of the ANC calls for more overt infiltration of terrorists into South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei and the establishment of arms caches. These terrorists are to be responsible for deeds of terror of increased intensity in areas bordering on Lesotho, and specific targets allocated to terrorists by the command structure in Lesotho include political leaders in independent States, infra-structural objectives in South Africa and independent neighbouring States and community centres for blacks in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.

146. The sole purpose of the pre-emptive action by the South African unit was thus to prevent an escala-

tion of terrorist activity embracing the perpetration of bombings, sabotage and bloodshed in South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei, after repeated warnings and appeals had gone unheeded.

147. The South African Government wishes to emphasize that its policy with respect to the Government and the people of Lesotho has been geared towards peaceful coexistence. It remains ready to co-operate in ensuring harmonious relations with all its neighbouring States. It will be appreciated, nevertheless, that no Government deserving of the name can permit the fabric of its society to be mutilated or destroyed by the vicious and unrestrained deeds of conscienceless men bent on sowing death and destruction wherever they move. No one should therefore be left in any doubt concerning South Africa's determination to continue taking whatever steps may be necessary to defend its territory and its citizens from unprovoked and cowardly acts.

148. The accusation has been levelled against South Africa that it has been actively engaged in the destabilization of its southern African neighbours. It has even been claimed that deterioration in the economic situation of these countries is to a large extent the result of a deliberate South African strategy aimed at the disruption of their economies in order to keep them dependent on South Africa. The exact reverse is the truth. South Africa better than anyone realizes that its own interests demand that there should be political, economic and social stability and development in southern Africa. The destabilization of the region is as inimical to the security and progress of South Africa as it is to the political and economic well-being of Lesotho and other contiguous States. Indeed, South Africa should be regarded as one of the most significant stabilizing factors in an area which suffers from certain built-in and externally imposed destabilizing factors, such as a lack of natural resources, a high population growth rate, ethnic diversity, traditional land tenure systems and interference by certain outside Powers for their own selfish purposes.

149. Illustrative of South Africa's role and intentions is the fact that it has always been ready to export large quantities of staple grains and many other food-stuffs to neighbouring States. Lesotho is one of the countries which enjoy the same reduced prices as consumers in South Africa on maize-related products, resulting in an annual saving of almost \$4 million. Ironically, this figure coincides with the amount of damage recently caused to electrical installations in the province of Natal by ANC terrorists, who fled to Lesotho and were then allowed to proceed abroad from there. South Africa has moreover initiated a ploughing and planting programme in Lesotho involving loan finance provided by the South African Government, and this has been lauded by the Lesotho Prime Minister as an important factor in Lesotho's drive to achieve food self-sufficiency.

150. South Africa has a highly developed transport infrastructure, which is used extensively by its immediate neighbours, including, in particular, Lesotho.

151. South Africa's economy also offers substantial employment opportunities to Basotho. Most recent figures reveal that 141,000 Basotho are employed in South Africa, of which 110,000 work in the mining industry. This figure accounts for roughly half the adult male population of Lesotho. The remittance of their wages makes up more than 40 per cent of Lesotho's gross national product. The amount of \$77 million of the mineworkers' wages is paid annually to them through the Bank of Lesotho, while an additional approximate amount of \$80 million is transferred by the mineworkers themselves as cash remittances to Lesotho. In addition, goods to the value of about \$144 million annually accompany Lesotho mineworkers returning from South Africa. More than 20,000 Basotho are employed in other sectors of the South African economy, of which the most important are construction, with 6,181; government services, with 3,985; manufacturing, with 3,851; and agriculture, with 1,941. Large sums are taken back by them to sustain and support their families in Lesotho. These remittances must of necessity constitute a substantial, if not essential, contribution to the economic stability of Lesotho.

152. The South African Government urgently appeals to the Lesotho Government to reconsider its attitude to the harbouring of terrorists whose avowed aim it is to plan and assist in the implementation of acts of subversion and violence in the Republic of South Africa and other neighbouring territories. The South African Government believes that the majority of Basotho do not support the Government of Lesotho in the stand it is taking on this matter, and the Government of Lesotho will have to accept the responsibility if employment opportunities for its citizens are placed in jeopardy as a result of more stringent movement-control measures that South Africa will have to introduce on the border unless the Lesotho Government changes its attitude. There is, of course, free movement of persons across the border between South Africa and Lesotho. There are approximately 1.5 million crossings annually through border posts, while 600,000 persons living along the border have been issued with special border traffic permits allowing them freely to cross the border. If the Lesotho Government remains intransigent as regards the activity of Lesotho-based ANC terrorists, it would be a matter of great regret to the South African Government were it to be compelled to consider instituting more restrictive measures to control movement across the border.

153. In health matters, South Africa's hospital facilities are utilized for specialist treatment by all its neighbouring States, including Lesotho, and the private sector in South Africa has sponsored free medical assistance by means of projects that send medical personnel over weekends to neighbouring

States, including Lesotho, to examine patients and to perform operations. As regards animal diseases, South Africa's Onderstepoort Veterinary Research Institute annually dispatches millions of doses of 42 different vaccines to many African countries, including Lesotho.

154. In the field of communications, South Africa supplies infrastructure and essential services to its neighbours, and all the international telecommunications traffic of certain adjoining States, including Lesotho, continues to be routed through South Africa, without interference.

155. In the commercial sphere, Lesotho is a co-signatory with South Africa of the customs union agreement dating back to 1910, and its import requirements are largely supplied from South Africa. Lesotho's share in the customs pool is the most important single component of its national revenue, ranging up to 65 per cent in 1981. Lesotho's share for 1983-1984 is estimated at \$99 million.

156. In other words, co-operation between South Africa and its immediate neighbours, including Lesotho, ranges virtually across the whole field of human endeavour, and it is therefore clear that Lesotho enjoys considerable material benefit from its proximity to South Africa.

157. Why then are such manifestly fabricated allegations that South Africa is destabilizing its neighbours so freely bandied about? The answer is obvious. South Africa remains the perennial scapegoat for Governments unwilling and unable to face their own political and economic realities, to confront and find solutions to the overwhelming and intractable problems facing their countries and peoples in an era of socio-political and economic instability.

158. In the case of Lesotho, it is no secret that the political life of Lesotho is characterized by internal instability, and in this potentially turbulent environment the ANC presence in Lesotho has become a useful tool to be exploited as a distraction from the unpalatable evidence of armed and violent political opposition which threatens the continued existence of the Leabua Jonathan Government. It will be recalled that the Lesotho Constitution was suspended at the time of Lesotho's first post-independence election on 27 January 1970, and a state of emergency was declared after it had become apparent that Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan's Basotho National Party had lost the election. As a direct consequence of the Prime Minister's inability since then to implement his many promises to hold free elections, Lesotho has itself suffered a resurgence of terrorist activity aimed at subverting its present Government.

159. At this point, let me state categorically that the South African Government has consistently adopted a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of all

its neighbouring States, including Lesotho. It is a basic and generally accepted rule of classical international law that the jurisdiction which a Government exercises within its territory carries with it the obligation to prevent the commission in its territory of harmful acts against other States. This obligation is inherent in territorial sovereignty. And today, this rule is reinforced by the common superior interest of all States in not permitting within their jurisdiction the commission of acts which are injurious to the peace and security of another nation.

160. The choice for Lesotho is clear. It must decide whether it will continue to offer sanctuary to the ANC and other terrorists or whether it wishes to contribute to peace and stability in the region. The South African Government has repeatedly offered to enter into non-aggression agreements with its neighbours, and this offer remains open. Why is it that Lesotho is unwilling to accept this offer? If it were to accept, it could end the present confrontation and contribute substantially to peace in the region. Only Lesotho can furnish the reason for its failure to accept South Africa's offer. Violence can, in the view of the South African Government, be eliminated through an understanding of this nature. It is the profound hope of the South African Government that the Lesotho Government will respond in a positive manner.

161. The PRESIDENT: In connection with the opening remark of the representative of South Africa, I would like to state the following. First, in the official letter from the representative of South Africa addressed to me, which I have before me, there is no specific request for him to be allowed to speak before the voting on the draft resolution. Secondly, as members will recall, during our informal consultations we unanimously agreed to have the voting on the draft resolution first and only afterwards to conduct deliberations on the agenda item. I can only add that of course the attempt by the representative of South Africa to lecture the Council on its rules of procedure was not entirely surprising, at least to the President.

162. The next speaker is Mr. Johnstone Makatini of the African National Congress of South Africa, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

163. Mr. MAKATINI: On behalf of the ANC, I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for giving me this opportunity to address the Council on the dastardly act committed by the Pretoria *apartheid* régime on 9 December, the eve of Human Rights Day. My thanks also go to all the other members of the Council for similarly according me this opportunity.

164. Let me hasten also to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency at a moment when the Council is seized of a matter of the gravest concern

to the international community. As one whose country has suffered enormously from fascist aggression, you, Mr. President, are no doubt most sensitive to the seriousness of the situation under consideration.

165. It is thanks to your diplomatic skill and outstanding ability that the Council has been able to adopt resolution 527 (1982) condemning racist South African aggression against a peace-loving country whose people and ours are bound together by a common history of resisting colonial conquest and whose destiny and ours are inextricably intertwined.

166. May I convey to you, Sir, to the members of the Council, and to King Moshoeshoe II and the Lesotho delegation in particular, the profound regret of my President, Oliver Tambo, at his inability, through no fault of his own, to attend this meeting of the Council, which is of such singular importance to my organization and the oppressed people of South Africa.

167. Let me remind you that today, 16 December, as the Council is in the process of expressing its revulsion and outrage at the vile conduct of the Pretoria régime, the fascist rulers of that country are celebrating their annual day of commemoration of their conquest and subjugation of my people. In their ceremonies, the slave-masters of Pretoria are completely oblivious of the fact that it was about this time 21 years ago that peace-loving mankind, in recognition of the non-violent struggle waged by the oppressed people of South Africa under the leadership of the ANC, caused to be awarded to its illustrious leader, Albert Lutuli, the celebrated Nobel Peace Prize winner.

168. It is ironic that during the same year that this distinction was conferred on the leader of my organization, the racist régime, in response to the call by the ANC for the holding of a national convention to map out the route towards a democratic South Africa, finally slammed the door against peaceful change and non-violent struggle by, among other things, mobilizing an overwhelming force of its police and army to crush mercilessly a peaceful strike organized by the ANC. A new phase in the protracted struggle of my people for a non-racial democratic State was thus forced upon the scene. Thus it is that today we are also celebrating the twenty-first anniversary of *Umkonto we Sizwe*, the Spear of the Nation, the armed wing of the ANC. In our celebration of this anniversary, we draw inspiration from the famous Declaration of the founding fathers of the United States of America, which reads:

“But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is [the people's] right, it is their duty, to throw off such a Government”

We also draw inspiration from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,¹ as well as from the resolu-

tions adopted by the Council and, in particular, those of the General Assembly, which recognize the legitimacy of our struggle in all forms, including armed struggle, for the seizure of power by the people in South Africa.

169. On this day of historic importance to my organization it is appropriate for the members of this Council to cast their minds back and recall the events that have led to the present phase of our struggle. This has become even more important after hearing the statement made by the representative of the racist Pretoria régime.

170. At this stage, Mr. President, I must say that it is perhaps only thanks to your protection that I can occupy this seat that he has just vacated.

171. The Council and the international community well know, these are the descendants of a people which in 1836 trekked beyond the borders of a colony which they had settled for just under two centuries, in protest against its falling into line with that important advance in the history of mankind, the abolition of slavery. They left to set up, as their infamous manifesto declared, a State in which there would be no equality between black and white in Church or State.

172. Having with vastly superior arms succeeded in conquering our people and seizing their land, they proceeded to treat them in a manner consistent with the provision of their manifesto, which said that the universal description of slavery as a crime against humanity was ungodly and itself a crime against them, a chosen people of God.

173. They enslaved us and, with the support of the people who declared slavery a crime, have to this day kept us in bondage.

174. Against this yoke of oppression we struggled continuously, until we had exhausted all peaceful means open to man.

175. I should like at this stage to give a very brief account of what Lesotho means to our struggle in the region. Lesotho has a long history of gallantry and heroism. When, during the colonial wars of conquest, its territory was invaded, first by the Boers and then by the British, it fought valiantly against overwhelming odds to defend its territory, which was gradually being whittled away by the land-hungry colonizers. By an astute combination of diplomacy and heroic resistance by a sagacious father and leader, Lesotho was able to resist total subjugation.

176. When in 1910, after subjugating the Boers in the Anglo-Boer war, Britain created out of its various colonies in the region the so-called Union of South Africa, with political power consolidated in the hands of the white settlers, it pledged to allow in due course

the annexation of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland to that infamous union. Once again, Lesotho had to live under the shadow of foreign conquest and for over five years had to campaign against this trading in human souls. When, in 1966, Lesotho finally won its independence, the determination of the fascist régime in Pretoria to subjugate this brave people remained unaltered. As has been eloquently explained to the Council by King Moshoeshoe [2406th meeting], to this day Lesotho's sole preoccupation is to stave off South Africa's imperialist designs on its territory. It is the sacred duty of the United Nations to assist Lesotho in its just struggle for survival.

177. We have listened to a lot of allegations made by the representative of the Pretoria régime. It is obviously not possible to deal with all of them because, as all will agree, the greater part of his statement turned out to be a propaganda campaign for the Pretoria régime, which finds itself almost totally isolated by the international community. But a few of his points merit our immediate attention.

178. I think it is important for the Council to refer back to the history of the rulers in the present-day Government of South Africa in order to understand their mentality, in order to understand the incorrigibly fascist character of the architects of *apartheid*. We wish in particular to recall that this system, which has been unanimously condemned as a crime against humanity and which we consider to be an offshoot of nazism, flourished at a time when Europe was faced with the rise of Nazi Germany.

179. The people who are in power today in South Africa became proud, self-confessed disciples of Hitlerite Germany; a number of them even committed acts of sabotage in southern Africa in preparation for the conquest of that region by Nazi Germany, and some of them were detained during that period.

180. It is also important to remind the Council that we are dealing here with people whose aggressive and expansionist designs in Africa can be proved by their legislation in favour of military intervention in all African countries south of the equator. It is important also to note that we are dealing here with a statement by a representative of a régime which has not respected—indeed, which has flouted—every ideal embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

181. He comes here to say that Lesotho has a choice and that he expects a positive response from Lesotho, a response which would in fact mean that Lesotho must cease to comply with the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees signed in Geneva in 1951² and the Protocol thereto of 1967³ and with United Nations resolutions adopted in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If that happened, South Africa would then have the right, as I interpret the statement the Council has

heard, to repeat what the Council is in the process of condemning. What Lesotho is being asked to do is to align itself with the *apartheid* régime against the liberation movement.

182. What are the objectives of the ANC, as opposed to what I have referred to as being entrenched in the South African constitution, namely that there should be no equality between black and white, either in Church or in State? The policy of the ANC is clearly articulated in the Freedom Charter, which was adopted on 26 June 1955 at Cape Town, at the Congress of the People. In that political programme we clearly state that we, the people of South Africa, declare that our country and the world should know that South Africa belongs to those who live in it, black and white, that no Government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people, and that we strive for a democratic State, guaranteeing the birthright of all South Africans, regardless of race, colour or creed; that is treason in South Africa, and that is what Lesotho and other neighbouring countries are being called on to join South Africa in fighting against. These principles are in keeping with the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and, indeed, of the Declaration of Independence of the United States.

183. Allegations have been made here that the ANC is using Lesotho as a springboard for so-called terrorist activities in South Africa. Nothing could be further from the truth. What I am saying was repeatedly affirmed and reaffirmed by Pretoria's Minister of Defence, Magnus Malan, when he was campaigning for the total mobilization of the entire white community by extending the age-limits for whites liable for military conscription to the range of 16 to 65 years of age. He said that without such an extension South Africa could not win the war being waged by the ANC, because the ANC was not waging a border war but an area war. In other words, inspired by and drawing strength from the position of the international community which recognizes the legitimacy of struggle in all forms for the eradication of a system which is universally condemned as a crime against humanity, but also mindful of the vulnerability of countries like Lesotho and mindful of the fascist character of the *apartheid* régime, which will exploit every available pretext in order to commit aggression against those countries, the ANC has deliberately and consistently pursued forms of struggle entailing the infiltration of manpower into South Africa and the establishment of cells inside South Africa.

184. We are not apologetic about waging armed struggle against a régime which is the only one since Nazi Germany whose policies have been accused of being a crime against humanity. We believe that this is our contribution to the struggle for the preservation of peace in this world, in addition to its being an inescapable duty on the part of our people, following the examples set by the peoples of the United

States, Algeria, Viet Nam, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and so many others. Wherever there has been colonial subjugation there has been resistance in favour of liberty. We are not going to be an exception.

185. It is important for me to say, even at the risk of repeating myself, that we of the ANC have never failed to express the pride we take in our total solidarity with Lesotho in its courageous stand of asserting its independence. We trust that after listening to the penetrating analysis of the politics of the region made by the King of Lesotho, the international community will not confine itself to merely condemning the fascist South African aggression, but will take this opportunity, collectively and individually, to support the King in his campaign for Lesotho's unfettered right of sovereignty within the belly of this *apartheid* beast, to borrow a phrase from the representative of Uganda [2407th meeting, para. 114], and for the right to grant political asylum and refuge to the opponents of the inhuman system of *apartheid*.

186. We hope that by having voted in favour of resolution 527 (1982), those members of the Council which boast of their alliance with fascist South Africa are indicating the beginning of a change of attitude.

187. It is unnecessary for me to refute all of the brazen lies spoken here today by the representative of the *apartheid* régime in support of that régime's naked and unprovoked aggression against Lesotho. That was adequately done by the King of Lesotho. Suffice it to say that there is abundant evidence that our freedom-fighters operate in the very heart of our country.

188. One such piece of evidence is the fact that two years ago the ANC unilaterally presented to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva a declaration in which it committed itself to what it described as humanitarian conduct of the war and pledged to do everything possible to avoid the loss of civilian lives.

189. On the other hand, we find that the *apartheid* régime does not stop at massacring peaceful demonstrators in the streets of Johannesburg or Soweto or Port Elizabeth or Langa; it does not stop at violating the territorial integrity and sovereignty of neighbouring countries in order to kill ANC supporters or sympathizers who have been granted asylum in those countries.

190. It even goes to the extent of bombing our offices as far afield as London. And now it has committed this unprovoked aggression against Lesotho, which has resulted in the death of dozens of innocent refugees, and Lesotho nationals in particular, including women and children and even a couple on their honeymoon who had arrived in Lesotho a day before the attack.

191. The representative of the Pretoria régime says that his Government will steadfastly hold its position, will not tolerate Lesotho's granting asylum to the opponents of the *apartheid* system. This reminds me of what I heard the racist Minister for Foreign Affairs say in reaction to the resolution adopted yesterday. He called it a travesty. In other words, the collective position unanimously adopted by this august body is, in the eyes of the representatives of the racist régime, a travesty. This reminds us of the position they took regarding the emancipation of slavery. They said it was ungodly. It reminds us of the numerous, endless arbitrary arrests and trials, the sentencing to death of freedom-fighters whose only crime is aspiring to what are considered basic human rights all over the world. To them, all these are travesties.

192. I think this is important particularly for those who have taken a position they describe as constructive engagement with the South African régime, based on friendship and alliance with the *apartheid* régime. It is important that they understand not just the character but the mentality of these friends and allies of theirs. I think the best characterization of this comes from a well known South African historian by the name of Professor Edgar Brooks, who at one time was a member of the ruling Nationalist Party. In a book published some time in the 1970s, he says that anyone who tries to promote dialogue between the international community and the present rulers of South Africa can be compared to somebody who tries to promote a duel between a whale and an elephant. There is no meeting place.

193. We are dealing here with a religious people that believes it is a God-chosen race and enjoys divine inspiration to keep the blacks under subjugation, for ever. Hence this day, in condemning them, we are not limiting ourselves to the position they took in their Constitution, when they trekked northward, complaining against the emancipation of slavery, saying it was ungodly, but we can draw examples from the position they have taken recently.

194. Members have read a lot about the highly orchestrated campaign described as constitutional dispensation or changes, in terms of which some limited political rights are to be granted to the so-called Coloureds and Indians. Of course they do not tell the world that this makes this section of the oppressed black community liable for military conscription, but they do go further, and say that this will never be extended to the 22 million blacks, because, as one of the Cabinet Ministers says, the blacks are not sufficiently developed mentally; they are incapable of understanding the complex democratic process.

195. I am trying to say that it is time for the international community in unison to reflect on the position taken by the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at their Sixth Conference, held at Havana in September 1979, when they concluded

that there could be no peace, stability or security in southern Africa unless the *apartheid* system was totally eradicated and replaced by a democratic State.⁴ And it must move in unison in accordance with the position the General Assembly has adopted on several occasions: that *apartheid* cannot be reformed, but must be destroyed. Because what are we witnessing right now?

196. We have listened here to an attempt to justify these policies of destabilization. The representative of the Pretoria régime says that countries of the region such as Lesotho are unable to deal with their political, social and economic problems. What he really means is that the *apartheid* régime is recruiting, arming, training and financing criminal elements not just from Lesotho but from the various countries of the region, and they are being deployed back in their countries in order to destabilize and even to topple Governments that dare stand firm in compliance with United Nations resolutions that oppose the *apartheid* system.

197. These armed bandits have in fact become an extension of the South African secret service and army. They are being groomed. And here I want to cast my eyes on the Middle East, because that is what he did, talking of the PLO as though we are not capable of doing this.

198. What is unfolding is in fact a very cruel scenario similar to what we have just witnessed in the Middle East. It is being said that these armed bandits are being groomed to play the role of the Phalangists in southern Africa.

199. As I have said, it is not possible to deal with all the allegations that have been made here except to remind the representative of the Pretoria régime, who speaks as if the world is out of step and they alone are right, that for about 20 years a consensus has been building in the form of resolutions adopted by this august body, pleading, appealing to the *apartheid* régime, and eventually condemning and prescribing punitive measures such as the boycott. He should be reminded that the ANC, like other liberation movements that preceded it in Africa and elsewhere, continues to gain support. And here I want to seize this opportunity to salute those countries that have been unswerving in their support for our struggle.

200. Finally, in dealing with these allegations it is important to remind the world and again to try to make people understand the type of people with whom we are dealing when they commit such crimes and then blame Lesotho and the ANC for having integrated itself with what is called the civilian population in order to make difficult I do not know what. In other words, we are subhuman, we must live in the bush, and we are no longer entitled to live with our brothers. Lesotho is not entitled to grant political asylum and refuge to South Africans.

201. That recalls to mind what the representative of South Africa cited as examples of what has been done in trying to resolve the problem peacefully with Lesotho. One is reminded of the explanation given after the murder of Steve Biko—that he struck his head against a wall. The régime has tried to suggest that Dr. Agett and a number of other political detainees who have been killed either in torture chambers or in prison cells were in fact carrying out an order from ANC that they must commit suicide. They end up forgetting some of these unfounded claims. No doubt, those they advanced today will be forgotten in a few months and new ones will be fabricated.

202. In fact, South Africa's hostility towards Lesotho stems from the latter's strict compliance with United Nations resolutions in pursuance of the international fight against the *apartheid* system. This has taken the form of Lesotho's refusal to establish diplomatic relations with the Pretoria régime. It stems also from Lesotho's refusal to recognize the Transkei and other bantustans, its strict compliance with the Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees² and its rejection of the so-called Constellation of Southern African States—in terms of which South Africa would of course be the imperialist master while it continues to enslave the Basotho brethren in South Africa. Lesotho is called upon to collaborate with the *apartheid* régime or else be repeatedly attacked.

203. Therefore this is not aggression against Lesotho only. It is aggression also against the international community, against the United Nations, against the Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its Protocol, and so on. It is therefore urgent and imperative that the international community go beyond rhetorical support and token condemnation.

204. It is important at this stage, while expressing our hope that the unanimous decision taken yesterday marks the beginning of a new era, by way of burying the past, to say that the South African régime has indeed been encouraged to carry out, not only brutal repression in South Africa but also brazen acts of aggression, by acts and statements of solidarity that have emanated from certain quarters. We hope that the adoption of that resolution means that that is coming to an end.

205. Lastly, we salute Lesotho for the courageous stand it has taken in continuing to provide succour to the victims of the terrorist *apartheid* régime. We are gratified at the assurance given to the Council by the King of Lesotho that Lesotho remains committed to its obligations under the Geneva Convention on refugees. Lesotho deserves concrete support from the international community in carrying out this brave but difficult task.

206. The PRESIDENT: As there are no other speakers, I should like to make a statement in my capacity as the representative of POLAND.

207. While the memory of numerous acts of aggression committed by South Africa remains undimmed and the printing ink on many relevant United Nations resolutions is still fresh, the international community learned with profound shock and indignation of a new flagrant violation of all the norms of international law, an arrogant flouting of the principles and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

208. In the early hours of 9 December, under the cover of night, a well-prepared, unprovoked and cowardly attack was carried out by South African commando forces. That armed invasion resulted in the loss of innocent lives, human suffering and destruction of property. The sovereignty, air space and territorial integrity of Lesotho, a non-aligned country conducting peace-loving policies, were brutally violated. An attempt has been made once again to intimidate its authorities into refusing to give sanctuary to the victims of *apartheid* in accordance with its traditional practice, humanitarian principles and international obligations.

209. The day before yesterday, we listened with great attention to the important statement made to the Council by King Motlotlehi Moshoeshe II of Lesotho [2406th meeting]. We shared his concern at the naked act of aggression and the groundless accusations made by the Pretoria régime to justify it. We convey to him and to the people of Lesotho expressions of our deep sympathy and condolences to the bereaved families.

210. We have just heard the statement of the representative of South Africa. It can convince nobody. Its arrogant and deceptive tone can only give additional proof of the real hostile policy of South Africa towards African countries.

211. The premeditated aggressive act committed by South Africa is yet further evidence of an arrogant challenge to the entire world. It constitutes a serious threat to peace and security in southern Africa. It cannot be seen as merely an isolated incident, but is an integral part of a planned scheme of aggression, terror and intimidation, implemented with the use of force, in cold blood, ruthlessly and in defiance of world public opinion. It constitutes a part of South Africa's plan of aggression reflected in repeated invasions of neighbouring States, including Lesotho. One must also realize that the territory of that State has been subjected not only to military but also economic aggression.

212. It is obvious that without the unquestionable and *de facto* unconditional support, both political and military, rendered by its Western friends and allies—first and foremost the United States—the Pretoria régime would not be able to conduct its aggressive policies. The assistance given by those countries to South Africa has for long been supplying the political encouragement and logistic support that enable the inhuman racist régime to maintain the policy line of

provocation and onslaught. This policy serves the strategic interests, and allows the implementation of the shadowy and hostile objectives, of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

213. Poland's consistent engagement in the work and activities of the United Nations is reflected in our contribution to the decolonization process—*inter alia*, in our work in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in the past and in the United Nations Council for Namibia at present. Our invariable approach derives from one of the principles of our foreign policy: the principle of solidarity with the newly emerged countries, which, in hard battles with colonialism, won their national independence and now are striving for the attainment of their political, economic and social goals.

214. Needless to say, the repeated acts of aggression and State terrorism carried out by South Africa against Lesotho and other African States constitute a serious threat to the security of the entire continent of Africa. Hence our firm support for the decisive steps that the Council could take in discharging its duties and responsibilities concerning the maintenance of international peace and security.

215. We therefore voted in favour of resolution 527/1982, considering it the minimum action that the Council should undertake. It was with satisfaction that we took note of the result of the vote and listened to the unanimous condemnation of South Africa's aggressive action and its policy, expressed in numerous statements, including those made by the representatives of countries which maintain strong economic, political and military links with South Africa.

216. We cannot be fully satisfied by the statements and the words of condemnation alone, for we must not forget whose veto in this chamber blocked, not so long ago, the adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the South African régime. However, the unanimous decision of the Council in this case permits us to hope that, when there is the political will, the Council is able to act swiftly in discharging its responsibilities.

217. I now resume my functions as PRESIDENT.

218. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho, Mr. Charles Dupe Molapo, has asked to be allowed to speak. I now call on him.

219. Mr. MOLAPO (Lesotho): I do not intend to reply to what the representative of South Africa has said, but while I am thanking members of the Council, it might be pertinent if I were to make observations on a few of the things that the representative of South Africa said.

220. He criticized Britain for granting us independence. He fails to realize that we asked for independence and it was granted to us without bloodshed. South Africa is in trouble at the moment because since 1912 the ANC has been calling for equality. It is carrying on a very noble struggle. It does not intend to oppress the white man in South Africa, but it wants him to act as an equal, and this the South Africans are not prepared to do.

221. The representative dealt at great length with the powerful economy of South Africa. This is the mistake that the South Africans are making. It is true that they have a powerful economy, but they seem to think they can use it to manipulate and control neighbouring States. In the course of this debate, which we have all appreciated, the countries in the neighbourhood of South Africa have indicated that they will not be manipulated, and Lesotho is one of them. South Africa has it in mind that, because of its economy, it can tell us who our friends should be and whom we should accommodate—all because of its powerful economy.

222. The South African representative made a number of very strange observations, but one of them that is very true is that Lesotho has refused to enter into a non-aggression pact. Why have we refused? It is because we think that the region has no enemies; it does not need common defence pacts. The only problem facing that region is *apartheid*. If we were to enter into a non-aggression pact in an area where we believe there are no enemies, we would be saying that we enter into a non-aggression pact to fight the South African people, the black people of South Africa, who are fighting for equality. That is the explanation of our refusal to enter into a non-aggression pact. All the little homelands and bantustans—Ciskei, Transkei, insignificant creations of South Africa—have entered into non-aggression pacts with South Africa. The leader or chief minister of the Ciskei—I am not sure what he is called—was the first man to say he was jubilant about what had been done in Maseru. He did not say it himself. It was dictated from certain quarters.

223. The King of my country has alleged, and rightly, that we shall keep ANC refugees and any other refugees in Lesotho. In this regard, let me indicate that we are extremely satisfied with the ANC refugees in Lesotho. They have not embarrassed us. They have complied strictly with the terms and conditions of their asylum. That is why we have on a number of occasions asked South Africa to indicate any farmhouse, any railway, anything on the borders of Lesotho that has been destroyed or harmed by people who come from Lesotho. The examples we have been given are Cape Town, which is 1,000 miles away from Lesotho, Port Elizabeth, Islanda, Umtata. We have no communications whatsoever with those areas. They do not want to accept the fact that South Africa is filled with opponents of *apartheid*. They want to imagine that they come from Lesotho.

224. We thank the Council very much. We promise that we shall not act in a rash or an untoward manner; we shall keep our heads cool. We want peace in the region, but we realize that the strong South African economy will be destroyed in the course of the struggle against *apartheid*. The representative of South Africa said that my people were working in South Africa. Therefore, that economy has been built on the sinews of my people. We are not so willing or anxious to have it destroyed, but we see the tragedy facing that country as long as *apartheid* persists. And those countries which think that they love South Africa must pressure it not to destroy this economy.

225. South Africa has threatened that it might close our borders and that it might make movement difficult. I regret that that threat was made in this chamber, but I am sure that the Council is aware of it.

226. In conclusion, I must say that the Prime Minister of my country is not in fear of his Government falling.

227. Mr. President, I thank you and all the other members of the Council for having adopted the resolution.

228. The PRESIDENT: The Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹ General Assembly resolution 217 A (III).

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 189, No. 2545, p. 137.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 606, No. 8791, p. 267.

⁴ A/34/542, Political Declaration, para. 78.

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