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2170th MEETING: 2 NOVEMBER 1979 **JN/SA COLLECTION**
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NOTE

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2170th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 2 November 1979, at 4 p.m.

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

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2170)

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

The meeting was called to order at 4.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

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

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the decision taken at the 2169th meeting, I invite the representative of Angola to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Brazil, Cuba and Liberia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Corrêa da Costa (Brazil), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba) and Mr. Tubman (Liberia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Colombia, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mozambique, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant

provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Liévano (Colombia), Mr. Muntasser, (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Lobo (Mozambique), Mr. Ha Van Lau (Viet Nam) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Members of the Council have before them the text of a draft resolution sponsored by Bangladesh, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia which is contained in document S/13601. The sponsors have asked me to announce that Gabon has also become a sponsor.

4. I also wish to bring to the attention of the members of the Council the text of a letter dated 2 November addressed to the Secretary-General by the Permanent Representative of South Africa [S/13604].

5. The first speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of November. Accordingly, I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

6. Mr. MUNTASSER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): Mr. President, permit me, first of all, to congratulate you on your presidency of the Council for the month of November and to thank you and, through you, the other members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to make a statement in my capacity as Chairman of the African Group for the month of November.

7. In a letter dated 31 October [S/13595], the Permanent Representative of Angola requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council in connexion with the question of the South African racist régime's aggression against his country. The Group of African States at the United Nations, of which my delegation is honoured to be chairman this month, met yesterday morning and decided also to urge the Council to meet to consider this matter. The Group expressed its solidarity with the Government and people of Angola against the flagrant aggression committed by the racist minority régime of South Africa on 28 October.

8. In this flagrant aggression, the racist régime of South Africa used massive forces of airborne and ground troops, causing the death of many innocent people in Angola and destroying vital economic sites at Leba. The aggressors destroyed railway tracks, the tunnel leading to the railways

at Leba, four bridges, five automobiles and one bus. And at Porto Alexandre, 11 Puma helicopters unloaded special troops who carried out acts of sabotage, blocking main highways and subjecting the unarmed population to criminal acts of intimidation. Railway tracks in the vicinity of Lubango, Covango and Tongo were also destroyed and mines were planted in the highways through Lubango, Jamba and Tchamutete.

9. The racist régime of South Africa has committed frequent and flagrant acts of aggression against the front-line countries in general and against the People's Republic of Angola in particular for several reasons, *inter alia*, the following. It wishes to destabilize the front-line countries in order to weaken the unrelenting support those States have extended to the liberation movements of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. It also wants to prevent those countries from developing their economic and social welfare.

10. The question under discussion is very clear. The racist régime of South Africa has once again committed a flagrant act of aggression against an African State, the People's Republic of Angola, which is a member of the Organization of African Unity and a Member of the United Nations.

11. This flagrant aggression is not the first instance of aggression. The racist régime of South Africa habitually commits acts of aggression against the neighbouring countries, defying numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the Charter of the United Nations.

12. Just after the people of Angola had gained their independence, after many years of struggle and through the sacrifice of countless lives and resources, the racist régime of South Africa committed a serious act of aggression against the newly independent African State. This occurred during the month of March 1976. At that time, the Security Council adopted its resolution 387 (1976) in which it condemned the flagrant aggression by the South African racist régime against the People's Republic of Angola. In paragraph 2 of that resolution, the Council demands "that South Africa scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola".

13. The racist régime of South Africa is inherently aggressive, and it is clear that the peace and security of the region are continually threatened by the existence of the racist régimes in southern Africa. Those racist régimes are determined to keep the peoples of the region under eternal subjugation. They are trying desperately to contain the rising tide and to stop the wave of national liberation sweeping through South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

14. It is abhorrent and appalling that the aggressive racist and Fascist régime of South Africa is still supported by some Western countries. Those countries claim to be friends of Africa, but, at the same time, they still increase their investments in and economic and technological assistance to the racist régime of South Africa, despite the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, which call for an arms embargo on South Africa.

15. The technological and economic assistance of some Western countries has enabled the racist minority régime of South Africa to develop its nuclear capability. In his state-

ment issued on 26 October 1979, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia drew the attention of the international community to the awesome implications for international peace and security, particularly in southern Africa, resulting from the revelation that South Africa had detonated a nuclear device on 22 September:

"This action by the colonialist and racist Pretoria régime constitutes an ominous sign of defiance by a régime obsessed with perpetuating insane policies of racist domination and colonial exploitation against the indignant protests of the international community."
[S/13590, annex, para. 1.]

16. Those States which enabled the racist régime of South Africa to develop its nuclear power must now carry the responsibility for this heinous act. Those who are helping the South African régime must know that they are helping our enemy, our worst and bitterest enemy in Africa. They must choose between Africa and the enemy of Africa.

17. The African Group urges the Council to take effective and relevant action against the racist régime of South Africa and calls upon the Council to condemn South Africa for its flagrant aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, demand that South Africa respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and take effective action against the racist régime of South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

18. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): I wish to begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. My delegation is confident that you will ably conduct our deliberations and bring this meeting to a successful conclusion. You are a man of wisdom and great diplomatic skill.

19. I also wish to pay a tribute to your predecessor, my good friend Ambassador Kaiser of Bangladesh. He is well known and greatly admired for his outstanding abilities and dedication to the work of the Security Council. Not unexpectedly, he was an effective spokesman of the Council in the meetings and functions at which he represented us.

20. The People's Republic of Angola has brought to the attention of the international community the serious acts of aggression committed against it by the Fascist minority régime of South Africa. The facts before us, as indicated in the communiqué issued by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party [S/13599], are that on 28 October 1979, the racist South African troops carried out a massive airborne and ground assault against Angola in the southern provincial capitals of Porto Alexandre, Moçamedes and Lubango, which left 18 civilians and a number of soldiers dead. This barbaric attack also resulted in the destruction of vital economic projects and communications networks.

21. The gravity of the South African act of aggression against Angola was further attested to by my brother and colleague the Ambassador of Angola in his comprehensive, clear and sobering statement yesterday [2169th meeting]. The facts are clear. The Security Council is once again challenged to live up to its responsibilities as the organ charged with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

22. Let no member of the Council profess unawareness of the threat that South Africa poses to international peace and security. Let no member of the Council persist in minimizing the gravity of the conflagration looming in southern Africa because of the very existence and policies of racist minority régimes in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa itself.

23. South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola is yet another in a series which constitute a consistent and sustained pattern aimed at the destabilization of the front-line States in the hope of weakening our steadfast support for the liberation movements of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. The racist minority régimes at Pretoria and Salisbury have similarly stepped up their unprovoked attacks against Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia, killing thousands of innocent civilians and destroying valuable property.

24. Only last week, we in Zambia were the victims of a well co-ordinated two-pronged attack by the Pretoria-Salisbury axis, simultaneously launched in our southern and western provinces. Our defence forces had to repel the 400 rebel Rhodesian troops in the southern province and the 600 South African troops in the western province.

25. Today the victim of aggression is Angola; yesterday it was Zambia; tomorrow it may be Botswana or Mozambique or, indeed, all of us. As front-line States, we greatly value and appreciate the concrete material support given to us by many of our friends in the international community as well as their unambiguous expressions of solidarity with us in the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa.

26. To be candid, we are at the same time deeply disturbed by the attitude of a number of major Western Powers. Their reactions to the acts of aggression against us by the racist minority régimes leave a lot to be desired. Literally, thousands of people have died and thousands continue to die at the hands of the racist minority régimes in southern Africa. Millions continue to languish under the brutal oppression perpetrated by those régimes.

27. The reactions of the major Western Powers constitute at best mild reprimands of the racist minority régimes. More often than not, by their ambivalence and ambiguity, they leave themselves open to suspicion. Indeed, it seems more fashionable for some of these Western Powers to react strongly to the alleged victimization of individuals in certain countries. Their eyes remain closed to the dastardly acts of the white minority régimes of southern Africa. Their consciences do not seem to bother them. Yes, they seem to have double standards as to the value of the human being.

28. The Pretoria and Salisbury régimes are continuing to commit these acts of aggression against front-line States in the midst of negotiations on Zimbabwe and Namibia. Some become sensitive and jittery when the Security Council is just called upon, as in the present case, to react to these acts of aggression in accordance with its responsibilities under the Charter. We hear suggestions that meetings like this one could complicate the negotiations. What hypocrisy!

29. Let us not side-track the issues. Anybody genuinely concerned that such Security Council meetings could complicate the negotiations should direct his attention and efforts at preventing the recurrence of the acts of aggression against the front-line States. Without the acts of aggression against us we should have no reason to come to the Council to complain. Prevent aggression, and in that way it may be possible to prevent Council meetings on aggression.

30. All the front-line States remain committed to the search for negotiated settlements in Zimbabwe and Namibia. The problem is not with us or the liberation movements. The problem is precisely that the racist minority régimes continue to resist change, even by peaceful means. Namibia is a case in point, in which we have bent over backwards to facilitate the implementation of the report of the Secretary-General on the basis of resolution 435 (1978). To date South Africa has not accepted, even in principle, the commendable proposal of the late President Neto of Angola on a demilitarized zone.

31. There is also evidence that South Africa is bent on frustrating a genuine solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia. The Pretoria régime has threatened to invade Zimbabwe militarily if there should be a settlement which is not favourable to its puppets at Salisbury. The international community, and in particular the Security Council, must not take such threats lightly as they have ominous consequences for international peace and security.

32. The ambition of South Africa to become a nuclear-weapon Power must also be seen in the context of its intent to perpetuate white minority rule in southern Africa. South Africa's aim is to use its nuclear capacity to blackmail and intimidate Africa into abandoning its support for the oppressed people. That South Africa has been assisted in its nuclear programme by some members of the Security Council is indeed a deplorable fact. Once again, such collaboration arouses suspicion. We wonder how it can be construed as compatible with any genuine desire or effort to achieve peaceful change in southern Africa.

33. My delegation will have more to say on this matter in due course. Suffice it to say now that we believe the Security Council should act urgently on the recommendations of the Seminar held in London in March 1979 on the question of nuclear collaboration with South Africa [see S/13157].

34. I now have the honour of introducing the draft resolution in document S/13601, on behalf of the delegations of Bangladesh, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait and Nigeria and of my own, the Zambian, delegation. In drafting this resolution we have taken into account resolutions 387 (1976) and 447 (1979), in which the Council condemned some of the earlier South African acts of aggression against Angola and demanded that the Pretoria régime scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country. Since South Africa, by these renewed acts of aggression against Angola, is clearly in violation of the Council's resolutions, we felt the temptation to submit a stronger and action-oriented text in the context of Chapter VII of the Charter.

35. The draft resolution now before the Council is very mild in the light of the grave situation created once again by

South Africa's aggression against Angola. It has a limited political objective. For the present all that we are asking the Council to do is: (a) strongly condemn South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola; (b) call upon the Government of South Africa to cease immediately all acts of aggression and provocation against the People's Republic of Angola and forthwith withdraw all its armed forces from Angola; (c) demand that South Africa scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola; (d) demand also that South Africa desist forthwith from the utilization of Namibia, a Territory which it illegally occupies, to launch acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola or other neighbouring African States; (e) request Member States urgently to extend all necessary assistance to the People's Republic of Angola and other front-line States, in order to strengthen their defence capacities.

36. The Security Council will soon have to consider the question of South African aggression against Angola in all its aspects. Such a comprehensive and thorough consideration of this grave problem will of course be the basis of the Secretary-General's report to be submitted in accordance with resolution 447 (1979). I hope we shall all be able to live up to our expectations and justify the confidence the Angolan people continue to place in the Council.

37. On behalf of the sponsors, I commend draft resolution S/13601 for unanimous adoption by the Council as an interim response to the continuing South African aggression against Angola.

38. Mr. MILLS (Jamaica): Mr. President, let me first congratulate you on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council. My delegation is particularly gratified that a representative of a sister Latin American country and a diplomat of your distinction is presiding over our work at this time.

39. I should like also to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Kaiser, who occupied the office of President during the month of October. It was a quiet month for the Council in terms of meetings, but we had the certainty that Ambassador Kaiser's special qualities as a diplomat and his considerable experience were available to us.

40. The Council is meeting in response to a request by the Permanent Representative of Angola, who yesterday gave a full account of the latest criminal aggression against his country launched by South Africa on 28 October and resulting in heavy loss of civilian life and property. This is only the latest in a series of brutal and calculated assaults which time and time again have been brought to the attention of the Council. There is no further proof needed that the policies of the racist régime of South Africa represent a threat to international peace and security. The racists have consistently demonstrated their contempt for the principles of international law and for the Charter of the United Nations by their persistent acts of armed aggression against their neighbours. The timing of these attacks usually bears some significant relation to international efforts for a solution of the problems of southern Africa. At the present time negotiations are being conducted with all interested parties on the question of the independence of Namibia, on the basis of

proposals made by the late President Neto of Angola. The strategy of intimidation by violence and terror which was executed at Cassinga is being repeated in order to sabotage the international effort towards a negotiated settlement of the Namibian question.

41. The issue now before the Council is whether it will continue to allow South Africa to pursue its lawless and savage campaign of aggression. It is evident that those who still remain friends of South Africa will continue in effect to protect it. The Pretoria Fascists thus feel no constraint as they attack at will the neighbouring African States. Jamaica continues to hold the view that only forceful action by the Council and the use of its powers under the Charter will be effective in halting the South African threat. In particular, we believe that the imposition of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa under Article 41 of the Charter would curb its appetite for aggression and deprive it of the means of repeating the acts which are once again the subject of our meeting today and which we hope to condemn.

42. The draft resolution which is before the Council, and of which Jamaica is a sponsor, represents, in our view, the minimum action that the Council can take in the circumstances. Indeed, the Council should do far more in the face of persistent aggression by South Africa and the continued murder of innocent people. The Charter contains the appropriate provisions in Chapter VII to meet the demands of the present case. But the threat of the veto, which hangs over any attempt to deal realistically and effectively with South Africa, has reduced the Council to virtual impotence.

43. It can only be small comfort to the people of Angola to hear that South Africa is once more condemned. At a time when lives are being lost or placed in jeopardy by a nuclear threat, the Council's action can only be seen as feeble. This is so because the friends of South Africa have both the will and power to shelter it from the full force of international action.

44. But the people of Angola and of the other front-line States should know that they have friends also. We know that they are shouldering a great burden and are making immense sacrifices, and they deserve our full support and assistance in building their defensive capability to resist the relentless force of South African aggression. The people of Angola, who showed such heroism in their victorious struggle against colonial domination, have had to defend their hard-won freedom from the very beginning of their independence. Jamaica will continue to stand in unshakable solidarity with them and with the liberation struggle in southern Africa.

45. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): Mr. President, permit me to extend to you my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your able leadership has already successfully passed the test during the last two days, and we look forward to working with you on the Council's tasks during the month of November.

46. I should also like to express my delegation's admiration for the effective way in which Ambassador Kaiser, the representative of Bangladesh, conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of October. He demonstrated

here the same skill and wisdom that I have been privileged to observe in other and equally delicate situations.

47. The new attacks carried out by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola should be condemned by the Council. Norway, for its part, is ready to support measures by the Council to bring South Africa's aggressive policies towards her neighbours to an end. We shall do this out of sympathy with those subjected to the human sufferings brought about by those attacks. We shall do it also because of the wider implications of those attacks. The attacks reported to us yesterday by the representative of Angola represent a direct challenge to the Council, which has already declared unacceptable such violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of an independent country.

48. The Council, involved in the efforts to seek peaceful solutions to problems in southern Africa, cannot fail to note that the recent attacks coincide with new and important initiatives for a peaceful settlement, both in Namibia and in Zimbabwe. We regret in particular that such attacks are currently being made against the country of the late President Neto, who just before his untimely death took new, bold initiatives which raised hopes for progress towards a peaceful settlement in Namibia. We welcome the Angolan Government's renewed commitment to these proposals, reconfirmed yesterday by the representative of Angola. We express our full support for the efforts that are under way to break the present impasse in the Namibia negotiations. We support the draft resolution before us, but we should like to reiterate the observations we have made on previous occasions concerning operative paragraph 5.

49. Mr. PEŇAŽKA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): May I, first of all, congratulate you most sincerely, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of Czechoslovakia, on your assumption of the important position of President of the Security Council for the present month and express our confidence that under your experienced leadership the Council will deal successfully with the tasks entrusted to it. I am very happy to be able, in this connexion, to recall the fact that co-operative ties between Bolivia and Czechoslovakia are being developed successfully in the interests of the peoples of both our countries.

50. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor as President, the representative of Bangladesh, Mr. Kaiser, for his competent discharge of the affairs of the Council during the past month.

51. The Security Council has on a number of occasions during the past few years considered the question of the aggressive actions of the racist régime of South Africa against Angola and other sovereign African States. Similarly, it has frequently adopted resolutions which firmly condemned South Africa's aggressive attacks upon these countries as a flagrant violation of their sovereignty and territorial integrity and as a serious threat to international peace and security. As recently as last March in its resolution 447 (1979), the Council again demanded that South Africa cease immediately its provocative armed invasions against the People's Republic of Angola and that it respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of

that country. However, as the course of events, and particularly the events of recent days, clearly demonstrates, since the adoption of that resolution the *apartheid* régime of South Africa has continued to disregard completely the demands of the Council, and this is eloquent proof of its contempt for the views of the international community and the Organization. That is why we deem it essential for the Council not only to examine in detail the complaint by Angola against South Africa but also to discuss urgent, effective measures to prevent similar acts of aggression in the future. The adoption of such measures is long overdue and we can no longer procrastinate if we indeed wish to put an end to the constant threat that looms over the southern portion of the African continent.

52. The representative of the People's Republic of Angola presented to us at yesterday's meeting a complete picture of the most recent bloody acts of aggression by the racists against Angola and at the same time exposed the true purposes of the criminal actions of the South African *apartheid* régime. The Czechoslovak delegation fully shares his appraisal of the racist's acts.

53. The characteristic nature of these successive and systematic acts of aggression by South Africa against Angola and other front-line States launched from the international Territory of Namibia is evidence of the fact that they cannot be viewed in isolation and without taking into account the general situation in that part of the world. By the unceasing acts of aggression against Angola, the racist régime of South Africa is striving to destabilize the situation in that independent African country, to hamper its free, independent development and to weaken the consistent support which Angola, in spite of all the sacrifices it has had to make, is giving to the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. At the same time, the aggressive actions of South Africa against Angola and other African countries are directly aimed at disrupting the process designed to lead to the free exercise by the people of Namibia of its inalienable right to self-determination, and at ensuring the establishment in Namibia of its own puppet neo-colonialist régime and maintaining the existing colonial and racist régime in southern Africa.

54. It is possible to draw only one definite conclusion from all this, and that is that as long as the *apartheid* régime exists in South Africa, as long as it unlawfully occupies the international Territory of Namibia and as long as it is able to carry out with impunity aggressive attacks upon independent African States, there will be no peace or security in that region.

55. The legitimate question automatically arises: how has it been possible for the racist régime of Pretoria stubbornly to refuse for so long to carry out the decisions of the Security Council, and to continue to carry out its aggressive policy in regard to neighbouring independent African States and the African peoples of Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa itself? This has undoubtedly been possible only because it has received comprehensive support and assistance from a number of Western countries. It is precisely those countries that armed South Africa. It is precisely those countries that, by their unceasing economic, financial

and other support and co-operation, have assisted it in setting up the enormous military-industrial complex upon which it relies in conducting its aggressive policy. At the same time, those countries are hampering the adoption of effective measures against the racists and thus putting the Organization in a situation in which it cannot act in the face of the defiant attitude of the *apartheid* régime.

56. The Czechoslovak delegation firmly condemns the ceaseless armed attacks by South Africa against Angola and wishes to state once again quite definitely that it totally supports the People's Republic of Angola in its struggle to strengthen its independence and in its efforts to protect the sovereignty of its country and ensure its security.

57. In condemning the aggressive acts of the racists, we at the same time support without qualification the just demand of the overwhelming majority of the Members of our Organization that the Security Council, in accordance with its responsibilities, do everything necessary to eliminate the threat to international peace and security which the continuing unlawful occupation of Namibia by South Africa and its aggressive actions directed against independent African States represent. In our opinion, this can be achieved only by the Council's adoption of the most decisive and effective measures against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

58. Mr. N'DONG (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation warmly congratulates you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November and wishes to express to you its deep satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the Council's work while it is examining a problem so crucial for international peace and security in the southern part of our continent.

59. My delegation is so pleased to see you in the Chair because, in the first place, our two countries belong to the non-aligned movement and, in the second place, we have such friendly and co-operative relations in all the bodies of the United Nations. My delegation is convinced that with your competence and experience in international affairs—so well known to all of us—the Council will take a decision capable of putting an end once and for all to the vile acts of aggression by South Africa and of strengthening peace in that region, which is so sorely in need of it.

60. I should like also to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Kaiser of Bangladesh, for the very wise, knowledgeable and competent way in which he fulfilled his duties last month.

61. My delegation was deeply moved by the clear and highly detailed statement made to the Security Council by the representative of Angola. That statement confirms once again that the present situation in the southern part of Africa is particularly explosive. If that state of tension is not rapidly brought under control, it will inescapably lead to a genuine conflict, with incalculable consequences. In other words, in my delegation's opinion, this situation constitutes a real threat to international peace and security. And it was for that reason that my delegation strongly supported the request for the convening of the Council made by the representative of Angola. My delegation's attitude in this

matter also expresses my Government's position of principle, which is always to support any request for the convening of the Council made by any sovereign State Member of the Organization.

62. Virtually all the representatives who have already spoken have quite rightly emphasized that the backdrop, the root cause, of the unhappy events with which we are now dealing is the problem of the decolonization of Zimbabwe and Namibia, which are the last bastions of colonialism in Africa and the legacy of a time long past. This almost total unanimity in the judgement of these events makes it necessary for the Council to conduct a thorough examination, followed by an appropriate response reflecting the hopes that we the small countries have placed and continue to place in the United Nations.

63. The dastardly, criminal incursions of the South African soldiery into Angolan territory have become absolutely routine; indeed, they have become the daily fare of South African troops in need of exercise. It will be recalled that last September the South African war machine viciously attacked the town of Lubango, the capitol of the Angolan province of Huíla, and the city of Xangongo in Cunene province, leaving behind scores of dead and destroying a number of civilian economic and social targets. They must be made to pay for all that villainy. Only a few days ago, to be specific, on 28 October, South African aircraft once again carried out criminal military sorties, whose results are too tragic to express in words.

64. The goal of South Africa's policy of aggression towards its neighbours has been evident to everyone for a long time now. An attempt—all the more vain since it is desperate and blind—is being made to destabilize these front-line countries, in particular Angola, which are guilty of the crime of solidarity towards their brothers who are the victims of injustice and the vilest possible oppression. In that respect, I should like to recall the solemn commitments undertaken by two distinguished African heads of State. On 14 October 1977, His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo stated the following to the General Assembly:

"Our peoples will spare no effort to assist their unfortunate brothers. Their fate involves not only justice but the security of the continent. That security will remain uncertain, vulnerable and illusory as long as such a source of international crisis remains at our very doorstep."¹

More recently, the late, lamented President Neto stated—only a few months before a relentless malady carried him away:

"Our contribution to peace in Africa cannot excuse us from supporting the Namibian people Whatever threats may be made, whatever measures the South Africans may take, no matter how many air and land attacks and acts of aggression they may carry out, we will resist until Africa is completely free."

65. Those two quotations, chosen from among so many others, express—if there were any need still to do so—the

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 34th meeting, para. 81.*

irreversible commitment of the African countries to help their oppressed brothers struggling against colonialism and *apartheid*. It is not through repeated acts of aggression by South Africa that our countries will be diverted from their sacred goal: the liberation of the southern part of our continent.

66. As we have said on a number of occasions, the long-term survival of the white minority in South Africa will depend not on its blindness but on its understanding of African realities—isolated as that white minority is both geographically and politically.

67. Therefore we believe that this new challenge flung at the international community at the very moment when it is using all its ingenuity here, as elsewhere, to find an appropriate solution to the painful problem of Namibia, must not go unpunished—all the more because these excesses are a flagrant violation of the principle of respect for the sovereignty and integrity of States, in this instance Angola.

68. In conclusion, my delegation fully associates itself with the majority of the preceding speakers, who have called on the Council strongly to condemn South Africa and to oblige it to withdraw its forces from Angola and to abstain in the future from such excesses.

69. Mr. CHOU Nan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Mr. President, first of all, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, I wish to extend our warm congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. I would also like to take this opportunity to express our admiration to Ambassador Kaiser of Bangladesh, President of the Council for the month of October, for his ability in handling the affairs of the Council.

70. On 28 October, the South African racist authorities sent armed airborne forces to carry out another flagrant armed aggression against Angola. This is a fresh act of glaring armed aggression committed by the South African racist authorities in the wake of their recent continued harassment and armed invasion of the neighbouring African States of Angola and Zambia. They have grossly violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those States, causing serious damage to the lives and property of the local population. The Chinese delegation feels greatly indignant and condemns these acts strongly.

71. It must be stressed that the South African racist authorities have launched their armed invasion of neighbouring African States from their bases in Namibia, with the criminal design of preventing and obstructing the African States concerned from giving support and assistance to the Namibian people's struggle for national independence, so as to realize their ambition of perpetuating their illegal occupation of Namibia. Over the past year, despite the important efforts made by SWAPO, the front-line countries and other African States as well as the international community for a just and peaceful settlement of the Namibian issue, no progress whatsoever has been made so far. The basic cause lies in the lack of a sincere desire for negotiation on the part of the South African racist authorities, which have clung to their reactionary position and seized the

opportunity to push their scheme for "internal settlement". Following the illegal elections they stage-managed last December, the South African racist authorities renamed the "Constituent Assembly" the so-called "National Assembly" last May, in an attempt to set up a puppet régime under a legal cloak. At the same time, they continue to build up arms, practise white terror and step up their brutal repression of the nationalist forces led by SWAPO and the Namibian people. Furthermore, they have ceaselessly subjected the neighbouring African States to military pressure and armed aggression. All this is designed to obstruct a settlement of the Namibian question and to facilitate the scheme of an "internal settlement".

72. However, the Namibian and all the other great African peoples are not to be bullied. The evil deeds of the South African racist authorities are arousing the Namibian and other African peoples to more resolute struggles, which will land the South African racists in greater isolation.

73. The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the Namibian people in their just struggle for national independence and liberation and have firmly supported the front-line African States in their legitimate position of giving active support and assistance to the struggle of the Namibian people. In our view, the Security Council should severely condemn the South African racist authorities for their armed aggression against Angola and other African States, call upon them to withdraw immediately all their invading forces and adopt effective measures, including all those rightly proposed by the African countries, to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents.

74. We are convinced that, with the support of front-line African States and all the justice-upholding countries and peoples, the Namibian people, strengthening their unity, stepping up their struggle, guarding against and firmly excluding interference and sabotage from outside forces, will certainly frustrate all the evil acts and conspiracies on the part of the South African racist authorities and win final victory for national independence and liberation.

75. In the spirit of the foregoing, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/13601 co-sponsored by Bangladesh and five other Member States.

76. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): I should like to express very briefly the views of the Government of Kuwait on this issue. There is nothing new in that, and I do not want to reiterate our position.

77. At the outset, Mr. President, the delegation of Kuwait would like to congratulate you very warmly on the assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. It is a high office which places an enormous responsibility on your shoulders, but we are certain that with your ability, discretion and experience you will discharge it with skill and effectiveness, and we pledge our support to you.

78. We should also like to thank the outgoing President, Ambassador Kaiser of Bangladesh, for his efforts during the month of October. There were no meetings, but there were a lot of contacts behind the scenes, and to him we give the credit.

79. The representative of Angola gave a full account yesterday of what had happened. I endorse what he said and therefore I shall not repeat it. But, listening to his passionate, emotional and moving speech, in which he asked what he should tell the orphaned children and the widowed mothers, those whose relatives and supporters fell victim to South Africa's barbaric attack on his country, I was reminded of the Greek poet, Sophocles, and his famous exhortation: "Who is the slayer? Who the victim? Speak!"

80. And we shall speak. We shall speak because there is nothing else left for us. There is no point in repeating what we think of South Africa, which will remain an outcast, responsible for bloody deeds. Its policy remains expansionist, suppressive, ruthless, insensitive and cowardly. There is undoubtedly no bravery in attacking Angola, whose military power is limited and whose only defence is the determination of its people. There is international recognition of Angola's and other front-line States' adherence to principles, and also an international consensus that such adherence to such principles has cost those front-line States—Zambia, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and others—much. We know that Angola and others, because of geography and because of conviction, pay a high price for defending principles in which all of us believe. It is, as we say in Kuwait, the fate of some of us to suffer for the good of all.

81. The representative of Angola asked yesterday what he should transmit to his people, who are the primary victims of the aggression of the *apartheid* régime. In such circumstances, I say to my friend Elisio, there is nothing better than hope, for in life even the desperate live on glimpses of hope, and in southern Africa there is a lot of hope. If we speak out with despair the mood will never change; but if we speak out with determination and hope even the cynical will eventually reconsider their position. Political cynicism has given rise to the saying "God is for the weak but the strong make their own calculations". We say that in Kuwait.

82. South Africa is a State which invites disdain and fear because of the concept of *apartheid*. There is nothing more dangerous in international relations than an evil-ridden monster, armed to the teeth, who wreaks havoc on his neighbours simply on the ground that they follow a policy contrary to his. This is the case with South Africa. The question is, how can the Council assist South Africa to come to reason?

83. The Western Powers have a primary responsibility in this respect. Without their sound relationship with Pretoria, things would have been better or at least different. South Africa does not attach much importance to its relations with the rest of the world, but it attaches enormous importance to its relations with the Western countries, whose culture, beliefs and pattern of life it thinks it is defending. Therefore, there is a moral obligation on the Western countries to prevail upon South Africa to put an end to its inhuman policy. The problem we are facing is that it is hard to distinguish between responsibility and interest. Responsibility in the case of South Africa means action; interest means the opposite. The Security Council is caught between those who defend action and those whose interest would be threatened by action.

84. Hence the Council has before it a toothless draft resolution, which my delegation has sponsored reluctantly and in the full knowledge that we are moving in circles instead of taking steps forward. However, I would say that there is a consensus in the world that South Africa is pursuing a self-defeating policy. Some of us want immediate action in order to show South Africa that its policy is self-defeating; some of us think that time and time alone will tell it that.

85. It is always useful to come to the Council. Therefore I say to my friend, Ambassador Elisio de Figueiredo, that this debate is not in vain. In life the guilty are more allergic to criticism than anybody else. No doubt South Africa knows this fact, and its impact is not lost on its rulers.

86. The reports about the nuclear blast should not cause unjustified panic. After all, South Africa has nuclear capability regardless of the authenticity of the events of the last two weeks.

87. Finally, we say in Kuwait: "In the end nothing triumphs more glaringly than the truth." The truth is that the struggle for equality, for justice, for equity and for self-determination will triumph in southern African.

88. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): Mr. President, please accept my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. In welcoming you to this high office I am particularly conscious of the many qualities that you bring to bear in the performance of your duties. I am confident that, given your experience, efficiency and dedication, the affairs of the Council will be directed fruitfully and purposefully. Bangladesh enjoys close and friendly relations with Bolivia and a mutual identity of interests in virtually all fields. I wish you all success.

89. Once again brutal ground and air attacks have been launched by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola, exacting a bitter toll of death and human suffering and causing widespread damage and destruction to property. There can be no doubt that these barbarous assaults constitute not only a fundamental violation of international law and a threat to international peace and security but also studied defiance of the pronouncements of the Council, calculated provocation and a challenge to its authority.

90. As my delegation has repeatedly stated, these attacks are clearly not isolated instances. They are not simple reprisals in the face of alleged provocations. They are not spontaneous counter-actions. They are obviously part of a larger design, a consistent premeditated pattern of action executed in accordance with a calculated plan of escalating aggression. The indicators are obvious and manifold, the timing precise and the objectives transparent.

91. Previous speakers have alluded vividly to past acts of aggression by South Africa against Angola which are inimical to its very emergence as a sovereign State and thereafter to the continued viability and consolidation of its political and economic independence. These attacks have been carefully synchronized by the racist régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria and are aimed not only at Angola but also at all the

front-line States, in a determined effort to destabilize their Governments and weaken and isolate their unrelenting support for the liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa itself. More important, these attacks have been focused on excluding, negating and even wiping out the presence and influence of the genuine representatives of the peoples of the region, in particular SWAPO and the Patriotic Front.

92. For over a year the Governments of the racist régimes in southern Africa have been playing the game of international co-operation in effecting a genuine, free and democratic transition to independence in Namibia and Zimbabwe. But it is a game riddled with duplicity and prevarication, whose fundamental objective is to impede and frustrate the negotiating process and maintain in perpetuity, directly or indirectly, domination, exploitation and the privileged *status quo*. This is the heart of the matter, the true substance and motivation of the latest wave of aggression launched against Angola. It is no longer an academic question of the denial of human rights and the fundamental right of peoples to freedom and independence. The situation today has assumed the proportion of a full-fledged war involving major military operations across international frontiers. The consequences to peace and security in the region are incalculable, particularly in the wake of reports on South Africa's nuclear capability.

93. There is no doubt that the failure of the Council to take resolute action by means of measures provided for in the Charter has not only not inhibited the racist régimes in committing their flagrant and continued acts of aggression but has encouraged their defiance. Bangladesh believes that it is imperative for the Council to go beyond the rhetoric of recrimination and proceed to action. Not only must South Africa be strongly condemned for its unjustifiable and criminal acts of aggression, but those acts must be stopped. The immediate demand is for the withdrawal of all its armed forces from Angolan territory and for scrupulous respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola. The Council must stress unambiguously that the presence of South Africa in the international Territory of Namibia is illegal and that it cannot with impunity continue to use the Territory as a spring-board for launching unprovoked attacks against independent front-line States.

94. It is also our confirmed belief that the Council must hold South Africa accountable for the damage and destruction wreaked on these States and exact due reparation and compensation for its wanton acts. These States have for a long time carried an unreasonably heavy burden politically, materially and financially, in their support of the just liberation struggle in southern Africa. The international community has a duty to assist in alleviating this burden and to provide all necessary assistance to strengthen their combined capability to support the liberation struggle until freedom and independence are achieved in all States of this beleaguered region.

95. The time has come for the Council seriously to consider acting upon its own repeated warnings to the racist régimes that continued aggression could lead to the adoption of effective enforcement measures under the Charter.

The Council must now actively begin this process and fulfil its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security.

96. The concrete expression of our views is reflected in the draft resolution now before the Council of which we have the honour to be a sponsor. It is evident that this draft has been allowed to fall far short of our expectations that it might enjoy unanimous support.

97. In conclusion, my delegation, in expressing its deepest condolences to the people and Government of Angola over the tragic consequences of South Africa's latest armed incursion, reaffirms its solidarity with Angola and through it with all the liberation forces in southern Africa. We believe that the racist régimes can never dampen the determination of oppressed peoples for freedom and independence, nor discourage the front-line States in their unrelenting support of that liberation struggle. We pledge our fullest support in the belief that the outcome is inevitable: victory and triumph for the people of southern Africa.

98. Mr. BLANKSON (Nigeria): Mr. President, the Nigerian delegation has great pleasure in congratulating you on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council for the month of November. The diplomatic skill which has so far characterized your approach to the demands of your high office assures us that you will successfully direct the Council in its onerous duties. We are also pleased that you represent Bolivia, a member of the non-aligned movement, to which my country attaches great importance.

99. I should also like to pay a tribute to Ambassador Kaiser of Bangladesh, the immediate past President of the Council, for the wisdom and diplomatic finesse with which he conducted the business of the Council during his tenure.

100. Only last March, the Security Council met to consider the complaint lodged by the Permanent Representative of Angola against South Africa. The Council is now meeting to consider yet another specific case of unprovoked South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. My dear friend and brother, Mr. de Figueiredo, has, in his usual moving and eloquent manner, given us another detailed account of the latest outrage perpetrated against his country by the vandals and vampires of the Pretoria racist régime.

101. His statement has added flesh to the communiqué issued only a few days ago by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party [S/13599]. From various accounts, South Africa's latest criminal airborne and ground assaults have been directed against three southern provincial capitals—those of Porto Alexandre, Moçâmedes and Lubango—and have left, *inter alia*, a toll of 20 dead, only two of whom were soldiers, and have caused the destruction of railroad tracks, highway facilities, four bridges and a number of automobiles. News accounts also indicate that South African forces raided Angola in September, leaving a death toll of 50 and destroying facilities in housing and industrial estates. These facts do not fully reflect the extent and intensity of the atrocities committed against Angola and other independent front-line African

States. More than anything, these systematic and wilful acts of aggression reveal South Africa's idle pipe-dream of stemming the tide of freedom and justice in southern Africa. They also reveal the racist's sinister designs of creating a constellation of pliant States in southern Africa.

102. Why does Pretoria continue to defy the will of the African community and persist in its marauding incursions into neighbouring independent African States? The answers are many and obvious, but it will suffice to mention a few. The racist régime remains convinced that its friends in the Western bloc will always stand ready to invest in and otherwise support its economy. The régime has no doubt that its friends will continue to transfer resources and technology to South Africa. The racists know that their friends will directly or indirectly frustrate the efforts to strengthen the military capability of the front-line States.

103. In my delegation's judgement, possibly the best support and protection that the racist régime enjoys in the Organization is the use of the veto by its friends. The number of occasions when the veto has been used to frustrate the will of the majority of the membership of the Organization is only too well known. Secure in this knowledge, Pretoria is encouraged to carry out its acts of piracy and aggression. Because of their complicity, these friends of South Africa must share the responsibility for the present tragic and unforeseen consequences of South Africa's actions.

104. Nigeria vigorously condemns the most recent act of armed aggression of South African forces against Angola, Zambia and other front-line States. These irresponsible acts constitute a defiant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those countries. We demand that the Security Council for once take a firm and resolute stand in keeping with the provisions of the Charter.

105. Because of the principles they uphold, the front-line States, all dedicated to constructing new economic, social and political systems for the well-being of their populations, have been made to bear too much of the burden caused by South Africa's reckless and wicked invasions. They have paid too high a price in lives lost, in property damage and in intimidation.

106. The Charter is unambiguous regarding the way to handle errant Member States, like South Africa, which constitute an abiding threat to international peace and security. For its aggression against neighbouring States, for its *apartheid* policy, for its piratical hold over Namibia, for its prodigal usurpation of Namibia's resources and for its many other crimes against the conscience and dignity of mankind, South Africa has more than earned the invocation of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter in its entirety.

107. Many nations look up to the Security Council as the final arbiter, the final court of appeal in certain aspects of matters involving inter-State relationships. The authority and honour of the Council and the respect due to it could be restored, and indeed increased, only if Member States with the power of the veto would place the interests of international harmony and justice above narrow national interests in the exercise of their veto privileges.

108. As the Chairman of my delegation stated in the General Assembly on 11 October:

"One area in which we intend in Nigeria to subject to the acid test all professions of friendship by each and every State for Africa is in southern Africa . . . That a minority racist régime in a country which has no claims to be a world Power can defy the United Nations at will has ominous implications for the survival of our Organization. How else can one judge the efficacy of the international will, if the United Nations cannot give effect to its decisions arrived at unanimously and in accordance with the provisions of its Charter? What recourse is there for the peaceful resolution of the problems of southern Africa, when South Africa, in violation of international law, bombs refugee camps and invades territories of neighbouring countries in naked pursuit of a policy of aggression, intimidation and terrorism?"²

109. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): Mr. President, first I extend to you on behalf of my delegation our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for this month. I should like also to express my warmest thanks to my good friend Ambassador Kaiser of Bangladesh for guiding us so peacefully and skilfully through the month of October.

110. The United Kingdom is firmly and unswervingly committed to negotiations leading to a peaceful and early settlement of the problems of southern Africa. These especially include the need to achieve negotiated settlements in Rhodesia and Namibia. We deplore attacks and violence from any quarter. We sympathize warmly with the bitterness and rage so eloquently expressed by the representative of Angola in his statement yesterday. We in my country know all about the horrors of war and the miseries which it brings in its wake.

111. We believe that the best way to bring about an end to the violence is to be found in the early implementation of resolution 435 (1978). The cease-fire provided for in the proposal of the Western Five, as endorsed by the Council, should be put into effect with the greatest urgency. Actions contrary to the spirit of resolution 435 (1978) must cease. We deplore any escalation of violence, either within Namibia or in neighbouring countries. Recent South African raids inside Angola have caused the death of innocent people and the destruction of property, in clear violation of Angolan sovereignty.

112. We are now in discussions with the Secretary-General and with the parties about ways to bring about an end to the violence through the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). This means a settlement in accordance with the proposal of the Five supplemented by the establishment of a demilitarized zone. Progress towards such a settlement and the all-too-necessary cease-fire can be achieved only if all those involved are prepared to turn aside from the road of violence and to return to the road of negotiations.

113. The initiative on Namibia to which my Government and the Governments of Canada, France, the Federal

² *Ibid.*, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 30th meeting, para. 90.

Republic of Germany and the United States are committed must continue. We are ready to lend our full support to the Secretary-General in his efforts to implement resolution 435 (1978). We are determined to pursue a peaceful solution for Namibia that will win international recognition. This initiative is now again at a crucial stage.

114. I now turn to the draft resolution before us [S/13601]. I confess myself both surprised and disappointed at the procedure which has brought us to the point at which we now stand. For many years it has been my firm belief that the Council is only effective when it acts on a basis of full consensus. Resolutions which divide the Council, even if they are adopted, seldom if ever lead to practical action.

115. I do not dispute the urgency of the problem with which we are faced. But I do dispute the need to press on to a vote at less than 24 hours' notice on a draft resolution which has been presented to us as a virtual ultimatum, with no serious attempt to engage in negotiation. There is wording in the draft which my delegation cannot support for broad reasons of principle. It could have been changed without altering the main drive of the resolution itself. Indeed, certain delegations made suggestions to this effect. But those suggestions were swept aside, and we were told that the sponsors were not prepared to negotiate one word.

116. I vividly remember the negotiations in the Council which followed the major war in the Middle East in June 1967. Throughout that long period of negotiation, lives were still being lost and property destroyed. But the Council worked patiently until, in November 1967, it was able to emerge with a consensus which has since become the almost universally accepted basis for a settlement of the Middle East problem. If the Council had been obliged to vote at less than 24 hours' notice on the first draft before it immediately following that war, that firm basis for a settlement would not now exist.

117. Earlier today, I was full of hope that the Council would emerge from today's meeting with a full consensus. But the rejection by the sponsors even of minor changes to the draft and the insistence that a vote must be taken tonight, with no more room left for negotiation, has made this impossible. For the above reasons, my delegation will be unable to support the draft resolution and, if it is adopted, we shall not regard it as having constituted a determination under the Charter.

118. Mr. PETREE (United States of America): Mr. President, I am happy to join other members in welcoming you to the presidency of the Council. You have already amply demonstrated your skill in handling the Council's activities during these first two days of November. I should also like to express to your predecessor, Ambassador Kaiser, the deep appreciation of my delegation of the efficient manner in which he dealt with the Council's business last month.

119. At the outset I want to express my sincere condolences to the Government and people of Angola on the loss of life which has occurred as a consequence of recent South African raids into Angola's territory. Such attacks, launched across an internationally recognized border and resulting in

loss of life and destruction of valuable infrastructure, cannot be justified.

120. Moreover, these attacks on towns from 120 miles north of the Angolan-Namibian frontier can only be considered a serious escalation of the level of conflict at a time when the efforts of the United Nations to find a peaceful solution in Namibia, in accordance with resolution 435 (1978), are at a crucial stage. The Secretary-General, with the co-operation of the Governments of Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States, is pursuing a further initiative to solve the remaining problems which impede the implementation of the United Nations settlement plan. Consequently, the United States deplores South Africa's action. Such actions, and any repetition or escalation of hostilities, not only endanger the settlement itself but further poison South Africa's relations with its neighbours and with the international community.

121. At this delicate juncture we urge South Africa to exercise the utmost restraint and to make a positive contribution towards establishing peace with its neighbours by achieving an internationally recognized settlement in Namibia.

122. We hope that all parties to this conflict understand that by trying to resolve differences through the barrel of a gun rather than through democratic processes and peaceful negotiation they contribute to the problem rather than to the solution. We must break the cycle of violence and instead aim at a comprehensive resolution of the problem.

123. Once again, then, we call upon South Africa to desist from these attacks. In the long run they achieve nothing of benefit to anyone. They lead only to pain, death, continued turmoil and a determination to exact retribution. We urge restraint and patience on all parties so that negotiations will have an opportunity to produce the desired effect.

124. We are convinced that the goal of peace in Namibia and the fulfilment of the hopes of the people of Namibia can only be realized by the conscious will of the parties to make peace. For its part, the United States is determined to press forward in the initiative on Namibia which we have undertaken with our colleagues and the United Nations.

125. In closing, I want to express my regret that the sponsors of the draft resolution before us have been unable to accept the few changes which would have allowed us to support the draft resolution. The result is that the Council has missed the opportunity to send South Africa the stern warning which its actions merit. It is important, however, that South Africa take no comfort from this divided Council. The fact is that we join others in deploring South Africa's armed invasion of Angola. South Africa's action and the similar actions it has taken in the past can only earn it the continuing condemnation of the entire world community.

126. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me first, as I am speaking for the first time this month, to congratulate you Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Knowing your experience and your talents, we are certain that the debates will

be guided ably and competently. I should also like to take this opportunity to greet our colleague, Ambassador Kaiser, and to extend our congratulations to him on the expert and conciliatory way in which he discharged his functions last month.

127. The debate which has taken place yesterday and today has allowed us to hear several speakers and, in particular, the representative of Angola, who submitted the complaint of his country against South Africa. We listened to his testimony with great attention and we learned from it that once again the South African army has launched a series of attacks against Angolan territory.

128. France can only condemn such acts of force. They are really scandalous, and they must cease. My delegation would like to express its profound sympathy with the families who have been affected by these latest ordeals.

129. The South African attacks have infringed the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola. This inadmissible behaviour will seriously jeopardize the security of the region.

130. Moreover, these armed incursions seriously complicate the peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. It is obvious that that settlement is at the core of the problem. Indeed it is clear that the northern borders of Namibia will continue to be the theatre of tension and serious incidents unless Namibia accedes to independence as a result of an internationally acceptable solution based on the implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

131. Recent events have shown how urgent and necessary it is to take steps to demilitarize the border zone so as to make the repetition of such crimes impossible.

132. At a time when the possibility of reaching a settlement of the Namibian question is becoming clear, my delegation feels that it is more than ever imperative that the parties concerned refrain from any act of violence both in Namibia and in the neighbouring countries. Everything must be done to attain the basic goal: the holding as soon as possible of free elections under United Nations supervision. In this connexion we should like to reaffirm our complete confidence in the Secretary-General.

133. Regarding the draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned States which are members of the Council [*S/13601*], my delegation shares the spirit and the general ideas behind it. It associates itself with the concerns mentioned therein and endorses many of the recommendations. However, some of the wording which was used seems to us inappropriate. My delegation regrets the fact that certain amendments were not made to the text which would have made possible a unanimous vote. We are aware of the legitimate impatience of the sponsors of the draft, who want the Council rapidly to take a stand on this problem clearly and speedily. We respect their feelings, but we deplore the fact that not all Council members were able to make their contribution to preparing the text. That slip might cause concern in the future.

134. Council members will understand, therefore, that for these various reasons my delegation, which, with its West-

ern partners, continues to play an active role in the settlement of the Namibian question, will abstain in the vote on this draft resolution.

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

136. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, may I say how gratified I am to have this opportunity to address to you my warm congratulations on the occasion of your assumption of the responsible function of President of the Security Council. My satisfaction is the greater in that I am able to greet in your person the representative of a country that has recently become a full-fledged member of the non-aligned movement.

137. I am also very pleased to convey my congratulations to your predecessor, Ambassador Kaiser of Bangladesh, who guided the work of the Council so successfully during the month of October.

138. I should like to thank the Council for having given me the opportunity to set forth the views of my country in connexion with the item at present on our agenda and to pledge our full solidarity with non-aligned Angola, which has again become the victim of aggression on the part of South Africa.

139. The dastardly terrorist acts carried out by South Africa have been described with eloquence and passion by the representative of Angola, Ambassador Elisio de Figueiredo. These acts have been perpetrated at a moment when the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly is dealing actively and constructively with problems of decolonization and when the international community is endeavouring to ensure the realization of the right of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence through support for the liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and the creation of conditions for political solutions. In all cases, when trying to find the reason why problems in this area remain unsolved, we are bound to come to the conclusion that South Africa constitutes the only obstacle and is the main cause of instability and of the crisis situation in the African continent. What is more, South Africa is constantly asserting itself as the direct perpetrator of brutal acts of aggression against peace-loving and independent Angola, a Member of the United Nations and an active member of the non-aligned movement.

140. We are now faced with yet another brutal challenge to the international community, the United Nations and the principles of the Charter and of the non-aligned movement. All the more urgent, then, are the tasks facing the Organization and all of us and all the greater the moral and political responsibility of those Western Powers that maintain close relations with South Africa and enable it constantly to defy the world.

141. Angola, which is a constant victim of acts of aggression committed by the Pretoria régime, has several times addressed itself to the Organization, seeking our support in the defence of its independence and territorial integrity. I do

not doubt that the Security Council will express its solidarity with the victim of aggression. However, I wonder whether its words of condemnation will be again held up to ridicule tomorrow through a new provocation by the racist régime, or whether this is the moment when—in addition to expressing condemnation—we should adopt urgent and effective measures with a view to bringing the aggressor to reason. It is obvious that we are faced not with one incident or series of incidents, but with deliberate action aimed at checking the process of liberation of southern Africa and at perpetuating relationships based on racial and colonial subjugation.

142. It is evident that Angola today, like Zambia and Mozambique and other front-line States yesterday, is the victim of such a policy, the final aim of which is to prevent the full emancipation of the whole of Africa. These countries are the main bulwarks of the struggle for national independence and social progress. They are also a constructive factor in the solution of the whole complex of the crisis in southern Africa on the basis of the principles of the United Nations.

143. Unsettled within by the liberation struggle and isolated without, the racist régimes feel menaced. The reaction of these régimes—typical of their colonial and racist nature—takes the form of punitive expeditions, bombing, terror and intimidations, by which means they strive to postpone the day of reckoning. Their aim is clear. It amounts to an attempt to destabilize the front-line States, in this case Angola, and to create problems in that country, following the death of its great President Agostinho Neto, so as to bring about a change in the active anti-racist and anti-colonial policy of principle being pursued by that country. It is also characteristic that the new act of aggression should have taken place precisely at this moment when, in the case of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, action is under way with a view to finding peaceful solutions by means of negotiations on Zimbabwe and by the implementation of the United Nations plan on Namibia. Such solutions and their implementation are obviously not to the liking of the racist authorities, as they would prevent them from maintaining colonial rule and would eliminate the system of oppression on which the policies and practices of *apartheid*, racism and racial discrimination are based.

144. Another reason for our concern is the fact that the racist régime of Pretoria has mastered the nuclear-weapon technology and is getting ready to become—or has already become—a nuclear Power which poses a direct threat to the whole of Africa and also a threat to world peace and security. All those who, for selfish reasons or greed for profits, or out of erroneously conceived strategic considerations, continue to co-operate with the racist régime and intentionally or unintentionally make it easier for it to manufacture nuclear bombs should become concerned about the consequences of this fact.

145. The facts enumerated and the behaviour of South Africa which has, as a result of its policies, long ago removed itself from the international community, impose the logical conclusion that the Security Council must react to this new provocation in accordance with the Charter and its mandate as the defender of peace and security in

the world. Owing to the aggressive policy of the Pretoria régime, southern Africa has been transformed into a dangerous focal point of crisis which could very easily expand into an international conflict. All this underscores still further the responsibility of the United Nations and calls for prompt and unequivocal action by the Security Council. The decision of the Council should be taken in the spirit and on the basis of the very large consensus of the whole international community. Ordinary and customary condemnations may no longer be sufficient, and it is therefore indispensable to begin to think about imposing sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

146. The non-aligned countries are constantly assuming their share of responsibility for the liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism and racism. They are supporting the struggle of peoples for national liberation and their liberation movements, SWAPO in Namibia and the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, upholding all solutions in harmony with the distinct objective of achieving for those peoples the right to freedom and independence.

147. My country is in solidarity with the people of Angola and with the sacrifices it has been making in the common struggle against colonialism, racism and racial discrimination. In consistency with its policy of non-alignment and the decisions adopted by conferences on non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia will, within the limits of its capabilities, lend all-out assistance and support to the People's Republic of Angola and the front-line States victims of acts of aggression and terrorism perpetrated by the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury.

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

149. Mr. LOBO (Mozambique): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November and to express the gratitude of the People's Republic of Mozambique to you and, through you, to the members of the Council for allowing my delegation to participate in the debate of this important body of the world Organization.

150. Once again the People's Republic of Mozambique is taking part in the proceedings of the Security Council in the search for appropriate and effective measures for the solution of an important problem which is becoming a serious threat to international peace and security in general and to the peace and security of southern Africa in particular.

151. In March of this year we had the opportunity to denounce before this august body the overwhelming escalation of the acts of aggression committed by the racist minority régime of Pretoria against the People's Republic of Angola, a front-line State. Nevertheless, the aggression, the massacres and the destructive acts committed against Angola continue to occur.

152. Today, as in March, South Africa continues to utilize the international Territory of Namibia as a spring-board for the armed invasion of the People's Republic of Angola.

Today, as in March, South Africa shows no respect of any kind for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola. Today, as has been the case since its independence, Angola supports and will continue to support the people of Namibia in their just and legitimate struggle. Today, as was the case in March, the racist régime of South Africa continues its persistent and sustained armed invasions of the People's Republic of Angola, resulting in a tragic loss of human life. From all points of view, these are condemnable acts. These analyses have been made and these considerations expressed more than once in the Council. We are still waiting, however, for the Council to act on its warning that it would

"meet again in the event of further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola by the South African racist régime in order to consider the adoption of more effective measures, in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, including Chapter VII thereof".

The world is now watching to see if the Council lives up to its promises.

153. The racist régime of South Africa continues to be the main factor in the present dispute, which is endangering the peace and security of the African continent as a whole, and particularly that of southern Africa. The brutal and repressive nature of the South African régime and its stubborn persistence in its policies of *apartheid* is serving to encourage and support the military incursions carried out in the area by the rebel and illegal Smith-Muzorewa régime. Senseless killings of civilians and barbaric massacres of refugees have spread progressively from Nyazonia to Botswana and from Cassinga to Zambia in a short period of time.

154. All this is happening because the South African racist régime still insists upon defying the international community. It still continues to occupy Namibia illegally in flagrant violation of all the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

155. The recent events in Moçâmedes and Porto Alexandre would never have taken place without the complicity of some members of the Council which maintain close ties of military and nuclear co-operation with the racist régime of Pretoria. We hold those countries responsible for the victims of Moçâmedes and Porto Alexandre. We hold those countries responsible for the victims of the massacres carried out with Bell helicopters and Mirage bombers in Mozambique.

156. This is not the first time that South Africa has carried out a massive invasion of Angola using planes, helicopters, bombs and heavy artillery against economic and strategic targets. It is time for the Council to prove to the world in general, and to the Angolans in particular, that the international community does not condone the barbaric actions of the racists of Pretoria against their country.

157. The recent armed acts of aggression by the racist régime of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola clearly reveal the bellicose nature of the minority régime of South Africa. It is important to note that the

attack on Angola should not be seen as an isolated occurrence. The truth is that this entire wave of co-ordinated acts of military aggression by South Africa and Rhodesia against Angola, Zambia and Mozambique is aimed at destabilizing the current revolutionary process taking place in these States. These attacks are intended to destroy the international solidarity which the people of the area are extending to the national liberation movements of southern Africa in their just struggle.

158. We know very well that the role of South Africa in the area is part of an old global imperialist strategy aimed at perpetuating the domination and exploitation of the people of southern Africa. It is very regrettable, however, that the racists of South Africa and Rhodesia have adopted the method and tactics of defying the peace efforts of the international community by systematically intensifying armed aggression against the people of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia every time a negotiated solution for Namibia and Zimbabwe is in process or at hand. We the people of the front-line States, together with all other African States and the peace-loving peoples of the world, will continue to play our role with respect to the peoples of Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa regardless of intimidation by the racists of Pretoria and Salisbury.

159. Before concluding my brief statement I should like to reaffirm our militant solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola, that sister State which is devoted to the total liberation of the African continent and is collaborating closely with the United Nations in the search for a negotiated solution to the problem of Namibia. Before this important body, created for the preservation of world peace and security, we reaffirm to the party, to the people and to the Government of the People's Republic of Angola our readiness to fulfil the duties which unite us in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. We hope that the international community and particularly the Security Council will take effective and appropriate measures to put an end to this criminal aggression, which can seriously affect the peace and security of the world.

160. The People's Republic of Mozambique is and will always be prepared to fulfil its international duty as regards the national liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa until their final victory. We vehemently condemn the South African racist régime for its armed attack on Angola, and we urge the Security Council to take strong measures against South Africa so that these provocative actions will not be repeated in the area.

161. *A luta continua.*

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

163. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like at the outset to express to you and the members of the Security Council my delegation's gratitude for allowing me to participate in the Council's debate on the question of the recent aggression by

South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. I should like also to extend heartfelt congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of November.

164. This is not the first time that the Council has had to examine the acts of aggression by the racist South African and Rhodesian régimes against the People's Republic of Angola and the other front-line States. The communiqué of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party published on 30 October 1979 [S/13599] and the major statement made yesterday by the representative of Angola have proved the extremely grave nature of this further racist attack and justified the deep disquiet of the international community at Pretoria's policy of aggression and expansionism towards the neighbouring countries. As pointed out in the communiqué to which I have just referred, on 28 October last the People's Republic of Angola was once again the victim of a massive attack by airborne and ground troops of racist South Africa on several provincial capitals in the southern part of the country, leaving dozens of victims among the civilian population and the soldiers of FAPLA, destroying means of communication and causing severe material damage to the country's economy.

165. The Council will remember that, since the time immediately after its accession to independence and up to the present day, the People's Republic of Angola has been the subject of constant military pressure by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa: border provocations, aerial bombardment, long-range artillery barrages, ground invasions, and so forth. The sinister design of the Pretoria régime is to seek by all possible means to intimidate and destabilize Angola and the other front-line countries in order to weaken the constant support that these States receive from the national liberation movements of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

166. Confronted by the repeated and barbaric acts of aggression by the Pretoria and Salisbury racist régimes, the heroic people of Angola, under the wise guidance of the MPLA-Workers' Party, led by the late, lamented President Agostinho Neto and the new President, José Eduardo dos Santos, has responded energetically, has driven the aggressors out of the country and has successfully defended its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, thereby safeguarding the achievements of the revolution and the successes of national reconstruction. The people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam wish to reaffirm on this occasion their unshakable solidarity with the fraternal people of Angola. We would like to express our admiration to the people and Government of Angola for the staunch way in which they have defended their independence and their freedom, and for the ever-growing support that they unfailingly give to SWAPO, the Patriotic Front and the African National Congress in their just and legitimate struggle. We pay a resounding tribute to the other front-line countries for their active solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa and for the sacrifices they have made in supporting, by all the means at their disposal, the national liberation movements of that region. Their valuable aid and support are important factors, contributing to the final victory of the people of Namibia, Zimbabwe

and South Africa in their struggle against the Pretoria and Salisbury racist *apartheid* régimes.

167. The armed aggression on 28 October last by the Pretoria régime is not only a further crime against the Angolan people, a flagrant violation of Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity, but also a serious threat to peace and security in southern Africa and in Africa as a whole.

168. It must be pointed out that the fresh armed act of aggression by Pretoria against the Angolan people and that by Salisbury against Zambia coincide with the new and extremely serious challenge flung at the international community by the *apartheid* régime. I am referring to the reports that South Africa has recently detonated a nuclear device. Despite the warnings and the vehement protests by the international community, the Pretoria régime, which is already armed to the teeth, has, it seems very likely, acquired nuclear weapons. There is no need to be a military strategist to understand what nuclear weapons in the hands of the racists mean.

169. It is no secret to anyone that, without the protection and complicity of imperialism and international reaction, the South African racists could not so arrogantly and cynically scorn world public opinion and all the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The economic collaboration between South Africa and certain Western countries has been growing; their military and nuclear collaboration has never stopped. The Security Council resolution regarding the arms embargo against South Africa has not been respected. Economic sanctions against Pretoria cannot be adopted by the Council—notwithstanding the unanimous demands of the international community—because of the threefold veto by the Western countries permanent members of the Council. One effective means to compel the *apartheid* régime to heed the will of the international community is to implement comprehensive sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter and to put an end forthwith to all forms of economic, military and nuclear collaboration with Pretoria.

170. My Government indignantly condemns the new act of aggression perpetrated by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola and strongly enjoins the Security Council to take effective steps under Chapter VII of the Charter to meet the just request made yesterday by our colleague Ambassador Elisio de Figueiredo, representative of the People's Republic of Angola. My delegation joins others in urging the Council to condemn the acts of aggression committed by the racist régime of South Africa and to take steps that could halt any further military attacks against the People's Republic of Angola and the other front-line countries. The South African régime should be compelled to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and the other neighbouring countries.

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

172. Mr. LIÉVANO (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Colombia wishes to refer to the complaint by the Government of Angola conveyed in a letter from Ambassador Elisio de Figueiredo on the attacks by South African military troops against several regions of his country, attacks which were carried out with sophisticated modern weapons and in particular with aerial equipment. There have been massive unexpected assaults against three provincial capitals in which ground troops were brought in by helicopter.

173. My delegation emphatically condemns this violation of clear rules of international law and considers it to be one more challenge by the Government of South Africa to the United Nations. An act of aggression has been committed against the territory of a sovereign nation, a Member of the Organization. We have here, quite simply, a policy of armed coercion in Angola and at the same time, bellicose threats against what are known as the front-line States, which have had to endure similar aggression on other occasions. In this manner, the Government of South Africa is once again responding with violence to United Nations gestures aimed at seeking a just solution to the problem of the independence of Namibia.

174. This question of Namibia, as has been repeatedly stated by my delegation, in particular in the United Nations Council for Namibia, can only be resolved through the free exercise of the right of its people to self-determination by means of elections in which the entire population may participate without pressures of any kind and under United Nations supervision. That is the frame of reference which the United Nations insists on in order to accept as just and legitimate the solution to the question of the Territory placed under its legal administration. It is only within those parameters that legitimate independence for Namibia will be obtained, and not in obedience to the nostalgic wish of the Pretoria Government to return to outmoded forms of colonialism or neo-colonialism.

175. Attacks such as those committed against Angola, the internal repression and the suppression of all forms of freedom are intended to force the people of Namibia to accept a régime imposed by South Africa, so that the latter may continue to use and exploit the natural wealth of the Territory and, under the *apartheid* régime, to obtain cheap labour—quasi-slaves.

176. The delegation of Colombia calls upon the Security Council to condemn these acts of aggression by the Government of South Africa because this is certainly not an isolated conflict, a conflict lost in the sands of Namibia and the territory of Angola, far away from the capital cities in which the fate of mankind is determined. Today such bilateral conflicts do not exist, since all conflicts are universal. The attack by South Africa against Angola undoubtedly endangers international peace and security and, bearing this in mind, the Council must act effectively, as the Charter demands and as the international community expects.

177. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I understand that members of the Council are now ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution which is before them [S/13601].

A vote was taken by a show of hands.

In favour: Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, Czechoslovakia, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Zambia

Against: None

Abstaining: France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The draft resolution was adopted by 12 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.³

178. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since there are no further speakers, I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of BOLIVIA.

179. The delegation of Bolivia expresses once more its strong condemnation of the acts of aggression committed by the South African régime against Angola, acts which constitute a serious violation of world peace and of one of the basic principles of international relations: respect for the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of States. Consequently, the violation calls for a prompt response from the United Nations, and in particular from the Security Council. Bolivia decidedly supports all efforts leading to an end of South African aggression in Angola. On the speed and dynamism with which the Council acts will depend the effectiveness of its resolutions.

180. The above statement is sufficient explanation of the vote of my country.

181. In conclusion, I wish to stress that Bolivia stands in firm solidarity with the people of Angola in its ceaseless, relentless struggle for the attainment of its sovereignty and its right to live in peace.

182. Resuming in my duties as PRESIDENT of the Council, I call on the representative of Angola, who has asked to be allowed to speak.

183. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): Does not the African man bleed? How long must Africa and the rest of the third world wait for sanctions and punitive measures to be adopted by the Security Council? How long, Mr. President? How long, Mr. Secretary-General?

184. At this point I should like to express the appreciation of my Government and my delegation to those of our friends here at the United Nations who responded with statements of solidarity during the Council's debate to our complaint of South African racist attacks and aggression against the territory and people of the People's Republic of Angola.

185. Mr. President, through you I wish to thank those members of the Council who supported my country's quest for justice and respect for the Charter by a condemnation of the violation of Angolan territory and sovereignty by the racist imperialist minority régime of Pretoria.

³ See resolution 454 (1979).

186. A report was compiled recently by the Secretary-General [S/13473] on the basis of information supplied by my Government, which outlines the human, material and financial losses suffered by Angola as a result of various South African attacks. However, no amount of statistics, reports, facts or figures can fully relate the sum total of what the constant racist-imperialist attacks mean in terms of the national life of my country, in terms of Angola's efforts to overcome the handicaps of the past and the immense difficulties of the present. Figures certainly do no justice to the human suffering of the people of Angola as their loved ones die, as the fruit of their labour is destroyed time and time again. Nor do they illustrate what it means to live under the constant threat of attack by racist troops and aerial bombardment.

187. Even as I speak now, my Government is discovering and compiling the full extent of the damage and destruction wrought by South Africa, especially in terms of the dead and the injured and the vast laying of mines which will continue to cause death and injury in the months to come. At this moment the South African racist Air Force continues to violate Angolan air space.

188. I do not wish to sound unnecessarily pessimistic, but I cannot help feeling that we have not seen the last of South Africa's imperialist military adventurism and, therefore, I do not think that this is my last appearance before the Security Council.

189. Not until South Africa is made to change its imperialist posture, not until the people of Namibia is free and independent, not until Zimbabwe is truly decolonized and has a freely elected majority Government, will peace and stability come to southern Africa. Until then the people and the Government of Angola are ready to continue their support for the liberation of all of southern Africa.

190. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): There are no further speakers. The Security Council has concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.

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