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THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR

2138th MEETING: 28 MARCH 1979

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2138th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 28 March 1979, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Leslie O. HARRIMAN (Nigeria).

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/2138)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint by Angola against South Africa:
Letter dated 16 March 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13176)

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Angola against South Africa:
Letter dated 16 March 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13176)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken by the Council at previous meetings [2130th, 2132nd, 2133rd and 2135th meetings], I invite the representative of Angola to take a place at the Council table and the representatives of Algeria, Benin, Botswana, Bulgaria, the Congo, Cuba, Egypt, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, India, Liberia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Romania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Togo, the United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola) took a place at the Council table and Mr. Bouayad-Agha (Algeria), Mr. Houngavou (Benin), Mr. Tlou (Botswana), Mr. Yankov (Bulgaria), Mr. Mondjo (Congo), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Worku (Ethiopia), Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Sekyi (Ghana), Mr. Yansané (Guinea), Mr. Sinclair (Guyana), Mr. Jaipal (India), Mr. Tubman (Liberia), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Honwona (Mozambique), Mr. Marinescu (Romania), Mr. Gelaga-King (Sierra Leone), Mr. Hussen (Somalia), Mr. Rodrigo (Sri Lanka),

Mr. Sahloul (Sudan), Mr. Kodjovi (Togo), Mr. Chale (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. Ha Van Lau (Viet Nam) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Martynenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2132nd meeting, I invite the representative of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gurirab (South West Africa People's Organization) took a place at the Council table.

4. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): On behalf of the delegations of Bangladesh, Bolivia, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria and my own, I have the honour to introduce the draft resolution contained in document S/13197 concerning South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

5. The general debate that has taken place on this question has clearly reflected the abhorrence and indignation felt by the international community as a whole at the persistent and escalating South African acts of aggression against Angola. A large number of Member States felt obliged to take part in the debate and virtually all speakers stressed the gravity of the situation posed by the South African acts of aggression and the implications for international peace and security inherent in the policies and practices of the Pretoria régime. The South African régime was most categorically condemned by the participants in the debate and an unequivocal demand was made for the invocation of punitive measures against South Africa by the Security Council.

6. It is against this background that the sponsors prepared the draft resolution now before the Council. We also took into account the fact that this is not the first time that the Council has considered South African aggression against

Angola. The Council is on record as having previously condemned South Africa for its aggression against Angola. Indeed, the Council is on record as having previously demanded that South Africa should desist from its acts of aggression and that it should scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola. Needless to say, both the condemnation and the demand for the respect of Angolan independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity fell on deaf ears. South Africa has not only continued with impunity to commit these acts of aggression but has also in recent months and weeks escalated them.

7. Pertinent in this regard is the solemn warning contained in Council resolution 428 (1978) to the effect that, in the event of further acts of aggression, consideration would be given to the adoption of measures against South Africa, in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter, including Chapter VII thereof. This unequivocal warning makes it imperative that the response of the Council to the new acts of aggression committed by South Africa against Angola should be action-oriented in the direction of adopting measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, with a view to putting an end once and for all to such aggression. South Africa must not be allowed to continue in perpetuity its contempt and defiance of the resolutions of the Council.

8. Our draft resolution is, to a large extent, self-explanatory. It has seven operative paragraphs, which would have the Security Council:

— First, strongly condemn the racist régime of South Africa for its premeditated, persistent and sustained armed invasions of the People's Republic of Angola, which constitute a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country as well as a serious threat to international peace and security;

— Secondly, also strongly condemn South Africa's utilization of the international Territory of Namibia as a spring-board for armed invasions and destabilization of the People's Republic of Angola;

— Thirdly, demand that South Africa cease immediately its provocative armed invasions against the People's Republic of Angola and that it respect forthwith the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country;

— Fourthly, commend the People's Republic of Angola and other front-line States for their steadfast support of the people of Namibia in their just and legitimate struggle against the illegal occupation of their territory by South Africa and for the enjoyment of their inalienable rights to self-determination and national independence;

— Fifthly, 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;

— Sixthly, request the Secretary-General to obtain available information from the People's Republic of Angola on the human casualties and material and other damage resulting from repeated acts of aggression committed by the racist régime of South Africa;

— Seventhly, further request the Secretary-General to submit such information to the Security Council not later than 30 April 1979, in order to enable it to determine the most effective sanctions in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter of the United Nations so as to ensure the cessation by South Africa of its acts of aggression against Angola and other front-line States.

9. I wish to point out that paragraphs 1 to 5 reflect general principles which cannot be ignored in the present situation. They emphasize the illegality of South African acts of aggression against Angola as well as its utilization of Namibian territory for this purpose. In this regard, they make clear that South African violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola as well as its continued illegal occupation of Namibia constitute a serious threat to international peace and security. These paragraphs, moreover, reaffirm support for the legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia for liberation and recognize the role played by Angola and other front-line States in support of this struggle. Finally, these paragraphs recognize and underscore the need to strengthen the defence capabilities of Angola and other front-line States in the light of continued and escalating South African aggression.

10. Paragraphs 6 and 7 are meant to be action-oriented in the context of the warning in resolution 428 (1978) that the Council would consider measures against South Africa in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter, including Chapter VII thereof, in the event of further aggression against Angola. It is considered that the information that the Secretary-General is requested to obtain and submit to the Council by 30 April would be of great help in this direction. As made clear in paragraph 7, the Council would take that information into account in determining the most effective sanctions against South Africa so as to ensure the cessation of its acts of aggression against Angola and other front-line States.

11. This is obviously a mild draft resolution, particularly when viewed against the gravity of the situation with which the Council is seized. However, its unanimous adoption would represent a positive and hopeful step in the international effort to meet the South African challenge. On behalf of all the sponsors, I commend it to all members of the Council.

12. Just a final word. I wish, on behalf of the sponsors, to request that the draft resolution that I have been privileged to introduce this morning should be put to the vote this afternoon. The seriousness of the question under consideration would dictate that our meetings do not proceed beyond this point without action by the Council.

13. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

14. Mr. MARTYNENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic would like first of all to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for having made it possible for us to take

part in the deliberations on the question of South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

15. Representatives of many countries who have spoken in the discussion on this item have shed sufficient light on the circumstances and facts of the aggressive attack by South African armed forces on the sovereignty of the independent country of Angola. The scale of the aggression is shown by the fact that the South African Air Force subjected a number of Angolan towns to vicious bombing with napalm. South African infantry units constantly invade the territory of that independent country. With their tanks and armoured vehicles they make raids deep into the country. Hundreds of Namibian refugees and Angolan citizens, mainly women, old people and children, have fallen victim to this new act of aggression and many of them have perished or been severely disfigured as a result of the napalm used by the aggressor. Great material damage has been sustained.

16. It is quite obvious that the armed attack launched by South Africa on the People's Republic of Angola is not a fortuitous, isolated episode. The South African racists have repeatedly violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola. The present attack is yet one more link in the endless chain of crimes perpetrated by the racist régime of South Africa, a new step in the escalation of the permanent aggression by South Africa against young independent African States and an open defiance of relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and decisions, as well as the principles of the Charter.

17. As has already been noted during the discussion on this question, the aim of the policy of systematic acts of aggression against Angola is to destabilize the situation in that country, to wreck plans for economic and social development, and to try to shatter the unity of the front-line States and force them to stop supporting the just struggle of the people of Namibia for their freedom and independence.

18. The piratical raids on the territory of Angola are part and parcel of the plan of the racists and their accomplices aimed at intimidating the front-line States. In organizing those forays, the South African racists and their sponsors attempt to create friction and dissent among the liberation movements and the independent countries of Africa and to sow distrust of the freedom fighters. They are trying to wreck the process of the free implementation by the Namibian people of the right to self-determination, to put traitors to the Namibian people in power and set up their neo-colonial puppet régime in the Territory.

19. Cynically, trampling international law underfoot, the South African racists have already chosen the shifting path of real and insolent sabotage of United Nations resolutions. Despite the agreement reached to hold free democratic elections in Namibia under the auspices of the United Nations, and disregarding the protests of international public opinion, South Africa managed, during the rigged elections held last December, to "elect" their puppets in Namibia, to the liking of the racist Pretoria clique. As is well known, the General Assembly decisively condemned Pretoria's decision to force a so-called internal settlement on Namibia that would create a puppet

régime with fictitious power and apparent legality for the racist occupation and also declared the "elections" and their results to be null and void. But as the manoeuvres of the South African régime have shown, particularly the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Pretoria on 19 March [see S/13180], the South African authorities are persisting in their attempt to force a neo-colonialist solution of the Namibian problem on the Namibian people.

20. Furthermore, showing their open defiance of the United Nations and world public opinion, the Pretoria régime recently stepped up its military preparations on Namibian territory. A large number of tanks and other military matériel were sent to Namibia, tens of thousands of soldiers in a state of mobilized military readiness have been concentrated, and the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia has been turned into a spring-board for aggressive attacks on neighbouring African countries—Angola, Zambia and others. If we add to that South Africa's feverish preparations to produce its own nuclear weapons, then it becomes quite clear exactly how the Pretoria racists intend to resolve the Namibian problem.

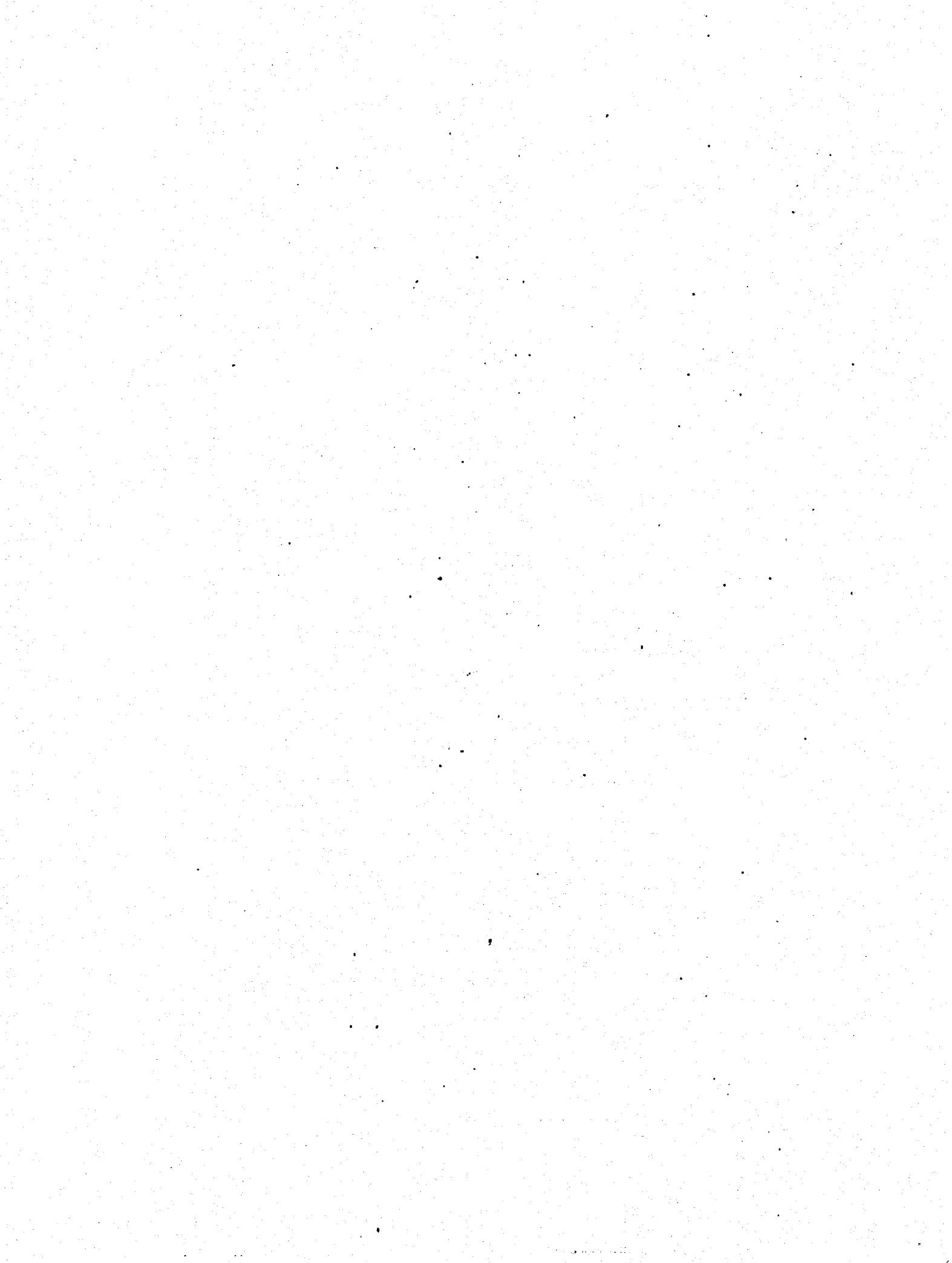
21. In condemning South Africa's acts of provocation, we must note that responsibility for them must be borne not only by Pretoria but also by the NATO countries. With their assistance the racist army has been created and armed to the teeth. The racist military clique is playing a punitive role, serving the interests of international capital, which is interested in solving the problems of southern Africa in the neo-colonialist manner. The *apartheid* régime supports in all possible ways the Western monopolies and the so-called transnational corporations. They are, furthermore, obstructing effective economic sanctions against the racist régime. Connivance and support by NATO and the international monopolies leave Pretoria free to ignore the will of the United Nations and peace-loving public opinion, to perpetrate acts of aggression and act as NATO's striking force against sovereign African countries.

22. It is an irrefutable truth that the unceasing acts of mass repression by South Africa against the Namibian people, as well as its aggressive attacks against neighbouring independent States, are a real and serious threat to international peace and security, not only in Africa but throughout the world, and the continued escalation and increasing scale of those actions further exacerbate the situation.

23. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is convinced that the explosive situation in southern Africa and the manoeuvring of the racists and their protectors who try to consolidate the illegal occupation of Namibia and thus spread their domination to the whole of southern Africa dictates the urgent need for the Security Council, which bears the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, to adopt effective measures against the South African racist régime. Only if the Council adopts urgent, immediate and effective measures against the racist régime, including sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, can we be assured of a real guarantee for preventing further acts of aggression by South Africa.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.





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