

UNITED NATIONS



SEP 24 1984

UN/SA COLLECTION

SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-FIRST YEAR

1901st MEETING: 29 MARCH 1976

NEW YORK

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NOTE

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

1901st MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 29 March 1976, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Thomas S. BOYA (Benin).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, China, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1901)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Complaint by Kenya, on behalf of the African Group of States at the United Nations, concerning the act of aggression committed by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola:
Letter dated 10 March 1976 from the Permanent Representative of Kenya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12007).

The meeting was called to order at 11.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Kenya, on behalf of the African Group of States at the United Nations, concerning the act of aggression committed by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola:

Letter dated 10 March 1976 from the Permanent Representative of Kenya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12007)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions adopted at the 1900th meeting, I invite the representative of Angola to take a place at the Council table and the representatives of Cuba, Egypt, Guinea, Kenya, Madagascar, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Yugoslavia and Zambia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Luvualu (Angola) took a place at the Security Council table and Mr. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé (Guinea), Mr. Maina

(Kenya), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Harriman (Nigeria), Mr. Blyden (Sierra Leone), Mr. Hussen (Somalia), Mr. Petrić (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Kamana (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Furthermore, I should like to inform the Council that I have just received letters from the representatives of the German Democratic Republic and Poland in which they ask to be invited, under Article 31 of the Charter, to participate without the right to vote, in the Council's debate. If I hear no objections, I propose, in accordance with the Council's practice and with rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, to invite those representatives to participate without the right to vote in the debate.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Neugebauer (German Democratic Republic) and Mr. Jaroszek (Poland) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The first speaker is the representative of Guinea, who has addressed a second letter to me, in which she asks to be invited to speak in her capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. So it is both as representative of Guinea and as Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* that Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé will be addressing the Council. I now invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

4. Mrs. Jeanne Martin CISSÉ (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): In September 1975, when the attention of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* was focused on the incursions of South African troops into Angola from the Territory of Namibia, which South Africa illegally occupies, the Committee expressed its concern at this new act of aggression by the racist régime of Pretoria. In its statements of 3 December 1975¹ and 23 January 1976,² the Committee appealed to all Governments and organizations to denounce the aggression of the Pretoria régime, to support the efforts of the United Nations and the liberation movement of the Namibian people, in order to put an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, and to implement the United Nations resolutions on the elimination of *apartheid* from South Africa.

5. On the recommendation of the Special Committee, the General Assembly, in its resolution 3411 G (XXX) of 10 December 1975, requested the Security Council

“to consider urgently the situation in South Africa and the aggressive actions of the racist régime of South Africa with a view to adopting effective measures, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to resolve the grave situation in the area and, in particular:

“(a) To ensure that all Governments implement fully the arms embargo against South Africa”.

6. I should therefore like, in my capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee, to voice our satisfaction at seeing the Security Council meeting at the request of the independent States of Africa to examine the South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

7. May I, too, express our great satisfaction at seeing the Council presided over by the representative of the People's Republic of Benin, an African State which, faithful to the principles of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, has firmly condemned South African aggression and declared its solidarity with the victims of the racist aggression of the Pretoria régime.

8. The problem before the Council today is very clear, and there can be no doubt about the facts relating to it. South African armed forces invaded the territory of Angola on the eve of that country's independence, an independence won after a long and heroic struggle for freedom. They committed that aggression from Namibia, a Territory which South Africa continues to occupy illegally in violation of United Nations resolutions.

9. I do not want to go into detail about past events because the task before the Council today is very clear and also because we want to look towards the future—the future of the whole of southern Africa. However, some events are worth recalling and examining in order to allow us to formulate a line of action that could preserve peace, freedom and human equality in southern Africa.

10. In its resolution 3517 (XXX) of 15 December 1975, the General Assembly stressed the need for individual and collective action by Member States in order to put an end to all forms of foreign aggression and occupation, *apartheid* and colonialism and declared that it is the duty of all States to support and provide assistance to the countries, territories and peoples concerned, so as to restore their national sovereignty, territorial integrity and inalienable and fundamental rights.

11. South African aggression against Angola was a test of the loyalty of the Member States to this commitment. I shall not mention those who, in Angola and

elsewhere, have been the accomplices of or encouraged racist South African aggression. I will let history be the judge. But we cannot fail to recall here the fact that, in the face of South African aggression and the rush of mercenaries to Angola, we witnessed the encouraging example of the international solidarity of mankind against *apartheid* and racism. The people of Angola, in its struggle against South African aggression, received assistance from States and peoples of several parts of the world and even from the oppressed people of South Africa, in spite of the terror and oppression which have been instituted in South Africa by the Vorster régime.

12. While we took pleasure at the scope of the solidarity with the heroic people of Angola, we were very distressed to see certain Governments adopting equivocal attitudes to the aggression against Angola committed by the Pretoria régime. They closed their eyes to that aggression and attempted to mislead or divert public opinion by introducing considerations having nothing to do with the matter. We also witnessed, with great regret, the concern of a group of States with regard to assistance provided to the victims of that aggression, without those States having said anything whatever by way of condemnation of the aggressors.

13. May I remind the Council that this is not the first act of aggression committed by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. The South African régime has already committed acts of aggression against Namibia and Zimbabwe. The Security Council already had occasion some years ago to examine South African aggression against Zambia.

14. The criminal policy of *apartheid* pursued by the racist régime is inseparable from brutal repression against the opponents of *apartheid* in South Africa and aggression against those who support the South African liberation movements in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* felt it its duty last year to warn the international community about the fact that South Africa's growing isolation, particularly after the collapse of Portuguese colonialism, might push the Pretoria régime to desperate ventures, unless action was taken by the international community. The aggression against Angola, which took place immediately afterwards, is a warning to us about the prospects for even more crises if the international community does not immediately adopt effective measures. The recent promulgation of the Defence Amendment Act by South Africa, whereby the Vorster régime believes itself authorized to send armed forces anywhere in the world, is a clear indication of the imminent danger of inaction on the part of the Security Council.

15. The South African régime was able to commit aggression against Angola thanks to the military equipment it had been able to obtain from certain countries

or to manufacture with their technical assistance. At the same time, according to reports coming from South Africa, that aggression revealed certain weaknesses in the South African military arsenal due to the arms embargo against South Africa imposed by the Security Council, and that even though the embargo is only partially applied. In order to avert further acts of South African aggression against Angola, it is imperative for the Council to take appropriate measures, as requested by the General Assembly, in order to ensure the total and full application of the arms embargo against South Africa, without any exceptions or reservations, and the cessation of all military co-operation with the South African régime.

16. I should like to make a serious appeal, on behalf of the Special Committee, to the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States to assure us of their full and complete co-operation in this regard.

17. It has become essential for the international community also to take preventive measures by providing all necessary assistance to the Governments and peoples of the countries bordering on South Africa to help them to consolidate their independence and resist South African aggression and pressure. We very much hope that the recent unanimous decision of the Security Council [resolution 386 (1976)] calling for assistance to the People's Republic of Mozambique will be applied in practice and extended to other neighbouring countries if that proves necessary.

18. There are times in history when a fundamental problem facing humanity is the supreme test of the integrity of Governments and organizations. Our generation is now living through such a time, and the problem is *apartheid* and racism.

19. In this context, any Government which continues directly or indirectly to encourage the South African régime bears a grave responsibility. The path that will lead us to peace lies in the total isolation of the racist régime and in the effectiveness of international solidarity with the oppressed peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe and with the independent African States of the area.

20. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* very much hopes that the Security Council will take appropriate measures to provide all necessary assistance to the Government of the People's Republic of Angola in its struggle against the aggression of the racist South African régime.

21. In my capacity as representative of the State Party of Guinea and on behalf of my Government I should like, with the Council's permission, to make some comments.

22. Because of political developments in the world over the last few months, southern Africa has become

a field for vast strategic manoeuvres on the part of international imperialism, which local reactionary forces have exploited in order to intensify their undermining action and to consolidate their positions. Without formally refusing so-called dialogue or so-called détente, the racist régimes of southern Africa have redoubled their onslaught against independent Africa and, as the advance guard of the imperialist Powers in this region, have served as a bridgehead for the most barbarous acts of aggression against the new People's Republic of Angola.

23. A cynical objective of this shameful policy of international imperialism was to humiliate the Angolan people, which had just won its national sovereignty, to humiliate its liberation party, the MPLA [*Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola*], which for 15 years fought against the worst kind of colonialism, and to humiliate the people's Government, which that party had just given its fighting people, by confiscating its vast national resources.

24. But fortunately, since the independence of most of our countries, we no longer live in the times when imperialism could shamelessly pursue its gun-boat policy. The People's Republic of Angola, its Government and the party which freed it, the MPLA, are today recognized by many countries in Africa and throughout the world. The People's Republic of Angola has never been isolated. It will overcome imperialism, even if the imperialist press attempts to represent as civil war the aggression of which Angola has been a victim. We know it is not civil war. But it does make it possible to clarify class positions in Angola and even in the Organization of African Unity.

25. This situation was clearly revealed in Addis Ababa, where the representatives of progressive Africa were able to outwit the tricks of the imperialists and inflict upon the enemy camp a scathing political and diplomatic defeat.

26. The Council will permit me to take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to the socialist countries that have made it possible for progressive Africa to record this victory, because, as was stated by the supreme leader of the revolution, Comrade Ahmed Sékou Touré, in his message to the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization Conference in Luanda:

“This political and diplomatic victory was made possible only by the heroic sacrifices made primarily by the USSR and Cuba in providing the MPLA and, through it, all the African peoples, with the material, military and diplomatic assistance that was so decisive. Although the USSR was doing nothing but its international socialist duty, we thank that country most sincerely on behalf of the people of the Republic of Guinea and its State Party.”

27. That very well deserved tribute is justified by the history of the liberation of oppressed peoples, because

in their long struggle against colonialism the African liberation movements have received the unconditional support of the progressive forces of the world, primarily that of the socialist countries. Certain voices of "African defence" which are at the moment raised and uttering threats against our allies leave us rather sceptical, because we can hardly believe in the sincerity of the sentiments they express. Fortunately, as is stressed in one of our wise African proverbs, ridicule is not deadly.

28. The new independent and sovereign State of Angola, headed by a progressive revolutionary Government such as that established by the MPLA, constitutes a positive and dynamic factor for the national liberation of the subjugated peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania and, furthermore, an effective instrument for democratic and revolutionary progress in all the States of that part of Africa. Hence it is a decisive instrument for the political, economic, social and cultural liberation of all the countries of the subregion—and that means the final and radical elimination of the imperialist grip on the area.

29. In that struggle, the South African régime is still our enemy number one. We all know that Mr. Pieter Botha, Defence Minister of South Africa, has submitted a new Draconian bill to Parliament which, if adopted, would legalize fascist aggression against other countries and damp the upsurge of criticism inside the country. Also, it demonstrates that South Africa is a military State. We see behind this bill of Vorster's an intention to annex the whole African subcontinent. In Vorster's view, it would give his racist régime the right to intervene in any country or territory from Zanzibar to Cabinda. The clause relating to invasion specifies that South African troops would be sent "to prevent or stamp out any armed conflict outside the Republic of South Africa which, in the view of the President of the Republic of South Africa, presents or might present a threat to its security." It is already very well known that Vorster was sending troops and aircraft to Mozambique and Angola in order to support the Salazar and Caetano régimes there. He wilfully disregarded the resolutions of the United Nations and illegally occupied Namibia. And Vorster was avowedly present in Zimbabwe with the purpose of maintaining the Ian Smith régime.

30. Permit me to stress that the withdrawal of South African troops from the territory of Angola is very far from ending the act of aggression committed by South Africa. Indeed, on 23 October 1975 South African armed forces invaded Angola and committed bestial murders and outrageous massacres of women, children and old people, and, what is more, in the course of the armed aggression, South Africa destroyed hundreds of bridges, roads, airports and radio stations. In addition to massacring the civilian population, the barbarous troops did not hesitate to kill cattle. They drove survivors to the Namibian frontier in order to

make of them so-called refugees who could be sent back to Angola, together with other mercenaries stationed in the area, with a view to further aggression. The South African hordes, plundering villages on their way through, took everything that could be carried with them, cars, agricultural machinery and so on, and sacked houses and pillaged banks. In his brilliant statement, the representative of the People's Republic of Angola [1900th meeting] enlightened us about the damage done by South African troops, whose purpose was to destroy Angola with all its human and economic potential.

31. To distract world opinion from the true problem of aggression in Angola, South Africa took refuge behind a guarantee for the safeguard of its energy interests in the region. You will agree with me that no frontier exists between South Africa and Angola. Namibia is not South Africa. The dams of Calueque and Cunene are very important elements in the Angolan economy, and no error should lead to their destruction. So let us not hear talk of any contract about the Cunene and Calueque dams.

32. What is true is that the revolutionary people of Angola will never be willing to link up with the racist régime of South Africa to muzzle the valiant population of Namibia. No agreement can silence the powerful voices of those thirsting for freedom, dignity, sovereignty and independence.

33. We are convinced that the international community, through the Security Council, will help the People's Republic of Angola recover its goods which have been stolen or destroyed by South African troops. The Republic of South Africa, guilty of murder and killings, must pay dearly, very dearly, to repair the economic damage it has caused. The South African régime, in spite of all its wealth, will never be rich enough to compensate for those lives taken in its craze for invasion and destruction.

34. The Security Council, we are sure, will take immediate and appropriate steps to demand compensation from South Africa for the acts of vandalism committed deliberately to stifle Angola. Once again Africa will know how to recognize its true friends in its heroic struggle against Vorster's racist régime.

35. In conclusion, we wish to repeat to our fighting brothers in MPLA and to the revolutionary people of Angola the expression of the unconditional support of the State Party of Guinea for their just struggle for liberty, justice and progress.

36. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now invite the representative of Zambia to take a place at the Council table and to address the Council.

37. Mr. KAMANA (Zambia): Mr. President, I had the privilege and great pleasure of addressing the Security Council under your able presidency only a few days

ago. The Council was then considering the question of international assistance to the People's Republic of Mozambique, a victim of acts of aggression committed by the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia and a principled and faithful Member of the United Nations, one which decided to apply full economic sanctions against the rebel colony. It is again my privilege and pleasure to address the Council under your presidency. The Council is again meeting to consider aggression committed by yet another racist and minority régime against an independent African country. This time it is considering South African aggression against Angola.

38. That the Security Council should meet twice within one month to consider acts of aggression committed against independent African States by the racist and minority régimes of southern Africa is no coincidence. It is a clear indication of the serious threat to peace and security in southern Africa, and indeed to international peace and security, that the continued existence of white racist and minority régimes in the region represents. These acts of aggression, moreover, demonstrate the blind and misguided determination of the racist and minority régimes to maintain, at all costs, the *status quo* in southern Africa.

39. The régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury have just awakened to a new reality. As I had occasion to stress at the solemn meeting of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the régimes in Salisbury and Pretoria can no longer barricade themselves behind the comfort of buffer zones of former Portuguese colonies. They can now sense their own doom; for the independence of Mozambique and Angola, right at their doorsteps, has more than ever before exposed them to an onslaught from the liberation movements of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania.

40. The acts of aggression they are perpetrating against neighbouring independent African States are a panic-stricken reaction characteristic of diehards. Rather than accept the inevitable change honourably, having read the writing on the wall, they have chosen to continue living in a fool's paradise, hoping that, by some miracle, the tide can be halted or be made to alter its course. This indeed is choosing to perish, for surely the tide must reach them soon.

41. It is in the light of the foregoing that South African aggression against Angola must be understood. It had no other purpose than to attempt the impossible; it was intended to stifle the wave of nationalism in Namibia and in South Africa itself. There can be absolutely no rational justification for it. It simply was a repugnant and outrageous act.

42. Any form of aggression is inadmissible and must naturally be treated as a serious matter. But South African aggression against Angola is serious in three distinct ways. First, it is serious in that it was com-

mitted at all, against an innocent newly independent country. Secondly, it is serious because it was committed from Namibia, an international Territory illegally occupied by South Africa. Thirdly, it is serious because the motive of South Africa was clearly to subject the people of Namibia and Azania to perpetual white minority racist domination, oppression and economic exploitation.

43. We have now been given to understand that South Africa has withdrawn its forces of aggression from Angola. Someone appears to have succeeded in imparting to the South African régime what ought to have been a matter of sheer common sense, namely, the information that it has no right at all to be in Angola. We note, however, and indeed it is not surprising, that true to its unrepentant self and its shameless behaviour, the South African régime in Pretoria is justifying its withdrawal from Angola on the pretext that it has received certain assurances from Luanda.

44. The statement of the representative of Angola last Friday [*ibid.*] was clear and categorical in regard to the status of the Cunene hydroelectric plant. He made it clear that it was never the intention of his Government to tamper with the project or to disturb its normal functioning to the disadvantage of the people of Namibia. In this regard, he pointed out that Angola has a common border not with South Africa but with Namibia, a Territory under South African illegal occupation. He stressed that in the circumstances, therefore, his Government could not legally enter into any agreement with South Africa which affected Namibia.

45. It is clear from the foregoing that the South African statement on the withdrawal of its forces from Angola was couched in such language as to save face. This purpose was probably achieved inside South Africa, but internationally, the statement must be exposed for what it really is: yet another attempt at deception by the South African régime and an indication as to the extent South Africa is prepared to go to in perpetuating its illegal occupation of Namibia. As pointed out by the Chairman of the African Group in his statement last Friday [*ibid.*], any agreement regarding Namibia can only be made with the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority of the Territory. An agreement between South Africa and any country concerning Namibia would clearly be illegal.

46. As was made clear by the representative of Angola in his statement, matters do not end with South Africa's withdrawal from that young country. The Security Council must take full account of the effect of South African intervention in Angola, that is, the damage caused both in human and material terms. As this is obviously immense, the Council must condemn South Africa in the strongest possible terms for the aggression it committed and demand of it full respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola.

47. South African troops may have withdrawn from Angola, but have they gone to South Africa? There is silence from the Pretoria régime on this. I wish to stress here that Namibia is not part of South Africa. It is an international Territory South Africa has persisted in occupying illegally in spite of numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly demanding its withdrawal. In the view of my delegation, therefore, it will be important for the Council expressly to require South Africa to withdraw from Angola, not into Namibia, but into South Africa itself. We have devoted many years to seeking South African withdrawal from Namibia. We are determined that this objective be realized immediately and that the people of Namibia, who have suffered for so long, be enabled to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. Withdrawal of South African forces from Angola into Namibia would only compound the problem of Namibia, and surely South Africa cannot be exonerated, since it is under obligation to withdraw from Namibia.

48. I should like to reiterate here Zambia's full solidarity with the independent people of Angola and with the oppressed people of Namibia and Azania. The South West Africa People's Organization, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania are gallantly waging a legitimate struggle for the liberation of their countries. We shall forever stand together with them. The defeat of the Portuguese colonialists in Africa must be a lesson for the *apartheid* régime of South Africa, whose fate cannot be different. The independence of Angola and Mozambique in southern Africa presents new opportunities for the liberation struggle, and the victories of their people must surely be a source of great encouragement to the freedom fighters of Namibia and Azania.

49. Finally, let me say that in my short statement I have confined myself to the question of South African aggression against Angola, for that is the only item on the Council's agenda.

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

51. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): I should like, in the name of the Government of Egypt, to express once again, through Ambassador Pascal Luvualu of the People's Republic of Angola, our highest esteem and warmest congratulations to the Government and people of the People's Republic of Angola, the brotherly young African nation which recently joined the group of free independent States after a period of suffering and hardship and a long heroic struggle against colonialism, a struggle which has been finally crowned by a victory to which history will dedicate brilliant pages of glory and honour.

52. I shall try to be brief, since I do not have much to add to the excellent statement made here last Friday by Ambassador Luvualu and to what has been spelled out by the previous speakers.

53. My delegation hopes that the debate on the item on the agenda will deal only with the subject under consideration, namely, South African aggression against Angola, out of respect for the ardent wish of the members of the Organization of African Unity and to work towards a constructive draft resolution that can be adopted unanimously.

54. True to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, and to its historical traditions and heritage in supporting all African brother countries and African liberation movements, Egypt believes that the struggle of the Government and people of the People's Republic of Angola is an integral part of its own struggle. That is why Egypt recognized the independence of Angola and recognized the Government of the People's Republic of Angola under the wise leadership of Mr. Agostinho Neto, President of the Republic, as the legitimate authority representing the people of Angola, a recognition which also falls within the context of the principle of non-intervention into the internal affairs of other States.

55. My delegation is longing to see Angola occupy the seat reserved for it as an active Member of the United Nations very soon, just as it has occupied its well-deserved seat among its African sister countries in the Organization of African Unity. I said "its well-deserved seat" because the independence of Angola and its appearance on the African and international scene was and is a logical historical necessity which should not be hindered by any obstacles.

56. With the collapse of the Lisbon-Pretoria-Salisbury axis, racism was doomed to come face to face with revolutionary Africa. The old Portuguese buffer zones having collapsed, the forces of freedom are at the very doorstep of the racists in Southern Rhodesia and in South Africa itself. This is the main reason why South Africa embarked on its most daring adventure of sending an invading force into Angola. It was frightened at the idea of the emergence of a truly nationalist Government in Angola which insists on all the sovereign rights of its people to control their national resources on land and at sea.

57. We all know that usually the period which follows the accession to independence of any new State requires from its Government and its people, and also from the international community, as a whole, positive and intensive efforts towards stability, construction and development, especially if independence is gained after a large-scale civil war preceded by a lengthy period of colonialism, as is the case in Angola. But in the case of Angola there is another factor to which all previous speakers have

referred and which not only represents an obstacle to stability and development but is also a cause of the perturbation of peace and security in Angola, in all Africa and in the world as a whole. I mean the intolerable aggression by the troops of the racist and fascist régime of South Africa against Angola. I need not repeat the exposé of Ambassador Luvualu in this regard.

58. As an African country, Egypt considers this aggression against Angola by South Africa as directed against Egypt, and in accordance with the resolution on Angola adopted by the Organization of African Unity at its twenty-sixth regular session last February at Addis Ababa, Egypt considers it its duty to contribute effectively to the defence of the national independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola.

59. For many years Egypt has expressed its utmost concern and alarm at the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the launching by that racist régime of large-scale military operations against the Namibian freedom fighters. Since August 1975, Egypt has expressed its utmost concern at the increasing South African military intervention in Angola. The South African intervention in Angola was not only an attempt at consolidating its racist policies but also a prelude to the extension of its pernicious policies of *apartheid*, exploitation and oppression over southern Africa, as bluntly announced by the South African Minister of Defence.

60. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Egypt condemned and will continue to condemn South Africa's continued illegal occupation of and military build-up in Namibia and also the racist régime's direct aggression launched through Namibia against the newly independent State of Angola.

61. The racist Government in South Africa should realize that the South African presence in Angola and Namibia is illegal and that it has no right whatsoever to occupy either a part of independent Angolan territory or Namibia, which is under the administration of the United Nations.

62. The Government of Egypt regards with great doubt and astonishment Mr. Vorster's statement regarding the withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory. If South Africa has the intention of

withdrawing, it has to do so immediately and unconditionally, in accordance with United Nations resolutions, not only from occupied Angolan territory but also from Namibia.

63. With regard to assurances relating to the Calueque dam, my delegation appreciates what has been announced here by Ambassador Luvualu, and we are sure that such assurances should be given by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola to the Namibian people through the United Nations Council for Namibia.

64. Egypt believes that the resolution which, it is hoped, will be unanimously adopted by this body should be clear and strict on the following: first, condemning South Africa for its unspeakable aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and the occupation of part of its national territory; secondly, demanding South Africa's immediate unconditional withdrawal not only from Angola but also from Namibia; thirdly, demanding that South Africa respect the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola; fourthly, requesting South Africa to pay to the People's Republic of Angola indemnities in compensation for the human and economic injury which resulted from its illegal occupation of Angolan territory; fifthly, urging all States to co-operate fully with the Government of the People's Republic of Angola in order to defend its independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty; and, sixthly, requesting all Member States to lend, individually and collectively, political, economic, technical and material assistance to the newly independent State.

65. I shall end my statement by repeating what I said before this body on 16 March:

"... the battle for liberating southern Africa from the racist régime has begun, and there will be no turning back. The struggle may be long and bitter, but history has assured us that victory is certain."
[1890th meeting, para. 140.]

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.

Notes

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 22, vol. I, para. 33.*

² *Ibid.*, para. 34.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم. استلم منها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف.

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