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**2133<sup>rd</sup>**

MEETING: 22 MARCH 1979

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#### NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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

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.

## 2133rd MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 22 March 1979, at 11 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/2133/Rev.1)

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 11.55 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 and 2132nd 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, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Madagascar, Mozambique, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, 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. Worku (Ethiopia), Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Sekyi (Ghana), Mr. Yansané (Guinea), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Lobo (Mozambique), Mr. Rodrigo (Sri Lanka), Mr. Sahloul (Sudan), Mr. Ha Van Lau (Viet Nam) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Egypt, Guyana, Liberia, Romania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Togo and the United Republic of Tanzania in which they request 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 those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Sinclair (Guyana), Mr. Tubman (Liberia), Mr. Marinescu (Romania), Mr. Conteh (Sierra Leone), Mr. Hussen (Somalia), Mr. Kodjovi (Togo) and Mr. Chale (United Republic of Tanzania) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

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

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

4. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 20 March from the representatives of Gabon, Nigeria and Zambia [S/13183] which reads as follows:

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

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to that request.

*It was so decided.*

5. The PRESIDENT: I wish to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/13182, which contains a letter dated 6 March from the Permanent Representative of Brazil to the President of the Council.

6. The first speaker is the representative of Bulgaria, whom I invite to take a place at the Council and to make his statement.

7. Mr. YANKOV (Bulgaria): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to express to you and the members of the Council the gratitude of my country for having given me the opportunity to take part in the deliberations on the question of the recent and continuing acts of armed aggression and the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola perpetrated by South Africa.

8. I should like also to extend my congratulations to you on your accession to the Council's presidency. We are particularly pleased to see a son of Africa and the representative of a country with which Bulgaria maintains very friendly relations presiding over the meetings of this body on such a highly important issue, on which your deep knowledge and your competence have been widely recognized. The Bulgarian delegation is confident that under your skilful guidance the Council will succeed in adopting decisions which will respond to the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples and be in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the requirements of the numerous relevant resolutions of the Council.

9. The Security Council is called upon to deal with the most recent acts of aggression by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. The statement of the representative of Angola, supported by several official communiqués issued by the Ministry of Defence of that country, justifies the grave concern over the extremely serious situation created by South Africa. These armed attacks and flagrant infringements of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the neighbouring States committed by the South African racist régime have become the underlying features of its foreign policy in Africa. They have been condemned on numerous occasions by the United Nations and the international community as overt violations of international law and the Charter.

10. In the present critical and explosive situation in southern Africa, however, the timing of these acts of aggression against Angola has acquired special significance within the political scenario of arrogance and hypocrisy so characteristic of the South African racists and their protectors. It seems that the recent aggression had several targets subordinated to one common objective, that is, the maintenance of the oppressive colonial and racist régimes. They have been designed to intimidate the front-line States, which, faithful to the principles of the self-determination and independence of the peoples of Namibia and acting in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, are supporting the legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia for the attainment of freedom and independence.

11. The armed attacks and provocations against Angola, Mozambique and Zambia have also been aimed at inflicting a heavy blow to the national liberation movement of Namibia and its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO. At the same time, the South African Government, while rejecting the proposals contained in the report of the Secretary-General [S/13120], is trying, with the active collaboration of some Western Powers, to exert pressure on SWAPO to obtain further concessions from it. If this manoeuvre of colonialist hypocrisy and demagoguery is unsuccessful, it should come as no surprise to anyone that the blame is laid

on the "intransigence" of the national liberation movement. Exacerbating the tensions in the area through acts of armed aggression could be considered as part and parcel of the policy of protraction and preservation of the oppressive colonial and racist system in southern Africa.

12. The arrogance and cynicism of the South African racist régime are such that it has gone so far as to suggest formally a draft resolution, contained in a letter from its Foreign Minister [S/13180], whereby the Council is called upon, in defiance of numerous United Nations resolutions, to condemn SWAPO for its struggle for the self-determination and independence of the oppressed people of Namibia. This is a cynicism which goes beyond normal imagination and common sense.

13. The recent acts of armed aggression and the violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola reaffirm in a most convincing way some apprehensions which were voiced on earlier occasions. Less than four months ago, the General Assembly conducted a broad discussion on all aspects of the situation in southern Africa, a situation resulting directly from the policy and actions of the Pretoria régime. The discussions and the resolutions adopted at the thirty-third session brought to the fore, beyond any shadow of doubt and with particular emphasis, the extremely alarming development of the situation in southern Africa.

14. The fundamental conclusion to be drawn from these extensive debates and from the resolutions is one that it is difficult to contradict. Since then, the situation has considerably deteriorated, a development that could be substantiated by the following main features: first, the aggravation and exceptional brutality of repressions on the part of the racist régime inside the country; secondly, the growing arrogance and aggressiveness of South Africa vis-à-vis neighbouring States—Angola, Mozambique and Zambia; thirdly, the aggravation of the colonial war against the people of Namibia and the measures taken by the régime, including fraudulent manoeuvres aimed at perpetuating the colonial yoke over this Territory illegally occupied by South Africa; fourthly, the active support rendered by the South African racist Government to the illegal régime of Ian Smith, a support that turns into farce the loudly proclaimed diplomatic moves for a "peaceful solution" of the problem of the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe; fifthly, the diplomatic support rendered by several Western Powers to the manoeuvres of the South African Government which contributed to that country's arrogant attitude in regard to the proposals on Namibia made by the United Nations.

15. As is generally recognized, this startling development of events in South Africa might erupt at any moment into an even more dangerous conflict. The last acts of aggression committed against the People's Republic of Angola have confirmed it. So, it is not only fully justifiable but also imperative that the Security Council should take urgent and effective measures. The provocative and aggressive actions of the South African rulers represent a real challenge to the United Nations. For decades, the Pretoria régime has been practising the shameful policy of *apartheid* inside the country. For decades, this régime, through the constant economic assistance of the Western countries and influential

foreign economic interests, has been the mainstay of colonialism and oppression in southern Africa, an impediment to the process of the liberation of a number of African peoples from the centuries-long colonial yoke and, in this way, it brought additional untold suffering to those heroic nations.

16. There is nothing more logical or natural than the fact that a régime that has elevated racism and its most cruel manifestation, *apartheid*, to the level of an official State policy, a régime whose actions are governed by Fascist ideology, should endanger the security, territorial integrity and free development of close or distant neighbours on their road to social progress.

17. In essence, the international community has already passed a most categorical judgement on the South African régime and its policy of *apartheid*, which has been declared a crime against humanity. Numerous are the resolutions of the United Nations which contain such a condemnation and which proclaim the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa for self-determination and liberty. No less numerous are the resolutions which demand that the racist Pretoria régime should be isolated politically and diplomatically and that all economic and military co-operation whatsoever with it should be halted.

18. But for years the South African racists, with an arrogance that has been most prejudicial to the authority of the World Organization, have declined to reckon with the United Nations. There are abundant facts of late as to the alarming growth of the South African military potential. Suffice it for me to mention that the régime's military expenditures increased fourfold in the 1972-1978 period alone. Can there be any doubt that this would not have happened but for the active collaboration between Pretoria and the NATO States in the economic and military fields? Therefore, of what value are the verbal condemnation, indignation and reprobation if, at the same time, the South African racists are being granted the material means to intensify their repression of the fighters for freedom and human dignity in the country, to extend their aggression against neighbouring African countries and to perpetuate colonialism against the people of Namibia who are fighting for independence and liberty? It is high time to put an end to this double-faced policy. An unbearable situation is being created that requires the translation of words and resolutions into practical deeds and the taking of effective mandatory actions against the racist régime of South Africa. Above all, however—and I should like strongly to emphasize this—it is high time that all States strictly complied with the United Nations resolutions. Verbal condemnations and declarative statements of indignation concerning the theory and practices of *apartheid* in South Africa are no longer sufficient. The only effective way to prove that such condemnation and reprobation are meaningful is to take firm steps to apply comprehensive sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, to discontinue relations with it without further delay and to terminate economic and military collaboration in any form with Pretoria.

19. The Security Council should therefore condemn the acts of aggression committed by the South African racist

régime and take measures to end all military attacks and prevent the further deterioration of security in that region. The Government of South Africa should be compelled to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola and other neighbouring States.

20. My Government condemns with indignation the acts of aggression perpetrated by South Africa and urges the Council to take effective measures in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

21. In conclusion, on behalf of my Government and the Bulgarian people, I should like to express our admiration to the people and Government of Angola for their determination in defending the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country and for their continued support of the people of Namibia in their just and legitimate struggle. I wish to take this opportunity to reiterate our solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola, which derives also from the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between our two countries signed at Luanda on 21 October 1978. That Treaty is an expression of the common aspirations and objectives of our two nations. To illustrate my point, I should like to close my statement with a short passage from a speech delivered by the Chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Todor Zhivkov, during his visit to Luanda:

"The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Angola stand close together in every respect, and there is nothing to divide us. We are bound close together, not only by the present, but also by the past, in which we have had much in common, as well as by our common future."

22. The PRESIDENT: 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.

23. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to thank you and the other members of the Security Council for having allowed me to speak in this important debate. I welcome the prompt decision of the Council to convene this urgent meeting in order to take an exemplary stand in the face of the successive armed attacks of the racist South African régime against the People's Republic of Angola and in the face of its attitude of unparalleled arrogance towards the United Nations.

24. It is not the first time that the Council has been called to examine acts of aggression by the South African and Rhodesian racist régimes against the People's Republic of Angola and against the other front-line States in southern Africa. These acts have been committed repeatedly for several years now. As was pointed out by the communiqués of the Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola published in documents S/13168 and S/13177, the Pretoria régime, from 8 to 14 March, carried out air raids and armed incursions into several areas of the Cunene and Benguela provinces, some penetrating as far as 17 kilome-

tres from the frontier, causing immeasurable material damage and loss of human life to the people of Angola.

25. These flagrant acts of aggression by the Pretoria régime, just like those committed by the illegal régime of Salisbury against the People's Republic of Angola in February last, constitute grave violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola, gross violations of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the most elementary norms of international law, and also intolerable defiance of international public opinion and the world community.

26. Against those barbarous acts of aggression, the people of Angola, under the leadership of President Agostinho Neto and the Central Committee of the MPLA, the party of the workers, struck back heroically, thus demonstrating their determination to defend, at any price, their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as their achievements in the work of national reconstruction after liberation. The whole world knows that the struggle of the people of Angola is being waged in total solidarity with the struggle for liberation of their brothers, the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

27. It is public knowledge that after the failure of aggression against Angola in 1975 the racist *apartheid* régime of South Africa, supported by certain Western Powers and making use of illegally occupied bases in the Territory of Namibia, committed acts of provocation and aggression one after another, and ever more deliberate, against the Angolan revolution. International imperialist and reactionary circles provided all the necessary resources for the Pretoria and Salisbury racists to help them step up their military attacks against the front-line States and against the national liberation movements in southern Africa in the hope of checking their liberation struggle. Thus, the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity in January last denounced the presence of 13,000 mercenaries in Rhodesia to fight the liberation forces. Mozambique announced that from March 1977 to June 1978 the illegal Ian Smith régime had committed at least 143 acts of aggression against that country, causing serious loss in human life and material damage. Botswana also declared that from 1965, and particularly after 1977, the date on which the front-line States organized themselves, the racists carried out more than 100 armed attacks against the territory of Botswana. The armed forces and air force of the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes have carried out repeated attacks against Zambia; last November, for instance, they killed more than 400 people and wounded more than 700 in a single attack against a Zimbabwe refugee camp. It is obvious that all these acts are dictated by imperialist policy in this region, which aims at destabilizing progressive Governments of independent African countries, impeding the liberation of the territories still remaining under the colonial yoke and maintaining minority racist régimes. The sole objective of that policy is to protect for the present the economic, political and strategic interests of imperialism and to promote the "recolonizing" of Africa as and when conditions permit.

28. The struggle of the peoples of southern Africa is entering its most critical phase and is one of the flash points of the current situation in the world. We are living through an

historic period when the balance of forces has undergone changes more favourable to the struggle for national independence of countries and national liberation movements in southern Africa, as was noted by the special session of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries recently held at Maputo. The Bureau considered that the decisive factor in this change was the resounding military defeat inflicted on Portuguese colonialism by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau after a very long armed national liberation struggle. The final communiqué of Maputo furthermore pointed out:

"The Bureau noted that another major contribution to this change was the victory of the people of Angola over the army of the racist régime of South Africa, when it undertook open aggression against them. The victory of the Angolan people was a heavy blow for the imperialist forces in southern Africa, and it encourages the peoples of the region to intensify the onslaught on the remaining outposts of colonialism and racism.

"The victory of Angola and Mozambique, their achievement of national independence and the establishment in those countries of governments and political systems freely chosen by their peoples has led to greater consolidation of the independence of the States in southern Africa and thus enlarged the secure rearguard for the national liberation movements." [S/13185, annex, paras. 24 and 25.]

29. In spite of their military defeat in the field and their political and diplomatic isolation within the international community, and although they are condemned by the whole of mankind which loves peace and justice, the racist régime of South Africa and the illegal minority régime of Rhodesia have not given up their plans for perpetuating their domination. Armed to the teeth, aided and encouraged by imperialist forces and the forces of international reaction, they continue to practise repression and to terrorize the people inside these countries and to have recourse to economic measures and acts of armed aggression aimed at weakening the front-line States in the hope of forcing them to give up their support for the national liberation movements in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. In this way, these racist and minority régimes, which persist in opposing the emancipation of the peoples of southern Africa, amount to an operational terrorist army of imperialism and international reaction against free Africa, and constitute a real and very serious threat to peace and security in Africa and in the world.

30. However, contrary to the aims of the racists and their protectors, all these perfidious manoeuvres and barbarous armed attacks by the régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury do nothing whatsoever to reduce the economic and military potential or, indeed, the will to unity of the front-line States; they in fact serve to strengthen even further the militant solidarity and active support of these countries for the struggle of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa for genuine independence and freedom. The peoples of southern Africa, waging a decisive struggle against the last bastions of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, will honourably discharge their duty, but they also call upon the

international community for the most energetic and firm action against their tormentors.

31. In his inaugural address to the Maputo meeting, President Samora Machel of Mozambique declared:

"Imperialism will be overcome. It will meet the same doom as the Portuguese colonialists. Shortening or lengthening the death throes of racism, reducing the price to be paid—this all depends on our joint action and our support for the liberation struggle. Conditions are favourable for victory."

32. At the meeting of 19 March, the representative of Angola [2130th meeting] quoted the words of Agostinho Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola, which expressed forcefully the will of the people of Angola to defend their country's freedom and socialism as well as its determination to discharge its internationalist duty.

33. At this time of terrible ordeal, from which the people of Angola will surely emerge victorious, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam reaffirms the fraternal friendship and unswerving militant solidarity of the Vietnamese people with the heroic people of Angola in its holy struggle for the protection of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and also in the discharge of its noble internationalist duty. The Vietnamese people warmly welcome the victories of the Angolan revolution, which we view as victories of our own.

34. Our people warmly welcome and highly esteem the fact that the front-line States—Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Angola—have joined together in a common fighting front actively supporting SWAPO in Namibia, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe in Rhodesia and the African National Congress in South Africa, which are leading the struggle in all its forms, including armed struggle, in these three countries for self-determination and true independence for their peoples.

35. This militant solidarity of the peoples of southern Africa is one of the decisive factors in their victory and also another living reality which has the force of objective law in our time—the unity of oppressed peoples with the revolutionary and progressive forces in their victorious struggle for national emancipation and against old and new colonialism, imperialism, expansionism, racism and *apartheid*.

36. Faithful as always to its policy of principle, that is, independence, national freedom and international solidarity, the Vietnamese people are firmly convinced that the just revolutionary struggle of the fraternal people of the People's Republic of Angola to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity and for the independence of the peoples of southern Africa, as well as the just and heroic struggle of SWAPO in Namibia, the Patriotic Front in Rhodesia and the African National Congress in South Africa, will continue to enjoy support and assistance of all kinds from all revolutionary and progressive forces in free Africa and the whole world and will irresistibly march to final victory.

37. The delegation of Viet Nam whole-heartedly supports the just demand made on 19 March in the Security Council

by our colleague, the representative of the People's Republic of Angola, and associates itself with so many other delegations in urging the Council to take effective and energetic measures against the South African racists. This is one of the essential conditions for finding a just and equitable solution to the difficult problem of Namibia. The Pretoria régime must be firmly condemned not only for having deliberately impaired the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola but also for having shown obstinate arrogance towards the international community and all the relevant decisions and resolutions of the United Nations.

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

39. Mr. RODRIGO (Sri Lanka): Mr. President, I should like at the outset to thank you and, through you, the other members of the Security Council for having given me the opportunity to express the views of the delegation of Sri Lanka, which is currently serving in the capacity of Chairman of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries.

40. It was barely a fortnight ago that the Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka—who regrets his absence at this time from New York—spoke before the Council to condemn the acts of aggression of the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia against the front-line States of southern Africa, including Angola. Once more the Council has been convened to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a front-line State—Angola—which is the latest victim in what appears to be an unremitting chain of acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist régimes of southern Africa.

41. Last year the Security Council adopted resolution 428 (1978), which condemned South Africa's aggression against Angola and demanded that South Africa should scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola. These meetings of the Council, convened to consider acts of aggression against the front-line States by one or the other of the minority régimes in southern Africa, are now acquiring an almost ritualistic regularity that is alarming. Rather than inducing feelings of resigned cynicism leading to a sort of political lethargy, these acts must, by their very regularity, serve to convince the international community in general and the Security Council in particular of the continuously grave threat posed by the racist régimes to the peace and security not only of the peoples and States of southern Africa but also the world in general.

42. These acts of aggression are not merely a series of isolated raids and forays; rather, in sum, they constitute a deliberate and carefully timed and executed strategy to undermine the independence and sovereignty of front-line African States with the broader goal of setting back the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The liberation struggle may certainly be subject to temporary set-backs, but the course which has been set by humanity for the total emancipation of southern Africa is inexorable. The longer this process is delayed the greater the upheaval that is being courted and the more disastrous the

consequences for any who seek to stifle it. At Colombo, the heads of State of non-aligned countries who met at their summit conference noted that the degree of resistance by the oppressed black people against the inhuman and criminal system of *apartheid* and racial discrimination had escalated to the level of a national uprising and that the struggles in Zimbabwe and Namibia, together with the uprising in South Africa, constituted "the final and decisive phase in the liquidation of the tyrannical racist minority régimes".<sup>1</sup>

43. The commitment of the non-aligned countries to support the struggle in southern Africa for its liberation from imperialism, colonialism, racism and *apartheid* goes back to the first non-aligned summit held 18 years ago at Belgrade and has been consistently renewed thereafter at every summit and ministerial meeting. The most recent Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries was held, significantly, in a front-line State: Mozambique. At that meeting, Foreign Ministers strongly condemned all acts of armed aggression, expansion and destabilization against Tanzania, Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique. The final communiqué of that meeting stated:

"... These actions constitute an attempt by the enemy to divert the support given by the front-line States to the liberation struggle.

"...

"... [The Bureau] called for further and substantially increased support and assistance to the front-line States to preserve and strengthen their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and alleviate the suffering of their people and the vast damage caused to their economies as a result of the wanton aggressions and destruction perpetrated against them by the racist minority régimes." [S/13185, annex, paras. 71 and 78.]

44. Earlier this week, the representative of Angola spoke of the heavy toll his country had had to bear in human and material terms. The representative of Zambia also described the recent acts of death and destruction visited upon his country by the racist régimes. I do not intend to catalogue the crimes committed against these and other front-line States. That is being done more authoritatively by the States concerned. I only wish to say that if those independent States do not obtain the support and protection of the international community through the Security Council, which bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, then the very principles on which the United Nations is founded would be negated.

45. The frequent exhortations to the front-line States for moderation and peaceful solutions are absolutely meaningless and empty unless the Security Council takes the necessary steps to prevent the recurrence of acts of aggression against these States. In fact, the front-line States and SWAPO have shown great patience and forbearance and have co-operated fully with the United Nations, particularly with regard to independence for Namibia. They have made sacrifices. They have given peaceful negotiations more than

a fair chance. It is the other side that has gone back on assurances made to the United Nations. If plans carefully negotiated by all parties and supported by the international community eventually come to naught, the responsibility shall not lie with the front-line States or with SWAPO.

46. The implementation by the front-line States of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council against the racist régimes had constituted a heavy burden on their nascent economies, including the sheltering of the thousands of refugees, victims of racist régimes, now living on their territories. The Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries held at Mozambique called on all States to intensify all forms of assistance to the front-line States of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia—a call which should not go unheeded by the Council.

47. It is reassuring, Mr. President that you, the representative of non-aligned Nigeria, with your personal commitment to the anti-*apartheid* struggle and your country's dedication to the total emancipation of southern Africa, are at this time guiding the deliberations of the Council on the issue under consideration. The non-aligned countries sincerely wish you and the members of the Council success in your endeavours to deal effectively with the issue, and assure Angola and other front-line States and the liberation struggle in southern Africa of continuing support and solidarity.

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

49. Mr. SEKYE (Ghana): Mr. President, about a fortnight ago I had the pleasure of congratulating you on your assumption of the Chair and of conveying to you the confidence of my delegation in your chairmanship. We believe that the performance has already fulfilled the promise and so we are particularly happy again, and of course thankful, that we have been granted the opportunity to address the Council on Pretoria's aggression against Angola while the Council is still under your presidency.

50. In documents S/13168 and S/13177, the Angolan delegation has adequately stated the reasons why it has asked for the convening of this meeting. Angola, in short, is complaining that between 8 and 13 of this month, its territory, its people and its property were subjected to a series of wanton and unprovoked attacks and its air space violated by the air force of the Pretoria racists. Considering the frequency of the attacks, the scale of the operations, the reported penetration by land forces as much as 17 kilometres into Angolan territory and the uninhibited use of napalm, there can be no doubt at all that Pretoria has taken a deliberate decision to embark on yet another spree of its familiar adventurism, this time at the expense of Angola, in defiance of the specific warning delivered by the Security Council last May.

51. Later we shall look at the motives. Now I wish to express the unflinching solidarity of my Government with that of Angola in its courageous stand against this new

<sup>1</sup> A/31/197, annex I, para. 41.



outburst of racist aggression, which calls indeed for the most unreserved condemnation by the Council—and we hope the Council will pronounce it in clear, unmistakable terms.

52. We can hardly believe our eyes when we read of the cool, cynical effrontery of Botha in demanding that the Security Council should condemn SWAPO. What the Council should do, in our view, is to commend the People's Republic of Angola, as it did last May, for its continued support of the people of Namibia in their just and legitimate struggle.

53. But the complaint before the Council is not merely Angola's or Africa's. It should be the complaint of the whole civilized world concerning the contempt for international law and, for the purposes and the principles of the Charter, repeatedly demonstrated by a State whose membership in the Organization is still tolerated for reasons which have long ceased to be tenable. South Africa is an inveterate and notorious offender. It has often enough been arraigned before the Council for the same conduct and has always got away with the same warning repeated *ad nauseam*—and nothing more than that. The absence of more effective measures against its peculiarly obnoxious adventurism is, perhaps, the reason why the racist régime has shown so little compunction whenever it felt like flexing its muscles at the expense of neighbouring African States.

54. Indeed, it is largely due to failure or reluctance to apply more effective measures that the United Nations has been forced to live with the continuing presence of the Pretoria régime in Namibia, that Territory theoretically under United Nations authority from which the armed intruder dares to launch its continual attacks against Angola and other neighbouring countries and to make its continual affronts to the Organization. It is due to the same failure and the same reluctance that the world community is now reduced to negotiating with the Pretoria régime—as if it had any right to be in Namibia—to accepting its continued military presence, its illegal administration and its armed police during what should be an act of self-determination within the boundaries of a United Nations trust.

55. Today, the marionettes of Turnhalle II, the products of an action by an illegal régime which the Council itself has declared null and void, stalk through the corridors of the United Nations as if there were a proper basis for their involvement in talks on the United Nations settlement proposal. The situation is hard to tolerate.

56. But it is the view of the Ghana delegation that the Council is now bound by its own decision under resolution 428 (1978) to meet again in the event of further violations of Angolan sovereignty and territorial integrity in order to consider the adoption of more effective measures under the Charter, including measures under Chapter VII. And when I say "more effective measures" I am quoting the language of the resolution. Well, those further violations have now taken place, not once but repeatedly, and the Council cannot, in our view, escape the obligation to give serious consideration to measures under Chapter VII.

57. The objection is sure to be raised that talks are again in progress and that pressure by any of the Western five—the mediators—would prejudice their chances of success. We have always found the argument somewhat peculiar that negotiators are more likely to succeed if they bargain from a position of weakness and we are frankly out of patience with the repeated suggestion that we must wait for South Africa to make it clear that it will not co-operate with the United Nations plan and with resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) before we can expect the Security Council to act. South Africa is by now notorious for its time-buying feints. It has decided again to make a feint at negotiation rather than thumb its nose too openly. It may well have decided that the categorical "no" which has now been made the prerequisite for Council action will never be forthcoming. It has obviously decided to prolong and protract the process of negotiation by a strategy of simple obstructionism—until the posture of affairs looks more propitious to its real scheme, until more favourable Governments appear in the West, until its own feeble Turnhalle marionettes appear politically stronger and until the political support of SWAPO is that much further eroded.

58. Talks have always been allowed to avert sanctions. The question arises whether talks should now be allowed to avert them again and so enable what is obviously the second phase of the old Turnhalle scheme to be accomplished. If that happens the Security Council will have played into racist hands yet again—but this time with consequences probably fatal to any effective action by the United Nations in the discharge of its responsibilities towards the people of Namibia.

59. We have already said, and we still maintain, that the second Turnhalle scheme is infinitely more dangerous than the first. It poses a far more serious threat to international peace and security. Our fear as early as last December was that once its marionettes were placed in position nothing would prevent them, if Pretoria were to make the right manipulation, the right flick of its little finger, from provoking hostilities across the border, from sabotaging thus every possibility of the cease-fire prerequisite to the United Nations plan, and thus sabotaging the plan itself. Already Pretoria's plans for an attack across the Angolan border were being reported widely enough.

60. We believe today that Pretoria meant to create the pretext it wanted for not withdrawing its troops from Namibia. A sham election and/or a unilateral declaration of independence, both under the protection of *apartheid* guns, would be but one step beyond that. And the United Nations would be faced in Namibia with a situation which would be even more than the exact replica of the Rhodesian one. The events of today merely confirm our fears.

61. As we have already pointed out, Namibia already exhibits and has long exhibited on a larger scale, on a more alarming scale, all those features which made Rhodesia an acknowledged threat to the peace as far back as 1966: there are internal oppression, external aggression, an armed rebellion against legal authority and an illegal military occupation tantamount to an act of alien aggression against the people of Namibia. Following the December "elections" it

already has what amounts to an internal settlement. The attacks across the Angolan border have now started on the initiative of the Pretoria régime itself. A unilateral declaration of independence is already threatened if the United Nations plan falls through. Inability to establish a cease-fire will mean the end of that plan, and a cease-fire will not occur if the South African attacks persist across the Angolan border, provoking, as they are naturally bound to do, reprisals from SWAPO.

62. What will occur instead is a unilateral declaration of independence, and a unilateral declaration of independence behind the barrier of Pretoria's weaponry. It is for the Council to decide whether effective measures will be taken before or after that catastrophe. While the United Nations hesitates, that central scheme is being accomplished, along with its byproducts, since it almost certainly has a multiple rather than a simple aim. For if the attacks continued and succeeded in their objective, SWAPO would then have been either militarily damaged prior to a unilateral declaration of independence or politically damaged prior to an election under the United Nations plan through the decimation of political exiles in refugee camps.

63. We prefer action now to forestall clearly foreseeable dangers. The time is long overdue when the Security Council should recognize and determine, first of all, that the situation in Namibia constitutes a threat to international peace and security. It follows therefrom that it is now time to arrest the stockpiling by South Africa of crude oil reserves to the point where they would last until oil-from-coal takes over, by the grace of the West. It is time to intercept the supply from the West, and the West only, of refined aviation fuel to the lethal arm of the régime—for aviation fuel is not refined in South Africa. It is time to

revoke all licences for the manufacture of any more napalm-carrying Mirages, a measure specifically enjoined by the Security Council non-mandatory embargo of 1963 but not, strangely enough, by the mandatory one of 1977. And it is time, above all, to halt the flow of Western investments—for they are the only ones—into the industrial-military complex of the *apartheid* régime.

64. Measures of this kind are bound to undermine the position of strength from which alone the *apartheid* régime has been able for so long to outrage its neighbours and to defy, out-manceuvre and outwit the United Nations itself at every turn. These are the measures needed to defeat the temporizing manœuvres by which the *apartheid* régime aims at placing itself pretty soon beyond the need to temporize any more. And if we are to overtake and forestall the *apartheid* régime in its race to that point of immunity, we must ourselves race forward and, above all, definitely stop selling that régime the time it wants to buy. My Government urges that the Security Council now should not merely consider but proceed in a meaningful manner with at least some effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, as envisaged last year in its own resolution 428 (1978). This should in our view—and we call for it—go along with the clear condemnation of the *apartheid* régime's latest outrages against the territorial integrity of Angola and with a commendation of the gallant people and Government of Angola for their undeterred support of the people of Namibia, spearheaded by SWAPO, in their just and legitimate struggle for freedom.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*



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