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2296th MEETING: 28 AUGUST 1981

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2296th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 28 August 1981, at 6 p.m.

President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, German Democratic Republic, Ireland, Japan, Mexico, Niger, Panama, Philippines, Spain, Tunisia, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2296)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint by Angola against South Africa:
Letter dated 26 August 1981 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/14647)

The meeting was called to order at 6.00 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Angola against South Africa:
Letter dated 26 August 1981 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/14647)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform members of the Security Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola, Brazil, Cuba, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe in which they ask to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Bueno (Brazil), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Ha Van Lau (Viet Nam) and Mr. Mashingaidze (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Council is meeting today in response to the

request contained in a letter dated 26 August 1981 addressed to the Secretary-General by the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Angola to the United Nations [S/14647].

3. I should also like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents which are related to this question: S/14643, letter dated 25 August addressed to the Secretary-General from the representative of Angola; S/14646, letter dated 26 August addressed to the Secretary-General from the representative of Angola; S/14650, letter dated 27 August addressed to the President of the Council from the representative of Spain; S/14652, letter dated 27 August addressed to the Secretary-General from the representative of South Africa; and S/14654, letter dated 27 August addressed to the President of the Council from the representative of Angola.

4. The first speaker is the representative of Angola, on whom I now call.

5. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): Sir, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Angola, please accept our best wishes on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are gratified to see an erstwhile colleague, now the Minister for Foreign Affairs of an esteemed country, presiding over a matter of such vital concern to us. On behalf of my Government, I should also like to extend our deepest sympathy for the tragic loss to your country in the death of General Torrijos. And, finally, I should like to convey through you, Sir, my Government's greetings to the new leadership of the country of Panama.

6. May I also take this opportunity to express my Government's appreciation to the Secretary-General for having cut short his hard-earned vacation to rush back to New York. We acknowledge his constant concern over issues which affect us so deeply.

7. On certain occasions I have mourned my lack of eloquence; I have grieved over the inadequacy of language; I have regretted the impotence of words. Never have I felt this combined lack more acutely than when I have tried to plead my country's case in this chamber. As on those previous occasions, I come here in anger and in sorrow. I speak with disgust of the disgusting; I speak with grief of the painful; and I speak with courage of the just and the inevitable. I wish I had the facility of a Cicero or a Homer. I wish

I could recreate the actuality of war and suffering, of loss and death. But I have neither the powers of the wizard nor the gift of the poet. I do, though, have the passion of the wronged. And with it I shall try to convey to this gathering what is happening to my country and to my people today.

8. There is a stench in southern Africa. It comes from the rotting corpse of colonialism. There are savage cries in the air—those of a still triumphant racism. There are heart-rending screams, those of the victims of colonialism and of racism. There is blood again on the sacred soil of Africa, from a massacre not too far from genocide. The world can congratulate itself: here is yet another war to feed the greedy appetites of those for whom war is an extension of their domestic and foreign policies—the imperialists, the neo-colonialists and the racists. There are the cries of victory today. But in the distance we already hear their death knell.

9. However, that is in the future—the near future I hope. But today the skies over Angola are rent with the screams of the dying; the ground is littered with the corpses of the dead. And let me move from metaphor to hard fact: three days ago, the racist *apartheid* régime in Pretoria sent its murderous armed forces into the southern part of Angola, 100 to 115 miles deep, in the form of an armed invasion of massive proportions. The racists are accompanied by 135 tanks, 140 armoured vehicles, 38 helicopters and 3 artillery units. The aircraft being used for reconnaissance, bombing and strafing are of the following types: Mirage, Impala MKA, Buccaneer, Alouette and Puma. They are also deploying anti-radar missiles of 20-kilometre range.

10. The South African invaders, who are still in military occupation of parts of southern Angola, include gangs of mercenaries, those "dogs of war" who have been involved in the rape of Africa. The racists have occupied a number of towns and totally or partially destroyed others. The provinces of Cunene, Huila and Moçamedes are being bombed from the air. The towns of Mongua and Tchimbembe have been bombed. Parts of Ngiva, the capital of our Cunene province, and the town of Cahama have been destroyed, and Xangongo has been totally devastated. This invasion in particular is being accompanied and accomplished by means of terrible brutalities. In many areas women have been raped in front of their husbands. When the racist troops face resistance, the people are shot or buried alive. Young girls scarcely over 12 years of age have been brutalized and raped. In the town of Xindu, a large group of mourners returning from a burial were all strafed to death. The poor people living in the border areas have been robbed of their livestock and domestic animals and are being forcibly pressed into service for the South African racists.

11. To quote the nineteenth-century dispatch from Charles Adams to Earl Russell: "It would be super-

fluous in me to point out to your Lordship that this is war." Yes, this is war, and war is politics with a loud noise and many deaths, and the politics of the *apartheid* régime is racism at home and racism abroad.

12. Peace is indivisible. Each war is the creation of a preceding war and the generator of new, present and future, wars. South Africa's racist régime has been at war with the People's Republic of Angola since 1975. But we have not won the war against colonialism and imperialism only to lose it to the racist bullies. Even if every Angolan has to die in the defence of his country to maintain Angola's freedom and integrity, then that is the price every Angolan man, woman and child will gladly pay.

13. Comrade President José Eduardo dos Santos, the President of the Workers' Party of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA-PT) and President of the People's Republic of Angola, has been ably leading the revolution and the country since his assumption of the presidency in September 1979. Guided by our Comrade President and the Central Committee of the MPLA-PT, the Angolan nation stands as one before any enemy. Our task may be infinite, but so is our duty and our faith in ourselves. The Angolans are hardened workers and warriors and tried revolutionaries. Even our pioneers, boys and girls in their pre-teen years, are mobilized against those who threaten the stability and security of Angola.

14. The *apartheid* minority régime of Pretoria is not content with enslaving the majority of its inhabitants in their own country and denying them their human, civil, political and economic rights. It is not content with illegally occupying another country in defiance of international law and countless United Nations resolutions. To maintain its hegemony in the region and its position as a bastion of minority rule and privilege it has, since 1975, carried its racist and imperialist wars across its borders into the territory of neighbouring sovereign States. The sovereign State that has borne the brunt of those attacks in terms of intensity, violence, brutality and frequency has been the People's Republic of Angola.

15. South Africa has been aided politically, economically, militarily and diplomatically by its allies, the Western patrons of imperialism and neo-colonialism. This year we have seen a resurgence of such support for the racist régime. South Africa's language when it speaks to Africa and the third world has by now become so familiar that we are able to decipher the reasons for this present and continuing act of aggression: South Africa wants to send another hostile message to the international community in general and to the friends of liberation and the enemies of racism and neo-colonialism in particular—that Pretoria has never been so strong, that it has regained its former level of support and patronage and that the rest of the world can go hang.

16. Also as part of its strategy to remain the dominant Power in the area and to show its eminent suitability as the South Atlantic counterpart and partner of the North Atlantic alliance, Pretoria is doing everything it can to destabilize the progressive independent States of the region, those that oppose all that South Africa stands for. In the same context, South Africa has for the past six years artificially propped up puppets, often hiding its own acts of military aggression under the pretence that these are the puppets' activities. In fact, without South African money, arms, vehicles and even South African command, those puppets could never physically exist in the area.

17. Past crimes against Africa and the Africans are appearing again in the form of present follies. Those who support the racist régime and its puppets should know that the Angolan people are on guard not only against enemies from without, but also against enemies and subversion from within. They should remember that what is morally wrong cannot be politically right.

18. I wish to offend no one, but I must point out that the countless times I have spoken here on the subject of South Africa's attacks on Angola and its massacres of Angolans point to obstacles set up by certain Powers which make the Council's action ineffective and indecisive. For me, this also points to the importance of the United Nations and the Security Council because, as things stand, they are the only recourse we have and the one to which we all turn again and again.

19. I have spoken at length, but in my heart and in my mind I know that I cannot possibly have succeeded in conveying to the international community the full extent of the devastation and brutality being inflicted on the courageous people of Angola. I only wish there were some way of transporting the Council to the battlefield or of bringing the battlefield to this chamber. Words are no substitute for the actuality of war, with its plunder, rape and murder.

20. We are a proud people and justly so, but we are not ashamed to ask for help, especially from an organization of which we are an equal Member and which was set up to safeguard international peace, security and co-operation. What is happening in southern Africa today is so serious and its escalation is so imminent that international peace and security are in danger. If the situation is not brought under immediate control it could easily provoke a widespread conflagration, and the mistakes of South Africa and its friends could indeed turn into a catastrophe for others.

21. South Africa's acts of murder, kidnapping, bombing, strafing, massacring of civilians and wanton destruction of life and property are nothing short of State terrorism. By any criteria whatsoever, the racist régime stands indicted for terrorism. Its policies,

attitudes, activities, even its justification, all point to South Africa's leadership in regional and international terrorism. With a mounting campaign against terrorism, we have yet to hear the racist régime being condemned. It is not even admonished for terrorist activities that others would hang for.

22. My Government and people demand redress. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the racist troops from the territory of Angola. We also request valid assistance to enable us to strengthen our defence capability in the face of South Africa's military and nuclear might. In fact, all of Africa needs to be protected from South Africa's terrorism and, if the friends of racism and imperialism cannot bring Pretoria into line, then the enemies of racism and imperialism must book the criminal under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

23. I should like to quote Hannah Arendt, who wrote so brilliantly on evil and the banality of evil:

"In a constellation that poses the threat of total annihilation through war against the hope for the emancipation of all mankind through revolution . . . no cause is left but the most ancient of all, the one, in fact, that from the beginning of our history has determined the very existence of politics, the cause of freedom versus tyranny."

Let me not take back to my people another paper resolution. Let me take back to them a cause for hope and action to end the tyranny by which Pretoria seeks to subjugate southern Africa. In war there is no second prize for the runner-up. That is why, in this unequal war, we must fight for our liberty and our sovereignty. And we shall not perish, because each generation must discover its mission and either fulfil it or betray it. We Angolans know our mission and we shall be true to it. As our late beloved leader, Agostinho Neto, wrote a long time ago:

"Our dreams crumble
Against a wall of bayonets
A new wave rises from the struggle
And still another and another."

24. The People's Republic of Angola has once more brought its cause and its case to the Security Council. We are asking for long-lasting solutions to the problems that plague southern Africa. But these solutions must be based on justice and the precepts of international law. Temporary measures and compromises will only make matters worse, for those who can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither their liberty nor safety. The Angolan nation has proved its right to both.

25. Until final victory, *a luta continua*.

26. Mr. WHYTE (United Kingdom): My delegation has opted to speak early on the disturbing events

which have been brought to the Security Council's attention by the Government of Angola. We do this because the need for action by this Council is urgent. We have listened with the greatest care to the moving and graphic statement by Mr. de Figueiredo.

27. While we do not have access to precise details of the fighting, it is evident that military activities had escalated in the earlier part of this week and that there has been a substantial South African incursion into Angola. My Government has repeatedly condemned violence in the region, from whichever quarter it has come. My Government spoke to the South African Ambassador in London as far back as 7 August 1981 and expressed our concern at the escalation of military activities in the area. The Ambassador was summoned to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office again two days ago, and in a public statement following that call my Government declared:

"We wholly deplore the latest South African action, the consequences of which could be highly dangerous for the stability of southern Africa. We trust that the current action will be terminated and South African troops withdrawn immediately from Angola."

28. Statements by the South African authorities seek to justify that incursion, apparently on the grounds of pre-empting potential aggressors. Speaking in another debate in the Council last month, on 21 July, the representative of the United Kingdom said the following:

"Surely no one can claim that the policy of 'pre-emptive strikes', with its horrible trail of human destruction, can conceivably advance the cause of peace . . . All that it can . . . do is to lead to 'retaliatory acts', which mean more death and more destruction. That is 'the so-called cycle of violence; it can be broken only if restraint is exercised on all sides and if the temptation to retaliate is resisted. Otherwise, the sole result will be a prolongation of human suffering and the evaporation of hopes of a just peace and the achievement of legitimate rights for all peoples in the area.'" [2293rd meeting, para. 50.]

Those statements in fact referred to the situation in Lebanon, but they apply with similar and tragic force to the present situation in the Namibia-Angola border region.

29. My Government remains fully committed to achieving independence for Namibia on an internationally acceptable basis as set out in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We are continuing to work with our partners in the contact group to bring this about. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the five met together in Ottawa last month and will do so again in the margins of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly here next month. But meanwhile military action such as that now being carried out by South

Africa will not put an end to conflict in that area. It will not promote a just and lasting settlement permitting the people of Namibia to determine their own future through free and fair elections. On the contrary, it has already led to a further escalation of the conflict, with potentially disastrous consequences in danger of extending throughout southern Africa.

30. In the view of my Government, the Council should, in these grave circumstances, strive to agree urgently on an appeal in simple and direct terms to the South African Government to terminate its military action in Angola and to withdraw its troops immediately. The time for action by the Council is now.

31. Mr. de PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation has listened with special attention to the statement made by the representative of Angola and we have taken due note of it.

32. We had already heard reports of the events that had occurred in his tormented country and that is why my Government, deeply concerned at the latest act of aggression by South Africa against Angola, yesterday issued the following public statement:

"The Spanish Government, on learning of the latest incursions which the South African army has made into the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, expresses its repudiation and condemnation of this aggression against a sovereign country, together with its deep concern over the disturbing consequences for peace and stability in southern Africa.

"The Spanish Government hopes that there will be an immediate end to such acts of force, which constitute a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and a threat to world peace and security." [S/14650.]

33. On other occasions before the Council, my delegation has rejected the intensification of the South African military presence in an area which it occupies illegally and its continued acts of aggression against the neighbouring African countries.

34. In my Government's view, that flagrant act of aggression must be condemned immediately because of the danger it represents for the peace and stability of the entire area, and the Council must, in exercise of the attributes conferred on it under the Charter, call on the South African forces immediately to withdraw from the territory of a sovereign country which they have penetrated in violation of all the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. In itself that is reprehensible, but the fact that it is not the first time that this has happened but only the latest in a long list of acts of aggression makes it even more reprehensible.

35. On various occasions and specifically at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, our Minister for Foreign Affairs has warned that:

"The continued occupation by South Africa of the Territory of Namibia, contrary to the resolutions of the United Nations, is a persistent element of conflict in the entire region".

This latest violation simply reaffirms the truth of those words and the tragic consequences of such a violation. Nobody can convince us in the present circumstances that, as has been alleged by the South African Government on other occasions, it is a preventive action or legitimate defence of its territory. In the first place, we have to bear in mind that that reprehensible action did not even start from the territory of South Africa itself and it would be difficult for that Government to justify the presence of such large contingents in a place so far removed from its country, a place, furthermore, that is legally subject to United Nations authority. I am, of course, referring to Namibia.

36. The Charter of the United Nations contains the clear principle of the non-use or threat of force and perhaps less in this case than in any other can one justify an action that once again endangers peace and stability throughout southern Africa.

37. My Government would be pleased to see either a resolution or, because of the urgency of the case and given the circumstances, a statement by the President of the Council condemning the growing armed activities in the territory of Angola and the consequent loss of life and material damage, that we deplore, and expressing grave concern at the continued hostilities, which seriously jeopardize international peace and security. At the same time we should require the Government of South Africa to put an end to the armed activities in Angolan territory to which I have referred and urge it forthwith and unconditionally to withdraw all its forces from the territory of Angola and strictly to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

38. That will, of course, not prevent the Security Council from continuing to work on the matter and studying it in order to draft a resolution of wider scope.

39. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): At the outset, Mr. President, please allow me once again to say that it is an honour to address the Security Council under your presidency.

40. The Council has once again been compelled to take up the question of aggression by South Africa against independent Angola. We have been and are again witnesses to the constant expansion of acts of aggression by the *apartheid* régime. The representative of the People's Republic of Angola has very

graphically drawn a picture of the extent of the new aggression of Pretoria against his country and its territorial integrity, and he has thereby completely unmasked the goals being pursued by the racists of southern Africa. We understand the seriousness of the situation and we fully support the legitimate demands made by Angola.

41. As early as 30 July 1981, the representative of Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council a letter [S/14623] in which he dealt with a number of serious, large-scale acts of military aggression committed by the racist minority régime of South Africa against the sovereignty, stability and territorial integrity of Angola. As early as then, the racist troops of South Africa had penetrated deep into Angolan territory and had occupied a number of populated areas. As a result, incalculable damage was done to the regions occupied. In that same letter, the representative of Angola indicated that near the Angolan border, in illegally occupied Namibian territory, South Africa had stationed troops numbering 40,000 men. That letter drew attention to the fact that for a number of years the Government of Angola had been reporting unceasing acts of military aggression, armed incursions, raids, plunder, the slaughter of people, the destruction of property and other flagrant violations of the norms and principles of international law by the racist Pretoria régime against the People's Republic of Angola since the very first hours of Angolan independence.

42. Savage mass murders have been perpetrated against the civilian population. In that connexion, the Council has repeatedly adopted resolutions condemning acts of aggression carried out by South Africa. The representatives of many States, including the German Democratic Republic, have repeatedly called upon the Council to adopt serious measures against South Africa to compel Pretoria to abandon its policy of force, to abandon its acts of aggression against sovereign States and to guarantee the peaceful development of southern Africa. Even so, nothing has been undertaken, because those who feel linked with South Africa prevented the Council from carrying out the duties entrusted to it under the Charter.

43. Now the Council has before it the letter dated 25 August 1981 from the President of Angola addressed to the Secretary-General [see S/14643] which speaks of a grave situation, which could develop into war with unpredictable consequences. That assessment is justified because this time large divisions of the South African army with dozens of tanks and supported by aircraft have made a new incursion into the territory of the People's Republic of Angola. South African armed forces stationed in the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia have been strengthened still further, and the depth of the invasion into Angolan territory, together with the air attacks, demonstrates South Africa's intent to occupy large portions of the southern area of the People's Republic of Angola.

44. Naturally, the Government of Angola has taken the necessary measures to protect itself from the aggressor and to drive it out. The right of the People's Republic of Angola to defend itself cannot be challenged. In that connexion, I should like to recall resolution 387 (1976) which reaffirmed "the inherent and lawful right of every State, in the exercise of its sovereignty, to request assistance from any other State or group of States". I should also like to mention Article 51 of the Charter.

45. At the present time, the Council must shoulder its responsibility. The Security Council must come out decisively against the aggression emanating from South Africa and take up the defence of peace and security in southern Africa as well. The Council must assist Angola, which has been the victim of aggression.

46. Through eloquent statements, many States have already condemned this new act of aggression by South Africa. The German Democratic Republic also strongly denounces this attack against the People's Republic of Angola as a base crime of the racist régime against a sovereign African State whose people are labouring to put into practice their own concepts of a new society.

47. There is therefore no doubt as to the fact that the attack of armed forces of South Africa against Angola constitutes aggression, violating peace and security. The aggressor itself does not dispute the fact that its troops are stationed on Angolan territory. Yet, I must with some perplexity note that some Western officials are fearfully trying, as it were, to avoid calling things by their true names. A question comes to mind: Are they not continuing to view South Africa as their protégé, one that they do not wish to offend?

48. As will be gathered from the text of an official statement read by Mr. Dean Fischer, spokesman of the State Department, which was published in an article of *The New York Times* of 27 August and which used the pretext that the over-all situation in that area must be taken into account, the South African aggression is in fact being justified; in other words, that aggression is being encouraged. Probably the conclusion is correct that there is a convergence of views based on the idea that aggression against an independent African country that does not bend to the will of imperialism as the latter pursues its gunboat policy is desirable.

49. Clearly, South Africa must bear the main responsibility for its actions which jeopardize peace and for their consequences. Even resorting to the most refined contortions, it is impossible to see here any threat by Angola against South Africa. The truth is well known. Beginning with the emergence of an independent Angola, the leaders of South Africa, pursuing a policy of destabilizing neighbouring countries, have tried to stand in the way of independent, progressive develop-

ment. They constantly place themselves at the service of world imperialism, acting as a sort of advance guard in the fight against progress in southern Africa. I must say that some imperialist politicians seem to prefer to play the "South African card".

50. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic shares the view expressed in the United Nations by many representatives that South Africa would not have been in a position to pursue this policy of threatening the peace and security of other States were it not for the diversified co-operation, assistance and support given it by the ruling circles in the West. The economic ties of some Western States with South Africa are becoming closer than ever, while their common political game becomes ever clearer. The facts thereof are a matter of public knowledge. The time has come for those circles also, those responsible for premeditated or inadvertent support for the aggressive plans of the South African racists, to begin realizing the danger of such a policy.

51. Furthermore, I should like to emphasize that that policy has no future whatsoever any more than has the policy of whipping up international tension—a policy pursued primarily by imperialist circles in the United States. The United States encourages forces of aggression, such as those of Pretoria, to undertake fresh adventures, but it is unable to resolve any problem. It only digs deeper the abyss of a murderous war.

52. We prefer peace and that is why today, once again, we must categorically speak out against the danger threatening southern Africa. One cannot turn a blind eye to the real state of affairs. The People's Republic of Angola is not alone. It has friends which help it. Africa is not the only one standing behind it. The German Democratic Republic affirms its total solidarity with the long-suffering people of Angola, a people to whom we are bound closely by a treaty of friendship and co-operation. The escalation of acts of aggression by the racist régime of South Africa once again demonstrates how necessary it is to ensure the protection of the borders of neighbouring States from attacks of this kind. I am stating this today as well, since, as is common knowledge, ruling circles in the United States have been making demands of the People's Republic of Angola that are aimed at disarming that State and handing it over to a South Africa that is armed to the teeth.

53. Security Council resolution 428 (1978) states as follows:

"The Security Council,

" . . .

"Strongly condemns the latest armed invasion perpetrated by the South African racist régime against the People's Republic of Angola, which constitutes a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola;

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

54. Two years later, the Security Council in an identical paragraph in resolution 475 (1980) once again considered the adoption of effective measures in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, in the event of further acts of aggression by South Africa.

55. This time it is our firm conviction that the Security Council must take measures. Chapter VII of the Charter tells us what must be done. Apart from a firm condemnation of South Africa with regard to these new acts of aggression against the sovereignty, stability and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, which constitute a serious violation of international peace and security, the Security Council must, in the proper form, demand that South Africa cease its aggression forthwith and withdraw its troops from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola. South Africa must undertake to provide compensation for the damage caused the Angolan people and State.

56. We have on the agenda the item of sanctions against South Africa. All States Members of the United Nations must be appealed to to provide the People's Republic of Angola with all necessary assistance in order to bring South African acts of aggression to an immediate end.

57. The PRESIDENT (*Interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Zimbabwe, who wishes to make a statement as Chairman of the Group of African States at the United Nations for the month of August. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

58. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): The delegation of Zimbabwe, in its capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States at the United Nations for the month of August, has asked to be allowed to speak at this meeting of the Security Council to express on behalf of Africa our concern at the developments taking place in southern Africa.

59. This emergency meeting of the Council has been occasioned by the serious and very grave situation created by the unprovoked invasion and occupation of the People's Republic of Angola by the murderous forces of the *apartheid* régime of racist South Africa. It is important to note that, just as this meeting is taking place here, the invading forces of the racist régime are deep inside Angolan territory murdering the innocent civilian population of that peace-loving

country, destroying and plundering the property of the people of Angola.

60. The Angolan Government is taking all the necessary measures and will continue to do so to defend its territory and its population against this unprovoked aggression and international terrorism. We in the African Group view the current invasion of a sovereign State in the gravest light. We condemn and reject outright the lies and misrepresentations advanced by that régime to justify its blatant and naked violation of international law and of provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

61. We further wish to make it abundantly clear that the current aggression by the *apartheid* régime against the People's Republic of Angola cannot be viewed within any other context, as is being suggested by some spokesmen of the Government in Washington, than that of a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola.

62. Accordingly, we call upon the Council, the custodian of international peace and security, to take appropriate steps and measures with the moral courage, sense of urgency and responsibility expected of it by those victims of aggression, the people of Angola, by the people of Africa in their revulsion and by the shocked international community, to ensure the withdrawal of the invading forces of the *apartheid* régime from Angolan territory, without conditions and forthwith. We further call upon the Council to treat this matter with the urgency demanded by the gravity of the situation.

63. Finally, we of the Group of African States at the United Nations should like to state clearly that we stand solidly behind the Government and people of Angola in this their hour of crisis, of suffering and need. We wish to convey through you, Mr. President, and through the representative of Angola the sincere condolences of the Group to the Government and people of Angola for this senseless loss of human life and property. We should like to join with our brothers from Angola in singing the song: *a l. . . continua.*

64. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*Interpretation from Russian*): This is not the first time that the Security Council has had to convene to consider acts of aggression by the racist régime of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. But now the Council is facing a qualitatively new stage in that aggression—South Africa has determined to throw off its mask and proceed to large-scale acts of aggression.

65. This new stage in the aggression perpetrated by the South African racists has clearly come to maturity in recent times. A clear prologue to it could be seen in South Africa's provocative refusal to accept a settlement of the problem of Namibia. That was followed by intensive preparation by South Africa for utilizing

the Territory of Namibia for yet further attacks against independent African countries, and the purpose of those attacks was extremely sinister. It was an attempt, through the use of brute force, to turn back the process of decolonization in southern Africa as a whole and, where possible, purely and simply to recolonize the entire area. The most recent touch added to this picture was the mobilization by South Africa of the necessary financial funds. On 12 August 1981, a decision was taken on a sharp increase in South Africa's military budget—by 40 per cent all at once. Thus the present armed aggression unleashed by the South African racists against Angola and carried out by them on an especially large scale and with unprecedented insolence is all part of a broader plan. Today the spearhead of South Africa's aggression is directed against the People's Republic of Angola. Tomorrow its target might once again become Zambia, Mozambique, Lesotho or other independent African States.

66. Now wherein lies the special danger of the acts of aggression undertaken recently by the South African racists against Angola?

67. First, it is in the unprecedented depth of the invasion perpetrated by the racists into Angolan territory. Armoured columns from South Africa, as is common knowledge, have penetrated Angolan territory to a depth of between 100 and 150 kilometres, while the South African air force has strafed and bombed targets situated 200 and even 300 kilometres from Angola's national frontier.

68. Secondly, the South African racists are trying at the same time to effect a virtual occupation of part of the territory of a sovereign African State, the State of Angola. For that purpose more than 45,000 South African soldiers have been stationed on the border between Angola and Namibia. Thus, generally speaking, this is an attempt by South Africa to carry out in southern Angola the same policy as the one pursued by Israel in southern Lebanon. Racism and Zionism are once again showing their similarity.

69. The true purposes of Pretoria's action, whatever hypocritical or fallacious pretext is resorted to, are crystal clear. Those actions are directed towards undermining the revolutionary achievements of the Angolan people. They are directed towards destabilizing the progressive régime set up in that country. They are directed at turning back the course of history in southern Africa.

70. It is an open secret why the leaders in Pretoria dared to launch such an outright military adventure. The answer lies in the fact that they were relying on support for their aggressive plans from imperialist and racist forces.

71. We have more than sufficient evidence of a responsive attitude in certain circles in the West. Here

is how the corner-stones have been laid with respect to this direct and provocative policy and with respect to free Africa. About a year ago, the Hoover Institute of Stanford University, located in the United States, prepared a study entitled "The United States in the 1980s". That study was conceived as a summation of proposals for a new policy of the United States with respect to southern Africa. Those proposals, *inter alia*, frankly stated the following:

"The friendship of Gabon or Burundi will not help the West in the slightest . . . On the contrary, we should seek to co-operate with Pretoria . . . We need a new realism in our foreign policy to replace our post-Vietnam timidity".

Such statements have not remained on paper alone. Many of the authors of that study now occupy high-level economic, political and military posts in Washington.

72. Further, at the very beginning of 1981, an article was published in the magazine *Foreign Affairs* entitled "South Africa: Strategy for Change". The article recommended that one of the corner-stones of United States policy on southern Africa should be "the clear Western refusal to resort to trade or investment sanctions against Pretoria". The new United States Administration, the article emphasizes, would have to "meet publicly with South Africa's top leadership". Finally, in the view of the author of that article, it would be "unwise" to take a negative position on the military machine of South Africa as an "instrument of domestic brutality" in that country or as something "wrecking Western interests" outside South Africa itself. Those considerations have once again become part of policy. The author of that article was appointed Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

73. Finally, we know of the assessment recently proclaimed in this country that South Africa is "a country that, strategically, is essential to the free world". Surely, the racists of South Africa must have drawn the logical conclusions from that—and they did so—seeing it all as direct encouragement for their brutal policy with respect to African countries.

74. Confirmation of that encouragement of the South African racists by the United States is also provided in statements made yesterday and today in Washington. Those statements cannot be explained as anything other than the logic of connivance with the racists in South Africa—and badly distorted logic at that. That position of Washington has aroused deep indignation on the part of the entire international community. In particular, the final communiqué of the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries on the Question of Namibia, held at Algiers from 16 to 18 April 1981, states:

"The Bureau denounces the steps taken by the Reagan Administration aimed at destabilizing

Angola and strengthening its ties with South Africa at the very time when the *apartheid* régime is not only committing systematic acts of aggression against the independent African States, but is also training and equipping bands of traitors from the front-line States with a view to destabilizing their lawful Governments and jeopardizing the freedom of the African continent." [S/14458, annex, para. 20.]

75. The acts of aggression undertaken by the racists and neo-colonialists constitute a serious threat to international peace and security, not only in Angola but in all independent African countries. This recent raid by South Africa, if not repulsed, may become yet another link in a chain of further large-scale acts of aggression against independent African States.

76. The Soviet Union's position on that score is clear and understandable. Our sympathies are on the side of free and independent Africa; our sympathies are on the side of the African peoples still struggling for their freedom and independence—and we are proud of that.

77. The following appeared in a TASS statement dated 26 August 1981:

"... the Soviet Union resolutely condemns the Pretoria racist régime's armed invasion of the People's Republic of Angola, to which the Soviet Union is bound by a treaty of friendship and co-operation, ... reaffirms its solidarity with Angola and ... demands an immediate end to the aggression and the withdrawal of the interventionist troops from Angolan territory" [see S/14658, annex].

78. The Security Council must do its duty in this situation as well. The course of action in this respect is clear. The delegation of the Soviet Union speaks out in support of Angola's demand, as clearly stated by the representative of Angola, Mr. de Figueiredo, that the Council firmly condemn the racist régime of South Africa, call for the immediate cessation of its acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and the withdrawal of its troops from Angolan territory forthwith, and that it compel the South African racists to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola.

79. The members of the Council are well aware of the fact that from the moment of the attainment of independence by the Angolan people, opening the way to progressive social transformations in that country, Angola has been a target for constant acts of aggression by South Africa. The Council has repeatedly—five times—firmly and vigorously condemned the racist régime of South Africa for its deliberate and continued armed incursions into the People's Republic of Angola, describing them as a serious threat to international peace and security [resolutions 387 (1976), 428 (1978), 447 (1979), 454 (1979) and 475 (1980)].

80. In its resolutions, the Council has also called on South Africa to respect scrupulously Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Council should be guided by those considerations of principle in today's situation as well, in the face of this new unprovoked act of aggression by South Africa. Furthermore, in its resolution 475 (1980), the Security Council decided:

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

The time has now come for the Security Council to adopt such measures. We support the demands of Angola in this regard also.

81. Angola and the other African countries Members of the United Nations are entitled to expect the Security Council to halt the aggressor, and Africa as a whole is entitled to expect an end to the aggression carried out by the racist régime of South Africa which constitutes a threat to the security of all African countries.

82. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has listened attentively to the statements made by the representatives of Angola and other countries. We support Security Council consideration of the situation created by the invasion of Angola by South African troops.

83. On 23 August 1981, the South African authorities brazenly sent contingents of mechanized armed units to invade and occupy large tracts of Angolan territory, sacking cities and townships as far as 150 kilometres from the border and causing heavy losses of life and property. The Angolan people are fighting heroically to throw out the invaders in extremely difficult conditions. This invasion is an act of aggression seriously violating Angola's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is a new crime committed by the Pretoria régime against the African nations. It is also a deliberate act of trampling on the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international relations. International peace and security are gravely threatened as a result.

84. South Africa's aggression against Angola demonstrates once again that the South African racist régime is the root cause of instability in southern Africa. For a long time Pretoria has pursued an inhuman policy of *apartheid* and stubbornly persisted in its colonial rule over Namibia. It has made frequent incursions into front-line States such as Mozambique, Zambia and Angola. And now, on the eve of an emergency special session of the General Assembly on Namibia, this racist régime has again invaded Angola with massive armed forces. All this is by no means accidental. It is

apparently designed to thwart international efforts for a solution to the question of Namibia and to deter African nations from supporting the Namibian people in their struggle for national independence, thus perpetuating the illegal occupation of Namibia. The South African régime is so reckless in its attack on neighbouring countries only because of the connivance and support of a super-Power which has sided with it. Nevertheless, the outrageous conduct of this régime can only strengthen the unity and the resolve of the people of Namibia and the rest of Africa to continue the struggle. In the end, the villain will be lifting a rock only to drop it on his own toes.

85. The Chinese delegation wishes to reaffirm here that the Chinese Government and people resolutely support the heroic struggle of the Angolan people against the aggressors. We support the just struggle of the peoples of Azania and Namibia and strongly condemn the racist Pretoria régime for its criminal aggression against Angola. We denounce the same régime for its barbarous and reactionary policies of *apartheid* and racial oppression. We support the just demand and reasonable proposals made by the representatives of African States in this regard. In the view of the Chinese delegation, the Council must strongly condemn the racist régime of South Africa for its armed aggression and take effective measures to secure the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all South African aggressors from Angola.

86. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): My delegation has listened with keen attention and deep sympathy to the representative of Angola, who has described in a moving manner the tragic situation his country is now faced with.

87. As Mr. de Figueiredo has so eloquently stated, the case before the Security Council today is certainly not without precedent. None of us here could fail to be moved by his statement describing the bloodshed, destruction and misery which his countrymen have suffered in the latest South African action.

88. We profoundly regret the loss of life and property in Angola. My delegation cannot in any way condone the action of South African armed forces invading the territory of Angola in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and in defiance of the relevant resolutions adopted in the past by the Council.

89. My delegation shares the feeling of indignation which has been expressed by previous speakers regarding attacks upon the independent State of Angola. Japan totally disapproves of the military actions undertaken by South Africa against its neighbour. In particular, as representatives of a country which upholds the firm and steadfast foreign policy of settling all international disputes by peaceful means only and of refraining from any use or threat of force in international relations, we cannot help deploring most deeply the military action the Republic of South

Africa has taken by sending its troops deep into the territory of Angola. In the view of my delegation, such activities on the part of South Africa, whatever good reasons they may have, cannot but be strongly condemned.

90. My delegation joins those other delegations which have condemned the abominable action of South Africa in Angola and urges South Africa to withdraw its troops immediately and unconditionally.

91. Needless to say, the use or threat of force never leads to the solution of a problem but merely aggravates an already explosive situation. The States Members of the United Nations have long been striving towards a settlement of the Namibian problem which would bring that Territory to independence and peace. The military actions taken by South Africa in Angola go against all of those efforts and further exacerbate the problem. The leaders of South Africa should understand the grave concern of the international community in this regard and comply with the Council's call to cease hostilities and refrain from using armed force against its neighbour.

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

93. Mr. BUENO (Brazil): Mr. President, it is especially gratifying for me to address a Security Council presided over by the Minister for External Relations of Panama, a sister American nation with which Brazil has the closest relations. Your talent and well-known expertise are the best guarantees for the success of the Council's deliberations in the month of August.

94. The question before the Council derives from an illegal act committed in defence of an illegality. It concerns an act of aggression perpetrated—so the aggressors themselves say—to defend their illegal occupation of Namibia. With the information available at present, we cannot say whether this second invasion of Angola will reveal itself as a large-scale raid or develop into a major war. Whatever its purpose, it constitutes a clear violation of Angolan sovereignty and territorial integrity, a negation of the Charter, an act of war that not only has effects for the victim but endangers the peace and security of the region with repercussions that may become much wider and which cannot at present be easily foreseen. It is also typical of South Africa's attitude: its disregard for human beings of races other than the dominant one in Pretoria, its indifference to world opinion, its disrespect for the General Assembly and its resolutions, its defiance of the International Court of Justice and its contempt for the Council over which you, Sir, now preside.

95. The victims of this aggression are, first and foremost, the people of Angola. They deserve, and are

receiving, solidarity as well as political support from the world community, and the Government and people of Brazil join in that movement. To this theme I will return in a moment.

96. However, one should not forget, even when condemning this armoured invasion which reminds us of the blitzkriegs of the past, that this is a question of one evil leading to another. As I stated at the outset, Namibia and its freedom lie at the very root of this conflict. South Africa has been given every opportunity to solve this problem. It has been given time, that most precious of commodities, time that could be bought only at the expense of the freedom of the inhabitants of Namibia. All the opportunities offered to South Africa were used for one purpose only: to find excuses for delay.

97. In January of this year, having used all the time and chances given to it and facing proposals that represented a position of considerable restraint and moderation on the part of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), South Africa turned its back on previous understandings, scuttled the negotiations and created a new set of pretexts to delay the inevitable.

98. Striking now against Angola, the Pretoria Government is again trying to transfer the cost of its occupation of Namibia to other people and to make the Angolans pay, as the Namibians have been paying, for the illegal occupation of what was once called South West Africa. Nor should we forget that, between the two invasions, Angola knew no real peace, security or respect for its territorial integrity or the inviolability of its borders. Between independence and the present day, there was never a time when the people of that country were free from air strikes, commando-style raids, helicopter forays and so-called punitive expeditions.

99. I must of necessity be brief. Other countries, through their representatives, want to give voice to their indignant repudiation of these acts. When I spoke of solidarity and political support, I had in mind not only this almost unanimous world desire to see justice done to Angola and peace restored to its land, but also the functions with which the Council is invested. It is our view that the least that the Council can do is to condemn South Africa for its aggression, demand the immediate withdrawal of all its forces from Angolan territory and ensure that it will pay full compensation for the human and material losses caused by the present invasion. If these conditions are not promptly met, the Council will have no other resort but to enforce the provisions contained in Chapter VII of the Charter.

100. These immediate steps would help in the solution of the crisis we face, even if they do not give back to Angola the lives of its sons. They would not, however, remove or even touch upon the problems

that are at the root of the suffering in southern Africa. The United Nations must deal with the question of the invasion of Angola at once because of its gravity and urgency. Once it has arrived at a solution of the matter now before the Council, however, and dealt with this brutal invasion, the questions of Namibia and of the racist policies of South Africa will remain and require all the renewed efforts of our institutions for the fulfilment of the purposes and principles to which we are pledged through the Charter. The South African Government regards the majority of the world's peoples as not being quite as human as the members of the South African minority. We have, of course, a different view. We think that even the members of the South African minority are human beings. In the name of that common humanity, we demand that they desist from all the practices that led to the invasion of Angola, the subjugation of Namibia—practices that continue to deprive the majority in South Africa of their right to be citizens and equals with those who now rule over them.

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

102. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, I wish to thank the Security Council for having authorized me to participate in this debate. I should like to congratulate you, Sir, most warmly on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of August in your exalted capacity as Minister for External Relations of Panama, a country with which Viet Nam maintains friendly relations. I should like to express my conviction that you will guide the work of the Council towards a just and effective decision on a burning issue, namely, the odious war of aggression unleashed by the racist South African régime against the People's Republic of Angola. My delegation also wishes to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Idé Oumarou of Niger, for his competence and political skill in guiding the work of the Council during the month of July.

103. Together with the whole international community, my country, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, is profoundly concerned over the disquieting situation, which has been deteriorating for months, in southern Angola, a situation that is as well known to all Council members.

104. More specifically, for four and a half years since the first days of its independence, the People's Republic of Angola has constantly been reporting to the Council countless acts of military aggression, armed invasions, kidnappings, massacres and destruction carried out by the minority fascist régime of Pretoria against its people and territory in flagrant violation of the rules and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law.

105. To mention only acts perpetrated between 1978 and 1980, the Government of the People's Republic of Angola has recorded 290 waves of artillery poundings, aerial bombings over urban centres and densely populated villages, 50 aerial attacks and 70 infantry invasion operations in border areas of Angola. Those operations cost the lives of thousands of innocent Angolans and caused immense material damage estimated at more than \$US 7 billion.

106. In his letter of 25 August 1981 addressed to the Secretary-General [see S/14643], the President of the People's Republic of Angola, Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos, pointed out that more than 45,000 South African troops, together with mercenaries and troops from puppet régimes, were concentrated on the Angolan-Namibian border for the purpose of occupying part of the sovereign territory of Angola. The President of Angola emphasized that the situation was grave and could develop into a war with unpredictable consequences—which is what did happen in southern Angola on 23 and 24 August. A true war of aggression unleashed by the racist South African régime from the territory of Namibia, which it continues to occupy illegally, is now sowing death and destruction in the People's Republic of Angola, in several localities and areas hundreds of kilometres away from the Namibian border.

107. These criminal acts of undeclared war by the Pretoria racists have been unanimously and most severely condemned by world public opinion and by all Governments that love peace and justice throughout the world.

108. For several years, international opinion of all political persuasions and on all continents has vigorously condemned the colonialist and aggressive policy of the racist Pretoria régime, which is an incarnation of the inhuman and diabolical system of *apartheid* designed to perpetuate the illegal occupation of Namibia, bring about an explosive situation and destabilize the front-line States—in particular, the People's Republic of Angola. It has also been confirmed that the minority South African régime could not implement such a policy of colonialism, aggression and destabilization against the Namibian people and independent and sovereign neighbouring States unless it had strong support and active collaboration from the United States of America and other Western Powers, members, furthermore, of the Security Council. Quite recently, the United Nations Council for Namibia, at its extraordinary plenary meetings held at Panama City from 2 to 5 June 1981, quite rightly expressed:

“... grave concern at the reported attempts by the Government of the United States to destabilize the legitimate Government of Angola by, *inter alia*, providing assistance to Angolan traitor groups in the service of the Pretoria régime”.

109. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam vigorously condemns this flagrant act of armed

aggression perpetrated against Angola by the racist régime of South Africa. We similarly condemn the forces of imperialism and international reaction which share responsibility for these crimes of aggression as the protectors of the South African régime and as suppliers of weapons and other logistic or technical means.

110. At this time, when large-scale armed aggression is raging on Angolan soil, we find further confirmation of the fact that the Pretoria régime is preparing not only to carry out a destabilizing incursion, but also to occupy a part of the territory of Angola so as to make it a spring-board for attacks against and constant harassment of the People's Republic of Angola, as well as against the national independence movement in southern Africa in general—and this in order to serve the avowedly hostile policy of the United States towards free Africa.

111. In this connexion, my delegation expresses its profound concern over the declared intent of the United States Administration to have Congress rescind the Clark amendment so as to give direct military assistance to traitor Angolan groups in the pay of the racist Pretoria régime.

112. My delegation considers that this new phase of aggression by the racist South African forces against the People's Republic of Angola constitutes not only a grave violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country, but also flagrant defiance of and provocation to the entire African continent and the whole international community; it shows insolent scorn for Security Council resolutions condemning earlier armed attacks against Angola by the Pretoria régime. It also constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security.

113. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam most sincerely hopes that the Council will take prompt and decisive action, including energetic sanctions against the South African aggressors, fully exercising its responsibilities under the Charter to put an immediate end to the deliberate acts of aggression by the racist Pretoria régime.

114. In that spirit, my delegation firmly supports the urgent request of the People's Republic of Angola, made through its representative in the Council, Mr. de Figueiredo, for a severe condemnation of these new acts of aggression by the racist Pretoria régime against the People's Republic of Angola, for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all South African forces of aggression from the territory of Angola, and for the payment of compensation for the damages caused to the people of Angola.

115. The people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam reaffirm their unreserved support for and their complete militant solidarity with the indomitable and eventually victorious struggle of

the brother people of Angola. We pay tribute to those heroic people and to their brave leaders for the enormous sacrifice they have made for the common cause of the liberation of the peoples of southern Africa and for the preservation of peace in Africa and throughout the world.

116. In the opinion of my delegation, all forces, all States and all Governments that strive for peace and self-determination of peoples have a solemn duty to seek appropriate means to assist the struggle of the Angolan people and the peoples of southern Africa.

117. My country firmly supports the right of the People's Republic of Angola to invoke, if need be, Article 51 of the Charter to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity. In this regard, we are pleased with the Political Declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979³ and with the resolutions adopted at the thirty-seventh session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity held at Nairobi from 15 to 26 June 1981,⁴ which, in substance, express the solemn commitment of the heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries and of the Ministers of the Organization of African Unity to assist the front-line States to increase their defensive capacity so as to repel the acts of armed aggression of the Pretoria racist régime and to create propitious conditions for promoting their social and economic development in an atmosphere of peace and stability.

118. In conclusion, my delegation ventures to hope that all the members of the Council will take due account of the exceptional gravity of the events in Angola and of the demand of the international community, expressed through the indignant and unequivocal voices of the representatives who have spoken at this meeting, that peace be restored immediately to the territory of the People's Republic of Angola so as to enable those valiant people to build a new life for themselves in complete security along their own freely chosen course.

119. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

120. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I am most grateful to you and to the members of the Security Council for giving me an opportunity to participate in the consideration of the complaint of the People's Republic of Angola regarding the military aggression perpetrated against it on 23 August 1981 by the armed forces of the South African racist régime. Likewise, may I say that my delegation feels confident at seeing this meeting presided over by the Minister for External Relations of the sister Republic of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca, whose recognized talents and diplomatic acumen will

undoubtedly enable us to bring these deliberations to an appropriate conclusion.

121. It is not the first time that this body, whose primary responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security, is meeting to consider a complaint by the People's Republic of Angola about further acts of military aggression by the racist South Africans against its territory. In June 1980, the Council already expressed its grave concern at the escalation of unprovoked hostile acts and at the repeated aggressions and armed invasions of the Pretoria fascists in violation of the sovereignty, airspace and territorial integrity of that country [resolution 475 (1980)]. On previous occasions, we have heard similar complaints from the Republic of Zambia and from the People's Republic of Mozambique.

122. Actually what is at issue is a persistent policy of the opprobrious *apartheid* régime to undermine the independence of the neighbouring States and promote its own hegemony in that region of southern Africa, in connivance with the most bastard imperialist interests. That policy has been firmly condemned by the non-aligned countries.

123. On 25 August 1981, the President of the People's Republic of Angola, José Eduardo dos Santos, reported to the Secretary-General that

"once more the People's Republic of Angola is a victim of military attacks and violations of airspace and land territory by the racist military forces of Pretoria",

and that

"Concentrated in the border of Angola with Namibia are more than 45,000 South African soldiers, between mercenaries and puppets, whose objective is the occupation of part of the sovereign territory of Angola" [see S/14643].

124. In a letter addressed to the Cuban President, Comrade Fidel Castro, in his capacity as Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the head of State of Angola stated:

"On 23 August 1981, around 1445 hours, the racist South African air force made several reconnaissance flights over the areas of Ondjiva and Porto Alexandre. Simultaneously, six Mirage-type aircraft and two Buccaneer-type aircraft attacked and destroyed the city hall of Cahama, more than 200 kilometres inside our borders, and the village of Tchibemba, which is situated more than 300 kilometres also inside our national territory. Yesterday, 24 August, around 1000 hours, there were new violations of our national airspace, as well as the infiltration of South African forces distributed into two mobile columns, one of which was made up of 32 tanks and 82 armoured cars supported by their air

force, proceeding towards the villages of Xangongo and Cahama."

125. The aggressive forces encountered tenacious resistance from the Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola (FAPLA) who are heroically defending the sovereignty of their country and halting the aggressor. The first column clashed with the Angolan forces in Xangongo and the second near the village of Catequero. Violent fighting has been reported by the Angolan Government and by the international press.

126. There is no doubt, therefore, about the large scale of this new military aggression by the Pretoria fascists and the grave threat that it represents for peace in the region and for international security. The President of Angola has already warned of the unpredictable consequences which may follow a broadening of the conflict and of his decision to have recourse to what is provided for in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, should that prove necessary, in defence of national sovereignty and independence [*ibid.*].

127. The racist attack on Angola has been unanimously condemned by world public opinion and States Members of the Organization, including the members of the Council, with the exception of the Government of the United States. The timid attitude of "deploring" such a flagrant violation of the Charter becomes suspect since that attitude is made conditional on a strange "consideration of the situation in its context" by those who have proclaimed themselves to be allied with a régime whose leaders were imprisoned during the Second World War because of their declared sympathy for Adolf Hitler and the Nazi ideology. Today, they brazenly encourage the band of Angolan traitors who are operating from Namibia, which is occupied by South Africa.

128. Above all, we recall that the imperialist strategy, since 1974, has been to prevent, first, the victory of the patriotic forces of Angola, headed by the MPLA, and then to promote the destabilization of its legitimate Government later by sponsoring the criminal activities and banditry of its puppet Savimbi, in close collusion with the Pretoria régime. That was brazenly confessed by John Stockwell, former head of the United States Central Intelligence Agency in Angola, in his book published in 1978 entitled *In Search of Enemies*, in which he explained the plans of sinister Yankee dependants to establish a beach-head in southern Angola to assist their protégé, the traitor Savimbi.

129. Indeed, the Council does have to consider the true context in which the present act of aggression by South Africa is being perpetrated against the People's Republic of Angola. In this respect, it is fitting to recall that United States leaders gave red-carpet treatment not long ago to their friend, the Nazi Roelof Botha,

and that the new Administration has called on the Congress to repeal the so-called Clark Amendment so as to be able to supply the counter-revolutionary and mercenary anti-Angolan bands; that is to say, with a clear and unmasked intent to intervene in the internal affairs of a State Member of the United Nations, a sovereign and independent country, and to subvert its legitimate Government.

130. That undeniable fact has to be linked with the repeated refusal of the United States Government to allow the imposition of mandatory sanctions, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, against the South African racist aggressors, through the exercise of its right of veto in the Security Council. Does not this refusal on the part of the United States mean a manifest decision to protect the aggressors, to prevent action by the international community against those who are guilty of a crime against mankind, not to mention their being common international criminals, as they uphold the odious régime of *apartheid*?

131. Whatever the objectives of the Pretoria régime in committing an aggression against the Republic of Angola—and one could not seriously accept its unbelievable explanation that these were punitive raids against SWAPO patriots, without thereby admitting the right of the South African racists to occupy Namibia illegally, in violation of resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council—their barbarous and criminal acts must be condemned unreservedly.

132. The South African fascists seek to belittle the importance of the military oppression perpetrated against Angola so as to accustom public opinion to their attacks on SWAPO patriots and to conceal their design to establish their troops permanently on the territory of Angola. Angola is a free and sovereign country which has the right to live in peace and whose territorial integrity and independence must be strictly respected.

133. In the statement made by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba on this subject, it is stated:

"No one can doubt that these deeds must be seen in the context of United States plans to destabilize Angola and other front-line States and to support internal counter-revolutionary bands. The Government of the United States is the mastermind and the only begetter of the cowardly aggression against Angola.

"The brutality of these criminal South African acts has as a precedent the daily practices against the oppressed South African people who suffer at first hand the pitiless and inhuman policy of *apartheid*, and the anachronistic domination of the Territory of Namibia, whose people, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole legitimate representative, are striving to put an end to the colonial

occupation of their country, a cause which has the widest support in the international community. This has occurred, moreover, when there are only a few days to go before we hold an emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly on Namibia.

"The world observes with admiration that the people of Angola and FAPLA, headed by the MPLA-PT and by President José Eduardo dos Santos, are defending with extraordinary bravery the borders of their country against South African aggression. The racist invaders must halt their aggression and withdraw from the territory of Angola. Their cowardly actions are already reaching an extreme beyond which they cannot go. If the invading South African columns come close to the lines being defended by the Cuban internationalist combatants, our troops, in fulfilment of the duty of solidarity of our country with the sister Republic of Angola, will go into action with all their means.

"The Government and people of Cuba, with absolutely no hesitation, will once again stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of Angola to counter the racist and fascist aggression and in defence of Angola's independence and national integrity."

134. My delegation, together with all the non-aligned countries and the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world, expects the Council unequivocally to condemn South African aggression, to demand that it be brought to an end and to call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the racist troops from the territory of Angola. It is our hope that the members of the Security Council will act firmly and without delay.

135. Mr. O'CONNOR (Ireland): In his statement before the Security Council today, the representative of the People's Republic of Angola presented to us an account of the details of the invasion of his country by units of the South African army. My delegation was moved by his report of the latest aggression by South Africa against his country, as indeed we were by the information which he has provided in written form in recent days. His remarks and the gravity of the situation have prompted me to speak briefly at this early stage of the debate.

136. First of all, I wish to extend to the representative of Angola the deepest sympathy of my Government on the suffering which South Africa's attacks have caused to so many of his countrymen.

137. My Government has been gravely concerned by the reports of South Africa's violation and infringement of the territorial integrity of Angola and its military actions in that country. We consider it entirely appropriate, therefore, for the Angolan Government to approach the Council with a request that the necessary steps be taken to avoid a confrontation of even greater

magnitude and that the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all South African army units from the People's Republic of Angola be demanded. Indeed, in resolution 475 (1980), it was determined that the Security Council should meet again in the event of further acts of violation of Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity. For that reason, my Government has supported without reservation Angola's request that the Council take up this question as a matter of urgency.

138. As members of the Council are aware, this is not the first occasion in which Angola has suffered at the hands of South Africa. Indeed, the records of the Security Council provide many reminders of violations of Angolan sovereignty and territorial integrity, the loss of many innocent Angolan lives and the havoc wrought upon the economic infrastructure of a young, independent developing country.

139. The Government of Ireland condemns without reservation the actions which have been perpetrated against Angola in recent days. It condemns South Africa's violation of the sovereignty of an independent country. It condemns this blatant violation by South Africa of the Charter of the United Nations. Not least, it condemns the tragic loss of innocent lives and the extensive material damage caused by South Africa. All of these are serious consequences of the recent action by South Africa, action which South Africa has callously attempted to excuse as a pre-emptive strike.

140. More generally, we are deeply disturbed by the implications which the latest South African aggression will have for the efforts which have been made and continue to be made to bring Namibia peacefully to early independence, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). My delegation had an opportunity to set out its views in detail on this issue in the course of the consideration by the Council of the question of Namibia in April of this year. As the representative of Ireland said on that occasion, further delay in bringing freedom and independence to Namibia would be intolerable [2275th meeting, para. 99]. However, instead of witnessing progress towards Namibian independence, what we see is South Africa utilizing its illegal occupation of Namibia to launch attacks against Angola on the pretext of a pre-emptive strike. This, in our view, does not do anything to allay our suspicions as to South Africa's ultimate intentions for Namibia.

141. Furthermore, we fully share the concern expressed by the President of the People's Republic of Angola in his letter of 25 August 1981 to the Secretary-General in which he pointed out that the South African attacks launched against his country seriously jeopardized peace in the region [*ibid.*]. Indeed, my delegation wonders whether these and other similar South African actions may not have as their ultimate objective the promotion of instability in the whole region of southern Africa. If that is so, then such

actions by South Africa increase the likelihood of a wider conflict in sub-Saharan Africa, a bloody and destructive conflict with the possibility of the direct involvement of foreign forces.

142. The Council must now urgently respond to the grave situation. In our view, the response from the Council, in the form of either a resolution or a presidential statement, should be a unanimous one and should include a condemnation of the South African aggression against Angola, a demand for the immediate cessation of South African military activities within Angola and a demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all South African military personnel from Angolan territory, together with a demand that South Africa show respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola.

143. My delegation would hope that such a statement by the Security Council would be heeded without delay. If that hope remains unfulfilled, my delegation will be ready to give the most serious consideration to how best this Council can discharge its obligations.

144. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): The representative of Cuba is quite right. My Government does deplore violence. It deplores violence and the use of force from any quarter in settling affairs among sovereign nations. It deplores the escalation of violence, which is presently a fact in southern Africa. We deplore violence and the use of force and the escalation thereof in major part because they make more difficult the peace process, which is the great and overriding objective of our efforts and the efforts of many nations with which we are working to facilitate the search for early independence for Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

145. The current situation is, in our view, made the more difficult by the surrounding context of that situation. I note, for example, the fact that in Angola, fully six years after that nation achieved independence, there remain large contingents of foreign military advisers. I note as well that substantial supplies of foreign arms have been shipped into Angola to supply and resupply elements of SWAPO that have engaged in violence across the Angolan frontier.

146. I must make note as well of the long statement that has been made this evening by the representative of the Soviet Union, a statement of views that he alleges to be influential in the policy councils of the administration of the United States Government. From his description I scarcely recognized the article "Constructive Engagement" by Dr. Chester Crocker. That article is an exposition of Dr. Crocker's recommended constructive policy changes that he then felt and still feels may lead more effectively to peace and preservation of independence and racial justice

throughout the continent of Africa, and I affirm the fact stated by the representative of the Soviet Union, that Dr. Chester Crocker does now serve the United States as its Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

147. During the course of his remarks, the Soviet representative also referred to what he alleged to be the support of my Government for violence and the use of force. I find that ironic and worse than ironic, coming as it does from the spokesman of a country that has invaded and continues to occupy Afghanistan and whose arms, advisers and clients presently plague the continent of Africa.

148. My Government believes firmly and strongly that the Security Council can and should make a constructive contribution to the resolution of the situation we now find in southern Africa. We believe that the Council should call urgently and immediately for the cessation of recourse to violence from all and every quarter and by all parties and that it should demand the immediate withdrawal of South African forces from the territory of Angola.

149. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The representative of the United States who just spoke and other high officials of the United States, for some reason, have in recent days begun to present as some kind of novelty the assistance provided by the Soviet Union to Angola, the assistance provided by the Soviet Union to SWAPO and the assistance provided by the Soviet Union to a number of African countries. This is no novelty; it is well known to everyone that indeed we do help them. If the United States has begun to talk about that as a novelty, it means that it is trying to cover up something, it is trying to conceal its own actions in that area of the world.

150. Confrontation in southern Africa does not follow the lines indicated by the United States representative. Confrontation occurs along entirely different lines in Africa. Confrontation is indeed taking place in southern Africa. For example, there is confrontation between South Africa and an independent African country, Angola, a confrontation in which the South African racist régime is trying to destabilize Angola and undermine that country's system in its intention to recolonize Angola. In that confrontation, our sympathies are on the side of independent Angola, on the side of that African country, whereas the sympathies of the United States lie on the side of the racist régime. Why does not the United States representative say this openly?

151. In Africa, another confrontation is taking place, a confrontation between the people of Namibia and South Africa. There, our sympathies lie with the people of Namibia who, under the leadership of SWAPO, are fighting for their independence, whereas the representative of the United States calls fighters

for national liberation "terrorists". That is what he calls them. In Africa, there is also a confrontation between the people of South Africa and the racist régime. Our sympathies lie with the overwhelming majority of the people in that country. The sympathies of the United States representative are with the white minority. We state our position quite openly, but the United States representative presents his country's in a concealed fashion.

152. I think that the intention of the exercise undertaken today by the United States representative in the Security Council was to divert the attention of the Council and of the world from the real confrontation that is being created in South Africa by the South African racist régime, and the United States is thereby helping the South African racists.

153. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): I should simply like to reiterate that the sympathies and support of the United States are given to all the people of Africa and that I have specifically characterized the policy of my Government as being one which makes every conceivable effort to achieve the objective of a genuine, universally recognized and accepted independence for all the people of Namibia, on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

154. I would also note that, alas, we do not find the levels and types of involvement of the Soviet Union in any way novel. They have been going on for far too long.

155. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like—adhering strictly to the agenda before us today—to pose one very short question to the representative of the United States that will show the essence of his country's policy on the issue we are discussing. The question is: Is the representative of the United States prepared to vote for a strong condemnation of the acts of aggression committed by the racist régime of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola? There are other questions I could ask him, but I will only ask him this one—whether he is prepared to support such a condemnation or not.

156. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): I reiterate what I said before: my Government is prepared, at the proper time and in the proper framework, to support the call—indeed, the demand—for the prompt withdrawal of the forces of South Africa from the territory of Angola.

157. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Thus, the representative of the United States is not prepared to condemn the aggression by the South African racist régime against Angola.

158. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before I adjourn the meeting, may I place the following on record. As President of the Council and having heard the statements made in today's debate, all of which concur on the gravity of the situation, I believe it fitting to recall that in resolution 475 (1980) the Security Council decided to remain seized of the matter of the armed invasion of the People's Republic of Angola by the South African armed forces.

159. Accordingly, I note that in the present case the following provisions of that resolution are in force:

"The Security Council,

"...

"1. *Strongly condemns* 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;

"2. *Strongly condemns also* 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;

"3. *Demands* that South Africa should withdraw forthwith all its military forces from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, cease all violations of Angola's airspace and, henceforth, scrupulously respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola."

The meeting rose at 8.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings, 4th meeting, para. 133.*

² *Ibid., Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 24, para. 222.*

³ See A/34/542, Political Declaration, para. 95.

⁴ See A/36/534, annex I.

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