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NOTE

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

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

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

1974th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 22 November 1976, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Jorge Enrique ILLUECA (Panama).

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1974)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Admission of new Members:
Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to membership in the United Nations (S/12234)

The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Admission of new Members:

Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the Application of the People's Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations (S/12234)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to inform members of the Security Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cuba, Egypt, India, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Sri Lanka, Yugoslavia and Zambia in which they ask to be invited to participate in the deliberations of the Council on the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to membership in the United Nations. I therefore propose, if there are no objections and with the consent of the Council to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

2. In accordance with the usual procedure, I invite the aforementioned representatives to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when they wish to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Jaipal (India), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius), Mr. Lobo (Mozambique), Mr. Kanakarane (Sri Lanka), Mr. Petrić (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Siyolwe (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The first speaker is the representative of Mauritius, who wishes to speak on behalf of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). I accordingly invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I have requested permission to participate in this meeting of the Security Council, both as the representative of Mauritius and as the representative of the current Chairman of OAU, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius.

5. My delegation considers it a privilege to appear here today and to speak in support of the admission to membership in the United Nations of the People's Republic of Angola. It is the most fervent desire of the Prime Minister of my country that the torch of independence will continue to shine forth in southern Africa and that the valiant people in Angola will be able to crown their conquest of independence by being admitted to the United Nations.

6. Our fraternal support for the struggle of the People's Republic of Angola is well known and the position of OAU on the application of the People's Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations has been clearly endorsed by members of that organization in resolutions adopted by the Council of Ministers and at the Thirteenth Assembly of Heads of State and Government held at Port Louis, Mauritius, in July 1976.

7. The OAU considers that it is the right of all peoples to safeguard and consolidate their hard-won independence and sovereignty, as well as their territorial integrity, and, in the case of the People's Republic of Angola, the OAU Assembly considered that the veto cast by the United States against the admission of Angola to the United Nations constitutes a violation of the spirit of the Charter and a complete disregard of the principle of universality.

8. The long struggle of the Angolan people against colonialism has now entered the annals of history, and those gallant people has deservedly merited the right to take its place in this important forum of the international community. The United Nations has, in resolutions adopted by its various bodies, always supported the right of colonial countries and peoples to accede to independence. Angola has fought a long and bitter struggle to throw off the shackles of colonialism, and the sacrifices made by the people of Angola have finally resulted in freedom and independence after a long and agonizing period of time. Finally, a responsible Government is devoting itself to the healing of wounds brought about by that bitter passage in the history of Angola and is devoting itself to constructive tasks of building for the future and taking its rightful place in the international community. The People's Republic of Angola has expressed its firm and total support for the Charter of the United Nations whose obligations it has accepted. Article 4 of the United Nations Charter specifically states:

"Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations."

9. The People's Republic of Angola has manifestly demonstrated its ability and willingness to comply with the provisions of Article 4. The recognition that Angola has received, not only in Africa and the third world but also in the socialist and Western countries, overwhelmingly demonstrates that that country has satisfied the conditions required by international law and principles.

10. On 22 April, in its application for membership in the United Nations, the President of the People's Republic of Angola officially stated that the People's Republic of Angola "accepts all the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and solemnly undertakes to fulfil them." [S/12064, annex].

11. The OAU is totally convinced that that country has not only demonstrated its faithfulness to the lofty principles contained in the Charter but has also manifested a concerted desire to achieve their implementation in the face of any threat. The United Nations would, with the admission of the People's Republic of Angola, acquire in its ranks a Member State which is a firm supporter of the struggle for peace, international security, mutual understanding and friendship among peoples. I am sure that the People's Republic of Angola would, like all other Member States, endeavour faithfully to carry out the ideals embodied in the Charter.

12. Most of the countries represented here in this chamber have fought long struggles to attain independence, whether in the recent past the wounds of which are still being bound up or decades or centuries

ago. We should not lose sight of the fact that most of our countries began their independent existence as fragile and tenuous sovereign States and that, with time, past wounds have been healed and many of us are now in a position to make a positive contribution to the well-being of the peoples of the world. We should not lose sight of our collective heritage and, in a spirit of co-operation and understanding, we should extend all assistance and friendship to newly independent countries and admit them to our ranks in order to assist them to bring about the reconstruction which is so important to the well-being of the inhabitants of all countries of the world.

13. On behalf of my own country, Mauritius, and on behalf of OAU, I call on the great country of the United States of America, which was the first to wage a struggle for independence from a colonial Power, to extend a hand of friendship and co-operation to the new country of the People's Republic of Angola. At a time in history 200 years ago, when the United States had declared its independence, it found itself alone and without allies at a most crucial period in its history. It was an African country which first extended a hand of friendship and recognition to that infant Republic; that country was Morocco. Today, Africa calls upon the United States, in a spirit of reciprocity, to make the same gesture and to extend the same goodwill to the People's Republic of Angola, one of the most recent countries in Africa to accede to independence today. We appeal to the United States to manifest the same spirit of magnanimity and to assist the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations with the same kind of friendship and understanding that Africa extended to it at the time of its greatest need.

14. The independence to which Angola has acceded signifies one of the most dramatic and decisive chapters in the history of the liberation of Africa from foreign domination and, in recognition of that intense struggle and human sacrifice, we strongly support the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations and are convinced that that admission would help to build a better world for all mankind in a spirit of mutual respect and co-operation.

15. I am now in possession of the report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members, which was distributed only a moment ago. I am happy to note that the United States does not wish to stand in the way of Angola's admission to the United Nations, although the United States delegation is not able to support the draft resolution which has been circulated. I shall await the United States explanation to decide whether or not I need to make any further comments.

16. Mr. BOYA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council is again seized of the question of the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations. This application for admission, which was formulated by President

Neto as far back as 22 April 1976 [S/12064], has not so far been favourably considered by the Council, which has been seriously handicapped by the abusive and incomprehensible exercise of the right of veto.

17. Since 11 November 1975, when the Angola people, united behind the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA), proclaimed its independence, the People's Republic of Angola has been faced with painful problems which have been artificially created by international imperialism, which has always been ready to pounce in order to prevent the Angolan people from becoming a free and independent State. The young Angolan State has had, since its inception in 1975, to surmount a whole series of crises which imperialism and some mistaken puppets have brought about to try to bring the Angolan people down on their knees. Today, the Angolan people—endowed with great courage and a lofty sense of sacrifice—is well able daily to deal effectively with any manoeuvres and any plots ingeniously devised against it.

18. Since its great victories of this year over international imperialism and its supporters, the racist and backward forces in Pretoria in particular, the Angolan people has remained vigilant in its struggle. The efforts made to date to solve the main problems inherited from colonialism and the imperialist war imposed on that people are golden chapters in the history of that heroic people.

19. Imperialist propaganda, very cleverly fabricated and disseminated by the imperialist press, is designed to deceive international public opinion concerning the situation in the People's Republic of Angola.

20. It is clear today that the Angolan people is now better organized within the framework of MPLA, has been able to solve a number of important problems and has the present situation well under control. The Angolans have the future of their country in their hands. The imperialist Powers and the reactionary, obscurantist and anti-nationalist forces, which have tried everything possible, now know that the Angolan people is ready to make every sacrifice to keep the People's Republic of Angola independent, non-aligned and free.

21. Bearing in mind all of the foregoing, it is obvious that all peoples who love justice and peace must irrevocably condemn any delaying tactics and dishonest manoeuvres designed to tarnish the reputation of the Angolan people, which has freed itself thanks to international solidarity, which has withstood the test of time. These delaying tactics and dishonest manoeuvres have thus far prevented, directly or indirectly, the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations as a full Member. My delegation condemns the unjustified, abusive use of the veto by the United States, the reasons advanced for which can in no way withstand a serious analysis of

the true situation in which the valiant people of Angola live.

22. My delegation sincerely regrets also the position adopted last June by the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people is a lucid and moderate people, and we hope that a closer analysis of the situation will make it possible for them better to analyse the situation, in a way more in keeping with the aspirations of the Angolan people and of all the peoples of the African continent.

23. The Angolan authorities have proved that they are determined to build their country in total independence and within the framework of the policy of non-alignment.

24. The admission of Angola to the United Nations would be more than giving justice to the Angolan people in order to encourage it in its struggle to build its own country in concord and union. My delegation sincerely hopes that this time the Council will decide unanimously to recommend the admission of Angola to the Organization.

25. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Republic): The achievement of independence by the fraternal people of Angola on 11 November 1975, was a joyous and long-awaited event for the Libyan Arab Republic and for all peace-loving peoples and countries in the world. Moreover, it is a matter of great satisfaction for the United Nations, since it represents a positive step forward towards the attainment of one of the basic foundations of its Charter, namely, "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples".

26. The people of Angola bravely and victoriously waged a long and valiant struggle against the colonialist and racist Powers. They sacrificed incalculable numbers of lives and resources in the pursuit and achievement of independence and freedom. The brotherly African country, Angola, has given a new strength and revitalized hope to all peoples still honourably and gloriously struggling against the pernicious forces of colonialism, imperialism and occupation.

27. We are still witnessing numerous obstructions and manoeuvres plotted and carried out by abstruse forces, to impede this young sovereign State from rebuilding its social and economic sectors—exploited and abused by the long period of colonialism—and from reconciling and uniting its people, despite the many sacrifices and lengthy struggle of the people of Angola to achieve their independence and freedom, and despite the faithful commitment of the Angolan State to the lofty and noble principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and from establishing friendly relations and co-operation with most of the nations of the world.

28. Moreover, these pernicious imperialist, and racist forces persist in threatening and waging open war against the Angolan people to the extent that they bought mercenaries to carry out their illegal and bloody acts of aggression. These mercenaries unleashed a wave of terrorism where men, women and children were targets for their evil intentions. This so-called initiative of buying what can only be described as one of the lowest forms of life—mercenaries—constitutes an inhuman offence against social morality and a violation of the dignity of the human person.

29. We were spectators to the active connivance on the part of the racist régime in South Africa, which committed acts constituting piracy and hooliganism, by attacking the sovereignty of Angola and its people, via Namibia, in the name of an already tainted and outdated ideal—colonialism. In its inherent arrogance and hatred for the people of Africa, the racist régime in South Africa has made every effort and taken every opportunity to carry out its plans for the “final solution” for the African people, whether they be in South Africa, Namibia or Angola. The success of the racist régime in South Africa, like the racist Zionist entity in occupied Palestine, says a great deal about the moral and spiritual vacuum of our age; internationally, they are both playing cards steeped in fresh blood.

30. The colonialist and imperialist Powers persist in the creation of new obstacles in order to prevent the Angolan people from taking part in and playing its natural role within the international community.

31. The people of Angola, through their indomitable courage and unyielding determination, and with the solidarity of African and peace-loving countries, was able to overcome all forms of aggression and harmful manoeuvres aimed at keeping the peoples of Africa under eternal subjugation in a desperate attempt to contain and stop the rising tide of national liberation and social revolution.

32. Since its independence in 1975 the young African State of Angola has demonstrated its faithful adherence to the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and accomplished outstanding achievements in the furtherance of its economic and social development and in eliminating the heavy burden of the prolonged period of colonial exploitation; it has also made tangible contributions to the cause of world peace and security and to co-operation with all peace-loving countries throughout the world.

33. Angola is a fully fledged member of OAU and has participated in numerous international forums, conferences and meetings, such as the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Colombo last August. Angola has been accorded *de jure* recognition by more than two thirds of the States Members of the United Nations. The Libyan Arab Republic was one of the first countries to recognize the Government of MPLA

as the sole legitimate authority representing the people of Angola and its aspirations for complete emancipation and unity. We have extended our unlimited and unconditional political and material support to the Government and the people of Angola in their noble struggle against all forces of imperialism and racism and in their immense efforts to rebuild and develop their country.

34. In our opinion, it is high time that, taking into consideration the heroic background of the struggle of the fraternal people of Angola, the international community seriously considered the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations, thereby enabling that country to play its rightful role in the activities of the Organization.

35. The Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, in its resolution NAC/CONF.5/S/Res.15, appealed “to all States Members of the United Nations to support the application for membership... by the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations”.¹

36. The admission of Angola not only would be a gesture of admiration on the part of the international community for the courageous and fearless struggle of the Angolan people and its effort to stabilize and develop its country but also would contribute to the achievement of the principle of universality, which is so precious to the United Nations.

37. Article 4 of the Charter states that

“Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.”

Angola has accepted and is willing to carry out and uphold the five conditions stipulated in the aforementioned Article of the Charter as being necessary for admission to the United Nations: first, the applicant must be a State; secondly, it must be a peace-loving State, thirdly, it must accept the obligations of the Charter; fourthly, it must be able to carry out those obligations; and, fifthly, it must be willing to do so. The peace-loving State of the People's Republic of Angola has demonstrated faithfully in words and by deeds its desire to join the international Organization and has pledged to accept and carry out the obligations of the Charter. Any attempt to forge other conditions necessary for admission to the United Nations other than those stipulated in the Charter is an unforgivable transgression and a flagrant violation of the spirit and the letter of the Charter. It is undoubtedly also a self-defeating manoeuvre.

38. The contention that Angola does not meet the requirements for membership as set forth in Article 4 of the Charter owing to the presence of foreign troops

is both irrelevant and unjustifiable and not worthy of serious consideration by the Council. Moreover, it presents a distortion of the conditions set forth in Article 4 of the Charter.

39. A few months ago a permanent member of the Security Council flaunted this irrelevant and unjustifiable argument, thereby abusing its veto privilege and preventing the admission of Angola to the United Nations. A few days ago another great country, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, was prevented from being admitted to membership in the Organization as a result of the negative vote of a permanent member of the Council. This trend of dictatorship by a privileged, individual State Member of the United Nations has on countless occasions over a period of many years obstructed the efforts of the Council to remedy the unjust and harsh conditions of the struggling peoples of Africa and Palestine.

40. It is the appropriate time for the Organization seriously to review this policy of obstructionism and abuse of the veto privilege, which only results in frustrating the achievement of the principle of universality, is against the spirit and the letter of the Charter and has indisputably diminished the credibility and effectiveness of the Organization.

41. My delegation respectfully urges all members of the Council to keep those factors in mind when exercising their right to vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/12234. This draft resolution was introduced by my delegation during the deliberations of the Committee on the Admission of New Members at its 57th meeting; it was sponsored by Benin, Guyana, Italy, Panama, Romania, Sweden, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Republic of Tanzania and my own delegation—that of the Libyan Arab Republic. It reads as follows:

“The Security Council,

“Having examined the application of the People’s Republic of Angola for admission to the United Nations [S/12064],

“Recommends to the General Assembly that the People’s Republic of Angola be admitted to membership in the United Nations.”

The draft resolution is very simple; it contains one operative paragraph; and we hope that the members of the Council will vote for it unanimously.

42. In conclusion, we earnestly believe that the admission of Angola to the United Nations would constitute a positive step forward for both the great people of Angola and the United Nations and for international peace and security as a whole.

43. The admission would be an honest gesture towards the brotherly people of Angola, a gesture of

recognition of their awesome and courageous struggle to rebuild, develop and unite their country and would contribute to the achievement of peace and stability in the African continent.

44. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): Five months ago the Council considered the application of the People’s Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations [1931st and 1932nd meetings]. At that time the Council was unfortunately unable to make a positive recommendation on the application because of the negative vote cast by a permanent member.

45. Today the Council has before it again a report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the People’s Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations. My delegation is pleased to observe that on this occasion the Committee recommends to the Council that it adopt a draft resolution recommending to the General Assembly the admission of the People’s Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations.

46. We are heartened by that recommendation since it represents a fitting tribute to the valiant people of Angola, who, after a long and arduous struggle, vanquished the Portuguese colonialists and the South African racists, who had vainly sought to frustrate the desire of the Angolan people to choose for themselves the course of their own future. The victory of Angola has written finis to the long chapter of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

47. Angola today is a member of OAU, an organization which resolutely champions freedom in Africa and elsewhere. Angola actively participates also in the work of the non-aligned movement, of which it became a full member earlier this year, and serves as a member of the Co-ordinating Bureau of that movement. Angola is recognized by many States Members of the United Nations.

48. My delegation is fully satisfied that the application of the People’s Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations conforms with the requirements of Article 4 of the Charter. Guyana is as convinced now as it was in June that the People’s Republic of Angola is fully qualified for membership in the United Nations. We believe that, as a Member of the United Nations, the People’s Republic of Angola will make a valuable contribution to the fundamental goals and objectives of the Organization. It will particularly enrich our deliberations and our decisions regarding the final liquidation of colonialism, and thus make a significant contribution to strengthening international peace and security.

49. Guyana, which has ties with Angola that antedate the recovery by Angola of its independence last November, eagerly looks forward to welcoming the People’s Republic of Angola as a full and active

member of the international community. We pledge our fullest co-operation with Angola when it takes its rightful place in the United Nations. We are therefore extremely honoured to be among the sponsors of draft resolution S/12234 recommending the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations.

50. When the Council considered Angola's application for admission in June of this year, the representative of Benin made a most mature and prophetic statement. With the kind permission of my brother from that country, I should like to recall the observation he made at that time. Speaking on 23 June in explanation of his vote, the representative of Benin said:

"At least, let us hope that [Angola's] admission is simply postponed to a later date." [1932nd meeting, para. 210.]

51. My delegation, which will clearly vote in favour of the draft resolution, is confident that the decision we take today will confirm that prophecy.

52. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to inform the members of the Council that this afternoon I have received a letter from the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Republic and the United Republic of Tanzania which reads as follows:

"We have the honour to request that, in the course current consideration by the Council of the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to membership of the United Nations an opportunity be given to the representative of the People's Republic of Angola, Mr. Elisio de Figueiredo, to present his Government's views on the matter" [S/12236].

53. In view of the request by those three members of the Council that the representative of the People's Republic of Angola be given an opportunity to present his Government's views on the item on the Security Council's agenda, I propose, with the consent of the members of the Council, to invite the representative of the People's Republic of Angola to make his statement at the appropriate time.

It was so decided.

54. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like also to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter from the Permanent Representative of Mali in which he asks to be allowed to participate in the discussion, in conformity with the relevant Article of the Charter. Accordingly, if there are no objections, I propose to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

55. I invite the representative of Mali to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table when he wishes to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kante, representative of Mali, took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

56. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The position of the Soviet Union on the question of the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations is very well known. It was stated in detail during the general debate at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko. He said:

"We have all witnessed the failure of the attempt to stifle with the help of arms the young independent State of the People's Republic of Angola. If there are still Governments which would impede the exercise of its legitimate right to participate in the work of the United Nations, they stand to gain nothing by that action; they stand only to lose. Angola will without any doubt take its lawful and proper place in this hall."²

57. In the Soviet-Angolan joint statement of 14 October 1976, it is stated that the Soviet Union condemns the efforts to impede the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership of the United Nations and resolutely supports Angola's application for admission to the United Nations, which has already received the support of two thirds of the countries of the world, in particular at the thirteenth Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo.

58. As has already been indicated by other members of the Council, this is not the first time that the Council has considered the question of Angola's admission to membership in the United Nations.

59. The People's Republic of Angola is a young independent State of Africa. Only a year ago it liberated itself from colonial domination. It has already made known its wish to become a Member of the United Nations. That is a very natural and legitimate aspiration on the part of a young independent and peace-loving State whose just cause has received the support of all the progressive peoples in the world. Angola has a very legitimate desire to exercise all the rights of membership in the United Nations and, together with other Members of the Organization, to struggle for the achievement of the lofty principles and purposes of the United Nations.

60. Unfortunately, some obstacles having nothing to do with the requirements laid down by the Charter for

membership of the Organization have been placed on the path of the admission of large independent States of Africa and Asia, such as the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The negative position of a permanent member of the Council has, as in the past, closed the doors of the United Nations to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

61. The successful liberation struggle of the people of Angola against the aggression of South Africa and the victory achieved in that struggle by the People's Republic of Angola were welcomed with rejoicing by the peoples of Africa and the peoples of the world. The Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries which took place at Colombo in August 1976 in its Political Declaration³ congratulated the Government and people of Angola for their heroic and victorious struggle against the South African racist invaders and their allies. It also commended the Republic of Cuba and other States which had assisted the people of Angola in frustrating the expansionist and colonialist strategy of the South African racist régime and its allies. The Colombo Conference condemned the actions of those who blocked the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations, considering that an inadmissible interference in the domestic affairs of Angola. It called upon all the non-aligned States and States Members of the United Nations to give their support to the application of the People's Republic for membership in the United Nations.

62. That appeal was heard in the general debate of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, when almost 80 Member States unconditionally supported the speedy admission of the People's Republic of Angola to its rightful place in the world Organization. The participants in the general debate stressed that the immediate admission of Angola would to be a considerable extent contribute to the implementation of the principle of universality; it would enhance the prestige and strengthen the authority of the United Nations. In consonance with reality, they indicated that the People's Republic of Angola meets all the requirements for membership in the United Nations. It is a peace-loving and independent State recognized by more than 100 States of the world. It can carry out and wishes to carry out the Charter obligations related to membership in the Organization, which is clearly shown by the application of the President of that country to the United Nations [S/12064, annex].

63. The firm and clear position of the Soviet Union on the question before the Council is a practical expression of the determination of our country to support the national liberation movement, the anti-imperialist struggle of the people to strive consistently to eradicate the hotbeds of colonialism which impede the normal development of international relations and the further strengthening of world peace. Today,

when independent Angola is building a peaceful life, when it is restoring what was destroyed during the war of liberation by the foes of the Angolan people, the people of Angola, as before, feels the fraternal solidarity of the socialist States. It enjoys the friendly support of all the progressive forces of our planet.

64. As was indicated in the report of the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev, to the twenty-fifth Congress of the Party, speaking of Angola:

"As soon as it was born, that progressive State became the object of foreign intervention. This was the work of imperialism and of South African racists, sworn enemies of independent Africa, and of those who took upon themselves the unseemly role of their helpers. That is why the struggle of Angola in defence of its independence met with the support of progressive forces throughout the world, and the success of that struggle became yet another indication that the aspirations of peoples to freedom cannot be broken by anyone."

65. Having victoriously completed its war of liberation, the Angolan people, under the leadership of MPLA, has begun the building of a new life. The success of the Angolan people is linked to the support and help the young Republic is receiving from the progressive independent States of Africa and from the countries of the socialist community.

66. In speaking at a meeting of Soviet-Angolan solidarity in Moscow on 8 October, the President of the People's Republic of Angola, Comrade Agostinho Neto, said:

"The victory of the Angolan people is the victory of all the progressive forces in the world. We are well aware that without the help of the Soviet Union, of Cuba and of other socialist countries, our victory over the forces of imperialism would have been considerably complicated."

67. A year has elapsed since the day when the flag of independence was hoisted over Luanda. Almost one half of that year was used to repel the armed intervention of the united forces of colonialism, racism, international imperialism and local reaction. The People's Republic of Angola is taking a very special place among the independent States of the African continent. It is in the immediate proximity of racist Rhodesia and racist South Africa. It is in precisely that region that the colonialists, the racists and their protectors are trying to block the African peoples' efforts to institute equitable social systems and to liberate countries still under colonial domination. But the peoples of the African continent have shown that they are capable of taking care of the remnants of colonialism and racism.

68. The aggressive intents against Angola have not yet become part of the archives, but we are convinced

that the valiant people of Angola will inflict a crushing defeat upon them.

69. At the reception in honour of Comrade Neto in Moscow, Comrade Brezhnev said:

"The events in Angola have again confirmed the great truth of our times that the determination of a people to defend its freedom multiplied by international solidarity is an invincible force."

70. A sovereign country, the People's Republic of Angola has already been admitted as a full member of OAU. It is also an active participant in the non-aligned movement and an active participant in various international organizations. The first steps of the People's Republic of Angola in the international arena convincingly show it is following a policy based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The People's Republic of Angola is guided by the aims and principles of the Charter. It pledges to co-operate closely with other peace-loving States in efforts aimed at strengthening international peace and security. It pledges to give full support to the United Nations and to contribute to its increased efficiency and to the strengthening of international peace and security.

71. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Angola are linked by strong ties of friendship and mutual understanding. The recent visit to the Soviet Union of the President of the People's Republic of Angola, Comrade Neto, formed a very solid foundation for the further strengthening of the process. The discussions in Moscow and the meetings and talks of the Soviet and Angolan leaders at the highest level have formed a new strong impulse which makes it possible to strengthen and to develop the many-sided relations between our States and peoples. The friendly meeting of Comrades Brezhnev and Neto, the signing of an agreement on friendship and co-operation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Angola, the agreement on co-operation among the parties of our countries, and the Soviet-Angolan Declaration—all have demonstrated the historic significance of the many-sided relations between the first country of socialism and the forces of national liberation in the cause of strengthening the peace and security of peoples and the liquidation of colonialism and national domination.

72. The delegation of the Soviet Union expresses its conviction that, in admitting to the Organization the People's Republic of Angola, we shall be taking an important step towards the completion of the revolutionary process of the liberation of peoples from the colonial domination and colonial subjugation which have lasted for so many centuries. The admission of that country will also contribute to the implementation of the principle of the universality of the Organization. We are firmly convinced that the Organization will gain in the People's Republic of Angola a strong advocate of the struggle for peace, international

security, mutual understanding and co-operation among peoples.

73. The delegation of the USSR welcomes and congratulates the representatives of the People's Republic of Angola who are in this Council chamber. We cannot doubt that between our delegations to the United Nations relations of fruitful co-operation will exist which will serve to implement the lofty purposes of the Organization.

74. On behalf of my delegation, I call upon the members of the Security Council to give unanimous support to the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to membership in the United Nations.

75. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): On this occasion my delegation will not dwell on the past history of the application of the People's Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations. However, I want to make it quite clear that, in the opinion of my Government, the positive decision which I am confident the Security Council will be able to take today is long overdue.

76. Since the very first days of the independence of Angola, Sweden has enjoyed excellent relations with that country, as indeed have many other States Members of the United Nations. We are convinced that the People's Republic of Angola will play an important and constructive role in the United Nations. The delegation of Sweden is looking forward with great expectations to our co-operation with the Angolan delegation in the various organs of the United Nations.

77. The admission to the United Nations of the People's Republic of Angola would mean that one of the most dramatic and decisive chapters in the history of the liberation of Africa from foreign domination had been closed. The dismantling and the elimination of Portugal's colonial empire was achieved after many years of intensive struggle and human sacrifice. There were those who for a long time believed that the colonial system could be perpetuated against the will of the people. They have been proved wrong. The victory of the independence struggle in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola has become a source of inspiration and hope for those peoples in southern Africa that still suffer under political oppression. That development has also meant a serious setback for the minority régime in South Africa, whose attempts to prop up the Portuguese colonialists failed completely. The position of the remaining minority régimes in southern Africa has been severely shaken.

78. The armed intervention of South Africa in Angola demonstrated how desperate the minority régime has become. It also showed that it realizes how vulnerable it has become. Time is now running out for white minority rule in Rhodesia and in Namibia,

and South Africa itself is hard pressed from within. Oppressed men and women in South Africa are intensifying their resistance to the system of racial discrimination and oppression, a system which cannot survive for long.

79. The admission into the United Nations of the People's Republic of Angola will serve as an inspiration to those in southern Africa who still have to achieve their freedom from oppression and will strengthen the forces within the Organization that work for freedom, justice and equality in southern Africa.

80. The Swedish delegation urges members of the Council to support the draft resolution contained in document S/12234. Sweden will warmly welcome the People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations.

81. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to express the hope and the conviction of my delegation that the Security Council will today adopt the draft resolution presented by nine States, including Romania, in accordance with which the Council would recommend to the General Assembly the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations.

82. A positive decision would repair a grave injustice committed against the Angolan people, which wants with all its heart to be a Member of the Organization and to work here with other nations for the good of mankind as a whole. Such a decision would redound to the credit of the Security Council and of the Organization as a whole.

83. We want to stress once again what Romania and other members of the Council affirmed during the debate in June, when we said that Angola definitely met all the conditions laid down in the Charter for the admission of new Members to the Organization.

84. The Romanian people has followed with feelings of friendship, sympathy and goodwill the struggle that the Angolan people so valiantly waged for more than a decade against the policy of domination and colonial oppression, in an effort to achieve its liberty and its national independence. During that struggle, in a spirit of militant solidarity, Romania gave that people its material, political and diplomatic support. My country has welcomed with deep satisfaction Angola's accession to independence and has established close and friendly relations of co-operation with that young African State. Romania took a firm stand in favour of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country and called for the withdrawal of the forces of South Africa which had committed acts of aggression against the Angolan territory.

85. By recommending the admission of Angola to membership in the United Nations, the Security Council would fulfil one of the fundamental duties

incumbent on the Members of the Organization: the duty to give support to the struggle of peoples, including those of southern Africa, against domination and foreign oppression, so as to achieve and consolidate their freedom and their national independence.

86. We are convinced that the admission of Angola to the United Nations and its participation in the activities of the Organization will have a positive impact on the evolution of the situation in southern Africa and on the just solution of problems in that region, in conformity with the rights and the legitimate aspirations of all the peoples in that part of the world.

87. The decision to recommend the admission of Angola to the United Nations would be an act consonant with the rights of all the peoples which love peace and which wish to be represented in this international forum. A new step would thus be taken today towards the complete universality of the Organization, which obviously is one of the most important conditions for its effective functioning.

88. In this connexion, we hope that reason and justice will in the near future prevail equally with regard to the admission to the United Nations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

89. In conclusion, I want to welcome here the presence in this chamber of the delegation of the People's Republic of Angola, and the Romanian delegation on behalf of the Romanian Government and people, expresses most cordial wishes for their success. We are happy to think that in the very near future we may have a chance to co-operate closely here in the United Nations with the representatives of a new State Member of the United Nations, the People's Republic of Angola.

90. Mr. CHALE (United Republic of Tanzania): My delegation is very pleased to give its full support to the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to membership in the United Nations. I wish to reiterate what we said last June when the Council was seized of the same matter: that the People's Republic of Angola fully meets the requirements for admission as provided in Article 4 of the Charter.

91. The United Republic of Tanzania has always supported the just struggle of the Angolan people against colonialism and imperialism to achieve self-determination and independence. Tanzania has been part of that liberation struggle in the former Portuguese colonies in southern Africa and, indeed, in the rest of Africa, for we believe that our own independence is in jeopardy so long as some parts of Africa are not free. For us, the liberation war in Angola was crucial, for Angola constituted the last and largest Portuguese colony in Africa, and not only that; freedom for Angola brought free Africa face to face with the Fascist, racist régimes of southern Africa, the greatest

obstacle to human justice and dignity on the continent of Africa.

92. Imperialist manoeuvres to create a client buffer State between free Africa and the racist *apartheid* régime have failed, and that failure was not achieved without great sacrifices and sufferings on the part of the Angolan people. When it seemed that covert imperialist actions would not succeed, it became necessary for the racist *apartheid* régime to employ its machinations in acts of naked aggression against the Angolan people. Thanks to the co-operation of friendly States, the racist aggression was repulsed by the greater vigour and determination of a freedom-loving people.

93. The Angolan people had to fight not only against Portuguese colonialism but also world imperialism. When Angola was about to become independent and escape from the clutches of Fascist Portuguese colonialism, the interests of world imperialism were at work. The seeds of confusion and chaos planted among the Angolan people did not germinate to become mature plants; instead, they withered. Now the Government of MPLA is in full control in spite of repeated acts of aggression by the racist *apartheid* régime of South Africa against the Angolan people and neighbouring independent States. The People's Republic of Angola now needs our support and assistance in the reconstruction of that country and in nation-building projects.

94. Having said this, my delegation is left with no doubt that the draft resolution in document S/12234 on the application of the People's Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations will be voted for by all members of the Council, in view of the fact that the People's Republic of Angola is fully qualified and fully meets the requirements provided in Article 4 of the Charter.

95. Mr. ABE (Japan): My delegation has consistently advocated the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations. We already pronounced our whole-hearted support in the Council when Angola's application was debated last June. Regrettably, however, the application was not approved by the Council at that time. Now the Council is again seized of the application of that country for renewed consideration.

96. My delegation, in examining Angola's application, is glad to reaffirm that it has full confidence in Angola's willingness and ability to carry out the obligations incumbent on Member States under the Charter. In the view of my delegation, the People's Republic of Angola is qualified for membership in the Organization under Article 4 of the Charter.

97. My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/12234 when it is put to the vote. We very much hope that this time the

draft resolution will be adopted by the Council and that subsequently the General Assembly will decide to admit Angola to membership in the Organization at its present session. Angola's admission to membership will mean an even closer approach to universality of the Organization—one of its fundamental principles—and will, indeed, be a most welcome development.

98. The Government of Japan recognized the People's Republic of Angola on 20 February 1976. In his congratulatory message to Mr. Agostinho Neto, President of the People's Republic of Angola, the Prime Minister of Japan stated: "The Government and people of Japan sincerely hope for the nation's reconstruction and development and ardently wish to promote friendship and co-operation between the two countries." I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm that the Government and people of Japan will continue to develop and strengthen their friendly relations with the Government and people of Angola in every possible field, both within the United Nations and outside it.

99. Mr. VINCI (Italy): The position of my country on the item under consideration is well known: Italy had advocated and worked in favour of the earlier application of Angola for admission to membership in the Organization.

100. When the Security Council, in June this year, considered the application of the People's Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations, my delegation lent its full support to the Angolan request. We welcome now the step undertaken by three African Member States in order to have the application reconsidered by the Council, since it comes at a time when the prospect of a positive conclusion has much improved.

101. I hardly have to specify that we have always believed that the People's Republic of Angola has all the prerequisites of a Member State pursuant to the Charter. Its admission, in our view, will prove an asset to the United Nations, as it will enhance that universal representation which embraces all the different political and economic systems existing in the world. Moreover, I think we should always bear in mind that the more frequent and variegated are the contacts taking place within the framework of the United Nations and its associated bodies, the better it is for the affirmation of the main principles and purposes contained in the Charter.

102. We very well know, on the basis of our own experience, that the involvement of an increased number of countries in the work of the United Nations system has helped, and helps, to a great extent, to overcome misunderstandings and difficulties, and to promote better understanding and co-operation among countries. I would also like to add that, at a moment when the problems of the African continent are at

the centre of world attention and at the centre of the attention of the Organization, the admission of Angola is most timely. It will indicate in a tangible way the permanent place which these problems occupy in the mind of the Council, and how close we around this table feel to the countries which belong to OAU.

103. Speaking again for my country, I need only recall once more that Italy was among the first to recognize the People's Republic of Angola and to establish with it diplomatic relations, as well as mutually fruitful co-operation based on the strictest respect for the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Rome was the first Western capital to which the Prime Minister of Angola, Mr. Lopo do Nascimento, has paid a most gratifying official visit, thus providing us with an opportunity for a highly useful and interesting exchange of views at the highest level, laying the ground for further initiatives in our bilateral co-operation.

104. We are therefore looking forward to adding to the friendly relations already established on a bilateral basis the possibility of working together with Angola's representatives in this world forum. I hardly need to draw attention, in this regard, to the important role the People's Republic of Angola has to play along with the other front-line countries, in the process aimed at bringing about a peaceful transition towards majority rule in the area of southern Africa.

105. For all these reasons, my delegation has decided to become a sponsor of the draft resolution contained in document S/12234, and commends it to the unanimous approval of the Council. We are looking forward, at the same time, to welcoming the People's Republic of Angola as a new Member of the Organization.

106. Mr. MIRZA (Pakistan): Speaking at the 1932nd meeting of the Security Council on 23 June this year, which unfortunately did not result in positive action by the Council on the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to the United Nations, the representative of Pakistan, Mr. Iqbal Akhund, had expressed the hope that circumstances would enable the Council to reconsider the application in time to permit the People's Republic of Angola to take its due and rightful place as a full Member of the United Nations by the time the thirty-first session of the General Assembly convened. We, therefore, welcome the initiative taken by the three African members of the Council, the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Republic and the United Republic of Tanzania, in requesting the Council to give renewed consideration to the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to the United Nations.

107. It is the view of the Government of Pakistan that the People's Republic of Angola, as an independent and sovereign country, fulfils all the qualifications and conditions laid down in the Charter for membership in the Organization. Further, the

President of the People's Republic of Angola has declared that the Government of Angola has declared that the Government of Angola accepts all the obligations contained in the Charter and solemnly undertakes to fulfil them.

108. As has already been pointed out, the people of Angola waged a bitter, difficult and protracted struggle against Portuguese colonialism with determination, courage and unity, and they strove with valour for the common goal of freedom and accession to independence under circumstances of great difficulty, internal discord and external intervention. My country believes that the people of Angola have a great role to play, both materially and morally, in the final triumph of the struggle for independence and human dignity which is gathering strength in southern Africa. We are also certain that, with admission to the United Nations, the People's Republic of Angola will be fortified in its efforts aimed at achieving rapid economic development and political progress for the country.

109. The People's Republic of Angola is a country of the third world, and we are confident that, as a Member of the United Nations, it will uphold and support the just causes of the third world and promote unity and solidarity among peoples and Governments of the third world.

110. Bearing in mind these considerations, my delegation has supported the application of Angola in the Committee on the Admission of New Members and will vote in favour of the draft resolution which is now before us recommending admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations.

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

112. Mr. JAIPAL (India): The Charter of the United Nations regards the process of decolonization and the attainment of independence by Non-Self-Governing Territories as one of the principal objectives of the Organization. It is, in fact, much more than an objective: it is an obligation placed upon all Member States, some of which have a greater degree of responsibility than others. The concept inherent in the Charter is that peoples under colonial rule should be prepared for independence under United Nations supervision, and that, on attaining independence, they should have their own representation in the United Nations. This has been realized in the cases of most peoples under colonial domination, but there are some striking exceptions, and Angola is one of them.

113. While Angola was administered as a part of Portugal, its people were indirectly represented in the United Nations, howsoever inadequately, by the representation of Portugal. That was the legal situa-

tion, in terms of the Charter and the old Constitution of Portugal. But when Angola regained its independence, its people became entitled to have their own representation in the United Nations. That has not yet come about, however. It is strange indeed that the people of Angola should have had indirect representation in the United Nations through Portugal but, on attaining independence, should find that they are denied their own representation in the United Nations.

114. Such a situation does violence to the principles and purposes of decolonization, because independence and membership in the United Nations are objectives of the Charter. There is surely something odd about a procedure for the admission of new Members which results in the denial of membership to some decolonized Territories. This could not have been foreseen by the founding fathers. It follows, therefore, that in such cases there ought to be a voluntary suspension of the use of the veto by the permanent members of the Security Council. Quite apart from those considerations, Angola fulfils the requirements for membership prescribed in Article 4 of the Charter.

115. A number of States which have not yet established diplomatic relations with Angola would not allow that fact to come in the way of admitting Angola to United Nations membership. Neither that fact nor the fact that bilateral relations between Angola and some States are not yet normal is truly relevant to the question of the admission of Angola to the United Nations.

116. Unfortunately, such irrelevant facts have in the past militated against the admission of some applicant States. There is, of course, the notorious case of even a permanent member of the Security Council having been denied its rightful representation for over 20 years. We should like to think that those cases belong to the past and that we are now entering a new phase in which the so-called veto would not be employed either as a form of punishment or as a form of pressure for achieving national objectives.

117. The purposes of the United Nations which are set out in Article 1 of the Charter are best served by promoting the universality of membership of the Organization. Indeed, the open character, that is to say, the universality of United Nations membership is actually stipulated in Article 4; and an application for membership is to be decided in accordance with the criteria established in Article 4. What is important to note in Article 4 is that whether or not an applicant State is able and willing to carry out its obligations is for the Organization as a whole to judge. It does not seem proper, therefore, that any one Member should impose its own judgement on the entire Organization.

118. I realize, of course, that in terms of the Charter, a recommendation of the Security Council is essential

for the admission of an applicant State and that the Security Council in taking decisions is governed by Article 27 of the Charter. At the same time, the Security Council, under Article 24, acts on behalf of all the Members of the United Nations in discharging its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, a responsibility which was conferred on the Security Council by the Members of the United Nations. We suggest therefore that the Security Council would best fulfil its primary responsibility by making it possible for the United Nations actually to represent the world as it is and not as some would like it to be.

119. In the context of the foregoing arguments, both general and specific, my delegation considers that Angola is entitled to be admitted to the United Nations and is also entitled to receive the favourable recommendation of the Council.

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

121. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): May I be allowed at the outset to express our gratitude to you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for having made it possible for us to participate in this debate today.

122. We have asked to be allowed to take part in the discussion of this important question which is before the Council so as to reaffirm our unreserved support for the application for membership in the United Nations of the People's Republic of Angola. Egypt, as well as other African countries and members of the non-aligned movement, firmly believes that the sister African State of Angola should immediately assume its rightful place amongst the other peace-loving nations in the Organization, just as it has acquired its well-deserved place among the members of OAU and the non-aligned movement. The resolutions adopted in this respect by both the thirteenth Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries speak best of the overwhelming support that the People's Republic of Angola enjoys. The application for membership which is before the Council is not only supported by the vast majority of the international community but also supported and welcomed by practically the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations.

123. We are deeply convinced that the admission to membership in the Organization of the People's Republic of Angola will not only constitute a significant step towards the fulfilment of genuine universality in the United Nations—which is an eminently desirable objective of the Organization—but will also enable the United Nations to benefit from the positive contri-

bution of that new African State to the solution of important problems that are before the United Nations.

124. We all know how the peace-loving people of Angola, who were subjected for centuries to foreign domination and exploitation, had to endure an extremely complex course of struggle until they achieved their sacred goals of liberation and national independence. Many of them have given their lives for the cause of full freedom, genuine independence and unity. There is no doubt whatever that the People's Republic of Angola, after having endured a long and protracted struggle, has all the necessary qualifications to enable it to carry out the obligations placed upon States Members of the United Nations by the Charter.

125. During the short period of time since the proclamation of its independence, the young Republic of Angola has already been recognized by more than two thirds of the independent States Members of the United Nations. The support for Angola's application for membership is increasing day by day. The decision to be taken by the Council on this question will be the consecration of that ever-increasing support.

126. Since the proclamation of the independence of the People's Republic of Angola, my Government has taken particular satisfaction in the development of brotherly relations with the Young Republic. And, now, as it is about to join the Organization, we are looking forward to working in close and brotherly co-operation with its representatives in our endeavour to achieve the common goals and aspirations of the peoples of Africa for the benefit of the international community as a whole.

127. It is therefore with a deep sense of gratification that the delegation of Egypt looks forward to the adoption of draft resolution S/12234 by the Council recommending the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations. The Security Council's action will thus for ever mark the history of the African liberation struggle, and it will give me great pleasure to welcome the new sister State into the fold of the Organization and to wish it, on behalf of my Government, a new era of prosperity and peace.

128. We should also like to express our conviction that, with the admission of the People's Republic of Angola as a Member of the United Nations, the struggle of the peoples of Africa will soon culminate in the complete eradication of colonialism, in all its forms, throughout Africa and the whole world.

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

130. Mr. KANAKARATNE (Sri Lanka): I wish to thank you, Mr. President, and through you the other

members of the Council for giving my delegation an opportunity to participate in this important debate on the application of the People's Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations. We are particularly gratified that we have been given this opportunity, for we share with Angola a certain historical link which perhaps is unknown to many members of the Council. Sri Lanka, or Ceylon as it was known in those days, saw in the year 1505 the Portuguese as the first European settlers to set foot on our shores. And it was unfortunate, from the point of view of our Angolan brothers, that while in 1635 the Portuguese colonizers left our island shores 130 years after they arrived, before they could dominate the entire island, it took the Portuguese settlers and colonial masters 450 years or more to leave the territory of Angola and the other African territories of Portugal. We therefore take special pride in associating ourselves with what the Council is discussing today, not for the first time.

131. Secondly, I speak today before the Council not only as the representative of my own country, but as the representative of the current Chairman of the Group of 86 Member States of this Organization which belong to the group of non-aligned countries. Angola, since its independence and liberation from Portugal, has been an active member of that group. And indeed at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of those 86 nations held in my country's capital, Colombo, in August of this year, Angola was elected to be a member of the Co-ordinating Bureau of that group. We therefore take double pleasure in speaking this afternoon in support of the application made by the People's Republic of Angola for membership in the Organization.

132. I do not wish to repeat what has been heard over and over again this afternoon about the qualifications which are necessary before an applicant can be recommended by the Council to the General Assembly for admission to the Organization. Article 4 of the Charter clearly lays down these conditions, and it is our firm conviction that the People's Republic of Angola satisfies all the five main conditions for recommendation by the Council to the General Assembly for acceptance as a Member of the United Nations.

133. We just wish to say this: at the Conference of Heads of State or Government at Colombo in August this year, the question of the independence of Angola and Angola's admission to the United Nations was discussed. At the conclusion of that Conference, resolution NAC/CONF.5/S/Res.15 was adopted, which in paragraphs 2 and 3, states that the Conference:

"2. Calls on all member States of the non-aligned movement to support collectively Angola's application for membership to the United Nations;

"3. *Urgently appeals* to all States Members of the United Nations to support the application for membership submitted by the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations."¹

134. Echoing this sentiment, the Prime Minister of my country, when she addressed the General Assembly on 30 September this year, in her capacity as Chairman of the non-aligned group of countries, reiterated our belief in the principle of universality of membership of the Organization. In calling for the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership, she stated the following:

"A primary requirement for the strengthening of the United Nations is the universality of its membership. We cannot but express dissatisfaction and dismay at the continued denial, by the use of the veto, to nations which are qualified in every way and have won the recognition of more than two thirds of the membership of this Organization, of the opportunity to share in its endeavours."⁴

135. It is for these reasons that my delegation sincerely hopes that the draft resolution contained in document S/12234 on the recommendations of the Committee on the Admission of New Members will be unanimously supported by the Council.

136. I should like to say, in this context, that we derive some degree of satisfaction from paragraph 4 of that report, in which we understand that the representative of the United States of America, a permanent member of the Security Council whose negative vote prevented the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in June this year, is quoted as having stated:

"The United States delegation is not able to support the draft resolution but does not wish to stand in the way of its adoption by the Committee on the Admission of New Members. We will want to explain our position in the Security Council."

137. We are all, I am sure, anxiously waiting for the explanation of the representative of the United States. But it is our delegation's hope, as indeed it has been the hope expressed around this table earlier, that the present draft resolution submitted by the Committee on the Admission of New Members will be carried unanimously by the Council.

138. We wish to welcome our brothers from Angola. We are convinced that they will not only fulfil the obligations placed on them by the Charter as new Members, but also that their contribution to our deliberations and to our actions in helping to maintain international peace and security and in contributing to the continuous progress and welfare of mankind will be as great as will be their gain from joining the international brotherhood.

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

140. Mr. SIYOLWE (Zambia): The Zambian delegation is grateful to the Security Council for allowing us to participate in this meeting regarding the application of the People's Republic of Angola for membership in the United Nations. Mr. President, we are pleased that the meeting is taking place under your presidency. We appreciate the positive and active role your great country, Panama, has played and continues to play in the Council with regard to African questions.

141. Zambia attaches a great deal of importance to this meeting. We sincerely hope that this will be the last time the Council will be deliberating on the question of Angola's application for membership. To us, it is urgent that Angola should be admitted as a Member of the United Nations. We therefore urge the Council to make a speedy and appropriate recommendation to the General Assembly for Angola's admission during this current session.

142. In my delegation's opinion, the Council should have recommended the admission of Angola to the United Nations the very first time the Council considered its application. It was qualified then, as it is now, for membership in the Organization. Regrettably, for domestic reasons, a permanent member of the Security Council found it expedient to veto Angola's application. Thus, for reasons totally alien to the Charter of the United Nations, Angola was deprived of its right of membership and the United Nations was deprived of yet another opportunity to move closer to the fulfilment of the much cherished principle of universality.

143. Article 4 of the Charter is unambiguous. It explicitly states that membership is open to all peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the Charter. That is the sole requirement for admission to the United Nations. Anything else is extraneous. Angola has accepted the obligations of membership in the United Nations as laid down in the Charter. Indeed, the irony of history is that countries, such as South Africa, which blatantly show contempt for, and act contrary to, some of the most sacred provisions of the Charter are Members of the United Nations. The membership of such countries serves only to erode the authority and prestige of the Organization.

144. An overwhelming majority of States have recognized the right of Angola to membership in the United Nations. Individually and collectively, those countries have repeatedly advocated Angola's admission without undue delay. As is well known, Angola has been admitted to OAU and the non-aligned movement. The thirteenth Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African

Unity at Port Louis, and the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo, were eloquent in their statements on the urgent need for Angola's admission to the United Nations.

145. Angola is a neighbour of Zambia. Our two countries and peoples have a common destiny. We in Zambia desire for Angola what we desire for ourselves, namely, peace, security and national economic and social development. The Party, the Government and the people of Zambia will continue fully to co-operate with the People's Republic of Angola.

146. Angola was born out of a protracted liberation struggle. Today it faces the major challenges of national reconstruction and the yearning of its people for decent living, after many years of deprivation, reckless exploitation and oppression by Portuguese fascism. Angola today needs the good will and co-operation of the international community. In our view, its membership in the United Nations would be a step forward in this direction.

147. The accession to independence of Angola a year ago, and indeed that of Mozambique, opened up a new chapter of particular significance in the unfinished task of liberating the whole of southern Africa. Everything must be done to strengthen the hard-won independence of these countries so that they can play their full part in the struggle for the liberation of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia and the destruction of the evil system of *apartheid* in South Africa. To talk of the admission of Angola to the United Nations and to talk of assistance to Angola by the international community is therefore to talk of the need to hasten the liberation of our troubled region of southern Africa. My delegation is confident that the Security Council will not be found wanting in this regard.

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

149. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): The Security Council is meeting for the third time in order to recommend the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations. It seems that the moment has come for the Council to recommend the admission of Angola to the Organization unanimously.

150. The People's Republic of Angola fulfils all the conditions laid down by the Charter of the United Nations for the admission of new Members. Angola is an independent country recognized by OAU and by the vast majority of the international community. It is a country pursuing a peaceful foreign policy based on full respect for the principles of the Charter. In its Constitution Angola has translated into law its dedication to these principles as well as its firm

determination and concern to preserve its independence, not to adhere to blocs but to become part of the movement of the non-aligned countries. The admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the ranks of the non-aligned countries was a mark of appreciation of its independent policy, its fight for decolonization and against racism and its acceptance of and dedication to the principles of the Charter, which are the root of the activity and actions of the non-aligned countries.

151. Today Angola, together with the other front-line States, is playing an outstanding role in the struggle against racist régimes in southern Africa, which threaten the independence and territorial integrity of neighbouring and other independent African countries. Precisely because of its policy of independence, Angola was the victim of aggression by the racist South African régime, and the Council was compelled to take measures to protect that African country from that aggression.

152. The People's Republic of Angola emerged from the struggle against the former colonial system of Portugal. Its liberation constitutes an important step towards the final liquidation of colonialism and racism.

153. For a number of years Yugoslavia supported the struggle of national liberation movements in all former Portuguese colonies. Yugoslavia is maintaining very friendly and extensive relations with all these countries and primarily with the People's Republic of Angola. We supported the resistance of the people of Angola against the aggression of South African racists, knowing that victory over the racists was important to the young State of Angola, to the whole of free Africa as well as to millions of Africans in Zimbabwe, Namibia and in South Africa itself who still live under the yoke of colonialism and racism.

154. From the very outset, Yugoslavia believed that Angola should be admitted to United Nations membership without delay. The admission of an independent country to the United Nations, especially of a newly liberated country—that is, a country and a people that have conquered their freedom by defeating colonialism—is a natural continuation of the struggle for the final emancipation of that country from colonialism. We are, moreover, firmly convinced that the spirit of understanding and support for the process of emancipation and independence will prevail this time in the form of a positive recommendation by the Council for the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations as another step towards the universality of the world Organization, and towards peace and international co-operation based on equal rights.

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

156. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I wish at the outset to thank you for having been good enough, with the consent of the members of the Council, to authorize my delegation to participate in the Council's work, during its reconsideration of the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to membership in the United Nations. My delegation is all the more grateful because this is the second time this month that we have been given the privilege of addressing the Council. Our statements on the applications of Viet Nam and Angola for admission to the United Nations are justified simply by our conviction that these important questions are more than a mere formality, that they have a direct link with the normalization of the political situation in the regions concerned and, as such, are of the greatest interest to the Organization, whose task it is to maintain and strengthen international peace and security.

157. The admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations will undoubtedly mark the end of one of the most spectacular and decisive chapters in the history of Africa's liberation from foreign exploitation and domination. It will also consecrate and crown the efforts and sacrifices made for many long years by a people seeking its political identity, its freedom and its independence.

158. That consecration could have been achieved much earlier if an obstruction, as ill-timed as it was unjustified, had not emerged to deny the recognition by the Organization of Angola's independence, proclaimed on 11 November 1975. That obstruction was based on arbitrariness, the purpose of which was, against all common sense, to ensure the denial by the international community of the right of the people of Angola to free themselves from colonialism, imperialism and capitalist subjugation, or to ensure that the United Nations would go back on the political undertaking it had assumed to recognize the legitimacy of the struggle waged by that people, with so much courage and dedication, until its final victory over all the elements opposed to true independence and national unity.

159. That obstruction, which we denounced when it was raised, emerged because the very fact of the independence of the Angolan people was challenged—and appears still to be challenged—and was called into question following a sovereign political decision taken by the leaders of the nascent Republic to unify the country, defend its territorial integrity, stand firm against South African aggression, supported by imperialist and capitalist reactionary forces, and define by itself and for itself its political and economic future in the ideological framework of its choice.

160. The Angolan people was not the only people to suffer the traumatic effects of that aggression. The confusion it brought in its wake affected the

group of African States the unity and coherence of which were somewhat threatened at one point. Fortunately, there was a fundamental development in the situation after the decisive victory of MPLA, to which the credit is due for having safeguarded the unity, territorial integrity and identity of Angola and for having obtained the withdrawal of the South African invasion forces—although the latter are still a source of constant danger, from bases located in Namibia, where these troops are illegally stationed.

161. Today the independent Luanda Government exercises effective and full control—and we emphasize the words “effective” and “full”—over the whole of Angolan territory. It has normalized its relations with all the neighbouring African countries and is recognized by the majority of the States Members of the United Nations. Last March Angola became a full member of OAU, and it has since been admitted to several specialized agencies and has been invited to participate in international conferences organized by the United Nations. Its active and growing participation in international life has led to its being elected a member of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, as was noted by the representative of current Chairman of the movement.

162. The confidence which those countries and international organizations have in the People's Republic of Angola is a reality that the United Nations has no right to ignore and that no selective or unilateral interpretation of the Charter or of the facts can render inexistent. Justified less by the sympathy inspired by the suffering endured by the Angolan people than by the recognition of its will for peace, its will to accept the principles of non-alignment and to follow a line of conduct in keeping with international morality, that confidence represents more than a formal juridical act noting that this new Republic meets certain recognized standards of international law.

163. It is in that spirit that we support the application of the People's Republic of Angola, which would have been accepted long ago if our intentions had been better understood and had not been taken to be a desire for confrontation. Far from seeking any short-term political advantages, we have only sought and seek to enrich the Organization with the experience and contributions that the Angolan people can rightly bring to our work. We believe, indeed, that the full participation of all States in the activities of the United Nations is the best way for the international community to achieve its objectives of peace, security, justice and prosperity—objectives that are the keystone of all human undertakings.

164. My delegation is convinced that the People's Republic of Angola, which is well acquainted with the price of independence so dearly acquired, will long carry, in spite of efforts to rebuild the country, the scars of a war of colonial reconquest, but it will

be a true and strong champion of the principles of the Charter.

165. The representative of Angola expressed the following when he addressed this Council on 23 June 1976: "I like to think that the United Nations exists to promote justice, peace and security throughout the world". [1932nd meeting, para. 283]. To that profession of faith, the United Nations should reply with a manifestation of its own loyalty to its principles and accept the request for admission of the People's Republic of Angola, whose peace-loving Government, desirous of justice and social progress, accepts all the obligations of the Charter and undertakes to respect them.

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

167. Mr. LOBO (Mozambique): Mr. President, at the outset allow me to seize the opportunity on behalf of the peoples, Governments and delegations of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and Mozambique to express appreciation to you and to all members of the Council for having granted us this opportunity to speak on the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to membership in the United Nations.

168. In the name of the delegations of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and my own delegation, I should also like to express to you, Mr. President, the distinguished representative of a friendly country, Panama, and a respected diplomat, our happiness at seeing you in the presidential chair of the Council for this month. Your experience and integrity plus the wisdom of all the other members of the Council assure that the work of this meeting will attain the ultimate goal and consequently will be crowned with complete success.

169. The world has its eyes focused on this meeting of the Council on Angola's admission to full membership in the United Nations. The fact that the world's eyes are on all seated around this Chamber is an indication that the world has not lost its faith in the values, attributes and high sense of responsibility of all the components of the Council in cases such as the one under consideration today. The world still has faith in the members of the Council, in the way you will exercise your wisdom and your exemplary sense of justice, which should always prevail over any ill feeling, in the discharge of the high responsibility entrusted to the members of the Council as guardians of the fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter.

170. My delegation is among those which believe that the Council's endeavours will not fail today. We feel that because we see none here who may like to lead this important organ of the United Nations into

failing once more to meet the deep hopes and sincere expectations of the world. My delegation is much more convinced that the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to membership in the United Nations will be unanimously judged fair and reasonable because MPLA knew how to conduct its struggle and to follow the correct course in order to respond to the demands and fulfil the sacred aspirations of the great people of Angola.

171. We do not believe there is anyone here who does not recognize the sacrifices made by the people of Angola under the leadership of MPLA. We are absolutely sure that the people of Angola rejoice at the recognition of their sacrifices so far given by OAU, by the non-aligned countries and by many nations bilaterally. We believe that the attitude of the Council today cannot be inconsistent with what the United Nations passionately advocated and stood for many, many years until Portuguese colonialism crumbled and withdrew from Angola. So, in our view, the victory of the people of Angola is a victory for the international community.

172. Our delegations are therefore convinced that the victory of the people of Angola in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism backed by international imperialism would not have been achieved so soon had it not benefited from the determined and concerted efforts of the people and countries which did not support the Fascist Portuguese colonialism but stood by MPLA from its inception. We are sure that the right of the people of Angola to become a full Member of the United Nations will not be jeopardized, for they fought for nothing else but to retain the right to represent themselves and their interests everywhere. They fought for peace and security in the world.

173. The experience of Angola in the struggle for independence, peace, justice and progress is already known by a great part of humanity, for it forms part of the common heritage of all and the history of the peoples. The admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the Organization would provide the young State with one more forum in which to contribute its experience.

174. Though colonialism is dying, the truth is that in various parts of the globe peoples are still being held under foreign domination. The Organization has an important role to play in the application of the principle of self-determination and independence in those areas.

175. The experience of Angola is an important contribution in the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the development of the struggle of people still under the yoke of foreign domination. On the other hand, there are places where the fundamental rights of the people are still being trampled by a Fascist Government. Here also, the experience of Angola is a valuable contribution for the consolidation of the

role of the United Nations in developing the struggle of peoples oppressed by tyrannical régimes.

176. We struggled side by side with the people of Angola; we faced the same enemy, which was supported by the most powerful and imperialist nations. So we believe that Angola's request for admission to full membership in the United Nations means it will give full co-operation and make its contribution to peace and to the creation of conditions which would enable that country to initiate friendly relations with all peoples and States in order to build a new world in which there is harmony, respect and international security.

177. This is the second time the Council has met to consider an application for membership in the United Nations by the People's Republic of Angola. We sincerely think that the reasons and arguments that were capriciously put forward here at the first meeting will now be found to be outdated, unfair and unreasonable.

178. We believe that the admission of Angola today would not in any way mean the defeat of any nation. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country once said; "It is only a question of reconsidering an opinion in order to bring it more closely into harmony with the process of history and the sacred goals of the United Nations".

179. My delegation believes that the People's Republic of Angola possesses all the necessary prerequisites and fulfils the conditions laid down by the Charter for membership in the United Nations.

180. We are here today to reaffirm our conviction that the People's Republic of Angola should be admitted to the United Nations as a full Member. We should like to associate the voices of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe with those most prominent voices that have made it categorically clear that there is nothing which shows that Angola is unfit for membership in the United Nations. We endorse the application, and we categorically state that the People's Republic of Angola deserves the right to be seated as a full Member of the United Nations in accordance with the most noble principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations.

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

182. Mr. KANTE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the fact that the Security Council's consideration of the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to the United Nations is occurring under your presidency,

one week after the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, is undoubtedly not a mere matter of chance. It is, in effect, because of your integrity and, particularly, because of that political commitment which is so characteristic of you as a militant of the third world that the African Group and the non-aligned countries have been particularly concerned that these two matters, which are of such great moment to them, should come before the Council at a time when you had assumed the presidency. You may rest assured that the object of this demonstration of confidence is not only your eminent personality but also your well-loved country, Panama, with which my country, Mali, as my delegation would particularly like to emphasize, shares aspirations to justice and a similar destiny.

183. This debate which began today in consideration of the application of the People's Republic of Angola for admission to the United Nations gives my delegation an opportunity to welcome the sister delegation of Angola, led by Mr. de Figueiredo.

184. My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to proclaim the courage and heroism of the militants of MPLA, those ardent patriots who have carried the flame of Mani a-N'gola, Zinga and other immortals who have written the finest pages in the history of the Angolan resistance to colonial domination. My delegation would like to pay tribute to the valiant people of Angola for the exceptional contribution they have made in the struggle being waged by Africa to liberate itself from the colonial yoke and from the oppression of racist minorities.

185. The victory won by MPLA, led by our brother Agostinho Neto, over the colonialist forces and those of their racist henchmen is a victory not only of militant Africa but also of all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples which throughout the world are struggling for the liberation of mankind. Therefore it should be seen in the context of the world revolution which is being carried forward and which has already shaken the foundations of the old order typified, as it was, by exploitation and oppression of the weakest by the strongest.

186. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola, under the enlightened guidance of its leader, Mr. Agostinho Neto, after having liberated the country and foiled a plot that was hatched against the Angolan people through puppet intermediaries, has devoted itself to organizing life in that country and to ensuring the security of its population. The young People's Republic of Angola has never ceased to affirm itself and to make its presence felt since its proclamation of independence on 11 November 1975. It is recognized today by almost all Governments of the world, including its immediate neighbours. It is a member of OAU and of the non-aligned movement. Thanks to its dynamism, its weight and authority are daily increasing in those organizations.

187. The Government of Mali considers that the popular Government of Agostinho Neto, which proclaimed in the Constitution of Angola its devotion to the Charter of the United Nations and to those of OAU and the non-aligned movement, does not need any introduction here. The President of the People's Republic of Angola, further, forcefully reaffirmed those commitments in a letter dated 22 April last addressed to the Secretary-General [S/12064]. The foreign policy of his Government is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Furthermore, the long liberation struggle the Angolan people waged with so much resolve against the Fascist régimes of the notorious Salazar and Caetano, during which so many of its best sons heroically gave up their lives—is that not something which derives its legitimacy from the Charter itself?

188. Furthermore, the People's Republic of Angola has since its proclamation actively contributed to the efforts made by the Organization to liberate Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa from the domination of the racist minorities of Pretoria and Salisbury. Many of the Members of the Organization would be unable to present such a record, which goes far beyond the obligations deriving from Article 4 of the Charter. That is why the rejection on 23 June 1976 [1932nd meeting] of its first request for admission to the United Nations, because of the veto cast by the Government of the United States, was disapproved of by the international community as a whole. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to reiterate its thanks to those Members of the Security Council that supported the candidacy of the People's Republic of Angola at the meeting of 23 June.

189. We are informed that this time the Government of the United States will forgo the exercise of its right of veto against the Angolan Government's request for admission. If this is confirmed at the end of the debate, my delegation would take it into account and regard it change of attitude on the part of the United States Government as a response to the appeals made to it, including that made by Colonel Charles Samba Cissokho, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of my country, in the toast he pronounced as President of the African Group on 8 October last on behalf of the member States of OAU to the Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger.

190. The admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations, which will shortly be confirmed by the votes in the Council, will reinforce not only the universality of the Organization but also its authority and its weight. Furthermore, it will constitute a major victory for all those who are working throughout the world to bring about the advent of the new era based on peace, justice and progress for all, which we so eagerly await. It will mark the end of arbitrary rule, which is the reign of force over reason and law.

191. Mr. President, I cannot conclude without thanking, through you, the members of the Council who have authorized my delegation to participate in this debate on the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations.

192. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): At this point I should like to make a statement as the representative of PANAMA.

193. The delegation of Panama expresses its special gratification at the decision of the Committee on the Admission of New Members to recommend to the Security Council the adoption of the draft resolution contained in document S/12234 recommending to the General Assembly the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations.

194. We find that it is a positive fact that the United States, in the Committee, set aside its opposition to the admission of Angola to the Organization. It is our hope that that gesture will presage new and consistent steps in the promotion of the principles and purposes of the United Nations by that country.

195. In spite of the geographical fact of the distance that materially separates us from it, Angola already has historical and cultural ties with the Latin American countries and those ties will inevitably become stronger day by day.

196. The admission of Angola as a full member of the family of the United Nations will mark the culmination of another great day in the history of liberation. In our view, this represents significant progress towards the final goal of the total decolonization of southern Africa which will be achieved when *apartheid* is brought to an end and when self-determination and majority government are achieved in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania, so that those countries may occupy their rightful place in the concert of independent States.

197. Latin America—and in this case I am referring to the countries which won their independence from Spain in the nineteenth century—was not long recognizing its cultural identity and, once the wounds of the struggle for emancipation were healed, in establishing new ties of fraternal friendship with the mother country. The modern forms of Angolan culture have the same origin as ours, and this historical fact, whatever may have been the mistakes of the past, leads Latin Americans and Africans of Portuguese or Spanish language to speak in harmony in the debate on the major world problems.

198. In referring to our cultural and linguistic ties, I am not forgetting either the geographic or the economic and social realities. I speak thus merely to emphasize the fact that the solidarity and cohesion we need in the political struggle to achieve full

independence and sovereignty are rendered easier and more effective by the fact that the necessary exchange of views will to our ears resound with echoes of fraternal unanimity.

199. This is an appropriate occasion to recall that the struggle against colonialism institutionalized by Latin America in the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama in 1826 has, with the passage of time, been reflected in the great Latin American revolutions whose purposes have coincided with the ideals proclaimed by the non-aligned countries at Bandung in 1955, at Belgrade in 1961, at Cairo in 1964, at Lusaka in 1970, at Georgetown in 1972, at Algiers in 1973, at Lima in 1975 and at Colombo in 1976.

200. The admission of Angola to membership in the United Nations will be one more reason for the countries of the third world to work, as San Martín said to Bolívar in 1822, to merge the interests of our peoples "so that a solid prosperity may make it possible for them to enjoy the benefits of their independence".

201. That is the statement I wished to make as the representative of Panama.

202. Speaking now as PRESIDENT, I should like to inform members that some delegations have requested to speak in order to explain their position before the voting.

203. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): On 23 June last [*ibid.*], when the Security Council was considering Angola's application for admission to membership in the United Nations, the Chinese delegation stated its principled position on this question, pointing out that, as we were firmly against providing social-imperialism with a pretext for prolonging its acts of aggression and interference in Angola, we had decided not to participate in the vote on the relevant draft resolution. Today, after nearly five months have elapsed, it can be clearly that there is no fundamental change in the situation of Angola. In view of the foregoing, the Chinese delegation has decided again not to participate in the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/12234.

204. Mr. SCRANTON (United States of America): The United States will abstain in the vote on Angola's application for membership in the United Nations. Our decision to abstain rather than to oppose that application was made out of respect for the sentiments expressed by our African friends, some of whom have stated those sentiments here today.

205. We still have serious doubts about the true independence of the current Angolan Government. It is hard to reconcile the presence of a massive contingent of Cuban troops with the claim that Angola enjoys a truly independent status. The Angolan Government exercises only tenuous control over much

of Angola that still resists domination by the régime in Luanda. The fact that that régime depends heavily on Cuban forces for the maintenance of its security casts doubt on the degree of popular support which it can command within the country.

206. It is clear that the Cuban army, a foreign, non-African force, is waging a bloody and difficult guerilla war in three separate areas of Angola. We have heard disturbing reports that those Cuban occupation forces have been carrying out military assaults on undefended villages and towns in Angola. Those reported attacks include the killing of refugees, the burning of villages and the slaughter of the people's main source of food and livelihood: their cattle. Reportedly, several thousand Angolans have fled from this recent onslaught across the border into Namibia. We continue to believe that there is absolutely no justification for such a large foreign armed presence in an African State.

207. The real victims of this policy are, of course, the people of Angola, who have borne the weight of 14 years of colonial war and almost two years of civil war, with no end in sight. Even now there are an estimated 700,000 Angolan refugees and displaced persons.

208. Nevertheless, the United States has followed a consistent policy of support for African solutions to African problems and respect for the role of OAU. The Organization of African Unity has formally recommended United Nations membership for Angola, and OAU members have asked us to facilitate Angola's entry. For the reasons I have enumerated earlier, we cannot, in good conscience, vote in favour of the Angolan application for membership in the Organization. In this case, however, out of deference to African views, we will not oppose the application.

209. Mr. FIFOOT (United Kingdom): When the Security Council last met to consider Angola's application for admission to the United Nations, my delegation stated that we would vote for Angola's admission because we supported the principle of universality of membership of the Organization. That has remained our position, and it is for that reason that we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. We look forward to Angola playing a constructive role in the work of the United Nations.

210. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/12234 commending to the General Assembly the admission of Angola to the United Nations. This attitude should come as no surprise to anyone, since the French delegation had already, on 23 June last [*ibid.*], supported this same request for admission. As we had occasion to state at that time, and as we should like to repeat today, my delegation is always pleased to see a new Member swell the ranks of the Organi-

zation and bring us closer to the objective of universality, a principle to which my country is deeply attached.

211. My delegation considers that when the conditions laid down by the Charter are met by an applicant for membership, as is true of the People's Republic of Angola, which has pledged to discharge our joint obligations, everything militates in favour of its admission to the Organization.

212. The French Republic recognized the People's Republic of Angola on 17 February this year, and we are still ready to establish with it the best possible relations on a basis of equality and respect for the identity of each State. This is particularly true in the case of a country whose historical, cultural and economic ties with Europe are numerous. We would express the sincere wish that Angola will be able to overcome the difficulties that have surrounded its accession to independence, and we have no doubt that in future it will be able to affirm its international sovereignty, without any foreign interference.

213. With the People's Republic of Angola, a new African State of great importance will enter the United Nations. We are convinced that, like many other African countries before it, it will bring to our work a spirit of wisdom and generosity, and that it will contribute in the same constructive way to achieving the purposes and principles of the Charter.

214. The international community needs Africa; it needs that continent to find in it the political resources that will make it possible for it to solve its own problems. France has precise reasons for expressing its confidence and trust in the ability of the Organization of African Unity to find peaceful solutions to the difficulties we have all inherited from the past. Both regionally and on a world-wide scale, there can be no doubt that the People's Republic of Angola will be in a better position to play the important role which falls to it in the search for international peace and co-operation when it becomes a Member of the United Nations, which we hope will be very soon.

215. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As no other Council member wishes to speak at this time, I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in paragraph 6 of the report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Benin, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none with 1 abstention (resolution 397 (1976)).

One member (China) did not participate in the voting.

216. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Some delegations have requested to speak after the vote. Therefore, I shall now call on them in the order in which they asked to speak.

217. Mr. CHALE (United Republic of Tanzania): First and foremost, I must say how delighted we are with the results of the voting. This is the long-awaited day. That is why it is really and truly fitting to be glad and to rejoice. We are delighted because, this day and at this time, the People's Republic of Angola, our beloved sister country, which at one stage suffered the humiliation of being rejected by the decision-makers, has at long last been accepted to membership of the world body of the community of nations, the United Nations. We give Angola and its people a tremendous and overwhelming welcome. In point of fact, the announcement of the result of the vote by you, Mr. President, was, *ipso facto*, like saying: "Friend, come up higher; welcome aboard. *Amice, ascende superius*".

218. We warmly congratulate our brothers the gallant Angolan people, and encourage them to look ever forward, though the present status has been reached not without disappointments. Such is life, they say; all rising to a great place is in many cases by a winding stair. And to my brother, the representative of the People's Republic of Angola, who is with us here today, I would say: "Brother, you have gained victory, and the victory gained is indeed doubled because you, the achiever, bring home full numbers. Look at the votes scored and registered".

219. As we all know, the previous application was blocked by the veto of the United States. This was unfortunate, and very much against the principle of the universality of the Organization. Today, the weathercock has turned in a rather satisfactory direction. The United States delegation has been able to have second thoughts. It has opted to remove the kingpin which otherwise would stand in the way and thus impede and block the admission of the deserving, independent and sovereign State of the People's Republic of Angola to full membership in the Organization. This indeed is a step forward in the improvement of friendly relations. It is an amicable gesture which indicates a change of attitude and improves the United States image in the eyes of the Members of the United Nations in general, and members of the Security Council, in particular.

220. The United States delegation is commended for realizing the truism that no man has the right to fix the boundary of the march of a nation to independence and membership in the world body once the

conditions are met. No man, no State, has the right to say to its neighbour: "thus far shalt thou go and no further".

221. Mr. Dulles, then the United States Secretary of State, was reported to have said on 7 May 1954:

"The United States, as the first colony in modern history to win independence for itself, instinctively "—I repeat: instinctively—" shares the aspirations for liberty of all dependent and colonial peoples. We want to help and not to hinder the spread of liberty. We do not seek to perpetuate Western colonialism."

If that is the stand, the United States should express more concretely its sympathy with the nationalist groups and the emerging nations in Africa and elsewhere. If there is such a deep "instinctive" feeling for nationalism and universality of the United Nations, then invariably and increasingly the United States must support the nationalists and the emerging States.

222. Consequently, much as we appreciate the United States gesture in today's voting pattern, we feel that the gesture would have been more meaningful and would have gone a long way had the United States chief representative pronounced himself more positively on the question before us. None the less, it is a step forward.

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

224. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the outset, I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for allowing me to take part in this meeting. I should also like to express my delegation's satisfaction at the decision just adopted by the Council, which opens the way for Angola's incorporation in the membership of the Organization.

225. We hope that very shortly the General Assembly will receive the relevant report from the Council and that then we will all be in a position to welcome the representatives of Angola. In that way, the international community will pay a due tribute to a people which, for four centuries, was the victim of the most ruthless forms of colonial exploitation, a people which knew how to wage a heroic and difficult struggle to gain its full national independence.

226. That act will be in particular a tribute to the Angolan fighters who, led by MPLA, have been in the forefront of that struggle for freedom over the past 20 years. Throughout that long struggle many Angolans sacrificed their lives to achieve that most sacred right—the right of peoples to self-determination.

227. That the Council on this occasion was not hindered in the discharge of its obligations by the imposition of the veto should be hailed by all, since it enables us to take one more step on the road towards the consolidation of the universal process of decolonization and a march towards full universality of the Organization. For my Government and my people, it is a source of profound satisfaction to be able to welcome in our midst the representatives of the People's Republic of Angola.

228. I should like to make some additional comments in the light of certain things said in the course of this debate. Although this time it did not try to justify the use of the veto, the United States delegation deemed it necessary to make some affirmations which constitute further proof of its lack of respect for Angolan national sovereignty, and its inability to understand that the African States must enjoy the same prerogatives and rights as the peoples and States of other regions of the world.

229. In his statement a few minutes ago, the representative of the United States took the liberty of calling into question the independent and sovereign nature of the People's Republic of Angola by linking it to the presence in that country of Cuban military personnel, who, as we have said on other occasions, are there in Angola as a result of the sovereign decision of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola—the only authority competent to decide who may lend it that kind of assistance, for whatever time it deems necessary.

230. They did not go to Angola after having asked permission from the United States Government, nor did the request from the Angolan Government have the prior blessing of the United States Government, nor is it the intention of our Government to request it to obtain United States sanction to take any decision on this matter or on any other matter that falls strictly within the sovereign decisions of our own country and, in this case, a friendly country, Angola.

231. But if the presence of foreign military personnel within a State, in the view of the United States delegation, is a reason to question the degree of independence or sovereignty which a country enjoys, then, strictly speaking, the Washington Government is publicly telling in the Security Council some of its allies, friends and clients, how the United States views their respective independence.

232. Furthermore, the representative of the United States pointed to the fact that the Cuban troops are foreign troops. I shall not at this time explain the reasons for reaffirming our fraternal ties and our ties of solidarity with the Angolan people and with other African peoples. You, Mr. President, speaking as the representative of Panama, referred to the affinities and the historical ties, as well as the cultural and human bonds which link the peoples of Latin America and

the Caribbean with the African peoples and in particular with the people of Angola. I should merely like to offer members of the Council the following thought for their consideration.

233. An allegation was made by the United States, a State which was perhaps first in the world and in history to spread its troops to all the regions of the globe, in some cases with the authorization or permission of the States concerned, but in many other cases without any authorization of any kind, without any request from anyone and even in the face of the condemnation or rejection by the victims of the stationing of those troops. If those troops, when they are in the Far East or in the Caribbean or in the Pacific or in Europe are not foreign, then we must ask ourselves in what continent is the geographical location of that country which is known by the name of the United States of America? Is it an Asian country, since there are tens of thousands of United States troops in South Korea and Taiwan? Is it a country of the Pacific, where it has placed large military contingents? Is it a country located in Indo-China, where it sent half a million soldiers to sow destruction and death among the peoples of that region? Is it a country perhaps located in western Europe? Is it a country of the Caribbean region, where it is illegally occupying a portion of Cuban territory in Guantanamo, and where it has stationed troops in Panama?

234. Furthermore, I should like to recall that in the records of the Council, we find reflected the position of our Government in connexion with military co-operation with the Government of the People's Republic of Angola. That position was clearly stated when the Security Council last debated this matter, and representatives may recall it.

235. Our participation in the struggle waged by the Angolans led by their patriotic movement and by the leaders of the Angolan revolution who heroically fought in obedience to an agreed tradition of struggle for independence is a source of pride and satisfaction for us. The manner in which the peoples of the third world have valued that action is also reflected in the final documents of the Conference of the non-aligned countries held at Colombo last August.

236. I should like to add that in one part of his statement, the representative of the United States made a series of accusations against the Angolans and the Cubans, which leads us to suspect that the representative of the United States may perhaps have been the victim of effects which sometimes occur at this stage of the work of the General Assembly as a result of the fact that we have to make many statements in various United Nations bodies on different topics. When he spoke of the slaughter of refugees, the slaughter of cattle, the burning of villages, of attacks against defenceless peoples and of bloody war, for one moment I thought that through some administrative error on the part of some secretary the texts had

been mixed up and we were listening to part of the debate which took place at the Council's last meeting. I was thinking that Mr. Scranton had mentally transferred himself to the land of Viet Nam, and since he seems to be so much aware of the fate of United States military personnel which went to that land, he might unconsciously have been referring in the Council to some of the exploits which those United States military personnel carried out in Viet Nam, without having requested anyone's permission, not to defend freedom, but rather to destroy it.

237. At any rate, I shall say in this connexion with regard to the false statements made here by the representative of the United States that, this morning in the Fourth Committee,⁵ the representative of the South West Africa People's Organization referred to this campaign of propaganda invented, it would seem, by the South African authorities, originating in Pretoria and, as we have seen today, also indulged in by Washington, on the situation on the frontier between Angola and Namibia. We see how closely this is tied to South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, an aggression which was defeated a few months ago and which continues today unceasing activity of provocation and attacks on the part of racist Pretoria against the territory of Angola and, of course, also against the Namibian people.

238. At any rate, I should like to point out that today's words with respect to Angola, like yesterday's veto in connexion with Viet Nam, are the outcome of an arrogant and resentful policy. It was resentment which prompted the United States to prevent Viet Nam from being admitted to the Organization and it is resentment which even now, when it lifted its veto against Angola, led it nevertheless to level this kind of accusations against the Government and the people of Angola.

239. To conclude, I should like to say that I enjoy certain humorous expressions—whoever uses them—in our debates. In this context, I took careful note of the fine spirit demonstrated by Mr. Scranton at the end of his statement. Indeed, he spoke of the consistent policy of the United States *vis-à-vis* African questions and of the United States position of support of African solutions to African problems. He even said that the United States on this occasion today based its position on its deference to African opinions.

240. The Council and the Africans will soon be in a position to ascertain whether this was a joke or a change of position. Will the United States now support African solutions advocated by OAU in connexion with South Africa? Will the United States finally support the resolutions which imposed sanctions on the Pretoria régime, as that régime should be sanctioned? Will the United States now support the sanctions or the arms embargo against the South African régime? In a word, will the United States at the next opportunity demonstrate before the Council whether what we

heard today was a joke or an indication of a change of policy towards Africa?

241. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of the People's Republic of Angola. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

242. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (People's Republic of Angola): I wish to state at the outset that what has made it possible for me to address the Security Council today has been no favour of history and no enactment of a colonial decree. It has emerged from the heroic courage, sacrifice and blood of millions to Angolan men, women and children who have been fighting all their lives to make a dream come true. Today it is with justifiable pride that I humbly speak here on behalf of my Government and my countrymen. Today is therefore a day of cheer for those who are alive and a day of dedication to the many who gave their lives for the cause of freedom, to achieve what is no more than our just due—the endorsement of the membership of the People's Republic of Angola in this international community of nations.

243. I cannot but refer to the painful experience of my country being excluded from the United Nations since its independence by the veto of a Member State. We wish to warn that such misuse of the veto is not in the interest of the international community and of peace and stability in the world. The founding fathers of the Organization decided on the institution of the veto against the background of the Second World War. As is well known, it was introduced with the objective of keeping the peace. It was meant as a vehicle for international stability and not as one for obstructing the peace. We would, however, take this opportunity to express our gratitude to all the members of the Council that gave us their support on the occasion when the veto power was used to squeeze out limited bilateral objectives. Those who talk about universality of membership of the United Nations in one breath and oppose the admission of an African State fully supported by OAU and the non-aligned movement in another bear a full moral responsibility for frustrating the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

244. Justice is indivisible. Justice can never be suppressed. Justice will always surface in the tide of time. And it is in fulfilment of the justice of historical forces that Angola today is a free, sovereign and independent country. All members are aware of the long and bloody struggle the brave people of Angola waged to win their independence; and many and varied were the enemies we had to fight—not just imperialism, colonialism, economic exploitation, political repression, social injustice, human indignities, denial of even our fundamental human rights. No, in addition to all that we faced even greater odds—not only the enemy without but also the enemy within aided and abetted by external forces of imperialism and neo-

colonialism to strangle my country in its infancy, to throttle it almost in its act of birth. Here again the people of Angola, undaunted and unwearied, rose to the challenge once more in a long series of never-ending trials and tribulations. After having fought off and defeated the external enemy, the Angolan people rose nobly to the task of confronting the internal agents of the forces of imperialism, which even now are loath to give up their fading, dying grip on Africa and its riches.

245. The People's Republic of Angola is a sovereign and legitimate people, for the position we occupy in Africa and internationally has been attained through a heroic armed struggle against colonialism and imperialism—the longest armed struggle on the African continent.

246. During the years of the war of national liberation in Angola, MPLA—and hence the Angolan people—was subjected to all kinds of misrepresentation, misunderstandings and attempts at subversive division aimed at destroying the Angolan people's progressive advance in their armed struggle for complete independence. But thanks to the determination, courage and sacrifices of our people, MPLA, under the leadership of President Agostinho Neto, was able to overcome the obstacles placed in its path and to lead the Angolan people to sovereignty and independence and their just place in regional and international organizations.

247. It is well known that the liberation struggle of the Angolan people has had far-reaching consequences beyond our immediate borders, for our fight was and is a measure of our solidarity with, and encouragement of, those of our African brothers and sisters for whom the fight is not yet over. To them the Angolan people offer hope and assistance on every plane so that they too, like Angola today, can have freedom and their own sovereignty under the African sun. And it is because the Angolan people dealt such a death blow to the international forces of imperialism, colonialism, racism and *apartheid* that the racist minority régime to our south, correctly sensing the vital and dramatic role of Angola in the liberation of Africa, chose to invade our country militarily when we were but a few days old as a sovereign State. Even now the racist régime in Pretoria continues to instigate and encourage subversive elements to threaten our internal security and stability. Like Tarquin, South Africa took surreptitious strides towards its design to smother Angola. Like all instruments of darkness, they crawled into my country to sabotage Angolan independence and internal stability.

248. The evil machinery of propaganda of the racist régime in Pretoria continues today, as in the past, to seek to mislead the world. It continues, unabated, to peddle the impression that the People's Government is not in full control in Luanda. South Africa fails, and will continue to fail, to make any dent in the armour

of the Angolan people's solidarity. The power and strength of the People's Republic of Angola come not from a régime or government in Luanda but from the broad base of its masses, from the cities of the Angolan coast to the remotest villages in its backwoods. Every Angolan child is a warrior and zealously and jealously will safeguard the independence and stability of Angola.

249. Today our people are fundamentally engaged in the work of national reconstruction, which extends to the economic, political, military and social spheres.

250. On behalf of my Government and my country, I wish publicly to thank those who stood by us in our hour of need, in our darkest days. We will never forget those who came promptly to our aid, to participate directly in or contribute indirectly to the defence of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola. They acted in the right cause of safeguarding the gains of the Angolan revolutionary process. We owe them our highest gratitude. To the Soviet Union and to Cuba, and to our comrades in the socialist countries, we extend our sincere thanks. There are those who have deliberately misrepresented the friendship and assistance given to us by certain States. This campaign of libel and slander has been aimed at undermining Angola's independence. The campaign has been proved a lie. Today Angola is sovereign and master of its destiny and its policies.

251. To our African friends, with whom we have shared a common history, the difficult present and the hopeful future, to you our friends still in the process of struggling for your liberty, to you who have supported us, we are grateful and wish to say that Angola will stand by you in your struggles.

252. This is especially true for the liberation movements of southern Africa: it will indeed be a special occasion when we can clasp the hands of the representatives of free and sovereign Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania in the halls of the United Nations. We express solidarity with all those freedom fighters everywhere who are seeking to realize their dreams as we have realized ours. We Angolans who fought so hard and for so long do not easily forget our past. We thus extend full solidarity to those whose struggle is not yet over.

253. Angola has always been aware of its role in Africa. Thus, we have been playing and will continue to play our part in the affairs of OAU and within the movement of non-aligned countries. Our policy of non-alignment dated back to the formation of MPLA in 1955; since then, the Angolan people have been committed to consolidating the movement of non-aligned countries, and consequently, we reaffirm our solidarity with it.

254. The People's Republic of Angola is fully aware of the duties and responsibilities issuing from the fact of membership in this international Organization, and

we are fully prepared to shoulder our responsibilities. We shall join the United Nations to fight the evils and injustices which we struggled against all these years within our borders. We shall join in the fight for human dignity and freedom, particularly in Africa. No African can consider himself free when Africans are in bondage in our continent. Africa cannot be free until all Africa is liberated. Angola is therefore ready to assume its rights and duties in accordance with the rules of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

255. Freedom was not easily won for my people. Every inch of land in Angola is a graveyard of imperialism, colonialism and racism, and we are fully committed to eradicating injustice, exploitation, hunger and the denial of human rights all over the world. From this no one can deter us. The struggle continues, but victory is certain.

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

257. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): No less than 21 representatives have addressed the Security Council in the general debate, at short notice, at a meeting which had been expected to last only a few minutes. All the representatives have spoken in favour of the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations.

258. On behalf of OAU, I should like, through you, Mr. President, to thank all those non-members of the Security Council who spoke here in support of our cause. I also thank the members of the Council for recommending to the General Assembly that the People's Republic of Angola be admitted to membership of the United Nations.

259. We are particularly happy that the United States has reviewed its earlier position and refrained from standing in the way of Angola—indeed of Africa as a whole. We cannot agree with the explanations of the United States delegation regarding its abstention, but we respect them. It pains my delegation to see such a great country as the United States isolating itself so often by abstaining rather than voting in favour of justice as the world sees it. Fortunately, the wheels of progress do not admit brakes forever.

260. We hope that both the United States and China, a leader of the third world, will welcome with open arms the delegation of Angola once that valiant country has taken its rightful seat among us in the Organization, and will extend to the Government and people of Angola their understanding, friendship and co-operation.

261. I believe it was my good friend Lord Caradon who, addressing the Council, reminded the members

that while it is a good thing to be strong like a lion, it is not always wise to behave like a lion.

262. The sun shines for everybody. Let it shine brightly for the people of Angola.

263. Mr. President, you have just presided over a most important, indeed a historic, meeting. I congratulate you in the same breath as I congratulate the valiant people of Angola.

264. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of the United States, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

265. Mr. SCRANTON (United States of America): This has been a lengthier debate than any of us expected, and I shall try not to keep it going too long, but I do want to say a couple of things about what has been said by my Cuban colleague.

266. His indication that the Cubans went into Angola at the request of a legitimate Government is, I think, quite different from the actual fact. I am sure that all of us are aware that the first Cuban combat troops left Cuba on a troop vessel bound for Angola in early September 1975, over two months before Angolan independence and while the factions in Angola were still attempting to reconstitute the transitional Government. I think it should not be forgotten that their intervention took place at the same time that OAU was calling upon all States to refrain from further involvement in Angola.

267. Far more important than how they got there, however, is what they are doing there now, in view of the current situation in Angola. I remind the Council that the last South African forces left Angola in March 1976, nearly eight months ago. If the role of the Cuban troops was as described by their representative, one would expect to find that the Cuban army is concentrated along the Namibian border. In fact, the bulk of the Cuban forces are located in central and northern Angola, combating the active insurgencies in those areas. In addition, there are several thousand Cuban troops in Cabinda, over 1,400 kilometres from the Namibian border. I think the Cuban troop displacements make it obvious that their role is to protect the Luanda Government from internal opposition and not from external aggression.

268. Furthermore, my colleague has raised the question of the comments I made concerning what they are doing there. The reports detailing those events came not from me but from the international journalists within Namibia and were based on statements from refugees themselves. Reports we have received from other sources have supported those accounts and have, indeed, raised even graver accusations against the Cuban forces. I might suggest that, if international journalists were permitted to travel

inside Angola, those reports could be checked, and I would suggest to my colleague that he use the influence of his Government, which is now extremely strong in Angola, for that purpose: to make sure that there is fairness in these comments.

269. Last, but by no means least, I should like to make this point. He challenged the reasoning of the United States Government with regard to its support for Africans. May I say to you that, in our judgement, at least—and I think this is the judgement of many Africans who have told us so—there has been no Government which in the past year has tried harder and done more to obtain majority rule for Africans *sans violence* than the United States Government. And those efforts will continue, I can assure you.

270. In contrast, the Cuban Government continues to use troops in Africa—foreign troops, I might add—involved directly in violence.

271. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Cuba has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of his right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

272. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I do not wish to tax the Council's patience, either, since we have been meeting for quite some time and it is late.

273. I should like to restate what I said in connexion with the intervention of Cuban military personnel in Angola, as a result of a request made by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola. As for the dates, they have been recorded in the verbatim records of the Council's meetings in June.

274. I know that on other occasions the United States delegation has tried to present the facts in a different way and has set up its own timetable of events. Perhaps the information received by the authorities in Washington was not the most accurate, but at any rate that is a mistake which is not our fault but rather the fault of the sources of information of the United States Government, who were perhaps officials of the Central Intelligence Agency or any of the secret or semi-secret bodies which for many years, in Angola and elsewhere, co-operated with the colonialist authorities and assisted them in carrying out a cruel colonial war against African peoples.

275. I could say the same with regard to the information which Mr. Scranton apparently believes is very detailed and which he claims to possess even regarding the exact location of Cuban personnel at this time in Angola.

276. In connexion with what my comrades in Angola are doing now, I repeat what I said before. American accusations are nothing but a repetition of South

African propaganda. This is one of the ways in which the United States promotes "majority rule" in southern Africa. It is the method it has always utilized: financial support, political support, diplomatic support and military support for the colonialist and racist régimes of that region. And that support is reflected in the fact that the United States representative uses the Council to repeat what the spokesmen of South African propaganda have been saying for some time now.

277. He suggested that the Cuban Government should take some steps *vis-à-vis* the Angolan authorities—apparently in connexion with Mr. Scranton's concern that some journalists should obtain visas and travel to Angolan territory. In that connexion he said, roughly speaking, Cuban influence is very great in that country. Once again he is projecting imperialist thinking, and he is not capable of seeing how relations among other peoples are not the same as those which imperialism made traditional in the world. Relations between the Cuban Government and that of Angola do not even allow us to dream of exercising any influence on decisions which fall strictly within the competence of the Government of the Angolan people.

278. I understand that those problems are extremely difficult to understand for a Government which has taken on the role of world policeman and of ring leader of the forces of reaction, colonialism and racism and which has grown accustomed to imposing its will and its designs on all the peoples of the world. It is impossible for its representatives to understand any other kind of relationship between sovereign States. But though it may be very difficult for him to under-

stand it, there are other kinds of relationships in this world. There are other kinds of behaviour among sovereign States. And that is true of the relations which exist between the People's Republic of Angola and Cuba and those which exist between many sovereign, independent States of the world outside the imperialist sphere of domination.

279. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the provisions of the second paragraph of rule 60 of the provisional rules of procedure, I shall immediately transmit the recommendation adopted today by the Council to the General Assembly. This recommendation will replace the special report of the Security Council to the General Assembly which was adopted at the 1932nd meeting of the Council, held on 23 June 1976.⁶

280. If no other member of the Council wishes to speak and if there are no objections, I shall take it that the Council agrees to my proposal.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.

Notes

¹ A/31/197, annex IV, resolutions on political questions.

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 7th meeting, para. 254.

³ A/31/197, annex I.

⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 11th meeting, para. 42.

⁵ A/C.4/31/SR.30.

⁶ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 26, document A/31/113.

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