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MEETING: 16 DECEMBER 1982

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2408th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 16 December 1982, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Włodzimierz NATORF (Poland).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Panama, Poland, Spain, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2408)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint by Lesotho against South Africa:
Letter dated 9 December 1982 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Lesotho to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15515)

The meeting was called to order at 11.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Lesotho against South Africa:

Letter dated 9 December 1982 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Lesotho to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15515)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [2406th and 2407th meetings], I invite the representative of Lesotho to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Egypt, Guinea, India, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Swaziland, Yugoslavia, Zambia and Zimbabwe to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Molapo (Lesotho) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Legwaila (Botswana), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Kaba (Guinea), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Gonthier (Seychelles), Mr. Koroma (Sierra Leone), Mr. Steward (South Africa), Mr. Malinga (Swaziland), Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia), Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) and Mr. Mashingaidze (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Benin, Grenada, Kenya and Nicaragua in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ogouma (Benin), Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Wabuge (Kenya) and Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: Council members have before them document S/15525, containing the text of a note verbale dated 15 December from the representative of Guinea addressed to the President of the Council.

4. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): I congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency for the month of December. My delegation is confident that with your mature wisdom and diplomatic skill you will guide the work of this Council successfully in the course of this month.

5. I must pay a special tribute to my Latin American colleague, the representative of Panama, Mr. Carlos Ozores Typaldos, for the very competent manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of November.

6. I should also like to extend a hearty welcome to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho, Mr. Charles Dube Molapo.

7. South Africa's deadly hand has been extended once again, this time against Lesotho, yet again a small non-aligned country, a country which has consistently expressed its opposition to the inhuman policy of apartheid practised by the Pretoria régime and accordingly has been giving care and succour to refugees fleeing from South Africa's oppression.

8. The appearance before the Council of King Moshoeshoe II in person [2406th meeting] testifies to the serious nature of the situation produced by South Africa's recent aggression. Guyana maintains cordial relations with Lesotho, and in a spirit of solidarity

with the Government and people of that country, has issued a public statement condemning South Africa's recent aggression and expressing condolences at the loss of life suffered in that premeditated and savage attack.

9. This aggression by the *apartheid* régime against Lesotho is characteristic of South Africa's relations with its neighbours, as Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia all remind us. It forms part of a pattern of behaviour designed to frighten neighbouring States into submission. It is also merely an external expression of the policies of fear by which the régime seeks to ensure its survival. Intimidation and aggression are chosen tools of the *apartheid* régime for the maintenance of white minority domination. It is these policies for which the shame of Sharpeville and Soweto are remembered.

10. My delegation considered it its minimum duty to support resolution 527 (1982), which the Council adopted yesterday, condemning South Africa's aggression and demanding from South Africa payment of full and adequate compensation to Lesotho for the loss of life and damage to property suffered in the attack.

11. The case before us involves the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State, a non-aligned country, in blatant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and in disregard of numerous instruments adopted by the General Assembly, including the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security,¹ the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations² and the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States.³

12. It was just one week ago that the General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions concerning the various aspects of South Africa's *apartheid* policies, including the Pretoria régime's relations with its neighbours [resolutions 37/69 A to J]. In fact, by a strange coincidence, it was even while these resolutions were being considered that the news of the South African aggression broke.

13. South Africa's policies of aggression and its contempt for the rule of law and for the Charter have made the situation in southern Africa one of the dangerous flash-points facing the international community today. This recent aggression against Lesotho has underscored the urgency of the responsibility which this community bears to contribute effectively to the creation of a régime of peace, freedom, justice and stability in southern Africa. Many States, like Lesotho, continue to look to the Organization to discharge that responsibility fully and faithfully. Non-aligned countries have consistently held the conviction that the United Nations provides the most effective means of maintaining and promoting international peace and

security, strengthening freedom and harmonizing relations between States, a conviction reiterated at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979.⁴

14. Within the larger international community, a special responsibility of course devolves on the Council. Lesotho's approach to the Council demonstrates a faith in the ability of this body to act in support and in defence of small States threatened with, or victims of, aggression. It is important for us, its members, and for the permanent members in particular, to ensure that that faith is sustained.

15. But we should not as members of the Council consider our duty done simply with the adoption of a resolution condemning South Africa's aggression. In taking that action, laudable and correct as it was, we were addressing ourselves to only one manifestation of that malady afflicting southern Africa—*apartheid*, a system which has been declared by the General Assembly to be a crime against humanity.

16. The policies and practices of the racist Pretoria régime, both at home and abroad, constitute a grave threat to the peace and security of the area and to international peace and security in general. The Council must deal with that situation. The Pretoria régime has been consistently challenging the will and ability of the Council to do so. Unfortunately, there are some in our midst—and we know who they are—who have been bolstering this attitude of defiance and, while uttering the rhetoric of condemnation, have been providing South Africa with a shield against the action which the overwhelming majority of the international community have been consistently demanding. I cannot imagine what else South Africa must do. I do not know how many more Basotho, Angolans, Mozambicans, Zambians or South Africans must die before these protectors of South Africa change their policies and demonstrate to the Pretoria régime that they are no longer prepared to permit the evil and indignity of *apartheid* to continue. But I do sincerely hope that after this recent aggression against Lesotho, it will not be necessary for any more to die before those policies change—or at least, begin to change.

17. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): My delegation wishes initially to join in expressing warm congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. We wish you success, because we wish success to ourselves and to the Council as an institution.

18. We join also in extending congratulations to the representative of Panama, who provided effective and judicious leadership to the Council in the month of November and to our esteemed and valued colleague, the newly appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zaire. We are encouraged to note that there is life and accomplishment, and even promotion, after the United Nations. That is a good thing to know.

19. The Government and the people of the United States deeply deplore the South African attack into the neighbouring country of Lesotho launched in the early morning hours of 9 December. We deeply regret the tragic loss of innocent life that resulted from that attack. All concerned, including South Africa, must realize that violence cannot and will not solve the grave problems that confront the peoples of southern Africa.

20. Among the principles that animate the foreign policies of my country and govern our relations with all other nations, none is more fundamental, none more steadfastly held, that the non-use of force in conflict resolution. The only appropriate means for solving the problems of this and all other regions of the world are peaceful negotiation and conciliation.

21. We have made this position eminently clear to the Government of South Africa. It is at the core of the negotiations that we, in concert with many other States, African and non-African, are pursuing with regard to Namibia.

22. The requirement for peaceful coexistence and co-operation is nowhere more evident than in the relationship between Lesotho and South Africa. Lesotho is uniquely vulnerable. It must have the assurance that its sovereignty and territorial integrity will be respected.

23. We have listened to the judicious statement of King Moshoeshoe II [2406th meeting]. We welcome in particular his assurance that Lesotho is committed to the principles of co-operation and peaceful coexistence. We believe this assurance offers a firm and positive basis for establishing the necessary diplomatic channels through which Lesotho and South Africa can and must work together to allay their concerns and to solve their common problems.

24. Violence, from whatever quarter, must be condemned. Those who would promote or resort to violence must know that the consequence can only be more violence, an escalating cycle that presents only obstacles to solving real problems. More than most countries, South Africa surely must appreciate the consequences of further eroding international restraints against the use of violence. Whatever South Africa's concerns may have been, however legitimate they may have seemed, we cannot believe that they could not be resolved through diplomacy, or that they could in any way justify this violation of Lesotho's sovereignty and the resulting loss of innocent life.

25. The resolution that has been adopted by the Council embodies principles to which my Government, as I have said, attaches the highest importance. It reaffirms the solemn obligation of all States to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any State. It reaffirms the right of all States, including

Lesotho, to receive and provide humanitarian assistance to those seeking asylum, in accordance with humanitarian principles and with obligations clearly established in international conventions. It firmly reiterates the importance of seeking to resolve international problems through peaceful means.

26. Those are principles which my Government wholly and unequivocally endorses. They are indeed consistent with the strenuous efforts of my Government to promote practical, negotiated solutions to the problems of southern Africa, solutions that also would contribute to lasting peace and stability in the region. Thus, we voted in favour of resolution 527 (1982).

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

28. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): Allow me to extend to you, Sir, the best wishes of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. The people and Government of the People's Republic of Angola enjoy the most fraternal relations of solidarity and co-operation with the people and Government of Poland.

29. The recent massacre of civilian refugees in Maseru was nothing but brutal premeditated murder by racist terrorists sent by the Pretoria régime. These murders have no political or military justification, and those who seek to absolve the racist Pretoria régime of the responsibility for this massacre should be considered accessories after the fact.

30. Such massacres are Pretoria's stock-in-trade. Thousands of unarmed civilian refugees in Angola and thousands of unarmed Angolan men, women and children have fallen to Pretoria's bloodthirsty military adventurism since 1975. The racist armed forces of the Pretoria régime have carried out acts of armed aggression across the borders, rape, plunder, torture and destruction, not only in the People's Republic of Angola but in other neighbouring sovereign States as well. This massacre in Maseru is only the latest in a long series and, from what all of us know of Pretoria's designs and actions, it will certainly not be the last.

31. My cynicism is not aimed at the deed, but rather at the doers and their supporters. As long as Pretoria feels that it has the support, tacit or otherwise, of its Western allies, it will feel free to do as it likes in southern Africa. Certainly the bland statements issued after such massacres offer no comfort to the families of the victims and no assurance to the Governments and peoples that daily face South Africa's adventurism and State terrorism.

32. Respect for human life and human ideals should not be based on colour, continent or creed. Yet the response, or lack thereof, of Pretoria's Western friends to Pretoria's brutality and homicide reinforces Africa's

suspicion that African lives and African issues are worth less than others and are to be sacrificed to Western interests.

33. The Pretoria régime is guilty of the cold-blooded murder of Lesotho nationals and South Africans who had sought refuge in Lesotho after the Soweto uprising of 1976. It is tragic that they fled their country to escape racist State terrorism at home, only to be victimized by it, years later, in the country where they had exiled themselves.

34. The Pretoria régime has been guilty of every transgression of law: it has violated the civil, human, political and social rights of the majority inhabitants of South Africa; it is guilty of the illegal occupation of Namibia and a denial of the rights of the people of Namibia; it is guilty of acts of armed aggression against neighbouring sovereign States; and it is guilty of genocide and homicide inside and outside the borders of South Africa. This guilt has been determined by the United Nations, and yet the guilty party goes free and unpunished while the victims continue to suffer.

35. We appeal to the world public to express in more concrete terms the outrage that each of us feels, and must feel, at the massacre in Maseru. If South Africa is allowed to escape with nothing more than a mild censure, then all of us will be guilty of making a mockery of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and of basic respect for human life.

36. The tragedy in Maseru is Africa's tragedy and typifies the entire range of the historical relationships Africa has had: the imperialism, colonialism and racism, the exploitation and plunder and the denial of our inalienable rights—all of which are embodied in the policies and practices of the Pretoria régime.

37. Mr. President, my delegation appeals through you to the Council, and also appeals to the Secretary-General and through him to the international community, to secure for southern Africans redress and justice from the South African régime. It is now 16 months since the South African troops invaded Angola, and since then they have been in illegal occupation of parts of southern Angola. That illegal occupation is linked to the South African illegal occupation of Namibia; it is linked to the racist attacks on Mozambique and Botswana; it is linked to the violent suppression inside South Africa of the majority of South Africans; and it is linked to the recent massacre in Maseru. All these actions are part of South Africa's plans for permanent hegemony over Africa south of the Equator. The attractive bait the racist Pretoria régime offers to its Western friends is to keep southern Africa and its vast natural resources, including the shipping lanes, available to Western exploitation and control under the aegis of South Africa, courtesy member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Southern Africa has no room for either NATO or a South Atlantic treaty organization, and no room for murderers or

murderous régimes. As long as South Africa's imperialism continues, peace and security in southern Africa will be threatened.

38. The Council must make its abhorrence of the massacre known in no uncertain terms and must take concrete steps to punish the murderers.

39. *A luta continua; a vitoria é certa.*

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

41. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Permit me first of all, Sir, to express to you my heartfelt congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Council for this month. I am all the more pleased to see you presiding over the Council inasmuch as you represent a country with which Algeria has long-standing relations of friendship and co-operation. I wish also to pay a special tribute to your predecessor for the outstanding qualities he exhibited in conducting the proceedings of the Council last month.

42. We are meeting at an extremely serious moment. A sovereign country, a State Member of the United Nations, member of the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, has just been the victim of savage aggression by the South African régime.

43. Unfortunately, this is not the first time that that régime has committed such acts, strengthened as it is by the impunity it enjoys, thereby outrageously violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent African States of the region. Namibia, whose territory continues to be illegally occupied despite the many injunctions of the international community, Angola, Zambia, Botswana, Seychelles, Mozambique and Lesotho regularly pay their tribute in human lives and destruction of all kinds to that political monstrosity, the Pretoria régime.

44. On 9 December, while Africa was still counting its dead in Namibia and Mozambique, the racist hordes of the South African régime were invading Lesotho. This fresh act of aggression, like those which preceded it, cost the lives of dozens of innocent victims, including women and children, and caused enormous material losses to a country courageously struggling against economic difficulties to ensure its development. Once again, the racist régime of Pretoria has shown unbounded, deadly rage.

45. King Moshoeshoe described in the Council the circumstances in which that act of aggression took place [*ibid.*]. I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to pay a well-deserved tribute to the King of Lesotho for having himself given solemn and particularly moving testimony on all the aspects of that serious

aggression. The dignity and resolve which characterized his statement also exemplified the moral force of a people and a continent which reject the blackmail and diktat of a régime abhorred by all mankind.

46. For many years now, a policy of aggression and subversion methodically programmed and strictly implemented has kept the entire region in a state of instability and insecurity. That policy, which takes the form of increasingly bold acts of aggression, continues to pose a challenge to the international community and, first and foremost, to the United Nations, dangerously undermining its foundations and flouting its authority. Need we recall that after every crime, debates in both the General Assembly and the Security Council have assigned responsibility, ascertained that aggression has taken place and identified the aggressor?

47. However, the United Nations has quite often laboriously prepared meaningless responses when the Pretoria régime has presented it with another *fait accompli*. The process of deterioration of the situation can only accelerate. In this connection, the impressive number of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions devoted to the repeated acts of aggression of the Pretoria régime, while fully reflecting the perception of the growing threat to international peace and security represented by South Africa, show no less clearly the hopeless limitations of their action.

48. While today this new act merely reveals once again the aggressive nature of the Pretoria régime, it nevertheless indicates a new and exceptionally dangerous dimension to the situation in southern Africa.

49. After having for years resorted to appeals and injunctions which have remained dead letters, the international community today must envisage the necessary adaptation of its responses to the escalation and intensity of the challenges.

50. The international community expects the Council to shoulder fully its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations and to respond to that aggression by urgent, concrete measures, in order to put an end once and for all to the Pretoria régime's defiant policy.

51. At this point I should like to say how much we welcome the Secretary-General's appeal in his report on the work of the Organization.⁵ Following an excellent diagnosis of the serious shortcomings of the United Nations, the Secretary-General echoed the views of those Member States that have expressed their concern over the continuous deterioration in international relations and the frequent recourse to the use of force, especially by expansionist régimes such as that of Pretoria. The Secretary-General also

recalled in this connection the Security Council's special responsibility. In a resolution on the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization adopted unanimously on 3 December [resolution 37/67], the General Assembly emphasized the urgent and imperative need to adhere strictly to the provisions of the Charter and to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. The Assembly also requested the Security Council to carry out its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and to give due consideration to the report of the Secretary-General.

52. In our view, therefore, the Council, in addition to condemning this fresh act of aggression and its perpetrator and demanding compensation for the losses suffered by Lesotho as provided for in resolution 527 (1982) which the Council adopted yesterday, must seriously consider strengthening the arms embargo which has already been imposed and also consider what other sanctions could be imposed in the near future against the *apartheid* régime.

53. For our part, we cannot imagine in what circumstances it might one day be necessary to apply the comprehensive mandatory sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter if not in response to the repeated criminal acts of an intolerable régime which practises a policy of discrimination that has been declared a crime against humanity and which the entire world has denounced and condemned.

54. Furthermore, it is obvious that a programme of emergency assistance should be established to express our solidarity with Lesotho and all other countries of southern Africa which are the victims of such deadly acts of aggression simply because their territories at times offer asylum and refuge to victims of *apartheid* and South African oppression. We welcome the initiatives already taken in this connection by the Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

55. In conclusion, I wish to stress that the Government of Algeria strongly condemned that criminal aggression against an independent sovereign State Member of the United Nations the very day it was committed, as an act which illustrates—if illustration were necessary—Pretoria's total disregard of the elementary norms of international law. While paying homage to the innocent victims of that barbarous raid, Algeria reaffirms its unfailing support for and solidarity with the brother peoples of Lesotho and the other front-line States which continue to make an invaluable contribution to the emancipation of Africa.

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

57. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): I would like first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of December. Your experience and the high esteem your colleagues have for you make us certain that you are going to discharge your duties successfully, contributing to the observance of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

58. We would also like to express our appreciation to Mr. Carlos Ozores Typaldos of Panama, for the performance of his duties as President for the month of November.

59. I would like to express my gratitude to the members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to present the views of Yugoslavia regarding the aggression by South Africa against sovereign, independent and non-aligned Lesotho.

60. The Government of Yugoslavia issued a statement in Belgrade strongly condemning the invasion by South Africa of Lesotho and its continuous aggression against neighbouring States and liberation movements in the region.

61. We remain deeply impressed by the courageous, dignified and inspiring statement by the King of Lesotho [2406th meeting]. Coming from an island of independence that is surviving under the shadow of the imperialist and expansionist *apartheid* régime, he presented to the Council and to all of us a telling example of the determination of the people of Lesotho to maintain the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country and of their resolve to provide a haven for the unfortunate people fleeing from the terror and discrimination of the racist régime of South Africa.

62. Yugoslavia considers that this resolve of the people of Lesotho to remain independent and to extend help to refugees makes it incumbent upon the United Nations to rise in defence of this proud land.

63. South Africa has once again flagrantly violated the norms of civilized international behaviour, and the principles and purposes of the Charter in particular, violating the sovereignty and territorial of an independent and non-aligned State. South Africa should, in our view, be unequivocally condemned and restrained in its designs.

64. The abhorrent system of *apartheid* is a feature of the internal situation in South Africa, but here we are faced once again with the *apartheid* régime as an international menace attacking the basic principles of international relations and endangering peace and security in the whole region. By its repeated aggression against the neighbouring non-aligned States of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Seychelles and Zambia, all peace-loving States, South Africa seeks to destabilize the whole region in order to advance its expansionist designs and to strengthen

and perpetuate its inhuman régime. It seeks to annihilate the liberation movements and strengthen its hold on Namibia and its economic potential.

65. In its aggression against Lesotho, South Africa has again applied the means of State terrorism. It has tried once again—as has been said earlier—to assume the role of policeman, of judge and of executioner, sowing suffering, destruction and death.

66. The people of Lesotho sustained heavy losses owing to the fact that they stood up to their international obligations, to their high sense of solidarity and to their dedication to the standards of humanity. There is no doubt in our mind that Lesotho is fully entitled to complete and adequate compensation by South Africa for the damage sustained. We are fully aware that the loss of human life cannot ever be compensated for. Life has been taken away from people who aspired to live in freedom and who had fled from oppression and domination. There should be no hesitation on the part of the United Nations and the international community to render Lesotho effective assistance in order to help it repair the damages and enable it to carry out its high duty and exercise the right to give further humanitarian and other assistance to South African refugees.

67. The non-aligned countries have repeatedly condemned the racist régime of South Africa for its wanton use of force and its defiance of the United Nations. At the meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries held on 14 December 1982, those countries expressed solidarity with and support to Lesotho and to the front-line States in their defence of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

68. The non-aligned countries have time and again clearly spelt out the threat that South Africa represents to international peace and security. We welcome the statement made by the Secretary-General and the appeal that he made [*ibid.*]. He expressed our feelings and our understanding of the situation, as well as the dangers it contains for peace and security.

69. Together with other non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia supported the adoption of the General Assembly resolution on the invasion of Lesotho by South Africa [resolution 37/101 of 14 December 1982]. The people of Yugoslavia hold freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity to be values of paramount importance. All those, be they States or liberation movements, that fight for these values are invincible, and they are to be supported if we are to bring about a world of peace, co-operation and security for all. The defence of these values is one of the fundamental principles of the policy of non-alignment.

70. The determination expressed by the King of Lesotho strengthens our belief that no matter how small and how weak a country may appear, it is its

resolve to remain free and independent that is the cause that is of supreme value for all of us to support.

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

72. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, my delegation is pleased to see you preside over the affairs of the Council for this month. We are imbued with confidence that under your leadership the call of the people of Lesotho which King Moshoeshoe II launched here with such dignity and so movingly on Tuesday [2406th meeting]—the call to vindicate the faith which his people have placed in the Organization and not to abandon his country, which South Africa has historically coveted—will be heard.

73. In the aftermath of the armed aggression perpetrated by South Africa against sovereign and independent Lesotho and the cruel and cold-blooded immolation of innocent men, women and children, the Council, as the custodian of international peace and security, is now being asked to assume its responsibility and to protect and defend one of the weakest but most peaceful Members of the United Nations.

74. The case against South Africa is that in the early hours of 9 December, it launched an armed and unprovoked aggression against the sovereign and independent State of Lesotho. In carrying out that hideous crime, South African forces used military aircraft and helicopters against the citizens of Lesotho, South African refugees, and Government apartments and dwellings leased to South African refugees. In this dastardly, cowardly and barbaric act, some 42 innocent lives were lost, including women and children, through the indiscriminate bombing of dwellings. In some cases, we are informed, the victims were awakened and callously shot in cold blood.

75. South Africa thus stands accused of the illegal use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of a Member State of the United Nations. Furthermore, by its action against Lesotho, South Africa stands accused of committing a deliberate and calculated act of aggression—the gravest of all crimes against international peace and security—against the sovereign State of Lesotho.

76. With a view to justifying its naked act of aggression, South Africa saw fit to construct the theory of anticipatory or preventive aggression, that is, that its aggressive operations were intended to pre-empt operations planned by refugees of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) resident in Lesotho against targets in South Africa.

77. However, not only is the theory of anticipatory or preventive aggression fallacious and untenable, it is also dangerous—indeed, very dangerous—to the maintenance of international peace and security

throughout the world. As members are aware, the Council has taken the stand that armed reprisals of a punitive or retributive nature are illegal and unacceptable, for no State should be entitled to act on its own judgement of whether the circumstances justify what it is doing. South Africa can therefore find no excuse for the aggression by pleading self-defence either, as it has not demonstrated by an iota of evidence that any attack has been launched against it from Lesotho. Nor can it avail itself of the excuse of the necessity for instant, overwhelming action, with no other choice of means and no moment for deliberation, which are the prerequisites for the invocation of the self-defence plea.

78. It therefore follows that since South Africa has no justification for its illegal use of force against Lesotho, South Africa must be judged under Article 39 of the Charter of the United Nations and measures taken against it in accordance with the provisions of Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter. In this particular case, the offence committed by South Africa is of such gravity that an appropriate response reflecting the abhorrence with which the international community views the action must be taken against South Africa, not only to help Lesotho maintain its security but also in order to restore confidence in the international security system and to ensure that aggression, particularly when flagrant and unprovoked, as is the act at present under discussion, does not go unpunished.

79. Urgent and pressing though this particular question before the Council is, the problem itself is a much wider one than that of the launching of armed aggression against the territory of Lesotho. It should be viewed as a continuation of the rapidly deteriorating international situation in southern Africa brought about by the policy and practice of the *apartheid* Government of South Africa. As a distinguished United States citizen recently predicted, southern Africa could become the Middle East of the 1990s. South Africa's armed invasion of Lesotho not only violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country, but also poses a clear and manifest threat to international peace and security in the whole of southern Africa, and in several instances, for South Africa's conduct has constituted distinct breaches of the peace and acts of aggression. It also further escalates the potential for military conflict in the entire region of southern Africa.

80. When in the 1960s, before Basutoland became Lesotho, African States warned that the situation in South Africa was one that would lead to international conflict and, if it continued, might endanger international peace and security, South Africa denied that proposition, and together with its friends, maintained that its *apartheid* policy was an internal matter which posed no threat to international peace and security. Today, no one can deny the prescience of those few African States of the 1960s, for it is now apparent that the inhuman policy of the Pretoria racists con-

stitutes a veritable threat to international peace and security.

81. The Council, which is charged with the maintenance of international peace and security, cannot allow such international brigandage and lawlessness to go on unchecked, particularly when they lead to consequences which are now all too glaringly obvious and which are fraught with danger to international peace and security. It is for this body to put a stop to such international lawlessness. The adoption of a resolution which merely confirms South Africa's misconduct is not an appropriate response to the naked aggression committed by that country. Nor is it an appropriate response to its unilateral denunciation of the Charter and its principles or to the blatant challenge to the international community.

82. The Council should not succumb to the temptation of collective capitulation when confronted by such brazen and arrogant challenges as that of South Africa in Lesotho. We again reiterate our call to the Council to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under the terms of Chapter VII of the Charter. We cannot accept that collective action for the maintenance of international peace and security does not apply to southern Africa, where the racist Pretoria régime has not only intensified its repressive measures internally to maintain the abomination that is *apartheid*, but has persistently conducted acts of aggression against neighbouring States of the region with a view to destabilizing them. The United Nations must help Lesotho maintain its security by dispatching substantial forces if it again falls victim to South Africa's attack.

83. In conclusion, we salute King Moshoeshe and the people of Lesotho for their heroic resistance and sacrifice in the cause of Africa's freedom. We bow before the martyrs who were slain last Thursday in the cause of the glorious struggle against the evil and oppressive system of *apartheid*.

84. Finally, I wish to thank all the members of the Council most sincerely for according me this opportunity to address the Council.

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

86. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): I wish to begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your well deserved accession to the presidency for the month of December. I have no doubt that with your well-known diplomatic skills and competence, you will steer the work of the Council to a successful conclusion. I should like furthermore to thank all the members of the Council for allowing my delegation to speak on the serious question of the invasion of Lesotho by South Africa on 9 December.

87. It was with a great sense of shock and indignation that Zambia heard about the barbaric invasion of Lesotho by the South African military forces. My Government was quick to condemn the invasion in the strongest terms. The entire international community was outraged and horrified, and has roundly condemned the dastardly South African aggression against Lesotho. It is needless to emphasize the fact that the Council was duty-bound to pronounce itself unequivocally on the violation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lesotho and to take measures aimed at preventing the repetition of such barbaric attacks against Lesotho by South Africa.

88. Lesotho reposes great faith in the Council, as has been amply demonstrated by the presence of the King of Lesotho himself, who has come to New York to seek redress through the Council for South Africa's wanton aggression against his people and country. The King of Lesotho has, with dignity, convincingly argued the case of his people and country. His most eloquent statement [*ibid.*] leaves no room for doubt as to the guilt of the Pretoria régime.

89. We note that the Council has responded to the complaint by Lesotho by unanimously adopting resolution 527 (1982) yesterday afternoon. We are pleased that the Council has been able to act with speed and complete unanimity. The verdict is quite clear, and South Africa has, accordingly, been censured by the Council. We hope that South Africa will take heed and henceforth demonstrate full respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lesotho.

90. But beyond the political action taken yesterday by the Council, it is necessary, in our view, that appropriate measures be taken as a matter of urgency to redress the economic devastation Lesotho has suffered as a result of the South African aggression against it. We are naturally encouraged in this regard by the fact that the Secretary-General, through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, has already initiated concrete action for relief assistance to the victims of the South African attacks against Lesotho. Neither must South Africa escape its responsibility to pay reparations to Lesotho immediately.

91. As a representative of Zambia, a country which has on many occasions been subjected to South Africa's acts of invasion and other wanton acts of violence, I am only too aware of the need for support and sympathy for Lesotho in this difficult moment. Lesotho has been an innocent victim of South Africa's aggression because of the principled stand it has taken towards the monstrous institution of *apartheid*. It is a remarkable feat that Lesotho, although small and completely surrounded by South Africa and almost defenceless against the might of South Africa's military arsenal, has not been daunted by these odds and remains a forthright opponent of the insidious system of *apartheid*.

92. Today, Lesotho is acting as host to South African refugees in large numbers. These refugees are fleeing from South Africa in search of peace, which they cannot find in their own country. But Lesotho is doing this at a tremendous cost to itself, as is evidenced by South Africa's barbaric invasion, in which innocent refugees and other innocent Lesotho subjects were killed and property was destroyed. Lesotho therefore deserves international admiration for standing up for what is in the best interests of the struggling masses of South Africa and for the cause of peace and security in the region.

93. Lesotho is making a monumental contribution to the effort by the international community to eliminate the system of *apartheid*. That is the reason why South Africa invaded Lesotho. No one can believe South Africa's lie that its forces killed terrorists of the ANC who were purported to have been preparing to overthrow the Pretoria régime. We consider the question of the so-called ANC terrorists to be a callous fabrication, because the ANC has had no terrorists in its ranks in the first place.

94. Besides, it is a well-established fact that Lesotho is merely acting as host to refugees from South Africa; the refugees undertake never to engage in any military activities against South Africa as a condition of their stay in that peace-loving country, Lesotho. These people could not therefore be accused of planning to overthrow the Pretoria régime.

95. Zambia is gravely concerned at South Africa's relentless lust for aggression and for the destabilization of the neighbouring independent African States. These acts of aggression by South Africa have reached alarming proportions, which underscores the imperative necessity for the Council to put an end to the situation without any further delay. In this connection, I am reminded of the unprovoked attack that South Africa made on Mozambique on 6 December 1982. I am reminded also of the presence of South Africa's military forces in the southern part of Angola, in direct contravention of the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Angola. I am further reminded of the threats of the use of brutal force that South Africa has issued to Botswana and Zimbabwe, and generally to all countries in the southern African region.

96. It is most disturbing that, for South Africa, international law seems to be there to be honoured only in the breach, while the rest of mankind honours it as a standard of international conduct among nations. This international lawlessness by South Africa deserves unreserved and strong condemnation by the law-abiding international community.

97. My delegation considers it beyond human comprehension that South Africa could be killing in cold blood all those, inside and outside its borders, who are opposed to the despicable system of *apartheid*, and at the same time subjecting its peaceful neigh-

bours to a series of unprovoked acts of military aggression and destabilization.

98. In this regard, we wish to reiterate Zambia's view that all those who oppose the system of *apartheid* do so on principle, since that system has been condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity. As long as South Africa clings to this crime against humanity, it must necessarily remain an international pariah.

99. Peace and security can come to southern Africa only if South Africa takes three important steps. First, South Africa must forthwith stop its policy of aggression and destabilization of the neighbouring independent African States. Secondly, South Africa must as a matter of urgency cease its illegal occupation of Namibia so that freedom and independence can finally come to the people of Namibia. Thirdly, South Africa must with courage and determination face the realities of the contradictions of the system of *apartheid* inside the country and recognize the imperative need to eliminate the scourge of that system.

100. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate Zambia's firm solidarity with the Government and people of Lesotho in the face of South African aggression. The principled position and courage of the Government and people of Lesotho should inspire the international community, and above all, the Council, to do everything possible to assist that country.

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

102. Mr. KABA (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Since this is the first time I have spoken in the Council this month, it is my great pleasure most warmly to congratulate you, Sir, on behalf of my country, the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, on your accession to the presidency of the Council. Your country, the People's Republic of Poland, maintains with mine, since its accession to full sovereignty, the best of relations of co-operation and friendship. We are therefore very pleased to see you presiding over this body which has as its main function the maintenance of international peace and security.

103. We wish to take this opportunity also to express appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Ozores Typaldos of Panama, who so admirably acquitted himself of his duties in the course of last month.

104. The Council is once again meeting to consider the consequences of further barbarous acts of the fascist and racist régime of Pretoria against the independent States of southern Africa. It is instructive that that régime continues to adopt as a line of international conduct in its relations with its neighbours

the permanent violation of the basic provision of the Charter of the United Nations.

105. The Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea is convinced that it is imperative that the Council envisage stronger measures to put an end to the arrogance of the Pretoria régime and to bring it to reason.

106. It is in the name of the principle of solidarity with peoples fighting for their freedom and dignity, a principle to which the Government of Guinea remains committed, that Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, President of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, has addressed to the President of the Council the message that it is now my honour to read out:

"I have the honour to inform you of the deep indignation of the people and Government of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea following the armed incursion by the fascist troops of Pretoria against Maseru, capital of the Kingdom of Lesotho, a Member of the United Nations, on the false pretext of destroying one of the rear bases of the African National Congress of South Africa. Viewed in combination with the continued illegal occupation of Namibia and of part of the national territory of Angola and the repeated acts of aggression against Mozambique and Zimbabwe, we do not doubt that this new, gross and premeditated violation of international law directed against Lesotho is part of the global strategy of colonialism aimed at destabilizing the independent States of Africa with the blessing and the material and moral support of international imperialism. The people and Government of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, aware of their responsibilities with regard to the preservation of peace in Africa and in the world, most energetically condemn the militarist and expansionist policy of the *apartheid* régime and express their active solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa in their determination to eliminate the last bastions of colonialism from that part of the African continent. The people and Government of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea appeal urgently to the Security Council to adopt energetic enforcement measures against the Pretoria régime in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. An evasive attitude on the part of certain permanent members of the Council would only encourage the South African authorities in their policy of aggression characterized by the domination and oppression of the African peoples." [See S/15525.]

107. My Government sincerely believes that the only means of freeing Africa from the iniquity that is *apartheid* is the adoption of strong enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

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

109. Mr. MALINGA (Swaziland): Mr. President, my delegation is pleased to see you presiding. I do not hesitate to say that under your able guidance the deliberations of the Council will be conducted successfully. Allow me to express to the members of the Council, through you, my delegation's gratitude for having been given this opportunity to participate in the discussion on the invasion of Lesotho by South Africa.

110. The Government and people of Swaziland were greatly shocked to learn about the invasion of Lesotho by South Africa on 9 December. That unprovoked act of aggression against the peace-loving people of Lesotho resulted in the loss of innocent lives and the destruction of property. Our nation was deeply grieved by the tragic loss of human life, and we were very much concerned about the damage to and destruction of property. Upon receiving the sad news, the Regent Queen Mother conveyed to King Moshoeshoe, on behalf of the nation, a message of condolence expressing our sincere sympathy at the loss of life.

111. My delegation listened attentively to King Moshoeshoe when he addressed the Council on 14 December [2406th meeting]. He related, with calm and restrained emotion, the tragic events that had gripped with shock and revulsion not only the people of Lesotho but also the whole of civilized humanity. He told the Council that units of the South African Defence Force had invaded his kingdom and caused damage and loss of life in the capital, Maseru, where at least 42 people had been killed, among whom were women and children. He said that numerous homes had been destroyed. Some Lesotho nationals had been murdered in cold blood. This act of wanton aggression by South Africa constitutes a flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law.

112. The delegation of Swaziland is speaking in the Council in a gesture of sympathy and solidarity with the Government and people of the sister Kingdom of Lesotho in regard to the act of naked aggression carried out by the Republic of South Africa on 9 December, which resulted in the brutal killing of innocent civilians in Lesotho.

113. South Africa's violation of the territorial integrity of a neighbouring State sets yet another dangerous precedent which could engulf the whole region and which thus threatens international peace and security. Swaziland cannot and will not condone the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of another State. The Government of Swaziland therefore condemns the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lesotho by South Africa and reiterates its total abhorrence of the loss of life and damage to property resulting from such violation. We cannot understand how a State can carry out such an act against another State for the simple reason that

that State is fulfilling a humanitarian duty to persons who have found the system of *apartheid* intolerable.

114. My country also borders South Africa, and in many ways we identify ourselves with the bereaved people of our sister kingdom. Together we share the lot of history: colonial subjugation and deprivation. Even though we are struggling with the task of the economic advancement of our peoples, we have never abandoned our responsibility to provide humanitarian assistance and protection to our brothers who have fled the hard grinding-stone of brutal racism. It is clear in the mind of every Swazi that this tragic and bloody event that has befallen the people of Lesotho is the result of their noble humanitarian act of giving refuge to the defenceless and oppressed people of South Africa.

115. Lesotho, as the Secretary-General said on 14 December [*ibid.*], is courageous in carrying out its international obligations under the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951⁶ and the Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees of 1967,⁷ as well as the Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, adopted in 1969 under the aegis of the OAU. It is therefore obvious to the international community that Lesotho has been made a scapegoat for the deteriorating situation within South Africa itself. The people of Lesotho have been singled out as a target for vengeance for the internal resistance to *apartheid* by the majority of the people of South Africa, who for too long have been denied power-sharing in the land of their birth.

116. Swaziland is conscious of the fact that *apartheid* is the major cause of the destabilization of neighbouring States and the overall deterioration of the situation in southern Africa. The countries of the region have for some time been aware of the orchestrated publicity aimed at conditioning public opinion in South Africa to the view that the neighbouring States are being used as bases for subversive activities against that country. Some of the agents of the régime have sunk so low that they either plant or carry arms of war across international borders. It is possible to believe that they sometimes style themselves members of the liberation movement, in order to give credence to false allegations aimed at causing a division between the refugee community and the populations of the asylum States. The so-called resistance movements are created and promoted for the purpose of destabilizing neighbouring Governments. Where they do not exist, imaginary movements are created in order to give an impression that the country is faced with internal opposition. All kinds of intimidation ploys are employed. It is clear that the stage is being cunningly prepared to justify the cold-blooded murder of our peoples in protection of *apartheid*.

117. South Africa's attempt to justify its act of aggression against Lesotho strikes a false note, because King Moshoeshe, in his address the day before yes-

terday, stated that the attacks alleged to have been launched from Lesotho occurred a long distance from the borders. It is therefore surprising that South Africa, which maintains the most sophisticated security network in the region, should have been unable to detect the so-called saboteurs during their sojourn in its territory. South Africa appears, then, to be trying to make its neighbours responsible for its internal security situation, which it finds difficult to control.

118. Even though some neighbouring States are falsely accused of harbouring freedom fighters, the truth of the matter is that these States have done their utmost to create an atmosphere of good neighbourliness. The South African Government knows it. The Lusaka Manifesto⁸ is evidence of the fact that Africa desires a peaceful negotiation of problems confronting the region. King Moshoeshe rightly pointed out here that Lesotho pioneered constructive dialogue, even at the expense of its honour. That gesture of extending the hand of friendship was a brave demonstration of Lesotho's desire to live in peace with its neighbour. It took that risk to its reputation knowing full well that blame for failure to realize peace is often put on those who seek it.

119. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country recalled in a recent statement that all successive Prime Ministers of Swaziland also desired and believed in the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. We are by nature a peace-loving people. The late King Sobhuza was an advocate of peaceful contact and exchange of views between conflicting parties. Some of the heads of State of the region have also bilaterally extended an olive branch.

120. In spite of these efforts to create an atmosphere conducive to peaceful contacts, a false picture of neighbouring States as launching bases for subversive attacks is being developed so as to justify naked murder and State terrorism.

121. Swaziland is particularly saddened by these tragic developments, because King Sobhuza attempted to create an atmosphere conducive to dialogue and peaceful negotiations within the region, following a similar assault on the territorial integrity of a neighbouring State.

122. The labelling of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland—States neighbouring South Africa—as launching pads for subversion is one deadly design in a series. It is a design whose full import can be well understood when viewed against such wild machinations as the information scandal of the Muldergate era, the Seychelles *coup* attempt, the northern Namibia genocidal death squad known as the Butterfly Commando and so on. This catalogue of bloody and erratic schemes, which now includes the invasion of Lesotho, makes it extremely difficult for the neighbouring States of the region to believe that South Africa sincerely desires to live in peace with its neighbours. We are

convinced that this latest scheme is aimed at making the neighbouring States battle zones.

123. Having said that, I also wish to point out, in all fairness, that it is equally important to realize that in fact there exists within South Africa, even among the Afrikaaner tribe, a body of civilized, decent and warm-hearted people who genuinely desire a peaceful change within their country and the entire region. They have recognized the need to build bridges of confidence not only across the colour and ethnic lines but even across international frontiers. The world would like to believe that this body of men who desire a meaningful change includes men within the Government of South Africa itself, because some time ago it was announced in this chamber that South Africa was moving away from racial discrimination.

124. A desperate and tragic act such as the invasion of a neighbouring State makes it difficult for the international community to believe that there indeed exist within the South African ruling oligarchy people of stature who would stand tall against all the odds, against everything that means resistance to efforts at reconciliation. These South African patriots who desire to create a new dispensation of hope and peace are frustrated, because a meaningful change within a system that is based on subjugation and that generates violence is impossible to realize. They are angered, because they are conscious of the fact that wherever they go in the world they carry with them the stigma and label of racism. The *apartheid* image haunts decent men in South Africa. We understand their emotions of frustration and, as a neighbour, we can only offer words of encouragement for them to stand up and be counted on the side of truth and justice.

125. That is why we stated in the General Assembly in the debate on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa that:

"South Africa should be called upon to convene a national convention consisting of genuine representatives of the people of South Africa to map out a new course for the future . . . Those recommendations for a national convention still stand valid; they offer a most constructive approach for a peaceful and lasting solution. Without a shadow of doubt such a convention would create a forum in which the leaders would meet under conditions of equality. This would be an arena of national reconstruction, a place where the problems that have torn apart the fabric of South African society would be identified, analysed, and solutions would be prescribed in accordance with the principles of justice and human dignity."

126. In conclusion, we of the Swaziland delegation are cognizant of the fact that the acts of aggression are calculated to intimidate the neighbouring States with a view to making them subordinates and

thus making possible the perpetuation of the internationally unacceptable policy of *apartheid*. We view this situation with dismay and indignation.

127. My delegation also joins in the appeal made by King Moshoeshoe that the Council restrain South Africa from flouting the Charter of the United Nations, violating the territorial integrity of Member States of the Organization and pursuing a strategy of naked terrorism against a whole sub-continent [*ibid.*, para. 37].

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

129. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): I should like at the outset to extend to you, Sir, my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of December. I should like also to extend our warm congratulations to Mr. Carlos Ozores Typaldos of Panama on the efficient and impartial manner in which he carried out his duties as President for the month of November.

130. Once again we meet to discuss a complaint by an African State against South Africa for its unprovoked aggression against its territorial integrity. This is not the first occasion on which the Council has been requested to consider an issue affecting peace and stability in southern Africa.

131. The naked act of aggression against Lesotho by South Africa is but another link in the chain of actions aimed at destabilizing neighbouring African States in the area. It is also another step, as King Moshoeshoe said the day before yesterday, in an attempt to install its agents in their Governments [*ibid.*, para. 34]. Moreover, the Pretoria régime's act of wanton aggression is aimed at intimidating Lesotho into dissociating itself from the world-wide condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* and from offering moral and humanitarian support to the oppressed South African refugees. This is to no avail. The world-wide condemnation of *apartheid* and other facets of South Africa's policies will continue as long as those policies persist.

132. Although South Africa claims to be interested in a settlement of the Namibian problem and in confidence-building measures, it has shown by its deeds that it has no real intention of contributing to the restoration of peaceful conditions in southern Africa or to the creation of a climate conducive to Namibia's independence.

133. Egypt strongly condemns the premeditated act of aggression carried out by South Africa. It is a grave and flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the principle of respect for the territorial integrity of a sovereign State Member of the United Nations.

134. My delegation would like to stress that the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa has been made more imperative than ever as the last possible peaceful way of compelling that Government to change its policies. Serious actions in accordance with the relevant chapters of the Charter must be taken to deter South Africa from repeating its acts of aggression and destabilization against front-line States and to put an end to its vile policies.

135. Lastly, we should like to express our inherent support of and solidarity with the people and Government of Lesotho. We will continue to extend all necessary economic assistance to sisterly Lesotho. Egypt hails the policy of the Government of Lesotho of giving asylum to political refugees from South

Africa, in accordance with its traditional practice, humanitarian principles and international obligations.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

NOTES

¹ General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV).

² General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.

³ General Assembly resolution 36/103, annex.

⁴ A/34/542, Political Declaration, para. 234.

⁵ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Special Supplement No. 1 (A/37/1)*.

⁶ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 489, No. 2545, p. 137.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 606, No. 8791, p. 267.

⁸ Manifesto on Southern Africa, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

⁹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 67th meeting, para. 138.

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