



Security Council

PROVISIONAL

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ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
SIX HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 16 June 1986, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. RABETAFIKA

(Madagascar)

Members:

Australia

Bulgaria

China

Congo

Denmark

France

Ghana

Thailand

Trinidad and Tobago

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

United Arab Emirates

United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland

United States of America

Venezuela

Mr. WOOLCOTT

Mr. TSVETKOV

Mr. HUANG Jiahua

Mr. ADOUKI

Mr. BIERRING

Mr. de KEMOULARIA

Mr. DUMEVI

Mr. KASEMSARN

Mr. ALLEYNE

Mr. SAFRONCHUK

Mr. AL-SHAALI

Mr. MAXEY

Mr. OKUN

Mr. PABON GARCIA

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The meeting was called to order at 4.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

COMPLAINT BY ANGOLA AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

LETTER DATED 12 JUNE 1986 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ANGOLA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/18148)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola, Cuba, South Africa, the Syrian Arab Republic, Zaire and Zambia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Velazco San Jose (Cuba), Mr. von Schirnding (South Africa), Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Ludunge Kadahi Chiri-Mwami (Zaire) and Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting today following a request contained in a letter dated 12 June 1986 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/18148).

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/18129, letter dated 3 June 1986 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/18142, letter dated 9 June 1986 from the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics addressed to the Secretary-General; S/18152, letter dated 12 June 1986 from the Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations addressed to President of the Security Council; and S/18156, letter dated 13 June 1986 from the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

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

Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): As the Council knows well, countless are the times my delegation has spoken in this Chamber, in the overwhelming majority of cases on the same subject as that which faces us today: the question of South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

In this context of my repeated appearances, Sir, I have had occasion to salute the different rotating Presidents of the Council and to see their handling of the Council's work, ranging from superb to indifferent. However, my delegation has seldom felt the degree of confidence and pleasure that we do today at your able presidency of this month's Council proceedings. Your confidence and experience set you apart, and while you are a doyen of the United Nations diplomatic corps by

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

virtue of your long stay among us, you are our leader by virtue of your many talents. I cannot close my encomium without mentioning the warm fraternal links between Madagascar and Angola.

Today, 16 June 1986, commemorates many things. It is the tenth anniversary of Soweto, a day of pride for all of Africa and of infamy for the South African racists; it marks the opening of the Paris Conference on sanctions against racist South Africa; and, finally, it marks yet another Council debate in the 11-year history of Pretoria's armed attacks against the People's Republic of Angola.

I will not go into the details of this 11-year history. My delegation has placed it on record countless times. Suffice it to say that there is no reason grounded either in history or in geography that explains South Africa's attacks on Angola - no reason other than the imperative of apartheid itself, which demands military adventurism and illegal occupation outside its borders to explain and justify racism and apartheid inside its borders. Furthermore, Pretoria can manipulate its allies by doctoring the truth, by window-dressing, by outright lies and by the creation of bogies and fantasies which few believe, other than Pretoria itself and its chosen friends.

The present attack by the South African racists is not simply an attack on the nation of Angola; it is also tantamount to an act of war against two of Africa's and Angola's allies and sympathizers, the Soviet Union and Cuba.

At dawn on 5 June 1986, South African racist troops mounted a new raid against Angola in the south-western province of Namibe, hitting oil tanks and cargo ships anchored at the port of Namibe. The racists were divided into two groups, one made up of divers and the other specializing in land-based actions. The racist divers planted high-power magnetic devices on three naval vessels - one Cuban and two Soviet - all of which were carrying foodstuffs and medical supplies for the Angolans in the southern part of our country.

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

An Israeli-made Reshef missile carrier equipped with Israeli-made Scorpion missiles hit three fuel tanks, damaging two and partially damaging the third. Of the three vessels attacked, one was sunk and the other two were damaged. That racist attack on Namibe was not an isolated one.

It will be recalled that at the end of May 1986 combined South African troops and bands of South African puppet units killed more than 53 of our courageous FAPLA troops and wounded dozens in an attack near Xangongo in Cunene Province, about 100 miles north of our border with Namibia.

Also at the end of May, racist South African troops launched brutal military strikes against the sovereign States of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, upon which the Foreign Ministers of the front-line States met in Harare, condemned the raids and called on the international community to impose comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions against Pretoria. As recently as last week our Government troops repelled yet another racist attack in Cabinda.

There are still seven South African battalions inside Angola. South African troops in varying strengths have been in illegal occupation of parts of Angola since 1981. South African troops have again and again invaded Angola since 1975. South African troops have repeatedly attacked other front-line States.

Had those attacks been perpetrated by a non-white régime without the close links to Western imperialism that Pretoria so overtly and blatantly enjoys, would those acts have gone unpunished and virtually unnoticed in Western capitals beyond a few press dispatches? No, there would have been a hue and cry in those circles, there would have been immediate calls for sanctions, there would have been punitive action. Corpses of Angolan civilians do not show up on the balance-sheets of transnational corporations, nor in the vote-seeking of Western politicians.

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

We are left to mourn and bury our dead. We are left to survey the latest damage, which we can ill afford, to our incessant efforts at national reconstruction. And we are left with renewed determination to fight against the colonialist, racist and imperialist mentality that causes this ruin and havoc in our lives.

This Council has adopted countless mandatory resolutions on the subject of South African aggression against Angola. Is the Council impotent to enforce its own resolutions in keeping with its own mandate under the Charter of the United Nations?

Are some of the Western permanent members of the Security council blind and deaf to what is happening in southern Africa today, where the so-called peaceful negotiations have yielded nothing but escalating conflict in the region, where sovereign borders are no longer sovereign and where South Africa is in the midst of a massive civil war, all the while the racist Government holding out the promise of pathetic little reforms while its two major allies applaud?

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

Apartheid will win in South Africa and apartheid's military adventurism will win in southern Africa on the day the sun rises in the west and sets in the east, on the day a bullet can be recalled into a gun, on the day when the entire - I repeat: entire - international community loses all sense of dignity and decency. But until that day, and as long as there are Angolans to defend Angola, Africans to defend Africa, a sane international community to give meaning to the United Nations and validity to its Charter, the South African racists will know no peace or acceptance.

I appeal to the Council to support our cause, to condemn Pretoria strongly for its acts of armed aggression against Angola and other front-line States, to demand the immediate withdrawal of the racist troops and impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

Before I conclude, I should like to pay a tribute to those of our South African brothers who gave their lives 10 years ago in Soweto, to those who have sacrificed their lives since then, and to those who even now face the apartheid machine with courage, hope and fortitude.

I would also pay a tribute in the Council to the brave Angolans who have fallen in defence of their country and to those who even now, against overwhelming odds, continue to defend our borders against the racist war machine of South Africa, a country with which Angola has no borders.

A Luta Continua. A Vitoria e Certa.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the People's Republic of Angola for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. LUDUNGE KADAHI CHIRI-MWAMI (Zaire) (interpretation from French): On behalf of the African Group and on behalf of my delegation, I express to you personally, Mr. President, and to the other members of the Security Council our gratitude for giving me an opportunity to participate in this debate by the Council.

I take this opportunity, too, to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. There is no doubt that your personal skills and your long experience of questions affecting the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular point to the fact that the Council is in masterly hands and that the items to be considered by the Council will be dealt with diligently and with determination.

Your predecessor, Ambassador Gbeho, the Permanent Representative of Ghana, is another worthy son of Africa who has guided the Council's work. I extend my congratulations to him, also, for the very effective way in which he carried out that heavy task in May.

Madagascar, your country, and Zaire, my own, maintain excellent relations. Our common membership of the African Group cannot but strengthen the fraternity that our two countries place at the service of international peace and security.

The Council is meeting on this day when we commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacres, during which almost 1,000 peaceful black schoolchildren - accused by the supporters of apartheid of having committed the crime of lèse-majesté by organizing a peaceful protest in defence of their rights - were struck down in a cowardly way. In that connection, I express the solidarity of the people and Executive Council of Zaire with the black people of South Africa who are struggling against the repression to which they are subjected by the criminal apartheid régime.

(Mr. Ludunge Kadahi Chiri-Mwani,
Zaire)

Unfortunately, there still exists in Africa a region that does not enjoy peace for the simple reason that it shares a geographical zone with South Africa, which has elevated the apartheid régime to a system of government.

The People's Republic of Angola, a sister country with which Zaire shares a border of 2,000 kilometres and with which it maintains excellent and fraternal political, economic and cultural relations, is part of that region. Since its accession to independence in 1975, it has been subjected to a war of aggression by the backward racist régime of South Africa.

Three months, to the day, have passed since the Security Council last met, in March 1986, to consider a complaint by Angola about South African aggression. Despite many condemnations by the Security Council, part of Angolan territory is still occupied by South African forces, which continue to behave like vandals. There is no circumstance which could justify that aggression and no pretext which could be adduced for this occupation, which undermines the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola, an independent country that is a member of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. This textbook case of aggression masks the expansionist aims of South Africa, which, ultimately, would like to extend the apartheid régime beyond its borders. This aggressive, illegal and irresponsible behaviour not only infringes the independence and security of a sovereign State, but also dangerously compromises peace and security in that particularly tense region.

Over the past few weeks, South Africa has strengthened its destabilizing power in Angola by dispatching new battalions to the interior of the country. The death of 53 Angolan soldiers in the province of Cunene was recently announced. On 5 June, missiles were fired on civilian targets - that is, ships transporting merchandise to the port of Namibe; three ships and an oil depot were destroyed.

(Mr. Ludunge Kadahi Chiri-Mwani,
Zaire)

South Africa, which is occupying a part of Angola, regularly carries out barbarous acts of aggression against the front-line countries. The most recent were committed hardly three weeks ago against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Every day, South Africa increasingly extends its cynicism and racial hatred beyond its borders, in an attempt to bring the black peoples of Africa to their knees.

The illegal occupation of Namibia, despite the unanimous disapproval of the international community, and its transformation into a base for attacks and aggression against the neighbouring independent African States continue to be a serious threat to the peace and security of the region. It is not likely that, in turning itself into a force of aggression against black Africa, South Africa will be tempted tomorrow to occupy a part of Botswana, Zambia or Zimbabwe, or any other independent African State - and from there to attack still other independent States of Africa? Everything leads us to believe that this is a great temptation for the glorifier of the shameful apartheid régime which, only a few months ago, imposed an economic blockade on Lesotho in order to exert political pressure on that State, which is an enclave within South Africa. All those acts of aggression, extortion and devastation which result from that policy and to which the peoples of southern Africa are subjected today, will be nothing but a memory tomorrow.

(Mr. Ludunge Kadahi Chiri-Mwami,
Zaire)

Whatever the scope of the repression currently practised by Pretoria against the black population of South Africa and no matter how great the aggression that régime carries out against neighbouring independent African countries, those victims of aggression are joined by the international community in their determination to fight tenaciously against the criminal apartheid régime until it is completely abolished.

South Africa's impunity in the face of steady unanimous condemnation by the Security Council contributes, through the criminal apartheid system, to the strengthening of its power as a terrorist State.

The Security Council is meeting as the United Nations World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa takes place at Paris. The Council should adopt measures demanding that South Africa immediately cease its acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. It should demand too that the racist minority South African régime immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its forces occupying Angolan territory.

Mere condemnation of that régime is no longer enough. The atrocities, aggression and barbarism against the black people of South Africa and against all the independent front-line States have accumulated to the point at which the Security Council should consider adopting vigorous measures to force South Africa to renounce apartheid, to halt its aggression against the independent countries of the region, and to liberate Namibia. To be effective, those measures should be supported by those with the power to put political, economic or other pressure on South Africa. Only then can peace and security return to the region.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Zaire for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AL-ATASSI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic):

I take pleasure in thanking you, Sir, and the other members of the Council for having invited my delegation to participate in this debate on Pretoria's acts of terrorism. We are confident that you will lead the work of the Security Council with your well known wisdom, objectivity, experience and diplomatic skill.

Let me also express our appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Gbeho, the Permanent Representative of Ghana, for the wisdom and objectivity with which he guided the Council's work last month.

The Security Council is meeting again less than three weeks after it last considered the racist régime's terrorist acts against neighbouring countries. Moreover, the Council has been permanently seized of the situation in southern Africa, which is deteriorating as a result of the continued repressive, racist, colonialist practices of the Pretoria régime against millions of our African brethren, whose struggle against enslavement, repression and apartheid has not ceased. We asked to participate in this debate to express our grave concern about the situation in southern Africa and about the policies of the apartheid régime, aimed against the proud revolutionary peoples of southern Africa.

Last month the Pretoria régime carried out aggression against three neighbouring countries, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and now it has carried out further aggression against Angola. On 5 June, the racist régime continued its policy of State terrorism by attacking unarmed merchant ships of Cuba and the Soviet Union, which were unloading at the Angolan port of Namibe. That act of piracy resulted in damage to the Soviet vessels, while the Cuban ship was sunk. Angolan reports show that this act of aggression by the racist Pretoria leaders against a port in a neighbouring country and against simple merchant ships belonging to countries friendly to Angola is yet another link in the long chain of crimes perpetrated by the racist régime, whose record is replete with

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

such terrorist acts, which testifies to the barbarous nature of that régime and to the necessity of ending its actions and its existence.

In our statement before the Security Council on 23 May last, we warned that if the Council did not adopt firm measures against the apartheid régime, and if it failed to impose comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII, that régime would continue to carry out criminal acts of aggression and State terrorism against neighbouring African States. And the régime did indeed continue its acts of aggression, because the Security Council failed to adopt a draft resolution submitted by the African States, condemning the apartheid régime and calling for the imposition of specific sanctions. The draft resolution was defeated owing to negative votes by the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

Pretoria could not have continued its repressive policies without the support and encouragement it receives from world imperialism, and in particular from the United States of America. In defiance of the will of the international community, the United States Administration persists in its support, encouragement and protection of that régime, providing assistance and co-operation in various spheres.

This grave act of aggression against Angola and against merchant shipping poses a new threat to international peace and security, and endangers both the southern African region and the world at large. The reception by the United States Administration of Savimbi - the enemy of the Angolan régime - proves that the United States is encouraging the Pretoria régime to continue its aggression against Angola. Savimbi - who epitomizes the conspiracy against the people and the Government of Angola - receives various kinds of support for his bandits, whose principal objective is the destabilization of Angola, a progressive country known for its firm stand against imperialism and in favour of freedom and progress.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

The Pretoria régime's latest act of aggression against Angola very nearly coincided with the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre, which we commemorate today. That massacre felled many African civilians, including innocent schoolchildren. The coincidence of this act of aggression with that anniversary reflects the apartheid régime's determination to persist in its planned genocide against African peoples struggling for freedom.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

The imposition of a state of emergency is but a step along that path, because it enables the régime to tighten its grip, kill people and imprison and detain thousands of citizens fighting for freedom.

The Security Council must place on record its condemnation and utter rejection of the schemes and policies of Pretoria and Washington, as well as of the acts of aggression carried out against neighbouring States. It must expose Pretoria's false arguments to justify its violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the front-line States. The Council must adopt a firm stand and condemn South Africa and register the international community's rejection of those practices. The Council must impose the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter because that is the only language that Pretoria will understand. Just like the régime of the Zionist base in Tel Aviv, which practices the same policies against the Arab people, the Pretoria régime is supported and encouraged by Washington.

The Syrian Arab Republic pays tribute to the victims of South Africa's racist repression and to the heroic stance of the African people against that régime. It expresses solidarity with the patriotic people and Government of Angola during the difficult time in which their territorial integrity is being violated.

Our Government calls upon the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities and adopt all necessary measures to deter South Africa and its supporters. We are confident that victory will be the lot of the peoples struggling for freedom.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of South Africa. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. von SCHIRNDING (South Africa): Please accept, Sir, the congratulations of the South African delegation on your assumption of the presidency for this month.

The Security Council is convened once again to discuss an ill-directed complaint by Angola against South Africa. Once again South Africa is accused of harbouring aggressive intentions against Angola, and once again it is transparently obvious that this complaint has been introduced in an attempt to hide from the world the facts concerning the present situation in Angola.

South Africa has repeatedly stated that it is committed to a policy of co-operation and peaceful coexistence with all the countries of our region, and that includes Angola; but, because it is part of the region, South Africa is seriously concerned about the developments which are taking place in the subcontinent.

As far as the latest complaint by Angola is concerned, the South African Defence Force has denied that it operated in the harbour town of Namibe and I wish, for the record, to repeat that denial in this Council.

However, the situation in Angola gives rise to serious concern. The United Nations, especially this Council, must be aware of the civil war which is waging in that country, and South Africa cannot be held responsible for that conflict. Surely the international community must be aware that, after 10 years, a massive Cuban expeditionary force is still inside Angola to sustain the Government in Luanda against the wishes of the people. They are there in contravention of the Alvor Agreement. The Government in Luanda is being constantly supplied with new and increasingly sophisticated weapons by the Soviet Union. The weapons deliveries are being stepped up, and over the past two years alone the Soviet Union has injected at least \$2 billion worth of military equipment into Angola. There is

(Mr. von Schirnding, South Africa)

evidence that the number of Cuban troops is being increased and that Soviet involvement through tactical and other advisers is growing. Recently a massive new offensive, far greater than that of late last year, commenced against UNITA's headquarters at Jamba.

The turn of events in Angola is a matter of great importance for the future of the subcontinent as a whole. The international community must know that the South African Government complied in good faith with the Lusaka Agreement of 16 February 1984, despite the Angolan Government's inability to contain SWAPO's incursions across the Namibian border. This action by South Africa was taken to normalize the situation in that troubled part of the southern African region. Furthermore, in order to stabilize the situation on the border, we have explored the possibility of establishing some form of joint South African-Angolan peace-keeping mechanism. Angola has still refused to co-operate in any such venture.

By pursuing the military option, the MPLA is progressively impoverishing the land and its people. The struggle in Angola is ultimately between those who wish to live in peace and seek progress and those who wish to impose their will and ideology on an unwilling majority. South Africa has repeatedly stated that the problems of Angola should be solved by the people of Angola themselves. It has repeatedly called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola. It believes that there should be no foreign interference, from any quarter, in the affairs of Angola.

But there are those who have a different goal for the countries of south-western Africa. The strategy which the Soviet Union is following in Angola can no longer be in doubt. The Soviet Union requires a subjugated Angola to extend

(Mr. von Schirnding, South Africa)

its influence along the west coast of Africa, south and north of Angola. If the Soviet Union succeeds in its aims in Angola, no country in southern Africa will be safe from Soviet encroachment. Indeed, the leaders of the countries immediately south of Angola are deeply concerned about this threat, and urgent action is required to ward it off.

(Mr. von Schirnding, South Africa)

Those are the facts which at present obtain in Angola. There are no others. The Security Council need not, however, accept my word that this is so. Could the Council not decide to send a fact-finding mission to Angola to establish the facts for itself? Does the Council not owe it to itself and the countries of Africa to establish what the real threats are? Africa suffered for too long under imperialism. It does not need to be subjugated again to a new form of imperialism which brings even more hardship, deprivation and destruction in its train.

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

Mr. VELAZCO SAN JOSE (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): First of all, I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Security Council for having afforded my delegation this opportunity to address the Council. I should also like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. Your wisdom, long experience and devotion to the struggle on behalf of the noblest causes are well known to us all and, together with your high professional qualities, guarantee that the debates in the Council will be conducted in exemplary fashion.

I should also like to thank Ambassador Gbeho for the dynamic way in which he guided the Council proceedings last month, clearly demonstrating his excellent capabilities for diplomatic leadership.

The Security Council is meeting at the request of Angola because of events that occurred on 5 June of this year in the Angolan port city of Namibe. On that day, a South African missile-equipped launch fired on three fuel depots, while frogmen mined three civilian ships anchored in the port. As a result of that mining, the Habana, a 6,000-ton Cuban vessel, was sunk. The ship was unloading

(Mr. Velasco San Jose, Cuba)

foodstuffs for the Angolan people along its coastal trade route in co-operation with the Government of the People's Republic of Angola. At the same time, foodstuffs donated to the children of Angola by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) were lost.

This new act of aggression perpetrated by the Pretoria authorities against Angola joins the long list of acts of State terrorism the South African racists have carried out against that people and against the neighbouring front-line countries. The acts of sabotage, the indiscriminate bombing of defenceless populations and the illegal occupation of territory by the South African armed forces join the activities being engaged in by the mercenary forces of the UNITA bandits that can operate on Angolan territory only because they enjoy the military, political and logistical support of the Governments of South Africa and the United States, which supply them with the most sophisticated means of wreaking death and destruction.

The South African act of aggression in the port of Namibe, like earlier incursions against the capitals of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, are a direct consequence of the policy of "constructive engagement" that abets South Africa and guarantees its impunity in the perpetration of its criminal activities against its neighbours.

If the Pretoria régime did not feel itself backed up and protected by its Western partners and if it not know that its deeds would enjoy the overt or covert support of those who, inter alia, prevent the Council from imposing the sanctions provided for in the United Nations Charter, its international conduct would not be so blatant and aggressive. Such acts of aggression against Angola and other African States, posing as they do a threat to international peace and security, spring from the very nature of the South African régime, which, in its own

(Mr. Velazco San Jose, Cuba)

territory, has established a shameful system founded on racial discrimination and social injustice, a régime that subjects millions of Africans to the most cruel forms of oppression, and which is impeding independence in Namibia in open contempt of United Nations resolutions.

South Africa continues to mock the international community by refusing to heed the urgent appeals addressed to it by various forums to abandon its shameful régime of apartheid, to cease its acts of aggression against neighbouring African countries and to grant independence to Namibia. How much longer will the South African racists be allowed to act with impunity? How many more victims will "constructive engagement" and the lack of sanctions cost?

Exactly 10 years ago today a massacre of black students occurred in Soweto, and the international community has had to look on in shock as South Africa's racist policy has stepped up repressive measures and swelled the number of African citizens who have given up their lives in the fight against the abhorrent system of apartheid. South Africa today faces inevitable crisis in its system of domination. With each passing day apartheid claims another victim, but this serves only to widen the abyss between oppressed and oppressor. On this anniversary of the Soweto massacre, we recall with respect and deep emotion the thousands of men, women and children who have given their lives in the struggle against apartheid. We send a message of solidarity to all who are daily facing repression and death merely because they refuse to allow a racist minority to deny them their most fundamental rights.

We should also like to pay a tribute to the heroic struggle being waged by the freedom-fighters of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) who, in difficult and adverse conditions, are pursuing the struggle of their people for a better future.

(Mr. Velazco San Jose, Cuba)

Today, in Paris, began the World Conference on Sanctions against South Africa. Similar meetings have been held in other European capitals at which there have been discussions of the arms embargo and the oil embargo against the racist régime. In a few weeks there will be a conference on the speedy independence of Namibia. The international community, meeting simultaneously in those various forums, is calling for the imposition of real and effective sanctions against the apartheid régime. The Security Council, therefore, in keeping with its lofty responsibilities, must condemn this new act of aggression against Angola. It must impose upon the South African régime the sanctions stipulated in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter and, in so doing, demonstrate that it has heard the appeals of the black population of South Africa.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Cuba for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): It is symbolic indeed that today - when we are marking the tenth anniversary of the massacre of the peaceful inhabitants of Soweto carried out by the apartheid régime, the Security Council is obliged to meet to consider the question of yet another act of aggression by South Africa against a sovereign African State, the People's Republic of Angola. We see in this the ominous logic of apartheid - combining bloody repression against its own people, against the majority population of South Africa, with acts of aggression against the peoples of neighbouring States.

Thus at dawn on 5 June 1986 the Pretoria racist régime carried out another crime against Angola. This time the terrorist action occurred in the Angolan port of Namibe, where the targets were fuel stores and port installations and unarmed Soviet and Cuban merchant ships which were unloading. According to the Angolan authorities, the trail of this act of sabotage leads to South Africa. That régime has proceeded to carry out sabotage, which may have far-reaching and dangerous consequences.

South Africa has carried out a fresh act of armed aggression, this time against Angola, following immediately upon air attacks by Pretoria on the capitals of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, thus signalling a further escalation of aggressive actions by the racists not only against the sovereignty and integrity of Angola but also civilian ships of the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Such acts of international terrorism cannot be tolerated by the international community. In its statement of 8 June 1986 the Soviet Government stressed that

(Mr. Safronchuk, USSR) .

"Those who embark on a course of terrorism and violate the generally accepted rules of international law, including the freedom of navigation, must realize where this may lead." (S/18142)

The criminal actions of the South African racists divers, directed against the fuel storage facilities in the Angolan port of Namibe and against unarmed Soviet merchant ships - Captain Chirkov and Captain Vislabokov - and the Cuban ship - Havana - have been added to the list of the many other previous operations that have been carried out by groups of South African commandos in Angola.

As a result of that attack, there has been major destruction of the docks and major damage caused to the Soviet ships, while the Cuban ship sank. By pure chance, none of the crew was victim of that criminal act by the South African racists. Under cover of darkness, the racists saboteurs left the region of the port of Namibe in high-speed launches and reached Namibia.

This new crime by the racists régime is yet another link in the general chain of acts of aggression by Pretoria against independent African countries. The essence of these racist actions is the same: to intimidate free neighbouring States and subject their peoples to its will and to destabilize the front-line States and force them to renounce their support for the just cause of the patriots of South Africa resisting apartheid.

We cannot but note the organic link between similar aggressive acts by the South African racists and other actions similar in style and method carried out by influential patrons of South Africa. This action of Pretoria is by its signature reminiscent of aggressive actions against Libya carried out by the United States Air Force, with the assistance of the United Kingdom, under cover of night in April this year - exactly two months ago. It is the policy of State terrorism pursued by

(Mr. Safronchuk, USSR)

the American Administration in various regions of the world which serves as a model to follow by its historical ally - the racists of Pretoria.

It is quite clear that the racist régime took as direct encouragement for continuing such policies the vetoes of the United States and the United Kingdom in the Security Council against the draft resolution introduced by the African countries in connection with the recent aggression by South Africa against the three front-line States. For the United States Administration, which vociferously advocates the eradication of State terrorism, this is a good opportunity really to help suppress terror and violence dealt out by the South African racists and to put an end to the Pretoria régime's policy of aggression. This would require very little, even just abstaining in the vote on a draft resolution on sanctions against South Africa. The unceasing crimes of the South African racists, which have been possible in conditions of the policy of "constructive engagement" of the United States and of connivance by other Western countries, pose a challenge to the whole civilized world.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Comrade Ryzhkov, in his message today to the participants in the World Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, noted in particular

"The South African régime is defying the whole world, refusing to grant independence to Namibia - which it illegally occupies - and carrying out direct acts of aggression and subversive actions against Angola and Mozambique and other independent neighbouring African States. The recent attacks by South African troops against Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana have once again confirmed that this régime is a serious threat to comprehensive peace and security."

(Mr. Safronchuk, USSR)

As Nikolai Ryzhkov stresses:

"They have again shown something else: although the United States Administration in words condemns the actions of South Africa, it is in fact its direct protector/patron and is hindering the implementation of effective international sanctions and encouraging Pretoria to increase its violence within the country and escalate the policy of State terrorism.

"We are faced with double standards which are characteristic of United States foreign policy."

In the statement by the Soviet Government on 8 June 1986,

"The Soviet union condemns most categorically the actions of South Africa, which are creating a threat to peace and international security, and demands that they should cease immediately. South Africa is responsible for the act of terrorism committed in the Angolan port of Namibe; such actions cannot be left unpunished." (S/18142)

(Mr. Safronchuk, USSR)

The Soviet Union calls on the Security Council strongly to condemn the Pretoria régime for its piratical acts in the port of Namibe and take strong measures to halt the criminal policy of terror, violence and aggression pursued by South Africa against neighbouring States. The Soviet Union also calls on the Security Council to implement the demand of the world community for the application against the racist régime of South Africa of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The representative of the United States has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I now call on him.

Mr. OKUN (United States of America): It is ironic and incredible to listen to the Soviet delegation attack another country for gross and fundamental violations of human rights. Nevertheless, so long as the Soviet Union sticks to criticizing human rights violations in South Africa we feel no need to respond. That country can speak for itself. We are confident that the irony of the pot calling the kettle black is apparent to all, and by chance the Soviet Union is occasionally right in its criticism. The opportunity and the opportunist do briefly coincide.

When, however, the Soviet Union has the effrontery to criticize the United States for its role in a situation the core of which is lack of respect for human rights, it goes too far. We cannot and will not sit silent before that gross slander.

The United States is a multiracial society which has worked to achieve racial justice at home and to further it abroad. It has not always been easy. Our society, like all others, is not perfect. But, true to our founding fathers, we believe in the ultimate good of humankind, and, in the words of Abraham Lincoln,

(Mr. Okun, United States)

we seek to call on the better angels of our nature in achieving that. America's commitment to fundamental human rights is evident in our society, our laws and our foreign policy. Liberty and justice for all remain our goal, and we call on all others, including the Soviet Union and South Africa, to join us in its pursuit.

Yes, we believe that Nelson Mandela should be freed. His detention is as short-sighted, self-revealing and repugnant as is the detention in internal exile of Nobel Prize laureate Andrei Sakharov. Indeed, all political prisoners in both South Africa and the Soviet Union should be freed, for the route to racial justice - indeed, justice of any kind - is by way of the free expression of ideas. There is no other route to the goal of justice. Let the Soviet Union begin to comply with internationally accepted standards of human rights in its own domains before it presumes to attack the nature of our commitment to human rights and fundamental freedoms at home and abroad.

Yes, we also condemn South Africa's raids into the territory of its neighbours. When a State's policies are so bad that it must attack its neighbours in order to feel safe the root causes of the weakness are obvious.

We must also condemn what the Soviet Union has done again and again to its neighbours and supposed allies. This is a season of anniversaries, but there are also tragic ones to observe. November 1986, for example, is the thirtieth anniversary of the invasion of Hungary by the Soviet Union and the reimposition of the Soviet yoke. Similar invasions, and worse, occurred in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and more recently in other fashions in Poland and Afghanistan, to cite only a few examples.

If the Soviet Union wants to comment on the plight of the African front-line States, it would be better placed to do so if it ceased invading its own neighbours

(Mr. Okun, United States)

and forcing them to be unwilling satellites, in violation of the basic provisions of the Charter, and in stark contrast with its pious pronouncements on self-determination.

Short of that, we utterly reject those crocodile tears wept for the fate of others.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The representative of the Soviet Union has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I now call on him.

Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): To our great regret, the representative of the United States is trying to distract our attention from the question under discussion, South Africa's aggression against the sovereign African State of Angola, through standard inventions about the Soviet Union's so-called violations of human rights. If we followed that path we could spend hours talking about the real violations of human rights in the United States: the millions of homeless and unemployed, the harsh oppression of national minorities, the general, almost universal, extermination of the Indians, and the harsh oppression of other minorities.

However, we do not want to follow that path, which the United States representative is trying to push us along, because we are concerned about the question we are considering - South Africa's aggression against Angola. We are concerned that the racist régime is bloodily suppressing the country's indigenous population, resorting to truly mass violations of human rights.

The representative of the United States affirmed that his Administration was concerned about the fate of the prisoners in South Africa - Nelson Mandela and others. If the United States Administration were really concerned about them it

(Mr. Safronchuk, USSR)

could easily make the Pretoria régime give them their freedom, put an end to the apartheid system and lead the country into real democracy. That requires very little, and that very little the United States representative can do in a few hours, at the next meeting, by voting for the Security Council resolution on the application of mandatory sanctions against Pretoria. It would be enough for the United States representative to raise his hand in favour of a demand to introduce mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII. It would be such a blow to the Pretoria régime that it would not be able to withstand the international community's anger.

It is not by words, demagoguery or slander of other States but by real actions that the position against apartheid is strengthened. By blindly supporting that bankrupt régime, its so-called historic ally, with which it carries out a policy of "constructive engagement", the United States Administration is not considering the will of its own people, who demand the condemnation of the apartheid régime and the application of mandatory sanctions against it under Chapter VII. Until the United States Administration follows that rational and reasonable course - so long as it avoids its responsibilities as a member of the Security Council - and does so without any kind of verbal gymnastics, there will be no changes in the shameful position of the United States Administration towards Pretoria.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): There are no further speakers on the list for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on its agenda will be held tomorrow, Tuesday, at 11 a.m.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.

