

NOV 24 1987



Security Council COLLECTION

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.2764

23 November 1987

ENGLISH

---

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND  
SEVEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Monday, 23 November 1987, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. KIKUCHI (Japan)

Members: Argentina

Bulgaria

China

Congo

France

Germany, Federal Republic of

Ghana

Italy

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

United Arab Emirates

United Kingdom of Great Britain and

Northern Ireland

United States of America

Venezuela

Zambia

Mr. DELPECH

Mr. TSVETKOV

Mr. YU Mengjia

Mr. ADOUKI

Mr. GAUSSOT

Mr. VERGAU

Mr. DUMEVI

Mr. BUCCI

Mr. TIMERBAEV

Mr. AL-SHAALI

Mr. BLATHERWICK

Mr. WALTERS

Mr. PABON GARCIA

Mr. ZUZE

---

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

#### ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

#### COMPLAINT BY ANGOLA AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

LETTER DATED 19 November 1987 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ANGOLA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/19278)

LETTER DATED 20 NOVEMBER 1987 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ZIMBABWE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/19286)

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2763rd meeting, I invite the representative of Angola to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Algeria, India, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Giharekhan (India), Mr. Mangwazu (Malawi), Mr. Dos Santos (Mozambique), Mr. Manley (South Africa), Mr. Pejic (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Mudenge (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Brazil, the German Democratic Republic and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya 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 accordance 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. Nogueira-Batista (Brazil), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic) and Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

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

Mr. MANLEY (South Africa): I should like first to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council.

The present convening of the Security Council to discuss distorted claims of alleged South African aggression against the people of Angola amounts, as on previous occasions, to nothing more than a renewed attempt by Angola's MPLA régime to avoid addressing the root causes of the conflict which have plagued that country for over 12 years.

The present complaint is all the less credible against the background of the following undeniable facts. Can the MPLA deny its flagrant contravention of the

(Mr. Manley, South Africa)

Alvor Agreement when it seized political control, with the direct support of Cuban forces, of Angola in the face of rival movements and of massive opposition by the majority of the Angolan people? Can the Luanda régime deny that it has not had the political courage to test the will of the Angolan people by means of free elections? Does Luanda contest that it is increasingly relying on large numbers of foreign troops to bolster it militarily and thereby to shore it up politically? Can the MPLA régime deny that it is once again attempting to disguise the existence and extent of the civil war currently still rampant in Angola, by casting South Africa in the role of a regional aggressor? Can it be denied that the following equipment forms part of the deadly arsenal which the Soviet Union has made available for the purposes of killing Angolans: MIG-23 and SM-22 fighter aircraft and helicopters; T-54 and T-55 tanks; D-30 artillery pieces; B-21 multiple rocket launchers; a variety of armoured vehicles; a variety of SAM anti-aircraft systems? Do they deny that this equipment and these weapons are used with the guidance and under the direct instruction of Soviet and Cuban personnel?

The truth is that the current Angolan Government seeks desperately to hide the reality that the true struggle in Angola is between the Angolan people and those who wish to impose their ideology and political will by force on an unwilling majority.

The results of the deteriorating security situation brought about by the MPLA's intransigence in the face of popular rejection are, at best, tragic. Angola's diminishing revenue is increasingly being channelled towards the importation and maintenance of foreign troops and sophisticated weaponry - several billion dollars' worth annually - rather than towards the basic needs and welfare of the Angolan people. Consequent on of this is a breakdown of the country's social, economic and agricultural infrastructure, with a concomitant rise in levels

(Mr. Manley, South Africa)

of disease and famine. Those who inevitably suffer most from Angola's internal conflict are thus clearly the Angolan people themselves, who are shifted closer each day to starvation while the MPLA régime prefers political posturing to the realism of political accommodation.

My Government has repeatedly stated that South Africa is not at war with any party in the region - not with Angola; nor yet with the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Luanda and SWAPO are at war with the people of the region. Let me once again emphasize that the South African Government regards it as its unequivocal duty to protect the inhabitants of South West Africa/Namibia against terrorist depredations. To this extent, South Africa acts in a protective capacity in the region.

Some speakers in this debate have made reference to the visit made by State President Botha to the area of conflict recently. My State President has a duty as Commander-in-Chief of the South African defence force to visit the area. South Africa is determined to defend its interests against foreign aggression in the region and, as Council members know, senior representatives of many of the Governments around this table have also visited the area.

I must moreover emphasize that the regional perspective has been further exacerbated by the MPLA's granting of infrastructural support and military protection to SWAPO and, for that matter, to African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) terrorists, and also by the fact that a large proportion of SWAPO troops in Angola have, in return for such tutelage, played an active role in the MPLA's military attempts to contain popular opposition in the form of UNITA.

The present series of battles are in fact led by UNITA, which has in recent weeks gained significant successes against the Soviet- and Cuban-led forces which

(Mr. Manley, South Africa)

in fact threatened the stability of the entire southern African region. Under these circumstances South Africa could not sit back and allow these forces to threaten its security interests by flooding the whole region with Soviet arms and feeding the conflict. South African participation is limited and constitutes less than 5 per cent of personnel in the area. By calling upon large numbers of Cuban and other Soviet surrogate forces as well as SWAPO cadres to provide it with military succour and by its sheltering and training of ANC terrorists, it is the MPLA régime itself which has forced the Angolan civil war it precipitated into a dangerous regional issue. South Africa's present limited military involvement in southern Angola was occasioned solely by the massive incursion of extra-continental troops into that area, which offensive would, had it gone unchecked, have activated the whole southern Angolan border area, including Zambia and Botswana.

The South African Government is not unaware of the fact that several African leaders would like to see the withdrawal of all foreign forces, including the South African troops, from Angola. I am not now engaging in speculation or hypothesis. I have been authorized by my Government to affirm that South Africa will be able to support such a proposal, and my Government proposes that 9 December 1987 be set as the date of implementation of such an agreement. It remains the South African Government's firm conviction that the only route to peace in the sub-region comprising Angola, South West Africa/Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa, lies not in sterile confrontation in international forums outside our region and still less via military confrontation inside our region; rather, it lies in the real willingness of all parties concerned to come together to address their differences and thereby contribute towards stability and progress in the region to the benefit of all our peoples.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of South Africa for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): I begin by expressing my gratitude and appreciation for being allowed to address the Council.

I extend to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We are convinced that thanks to your diplomatic experience and ability, with which we are familiar, our deliberations will be crowned with success. I also wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, our colleague, Ambassador Bucci, who guided the Council's work with perfect competence last month.

A few moments ago we heard the representative of the racist entity in southern Africa speaking in a tone that is familiar to us, because the same tone has also been used by the representative of the Zionist entity, that other racist régime, in occupied Palestine.

The representative of the racist régime is concerned about what is happening in Angola. He has at heart the interests of the people of Angola, just as the Zionist racist régime is concerned about the Palestinian people. He is concerned about the waste of Angolan resources and wishes to safeguard Angola's independence against any outside intervention, just as he wishes to safeguard the peoples of southern Africa against the scourge of apartheid. That is a strange logic indeed.

He insolently acknowledged the presence of South African troops in Angola and his country's direct intervention there. But we know full well that that representative respects neither decisions of the Council nor resolutions of the General Assembly. And who is to make him do so? That entity respects nothing as long as it receives the blessing and support of forces that are enemies of mankind and as long as it receives political and material support. He has defied the Council before it has taken any decision. What are we to do? What is the Council



(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

to do? The aggressor has acknowledged its aggression, which, moreover, it has not justified, despite the representative's attempt to draw attention to what he called the presence of forces friendly to Angola - which were lawfully invited in by the Government of Angola to help defend Angola against South African aggression.

A few weeks ago we examined the question of Namibia, and the Council adopted a resolution on Namibia, whose territory has been used for aggression against southern Angola. Hence we see the importance of dealing with the situation in Angola and in Namibia, whose territory has been used to commit acts of aggression against a friendly neighbouring country, a Member of the United Nations.

We are told things that go against all logic. We are told that the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) are terrorist organizations, and that UNITA is a liberation movement. Such logic, used by certain big Powers in the Security Council, encourages South Africa to commit acts of aggression and to occupy the territory of other countries.

The argument about linkage between Namibia's independence and the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, which is advanced by certain countries, encourages South Africa to continue its acts of aggression, because the argument justifies the aggression. Territories are occupied. The enemy uses all kinds of armed aggression. We note that certain parties defend the aggressor. We have heard the statement of the Vice-Minister for External Relations of Angola, who described the acts of aggression against his country.

What are we going to do? Are we going to implement the provisions of the Charter? Are we going to send troops to put an end to South Africa's aggression, as we have when small peoples have been the victims of acts of aggression? As we shall see, some will not support decisions, and others will use their right of veto to justify aggression and occupation.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

The whole world - particularly small countries and peoples - will no longer place trust in the Security Council because of the unjustified use of the right of veto to uphold aggression and to perpetuate occupation. This flagrant act of aggression must be condemned and punished. That is the Council's responsibility.

We must not be satisfied with simply adopting a resolution, however strong it may be. We must take effective measures against the régime, including a blockade and an economic boycott - which some consider negative measures and hence refuse to support them, though paradoxically they apply them against other peoples whose only crime is to uphold the right to independence and to support the ANC and the PLO. It is high time that those who would have us believe that they have South Africa's interests at heart matched their words with their deeds. Let us see if they take the interests of the Angolans to heart too, though perhaps they believe that the weapons and bombs used by South Africa are manna for the people of Angola and a humanitarian undertaking.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

The recent military escalation resulting from the increasing attacks of the racist Pretoria entity against Angola and the extent of this armed invasion clearly show once more that racist régimes defy the will of the international community, the rules of international law and the principles of the United Nations Charter. The terrorist movement, assisted by South Africa, and called by some a liberation movement, is nothing but a secessionist, terrorist and aggressive movement. Its collusion with South Africa is the best proof.

Because of their terrorist nature, the racist régimes of South Africa and Palestine have always opposed the interests of peoples, have always resorted to violence and the annexation of territories by force, and refused to implement United Nations resolutions, particularly Security Council resolutions. It is widely acknowledged that racist régimes prosper only in time of war, only by sowing violence and terror, only by committing sabotage, only through assassination and the expulsion of citizens. This is obviously being done against the valiant struggling people of Angola, the black majority in South Africa, the people of Namibia and the peoples of the front-line countries.

The people of Angola paid dearly for its independence and freedom when it put an end to 500 years of foreign colonization of its country. Today it is confronted with acts of aggression and violations of its territorial integrity committed by the hateful apartheid régime, which is supported by the imperialist Powers, the enemies of peoples. The arrogance and insolence of the régime and its disdain for the principles of international law have reached such a pitch that they are equalled only by the attitude of the Nazi régime in Germany and the Zionist racists in occupied Palestine.

Today we are witnessing flagrant violations and open aggression. The resolutions to be adopted by the Security Council and the specific measures it will take will show if it still merits our trust.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

Today we are witnessing flagrant violations and open aggression. The resolutions to be adopted by the Security Council and the specific measures it will take will show if it still merits our trust.

We firmly condemn the unjustified invasion of the People's Republic of Angola. We also condemn all those who support the racist régime and provide it with all kinds of assistance. We are in solidarity with the people and the Government of Angola.

We request the international community to give direct support to Angola in order to allow it to safeguard its independence and territorial integrity.

The Security Council must discharge its responsibilities pursuant to the Charter with regard to the implementation of these resolutions. It must also take the necessary effective measures to put an end to the aggression. The unconditional withdrawal of the forces of South African aggression must be accomplished immediately.

The liberation and independence of Namibia, pursuant to United Nations decisions and resolutions is today more necessary than ever. Whatever assistance is required should be given to neighbouring front-line States in their struggle against the racist régime of aggression.

We cannot be satisfied with merely taking decisions that in the past have been totally ignored by the racist régime. We must take the measures provided for in the Charter, including the use of force, if necessary, to end the invasion and occupation.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): Please accept, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council. May I wish you much success in fulfilling your responsible tasks. We are convinced that you will employ all your diplomatic skills and experience to lead this important debate to an effective result in favour of Angola's cause.

I wish to congratulate your predecessor, His Excellency Maurizio Bucci, Permanent Representative of Italy, on his successful guidance of the Council's business in the month of October. Finally, let me thank you and the members of the Council for this opportunity to present the views of the German Democratic Republic on the problem under discussion in this body.

There is an abundance of evidence showing that the apartheid régime's policy has been anti-human and disdainful of international law. This evidence is mounting every day, but mounting, too, are warnings that Pretoria's policy of terror in its own country and its aggressiveness outwards pose an increasing threat to international peace and security.

This is the reason why the Security Council has repeatedly had to deal with that policy of South Africa - this time with an escalation in Pretoria's continued aggression against independent and sovereign Angola.

We had all been warned of the likelihood of this latest aggressive act. A statement to this effect by the Angolan Government is contained in document S/19222 of 21 October 1987. We also know South Africa's "response" of 29 October, as circulated in document S/19240. It is instructive to read that "response" once more, against the background of the now executed aggressive strike and the overdue confession South Africa made after that strike. That South African letter is a sample of mendacity and cynicism, and it reveals the unpredictability of the régime in Pretoria. It is to be hoped that the friends of the racists too will realize this and draw the appropriate conclusions.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic  
Republic)

Also in this perspective the German Democratic Republic believes that the convening of the Security Council at the request of the Permanent Representatives of the People's Republic of Angola and of Zimbabwe was an indispensable move which must prevent the flames that the apartheid régime has caused by its aggression from expanding into a devastating blaze.

The representative of the People's Republic of Angola, its Vice-Minister for External Relations, Mr. Venancio da Silva de Moura, has given us a detailed description of the extent of Pretoria's latest crime against his country and has convincingly exposed the objectives pursued by the racists. Their régime goes to any length to foil every endeavour to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the region. Though it has been making protestations to the contrary, it keeps resorting to massive intervention, military attacks and overt and covert assistance for counter-revolutionary forces, to try and destabilize the situation in the People's Republic of Angola and in other States in the south of the continent and change it to the liking of imperialist interests.

All that contrasts with the reasonable policy of the front-line States, which is designed to find a solution to the conflict. The German Democratic Republic thinks highly of the recent constructive proposals and the flexible approach of the People's Republic of Angola.

In this context we deem it necessary to reiterate our demand that those Western States which encourage Pretoria's audacious conduct by their support discontinue at last their collaboration with the racist régime. That would make it possible to work out a settlement of the conflicts in southern Africa in the interest of the peoples of the region.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

The fact that Pretoria has concentrated forces at the Angolan border and launched the invasion at a moment when United Nations bodies are dealing with the issues of Namibia and apartheid is again indicative of the régime's contempt for all United Nations decisions on a settlement of the situation in southern Africa and for all norms of international law. The same goes for the illegal visit of the racist chief, Botha, and other Cabinet members to Angolan territory. In an official statement the Government of the German Democratic Republic has called the so-called inspection an unprecedented provocation. Botha deliberately violated the frontier of an independent State. This indeed recalls the dark times of colonial wars of conquest. Typical of those recent acts of aggression is the participation of mercenaries recruited in major Western countries and in Israel.

The German Democratic Republic strongly condemns the policy of State terrorism of the South African minority régime, in particular the continuation of its undeclared war against the People's Republic of Angola. We urge that Pretoria, as initial, minimum measures, immediately withdraw its troops from Angola, stop all acts of aggression and provide compensation for the damage caused. Further steps towards the normalization of the situation in southern Africa would have to include the solution of the question of Namibia on the basis of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence. Let me observe here that the attack on Angola has again clearly revealed the hypocrisy of the concept of so-called linkage.

The days of the apartheid régime are numbered. Neither the state of emergency nor criminal acts of aggression against neighbouring countries can alter this fact, but, they show that Pretoria is becoming increasingly dangerous. It is high time that the hands of the racists were tied. The Security Council should fulfil its responsibility and at last take measures which will help to make apartheid

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

disappear for ever. The call for such measures is unequivocal. It is comprehensive mandatory sanctions pursuant to the United Nations Charter that are needed, rather than half-hearted moves. The question of effective steps against Pretoria's acts of aggression in defiance of international law has virtually become a question of war or peace, and not only for southern Africa.

My country, the German Democratic Republic, sides in fraternal solidarity with the peoples of Angola and the other front-line States, with the peoples of South Africa and of Namibia in their struggle against the aggressive colonialist régime of apartheid. Let us all join in a determined effort so that the peace for which Angola yearns may at long last be achieved.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the German Democratic Republic for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. NOGUEIRA-BATISTA (Brazil): Mr. President, allow me to start by conveying to you the delegation of Brazil's appreciation of the opportunity to participate in this debate. We hope that under your guidance the Council will be able to arrive in an orderly manner at quick and appropriate decisions on the matter before it.

The Security Council is confronted with a new and grave situation in Angola. We were informed by the Vice-Minister of External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venancio da Silva de Moura, in his statement last Friday that large-scale incursions by South African armed forces have occurred in the Angolan provinces of Cunene, Huila, Moxico, Namibe and illegally-occupied Kuando-Kubango. These facts, according to press reports, have been openly admitted by the South African



(Mr. Nogueira-Batista, Brazil)

authorities, and were acknowledged today by the South African representative in his statement before the Council. They can be seen as an indication of the desire of South Africa to give assistance to the irregular forces of UNITA, whose declared intention it is to overthrow the legitimate Government of Angola.

These grave actions by South Africa constitute a serious violation of the most elementary principles of international law and, in particular, of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, since they are blatant acts of aggression through the use of military forces in a manner totally incompatible with those principles and provisions. The flagrant illegality of the recent South African actions against Angola is compounded by the fact that they are conducted from the Territory of Namibia, that is to say a Territory which South Africa illegally occupies, in open defiance of United Nations resolutions.

(Mr. Nogueira-Batista, Brazil)

The violation of Angola's territorial integrity in the case under consideration by the Security Council is indeed aggravated by the unprecedented presence in Angola of the President of South Africa, who went to the extreme of holding a meeting with members of his Cabinet on Angolan territory.

What is taking place in Angola further increases acutely the tensions already existing in southern Africa. The facts brought to the attention of the Security Council by the representative of Angola constitute, consequently, a matter of deep concern not only for the countries with direct interests in the region but also for the international community at large.

Brazil having had a long and specific association with Angola since its independence, cannot remain indifferent to the course of events which are under scrutiny by the Council. As a matter of fact, Brazil, in a demonstration of its special interest in that country, took the initiative of appointing a diplomatic representative during the early stages of the process of its independence, as an indication of our decision to uphold the cause of self-determination in Angola. We were consequently one of the first to recognize the Government of President Agostinho Neto and to appoint a resident Ambassador to Angola.

We have with Angola a growing and intense relationship, which, regrettably, we have been unable to develop to its full extent as a result of the constant foreign acts of aggression against its territorial integrity and sovereignty suffered by Angola.

We are indeed faced with a case of recidivism. In our view, the Security Council, in considering Angola's complaint against South Africa, consequently has an added responsibility. It is to be expected that the Council, by the collective decision of its members as well as through their individual action, will be in a position to exert the necessary pressure on the Government of South Africa to bring about an end to the aggression perpetrated against Angola.

(Mr. Nogueira-Batista, Brazil)

Like the representatives of Algeria, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe, I wish to express before this important organ of the United Nations the firm solidarity of the Brazilian Government and people with the people and Government of Angola in their struggle to safeguard their independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): I should like to extend our congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to place on record our appreciation of the contribution made by your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Italy, Ambassador Bucci, during his presidency last month.

We stand on the threshold of the twenty-first century with a vision made myopic by problems which belong to the nineteenth. The withered leaves of our resolutions on southern Africa lie scattered at our feet. The number of occasions on which we have deliberated upon the guilt of an accused, established that guilt and then allowed him to go free to continue his depredations once again has given a wholly new dimension to the code, custom and practice of international law.

Scarred by war and seared with blood, Angola's sovereign soil has been transgressed yet again. Open admissions have been made by the racist régime of policies it had thought were covert. The illegitimate leadership of an illegitimate régime has walked into territory wholly beyond its authority. For Botha this represents nothing new, accustomed as he is to ruling a nation over which he possesses no mandate. For the United Nations it proves finally,

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

irrevocably and uncompromisingly that we are in the grip of a situation foreseen by Chapter VII of the Charter and are committed equally finally, irrevocably and uncompromisingly to the measures and sanctions provided therein. Whether we live up to that commitment will depend not on Angola, the front-line States or the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, but on those that have the means of negating the international will and have used those means time without number even as the horror grows.

By a blend of blithering blandishments and blatant blackmail the Pretoria régime has sought to integrate its neighbourhood into a colony of compliance and control. Was it not the self-styled supreme military commander of South Africa in Namibia who stated on 13 July 1981 that it was his régime's intention to escalate the war in Namibia into what he called "an altogether new state"? What perfidious play on words! The war has already been extended into a new state both politically and qualitatively. Over the years it has intensified and grown more brutal, while we have waited and watched, called for and condemned, consulted and condoned.

We understand the extremity of the situation with which Angola is now faced and which has compelled it to seek these meetings of the Security Council. Were Angola to seek a meeting of the Council each time such action occurred, this body would be in permanent session. In the first fortnight of this year alone there were 11 documented instances of activities by South African forces within the territory of Angola. That is an average perilously close to one each day and that, too, only of major incidents which are conspicuous in a continuing war.

In their response to the most recent and blatant provocation by the racist régime, the Government and people of Angola have demonstrated once again the courage and dignity which have, indeed, been the hallmark of their struggle. South

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

Africa has inflicted brutal casualties in the now openly declared war. Angola has shown that it has the strength and the capacity to respond and to hit hard where it hurts. We salute the tenacious defenders of Angola's freedom, whose efforts protect not only their nation's sovereignty and integrity, but indeed the cause of justice and freedom everywhere, and we express our solidarity with them.

When the non-aligned States in the Security Council presented a draft resolution, in June last year, in the wake of South Africa's attack on the Angolan port of Namibe, the imposition of even selective sanctions against the racist régime was vetoed. Does this inaction not make us an accomplice in crime? How long will the clamour of our clichés and the plethora of our platitudes be all we can offer southern Africa? How long will it be before the congruence of political prudence and human compassion is finally made clear to those who just will not understand? How long must we wait until all realize that the future lies in working hand in hand together and not walking rand in rand into the sunset of history?

The statement of Pretoria's representative this morning showed no remorse, no regret. Indeed, it was arrogant in its assertion of Pretoria's perverted power and privilege to send its forces against whomever it chooses and for the Head of the apartheid State to visit his troops wherever they have chosen to invade.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

The representative suggested a firm deadline of 9 December 1987 for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Angola. We have heard similar offers and timetables from Pretoria before. Not one has been honoured. But, if seriously meant, this proposal should be considered. It cannot, of course, compromise the sovereign right of the legitimate Government of Angola to seek and avail itself of any form of external assistance it requires. Thus the South African offer cannot affect those forces which are on Angolan territory at the express request and with the consent of the sovereign Government of Angola.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of India for the kind words he addressed to me.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Cuba in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion on the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance 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. Oramas Oliva (Cuba) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I invite the representative of Cuba to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish to express to you, Sir, the congratulations of my country on the outstanding way in which you have guided the deliberations of the Council this month. At the same time, I should like to convey to Ambassador Bucci of Italy our appreciation of the very efficient work that he carried out as President of the Council last month.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

A new, brutal and cynical military intervention in Angola by the South African racists demands the attention and efforts of this body, which is entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security. Today it should be a matter of deep concern to all that Botha should have gone into Angolan territory with a group of Pretoria ministers. The President of the racist régime has shown his absolute disdain for the sovereignty of Angola and the other front-line countries, which has been the position for many years now.

The President of Angola, Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, has sent a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Mr. Javier Perez Cuellar, in which he states as follows:

"The Angolan Government has clear indications that one of the most important South African military units, the Eighth Tank Division, with all equipment, is advancing in combat order towards Cunene province under heavy air cover.

"The theatre of military operations may reach 350 kms into the province of Huila, where it is foreseen that this aggression may be unleashed on two fronts: the aim would be to enlarge the territory illegally occupied in Kuando-Kubango, on one hand, and to seize strategic cities and villages in the provinces of Cunene and Huila on the other.

"The Angolan people and its armed forces are facing with courage and stoicism the unprovoked attacks by the army of the expansionist and racist régime of South Africa and will not abdicate its right to self-defence in order to safeguard its national independence and sovereignty." (S/19283, pp. 1, 2)

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

The history of the acts of aggression of racist Pretoria against the front-line countries demonstrates a very well-thought-out policy. What does Botha seek now by going to Angola? What sinister Machiavellian plans are being announced with this arrogant visit to the south of that country? Force is the way to compel people to take part in spurious negotiations or accept treatment as slaves. The military presence and operations in the south of Angola must be very great indeed for the Ministry of Defence in Pretoria to have been obliged to announce 23 casualties. Why has South Africa abandoned its usual policy of silence with regard to its known participation in military action to protect UNITA bandits?

History and the peoples do not forgive, even though some, in their despicable minds, may consider that the enjoyment of economic crumbs is the most important thing today. These, like the evil, will find that their miserable, egoistic attitudes receive their just deserts. We cannot, on the excuse of providing well-being or calculated income, or of maintaining levels of employment, continue to supply to racist South Africa huge amounts of military technology and devices of the most varied kinds, in violation of the decisions of the United Nations, in particular the Security Council. It is neither just nor admissible that the well-being of some should be attained at the price of the blood, sweat and tears of others.

The racists of Pretoria consider our pronouncements to be empty words. They know that when any attempt is made to apply Chapter VII of the Charter some permanent members of the Security Council, adducing beneficent humanitarian considerations, oppose such use of the Charter. For how long will there continue to be double standards, constructive engagement and other despicable subterfuges that only make South Africa more arrogant and aggressive?



(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

Perhaps the racist South Africans, who consider themselves to be such good Christians, have not realized that there is a difference between men and monkeys, that homo sapiens has the capacity to think and speak and that therefore man is the brother of man. History shows that only the irrational can conceive of racial discrimination, which is ephemeral and unnatural. Apartheid, as we have said, smells of putrefaction and reach its end, as do all nights.

Although the truth burns like fire, I wish to state clearly before the Council that Pretoria has never even considered relinquishing Namibia, that the present pretext of linkage is manufactured and that Pretoria's expansionist desires are manifest. What other motive could there have been for the invasion into Angola by South African troops in 1975 than pursuit of the policy of military domination of its neighbours and the desire to build a wall of satellite States around its borders. Let us tell the truth. The assistance of the Washington Administration of that time encouraged the racist régime in its evil undertaking, as is shown in John Stockwell's In Search of Enemies.

Today it is well to recall what Fidel Castro stated on 19 April 1976. He said: "The first material assistance and the first Cuban instructors reached Angola at the beginning of October 1975 at the request of the MPLA and Angola's President, Antonio Agosthino Neto, when Angola was already being invaded, blatantly and arrogantly by foreign troops. However, no Cuban military units had been sent to Angola to participate directly in the struggle, nor were there any plans to send any.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

"On 23 October, also at the instigation of the United States, regular troops of the South African army, supported by tanks and artillery and starting from the borders of Namibia, invaded Angolan territory and penetrated deep into the country, advancing from 60 to 70 kilometres a day. On 3 November they had penetrated more than 500 kilometres into Angola, crushing the first resistance, near Benguela, offered by personnel of a school of Angolan recruits that had recently been organized and their Cuban instructors, who, with hardly any means of containing the attack, stood up against the South African tanks, infantry and artillery.

"On 5 November 1975, at the request of the MPLA, the leaders of our Party decided to send with the utmost urgency a battalion of regular troops with anti-tank weapons to support the Angolan patriots in their resistance to the invasion by the South African racists. This was the first unit of Cuban troops sent to Angola. When they reached the country, in the north the foreign interventionists were 25 kilometres from Luanda and their 140 mm artillery was bombing the outskirts of the capital, while the South African fascists had penetrated more than 700 kilometres into the country in the south from the borders of Namibia, while Cabinda was being heroically defended by the freedom fighters of the MPLA, with a handful of Cuban instructors."

That is how the first South African invasion of Angola took place and how that courageous people began to write a new and heroic page of its history. Its only crime, let us say once again, has been to want to be independent, to be master of its own destiny, as President Agostino Neto has said. Do not the members of the Security Council want the same prerogatives for their countries?

It is necessary to curb racist South Africa. We do not want any more half-measures or contemplation, because people are daily falling victim of the genocidal policy of apartheid. Let us make a supreme, dramatic effort to ensure

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

peace in southern Africa and apply the means provided for in the Charter to deal with such military attacks against a State Member of our Organization as this invasion of Angola by South African troops.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cuba for the kind words he addressed to me.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 23 November 1987 from the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request the United Nations Security Council to permit me to participate, in my capacity as Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the provisions of rule 39 of the Security Council's provisional rules of procedure, in the Security Council's consideration of the item, 'Complaint by Angola against South Africa'."

On previous occasions the Security Council has extended invitations to representatives of other United Nations bodies in connection with the consideration of matters on its agenda. In accordance with past practice in this matter, I propose that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Acting Chairman, Special Committee against Apartheid):  
First of all, Sir, I wish to congratulate you on assuming the presidency of the Council and to recognize the contribution of Ambassador Bucci, who so skilfully presided over the Council during the month of October.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Acting Chairman,  
Special Committee against  
Apartheid)

The international community is confronted once again with naked and brutal use of force by the racist régime of South Africa against the people and Government of Angola. As a matter of fact, the régime is not only resorting to force but escalating its military action against Angola. The representative of Angola, the Vice-Minister for External Relations, Mr. da Silva de Moura, has given us a detailed description of the extent of Pretoria's latest crime against his country and has convincingly described the real objectives pursued by Pretoria.

The Pretoria régime has been engaged in aggression against Angola since its independence, directly and through training, supplying and conducting the sabotage activities of the UNITA bandits of the renegade Savimbi.

The Special Committee warned more than 10 years ago that the régime's aggression against Angola constituted a serious threat to peace and security in southern Africa. Unfortunately, certain Western States have chosen to ignore this threat, and South Africa's aggression, destabilization, terrorism and economic sabotage have been escalating. Because of the negative attitude of these States, the Security Council has been prevented from dealing firmly with the régime's aggression. Accordingly the apartheid régime feels that it can continue its criminal acts with impunity.

The latest act of aggression demonstrates that the régime is determined to escalate its military action against Angola. Furthermore, the involvement of the political and military leadership of the régime in this wanton act and the arrogant statements it has made in the past three weeks reveal its true intentions, which are to destabilize the Government of Angola and terrorize its people. Action by the régime to prevent the Government of Angola from exercising its sovereignty over its territory makes it more imperative that the Security Council take firm action to prevent South Africa from continuing its desperate attempts to undermine the

(Mr. Oudovenko, Acting Chairman,  
Special Committee against  
Apartheid)

ability of the Government of Angola to establish law and order in its country and from waging war against the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

Again, as always on previous such occasions, the statement by the representative of South Africa today was arrogant. He even declared the right of Botha, as so-called commander-in-chief, to inspect the occupied territories of a sovereign country. In this connection, I should like to remind the Council that it has been announced that Botha and several of the members of his cabinet have made so-called morale-boosting visits to South African troops in Angola to demonstrate Botha's sympathy for involvement in and personal responsibility for the military action against SWAPO forces and those of Angola's FAPLA army. There is mounting evidence that the régime can no longer tolerate the increasing support for SWAPO internally as well as internationally.

The only way to achieve peaceful transition to independence in Namibia is through the exercise by the people of Namibia of their right to self-determination and independence without any intervention by the apartheid régime. The United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia in accordance with resolution 435 (1978) provides the means of peaceful and genuine transition to true independence for Namibia.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Acting Chairman,  
Special Committee against  
Apartheid)

The Council is also invited to consider ways and means of putting this plan into action. The insistence of the régime on linking the issue of the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, which has been supported by the United States Administration, must be rejected. It is high time that the Council stopped the régime dragging its feet to prevent Namibia from becoming independent. After all the delaying tactics which the apartheid régime has used to prevent the United Nations plan from being carried out, the Council has at its disposal invocation of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Special Committee against Apartheid considers it essential that the Council address the issue of the latest escalation of South Africa's aggression against Angola by demanding the immediate withdrawal of those forces of aggression from Angola. The Council should also decide on compensation for Angola as a result of this latest aggression by the Pretoria régime. I must once again urge the Security Council to consider the whole issue of the threat to international peace and security in southern Africa. The act of aggression by the régime against Angola is not the first, nor will it be the last, in the region. No country in southern Africa is immune from its aggression, intimidation, economic sabotage and attempts at destabilization. The régime must realize that the international community, as represented by this Council, is determined to put an end once and for all to this total disregard of international law and morality and continuous violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Accordingly, we call on the Council to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa by invoking Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Acting Chairman,  
Special Committee against  
Apartheid)

The nuclear threat of the apartheid régime is a very realistic illustration of what is going on in southern Africa, and the world should take action now in view of the aggression of the régime. As for the oil embargo, since the régime does not have indigenous oil reserves and since most of the oil-exporting countries have imposed an embargo on the supply of oil and petroleum products to South Africa, I believe that the imposition of a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa would be an appropriate response by the Council to the latest act of aggression of the apartheid régime.

Before concluding my statement, I wish to appeal to the Council on behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, and to all States to take the necessary action to provide assistance to the people and Government of Angola in facing the aggression of the apartheid régime. We call for increasing moral and material support for Angola, which has suffered tremendously as a result of more than 12 years of South Africa's occupation, destabilization, economic sabotage and terrorism. We must act now, not only by declaring our solidarity with the victims of the apartheid régime's aggression, but also by preventing it from continuing its criminal acts and by assisting those fighting this wanton aggression.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid for the kind words he addressed to me.

I call on the representative of the United States of America, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. KRIENDLER (United States of America): I am always incredulous when I hear the representative of Cuba lecture the Council on his Government's commitment to human rights and human dignity. The deplorable conditions of his Government in that regard belie those hypocritical statements.

He has made certain allegations here today concerning the policy and the motives of the United States Government which I categorically reject. His knowledge of history, or at least the one-sided version of it which he presented to us today, is as inaccurate as his description of United States actions in this area.

It is worth reminding the Council, perhaps, that it was the presence of Cuban combat troops, in violation by the MPLA of the Alvor agreement with Portugal, which was to confer power on a transitional Government, which led to the civil war which is still raging in Angola today. It is the presence in Angola of tens of thousands of Cuban combat troops that is a serious aggravation of the problem which still exists there.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue the consideration of the item on the agenda will take place on Tuesday, 24 November, at 10 a.m.

The meeting rose at 12.05 p.m.