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

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Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Tuesday, 24 November 1987, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. KIKUCHI (Japan)

<p><u>Members:</u> 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</p>	<p>Mr. DELPECH Mr. TSVETKOV Mr. YU Mengjia Mr. DOUMA Mr. BLANC Mr. VERGAU Mr. DUMEVI Mr. BUCCI Mr. TIMERBAEV Mr. AL-SHAALI  Sir Crispin TICKELL MS. BYRNE Mr. PABON-GARCIA Mr. ZUZE</p>
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The meeting was called to order at 10.40 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 previous meetings on this item, I invite the representative of Angola to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Algeria, Brazil, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, India, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 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. Nogueira-Batista (Brazil), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Gharekhan (India), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), 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 Botswana, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Mauritania, Nicaragua, Portugal, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Viet Nam in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the

(The President)

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. Legwaila (Botswana), Mr. Maksimov (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Mr. Santos (Cape Verde), Mr. Zapotocky (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Tadesse (Ethiopia), Mr. Ould Boye (Mauritania), Mrs. Astorga Gadea (Nicaragua), Mr. Matos Proença (Portugal), Mr. Karoui (Tunisia), Mr. Chagula (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat (Viet Nam) 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 the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. CHAGULA (United Republic of Tanzania): Let me first of all express my delegation's warm congratulations to you, Sir, on your presiding over the Security Council for the month of November. I am confident that under your leadership the Council will continue to strive to discharge the onerous responsibilities entrusted to it by the United Nations Charter. In the same breath I also extend my delegation's appreciation to your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Maurizio Bucci, Permanent Representative of Italy, for the effective manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council last month.

Last week the Vice-Minister for External Relations of the People's Republic of Angola informed the Council that his country was once again the victim of unprovoked aggression by the racist régime of South Africa in the provinces of

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of Tanzania)

Namibe, Cunene and Kuando-Kubango in southern Angola, which share a common border of more than 1,300 kilometres with the territory of illegally occupied Namibia. According to his information the racist régime's army has more than 3,000 troops inside Angola and 10,000 troops of the tank brigade are on stand by on the border between Namibia and Angola. We are also told that the racist régime's army is heavily equipped with jet fighters, helicopters, armoured cars, hundreds of tanks and other offensive weapons. The size and magnitude of the aggression has, of necessity, forced the racist régime to acknowledge for the first time that its troops are fighting inside Angola and are reported to have carried out air raids as far as 350 kilometres inside Angolan territory. The loss of hundreds of innocent lives and of property, which is the direct result of this invasion of Angola by the racist régime's troops, can easily be imagined.

It is common knowledge that the motive behind that aggression is not what the racist régime justifies as being "hot pursuit" against the combatants of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). What we know is that this recent aggression by the racist régime, like the previous ones, is a desperate move by racist Pretoria aimed at bailing out its UNITA surrogates from total annihilation by the Angolan army. The racists want to create a buffer zone so that they could, hopefully, perpetuate white supremacy in southern Africa.

The unholy alliance between the UNITA bandits and the racist régime since the dawn of Angolan independence has, in fact, been responsible for internationalizing the conflict in Angola. Naturally, as was very well described by the Permanent Representative of Cuba yesterday, the MPLA was forced to seek external support to counteract the onslaught of the racist régime, which was determined to install a puppet government in Luanda. That strategy of the apartheid régime, as we all

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know, failed miserably. But since then the Pretoria régime, in collaboration with its UNITA puppets, has systematically unleashed one act of aggression after another against Angola, the aim being to continue destabilizing the Government of Angola as well as its illegal occupation of Namibia, where it could also continue plundering the Territory's natural resources. Thus, the real aim of the racist régime is to weaken Angola politically and economically so that it stops assisting SWAPO. But Angola has so far valiantly defended its political independence and sovereignty.

In the past the Council has had to consider repeated acts of aggressions by the racist régime against the territory of Angola, a Member of the United Nations since 1976. The Pretoria régime, in collaboration with the UNITA bandits in Angola, has carried out terrorist and genocide attacks against the innocent and defenceless Angolan civilian population, including old women and children.

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of Tanzania)

Some of these wanton attacks were so brutal that it will take years to heal the scars left behind. The murders, tortures, maiming and indiscriminate killings in South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and other front-line and neighbouring States reaffirm, if any reaffirmation were needed, that the Pretoria racist régime poses a grave threat to peace and security in the region, the African continent and the world as a whole.

The terrorist and aggressive policies of the Pretoria régime in southern Africa have unfortunately been given a boost by the policy of so-called constructive engagement pursued by one of the major Powers, which is also a permanent member of the Security Council. Encouraged by the support afforded it by the present United States Administration, the racist régime, in violation of the norms governing international law, invaded and occupied the southern part of the People's Republic of Angola in 1981. Despite repeated calls upon it by the Security Council to withdraw from Angola, the racist régime has so far not done so.

The international community, and especially the front-line States, have all along been convinced that the policy of constructive engagement pursued by one permanent member of this Council has not yielded the desired change, but instead has encouraged the racist régime to escalate its acts of aggression and destabilization against the front-line States. The racist régime has carried out acts of aggression against the front-line States in order to destabilize and even bring down their Governments. These acts of aggression have caused heavy losses of human life and property, especially in Angola and Mozambique, as we all know.

The Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania strongly condemn the ongoing aggression by the Pretoria régime against Angola and demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the racist régime's army, which is

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of Tanzania)

maintaining its presence in Angola, in violation of the Charter and all norms and laws governing the conduct of relations between States calling for respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States. We firmly believe that the people of Angola should be left alone to develop their country in accordance with their own political belief and philosophy. We deplore the externalization of the Angolan issue into an East-West conflict. We also deplore the duplicity of certain external forces which provide the UNITA bandits with arms and other military facilities while at the same time pretending to bring peace to the region. It is my delegation's view that this policy has not and will not bring a solution to the Angolan problem. What we are seeing now is the escalation of the conflict in Angola to engulf the whole of southern Africa.

The present aggression against Angola, which recently enabled Mr. P. W. Botha, accompanied by five of his Cabinet Ministers, to enter southern Angola illegally and to brag about his incursion into southern Angola, deserves complete condemnation by the international community. It is actually a declaration of war by the racist régime against Angola. In our view, the international community has an obligation to take urgent corrective measures before the situation gets worse. The full mobilization of the racist régime's army in northern Namibia is a clear indication that the racist régime is desperate and is preparing for another big attack on Angola. My delegation rejects the continued use of Namibia by the apartheid régime as a springboard from which to launch attacks against Angola and other front-line States. The Security Council should not allow this to continue, for this would be tantamount to condoning the evil policies of apartheid and the lawlessness of the racist Pretoria régime.

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of Tanzania)

It is against this background that we urge the Security Council strongly to condemn the unwarranted invasion of Angola by the troops of the racist régime and to demand the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of these troops from Angolan territory. We request the Security Council this time to issue a clear message to the racist régime that, should it fail to comply with the Council's decision, the Council would meet again in order to consider the adoption of more effective measures in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter. We strongly believe that it is now time this Council acted in unison and sent an unambiguous message to the racist régime that enough is enough. We firmly believe that such a united stand by the Security Council would compel the Pretoria régime to stop its unceasing attacks on neighbouring sovereign States, in addition to helping in bringing about meaningful political changes inside South Africa itself.

We reiterate our view that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter would help in arresting the arrogance of the racist régime. We completely disagree with those that argue that the imposition of sanctions against the racist régime would hurt the black majority in South Africa more. The black majority in South Africa have been living under very difficult conditions for many decades and we are confident that they would be prepared to suffer a little more for a little longer if that would mean redeeming them from the dehumanizing life under apartheid. We deplore the attitude of those countries which are engaging in mere verbal condemnation of the racist régime but refuse to take the appropriate action that would hasten the demise of apartheid. We also deplore the attitude of those States, especially some Western countries, which continue to collaborate with the Pretoria régime because of their selfish economic interests. We appeal to those countries to reconsider their position and



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to join the international community in imposing comprehensive economic sanctions against the racist régime in accordance with the Charter.

The concern of the front-line States about the deteriorating situation in southern Africa was reaffirmed during the recent front-line States summit meeting in Luanda, Angola, regarding the present aggression against Angola. The Heads of State of the front-line States condemned the invasion and requested the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory. The front-line States also reaffirmed their solidarity with the people of Angola in expelling the enemy troops from its territory.

I wish to conclude by reaffirming Tanzania's unequivocal support for and total solidarity with the people of Angola. We are confident that they will succeed in defeating the apartheid régime and its aggression. Once again, we call upon the Security Council to take appropriate and urgent action to compel the racist régime to withdraw its troops from Angola. Anything short of this would call into question this body's authority and would further erode the confidence in this Council of the suffering people of southern Africa.

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

Mr. ZUZE (Zambia): The Zambian delegation congratulates you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. You represent a country that has tremendous influence in the world today. With your rich diplomatic experience and abiding faith in multilateralism, we are confident that the present deliberations will end on a successful note.

I wish also to pay a deserved tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Bucci of Italy, for the excellent manner in which he guided the work of the Council during the month of October.

On Friday, 20 November, the Vice Minister for External Relations of the People's Republic of Angola, His Excellency Mr. Venancio de Moura, stated before this Council his country's complaint against racist South Africa. My delegation listened very carefully to his lucid statement of facts on the current critical situation in Angola. As I listened, my mind stretched back to the mid-seventies, when on 9 August 1975 South African troops crossed into Angola through Kunene Province and directly intervened in a civil conflict by joining forces with UNITA.

Although South African troops were later driven out of Angola, they returned in 1981 on the pretext of conducting operations against the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) freedom fighters. That invasion culminated in the occupation of the southern parts of Angola. Racist South African troops have since remained in Angola despite the resolutions and decisions of the Security Council which have, inter alia, demanded South Africa's cessation of acts of aggression against Angola and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all its forces from Angolan territory.

The Vice Minister for external relations reminded the Security Council of South Africa's acts of State terrorism which have over the years of occupation torn the country apart, resulting in the tragic heavy loss of human life and inestimable destruction of property, particularly the economic infrastructure of the People's

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

Republic of Angola. Indeed, this Council has strongly and unequivocally pronounced itself on South Africa's persistent acts of aggression and destabilization of Angola and other independent African States in the region.

Let me briefly go back in history. When the German Nazi party occupied Danzig and Czechoslovakia, the world went nuts. The world was in an uproar over this. Hitler then illegally occupied Poland, and as a result the world went to war. It was a war that cost millions of lives and produced chaos throughout the world for six years.

Other conquerors have tried the same. We all know that a move by a major nation to occupy a weaker country against the will of its inhabitants always becomes world news, and in some cases there is armed intervention on behalf of a suffering nation. International law, we are told, outlaws the offender and proscribes the action where illegal occupation takes place.

It is just over 100 years since the Congress of Berlin, in 1885, when the metropolitan Powers of Europe occupied parts of Africa and colonialism was complete. Apart from the United States, which rejected colonialism two centuries ago, the world largely became divided into the colonial Powers and those parts of the world which were under their domination. Yet, as we know, beginning with Indian independence in 1947, the tide has been turned back, country after country. Some by peaceful means, some by bitter struggles, have rejected colonialism and have become sovereign independent nations. Their flags fly proudly at the entrance to the United Nations buildings.

Compared with other nations in Africa or throughout the world, the behaviour of the South African racist régime defies assessment. Encouraged by its Western supporters, it has invaded and occupied Angola and it has destabilized its neighbours in the name of hot pursuit of terrorists. Indeed South Africa has known no boundaries. It has planted bombs in London in hot pursuit of the African

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

National Congress (ANC). Yet the world largely conveniently forgets this crime of the second half of the twentieth century.

There must be a reason for this, and I think there is. We only have to consider the stark fact that Governments which apparently condemn apartheid befriend South Africa to begin to see, through that action, part of the answer. If we consider nations which apparently subscribe to the United Nations resolutions but allow their investments in South Africa and Namibian business to continue and flourish, we see more of the answer.

It seems to us that the linkage should be with South Africa's withdrawal and not the withdrawal of Cuban forces, which in any case went to Angola to undertake a rescue operation on the invitation of the legitimate Government of that country. South Africa is in Angola by force in violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and the purposes of the United Nations Charter which states inter alia:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations".

It is undeniable that racist South Africa is the aggressor and that Angola is the aggrieved party. South Africa has a combat force of 3,000 troops inside Angola fighting not SWAPO freedom fighters but Angolan forces. More than 10,000 other South African troops are massed at the border between Namibia and Angola in readiness for combat to reinforce the 3,000 already there. The Security Council, as the only organ charged with the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, must respond to this very serious matter. It is a situation which seriously threatens international peace and security.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

South Africa has no right whatsoever to be in Angola. Now, because of the inertia of the world body regarding teaching racist South Africa a lesson, the régime has even arrogantly announced that its President, Mr. Pieter Willem Botha, and some of his so-called Cabinet officers illegally entered Angola in the occupied area. The President himself has joined his band of soldiers in violating the territorial integrity of an independent country. This is an act of provocation which my country strongly condemns. The Security Council must at this point in time rise to the occasion and demand not only South Africa's cessation of acts of aggression but a total and unconditional withdrawal of its forces. Let us not be economical with words. South Africa must simply get out of Angola and Namibia so that peace and tranquillity can prevail in southern Africa.

This Council is well aware that South Africa's evil system of apartheid is the source of tension in southern Africa. That barbaric system, which the racist régime defends by brutalization of black South Africans and Namibians and by armed attacks on front-line States and other States in the region, is the root cause of instability in southern Africa. It is South African forces which are in Angola. There are no Angolan or Cuban soldiers in South Africa. The racist régime is the terrorist of our region. It is the black sheep of southern Africa, so to speak.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

I reiterate that apartheid - not the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia, and certainly not the front-line States - is South Africa's biggest enemy. South Africa is, in other words, at war with itself. In order to have peace, it must abolish apartheid and withdraw immediately from Angola and Namibia. The racist régime in Pretoria is a tormented devil that desperately needs help in order to attain peace, and that help must come through decisive action by the Council. The international community is under a binding obligation to use any measures that will effectively end South Africa's lunacy, including the invocation of Chapter VII of the Charter. Those Western supporters of the racist régime, and particularly the United States Administration, on whose behalf the régime claims to be acting must cease their deliberate attempts to overthrow the Angolan Government. Angola is a peaceful non-aligned country which poses no threat to South Africa.

South Africa must be strongly condemned for its continued occupation of Angolan territory and its persistent armed attacks against Angola. The Council must at this moment of reckoning speak with one voice, the voice of outrage and anger. It must strongly warn the racist régime that failure to comply with its resolutions and decisions would result in serious punitive measures. Let us act resolutely to bring peace to southern Africa. We must match our words with action. We ask not only for unanimous support for the draft resolution now under consideration but also for its implementation in toto. It is a draft resolution that is remarkable for its moderate tone at a time when tough language is appropriate. Let us emerge from these meetings totally committed to ensuring racist South Africa's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Angola. Time is of the essence. We must act now to save all of southern Africa from an imminent catastrophe.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zambia for his kind words addressed to me.

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

Mr. BUI XUAN NHAT (Viet Nam): First, Sir, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam congratulates you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. We are confident that your experience and diplomatic skills will help to bring these extremely important meetings to a successful conclusion. Our congratulations also go to the Permanent Representative of Italy, Ambassador Maurizio Bucci, who skilfully and effectively presided over the Council's work during October.

Last week, in its intervention during the General Assembly's debate on agenda item 33, "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa," our delegation strongly condemned the current attacks by Pretoria against Angola and called upon the world community to take effective measures to stay the bloody hands of the racist régime. It was stated that not only the security of Angola or southern Africa but the world's security was endangered, and the credibility of this body was seriously challenged.

We are today even more outraged by the arrogance of the ring-leader of the racist régime, who went with his invading army deep into Angola's territory. This is the act of an international outlaw, striking evidence of State terrorism, a naked show of gangsterism, only previously found in the actions of Hitler during his invasion of Poland and Czechoslovakia. It is all the more serious as it is the culmination of the systematic escalation of acts of aggression and destabilization by South Africa against Angola. The latest large-scale incursion is paralleled by

(Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat, Viet Nam)

the massive concentration of forces and sophisticated matériel of the South African army along the southern border of Angola with Namibia.

The aims of these attacks are easy to find. Botha and his Western supporters and collaborators are seeking by all means to intimidate and weaken this young republic. They cannot afford to accept an independent, non-aligned Angola that has decided to go its own way, particularly when South Africa has claimed to be the watchdog over the interests of imperialism and colonialism in that part of the world. The attacks are launched to divert the pressure building up in South Africa on the racist régime of Pretoria against its continued repression, widespread arrests and imprisonment of its opponents, prolonged state of emergency, dusk-to-dawn curfew and unrestricted censorship. As it is definitely headed for its downfall, these are the last kicks of a dying horse. In the face of this eventuality, Botha decided to take the risk of illegally entering Angola to prop up the morale of his troops and the bandits operating in Angola.

Angola has not had a day of peace for the past 12 years. Obviously racist South Africa is to be blamed for that. However, South Africa alone could not have done the job, had it not been given the go-ahead signal, moral support and material assistance.

Professor Wayne Smith of the School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University, had this to say in his article "A Trap in Angola" published in the American periodical Foreign Affairs:

"The United States had been in close contact with the South Africans as they intervened on a large scale. The Ford Administration may even have encouraged them to intervene and promised support if they did ... the United States was responsible for setting in motion actions that touched off a bloody war that was to rage in Angola."



(Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat, Viet Nam)

That was in the early 1970s. But Professor Smith remarked:

"The US foreign policy community seems to have learned nothing from the errors of 1975. Today ... many seem as determined as then to eschew diplomacy in favour of new covert operations in partnership with the South Africans."

Attempts have been made to link the settlement of the conflict in Angola with extraneous issues. Some have been noisily asking for the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalists who were invited by the Government of Angola to come in much later in the conflict. But they are refusing to demand the removal of the South African troops that were sent into Angola much earlier, before Angola became independent. They are the ones that have many times in this Council Chamber abused their veto to protect apartheid South Africa. When South Africa was sending battalion-sized columns, with sophisticated weapons, to invade as deep as 500 kilometres into Angola, they again last week blocked sanctions - the most effective peaceful means left to deal with apartheid.

(Mr. Bui Xuan Nhat, Viet Nam)

Will the Council give sanctions a chance to take effect? Will the Council for once take action to fulfil its mandate as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter - that is, protect world peace and security from being endangered?

The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam wishes to reaffirm in this forum its unswerving support for the peoples of Angola and Namibia and other peoples in southern Africa which are heroically fighting in the forefront of our common struggle against apartheid. We strongly condemn Pretoria's recent invasion and its continued military occupation of the territory of Angola. We demand the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of racist South Africa's troops from Angola.

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

Mr. DELPECH (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): First, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on the discharge of your duties in the Council during the month of November. It gives us particular satisfaction to see the Council presided over by a worthy representative of Japan, a country with which my own has enjoyed a long and friendly relationship. We are confident that your well-known diplomatic skill, seriousness and dedication will leave their mark upon our work.

Similarly, it is a pleasant duty to extend special thanks to Ambassador Maurizio Bucci of Italy, a country with which my own is also linked by close ties, for his competent management of our work during October. His skilful guidance enabled the Council to discharge its duties efficiently.

The Council is having to meet once again during the present year in order to consider the conduct of the racist Pretoria régime. The item before us today

(Mr. Delpech, Argentina)

refers to the violation of the sovereignty, airspace and territorial integrity of the Peoples Republic of Angola by the racist Pretoria régime.

This is not a new development. The latest measure adopted by the Council with regard to this question was resolution 577 (1985), in which it condemned the Government of South Africa for its aggression against Angola and demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa's forces from the territory of that country.

The Government of South Africa has once again chosen not to heed the international community. It persists in its expansionist policy, seeking to protect the apartheid régime, one of whose features is continuous aggression against the Governments in the southern Africa region, which it is seeking to destabilize in order to achieve its objectives.

This evil and altogether inadmissible policy of apartheid has been condemned by the international community on numerous occasions and in the most categorical terms. We remain convinced that it is indispensable that it be eliminated if we are to bring the violence in the region to an end.

Argentina has noted with concern and indignation the recent escalation of South Africa's intervention in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Angola. The South African Government itself has unequivocally announced its intentions in reporting on the operations of its troops in the southern part of that country. Moreover, its Head of State did not shrink from visiting the territory, accompanied by several of his Ministers, without the necessary authorization from the local Government. For all of these actions it has continued to use as a base of operations the territory of Namibia, which it continues to occupy illegally. It is only a few days since the Council adopted resolution 601 (1987) on this situation, consequently I need not dwell on this point.

(Mr. Delpech, Argentina)

Those responsible for South Africa's present policy must understand that their obstinate conduct offers only the possibility of increasing international isolation of Pretoria and violence and chaos in southern Africa. It was precisely as a result of attacks by the Government of South Africa against neighbouring States that my country decided to break its diplomatic relations with it. We did so because our Government is convinced that South Africa's attitude violates the Charter of the United Nations and international law and endangers world peace and security. For that reason, we have for some time argued that the Council should broaden the scope of the sanctions it has applied against South Africa and make use of the powers conferred on it under Chapter VII of the Charter.

In view of the new developments described to us by the Vice-Minister for External Relations of the People's Republic of Angola, Mr. Venancio da Silva de Moura, we reaffirm Argentina's solidarity with the Angolans in the defence of the sovereignty, airspace and territorial integrity of their country and once again condemn the acts of aggression by the Government of Pretoria.

We are convinced that the least the Council can do is once again demand the immediate cessation of these hostile actions and the unconditional withdrawal of all South African troops from the south of Angola.

For that reason, my country, together with other non-aligned members of the Council, will be sponsoring a draft resolution, of which the members of the Council are aware. We hope that this will have the support of all and that this time its implementation will take place immediately, for which purpose we put our confidence in the Secretary-General, to whom we would entrust the task of supervising troop withdrawals. As the draft resolution provides, once the Secretary-General had made his report to us on the implementation of the resolution, the Council would meet once again to consider whether it was necessary to adopt new measures.

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

Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): I have already had the pleasure of conveying to you, Sir, our most earnest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council.

The Security Council once again has before it the question of racist South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. The facts given in the letter of 19 November 1987 from the President of the People's Republic of Angola, Eduardo Dos Santos, addressed to the Secretary-General (S/19283), clearly show a resurgence recently of South Africa's aggressive acts against independent, sovereign Angola and give evidence of the advanced stage of racist Pretoria's practical preparations for further military action on an even greater scale. This constitutes a direct threat to the national independence and territorial integrity of that country. Furthermore, the Vice-Minister for External Relations of the People's Republic of Angola, Mr. da Silva de Moura, gave all these facts in his exhaustive and impressive statement and denounced with convincing proof South Africa's incursion into several regions within Angolan territory.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

What is the height of arrogance is the personal commitment to aggression of President Botha, who, accompanied by members of his racist cabinet, went to the region where the South African regular army and puppet groups were conducting operations on the territory of Angola. What little remained of the mask behind which the racists have been trying for a long time now to conceal their own banditry in Angola and that of their mercenary killers has fallen off. The dirty, undeclared war which has long been waged has become an overt aggression sanctioned at governmental level by racist Pretoria. The background of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola is quite well known. The Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe, Ambassador Mudenge, on behalf of the non-aligned countries spoke of it at some length in his statement. It is the inalienable right of sovereign Angola to rely on international assistance in order to defend its national independence and its territorial integrity and to exercise in full freedom its right to develop along the lines which it has itself chosen: democracy, economic and social progress, and living in peace with its neighbours. Any reference to the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is only a hypocritical attempt to conceal the true designs of an imperialist and egoist policy of collaboration with racist South Africa.

The recent arrogance of the racists is a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola, an independent State, a Member of the United Nations, a member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and a participant in the Non-Aligned Movement. Furthermore, this is a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and of all decisions adopted to date by the Organization, including decisions of the Security Council. It is a violation of the most fundamental norms of international law and unprecedented defiance of the clearly expressed will of the international community and of the prestige of this world Organization.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

It is no mere coincidence that racist Pretoria is constantly the target of discussions in the United Nations - recently because of the issue of the policy of apartheid, more recently because of the issue of the granting of independence to Namibia and now today because of aggression against Angola.

We have all seen how the criminal system of apartheid, whose nature is made manifest in the violation of the most basic human rights and by massive oppression and suffering for the black majority, gave rise to the illegal occupation of Namibia and denied to its people their inalienable right to self-determination, while making occupied Namibia a staging ground for aggression against sovereign Angola and other neighbouring States. Internal resistance to apartheid is steadily increasing and the Pretoria régime, while it renews its internal repression, will no doubt try to find an external safety valve through aggressive actions against neighbouring peoples and States.

Apartheid is a malignant growth on the body of Africa and of the world. It cannot be treated: it must be eliminated.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria shares in the firm conviction of the overwhelming majority of United Nations States Members that we must impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, as the sole remaining peaceful means of eliminating apartheid as a State policy and a social phenomenon. It is becoming increasingly obvious that those who maintain relations with the Pretoria régime while lending it political, economic, military and other support are in fact becoming accomplices in the crimes which the racists are perpetrating and bear with them political and moral responsibility vis-à-vis Africa and all mankind.

It has been repeatedly emphasized here in the Security Council that the policy of apartheid constitutes a threat to peace and security in southern Africa. That

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

observation was once again confirmed by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs in their final communiqué at the meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia held on 2 October 1987 here in New York.

All the facts I have outlined make it incumbent on the Security Council, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, to take urgent and effective steps in order to restrain the aggressor. If that is not done there is a real danger that aggression will cause a chain reaction, with unforeseen consequences for the region. For all those reasons, the People's Republic of Bulgaria energetically condemns the infamous racist régime of South Africa for its aggression, an aggression which it continues to perpetrate against the People's Republic of Angola, and insists on the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the troops of the aggressor from the territory of sovereign Angola.

The Bulgarian people extends most sincere sympathy to the Angolan people and hails its heroic resistance to the aggressor.

I should like to state in conclusion that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is in full solidarity with the just struggle for national independence and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, which recently celebrated the twelfth anniversary of its freedom, obtained under the leadership of the MPLA, and will continue to lend its support in the future.

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

Mr. PABON GARCIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): Please accept, Sir, the warmest congratulations of my delegation on your very skilful guidance of the work of the Security Council during the present month. Well-deserved and sincere congratulations go also to your predecessor, Ambassador Maurizio Bucci, Permanent Representative of Italy.



(Mr. Pabon Garcia, Venezuela)

Hardly a month has gone by since the Security Council adopted resolution 601 (1987) in a renewed effort to bring peace to the southern African region, to restrain the South African régime in its illegal occupation of the territory of Namibia and to compel it to dismantle for ever the criminal system of apartheid.

(Mr. Pabon Garcia, Venezuela)

With the aim of obtaining the affirmative votes of the majority of the members of the Council, and as a conciliatory gesture, that resolution did not call for the application of the collective mandatory measures provided for in the United Nations Charter. The result is obvious: the South African authorities received the wrong signal. They felt that they could safely continue to flout that resolution and all the other relevant resolutions adopted by the Council and intensify their attacks on those States whose great misfortune it is that geography and the colonial legacy compel them to share that part of the continent with South Africa.

The manifest incapacity of the Council, for reasons that are well known, to compel the racist minority régime of South Africa to abandon its irrational, anti-historical attitude is the cause of our meeting in this Chamber today to consider the most recent outrage of that régime, which is acting beyond the bounds of the most elementary rules of international law.

The People's Republic of Angola has once again been the victim of the institutionalized aggression of South Africa. This is not the first time, and unless proper steps are taken it will not, unfortunately, be the last. The continuous attacks and acts of aggression date from 1975, that is, the time when Angola was born as an independent and sovereign State. The authoritative words of the Vice-Minister for External Relations, Mr. da Silva de Moura, have brought us up to date with the most recent developments. His presentation has very clearly demonstrated that we are dealing not with isolated events but with the constant repetition of acts that make clear the decision to impose and maintain apartheid by force and violence, violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States.

(Mr. Pabon Garcia, Venezuela)

Each and every member of this Council and the international community as a whole are aware that the situation prevailing in the southern part of Angola has deteriorated very dangerously in recent days as a result of the intensification of the military acts of aggression and destabilization carried out by the army of the racist régime, assisted in its criminal terrorist task by bands of mercenaries and traitors. The flagrant and open violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola on this occasion has become even clearer with the arrogant, illegal entry of the South African leader into Angolan territory in the company of five of his Ministers.

Far from complying with the will of the international community, the Pretoria régime, through its representative in New York, has confined itself to its attempt to distract the Council's attention, going to extremes of shamelessness in its attempt to justify Mr. Botha's incursion into Angolan territory. But the entire world is aware of the true facts and will not be deceived.

Venezuela takes this opportunity to reaffirm its solidarity with the people and Government of Angola. It condemns all the acts of aggression committed by South Africa against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and all the front-line States. Venezuela, in fulfilment of its responsibility as a non-permanent member of the Council, will contribute to the adoption of a draft resolution which will strongly condemn South Africa, demand that it immediately cease its acts of aggression against Angola and authorize the Secretary-General to monitor the withdrawal of the South African military forces. Furthermore, depending on developments, the Council may once again decide to meet with a view to adopting measures which may bring a definitive peace to that tormented region.

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

The next speaker on the list is the representative of Ethiopia, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia): Sir, we congratulate you on your assumption of the Council's presidency for the month of November. In view of your wisdom and rich experience, we are confident that we shall benefit from the guidance you will give the Council in the discharge of its heavy responsibilities.

We assure your predecessor, Ambassador Bucci of Italy, of our respect. We owe him a debt of gratitude for his able leadership of the Security Council last month.

Only a few weeks ago the Security Council deliberated on the question of Namibia and adopted an important decision. We are hopeful that with proper implementation, that decision may facilitate conditions for the closure once and for all of these sordid chapters of Namibia's history. We say this in spite of the clouds on the horizon and the increased preparations for war and more bloodshed on the part of Pretoria.

In less than a month, and on a disturbing note at that, we are back again in this Council Chamber to listen to a complaint by a Member State that has been subjected to brazen aggression and expanded invasion. Last month the case before this Council was the denial of freedom and independence to a colonial Territory and the lack of respect for the will of the international community implicit in such an illegal act. The issue before us now is that of naked aggression, an act of invasion being committed against a sovereign and independent State, the People's Republic of Angola.

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

The common denominators of these two interrelated issues are: first, that the culprit, of course, is the notorious racist régime of South Africa, and, secondly, that the base for aggression is the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia.

The case is well established. The evidence is there, confronting the aggressor. Pretoria is guilty of violating the territorial integrity of a Member State of the United Nations, whose Charter condemns aggression and in Article 39 empowers the Security Council to take immediate action with respect to threats to the peace and acts of aggression.

Indeed, this is not the first time the Security Council has met to listen to such complaints. Many of the sovereign and independent nations of southern Africa have at one time or other been attacked by that rabid régime or exposed to acts of destabilization through the use of fifth-columnists. While all cases of attack and aggression bear similarities, the present invasion 350 kilometres deep into Angolan territory is distinctive in terms of scale and implications.

The fact that South Africa is waging war within Angolan territory and that its armed forces are present within the territory of a sovereign nation is cause for indignation on the part of all self-respecting peoples the world over. The permanent undeclared war to which the People's Republic of Angola has been subjected since its birth in 1975 has now become a declared war. The invading army is expanding the area of its control, killing defenceless civilians, blowing up bridges and destroying other parts of the infrastructure.

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

Where does this stop? In the last 12 years Angola has been like a young infant, denied peace and the exuberance of childhood because of Pretoria's armed incursions, destabilization and invasion. At the height of its insanity, Botha's régime, with no need now for its usual preposterous pretext of hot pursuit, is engaged in heavy fighting with the armed forces of Angola.

If the mighty can at any time use force to achieve their dreams of grandeur and get away with it, what defence do the small and weak have? History is replete with many episodes of the powerful taking the law into their own hands. But let us remember that such actions have often proved to be the short way to an ill-fated destiny with serious consequences.

In the case of South Africa, we have always believed that violence and aggression are the inherent properties of apartheid. Consequently, knowledge of this fact has convinced us that there can be no peace while apartheid is permitted to continue. Successive events and the pain that system continues to inflict on the peoples of southern Africa bear testimony to the veracity of this assertion. Pretoria's barbaric acts against the People's Republic of Angola, viewed against the backdrop of the former's pattern of behaviour and deeds, are but a shadow of the future and a harbinger of the dangers to come. From the experience of my own country, as the first victim of invasion by Mussolini's fascist forces on the eve of the Second World War, and the conspiracy of silence of the League of Nations, we realize full well that the dangers that befell the world in 1939 were ignited as a result of such acts of madmen of history whose overriding concerns were chauvinistic.

Are the achievements so far made in the field of international law just a motley collection of ineffective codes? Or have we grown insensitive to human sufferings, the plight of the victims of apartheid in particular, and the State

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

terrorism of Pretoria? Or is it that collective action and "uniting for peace" have become mere concepts from a different era, now of no use in exorcizing the Pretoria demon?

If the past can provide any lesson, this invasion of Angola must goad the Security Council to immediate action. Convinced as we are, we call once again on members of the Security Council in general and Pretoria's friends in particular to join hands with the international community to exert pressure on South Africa to force it to dismantle apartheid, to withdraw from its illegal occupation of Namibia and learn to live in peace and mutual respect with its neighbours.

Let it be known that all the property wantonly destroyed and all the innocent blood shed because of this invasion are part of an act beyond condemnation. Much as the murder of every child embitters us, our inaction in the face of such arrogance of power diminishes our own self-respect and the very values we cherish so much. In southern Angola, South Africa, whose evil deeds have become too gargantuan to be concealed, has indeed proved to be a menace to human dignity and existence, and indefensible even in the eyes of its friends. The clock is ticking, and it would be in the best interest of all to defuse that bomb in southern Africa before it goes off.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Ethiopia for his kind words addressed to me.

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

Mr. KAROUI (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): Allow me at the outset to convey to you, Sir, the warm congratulations of the Tunisian delegation on the occasion of your accession to the presidency of the Security Council in November. I should also like to extend my sincere congratulations to your

(Mr. Karoui, Tunisia)

predecessor, Ambassador Bucci of Italy, who demonstrated the greatest skill in his conduct of the deliberations of this Council last month.

The occupation of a part of Angolan territory by South Africa constitutes a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and presents a continuing challenge to the entire international community. I should therefore like once again to express the active solidarity of the Government and people of Tunisia with our friends and brothers of Angola in this painful and difficult trial.

Once again the South African régime, with its total and habitual contempt for the most elementary rules of international law, has conducted a murderous raid and violated the airspace of Angola to an unprecedented depth. This new aggression by the armed forces of Pretoria constitutes another violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country and has caused great loss of human life and substantial material damage.

In adhering obstinately to its belligerent attitude, Pretoria has again given the international community further proof of its scorn for the United Nations, in particular its principal organ entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Pretoria régime is all the more guilty in that it has undertaken these armed attacks from Namibia, a Territory it occupies illegally. The dilatory tactics of the Pretoria régime, whose policies of oppression, repression and aggression we once again denounce, cannot hamper the economic and social development of neighbouring African countries, nor can they indefinitely delay the liberation of the Namibian people.

In once again attacking Angola from Namibia and in admitting that President Botha has entered occupied Angolan territory, the Pretoria régime has yet again defied various resolutions of the United Nations. Its rejection of the



(Mr. Karoui, Tunisia)

aid of 11th September 1987, adopted on 30 October, recent resolution 601 (1987) of the Security Council, demanding South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia and application of the United Nations plan for the independence of that Territory is the same kind of mistaken conduct.

Angola, a sovereign and non-aligned African country, has since its independence aspired only to peace and stability so that it may devote its efforts to its economic and social development.

In view of the foregoing considerations, it is the Security Council's duty to condemn the unacceptable activities of South Africa and to take the steps it deems necessary definitively to put an end to Pretoria's repeated acts of aggression against Angola and the other front-line States.

(Mr. Karoui, Tunisia)

South Africa must understand once and for all that its aggressive policy against the countries of the region, and against Angola in particular, cannot provide it with an appropriate setting in which to establish a constitutional system in Windhoek that can enable it to perpetuate its colonial domination over Namibia and pursue its acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States.

This flight from reality is irrefutable proof that Pretoria, today as in the past, is not prepared to comply with international legality, in spite of the repeated appeals addressed to it and the many condemnations against it by the Council. It almost seems that everything has been in vain.

We therefore feel that the Security Council must send a clear message to South Africa to make it understand that the international community is resolved to put an end to its policy of aggression, occupation, intervention and destabilization. Tunisia can but reiterate its condemnation of Pretoria's policy in southern Africa.

It is thus urgent that the Security Council take decisive action pursuant to the provisions of the Charter in order to bring South Africa immediately and unconditionally to withdraw from Angola, to respect its sovereignty and territorial integrity and to grant independence without delay to Namibia, a Territory it is occupying illegally.

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

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

Mr. ZAPOTOCKY (Czechoslovakia): Allow me first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your presidency over the Security Council for the month of November. We are convinced that under your guidance the Council will be able to honour all the tasks before it. At the same time, we would like to take this opportunity to

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

express our appreciation of the abilities of Ambassador Bucci of Italy, who was in charge of the Council's affairs last month.

This is the second time within a very short period that the Security Council has been convened to address the situation in southern Africa. Its last series of meetings devoted to the situation in Namibia, as well as the course of the general debate in the General Assembly at this session on the question of Namibia and apartheid, pointed to the fact that the situation in southern Africa had been further aggravated and exacerbated during the past year. The expansionist policy of South Africa towards neighbouring States in the region was subjected to criticism in the statements of an overwhelming majority of delegations. The latest invasion by South African troops of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola in recent days only confirms the justice and objectivity of such criticism.

It is a well-known fact that the representatives of the régime of apartheid are responsible for brutally oppressing peoples' resistance and liquidating the justified demands of the popular masses for fundamental human rights and equality. The actions of the racist rulers of South Africa are aimed at paralysing the economies of the front-line States, undercutting their economic and political independence and stability and slowing down their development. In so doing the racist régime of South Africa resorts to all means of State-sustained terror to break down the liberation struggle and secure the perpetuation of its own existence.

In the interests of such aims racist South Africa also makes use of the insurgent organization UNITA, whose forces are spreading death and destruction over the territory of Angola. In fact, the current aggression of South Africa against Angola also represents support to that puppet paramilitary organization.

Since 1976 Pretoria has been waging an undeclared war against the People's Republic of Angola, launching, through UNITA, inhuman terrorist raids against the

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Angolan people and destroying economic and social facilities built in Angola after the victory of the national liberation revolution. Through its conduct Pretoria has been deliberately ignoring the principles of international law as well as the relevant Security Council decisions and resolutions. It also misuses for its expansionist policy the territory of Namibia as a foothold for launching and escalating its own aggressive actions.

Obviously, the present conduct of South Africa and its manifest contempt for world public opinion would not be possible without the political, economic and military support of some Western countries.

It is regrettable that some Western countries are maintaining contacts with South Africa in pursuing purely selfish economic and other interests, thus creating serious obstacles to effective international pressure against Pretoria. Ironically, those countries, so fond of boasting about their modern democracy and unconventional imagination in working out concepts of human rights, are reluctant to adopt measures against South Africa that would bring it to restore fundamental human rights in South Africa and thereby contribute to the establishment of a democratic, equal society, regardless of ethnic origin. If genuine international sanctions were applied against Pretoria, as requested by an overwhelming majority of the world, the régime would have to collapse within a short time.

Who keeps it afloat? In the words of Mr. Geoffrey Hamilton, a senior official of the International Institute for the Exploration of the Activities of Transnational Corporations, it is Western transnational corporations and banks that are the moral and political mainstay of apartheid and the backbone of South Africa. According to the Institute's data, almost 1,100 Western subsidiary companies operate in South Africa. That figure includes 400 American, 360 British and more than 140 West German companies. Those facts shed light on the reasons

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that prevent some countries from supporting the adoption of general mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa.

Czechoslovakia is of the opinion that no substantial progress can be made on the path towards the eradication of apartheid unless the sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter are adopted and consequently put into practice. Mandatory comprehensive sanctions are the most effective means to a peaceful settlement of the problems in southern Africa and the elimination of apartheid, the only way of compelling the Government of South Africa to enter into a serious dialogue.

The continuing escalation of tension in southern Africa can have unforeseeable consequences for and poses a grave threat to international peace and security. We believe that in this situation the Security Council will have recourse to all available means to compel the South Africa apartheid régime to halt immediately and without delay its aggression and to withdraw its armed forces from the territory of Angola. Czechoslovakia supports all effective and urgent measures designed to put an end to the South African aggression and to the illegal occupation of a part of the territory of Angola.

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

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

Mr. MATOS PROENCA (Portugal) (interpretation from French): Like the representative of the People's Republic of Angola, I, too, shall attempt to use in this body the language of the great sages of France, so as not to depart from the usual practice, but I do so reluctantly since it would no doubt be easier for me to speak in Portuguese in order to express more clearly and more categorically our indignation over the series of hostile acts committed against the Angolan people and Government.

Mr. President, I should like to thank you and the other members of the Council for acceding to our request to speak on the complaint of the Government of Angola. That country has once again become the victim of unprovoked aggression by South Africa. This aggression has been unequivocally condemned by my country's Government, which, in response to the feelings of the Portuguese people, issued a press release expressing solidarity with the friendly Government and people of Angola in these trying times.

But before dealing with this question in greater detail, may I convey to you, Sir, my delegation's satisfaction at seeing the representative of a country with which Portugal has friendly relations guiding the work of the Council for the month of November. Your broad professional experience and personal qualities will no doubt help in ensuring that the debate and the verdict on the serious issues submitted for consideration by the Council will be impartial, serious and in keeping with this body's traditions.

(Mr. Matos Proença, Portugal)

I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to pay tribute to my friend Ambassador Maurizio Bucci for the competent and authoritative manner in which he presided over the work of the Council in October.

I followed very closely the statement made by the representative of Angola, His Excellency the Vice Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Venancio da Silva de Moura. I had the honour of meeting him a long time ago and I recall that in the contacts we have had over the years, sometimes in very delicate circumstances, he was always a paragon of seriousness and rigorous judgement. Hence it was with great concern that I followed his detailed statement on the situation in the Provinces of Cunene and Kuando-Kubango here last Friday.

We are now faced with a unique situation which cannot be tolerated by the international community. The information we have received indicates that this is not simply an incursion of South African troops into the territory of the People's Republic of Angola. We are witnessing a massive South African military invasion - which has not only been acknowledged as such by that country's authorities but which, furthermore, has been followed up by the presence on Angolan territory of the President of the Republic of South Africa, accompanied by several Ministers of his Government. It is inconceivable that the United Nations should remain passive in the face of such defiance, such a systematic disregard for the rules of conduct governing relations among States and such a flagrant violation of the basic principles of international law and of the United Nations Charter. This situation is all the more unacceptable because the attacks by South African troops were conducted from the Territory of Namibia, which is illegally occupied by the Republic of South Africa. As we have repeatedly stated, we vigorously condemn violence in any form. Violence always breeds more violence, and we are deeply

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concerned over the possibility of an even greater escalation which could only hinder all the efforts and negotiations under way - which we firmly support - with a view to a peaceful settlement of conflicts in southern Africa.

We regret developments in the region and we cannot remain indifferent to the fate of the peoples most affected by this climate of violence, peoples with which we have a special relationship. I am referring in particular to the fraternal people of Angola which, unfortunately, ever since its independence has been the victim of all kinds of suffering.

The ties of friendship binding us to that country compels us to seek by all available means to put an end to an unjust situation that is hindering the full economic development of the whole of the territory. These two aspects of the problem - a comprehensive settlement through peaceful means of the problems affecting the region and improvement in the living standards of the populations - are of concern to us, and we have devoted a great deal of effort to finding a solution with the co-operation of all the parties concerned. During an official visit by President José Eduardo Dos Santos to Portugal last September, which greatly helped to strengthen and consolidate relations between our two countries, we reiterated our determination to work together so as to achieve this goal.

We have only one motive here: that the Angolan people might live in peace so as devote itself entirely to the rebuilding of its country and thereby build a more prosperous future for its children. We feel that this is of crucial importance, as was referred to yesterday during the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the European Economic Community (EEC). The Twelve have issued a press release firmly condemning South African military activities in Angola.



(Mr. Matos Proença, Portugal)

As this press release clearly states, we renew our demands that the South African Government endeavour to establish peace and security in the region. We regret the use of force, especially military force, to settle international conflicts, which in our view should be settled through dialogue, common effort and negotiations - that is, by peaceful means.

It is therefore incumbent upon this body to demand unanimously the unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory, the immediate cessation of all acts of aggression against Angola and scrupulous respect for its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Finally, we hope that the Republic of South Africa will keep the promise which its Permanent Representative made to the Council not to embark upon military confrontation but, rather, to demonstrate the genuine will to sit down with all the other parties concerned to settle the differences between them and thereby contribute to stability and progress in the region, to the benefit of all peoples.

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

There are no further speakers on my list. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on its agenda will take place this afternoon at 3 o'clock.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.