

southern Africa strategy, aimed at destabilizing Angola and reversing decolonization by forcing its South African partner on the continent.

Angola said the veto would be seen by Africa and the third world as support for South Africa's racism, its flouting of United Nations resolutions and its disregard for human dignity and life; as stated in its letter of 25 August (see above), Angola might have no option but to invoke Article 51 of the Charter. Uganda, a sponsor of the draft resolution, expressed disappointment that the draft, though not containing any references to Chapter VII and to the fact of aggression, had been blocked by a single veto—an action which would make the victim of aggression more vulnerable, give comfort and encouragement to South Africa and deal a blow to the Namibians in their search for self-determination.

For the discussion preceding the voting, the Council invited Angola, Brazil, Canada, Cuba, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Kenya, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mozambique, South Africa, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate without vote. At Tunisia's request, contained in a letter of 29 August,⁽³⁰⁾ the Council also extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure^a to the Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations.

At the start of the debate, Angola gave an account of the invasion by South Africa, stating that the invasion force, which included gangs of mercenaries, had been accompanied by 135 tanks, 140 armoured vehicles, 38 helicopters and three artillery units, as well as aircraft used for reconnaissance, bombing and strafing. The invaders had occupied or destroyed a number of towns and inflicted brutalities on civilians. Warning that the situation could provoke a widespread conflagration, Angola demanded redress, the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops and assistance to strengthen its defences against South Africa's military and nuclear might.

South Africa rejected the charges of aggression against Angola, saying that any action by South African security forces was aimed solely at SWAPO, not at Angola and its people. Between July 1978 and September 1980, there had been almost 1,000 SWAPO attacks across the Angola-Namibia border, involving the murder of almost 300 Namibians, the abduction of 390 schoolchildren and serious injuries to 250 inhabitants of the Territory. The perpetrators had fled back to their sanctuaries in Angola. Rather than a liberation struggle, SWAPO had been conducting a systematic campaign to terrorize and intimidate Namibians with a view to taking over the Territory's government by armed force. The African

States had nothing to fear from South Africa, provided they chose the road of peaceful coexistence. The Chief of the South African Defence Force had announced on 28 August that the forces involved in follow-up operations against SWAPO elements in southern Angola were returning to their bases and advance groups were already back in Namibia.

Most speakers, among them Brazil, China, Cuba, France, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Ireland, Japan, Kenya (speaking for the OAU members), the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the Niger, Panama, the Philippines, Spain, the USSR, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia, considered that the Council must condemn South Africa's invasion, which most regarded as a clear violation of Angolan sovereignty and territory and a threat to peace and security. These States, together with Canada, the United Kingdom, the United States and Zimbabwe, the last speaking as Chairman of the African Group, called for urgent Council action to ensure the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the South African troops.

A number of countries, such as Brazil, China, the German Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the Niger, Panama, the Philippines and Viet Nam, supported Angola's demand for full compensation for the human and material losses caused by the invasion. Others, including France, Ireland and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, said the Council must demand that South Africa respect Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The United Kingdom called on the Council to agree urgently on a simple and direct appeal to South Africa to terminate its military action in Angola. The United States believed the Council should call urgently and immediately for the cessation of violence from every quarter and by all parties. Spain expressed the view that a Council condemnation of South Africa's aggression and a request that it unconditionally withdraw all its forces would not prevent the Council from continuing to work on a resolution of wider scope.

China stated that South Africa was so reckless in attacking neighbouring States because of the connivance and support of a super-Power that had sided with it.

In the view of the USSR and Viet Nam, the purpose of Pretoria's action was to destabilize the progressive regime in Angola, with support and encouragement from imperialist and racist

^a Rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure reads: "The Security Council may invite members of the Secretariat or other persons, whom it consist competent for the purpose, to supply it with information or to give other assistance in examining matters within its competence."