

UNITED NATIONS



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**1890<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 16 MARCH 1976

NEW YORK

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#### NOTE

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## 1890th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 16 March 1976, a 3.30 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Thomas S. BOYA (Benin).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Benin, China, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1890)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Request by Mozambique under Article 50 of the Charter of the United Nations in relation to the situation which has arisen as a result of its decision to impose sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in full implementation of the relevant decisions of the Security Council:  
Telegram dated 10 March 1976 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique to the President of the Security Council (S/12009).

*The meeting was called to order at 4.25 p.m.*

### Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before turning to the item on the agenda of our meeting today, I should like to discharge a very pleasant duty. As everyone knows, Ambassador Daniel Moynihan, who has just left us to take up another important post, presided over the work of the Security Council in February. In particularly delicate circumstances, Ambassador Moynihan conducted the proceedings of the Council, both in public meetings and in the long and arduous consultations that were held, with great distinction and competence. Therefore, on behalf of all Council members, I would request Ambassador Bennett to be good enough to convey to Ambassador Moynihan our most sincere gratitude.
2. I should like to take this opportunity, too, to express the great appreciation of the Council for the great efforts which Ambassador Bennett himself made last month.

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Request by Mozambique under Article 50 of the Charter of the United Nations in relation to the situation which**

has arisen as a result of its decision to impose sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in full implementation of the relevant decisions of the Security Council: Telegram dated 10 March 1976 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique to the President of the Security Council (S/12009).

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council has just included on its agenda the question submitted by the Government of Mozambique in a telegram dated 10 March to the President of the Council from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, who has come to New York to present in person the views of his Government in the Council. In accordance with rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, I propose, therefore, with the consent of the Council, to invite him to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's discussion.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chissano (Mozambique) took a place at the Council table.*

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In addition, I have received letters from the Permanent Representatives of Egypt, Jamaica, Kenya and Zambia containing requests to be invited to participate, under rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, in the discussion. Consequently, I propose, in accordance with the usual practice and the relevant provisions of the Charter, to invite the representatives I have just mentioned to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table, I invite the representatives to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when it is their turn to address the Council.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Thompson (Jamaica), Mr. Maina (Kenya) and Mr. Kamana (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to draw the Council's attention to certain recent documents of the Council relevant to this item: S/12004 and Add.1, in which the Secretary-General has transmitted the texts of communications which he has received on this subject; S/12005, which reproduces the text of the address made on 3 March by the President of Mozambique proclaiming the impo-

sition of sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia; and S/12008, which contains the text of the statement made by the Government of Nigeria on certain developments relating to this matter. Furthermore, I should like to draw attention to the text of a draft resolution [S/12013] prepared in the course of previous consultations.

6. The first speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique, on whom I now call.

7. Mr. CHISSANO (Mozambique): May I start my statement by saluting you, Mr. President and members of the Council, and by expressing my country's appreciation for your positive response to Mozambique's request for the convening of this meeting to discuss the critical situation prevailing in our region of Africa. I should particularly like to salute you, Mr. President, not only for your personal friendship for my delegation, but also for your country's stand of solidarity with Mozambique and with the cause of African liberation. Mozambique and Benin have, since our independence, marched together in support of the just causes in Africa and elsewhere in the world. I am certain that, under your wise leadership, the Council's deliberations will be crowned with success.

8. We are likewise grateful to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the interest with which he has always attended to the problems of Mozambique. We are sure that in the difficulties which face us today he will show the same interest to help us to find a quick solution and that the confidence which we have always put in him will serve as a guarantee for meaningful results.

9. The problem that we are discussing involves the decision of my Government to carry out its internationalist duty and the decision of the United Nations to help the people of Zimbabwe to achieve their right to freedom and independence. We are here, in particular, to discuss the difficult problems that face my country as a result of its decision to implement fully the policy of this Organization and of the Organization of African Unity with regard to the minority régime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia. In order to make it easier for the Council to understand the problem, I would like to recall here the strong economic dependence of Mozambique on the neighbouring countries in the south, namely, Rhodesia and South Africa, which has always existed. Portuguese colonialism, the weakest ally of those racist régimes, created economic infrastructures meant to serve the interests of the colonial and fascist bourgeois class of South Africa and Rhodesia, thereby installing in Mozambique such economic dependence as I have already mentioned.

10. It is in the context of this economic situation in Mozambique that the illegal régime in Salisbury strove to prevent the emergence of yet another independent African State near its borders. To that end, the illegal régime has committed various acts of ag-

gression in our country since 1965. Rhodesia knew from the nature of the struggle of Mozambique that our country was going to constitute a strong State that would immensely contribute to the liberation of the rest of Africa still under colonial and racist domination. After the defeat of Portuguese colonialism, Smith, blinded by his fascist ignorance, tried to intimidate the people of Mozambique by launching a series of provocations that culminated in an open and heavy attack on our national territory on 23 and 24 February, in the villages of Pafúri and Mavúe. The President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Comrade Samora Machel, described the details of this attack in the statement he delivered on 3 March.

11. With such aggressions, Ian Smith intends to divert the world's attention from the heroic struggle being waged by the people of Zimbabwe for the liberation and independence of their motherland and the eventual establishment of a society in which the power will belong to the majority.

12. At the same time, Ian Smith intends to make our people depart from their determination to fulfil in an exemplary manner their internationalist duty of backing the just struggle of the peoples for their complete liberation. In so doing, the minority régime of Ian Smith is not only challenging United Nations principles and resolutions, particularly those adopted by the Security Council, but also threatening international peace and security. The armed struggle being waged by the people of Zimbabwe a direct consequence of the blind intransigence of Smith's minority régime. In the light of the numerous resolutions of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations reaffirming the legitimacy of the armed struggle and calling on all nations to help that struggle of Zimbabwe, Mozambique can have no alternative but to support the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe.

13. We in Mozambique believe that our liberation will not be complete while other brother peoples in Africa and in other parts of the world continue to be dominated, humiliated and exploited. We shall therefore not fail to support the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle until victory is won. As I have already indicated, this support is also in accordance with United Nations resolutions, as exemplified by Security Council resolution 253 (1968), which in its paragraph 13

*"Urges all States Members of the United Nations to render moral and material assistance to the people of Southern Rhodesia in their struggle to achieve their freedom and independence"*.

14. Consequently, the Mozambican people, led by their experience of 10 years of struggle and following the principle of relying, before everything else, upon their own strength, decided, in support of the struggling people of Zimbabwe, to organize their own defence against any aggression and all types of subversion

carried out by the minority racist régime. They further decided to create a Bank of Solidarity to which all the population of Mozambique contribute one day's salary each month with a view to supporting materially those peoples still struggling for their liberation.

15. We realize also that the condition necessary for the existence of a strong rearguard for the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe régimes is that we consolidate our independence. For that purpose, the Bank of Solidarity will also help to provide material support for the national reconstruction of Mozambique. However, as has been the case in the past, Mozambique counts on international solidarity for the defence of its threatened independence and for national reconstruction, especially from those countries which helped it to achieve this independence, as well as from other friendly countries.

16. Many of the best children of Mozambique gave their lives in the struggle for national independence. Today, for the defence of that independence, the people of Mozambique are prepared to make sacrifices. However, in order to cope with this situation which has been imposed upon us and to repel all aggression of which it is a victim, Mozambique needs material support.

17. On 3 March, the People's Republic of Mozambique announced the full implementation of United Nations sanctions against the illegal régime in Rhodesia.

18. The sanctions now applied are a logical consequence of our historic process of liberation and an implementation of resolution 253 (1968) and other relevant resolutions on Rhodesia, an implementation which Mozambique defends and fully assumes. They are not, as claimed in some quarters, a result of the aggressions of which Mozambique has been a victim. As early as the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, during which Mozambique participated for the first time in the work of the Organization, my delegation had the opportunity to appeal<sup>1</sup> to all States to apply the sanctions against Rhodesia. At the same time my delegation reaffirmed the determination of FRELIMO [*Front for the Liberation of Mozambique*] and the Mozambique Government to assume all the responsibility to fulfil their internationalist duty. In accordance with that duty, Mozambique has now assumed its obligation.

19. In making the decisions announced by its President, the People's Republic of Mozambique knew it would have to bear sacrifices for the cause of human freedom.

20. The application of economic sanctions against Rhodesia, the closure of the borders, and the suspension of all forms of communication with that country—all have had heavy effects on some fundamental sectors of the economy of Mozambique. This fact,

as we have already mentioned, is due to the tight complementarity of the colonial economy we inherited with the economies of the minority racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, régimes which Portugal had as unconditional allies in the colonial exploitation of Mozambique. In fact, under Portuguese domination our ports and the whole complex of our means of communication were dedicated to the service of Rhodesia and South Africa. Our agriculture as well as our industry were reserved to supply raw materials and fuel to those countries, getting from them almost all financial means, technical support and equipment. Our country was the natural market for South African and Rhodesian products, especially in the food sector. Finally, our manpower was exported in degrading conditions to the mines as well as to the agricultural and cattle farms in South Africa and Rhodesia, eventually constituting, with whatever funds such migrants sent back, one of the main sources of means of payment for Mozambique.

21. Therefore the effects of the sanctions on the economy of Mozambique greatly surpass the direct effects which I shall mention. It is a whole economic structure being shaken. Therefore Mozambique needs material support to convert its economy within the general plan of national reconstruction. Suffice it to mention that over 5,000 railway workers and stevedores will become unemployed as a result of the steps taken. The wages paid by the railway and port services of Mozambique were their only source of maintenance.

22. This is only one of the effects. I should, however, mention more instances, without going into details.

23. The ports and railway services, for instance, will lose more than one third of their revenues—about \$42 million. Our airlines in their internal and external flights will be burdened by the need to make several deviations from their normal routes, thereby incurring extra expenses. They will also lose revenue as a result of the suspension of flights to Rhodesia. In cases of emergency they will need alternative airports to those they used, since such airports are in Rhodesia. Hence we shall need to build and equip new airports for that purpose.

24. About 80,000 Mozambique workers who are in Rhodesia run the risk of losing their employment, and this will substantially reduce the entry of hard currency into our country. Viewed from another angle, this will mean that their families in Mozambique will lose their source of maintenance, with the social and economic disruption that will follow in their lives.

25. Products of many of our industrial units—of extraction as well as of transformation—suddenly lose their almost exclusive buying market. The acquisition of some raw materials for our industry becomes complicated by the impossibility of buying such

materials from Rhodesia. The costs of production of some important industrial units, even our own, will rise considerably, because of the impossibility of transporting the raw materials across Rhodesia. Certain export products, because of the impossibility of transporting them across Rhodesia, will become more expensive, and many will cease to be competitive in the international market.

26. All these problems and difficulties, the quantification of which is difficult, especially when we are dealing with indirect effects, require that new structures be urgently established in order to create new sources of employment, so as to upgrade and correctly utilize our resources and hence to ensure respect for Mozambicans.

27. All this requires investments. We have projects but we lack technical know-how and financial means. The lack of resources is aggravated by the mobilization of men and by other means forced upon us for the defence of our country against the aggression by the minority and racist régime of Smith.

28. I should like to remind the Council that the effects of the sanctions existed prior to our decision of 3 March. The losses suffered by our country started with the British blockade of the coast of Mozambique. To evade the blockade the Smith régime merely created alternative routes for some of its commodities, which caused losses to the traffic through Mozambique. Our country was more affected still by the courageous decision taken by Zambia when that country closed its frontiers with Rhodesia.

29. Today it is practically impossible to indicate accurately the amount of losses suffered by Mozambique, since the Portuguese colonial Government maintained clandestine relations with Rhodesia, hiding the data required for a correct calculation.

30. In view of all this, we request the Council to give the Secretary-General the necessary authority to study with us the most adequate technical and financial ways and means of implementing projects that may allow us to create new structures and new employment. However, because such evaluation will of necessity take some time, we request that the following be urgently guaranteed to Mozambique: (a) the annual volume of revenues from the ports and railway services which came from Rhodesia, amounting to about 42 million; (b) compensation for the rise in prices of the annual importation of 30,000 tons of maize previously imported from Rhodesia, the balance of which is calculated at about \$2 million; (c) the drawing of the equivalent of all revenues from the usual exports from Mozambique to Rhodesia, which are calculated at about \$5 million, until such time as it will be possible for Mozambique to find alternative markets or reconvert its economic structures; (d) the compensation for the debts owed Mozambique by Rhodesia for services rendered by Mozambique ports

and railways, these debts amounting to about \$8 million; (e) a compensation for the maintenance of the prices of all products previously imported from Rhodesia, besides maize. The value here will have to be calculated on the basis of the total imports from Rhodesia, which amounted to more than \$18 million without the value of the maize. Therefore the annual compensation should in principle be at least \$49 million, besides the \$8 million owed by Rhodesia.

31. We have now laid our case before this body. We have indicated our willingness to do our part in the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. We regard that struggle as part and parcel of our own struggle. We will, therefore, not shirk that responsibility, whatever the price to ourselves. Yet we have come to you to appeal for assistance. We believe that, just as we were assisted by the international community in our struggle for the freedom of Mozambique, we shall receive similar support in our present situation. We believe that the United Nations and all peace-loving people will not let us down.

32. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the Minister for External Affairs of Jamaica. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

33. Mr. THOMPSON (Jamaica): Mr. President, my delegation wishes to express our warmest congratulations to you, Sir, in your capacity as President of the Council for the month of March. During this month the Council will be discussing matters of crucial importance to the indigenous peoples of southern Africa, and it is therefore most appropriate to see the Council presided over by a distinguished son of Africa. I wish to express my appreciation for being given this opportunity to address the Council on such an important matter, for the liberation of Zimbabwe has been of constant concern to the Government and people of Jamaica.

34. Just about one year ago, in the city of Kingston, Jamaica, the heads of Government of the Commonwealth—consisting of some 35 States, big and small, developed and developing, representing almost one quarter of the world's population, both black and white—met in conference to promote stability, peace and social justice for all. Among the many solemn undertakings made by that Conference and issues as part of the official concord of Kingston was a constructive contribution towards resolving the problems of southern Africa.

35. Among the objectives emphasized was the early independence for Zimbabwe, otherwise known as Southern Rhodesia, based on majority rule, and the achieving of this objective by peaceful means if at all possible. Those heads of Government unanimously and voluntarily undertook to bring considerations of active assistance for the liberation of Zimbabwe to the attention of the entire international community. They

agreed to take positive action at the international level for reinforcement and extension of sanctions as previously directed by the United Nations. They also emphasized the importance of taking immediate practical steps to assist Mozambique on its attainment of independence in applying sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in terms of Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter of the United Nations.

36. Viewed today in the context of the current situation in Mozambique, the Conference, under the chairmanship of Jamaica's Prime Minister, Michael Manley, can be seen to have acted with keen foresight and determination.

37. The Security Council is meeting once again to consider the question of Zimbabwe, but the circumstances under which it is meeting are far different from those of previous meetings on the subject. For several years the Council, and indeed the General Assembly, has discussed the question of Zimbabwe in an atmosphere of frustration. The impotence of the international community to deal adequately with the situation has been exposed. For years the members of the third world have listened with bitterness and disillusionment to pious statements being made on the subject by representatives of certain Governments. Many of these in fact have been supporting the existence of a minority racist régime representing the interests of merely 275,000 persons of one race while subjugating 6 million persons of another race who are the indigenous peoples of the territory.

38. We have protested in vain against the actions of those who support that illegal régime; we have adopted measures to bring about the downfall of that régime only to see those measures flouted indiscriminately. Time has now run out; we can no longer afford the luxury of further delay.

39. The Security Council, in its resolution 253 (1968), adopted provisions which established mandatory sanctions against the illegal racist régime in Zimbabwe. In order to monitor the implementation of those sanctions the Council established a committee which is sometimes referred to as the Council's sanctions Committee on Southern Rhodesia. In the view of my Government that Committee has been doing an excellent job through its intensive investigations of specific cases which involve the circumvention of the mandatory sanctions. There should, however, be more publicity on the work of the Committee, particularly on the results of its investigations. By exposing to the harsh glare of the media those who flout the sanctions, the Committee could keep the situation in Southern Rhodesia continuously before the eyes of the international community. My Government wishes to place on record its recognition of and appreciation for the work of that Committee and to extend congratulations to Mr. Salim, the representative of Tanzania, the chairman of the Committee for 1975.

40. The eighth report of the Committee<sup>2</sup> contains not only an account of the investigations of specific violations of the sanctions, but also a summary of the internal discussions of the Committee on its work and on the need for unrelenting pressure to be placed on the illegal minority racist régime in Zimbabwe. Mozambique has now placed such a pressure in full accordance with the Charter and is appealing to all of us for co-operation and support.

41. My delegation notes with concern the continued importation into the United States of certain materials, particularly nickel and chrome, from Southern Rhodesia, with the official approval of the Government of the United States under the Byrd Amendment. This breach has continued up to today despite the objections by prominent individuals within the United States itself. Here we would recall General Assembly resolution 3397 (XXX) which, *inter alia*, condemns such importation and calls upon the Government of the United States to repeal speedily all legislation permitting such importation. It is the fervent hope of my delegation that there will be an early positive response on the part of the United States for very serious reasons which I shall later express.

42. Jamaica supports the views of those members of the Committee who have called for the widening of the sanctions against the illegal régime to include all the measures which are set out in Article 41 of the Charter. In this connexion, it is the hope of my Government that the Security Council will accede to the request of the General Assembly contained in paragraph 5 of its resolution 3397 (XXX), which was overwhelmingly adopted without a single negative vote; there were, however, abstentions by the traditional imperialist Powers.

43. The patient flow of negotiations over tortuous years has culminated in the sanguinary flood which marks the success of liberation movements up to date in southern Africa. With the independence of Mozambique and Angola and the increased activity of the freedom fighters of Namibia, the prospects are propitious for actions by these countries similar to those which were adopted by Zambia some time ago.

44. It was refreshing, indeed, to listen just now to the words of the distinguished Foreign Minister of Mozambique. It was in harmony with what I heard personally when I had the honour to attend as a guest Mozambique's independence celebration last year. This was, indeed, an independence celebration with a difference. Mixed with the spontaneous joy of a liberated people one heard the serious intent to share their freedom with other deserving brothers and sisters of Africa. In other independence celebrations I have witnessed the fireworks of joy. In Mozambique there were no fireworks. Instead, the army fired blank ammunition so that neighbouring Rhodesia would not mistake the warning. In Mozambique there was no

joyous cry of "Uhuru", or "Freedom"; their cry was "A luta continua", "The struggle continues". The glorious FRELIMO celebrated in battle-stained uniforms which reeked with the smoke of recent victory. They meant what they said then. They have followed this up at great cost with their courageous action in closing the border.

45. With the recent decision by the Government of Mozambique to impose full sanctions against the rebellious colony of Southern Rhodesia, an iron noose, indeed, a noose of black iron, has begun to encircle the racist régime of Ian Smith. My Government applauds the decision of the Government of Mozambique, which has acted in full accordance with Articles 25 and 41 of the Charter. It is an example which should be emulated by all members of the international community.

46. The concord of Kingston emphasized the importance of taking practical steps to assist an independent Mozambique in applying sanctions against the Smith régime and directed that an initiative should be taken by Commonwealth Governments at the United Nations to establish a programme of assistance for Mozambique in terms of Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter. On 4 March, that is, the day following the announcement by the Government of Mozambique of its imposition of sanctions against the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee held an emergency meeting to discuss ways and means of implementing the decisions embodied in the concord of Kingston. The Sanctions Committee has authorized the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth to contact the Government of Mozambique concerning possible areas of assistance. Subsequently, the Government of the United Kingdom announced its intention to provide economic assistance to Mozambique, and we welcome this announcement.

47. The Government of Jamaica is currently in touch with the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth and intends to fulfil its obligations as soon as it is called upon to do so.

48. Having reviewed the actions taken so far by the Commonwealth, we are most anxious to see the establishment of a wider multilateral programme of assistance to Mozambique, as it is the duty of the entire international community to render such assistance. Indeed, all States Members of the United Nations are obliged to do so under Article 49 of the Charter. My Government notes with appreciation the statement of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the press on 4 March that he is confident that the United Nations will respond favourably to any request for assistance which the Government of Mozambique may make in order to offset the economic consequences of its application of full sanctions against Rhodesia. We hope that appropriate assistance will be forthcoming from the international organizations

which are members of the United Nations system, with the Secretary-General playing a full, co-ordinating role.

49. For many years representatives of the third world have warned of the danger of a race war in southern Africa. Recent events indicate that such an occurrence could be imminent. For too long the indigenous peoples of southern Africa have been subjugated by racist minorities; for too long we have listened to pious statements calling for peaceful solutions to the racist abomination which exists in southern Africa. We are now considering this question of the liberation of Zimbabwe at the moment just before midnight. Now the time has come for the racist minorities to decide to liberate black Africans now or accept the inevitable alternative of their own extinction.

50. Lovers of freedom everywhere, and particularly members of the third world, are tired of hopeless negotiations conceived in insincerity and protracted to frustration time and time again. Once more the indigenous peoples of Africa see themselves subjected to greed, viciousness and murderous intent against them. The most serious effect is bound to be the spread of a new type of war, which even now is not merely a "bush fire" war or haphazard border incident. Already the minds of black people all over the world, and indeed of all freedom-lovers all over the world, after weary years of intransigence on the part of the white autocrats of southern Africa, are forced to contemplate the forbidding prospect that the only means for achieving liberation will be through massive carnage. The implications of this will extend well beyond territorial boundaries. Let all those who have been supporting, or who may be tempted to continue to support, the white racist minority régimes in southern Africa take note of this fact.

51. Mozambique has taken this vital and decisive step to tighten the noose. It cannot do it alone. The cost of this, as we have heard, is more than it can bear. It deserves the support and co-operation of the entire international community. Let the Council appeal to all members of the international community, and in particular to the big Powers, immediately to apply maximum pressure, both political and economic, on the Smith régime to bring about speedily majority rule in Zimbabwe. Only an early capitulation by the Smith régime can avert the impending holocaust. Time is running out for Ian Smith. Indeed, it has run out.

52. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Kenya, the current chairman of the African Group at the United Nations. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

53. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): Mr. President, may I, first of all, express my gratitude to you and to all the members of the Council for inviting me to par-

ticipate in this debate in my capacity as chairman of the African Group for this month. I should also like to thank you for taking swift action to convene this meeting of the Council to deal with this urgent problem. May I express to you also my sincere pleasure and satisfaction at seeing you, the distinguished representative of Benin, preside over this important debate.

54. The Security Council meets this afternoon to consider the problems created by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. These problems are many, and they affect many nations and peoples. The immediate problem, however, is armed aggression by the illegal régime against Mozambique, which this Council ought to condemn. The second problem is the economic hardships occasioned by the action taken by Mozambique in applying United Nations economic sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia.

55. This is one of the few occasions on which the Security Council can speak with one voice and take concerted action on a common problem. In its resolution 253 (1968) it called upon all Member States to apply sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. We all know that these sanctions have never been effective, mainly because the racist régime of South Africa and the former oppressive dictatorship of Portugal have never implemented them. Many other Member States, through one pretext or another, have never applied the sanctions. The defiance or neglect by many Member States not only renders the sanctions ineffective, but also makes the burden on those who do apply the sanctions too painful and too long-lasting. No one doubts that had the sanctions been fully and effectively applied the illegal régime would have been brought to its knees long ago. Because the sanctions have been neglected the régime has grown more defiant, and the pain of applying sanctions hurts only a few Member States, notably Zambia and now Mozambique.

56. It is because of our realization that the sanctions are ignored, particularly by the immediate neighbours, who make no pretence about it, that we call for widening the sanctions to include those who defy the United Nations.

57. We know Mozambique inherited an economy ravaged by a long war and colonial exploitation. But, in keeping with its commitments of supporting the total liberation of Africa, the Government of Mozambique took a bold decision to put its economic considerations aside to fight for the defence of freedom and human justice. The action taken by the Government of Mozambique must be supported and applauded by all peoples and Governments that are committed to ridding Africa of racism and colonial oppression.

58. This is a time when action by all those who call for and urge peaceful solutions to serious international problems to show what they can do. We have been told many times that the misguided and deaf racist régimes in southern Africa will come to their

senses and agree to take part in peaceful change. We confess that we can see no evidence of this. The options are few and clear. The struggle must continue, and unfortunately, no end is in sight to the suffering of the people of southern Africa.

59. As I have said, this is one of the few occasions when it is easy for the Council to speak with one voice. The problem is well known, and therefore there is no need to dwell on its history too long. We believe what is required is a decision by the Council to call on all Member States to join in condemning the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia and, more important, to join hands in giving economic assistance to Mozambique to enable it to enforce the sanctions. The extent of the economic problems has been outlined by the Foreign Minister of Mozambique. We know that, apart from the effects of the long colonial war, Portugal did little for the economic development of its colonies, and the little that was done had the effect of tying Mozambique to the economies of Portugal's allies—Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. It will be a long and painful struggle for Mozambique to disentangle its economy from those of its odious neighbours. Of course, the situation would change overnight if the problems created by these régimes were resolved tomorrow.

60. In conclusion, I should like to join others in calling on all peace-loving Member States to give material economic assistance to Mozambique, either bilaterally or through the United Nations, in order to reduce its burden and to make the sanctions more effective.

61. I should also like to appeal to the United Nations to mobilize all its agencies, in particular, the Economic and Social Council, the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank and all other specialized agencies, to assist Mozambique in its present economic difficulties. An appeal should also be made by this Council to individual Member States and organizations to assist Mozambique at this critical time of liberation of southern Africa. We call on all friends of Africa to continue to support the struggle with the same commitment and dedication. The action taken by the Government of Mozambique requires the support of all true friends of Africa.

62. Today the eyes of all the world are focused on the Council to see what it can do. We are confident that the Council will not fail Mozambique.

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

64. Mr. KAMANA (Zambia): Mr. President, my delegation is grateful to you and the other members of the Council for the opportunity given to us to participate in this crucial debate. Naturally, we wish to begin by congratulating you upon your assumption of

the presidency of the Council for the month of March. The commitment of your great country, the sister Republic of Benin, and your personal commitment to the liberation of southern Africa—which is really the issue before the Council—will no doubt be invaluable in determining an appropriate Council response to the legitimate hopes and expectations of the brave and principled people of Mozambique.

65. The personal participation in this debate by the Foreign Minister of Mozambique is significant in two important ways. First of all, his very presence here serves to indicate the gravity of the situation and the great faith that the Government and the people of Mozambique have in the United Nations and, in particular, in the Security Council. Secondly, by his personal participation the Foreign Minister has authoritatively enlightened us on the situation. His eloquent and extremely important statement must surely move and inspire those who believe in the principles and purposes of the United Nations, as enshrined in the Charter, and, in particular, in the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence.

66. It should surprise no one that Zambia is participating in this debate. I believe that it would not be immodest of me to say that we in Zambia uniquely understand the importance of the decision the Government of Mozambique took to impose full economic sanctions against the British colony of Southern Rhodesia and the tremendous sacrifice inherent in that action. The economies of both Mozambique and Zambia were very much interwoven with that of Southern Rhodesia, because of the colonial past. We both have long common borders with the rebel colony.

67. Speaking on the same day Mozambique announced the closure of its border with Southern Rhodesia and its decision to apply full economic sanctions against the rebels, my President, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, said, *inter alia*:

“The decision of FRELIMO, under the illustrious leadership of President Samora Machel, to close the border between Mozambique and rebel Rhodesia is an act of outstanding courage and commitment to the cause of freedom and justice for all mankind. We in Zambia understand in full the implications of this act of real courage and dedication on the part of FRELIMO. It means it is an act of great sacrifice which no country in the world can share with the people of Mozambique.”

Furthermore, in welcoming the decision of Mozambique, my President said:

“We will stand by Mozambique in the sun of success and in moments of sacrifice until victory is won by the people of Zimbabwe. The cause of Mozambique is the cause of Zambia, an attack on Mozambique is an attack on Zambia, and an attack

on FRELIMO is an attack on the United National Independence Party. Together, Mozambique and Zambia will fight for the cause of justice. This is a moment of unity and total dedication amongst front-line countries in the interests of all mankind.

“We therefore salute the people of Mozambique. We hail the courageous decision of FRELIMO under President Samora Machel, and together we will forge into the future with even greater confidence until victory is won.”

68. When we in Zambia decided to close our border with Southern Rhodesia and to apply full economic sanctions against the Smith rebel régime, our action was hailed internationally and many pledges of solidarity and support were made. This response of the international community was, of course, heartening to us and we naturally appreciated it. For, after all, we interpreted it as based on an awareness of our economic plight and a realization that by our action we were shouldering a heavy responsibility on behalf of the international community, and in particular of all States Members of the United Nations, which have a duty, individually and collectively, to bring to an end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and to assist the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for self-determination and independence. Needless to say, it was this very Council which decided on a sanctions policy against Southern Rhodesia.

69. The closure of the border between Mozambique and the rebel colony of Southern Rhodesia has followed exactly the same scenario as in the case of Zambia. It was preceded by acts of aggression against Mozambique by the rebels, very much similar to those carried out against Zambia. As in the case of Zambia, the intention of the rebels in Southern Rhodesia was to divert attention from the ever-growing pressure on them by the Zimbabwe nationalists and to use Mozambique as a scapegoat. It was also a desperate attempt by the rebels to blackmail Mozambique out of its commitment to the cause of freedom and independence in Zimbabwe under majority rule.

70. As we did in Zambia, the Government and people of Mozambique have refused to sacrifice on the altar of expedience principles and commitment to the ideals of the United Nations. They have chosen to be a faithful Member of the Organization and to sacrifice their economic development for the people of Zimbabwe. No doubt, words will not be lacking in commendation and support of this extraordinary act of courage by this young nation.

71. To say that international economic assistance to Zambia, in response to our needs following the closure of the border with Southern Rhodesia, has been inadequate would be an understatement. The truth of the matter is that it has been almost negligible as compensation for the overall bill that we have had to incur. This, of course, is not to say that we do not

appreciate the assistance we have received. A number of friendly countries have made most generous responses. We have also benefited from the United Nations system and the specialized agencies. The Secretary-General and his colleagues in the Secretariat have always gone out of their way to assist us.

72. I have cited the example of my own country in order to draw a distinction between words and deeds. Mozambique is a newly independent country. Its economy is still experiencing the strains of a long and costly war with the Portuguese fascists and colonialists. When we closed the border with Southern Rhodesia in 1973, we had been independent for eight years. Yet one cannot minimize the severe strains and economic dislocation we have suffered.

73. Because of our own experience we know for a fact that Mozambique will need more than words of solidarity and empty promises of support, comforting as these may be. They will need the actual translation of these words into concrete forms of assistance. On behalf of my Government, I therefore wish to stress that it will be important for the Security Council to treat the problems of Mozambique as real and to leave no doubt in its action that it regards the decision of the Government of Mozambique to apply sanctions against Southern Rhodesia as a burden it is carrying on behalf of the United Nations, for which it therefore deserves full compensation. In this regard my delegation hopes the Council will be unanimous in adopting a draft resolution that will spell out concrete and effective measures of assistance to Mozambique. As is well known, this was lacking in the case of Zambia.

74. I wish at this juncture to commend the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the important initiatives he has already taken to assist Mozambique. As I said earlier, my Government is very familiar with the genuine concern of the Secretary-General and the keen personal interest he takes in alleviating the problems of those of us in the forefront of the liberation struggle in southern Africa.

75. Similarly, my delegation is consoled by the swift action of the Commonwealth of Nations, whose members are actively seeking ways and means of giving assistance to Mozambique. We are indeed happy in this regard that the Minister for External Affairs of Jamaica is participating in this debate. He has just delivered an extremely important and encouraging statement. The decision of the Commonwealth heads of State, at their meeting at Kingston, Jamaica, was certainly an act of great foresight and seriousness of purpose.

76. As I have tried to show, it is vital and urgent that generous assistance be given to Mozambique by the international community. The people of Mozambique have decided to make a tremendous sacrifice for the liberation of Zimbabwe. Their action has already had repercussions in the rebel colony. Smith

and his henchmen are today panic-stricken. No doubt they will feel the pinch of the Mozambique action with each passing day. They will now, more than ever before, be dependent on South Africa for their survival. The *apartheid* régime of Pretoria persists in its refusal to apply United Nations sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. This blind act of solidarity with the Smith régime by South Africa, a Member of the United Nations, deserves the strongest condemnation.

77. I cannot fail to mention here that there are other Member States, even in the Council, that still see fit to trade with the rebels in Southern Rhodesia, while paying lip-service to the United Nations sanctions policy. My delegation hopes that these countries will live up to expectations as Members of the United Nations and desist forthwith from any dealings with the rebel régime in violation of the sanctions. If Mozambique, a newly independent country and a neighbour of Southern Rhodesia, can make the sacrifice, there is absolutely no justification for continued trade with the rebels by countries economically stronger and far away. It should be noted that at least one of these countries is a permanent member of the Security Council.

78. I wish to stress that we in Zambia have no illusions about sanctions, given the refusal of South Africa to apply them and also given the deception practised by some Member States. From the very start, we have had serious misgivings about their effectiveness. We had opposed the very idea of sanctions and had urged the United Kingdom to use force in order to re-establish its authority in its colony of Southern Rhodesia. Time has proved us right: the sanctions policy has not, to date, brought the Smith régime to heel.

79. In our view, sanctions are nevertheless an important aspect of the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. They must, therefore, be applied by all self-respecting, law-abiding and faithful Member States. That said, I think it is important to stress here that sanctions are only complementary to other efforts that must be made to put an end to the illegal régime of Ian Smith. The kind of assistance we are today seeking for Mozambique would not have been necessary if Zimbabwe were free. Therefore, the best and permanent form of assistance to Mozambique would be the immediate realization of majority rule and independence in Zimbabwe. This is the real issue.

80. Efforts have been made to no avail to bring about majority rule in Zimbabwe peacefully. Far from wanting to surrender honourably, Ian Smith and his gangsters have remained arrogant, intransigent and plainly naive; they have abused the patience and goodwill of the people of Zimbabwe.

81. The United Kingdom has refused to use force against the Smith régime. It certainly is no longer necessary to insist that Britain must use force. What is

now clear is that force will be used anyway to bring about change in southern Africa. Its consequences will be greater than if Britain had agreed to use force as far back as immediately after the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965. There would have been less bloodshed then. This time, the onus for the use of force will not be on Britain, but on the people of Zimbabwe themselves, who have waited so long for the fulfilment of their rights and have explored every other alternative to no avail. Surely they will launch their armed struggle with a clear conscience, knowing fully that this is the only option left for them.

82. There are a number of other Western countries which have repeatedly opposed violent change in Southern Rhodesia. Some to this day continue to make statements which are ambivalent in their support for the principle of majority rule in Zimbabwe. Some of these statements have tended to give the impression that they were in fact in support of the *status quo* in Southern Rhodesia. They have, indeed, been so interpreted by the illegal régime of Ian Smith, whose spokesmen have expressed appreciation for those statements. One can only hope that those who have given comfort and encouragement to the minority racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, by both their words and deeds, will seriously examine their consciences and support the cause of the majority before the chips are down.

83. As for the position of Zambia, I can do no better than quote President Kaunda, who only last Friday said:

“In relation to the question of majority rule in Rhodesia, we have more than demonstrated that we are not bloodthirsty. We have shown our good faith to the world. By our patience and perseverance we have done everything to give peaceful change an opportunity, in accordance with the resolutions we set ourselves in the Manifesto on southern Africa.<sup>3</sup> In the last few years we have urged the minority régimes to see the writing on the wall. We tried negotiations in Angola and Mozambique; they failed. Armed struggle brought down the Portuguese fascists. In Rhodesia, too, we have consistently urged the whites to be reasonable and to accept a peaceful transfer of power to the majority of the people. The Rhodesian whites refused; they spurned this hand of friendship. Freedom in Zimbabwe must now be achieved by force of arms.

“Rhodesian whites, led by the infamous Rhodesian Front, have now only themselves to blame. They must now squarely face the bitter consequences of the battlefield on which majority rule must be decided.”

84. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate that we in Zambia will do everything in our power to assist the people of Mozambique, our own economic difficulties notwithstanding. We sincerely hope that others in the international community will do the same.

85. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Sir, let me first of all extend to you my congratulations upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. You represent a brotherly African State whose commitment to the struggle of oppressed people is exemplary. So it is only fitting that you should be guiding our work as we gather here today to discuss the important step which our brothers in Mozambique have taken in the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. My delegation will extend its full co-operation to you in the spirit of brotherhood and of the excellent relations which happily exist between Benin and the United Republic of Tanzania.

86. Allow me also to pay a tribute to your predecessor. As President of the Council for the month of February, the former Permanent Representative of the United States effectively and constructively conducted the Council's deliberations, particularly the private consultations, which were quite considerable. In this regard, we therefore offer our congratulations to him and, of course, to the entire United States delegation. Since this is the first meeting of the Council following the formal appointment and swearing in of Ambassador Scranton, I should like to take this opportunity to address to him, through Ambassador Bennett, our warm welcome and to assure him of our full co-operation as he assumes his important responsibilities in the Organization.

87. It is, of course, a great pleasure for me to welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique to the Council today. The important statement he made will not only facilitate our work but also reflects the indefatigable commitment to the cause of African liberation which we in Tanzania, and indeed the Members of the Organization in general, have come to expect and respect from our brothers of Mozambique under the dynamic leadership of FRELIMO.

88. So, as we meet today, let me, on behalf of Tanzania, commend the courageous action of the brotherly people of the People's Republic of Mozambique, announced by His Excellency President Samora Machel, to impose sanctions against the illegal minority and racist régime of Ian Smith. In this struggle Tanzania, as has always been the case, stands resolutely behind Mozambique, for the struggle of Mozambique is the struggle of Tanzania. Our peoples have together shared the vicissitudes of the struggle in common. We have shared the deprivations of the freedom struggle of Mozambique, and when victory was achieved we rejoiced together. We view Mozambique's problems as our own. That is why the Government of Tanzania is very concerned at the provocative and aggressive acts of the desperate men in Salisbury violating the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

89. I do not believe that anyone can doubt that the continued existence of the illegal minority racist régime

in Zimbabwe is a serious threat to the peace of the region, with serious repercussions on international peace and security. President Samora Machel made this point forcefully in his address when he declared the imposition of sanctions on 3 March. In that historic speech the President of Mozambique enumerated the many acts of provocation committed by the illegal régime in Rhodesia against the territorial integrity of Mozambique. He further explained the motivations of that régime in committing those blatant acts of provocation. President Machel effectively showed why it is in the nature of the régime in Salisbury to commit those acts with a view to stamping out the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe and enabling it to continue a fascist tyranny in Zimbabwe.

90. Indeed, throughout the 10-year period that the illegal régime has been in existence such has been its normal attitude. It co-operated in the unholy alliance between fascist Portugal and racist South Africa to fight against the liberation of Mozambique. The collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique was apparently not a sufficient lesson to the racist authorities, and they have continued with the acts of provocation against that newly liberated African State.

91. Certainly the international community cannot tolerate the continued existence of that régime. The legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe was already been recognized by the United Nations, and as the Zimbabwean freedom fighters have intensified their armed struggle, they merit not only our admiration for their courage and sacrifice but, above all, our unrestricted support for and solidarity with their noble cause.

92. In 1968 the Security Council, in resolution 253 (1968), and later in other relevant resolutions, began taking the necessary measures to bring down that régime. In so doing, the Council committed itself to the eventual achievement of the downfall of the illegal minority régime in Rhodesia. We are in duty bound, therefore, not only to commend the action taken by the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, but also to see to it that in the carrying out of this international obligation the burden on the Government of Mozambique is minimized. In taking such measures we shall only be doing what we have already committed ourselves to achieve, that is, to help bring about the downfall of the illegal minority régime of Ian Smith and see the realization of majority rule in Zimbabwe.

93. We have listened with the utmost interest to the serious, eloquent and in-depth statement made by our brother Joaquim Chissano, the Foreign Minister of Mozambique. He has presented to the Council the difficulties which his country faces. The social and economic problems facing Mozambique are enormous indeed. It would be presumptuous to believe that the international community can adequately compensate

Mozambique for all the sacrifices that its people are making in the cause of freedom and justice—the cause of the United Nations.

94. Yet, the United Nations can and should make a decisive contribution to dealing with the economic and social difficulties involved. This is the minimum that should be expected from the Organization. This is a responsibility which the international community must undertake in fulfilment of Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter. We are not called upon to give charity or disinterested assistance to Mozambique. We are required by our Charter obligations to afford assistance to that fraternal State so that in living up to its responsibilities as a Member of the Organization it does not suffer unduly as a consequence. Assistance to Mozambique is also imperative in order to enhance the country's capacity to carry out Security Council decisions on sanctions.

95. I have already stated that this assistance is not disinterested. We in the Council, as indeed in the entire United Nations system, have a vested interest in bringing changes in Rhodesia so that the forces of freedom and justice there can triumph. It does not require an expert on southern Africa to recognize that by reinforcing the forces of freedom in Mozambique, as represented by FRELIMO, we will in fact be making a singular contribution to the struggle for majority rule in Zimbabwe. In this connexion the Council cannot but salute the firm stand of the Government of Mozambique and welcome with appreciation the renewed pledge made by President Samora Machel that Mozambique, under FRELIMO, is dedicated to carrying out its internationalist duty towards the people of Zimbabwe.

96. Our commitment to the struggle in Zimbabwe, in which the United Nations position has been made abundantly clear, demands that we should do everything possible to support Mozambique with all the available resources within the United Nations system. It is also incumbent on all Member States to provide assistance on either a multilateral or a bilateral basis. Here I should like to welcome warmly the statement made by the Secretary-General on 4 March. Equally welcome is the decision taken the same day by the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee, which was a logical follow-up of the commitment given by the Commonwealth heads of Government at their meeting at Kingston last year.

97. This, then, brings me to the other aspect of the problem that we are now discussing. Throughout the period of the existence of the illegal minority régime in Rhodesia, Tanzania has made it clear that sanctions alone would not bring down the illegal régime of Ian Smith so long as the *apartheid* régime of South Africa was giving it the necessary support. Yet, as we have also said, those sanctions are nevertheless useful since they constitute a political verdict on the unacceptability of the illegal régime. Furthermore, sanctions have also

been an important contribution in making life more difficult for Ian Smith and his collaborators. It is in that context that we have called for tightening sanctions against Rhodesia as well as expanding their scope.

98. The illegal régime, however, has somehow managed to evade the full impact of those sanctions. In fact, with the co-operation of the racist régime in South Africa, it has embarked on acts of aggression against the neighbouring independent African countries. In 1973 the illegal minority régime, with the assistance of South Africa, committed aggression against the sister Republic of Zambia. At that time the Security Council justifiably condemned such action. Now we have that same régime murdering civilians, children and women of Mozambique.

99. Yet nothing can halt the tide of liberation in Zimbabwe. The people of Zimbabwe have taken their own fate in their own hands, and they will not rest until their objective has been won. The aggressive tactics of the régime of Ian Smith will not succeed. These are tactics of desperation employed by very desperate men. They are tactics designed to export the contradictions of the régime to a neighbouring African country whose independence we all welcomed with such happiness only recently. The international community should therefore fully support Mozambique in its efforts to defend itself, and the Council cannot but condemn the aggression committed by the illegal minority régime against Mozambique.

100. We are now discussing matters of great importance for the southern African region. The situation there is explosive. For some time in the United Nations and in other forums we have repeatedly said that the continued presence of the racist régimes there is a grave threat to the peace of the region. As we meet here, the situation continues to be tense. That is why we must act by strengthening the forces of freedom in the area. We may not get another chance to act under these circumstances. For us in Tanzania the choice is clear. The struggle must go on, and I reaffirm here before the Council what my President has already declared in no uncertain terms: Mozambique's struggle is our struggle; the cause of Mozambique is the cause of Tanzania. It is in that spirit that we approach the current discussion in the Council.

101. Having concluded my statement, I now have the pleasure to introduce on behalf of the delegations of Benin, Guyana, Italy, Japan, the Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden and the United Kingdom and my own delegation the draft resolution in document S/12013. If we have taken the decision to introduce this draft resolution at this very early stage of our deliberations, it is because the sponsors are all agreed, and I believe all the members of the Council will not fail to concur in this, that the situation in the area is urgent and the problem we face requires an urgent solution.

102. The situation confronting the People's Republic of Mozambique and arising from its courageous decision to close the border with the minority racist régime and to apply fully the Security Council sanctions against that régime is one which requires immediate and concerted tackling by the international community. The draft before the Council addresses itself specifically to this problem. Therefore, the main thrust of the draft is the provision for immediate financial, technical and material assistance to Mozambique. This assistance is conceived in terms of contributions by individual States either on a bilateral or on a multilateral level, as provided for in operative paragraph 4 of our draft resolution. It is also envisaged as being offered in the context of the United Nations family of organizations, as mentioned in operative paragraph 5. In operative paragraph 6, the Security Council would request the Secretary-General, in co-ordination with the relevant organizations of the United Nations system, to organize and co-ordinate that assistance. Here I should like to underscore the urgency of international action. Thus it is the expectation of the sponsors of the draft resolution that immediately following its adoption, the Secretary-General will initiate the necessary action for the implementation of the resolution. Above all, I should like to take this opportunity in the name of the sponsors to launch an appeal to all Member States to respond favourably and without delay to the needs of Mozambique, thereby making an important contribution to the overall struggle for freedom, justice and human dignity in southern Africa.

103. The draft resolution also addresses itself to another aspect of the problem, the provocative and aggressive acts of the Smith régime against the People's Republic of Mozambique. In condemning such acts, the draft resolution serves to emphasize its opposition to the desperate and wild policies of the illegal authorities in Salisbury. It is also a reaffirmation of United Nations support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Mozambique, whose Government's action in severing economic and trade relations with Southern Rhodesia is rightly commended in operative paragraph 1.

104. There is only one last observation I wish to make in commending this draft for adoption, and that is that its sponsors clearly perceive the developments in Mozambique and the actions taken by the Government of Mozambique in the over-all context of the struggle for majority rule in Zimbabwe. Thus, in the preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution, the Security Council would rightly reaffirm the inalienable rights of the Zimbabweans to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to obtain those rights.

105. In conclusion I should like to express the confidence of the 11 sponsors of the draft resolution before us, sponsors who represent the broadest possible cross section of Council membership, that the

draft will enjoy the unanimous support of the members of the Council. Only by acting with such unanimity will the Council be sending a clear message—the message that the Security Council, living up to the purposes and principles of the Charter, will always be in the forefront to provide legitimate support to those countries which stand in the forefront in defence of United Nations objectives and in the safeguarding of the Charter principles. The significance of the message will also not be lost on the racist authorities in Salisbury. They need to be reminded that the days of the minority régime in Rhodesia are numbered. They need to realize that the Mozambicans' action in closing one of the major loopholes in the sanctions has brought even nearer the day of reckoning for those who wish to defy the will and determination of the international community.

106. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me to welcome you to the presidency of the Council for the present month. The Council has a busy two weeks ahead of it. We are sure that under your wisdom and guidance we shall arrive at the right decisions.

107. I also wish to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the President of the Council for February, Ambassador Moynihan. He guided our work with a mixture of skill, impartiality and good humour, and I should like on behalf of the United Kingdom delegation to thank him and to wish him well.

108. Before I turn to the matter before us, I should also like to pay a tribute to those speakers whom the Council has already heard this afternoon. The Foreign Minister of Mozambique has painted a very clear picture of his country's needs in the present critical situation. The Minister for External Affairs of Jamaica has reminded us all of the international nature of this problem and of the important decisions taken by the heads of Government of the Commonwealth at their meeting at Kingston last May.

109. I need not, therefore, dwell at great length on the decisions taken by the Commonwealth heads of Government on that occasion, since Senator Thompson has already reminded the Council of what transpired. I should, however, like to express my conviction, as the representative of a Commonwealth country which took an active part on that historic occasion, that the decisions taken at Kingston were indeed a landmark in the continuing efforts made by the international community to bring pressure to bear upon the illegal régime in Rhodesia by peaceful means and through the application of economic sanctions by all Member States of the Organization.

110. If for many years sanctions have proved less effective than we had all hoped, this is largely because two countries, South Africa and Portugal, have declined to apply them. The fall of Mr. Caetano in April 1974 hastened the inevitable collapse of Por-

tugal's rule in Africa, and little more than a year later the new independent Government of Mozambique took its rightful place as a member of the international community. When Commonwealth heads of Government met at Kingston in May 1975, they addressed themselves to the forthcoming independence of Mozambique, as the Minister for External Affairs of Jamaica has reminded us. In paragraph 22 of their communiqué they unanimously emphasized "the importance of taking immediate practical steps to assist an independent Mozambique in applying sanctions", since, as they noted, the great bulk of Rhodesia's exports and imports depended upon Mozambique's transit facilities. The Commonwealth heads of Government were likewise unanimous in favour of providing immediate financial assistance to the new Government, and they endorsed the recommendation that an initiative should be taken by Commonwealth Governments at the United Nations to establish a programme of assistance to Mozambique in terms of Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter.

111. Members of the Council will have seen the note by the Secretary-General, circulated as document S/12004, in which a cable from the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Mr. Ramphal, is quoted in full. As I understand it, Mr. Ramphal is on his way to Maputo, at the invitation of the Mozambique Government, to discuss Mozambique's aid requirements. He will be ascertaining possible areas of assistance to the Mozambique Government, as envisaged in last year's Kingston communiqué, so that the Governments of Commonwealth members will be in a better position to provide the assistance that Mozambique needs.

112. I am sure that it has not been easy for the Government of Mozambique to take the decision to apply sanctions against Rhodesia. For many years the economies and communications of the countries of southern Africa have been closely linked. Indeed, we all know the acute difficulties which faced the Government of Zambia in the years after the unilateral declaration of independence, and therefore we appreciate all the more the courageous step it took in 1973 in breaking off its communications with Rhodesia. I should also like to assure the Foreign Minister of Mozambique that we fully understand the gravity of the decision taken by his Government to impose sanctions against Rhodesia. We likewise recognize how difficult it would have been for the new State of Mozambique to impose sanctions immediately after independence, when so many other problems required the Government's attention.

113. My own Government's commitment to sanctions as the means of bringing about a peaceful transfer of power to the Rhodesian majority remains unaltered. Mozambique's action underlines once again the fact that time is fast running out for the minority régime in Rhodesia itself. Urgent decisions are needed, and we for our part hope that Mr. Smith will have the courage

to take them, even at this eleventh hour. The talks between Mr. Smith and Mr. Nkomo, which are still continuing, may well offer to all Rhodesians their last chance of securing a peaceful and rapid transition to majority rule in that country. Although we ourselves are not involved in those talks we hope, indeed we pray, that they will be successful, for the alternative for the Rhodesian people is indeed dreadful to contemplate.

114. My own Government is committed to giving assistance to Mozambique, and we shall do so, in conformity with the decisions taken last year at the Commonwealth Conference at Kingston. The United Kingdom will, therefore, co-sponsor the draft resolution that has already been circulated to the members of the Council. It is, of course, for each Government to take its own decisions on the amounts and the form of such assistance. As the Foreign Minister of Mozambique is aware, we hope to discuss in the near future an offer of assistance to Mozambique's economy in fulfilment of our Commonwealth undertakings, and we shall make an announcement at the appropriate time, when our discussions are completed. I should like to add, while I have the opportunity, that my Foreign Secretary has recently held discussions with the Foreign Ministers of Zambia and of Zaire. We are very conscious of the economic problems which face both of those countries because of their extended lines of communication, and therefore we have announced in Parliament our decision to give additional aid both to Zambia and to Zaire. It goes without saying that, in view of my Government's continuing responsibility in Rhodesia, we shall be prepared to look seriously at ways in which we can help that country should an agreement be reached for an orderly transfer to majority rule in a brief period.

115. In making this statement I am very conscious of the general wish of the Council that our debate should be a brief one so that we can take urgent decisions which will provide the essential framework for programmes of international assistance to the Government and people of Mozambique. I have, therefore, deliberately confined my remarks to the item on the agenda. There is, of course, much else that could be said. For the present, I would wish only to underline once more our grave concern at the situation that is developing in Rhodesia and our conviction that the closing of Mozambique's border may prove to be the last chance for white Rhodesians to take the decisions which are not only inevitable, but right and indeed overdue.

116. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Egypt, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

117. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): Mr. President, permit me, in beginning my statement, to congratulate you, my distinguished African brother from Benin, on

presiding over the Security Council for the month of March. It is a good omen for the questions, relating mainly to decolonization and racial discrimination, which will be examined by the Council this month under your wise guidance.

118. Allow me also to express my delegation's warm greetings to Mr. Chissano, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique, presiding over the delegation of his brotherly African State representing the valiant people of Mozambique during the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda.

119. My delegation listened with great interest to the statements made by Mr. Chissano before the African Group this morning and to the Council this afternoon. We have also studied very carefully the statement made by Mr. Samora Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, on 3 March, and the telegram dated 10 March from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique to the President of the Council.

120. We all know that Mozambique, which proclaimed its independence a bare nine months ago, inherited a war-torn economy already ravaged by colonial greed and exploitation; but, true to its commitment of helping in the total liberation of Africa, in accordance with the Dar es Salaam Declaration, the Government of Mozambique has put economic considerations aside and stood up in defence of freedom, justice and human dignity.

121. While discussing the question of Southern Rhodesia in the Fourth Committee during the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, my delegation stated:

"The presence of Mozambique in the United Nations is an important factor which should be taken into account when considering the implementation of stronger measures against the Smith régime. The recommendations formulated by the Special Committee<sup>4</sup> during the meeting held at Lisbon in June 1975 to the effect that a specific programme of assistance, on the bilateral or a multilateral basis, should be initiated to enable the Government of Mozambique to apply fully and effectively sanctions against the Smith régime, is one which should be put into practice immediately."<sup>5</sup>

122. The Government of Egypt highly commends the courageous actions announced on 3 March by President Samora Machel on behalf of the heroic people of Mozambique and their determination to support the sacred struggle of their African brothers and sisters, the people of Zimbabwe.

123. In his historic address earlier this month, President Machel declared that the People's Republic of Mozambique has closed all its borders and has forbidden all forms of communication with the terri-

tories dominated by the racist régime of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia. The Government of Mozambique also decided to deny passage through its territory and its airspace of any person or goods to or from Southern Rhodesia.

124. This timely action by the Government of Mozambique directly applies the sanctions demanded by the United Nations, by virtue of its Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. It is a courageous action which commands the support of all Governments and peoples who believe in freedom.

125. However, by closing its borders and severing all its trade relations with Southern Rhodesia in response to the resolve of the United Nations and all humanity to live free from colonial and racist domination, the Government of Mozambique has, at the same time, taken a decision to sacrifice its own economic interests. Consequently, the United Nations and its Member States have a clear obligation to assist Mozambique in overcoming the adverse economic consequences and the special problems which, it is expected, will confront Mozambique as a result of the closure of its borders with Southern Rhodesia. Under these conditions, any assistance to be provided to Mozambique cannot be viewed as support to Mozambique itself, but rather as mutual assistance in carrying out measures decided upon by the Security Council itself in accordance with Articles 25 and 49 of the Charter.

126. It is with this view in mind that my delegation urges the Council to take immediate measures to relieve the burden to be borne by the economy of Mozambique as a result of the application of sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. Accordingly, and in recognizing that the decision of the Government of Mozambique to close its borders with Southern Rhodesia will entail considerable economic hardships, we believe that the Council should condemn all acts of aggression and provocation by the Rhodesian illegal régime against the People's Republic of Mozambique and commend the Government of Mozambique for its decision to impose sanctions against the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia in compliance with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and urge Member States, the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other international organizations to allocate substantial additional assistance to Mozambique as a matter of priority, with a view to helping it solve the special economic problems that may confront it as a result of its decision to carry out the decisions of the Security Council to apply sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. The needs of Mozambique in maintaining alternative systems of trade and of road, rail, air and sea communications should be given special attention so that Mozambique can maintain its normal flow of traffic and enhance its capacity to implement its

decision to apply fully the United Nations policy of sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

127. The Security Council should request the Secretary-General to appoint a co-ordinator of United Nations assistance in Mozambique. The Council should also request the Economic and Social Council to consider periodically the request for economic assistance to Mozambique in implementation of the resolution to be adopted by the Security Council on this question.

128. I need not say that Egypt, which extended its full and unreserved support for the people of Mozambique through FRELIMO for many years before independence, continues with the same commitment and dedication to co-operate fully with the Government of Mozambique on a bilateral basis and also by implementing all the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. Similarly, Egypt has always underlined, both at the General Assembly and in the United Nations Development Programme, the need to give special attention to the needs of the newly independent African countries.

129. My delegation would like to avail itself of this opportunity to reaffirm the commitment of the Egyptian Government to continue to co-operate with the newly independent States as well as the national liberation movements in all fields, including those of economic and technical co-operation.

130. My delegation is honoured to state that an increasing number of Egyptian experts are being sent into the field in Mozambique and other newly independent countries. A substantial number of fellowships for the benefit of those countries and of national liberation movements still struggling for self-determination and independence are also being implemented in Egyptian institutions under bilateral and multilateral United Nations programmes.

131. The Egyptian Government received with appreciation the declaration of the United Nations spokesman that the Secretary-General is confident that the Organization would respond favourably to the request by the Government of Mozambique for assistance in order to offset the economic consequences of its application of full sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

132. My Government also hailed the outcome of the emergency meeting of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee on 4 March, which welcomed the announcement by President Samora Machel concerning the full implementation by Mozambique of United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia and agreed to study, as a matter of urgency, areas of assistance to the Government of Mozambique under the terms of Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter.

133. Egypt calls once again on all friends to mobilize all moral, material and political assistance to Mozambique, either bilaterally or multilaterally, in order to offset the economic consequences of its application of full sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

134. In documents S/12005 and S/12009 the Government of Mozambique drew the attention of the Security Council to the fact that the racist minority régime of Ian Smith is pursuing its traditional policy of aggression against the people of Mozambique, taking a new step in the criminal process of escalation and launching an outright war of aggression against Mozambique. In the opinion of the Government of Egypt, this aggression constitutes a threat to peace and security not only in Mozambique but also in Africa and in the world.

135. Egypt appeals to the Security Council to take the necessary steps to help the people of Mozambique to defend themselves by every means against the aggression to which they have been subjected by the rebel Ian Smith and his white minority régime.

136. The proposals made by the delegation of the sister country of Mozambique are all valid in the view of the Egyptian Government.

137. I add my voice to that of the Secretary-General, who announced that the measures taken by the Government of Mozambique against Southern Rhodesia emphasized the gravity of the situation and the urgent need for a solution for the Southern Rhodesian problem.

138. Ian Smith, backed by the racist régime of South Africa, is continuing to increase his military strength and arrogantly resisting the constructive efforts of some African leaders to convince him that he should enable the people of Zimbabwe to realize their right to self-determination and freedom in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and

the Organization of African Unity. The negative attitude of the racist régime has assured us once again that the peaceful message of Africa and peace-loving peoples everywhere has fallen on deaf ears.

139. Egypt is convinced that the armed struggle in Zimbabwe will be waged in accordance with the Dar es Salaam Declaration and will be won by the valiant people of Zimbabwe. We in Egypt believe that the racist régime in Zimbabwe, deprived of all direct and indirect assistance, would not only accept the principle of majority rule, but would also seriously negotiate for it with the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the African National Council. That is why Egypt strongly urges all peace-loving peoples to unite their efforts towards increasing the isolation of the racist régime by all possible means.

140. As far as the Government of Egypt is concerned, the battle for liberating southern Africa from the racist régime has begun, and there will be no turning back. The struggle may be long and bitter, but history has assured us that victory is certain.

141. As an African, I call on all friends of Africa to continue with the same commitment and dedication, because the cause they are supporting is right and history will not forget them.

*The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.*

*Notes*

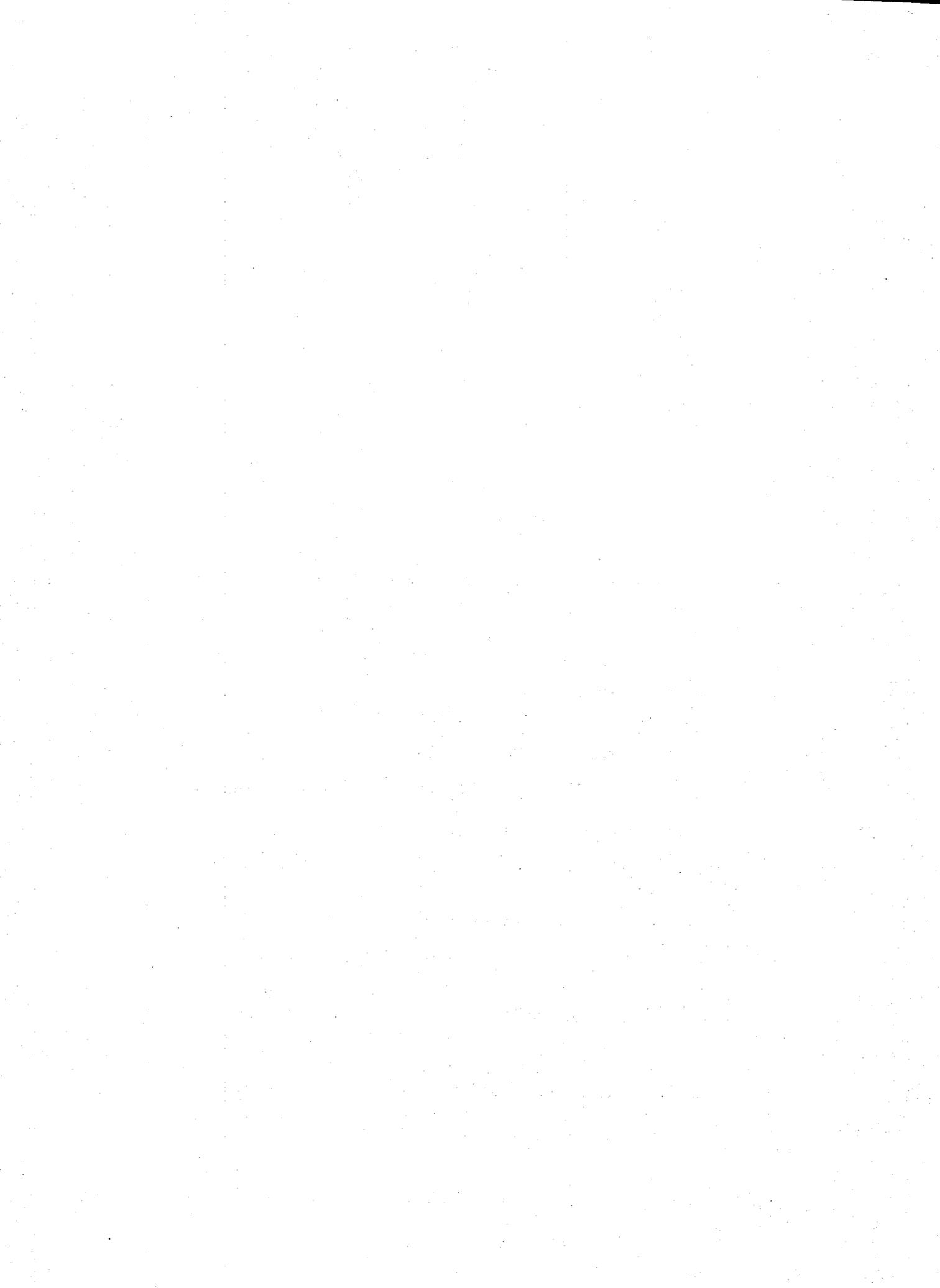
<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2375th meeting.*

<sup>2</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Special Supplement No. 2.*

<sup>3</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.*

<sup>4</sup> *Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.*

<sup>5</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Fourth Committee, 2137th meeting, para. 2.*



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