

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-FIRST YEAR

UN LIBRARY

JAN 29 1986

1891st MEETING: 17 MARCH 1976

UN/SA COLLECTION

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1891)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
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)	1

YSLASCU MUJ

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/...) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

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.

1891st MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 17 March 1976, at 10.30 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/1891)

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 11.15 a.m.

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).

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken yesterday at the 1890th meeting, I invite the representative of Mozambique, as well as the representatives of Egypt, Jamaica, Kenya and Zambia, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

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

2. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): Let me at the outset, Sir, congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Since you come from a country which has always championed the cause of freedom and the dignity of the human being, it is fitting that you, the representative of the sister Republic of Benin, should be guiding our deliberations on the issue currently before the Council. We are confident that under your wise and mature leadership the Council will reach decisions which will make significant contributions to the liberation struggle the world over.

3. May I take this opportunity to say a brief word regarding our President for February, former Ambassador, now Professor, Moynihan. Since we did not have an opportunity in the Council formally to say goodbye to him, I would ask the delegation of the United States to convey to Professor Moynihan our best wishes and to remark that we will be following his fortunes with an interest the keenness of which derives from our previous association with him.

4. This series of meetings is specifically occasioned by the decisions—courageous decisions—taken by the Government of Mozambique on 3 March this year to close its border with Rhodesia and to apply fully the régime of sanctions instituted by the Security Council against the rebels temporarily usurping power in Zimbabwe. These decisions are entirely consonant with Mozambique's unequivocal and unchallengeable support for the just struggles of liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere, not least of which is the continuing struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. They are consonant, as well, with Mozambique's commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

5. Is not the fortitude of the people of Mozambique, dynamically led by FRELIMO [*Front for the Liberation of Mozambique*], amply demonstrated by the long and arduous battles they successfully waged against colonialism imposed by their erstwhile oppressors? Is their commitment to the full development of the human personality not self-evident from the structured manner in which they have sought resolutely to confront the ravages of the colonialist exploitation of their society in the few months since they have recaptured their own freedom and independence? Guyana salutes FRELIMO and the people of Mozambique and applauds their aspirations and their goals.

6. It is, however, the determined people of Mozambique against whom Ian Smith and his henchmen, harassed and perplexed by the freedom fighters within Zimbabwe, directed their most recent provocative and aggressive acts. President Samora Machel addressed not only the people of Mozambique but also the whole international community when nearly two weeks ago he spoke of aggression against his people, of the violation of the territorial integrity of his country and of the additional actions which Mozambique has undertaken in pursuit of the goal of genuine freedom and independence for Zimbabwe.

7. But actions by States founded on principle and justice sometimes exact a heavy price. However, when such actions are perceived to offend more powerful countries, threats to the stability and indeed to the survival of the States concerned have been some of the punitive measures in the arsenals of those who believe they are offended. Unhappily, the international community is as yet too acquiescent to faits accomplis resulting from the employment of such measures in the exercise of naked power.

8. But the United Nations, in the language of its Charter, anticipated situations in respect of which its Member States contracted obligations with regard to special economic problems faced by any State carrying out preventive or enforcement measures authorized by the Security Council—I refer to the provisions of Articles 49 and 50—and this is the case of Mozambique.

9. We heard yesterday [1890th meeting] a graphic description from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique of some of the presently ascertainable effects on his country of the implementation by Mozambique of sanctions against Rhodesia in accordance with Security Council resolution 253 (1968). He articulated succinctly the linkages of dependency by which the Portuguese colonialists, in concert with the white minority racist cliques installed in Salisbury and Pretoria, had enveloped the people of Mozambique. It is a situation of structural distortion, a distortion which has been a legacy for many of us.

10. It seems abundantly clear to my delegation that the international community should now respond urgently and effectively to assist Mozambique so that it can continue unimpeded in the tasks of economic and social reconstruction upon which its people have embarked, for Mozambique should not be required to shoulder the conscience of mankind alone.

11. The Minister for External Affairs of Jamaica reminded us yesterday [*ibid.*] that heads of Government of the Commonwealth, meeting at Kingston in May of last year, had also anticipated this situation. At that time they emphasized that the prospects for freedom in Zimbabwe could be enhanced by the application by Mozambique of sanctions against Rhodesia. Those heads of Government were in favour of the implementation of a programme of assistance

to Mozambique. Further action in this regard was agreed upon earlier this month, on 4 March, at a meeting of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee. Indeed, pursuant to decisions taken at that meeting, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr. Shridath Ramphal, is now in Maputo discussing with President Samora Machel the areas in which and the modalities by which the Commonwealth can be of assistance to Mozambique.

12. Guyana consistently supported the fraternal people of Mozambique, morally, politically and materially, during their battle for the recovery of their freedom and independence. We regarded it as our inevitable duty, and we continue to support them now as they seek to consolidate that independence and to make secure that freedom.

13. While it is true that we are not discussing the situation in Zimbabwe *per se*, the question before us derives from the untenable and intolerable situation in that Territory, for the essential reason for our meeting stems from the brutal and callous denial of the rights of the black majority in Zimbabwe by a white minority, entrapped and imprisoned by their own racist and exploitative concepts.

14. The logic of unfolding events in southern Africa—the peoples' victories in Mozambique last year and more recently in Angola—has made it abundantly clear to most, except, it seems, to Ian Smith, that majority rule in Zimbabwe is inevitable. The real question is not whether, but rather when. As my Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Wills, said at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly on 1 October 1975:¹

“Having crossed his Rubicon in 1965 by a unilateral declaration of independence, the rebel leader Ian Smith has now had to face up to the political realities of the continent, and justice, which limped behind him for 10 years, has finally cornered him in Zimbabwe.”

Continued prevarication and duplicity by Smith can only serve to compound the wrath which will accompany his overthrow.

15. Yet, even as the white minority régime continues its despoliation in Zimbabwe, some countries still endeavour to buttress it by words and others by deeds. We call upon those whose utterances are taken by the racists in Salisbury as signals of support to reorient their thinking and to reorder their priorities. Further, my delegation is constrained to observe that from press reports it appears that those other racists in southern Africa—the Pretoria régime—seek to profit from the act of courage by Mozambique by making available to Smith and his band of rebels additional facilities to compensate for the lack of access to the ports of Beira and Maputo.

16. As the struggle for freedom in Zimbabwe intensifies, the Security Council may yet be called upon to deal effectively and appropriately with the chief sanctions-breaker, South Africa, for there lies the bastion of racism in southern Africa.

17. Let there be no doubt that the racists in southern Africa will not be permitted to keep intact for ever their "laagers of repression". The progressive forces in the world, including, importantly, peoples of the black diaspora, will no longer be frustrated by pious asseverations of so-called strategic and economic interests. Those forces are now more than ever prepared to translate their commitment into action.

18. Guyana, along with other freedom-loving countries, is marching side by side with the people of Mozambique. We share with them a belief in the worth of the individual human being, and we are working together for his triumphal emancipation. We believe in the provision of assistance for noble causes. At the dawn of the independence of Mozambique, Guyana made a modest contribution of assistance, fully confident of Mozambique's intention to continue resolutely the struggle for the freedom of Zimbabwe. We are prepared today to make a further contribution.

19. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): Mr. President, in the first place I should like to offer you my personal welcome and the congratulations and good wishes of my delegation. Despite the great distance which separates us, relations between your country and mine have been of the best, based on the co-operation between our two missions here and on a common approach to many of the major world problems.

20. I should like to take this occasion also to pay a tribute to your predecessor in the office of President of the Security Council, Professor Moynihan. We saw him presiding over the Council last month and could not help but be impressed by his impartiality and diligence, particularly in the many informal consultations he was called upon to hold. We also knew him for the vigour with which he espoused his views. He may not have won over many converts, but he certainly lost no friends, and we do miss his presence here. We look forward now to welcoming his successor, Governor William Scranton, who brings with him an impeccable reputation as a statesman and a man of vision.

21. Many of the preceding speakers have remarked on the appropriateness of the fact that a distinguished representative of Africa is presiding while the Security Council is discussing a situation of primordial interest to the people of Africa. It is indeed right and proper that this should be so, for it is in Africa that we find entrenched the last remnants and the most virulent form of colonialist exploitation and of injustice based on race. It is Africa which today leads the struggle against these evil practices and doctrines, even though the success of the struggle will be beneficial to all the

people of the world, not excluding, we still hope, the white minorities whose leaders have set up barricades against progress and brotherhood and good sense.

22. Yesterday we heard the statement of the Foreign Minister of Mozambique, to whom I should like to extend the welcome and good wishes of my delegation, a statement which explained with clarity and without rancour the difficult situation in which his country finds itself as a result of its decision to break off all its economic links with Southern Rhodesia. The value and enormous practical significance of this act of solidarity with neighbours fighting for emancipation by a State which has itself only just emerged from a long period of colonial rule will not be long in making themselves felt. The implications have certainly not been lost on the illegal régime of Ian Smith, to judge by its desperate acts of aggression against Mozambique. However, a strain of wider loyalty marked the statement of the Foreign Minister, a loyalty to the internationalist duty, if I may use his own words, of Mozambique as a Member of the United Nations in implementing the sanctions imposed by the Security Council against the Southern Rhodesian régime some eight years ago. This example of respect and practical support for the principles and decisions of the United Nations is commendable and worthy of emulation.

23. The predicament in which Mozambique finds itself, as the Foreign Minister told us, is rooted in the colonial history of his country. The dependence of Mozambique on South Africa and Southern Rhodesia was deliberately built into Mozambique's relationship with them, with the object of serving their interests, and it has served to strengthen the economic and political domination of alien minorities over the indigenous people. The distortion of economic and social objectives and priorities which colonialist policy has brought about in southern Africa is to some degree characteristic of the economic imbalances and injustice which prevail all over the world, the correction and redress of which are among the most urgent items on the international agenda. I do not want to digress into a matter which is the subject of discussion elsewhere. It is important, however, to recognize that Mozambique, a developing country and one which has scarcely recovered from a protracted and bitter fight for freedom, in deciding to break with Southern Rhodesia has accepted a double challenge—the challenge of an aggressive and ruthless minority régime bent on maintaining its power and ill-gotten privilege by every means, at the same time as Mozambique is engaged in the task of carrying through fundamental change and the reconstruction of an inequitable system left behind by colonial rule.

24. The burden this decision places on the economy of Mozambique, a burden it carries on behalf of all of us and for the United Nations Organization as a whole, was explained with considerable precision in the statement of the Foreign Minister of Mozambique. Tens

of thousands of people will lose their jobs; tens of millions of dollars worth of revenues will be lost; new sources will have to be found for importing food grains and other essentials, and new markets for products hitherto exported to Southern Rhodesia. All this, even without taking into account various intangibles which cannot be estimated in advance, will pose staggering problems for Mozambique and call for major adjustments on its part. The need for international help and assistance is therefore obvious and is widely recognized. The decision of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee and the long list of Council members sponsoring the draft resolution introduced yesterday by the representative of Tanzania [S/12013] are evidence of the international community's determination to rally to Mozambique's side. The United Nations arranged help for Zambia in similar circumstances some years ago and must do no less in the present case. In fact, we should do well to bear in mind what the representative of Zambia told us yesterday [1890th meeting] about the need to translate the Security Council decision on this matter into concrete and effective forms of assistance. We also agree that the urgency of the situation is such that action cannot await a detailed evaluation by a fact-finding mission and the like. We are encouraged by the fact that the Secretary-General, as is his custom, has not allowed the grass to grow under his feet and has already made an appeal for a favourable response to the Mozambique Government's request for assistance.

25. Sanctions were imposed on Southern Rhodesia in 1968. In the eight years which have elapsed there has been no noticeable progress towards bringing the illegal Ian Smith régime to book or even bringing it to its senses. Part of the reason for the failure of sanctions to achieve their proclaimed objective—I say this while recognizing their political value in isolating the Southern Rhodesian régime—lies in the loopholes provided on the one hand by South Africa and on the other by the so-called Byrd Amendment in the United States.

26. Resolution 253 (1968) was adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter and is therefore mandatory. Furthermore, it was adopted without dissent. It is an obligation on all Member States under the Charter to implement mandatory decisions of the Organization. If I may say so in passing, this obligation rests all the more heavily on those who criticize the United Nations on the ground that the majority of its Members acts in a thoughtless manner and seeks to impose its will on the minority.

27. The truth is that the process of change we are witnessing in Africa has been set in motion not by sanctions but by the success of the struggle of the people of the former Portuguese colonies against colonial rule. The possibility of a similar development in other parts of southern Africa, and first of all in Southern Rhodesia, now looms ever larger. The warning of the possibility and perhaps the inevitability

of a violent solution uttered here yesterday by the representative of Zambia should be seriously heeded by the minority régime of Southern Rhodesia and by its friends. Recent developments in Angola offer lessons for all of us. It is characteristic of Ian Smith that, to judge by the press interview published in yesterday's issue of *The New York Times*, he has drawn all the wrong lessons. He speaks of the balance of power between the free world and the Communist world and of a tragedy for the free world if his régime is allowed to go down. The tragedy for the world is that selfish and benighted individuals, like the ones who lead the Southern Rhodesian régime and other forces, are making of Africa a cockpit of international power politics.

28. In a recent press interview on the subject, Prime Minister Bhutto cautioned that any attempt to run against the current of history in the third world or to resort to neo-colonialist practices would prove counter-productive. In a message he sent to the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference held in Mozambique last year, Prime Minister Bhutto outlined Pakistan's stand on the situation in southern Africa:

“The dismantling of the Portuguese colonial empire, to which the site of your Conference bears testimony, has changed the political map of Africa and strengthened and extended the common front against the remaining bastions of colonialism and racial oppression. This advantage must be pressed and the struggle against the colonial régimes intensified.”

29. We consider the Mozambique Government's courageous decision to impose sanctions on Southern Rhodesia one of the most important steps, a turning point indeed, in a struggle which is now approaching its decisive phase. In the press interview to which I referred a moment ago, Mr. Ian Smith pleaded with the United States and other Western nations “to give us a second chance”. The talks he is holding with Mr. Joshua Nkomo offer him, in the words of the representative of the United Kingdom [*ibid.*], the last chance for an orderly and early transfer to majority rule so that all the people of the Territory, black and white, may live in peace. There are not many signs that he will take this chance, but on this subject we shall have more to say when we take it up in substance.

30. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): Mr. President, first of all let me congratulate you on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council. The Swedish delegation is particularly pleased to see you in the chair during a month when the Council is dealing with the important African issue on our agenda. I pledge our full support and co-operation with you in the fulfilment of your duties.

31. I should like also to ask the United States delegation to convey to Mr. Moynihan the most warm and sincere tribute of my delegation for the impartial

and effective way in which he guided the consultations and the debates of the Council during the month of February. We also ask the United States delegation to convey to Mr. Moynihan our best wishes for the future.

32. The decision announced recently by the People's Republic of Mozambique to close its borders with Southern Rhodesia and to apply fully the system of sanctions affords, together with the previous parallel decision of the Government of Zambia, an outstanding example of the solidarity among the nations of Africa, without which the process of decolonization could never have reached its present stage. The collapse of the former Portuguese colonial empire in southern Africa has drastically changed the situation for the rulers in Salisbury. They find themselves more isolated than ever before and under heavy international pressure. It is to be hoped that the Smith régime will now finally be able to see the writing on the wall and that a rapid transition can take place to the long cherished goal, freedom and independence for the people of Zimbabwe.

33. It is against this background that we today hail this courageous decision of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The Charter does in this context impose clear obligations on the Member States. Just as under Articles 24 and 25 of the Charter all Member States have accepted the obligation to accept and carry out the decision of the Security Council to apply the system of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, they are called upon under Articles 49 and 50 to join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Council. I quote Article 50:

"If preventive or enforcement measures against any State are taken by the Security Council, any other State, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems."

34. The Council is at present carrying out such a consultation at the request of the People's Republic of Mozambique following its decision to apply the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Indeed Mozambique is confronted with "special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures". The problems are special since under Portuguese colonial rule the structure of the economy of Mozambique was fashioned in such a way as to become interdependent with the structure of the economy created in Southern Rhodesia by its illegal régime. No great imagination is needed, therefore, to understand the negative impact on Mozambique's economy of the recent decision of its Government.

35. The Foreign Minister of Mozambique yesterday gave us a clear picture of the immediate problems

now facing his country. It was of the greatest value for the Council to receive that information as it now proceeds to respond to the request of the Government of Mozambique.

36. Because of the interdependence between the economies of Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia, the negative effects on the economy of Mozambique of the decision of its Government will rapidly be felt. This makes it all the more necessary for the Security Council, and through it the world community, to act urgently. Because of the urgency of the matter my delegation considers the appropriate course of action to be to take a decision in the Council immediately so that machinery can be set up at once for the co-ordination of the assistance, whether bilateral or multilateral, to Mozambique. We have understood that the Secretary-General envisages the dispatch of a group of experts immediately after the Council's decision to verify the needs in further detail on the spot. My delegation is confident that the global figure of assistance needed can be established quickly so that the flow of assistance can start without delay.

37. The Government of Sweden has supported the liberation struggle of the people of Mozambique and continues to support the development of the newly independent State. My Government has decided to increase the bilateral assistance foreseen this year from 50 to 70 million kronor, that is from approximately \$11.4 to \$16 million. The Swedish Minister for Development Co-operation, Mrs. Gertrud Sigurdson, is at this very moment visiting Mozambique, and upon her return the Swedish Government will positively study the question of giving further assistance in response to the Security Council resolution, the draft of which my delegation has joined as a sponsor. We sincerely hope that it will have the unanimous support of the members of the Council. A unanimous decision by the Council would be a sign of solidarity of the Member States with the people of Mozambique and also a means of showing the full solidarity of the United Nations with the people of Zimbabwe in its struggle for freedom and independence.

38. Mr. VINCI (Italy): Mr. President, may I be permitted first of all to convey to you my delegation's and my personal congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Council and to recall on this occasion the friendly relations that my country maintains with your own. You can rely on the full and sincere support of my delegation in the exercise of your high responsibilities now and through the next two weeks of intense deliberations.

39. I should also like to associate myself with the thanks that you and previous speakers have addressed to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the United States. He and the Acting Permanent Representative, Mr. Bennett, have carried out their duties, which involved an important and delicate issue, in a very commendable, discreet and constructive

way, for which we all in the Council are certainly grateful.

40. The point on our agenda deserves indeed our earnest attention and consideration together with our deep respect.

41. I should like to assure you, Mr. President, as well as the other members of the Council, that my Government is fully aware of the serious critical situation now confronting the Government of Mozambique as a result of its bold decision and of the continued defiance represented by the presence at its borders of a minority illegal régime, the régime of Ian Smith which has been outlawed by the United Nations and by world public opinion.

42. To the Government and people of Mozambique, which have honoured the Council by dispatching here their Minister for Foreign Affairs, I should first of all like to address again the warm welcome and the sincere good wishes which were expressed to them by the Italian representative in the Security Council on 18 August 1975 [*1838th meeting*], when we unanimously voted in favour of the recommendation to the General Assembly for the admission of Mozambique to the United Nations. I am glad to note that since that time, when we expressed our readiness to establish official friendly relations with Mozambique, those relations have already developed in a very friendly way; they have been formalized with the exchange of diplomatic missions.

43. In consistency with its longstanding conviction that the process of decolonization in Africa is to be completed as soon as possible, and of course the sooner the better, my Government did not fail to give its support to the course which eventually led to the independence of Mozambique.

44. We all remember those long years when FRELIMO carried out its valiant struggle for independence. At the beginning, the scattered actions, the lighting of the flame by nobly inspired minorities; later, the endeavours of ever growing numbers of patriots committed to freedom and advancement, at whatever price; finally, the victory of an entire people and the prize of a well-deserved independence.

45. Throughout all those years when an anachronistic and useless war was waged against the people of Mozambique, Italy, acting on a unilateral basis as well as together with its allies and with its partners in the European Community, never ceased to put pressure on the ruling Power so that it would change the course of its policy in Africa, and particularly in Mozambique.

46. We take some satisfaction in the help we were able to provide to both parties following the establishment of democracy in Portugal, for at that time we were in a position to be able again to talk freely to the leaders of that country, with whom we have since

come to share the ideals of a free and democratic society. We had at that time the opportunity to act as go-between, a fact which caused a spokesman of my Government to state on 15 September 1975:

“Italy is glad to have contributed to the process of negotiations between Portugal and FRELIMO, thus facilitating contacts designed to help towards a better understanding of the objectives and the viewpoints of the interested parties; this reflects, moreover, the full and constant adherence of Italy to the objectives of self-determination and independence for peoples still subject to colonial rule.”

47. Unfortunately, the struggle for decolonization in southern Africa requires further efforts. In Southern Rhodesia, as well as Namibia, men and powers, who obviously nourish deceptive illusions as to where the trends of history lead, are still trying to prevent the rise of the day which will bring dignity, independence, self-determination and justice to all the people of those two countries. However, Mr. President, you know, I know and all the members of the Council know that it is only a matter of time for Rhodesia as well as Namibia to become free, sovereign States. So why should we be confronted once again with useless efforts to delay events, such as independence on the basis of majority rule?

48. The tragic aspect of any vain endeavour to turn the clock back is that it will inevitably carry with it more human suffering for all people in Rhodesia and elsewhere, black and white. The toll of those who will die may rise again. How many human and economic resources shall be lost, and for what?

49. According to an ancient Latin saying, *Jupiter dementat prius quos vult perdere*, which I would translate into English: “God makes mad those whom he wants to perish”. Unfortunately, time passes, centuries pass by, but some people, like Ian Smith—and not only in Rhodesia—never learn and are unable to adjust to the changes outside in the real world.

50. But in spite of all the historic records to the contrary, at this final stage Italy still wants to believe in, and stands for, responsible and quick action in Southern Rhodesia. There is one last chance for peaceful evolution, leading eventually to a constitutional agreement, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter. But time is running short and the chance must be seized at once. This has been forcefully pointed out by the Foreign Ministers of Mozambique and of Jamaica; by the current chairman of the African Group, our colleague from Kenya; by the representative of Zambia and by other speakers. We could not agree more with those statements.

51. I should like to assure the Council that, at a time when the risk of violence erupting again is increasing, the interest and concern of the Italian Government

with regard to what is going on in southern Africa remain unchanged. In fact, events in that area have retained, and, indeed, are retaining, our fullest attention and consideration, not only for the sake of the populations directly concerned but for the effects on international society as a whole. This is a time for unilateral and multilateral concerted action within the framework of the United Nations, a principle and an objective which the Foreign Ministers of the nine members of the European Community had in mind when they met on 23 February in Luxembourg and deemed it necessary to confirm once again their common stand on the issues in southern Africa. On that occasion they ranked their support of the right to self-determination and independence of the peoples in Rhodesia and Namibia as one of their basic positions.

52. Italy will continue to play an active role among the nine member States of the European Community for the implementation of the principle and objective I have just mentioned. We are therefore convinced that under present circumstances aid to Mozambique should be granted by all Member States in view of these objectives which we share with all the African countries. In this connexion, we welcome the decisions taken at Kingston as early as May 1975 by the heads of Government of the Commonwealth in a show of solidarity which sets a significant example morally and politically, not just economically.

53. We are perfectly aware of Mozambique's self-imposed hardship today. We are aware, as well, of the particular and difficult circumstances which that country finds itself in after a long period when all its resources had been diverted from development and expansion because of the long war for independence. All this throws light on the tremendous sacrifices which the people of Mozambique is prepared to endure further in favour of a cause which transcends its national borders and its national interests, since it is a common cause of the African countries and, I dare say, of the world community as a whole—in short, of the United Nations.

54. Of course I could have said much more on the item under consideration, but I have tried to be as brief as possible, following the recommendations to us by the Secretary-General, by the representative of Tanzania and by you, Mr. President. I hope, nevertheless, that I have explained clearly enough the essential reasons that have led Italy with 10 other members of the Council to sponsor the draft resolution contained in document S/12013. As did our colleague from Tanzania, who, as usual, so eloquently introduced the text, we commend it to the unanimous approval of the Council.

55. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure for me and for my delegation to congratulate you most sincerely on your assumption of the presidency of the

Security Council for March. It is a fortunate coincidence that a distinguished representative of an African country is presiding over the Council at the very time when this body is considering problems of particular interest to the whole of Africa. We should like to extend to you our best wishes for success in the performance of your tasks as President, and at the same time I should like to assure you of our whole-hearted co-operation.

56. I should also like to thank Professor Daniel Moynihan, who has just left us, and Ambassador Tapley Bennett, Jr., of the United States, who presided with such competence and distinction over the Council in February.

57. The letter addressed to us by the distinguished Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique and his important statement yesterday in the Council make abundantly clear the danger of the policy and aggressive actions of the minority régime of Southern Rhodesia to the peace and security of Mozambique, of Africa, and of the whole world.

58. The facts presented and the convincing arguments developed yesterday by the Foreign Minister of Mozambique and by other participants in the debate have introduced important new elements which help us to understand better the political and economic realities in southern Africa. This will without doubt help the Council to take the necessary measures to meet the grave situation created in this part of the world.

59. The Romanian delegation believes that it is only natural that the Council should react with speed, effectiveness and unanimity to the appeal from the Government of Mozambique for assistance in its efforts for the peaceful and independent development of its country.

60. The persistence and tolerance of the remnants of colonialism, the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination are so many permanent sources of tension causing acts of aggression and jeopardizing international peace and security. It is high time for such anachronisms—anachronisms, that is, when compared with the present level of contemporary law and morality—to be completely eliminated. That is why, in the view of the Romanian delegation, the measures that should be taken to help the young, independent State of Mozambique are a matter of principle for the entire international community and therefore should be conceived and placed within the broadest possible context of the concern of the Security Council about the situation in southern Africa.

61. In accordance with the principles of its foreign policy, the Socialist Republic of Romania has consistently fought for the recognition of and respect for the right of peoples to independence and against the policy of racial discrimination and *apar-*

heid. My country has always favoured the recognition of the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-government and to the establishment of a Government which would reflect the composition of the population of that Territory, guarantee broad democratic liberties and ensure the country's accession to independence.

62. The Security Council cannot disregard the actions of the racist régimes in southern Africa reflected in the breach of fundamental principles which enshrine the right to self-determination and independence of colonial countries and peoples. The Council cannot disregard the persistent violation of United Nations resolutions relating to the elimination of racist domination in Southern Rhodesia, in despite of the legitimate aspirations to freedom and independence of the people of Zimbabwe, who represent the vast majority of the people of this non self-governing territory. It is necessary, therefore, at this stage in the situation, for the Council to condemn resolutely the aggressive actions—whatever their nature—of Southern Rhodesia against the People's Republic of Mozambique.

63. With regard to assistance measures to be taken, we should take account of the foreseeable economic consequences of the courageous decision of the Mozambique Government to close the border with Southern Rhodesia. The adoption of international assistance measures is entirely in keeping with the provisions of the Charter and United Nations resolutions and is particularly necessary because the Government of Mozambique only a few months after its independence finds itself involved in a vast programme of reconstruction of its national economy, an economy to which so much damage was done during the centuries of colonial domination.

64. We consider that these are sufficient reasons to adopt urgent assistance measures for Mozambique and also, to this end, to establish appropriate machinery with the support of international economic bodies and the specialized agencies. In this regard the Foreign Minister of Mozambique submitted to us reasonable and justified assessments and suggestions which deserve the complete attention of the Security Council, the Secretary-General and the bodies concerned.

65. The Romanian Government considers that it is necessary for the Secretary-General to be authorized to act together with the specialized agencies and the United Nations bodies concerned in order to take appropriate measures for the immediate assistance of the People's Republic of Mozambique in its application of sanctions against Rhodesia. The positive experience accumulated by the Secretary-General in similar situations, and also the possibility of using the machinery of the United Nations, are guarantees for the effective organization of the assistance to be granted on the basis of the resolution to be adopted by the Council.

66. My country, Romania, has always given assistance and will continue to give every possible

assistance to the peoples struggling to recover their independence, to consolidate their national sovereignty and to ensure their independent economic development. Faithful to its foreign policy principles, Romania takes firm action to implement the United Nations resolutions, including resolutions on economic sanctions, with a view to putting an end to colonial domination and the policy of racial discrimination.

67. My country therefore whole-heartedly supports the decision of the People's Republic of Mozambique to apply economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and expresses its conviction that this act will contribute to the urgently needed solution of the political situation in that Territory.

68. I should like to reaffirm here the militant solidarity of socialist Romania with the struggle of the people of Mozambique for the defence of their national independence and to overcome the difficulties which are resulting from the full application of the economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations against Southern Rhodesia. The links of solidarity and fraternal assistance between Romania and Mozambique were established and consolidated in the course of the struggle of the people of Mozambique for the independence of their fatherland. Last year, on the very day of the independence of Mozambique, our two countries and Governments established diplomatic relations. The development of these relations will, as the President of my country stressed at the time, without any doubt "contribute to the independent economic and social expansion of each country and fall within the framework of the general struggle against imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist domination and the struggle being waged by the peoples of the world for the total elimination of all national and social oppression".

69. In conclusion, I should like to repeat the appeal made here by our colleague Ambassador Salim of Tanzania and by other representatives that the draft resolution of the 11 countries which we have representatives that the draft resolution of the 11 countries which we have before us should be adopted unanimously.

70. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation welcomes the participation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique in the discussion of the Council. Yesterday we listened to his statement, which will no doubt be very helpful to the Council in its present deliberations.

71. The Chinese delegation would now like to make the following remarks on the question under discussion. In recent years, the speedy and vigorous development of the national liberation movement in southern Africa and the armed struggle victoriously carried out by the Zimbabwe people have landed the Southern Rhodesian racist régime in unprecedented isolation. In order to wage a death-bed struggle, the

Southern Rhodesian racist régime is stepping up its counter-revolutionary dual tactics. While harping on its old tune about "reconciliation", it is intensifying its encirclement and suppression of the Zimbabwe people's armed forces. Of late, under the pretext of going in hot pursuit of guerrillas, it has even intruded into Mozambique, launched attacks on the Mozambican villages, declared its border areas "operational areas" and clamoured that "such action conforms with international law and custom". This is extreme truculence and constitutes a threat and provocation against Mozambique as well as a serious encroachment on the state sovereignty of Mozambique. These acts of aggression by the Southern Rhodesian racist régime have aroused the indignation and condemnation of just public opinion in the world.

72. After prolonged armed struggles, the courageous Mozambican people have finally won the great victory of national independence. To defend their fruits of victory and to support the Zimbabwe people in their struggles for independence and liberation, the Mozambican people have been carrying on tit-for-tat struggles against the Smith racist régime. Not long ago, President Samora Machel of Mozambique declared the closure of all its borders with Southern Rhodesia, prohibition of all forms of communication with Southern Rhodesia, confiscation of all goods of Southern Rhodesia in Mozambique and full implementation of the United Nations resolution on the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. President Samora Machel also called on the people of the whole country to mobilize themselves and be ready at all times to wipe out the enemy intruders. These righteous acts have received forceful support from the African States.

73. As everyone knows, a handful of white racists in Southern Rhodesia has cruelly exploited and oppressed the Zimbabwe people for a long time. The armed struggle waged by the Zimbabwe people to overthrow the dark rule of the white racist régime and to win national independence and liberation represents an entirely just cause. It is only natural that the African countries actively support their struggle in accordance with the spirit of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. The fact that the Southern Rhodesian reactionary authorities outra-

geously encroached upon the territory of a sovereign African State on the pretext of going in hot pursuit of Zimbabwe guerrillas reveals their ferocious features as the enemy of the African people. The acts of the Southern Rhodesian racist régime, which go against the tide of history, can only arouse the stronger resistance of the Zimbabwe and other African peoples and will finally lead to that régime's complete destruction.

74. The Chinese Government and people fully sympathize with and firmly support the Mozambican people in their just struggle and strongly condemn the Smith racist régime's aggression against Mozambique. We hold that the United Nations should give assistance to the Mozambican people in their just struggle, solemnly condemn the Southern Rhodesian white racist régime for its aggression against Mozambique, expand and strengthen the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and take all measures to guarantee the implementation of the United Nations resolution on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

75. Africa belongs to the African people. Nobody can alter the excellent situation in which the African people are winning successive victories in their struggle for national liberation. Of course, the imperialists and racists are still waging a death-bed struggle. The Soviet social-imperialists are hatching new schemes in the wake of their armed intervention in Angola in an attempt to interfere in and undermine the national liberation movement in southern Africa. But the raging torrents of the African peoples' struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism are irresistible, no matter how tortuous their road of advance may be. Final victory certainly belongs to the people of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and the whole of Africa.

76. The Chinese delegation is in favour of the draft resolution in document S/12013 and hopes that the Council will adopt it as speedily as possible.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.

Notes

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2370th meeting.*

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب الى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o dirijase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
