



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-THIRD YEAR

2068th MEETING: 15 MARCH 1978

NEW YORK

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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.

2068th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 15 March 1978, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Ivor RICHARD
(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bolivia, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Kuwait, Mauritius, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2068)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Complaint by Zambia:

Letter dated 9 March 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12589)

The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Zambia:

Letter dated 9 March 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12589)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Botswana, Cuba, Egypt, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Upper Volta and Zambia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion.

2. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mwale (Zambia) took a place at the Council table and Mr. Tlou (Botswana), Mr. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Lobo (Mozambique), Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Bamba (Upper Volta) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the question on its agenda in response to the request by the Government of Zambia [S/12589]. I should like also to draw the attention of members of the Council to documents S/12593, S/12594 and S/12595.

4. The first speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia. I welcome him and invite him to make his statement.

5. Mr. MWALE (Zambia): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, I wish to convey our gratitude to you and all the members of the Council for having acceded to our request for this meeting, to consider the latest in a series of acts of aggression perpetrated against my country by the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. I take this opportunity also to add my own words of congratulations to you upon your assumption of the office of President of the Council for the month of March. It is fitting that this question of aggression against my country by the rebels in your colony should be taken up by the Council under the presidency of the colonial Power, represented in the person of none other than you, who are intimately familiar with the Rhodesian question. My delegation in particular recalls your chairmanship of the abortive Geneva conference on Southern Rhodesia. My country has also received you and other members of the Anglo-American team in the course of your shuttle missions in southern Africa.

6. Permit me to record the sincere gratitude of the Party, Government and people of the Republic of Zambia for the deep commitment and untiring efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, towards the search for a lasting solution to the problems of southern Africa.

7. The Security Council has just concluded its consideration of the question of Southern Rhodesia, pursuant to a request by the African Group. Zambia, together with other freedom-loving and peace-loving States, firmly maintains that the prevailing situation in the rebel British colony of Southern Rhodesia constitutes a grave threat not only to the peace and security of our region but also to international peace and security.

8. The continued existence of the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, a régime religiously committed to the maintenance of an irrational and unjust system, constitutes the root cause of the Rhodesian problem. As my President, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, has consistently warned, unless this root cause of the problem is expeditiously eliminated, prospects of averting a generalized conflict engulfing the entire region are bound to recede irreversibly. The recent

retrogressive developments, such as the so-called internal settlement agreement, and the continued wanton acts of aggression perpetrated by the illegal régime against Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia serve not to delay but to advance the advent of such a holocaust. It is this basic and constant concern—together with its implications, too ghastly to speculate upon—which has once again prompted my Government to request an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the recent premeditated and unprovoked acts of aggression committed against my country by forces of the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia.

9. Let me now turn to the specific barbaric act of aggression perpetrated against my country by the rebel forces of Ian Smith from 6 to 8 March last.

10. It is now known that the enemy crossed the border into Zambia with 200 commandos using some 10 fighter aircraft and seven helicopters of the United States-manufactured Chinook type and size, which carry up to 60 fully armed paratroopers each.

11. On the day of the attack, 6 March, at 0945 hours, two bombs were dropped in Luangwa (Feira) District by two jets flying at low altitude. We believe that by that attack it was intended to blow up the two water tanks, which the enemy erroneously suspected to contain fuel, as a diversionary measure to draw the attention of our troops and Air Defence Unit away from the Kavalamanja area, which was the main target. Simultaneously a group of fighter aircraft was heard circulating over the district to intercept the movement of people along the roads likely to be used for reinforcement.

12. At 1000 hours, the enemy attacked Kavalamanja using 10 aircraft to bomb the area and also to provide cover to the helicopter-borne paratroopers who were jumping from the helicopters. The jets were also used to disorganize any resistance from our ground troops who were intercepting rebel Rhodesian paratroopers as they descended from the helicopters. A combination of action by the Air Defence Unit and our ground forces resulted in the shooting down of four jets, one Beaver aircraft and three helicopters. It is known that a total of eight enemy aircraft were destroyed by our gallant forces. Some of them fell inside our territory, on land and in the river. The three Chinook helicopters that were destroyed bore Hebrew markings.

13. In this battle, which lasted 72 hours, 22 Zambians lost their lives and 19 were injured. Two are still missing in action. It must be pointed out, moreover, that, as a result of the wanton aggression, most of the people of the area concerned have fled the villages and are without food, shelter and clothes.

14. The rebel Rhodesian offensive ground and air attacks covered a wide area spreading from the Luangwa bridge towards Chiava near the Chirundu border post. Our gallant security forces contained the situation and repulsed the attacks mounted by rebel forces, which sustained heavy casualties. It is quite clear that, in this attack, Smith made one of his bloodiest blunders and suffered his biggest loss in troops and aircraft. We know that the rebels and their allies would be the last to admit that, as has been discerned in the recent Western press reports.

15. It is quite evident from the marking identified on the rebel military aircraft shot down by our security forces, as well as from other captured Rhodesian weaponry, that the latest attack was carried out with external assistance. For instance, my Government has evidence of South African military involvement in the invasion. In the light of this evidence, my Government has already requested certain Governments having embassies at Lusaka to provide information as to how some of their weaponry found itself in the hands of the rebel Rhodesian forces. The Government of the Republic of Zambia, and no doubt other members of the international community, would welcome such information as it would have a direct bearing on the United Nations mandatory sanctions policy against the rebel colony of Southern Rhodesia. Such information would further assist in determining the extent to which the illegal régime would enjoy external military assistance in the event of a generalized conflagration in our region, a conflagration in regard to which my country has repeatedly voiced its concern.

16. The attack of 6 March was but the latest in a series of offensive operations against Zambia carried out by the Rhodesian rebels. For instance, late last year Rhodesian jet-fighters dropped napalm bombs on Luangwa, the area of the recent invasion, causing a number of casualties among our defence force personnel.

17. Rebel Rhodesian forces and their allies have repeatedly launched premeditated flagrant attacks against Zambia along its entire border with Southern Rhodesia. They have constantly violated Zambian airspace and Zambia's territorial integrity, persistently harassed innocent villagers and incessantly provoked our troops in the area. They have mounted widespread air reconnaissance missions over Zambia aimed at identifying targets for subsequent raids. On numerous occasions, forces of the minority régimes have landed troops on Zambian soil, leaving them there to scan Zambian territory and lay ambushes and land-mines. Mine warfare and the harassment of villagers in border areas are common occurrences. Rebel troops have crossed over and attacked and destroyed villages along the border suspected of being bases for freedom fighters. Sporadic firing on Zambian positions along the border occurs almost daily.

18. The Rhodesian rebels have also intensified their agents' infiltration of Zambia and the liberation movements. These enemy agents are used in collecting information on the activities of the freedom fighters and Zambia's defence forces.

19. All these acts of subversion, provocation and aggression directed against my country and other front-line countries are calculated ultimately to undermine us economically and politically and thus are attempts to coerce our respective Governments into abandoning our firm support for the just and legitimate liberation struggle.

20. The latest act of aggression by Smith, coming as it did in the midst of the Security Council meetings on Southern Rhodesia, serves as a timely warning that the situation in that country is deteriorating rather than improving. If all were well inside Rhodesia, Smith would not look for scapegoats for the problems he has himself created.

21. The massive attack against Zambia came within hours of the signing of the so-called agreement at Salisbury. It is indeed paradoxical that, instead of celebrating the signing of that sham agreement, the racist régime of Ian Smith and his cohorts elected to attack innocent Zambia while intensifying their repressive measures against the suffering people of Zimbabwe inside the country. These despicable manoeuvres demonstrate that the illegal minority régime has no intention whatsoever of relinquishing effective power and control over Zimbabwe. It is plainly evident that the recent sell-out internal agreement is intended to hoodwink the international community and to sugarcoat the instruments of black oppression with the connivance of a few misguided black Zimbabweans. The so-called internal settlement is neither internal nor a settlement at all.

22. My Government is pleased that the Council, under your presidency, Sir, yesterday firmly rejected the internal settlement. The international community should be aware that there is an organic link between the so-called settlement and acts of aggression by Smith against neighbouring front-line African States. Was it by coincidence that Smith's forces unleashed a massive attack on refugee camps in Mozambique on the eve of the commencing of the so-called internal settlement talks? Is it coincidental that Rhodesian forces in cowardly fashion attacked Botswana on the eve of the convening of the Security Council meeting on Southern Rhodesia? Why did Smith attack Zambia hours after his so-called internal settlement was concocted? It is, therefore, our firm conclusion that an organic linkage exists between Ian Smith's manoeuvres to concoct an internal settlement and the wanton acts of aggression perpetrated by his illegal régime against front-line States.

23. Let me reiterate that Zambia has brought this case before the Security Council not to solicit sympathy or merely to complain, but to seek effective action to remove the root cause of the problem. We are here not to ask the Council to repel aggression. We are here not because we are afraid of the forces of Smith: the Zambian armed forces have already demonstrated their ability to repulse aggression. What we are really afraid of are the ominous consequences of unbridled acts of aggression against the peace and security of that region and the world.

24. The intention of the Smith régime is to internationalize the conflict in southern Africa. The illegal régime is intent on provoking situations which would draw the front-line States and our friends into direct fighting with Southern Rhodesia. How did we reach that conclusion, you may ask. The answers are self-evident to us.

25. First, we have first-hand information and knowledge of the white racist régimes in southern Africa because they are our neighbours—not because we wish them to be, but because they are there by the accident of geography.

26. Secondly, Smith knows full well that, should the front-line States retaliate against Rhodesian aggression, it would be the black Zimbabweans who would bear the brunt of such action. That is why he is now recruiting more Africans to fight for his illegal régime and its collaborators.

27. Thirdly, rebel leader Ian Smith wants to create conditions which would justify more direct involvement of

his chief ally, racist South Africa; and some Western countries are, unfortunately, on his side. He would invoke racial and ideological arguments to justify his reckless moves.

28. Fourthly, the white racist régimes in southern Africa believe that, if their systems cannot be maintained, then we would want to plunge Africa into a ghastly holocaust. Zambia has time and again echoed the words of Zimbabwean patriots that the war inside Rhodesia is basically against Smith's war machinery. Armed struggle is being waged to overthrow the abhorrent system of oppression and domination.

29. Fifthly, Smith has attacked Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana because he has been eager to appease the co-signatories of the so-called internal settlement by falsely masquerading as their protector. Smith did so to win the faint hearts of those frightened men who cannot even trust their compatriots. Is that really a rational approach to resolving the Zimbabwean problem?

30. Sixthly, the illegal régime wants to demonstrate to its patrons that its instruments of oppression are potent. And yet we know only too well that the illegal régime will not last too long. After all, if Smith were on his own, he would be nothing to us militarily.

31. Seventhly, the racist régime attacked Zambia to intimidate us and other front-line States which continue to support the just struggle for the genuine transformation of Rhodesia into Zimbabwe. But the Salisbury clique is deluding itself. If it cannot cow the Zimbabweans inside and outside Southern Rhodesia, how does it expect to cow Zambians and other freedom-loving peoples all over the world?

32. Zambia has come before the Security Council because it believes that the Council is entitled to know the facts when aggression against Member States constitutes a threat to international peace and security. It is our responsibility to alert the international community to the growing dangers of widespread conflict arising from the aggressive acts of racist minority régimes in southern Africa. If the world community does not act effectively to arrest the rapidly deteriorating situation in our area, the conflict will definitely escalate and proliferate. Moreover, we believe that it is within the power of the United Nations to help in the attainment of meaningful solutions to the problems of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa. For the world body, and the Council in particular, to do otherwise would be tantamount to abdicating their sacred responsibilities.

33. Contrary to the false impression created through malicious reports circulated by certain Western news media, including some British and American papers, it is evident from the aforesaid that the recent wanton invasion of my country by the rebel Rhodesian forces was not directed at the so-called guerrilla bases in Zambia; nor was it a question of so-called hot pursuit. Let me state in no uncertain terms that, as in previous cases, the recent attack was a premeditated act of aggression in violation of Zambia's airspace, territorial integrity and sovereignty. The attack was against Zambia—period.

34. Zimbabwean freedom fighters are fighting the illegal régime from within Southern Rhodesia. With customary shortsightedness, Smith does not acknowledge the presence within Zimbabwe of the gallant freedom fighters. Zambia's role in the armed struggle in Southern Rhodesia is primarily supportive and it provides a reliable rear base to the Patriotic Front in accordance with the position of the Organization of African Unity. The people of Zimbabwe, like those of Namibia and South Africa, are their own liberators.

35. If Smith cannot contain the situation inside Rhodesia, and if he can no longer withstand the onslaught by the increasingly determined nationalist forces, let him courageously step down and surrender. If not, we strongly urge his mentors, in particular the United Kingdom as the colonial administering Power, to dislodge him or to dissuade him from carrying out flagrant acts of aggression against countries such as my own.

36. In the foregoing remarks I have outlined the scope and character of the monstrous acts committed against my country by the Rhodesian rebels. In the face of those persistent ignominious attacks, Zambia has remained undaunted and firm. In this regard, we would do well to recall the noble words of His Excellency President Kaunda, who, in a letter to the Secretary-General dated 29 January 1973 [S/10877], said the following:

"The Zambian Government has done all in its power to maintain the highest degree of calm in order to prevent escalation of tension, but the people of Zambia cannot continue in this manner while Rhodesian and South African forces violate our territory, kill and maim our innocent people and destroy our property."

37. Two days ago, on 13 March, in a specific reference to the recent armed invasion of my country by the rebel Rhodesian forces, President Kaunda had this to say:

"As President, I have withstood pressures from the nation, in the light of continued aggression by the rebels, to strike back because of the international consequences that would follow between East and West in the event of a full-scale war between Zambia and Rhodesia. The question is: How long can I continue to resist legitimate pressures from my people, as a democratically elected President under such provocation, for the Zambia Air Force to strike? Zambia has the capacity and the ability to strike the enemy even deeper."

38. Our position remains the same, but for how long can we restrain ourselves? We have a right to retaliate in self-defence when the very fabric of our territorial integrity is violated. Smith had no justification whatsoever for attacking us even if, as is often alleged in the propaganda media, his attack was pre-emptive. Zambia could also reserve the right to launch pre-emptive attacks against the rebel British colony of Southern Rhodesia in the event of an imminent attack. Likewise, even if Smith attacked certain targets under the so-called hot pursuit doctrine, President Kaunda has reminded the rebels that they do not have the monopoly on such pursuit. But Zambians are more rational and calculating. While Smith has no scruples, we

have a moral responsibility and an obligation to eschew reckless acts or behaviour.

39. We call upon the United States and the United Kingdom, the two Powers currently engaged in the search for a negotiated settlement in Southern Rhodesia, to prevail on Smith and his illegal régime, so as to avert the consequences of possible retaliation. We wish to reiterate our call upon the United Kingdom to remove Smith and his illegal régime forthwith. This to us still remains the crux of the problem of achieving genuine majority rule in Rhodesia. After all, the American and British plan envisaged the removal of Smith or, as they put it very nicely, that at some stage Smith would step aside.

40. You are all aware of how much Zambia has suffered and sacrificed in its earnest efforts to implement United Nations measures against Southern Rhodesia since the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965. I do not propose to delve into history, but only to examine the extent to which historical facts may illuminate attempts to comprehend present and future trends. As one shrewd observer remarked, "those who do not learn from history fail to do so at their own peril".

41. It is rather unfortunate that, over the years, the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia has been able to survive and persist in its acts of aggression, as a result of the support—overt or covert—which certain Member States continue to afford it in flagrant violation of United Nations mandatory sanctions. The illegal rebel régime would be nothing without the support it gets from South Africa and certain Western countries with vested interests in southern Africa.

42. If the United Kingdom had acted swiftly and decisively to quell the rebellion against its own Crown 13 years ago, Smith would not have committed all these atrocities. Instead of acting decisively all along, successive British Governments—Labour and Conservative alike—have prevaricated and procrastinated over Rhodesia. Yes indeed, governing parties have changed over the years, as have prime ministers and foreign ministers; yet the approach has been the same, and the problem of Rhodesia continues to confuse the colonial Power. Is the United Kingdom's failure so far attributable to powerlessness or to unwillingness to act decisively?

43. Zambia knows that the United Kingdom could change the situation in Southern Rhodesia if it so desired. All of us know that the United Kingdom still ranks as a Power of some sort among its contemporaries—powerful enough to remove Smith, anyway. Hence, it is not a question of military might. Indeed, in recent times, the United Kingdom has acted swiftly to quell so-called rebellions on the island of Anguilla in the Caribbean, and in Bermuda only last year. But in the case of Southern Rhodesia, racist considerations of kith and kin appear to have been overriding. The United Kingdom failed to act, in spite of the Zambian offer in 1965 that it should use our territory for the logistic purpose of removing the rebels. Instead, the then Labour Government promised Smith that it would not use force to end the rebellion.

44. The United Kingdom has lacked the will. Paradoxically, even recent American attempts to complement British power have not yielded the desired results. The colonial Power continues to shun its full responsibilities over Rhodesia. The British must remember that it is they who colonized Southern Rhodesia in their zest for imperial grandeur, their action spearheaded by that arch-imperialist-capitalist Cecil John Rhodes. Surely, the British were never invited by Africans to colonize the country now called Southern Rhodesia. After exploiting Zimbabwe, today the British have a duty to the people of Zimbabwe and the world to decolonize Rhodesia in the interests of the majority.

45. As we said in our earlier statement, the United Kingdom must not be allowed to abdicate its responsibilities over Rhodesia as it abdicated its responsibility in Palestine and South Africa. The Security Council, the entire United Nations membership and the United Kingdom's allies must see to it that the United Kingdom does not dump Rhodesia. Since the colonial Power has refused to coerce the rebels into submission, it must use all other avenues left to it. We wish to remind Whitehall that the Smith régime is still illegal by international definition and must be treated as such.

46. We in Zambia and Africa have always been ready to co-operate with the United Kingdom in search of a peaceful solution of the Rhodesian problem. This we have done since the unilateral declaration of independence. Only last year we were hosts to numerous Anglo-American delegations which prepared what are now called the Anglo-American proposals on Rhodesia. Zambia will continue to work with all the parties concerned towards resolving the Rhodesian problem.

47. You will recall that Zambia has spared no effort in seeking a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia. Our approach has included talking to the devil himself—if I may use that word. We have discussed the problems with Vorster and Smith directly, but to no avail. In the process, a few detractors have chosen to misinterpret and misunderstand our actions. Zambia, in good faith, believed that if talking to Smith and Vorster would yield the desired results, then it was worth the gamble. But in all these futile efforts, Zambia has remained faithful to armed struggle as a last resort.

48. As we have had occasion to state, there can be no peace in southern Africa until the oppressed majority peoples in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa achieve their inalienable right to self-determination and genuine independence. Whilst the primary responsibility for the noble task of achieving this remains with the people of Zimbabwe themselves and with their colonial Power, it is imperative that the international community should assist in the speedy attainment of the cherished goal.

49. The Security Council has so far adopted several resolutions against Southern Rhodesia. Mandatory economic sanctions were imposed in 1966, and further strengthened in 1968. On all occasions, the Council has reaffirmed that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security. It has said

the same about earlier complaints of Rhodesian acts of aggression against front-line States, including my own country, that have been brought before this body. Yet the conflict continues to escalate unabatedly and to assume dangerous proportions. Is the time not ripe for the United Nations to consider invoking or enforcing measures of a more forceful nature? In this regard, Zambia has strongly advocated that oil sanctions against rebel Rhodesia should be tightened. Since rebel Rhodesia receives its oil through racist South Africa, Zambia has equally advocated the imposition and enforcement of oil sanctions against South Africa itself under Chapter VII of the Charter as a matter of extreme urgency, for we sincerely believe that if such sanctions were imposed the military machinery of the rebel régime would grind to a halt. Hence, the direct relevance and vital significance of oil sanctions with regard to the effective removal of the root cause underlying the Rhodesian problem.

50. In addition, the Security Council must, as a matter of course, censure any Member State for uttering statements that imply or accord legitimacy or recognition to the acts of the illegal régime, contrary to the position of the United Nations. No Member State should get away with statements that indicate approval of Smith's acts of aggression against any neighbouring State on the pretext that the attack was "pre-emptive". Any attack on the territory of another State, for whatever reason, is an act of aggression, and this must be obvious to all sane minds.

51. We also wish to suggest that Member States, in their expressions of solidarity, should condemn attacks by Smith on front-line States unequivocally. To do otherwise would be tantamount to encouraging Smith in his reckless acts, which might lead to a conflagration engulfing our entire southern African region and causing grave potential international repercussions.

52. There is now an urgent need to increase material assistance to the front-line States that have been hit hard by the unstable situation in southern Africa brought about by the reckless actions of the minority racist régimes in the region.

53. I would therefore submit that these meetings of the Security Council are most significant and opportune. The action that may be taken at the close of the consideration of our case may well prove decisive in averting or advancing the advent of a holocaust, in regard to which my country has consistently voiced grave concern. There are memorable cases in history of major human catastrophes that were triggered by the actions of desperate men like Hitler and Mussolini and their contemporaries, who include the rebel Ian Smith and the racist Balthazar Vorster. We owe it to ourselves to take action to prevent the recurrence of such calamities, the elimination of which formed the basic premise in the founding of the United Nations.

54. Finally, this is a propitious moment for me to express the sincere gratitude of my Government to all the States that have condemned Smith for his sustained acts of aggression against Zambia. I am equally indebted to those Governments and to the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, the Commonwealth Secretariat and the

other organizations which sent messages of solidarity with and support for Zambia following the recent invasion of our country by rebel Rhodesia. Zambians always remember that a friend in need is a friend indeed.

55. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Upper Volta, the Chairman of the African Group for the month of March. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

56. Mr. BAMBA (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): The aggression committed against Zambia on 6 March and for two days thereafter, of which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia has just so exhaustively informed us and which he has placed in its context, like previous attacks committed against the same country and other front-line States, particularly Mozambique and Botswana, is the direct consequence of the current situation that prevails in southern Africa by reason of the very existence of the illegal minority and racist régime which rules by terror in Southern Rhodesia. That situation is the same one that, less than 24 hours ago, was being debated in the Council.

57. The African Group on whose behalf I am addressing this august body, while expressing solidarity with the people of Zambia, deploras, as it has done in the past, the violation of the territorial integrity of the sister Republic of Zambia and the vast material losses and casualties that it has sustained and that represent great sacrifices on the part of the Zambian people as well as constituting an additional hindrance to that country's development. The African Group remains convinced that the only way to preserve the security and peace of States in southern Africa is to put an end to the existence of the Smith and Vorster régimes.

58. There can no longer be any doubt in the minds of any of the members of the Council that the freedom fighters are determined to fight until victory is finally won, and that the African States in general—the front-line States in particular—are determined to remain by their side in this struggle. It is therefore clear that the national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity will find in any African country the assistance and support required for their struggle.

59. However, this cannot justify the barbarous attacks of the racist and rebel minority of Southern Rhodesia against the innocent civilian populations of those States. In this particular case, the oppressive forces of the rebellious Smith régime cannot even resort to the trumped-up pretext of the right of hot pursuit. This was a case of premeditated aggression and formed an integral part of the sinister plan hatched by Ian Smith and his wretched ally, Vorster, in their attempt to destabilize southern Africa even further and to internationalize the conflict which they themselves have created by exacerbating the situation. This act of aggression is only the first stage in Smith's achievement of his dark designs. Indeed, one would not go far wrong if one were to suppose that tomorrow acts of aggression will proliferate against other States and attain even more catastrophic dimensions, resulting perhaps not only in violation of the sovereignty of those States but even in the occupation of their territory, because the doctrine and the

philosophy which spawned the Smith régime are capable of generating the worst kinds of mentality.

60. Ian Smith and his apparatus of oppression are in the grip of a madness which grows every day more frenzied, and they need shock treatment. The Security Council should not merely condemn the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia which has ravaged entire villages in Zambia and massacred innocent civilians; it is not enough to express the solidarity of the world community with the people of Zambia; it is necessary above all to take appropriate measures to put an end to the existence of that régime in the shortest possible time. This is dictated by the imperative need to preserve and maintain international peace and security. It is in particular urgent for the Council to take effective measures to set limits to the overweening arrogance of Ian Smith until such time as action can be taken, in accordance with the spirit of resolution 423 (1978) adopted yesterday, to eliminate the minority and racist régime and its apparatus of oppression.

61. I am sure that there have been few chairmen of the African Group as unfortunate as I, for twice in the space of 10 days I have had to address the Council because peace has been threatened in the subcontinent of southern Africa. But, as I have already said, I am consoled in my misfortune by the knowledge that I could not have a more qualified or attentive audience for my words than you, Mr. President. I hope I am not being naïve if I express my confidence that the Coué method to which the representative of the United Kingdom has been exposed in the past few days will soon yield positive results. In any case, I wish him better luck than that of the Chairman of the African Group.

62. In concluding my brief statement, I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my heartfelt gratitude to the members of the Council for adopting resolution 423 (1978) at the outcome of the debate on Southern Rhodesia. Although the African Group would have liked a more severe and precise text and a more straightforward positive vote on the part of all the members of the Council, it recognizes that the resolution constitutes a positive step in the right direction this time.

63. I thank the members of the Council for permitting me to address them once again.

64. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

65. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to thank you and the other members of the Council for allowing me to address this august body.

66. The fact that the Council has had to deal consecutively with two agenda items involving the question of Southern Rhodesia indicates the gravity and explosiveness of the situation in the area, for, while the Council was seized of the question of the so-called internal settlement, rebel Ian Smith, in keeping with his well-known contempt for international opinion, was wantonly attacking the sovereign Republic of Zambia.

67. When I addressed the Council on 6 March last [2061st meeting] on the dangers inherent in the so-called internal settlement, I had occasion to point out that it was a fitting coincidence that that debate was taking place under the presidency of the United Kingdom, the colonial Power in Rhodesia. Allow me now, even at the risk of repeating myself, to say that it is yet another appropriate coincidence that the Council is deliberating on the latest act of aggression by the illegal racist minority régime under your presidency, Sir. For there is no denying the fact that this latest aggression against the sister Republic of Zambia is but a manifestation of the real problem, which is the continued existence of the illegal racist minority régime, and that the only way to put an end to such cowardly and unprovoked attacks, with their concomitant consequences of further bloodshed and escalating confrontation, is to remove the seeds of conflict in the area, namely, to eliminate the rebel illegal minority régime and achieve a genuine transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe.

68. Therefore, as the Security Council considers the present complaint by the Republic of Zambia, which is in effect the complaint of free and indignant Africa, I should like to express my confidence that you, Sir, will make use of your brilliant skills as politician, diplomatist and lawyer, while discharging your responsibilities as the representative of the administering Power, to ensure that the Council will act decisively so that freedom, justice and peace may prevail in the area. This confidence is further reinforced, perhaps, by the knowledge that it was during your able stewardship that the Council yesterday adopted resolution 423 (1978) which, *inter alia*, clearly declared as unacceptable and illegal Smith's latest manoeuvre, euphemistically termed an internal settlement. Needless to say it was to the profound regret of my delegation that the Western members of the Council did not find it possible to support that resolution.

69. In dealing with the complaint by Zambia, therefore, the Council should be aware of this challenge to its authority by the racist minority régime at Salisbury. Zambia and indeed the whole of Africa are anticipating a very clear message to the Smith régime from the Council that it cannot get away with what has now become habitual and systematic defiance of this body and the international community. The letters from the representative of Zambia [S/12589], from the Commonwealth Secretary-General [S/12593], from the Chairman of the African Group [S/12594] and from the Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries [S/12595] all condemn the Smith régime for the atrocities committed against Zambia between 6 and 8 March last. We have, furthermore, already listened to a very eloquent and extremely serious statement by the Foreign Minister of Zambia, our brother and colleague Mr. Siteke Mwale. Since my Government fully supports that statement, I shall refrain from a lengthy exposé. Instead, I shall confine my remarks to the bare essentials.

70. This latest attack on Zambia should not come as a surprise to those who are familiar with the situation in southern Africa. It is not the first nor will it be the last. It is part and parcel of the systematic pattern of aggression being carried out by the white minority régimes in southern

Africa against neighbouring independent African States. Whether it is in Sialola, Nyazonia or Luangwa, the intention of the racists is clear: they aim at internationalizing the conflict by attacking the front-line States of Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana. As we have pointed out repeatedly on previous occasions, the attacks are part of the nefarious grand designs of the Pretoria-Salisbury axis to maintain their anachronistic régimes and provoke international conflagrations.

71. The dastardly attack on the Luangwa district of Zambia clearly proves the diabolical plans of Smith. Indeed, before the ink could dry on the so-called internal settlement, Smith was embarking on his age-old adventurism. Faced with a deteriorating economic situation and the ever-increasing emigration of whites, Smith is now acting like a drowning man. All these manoeuvres not only show the intransigent and capricious nature of the illegal minority régime but clearly prove that a racist minority cannot heed reason.

72. Smith's aggressive acts of desperation also serve to underscore one other fundamental point: it would be utterly illusory to believe that the privileged racist minority will of its own volition surrender power. Only the combined pressure of the national resistance currently waged by the freedom fighters under the leadership of the Patriotic Front and unrelenting concerted international action can bring about the desired objectives in Zimbabwe.

73. The Government and the people of Zambia, being in the very forefront of the struggle, clearly recognize this. They have in the past made tremendous sacrifices, as they are doing now and will continue to do in the future, by acting as a strategic rear base for the forces of freedom. In so doing, they are acting on behalf of the international community, which, through the United Nations, has committed itself to seeing the end of racial and colonial tyranny in Southern Rhodesia.

74. In mounting its latest acts of aggression against the Republic of Zambia, the Smith régime has two objectives. First, it desires to internationalize the conflict. Secondly, the Luangwa incident was meant to threaten and demoralize Zambia in its support of the freedom fighters in their just struggle. But the Smith régime will fail miserably on both counts. It will fail because the international community is ever vigilant and will continue to expose that régime's diabolical machinations. Such coercive manipulations are also doomed to failure because the people and the Government of Zambia, under the steadfast and dynamic leadership of the United National Independence Party, headed by His Excellency President Kenneth Kaunda and supported by the rest of free Africa, are determined to support the liberation of Zimbabwe until final victory.

75. The questions that must be asked are how Smith manages to continue committing aggressive acts against his neighbours. Who supplies him with war planes and the other weaponry of destruction with which he not only represses Zimbabweans but also attacks independent African States? Who has sustained Smith in power all these years, despite the mandatory sanctions which were imposed by the Security Council? It cannot be South Africa alone,

an unashamed fellow-traveller of the Smith clique. Unfortunately, other Powers have covertly aided and abetted the white minority régime's rebellion against Her Majesty's Government by breaking the sanctions. It is incumbent on the Council, therefore, to plug all the loopholes by tightening the sanctions through the application of the entire Article 41 of the Charter.

76. In the light of the challenge posed by the rebel Ian Smith régime, what should the Security Council do? It is not enough merely to adopt condemnatory resolutions without following them up with concrete action. As the body with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Council must categorically impress upon Smith that he cannot get away with his brutal raids against front-line States. The ghastly killings of innocent civilians by the rebel troops have reached staggering proportions. As if the internal massacres were not enough, Smith is resorting to the Nazi scorched-earth policy by destroying civilian villages in Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana.

77. Indeed, just before it embarked on its most recent aggression against Zambia, the Smith régime had, on 27 February, mounted unprovoked and cowardly acts of aggression against the Republic of Botswana. There is a message here which comes over very clearly from Mr. Smith to all who wish to hear it. Almost three or four days before the achievement of the so-called internal settlement, Smith's forces committed an act of aggression against Botswana. Barely three days after the signing of the so-called agreement, the Smith régime mounted another act of aggression against Zambia. What does this mean? It simply means that, as far as the Smith régime is concerned, the so-called internal settlement has changed nothing. It simply demonstrates that the régime is determined to continue its acts of aggression internally and externally. We hope and we are confident that incidents of the nature of those the Security Council is now considering will demonstrate once and for all for those who still entertain any doubts that the Smith régime intends to maintain itself in power.

78. In these circumstances the Security Council, in addition to condemning these naked acts of aggression, has to call on the United Kingdom as the administering Power to take immediate action to bring to an end the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, for it is by removing the cause of the rebellion, the source of aggression, that genuine majority rule can be brought about and peace and tranquillity thereby ushered in in Southern Rhodesia.

79. But as long as Smith and his racist minority group remain in power a threat to international peace and security will always exist in Rhodesia. Tanzania, for its part, will do all in its power to bring to an end the existence of the threat to peace by continuing to support the freedom fighters and working in concert with the rest of the international community for the termination of the illegal racist minority régime and for the emergence of an independent Zimbabwe through a genuine and effective transfer of power from the minority to the majority.

80. Our participation in the current proceedings of the Council is intended to convey two messages. In the first

place, we wish to reaffirm in no uncertain terms our unequivocal support for and solidarity with the Government and the people of Zambia in their noble struggle to act justly and wisely in defence of freedom and human dignity, now trampled underfoot in Southern Rhodesia. In so doing, we also call upon all the members of the international community either bilaterally or multilaterally to provide the Republic of Zambia with all effective means of defending its sovereignty and territorial integrity while continuing to promote the cause of freedom and justice in Zimbabwe, which is the declared common cause of enlightened humanity. Our second objective is to reiterate the message which we, the delegation of Tanzania, together with all the other spokesmen of the African States who have participated in the just concluded series of meetings of the Council on the so-called internal settlement, have conveyed to the Council. Our message is that the settlement engineered by the rebel Smith régime is nothing more than an invitation to further bloodshed and the broadening of the confrontation. When we warned of these dangers, there may have been some, either in the Council or outside, who felt that we were being unduly alarmist and that maybe—just maybe—Smith was now willing to change in a meaningful way. I believe that the cowardly and premeditated aggression against Zambia carried out by the Smith régime when the Council was actually deliberating on the so-called internal settlement should put to rest any lingering doubts about the determination of the régime to maintain minority domination in Rhodesia at whatever cost.

81. All this imposes on the Security Council an even heavier responsibility. We ask and demand no more of the Council than measures which would bring an end to the threat to peace and security in southern Africa.

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

83. Mr. TLOU (Botswana): Mr. President, let me thank you and the other members of the Council for permitting me to participate in this very crucial debate which is, in fact, inextricably linked with the one just concluded on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

84. The question the Council is seized of today, that of the flagrant acts of aggression by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia against the sister Republic of Zambia—acts of aggression which have further exacerbated the situation of tension and insecurity existing in our unhappy region—is a very grave one indeed. After hearing the lucid and solid statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zambia, no one can be in doubt about the urgency, the precariousness and the gravity of the situation, nor can anyone fail to be deeply moved and acutely concerned. We are confident, therefore, that the Council will treat this matter with the seriousness and urgency it deserves.

85. I wish at this point to pay a tribute to the Government and people of Zambia, and especially to the Zambian armed forces, for standing firm in the face of naked aggression and for repulsing the invading rebel forces. Our condolences go to the bereaved families who lost their loved ones in this conflict.

86. To my brother the Foreign Minister of Zambia I would say this: I need not reassure you here of Botswana's total support for the Republic of Zambia at this critical time. We have always stood solidly together during such crises, which have become almost a daily occurrence in our part of the world. Our unconditional support should be taken for granted, for your struggle is ours. Botswana has profound admiration for your country's uncompromising commitment to the liberation of southern Africa. We are keenly aware of the high cost Zambia has had to pay over the years for unflinchingly adhering to its strongly held principles.

87. It will not be necessary for me to narrate here the details of the attack perpetrated on 6 March by the illegal régime against Zambia. This has already been amply done by the Foreign Minister of Zambia. It will suffice for me to say that quite clearly the attack was of a large scale and very serious indeed. We are talking here about an invasion by some 16 jet aircraft which bombed and strafed the Kavalamanja area of the Luangwa District of Lusaka, followed by a force of about 200 paratroopers dropped from army helicopters to massacre innocent, defenceless civilians, mine access roads to the area and destroy a lot of property.

88. Quite clearly, the way this latest incursion was carried out demonstrates beyond doubt that the attack was premeditated and systematic. This, together with the serious attacks against Mozambique and Botswana, shows that the régime is now bent on carrying out a "scorched-earth policy", as it has always threatened to do.

89. It should be realized that this is not the first attack against Zambia. The Council was once seized of the matter of South African aggression against Zambia, and there have been a series of attacks by the illegal régime before this latest one. These attacks have included sporadic firing upon and bombing of Zambian troop positions and bombing of main population centres along the border with the rebel colony. But this is the first time such a large number of rebel soldiers have actually invaded and fought inside Zambia, causing such damage. This represents an escalation of the situation to a very dangerous level, with serious implications not only for Zambia, the southern African region and Africa, but for the international peace and security as well.

90. It should be realized that these attacks are invariably aimed at the vital economic and social infrastructures of Zambia so as to cause suffering and demoralization among the civilian population.

91. Zambia has had more than its fair share of suffering as a result of the continued existence of the illegal régime at Salisbury. That great nation has suffered tremendously as a result of unconditionally supporting the liberation struggle, closing the border with the rebel colony and scrupulously observing the United Nations sanctions against the rebel colony. The people of Zambia are, in effect, carrying the burden which should properly be fully borne by the international community as a whole. Thus the international community should throw its whole weight behind Zambia in these very difficult times.

92. When I spoke in the debate on the question of Southern Rhodesia a few days ago [2064th meeting], I touched on the recent attacks by the rebel forces on Zambia and on my own country. I do not want to repeat what I said then, but I must briefly lay some emphasis on certain aspects of these attacks, as I see them.

93. It is clear that the attack on Zambia is only an aspect—albeit a very serious one indeed—of the over-all strategy of the illegal régime in that region. Within Zimbabwe itself, repression of the innocent people has reached alarming proportions, as evidenced by the frequent executions of opponents—actual or imagined—of the racist régime, the proliferation of the so-called protected villages, which are, in fact, a version of concentration camps into which the rural population is herded in the vain hope of isolating the freedom fighters, the continuing influx of Zimbabwean refugees into neighbouring States, and the promulgation of laws, such as a recent law on censorship of all news about the war, and the one prohibiting publication of any statement made by or about the so-called terrorist organizations—all aimed at denying the people of Zimbabwe information about the war situation in their country. The list of such drastic measures is inexhaustible. Outside the borders of Zimbabwe itself, the régime's belligerency continues unabated against Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana. All three countries have now been before this august body to lodge essentially the same complaint against the illegal régime: aggression.

94. The attacks have increased in frequency and lethality, for the régime now employs larger numbers of invading troops and heavy war machinery, including war planes, as in the recent attack against Zambia. These attacks are said to be "hot pursuits" against freedom fighters—in fact, a euphemism for premeditated armed aggression against neighbouring independent African States.

95. On the one hand, then, we see a whole array of repressive measures designed to cow the Zimbabwean people into submission and blunt their will to resist. On the other, we see dastardly unprovoked attacks against neighbouring States aimed at forcing them to abandon their sacred and brotherly duty to help their fellow men to liberate themselves.

96. Needless to say, neither internal repression nor attacks against us will stop the war; nor will these attacks stop us from supporting the just struggle of the Zimbabwean people. Instead, the determination to press on to the bitter end will increase. Victory is on the side of the people of Zimbabwe. As a matter of fact, the drastic measures employed by the régime internally and externally are a manifestation of its own desperation as the noose tightens and as the end draws nearer.

97. The international community must now more than ever before rally behind the people of Zimbabwe, for the days ahead are bound to be difficult and perilous as the régime becomes more and more desperate and hence more and more aggressive. The neighbouring States should also be assisted so as to be able to withstand Smith's assaults and in this way effectively contribute to the speedy liberation of Zimbabwe.

98. One thing is clear, then, about the situation in our region. Domestic repression and attacks against the neighbouring States are bound to persist so long as the illegal régime remains in power. Only its total removal can restore peace and stability in Zimbabwe and in the entire region. That is the linking factor between this debate and the one just concluded. So long as the illegal régime remains in power, the path to the Security Council will never be without the footprints of complainants.

99. Once again we join others in urging the United Kingdom to persist in its search for a durable, genuine solution. We noted the assurances given to the Council yesterday by the representative of the United Kingdom [2067th meeting] to the effect that Her Majesty's Government is determined to pursue this course. We will expect results. So long as these attempts are aimed at finding a genuine solution the full support of the Government of Botswana will always be forthcoming.

100. In the meantime, however, the Security Council should unequivocally condemn the attack against Zambia and continue to seek ways to strengthen the existing sanctions against the régime and aim to broaden and intensify them. For its part, the international community should increase its political, diplomatic and material support for the struggling people of Zimbabwe to enable them to liberate their country and thus remove this cancer from the body politic of our region. Members of the Council, let your decision be unanimous so that you do not give the slightest comfort to the régime. Let your decision be worthy of the trust the people of Zambia have placed in the Council.

101. Mr. President, I wish you luck in guiding this discussion. I am confident that your vast experience and diplomatic skill will see this debate to a fruitful conclusion.

102. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Botswana for his wishes for good luck and expressions of goodwill.

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

104. Mr. LOBO (Mozambique): It is my honour to address the Security Council for a second time this month as the search for a just and lasting solution of the problem in Southern Rhodesia causes a new degree of concern among the members of the international community in the wake of the latest reported incursion by racist forces into the Republic of Zambia.

105. It is likewise an honour once again to congratulate you, Mr. President, and all Council members and the peoples they represent for their dedication and sincerity in tackling the issues confronting the Council today. I reiterate to the Council the total commitment and support of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

106. I would also take this opportunity to acknowledge the concern and dedication of the Secretary-General and his immediate collaborators regarding the problems caused by

racist Governments in southern Africa: the invasion of Angola by South African troops, the Rhodesian attacks on Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique and other related atrocities.

107. The attack of Monday 6 March last against the border villages of the territory of the Republic of Zambia, which resulted in fresh unnecessary loss of life among innocent Zambian civilians and the destruction of property, warns of a fresh wave of aggression and devastation being mounted by the illegal racist and Fascist régime of Southern Rhodesia as a consequence of Smith's desperation in the attempt to strengthen the wickedness of his rebel Government. We are watching the reality of an international plot to undermine the future and stability not only of the people of Zimbabwe but of the front-line States and all other African States as well. This situation directly jeopardizes international peace and security.

108. Passivity in the face of this situation would only allow the problem to degenerate to the detriment of adjoining free and peaceful countries that are sacrificing their own resources in supporting the struggle for liberation of an oppressed people and paying the price with the life and blood of their own peoples. That is exactly what my President, His Excellency Samora Moisés Machel, referred to two years ago, on 3 March 1976, at Maputo, in his address proclaiming the total imposition of sanctions by the People's Republic of Mozambique against the illegal minority racist régime of Southern Rhodesia in accordance with the terms of the relevant United Nations resolution. He said, "Ian Smith's aggressions have already mixed our blood with the blood of the people of Zimbabwe" [see S/12005, annex].

109. It is no longer a matter for argument that the violation of Zambia's territorial sovereignty and integrity—and, for that matter, the territorial sovereignty and integrity of the territories of the other front-line States, namely Mozambique and Botswana—has become an old and redundant story. The situation has become so grave that another incursion into Zambia, Botswana or Mozambique would not be considered shocking or surprising any more because throughout these years Smith has been proved to be an irresponsible man. The racist forces have become so imbued with condemnable aggressiveness that their inhuman tendencies are now a matter of daily expectation among the concerned members of the international community. Meanwhile the destruction and the fatalities steadily become more alarming; the situation is aggravated and grows more terrifying than ever before.

110. The question is what measures should be taken to stop this madman from constantly defying international public opinion. Can the Security Council retain and continue to deserve its prestige if he is allowed to commit such crimes indefinitely? As one traces the history of complaints lodged with the Council such as those involving the efforts of Zambia to repel aggression and get the better of its losses, the tragic story that clearly emerges is long and depressing. The decisions and resolutions resulting from Zambian complaints of acts of provocation, harassment and military offensive operations committed by Smith's forces have not left any room for better possible solutions. Such

was the case with resolutions 326 (1973) and 328 (1973), to name two examples. Consecutively interspersed with those actions are corollary resolutions triggered by successive attacks against Botswana and Mozambique that naturally added to the growing list of innocent lives lost, valuable property levelled to the ground and numerous other criminal acts that could be invented only by a dehumanized Fascist and racist mind.

111. Now, early in the year 1978, the escalation of the illegal acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist minority régimes continues at an unprecedented rate as the outlaws persist in challenging the integrity and prestige of the Security Council. Indeed, this is an unrelenting assault upon the international community, which has embodied in the United Nations its goals and aspirations concerning the maintenance of world peace and security.

112. The observation made by Mozambique's Minister of Development and Economic Planning, His Excellency Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, as he spoke before the Security Council on 28 June 1977 holds as much truth now as it did then, in the light of the latest issue confronting us. Minister dos Santos said:

"The People's Republic of Mozambique is being attacked because the Mozambican people have assumed the commitment of supporting without reservation the struggle for liberation of the people of Zimbabwe. The People's Republic of Mozambique is being attacked because it is fully implementing the sanctions imposed by the Council. The People's Republic of Mozambique is being attacked because it is an independent and free country, whose independence and liberty gave the United Nations the real capacity to realize the aspirations of mankind by endorsing the re-establishment of peace and security in southern Africa." [2014th meeting, para. 31.]

It is in the same context and for the same reasons that Smith attacked the Republic of Zambia from 6 to 8 March of this year.

113. I am constrained to caution the Council that the escalation of aggression interconnectedly and constantly carried out against Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique has made southern Africa a virtual theatre of confrontation, endangering the very foundations of international peace and security.

114. With the utmost alarm and concern, the world feels helpless as it witnesses a further intensification of the racist régime's implementation of a maniacal policy of so-called hot pursuit against the determined freedom fighters operating from sympathetic and dedicated border States acting under the mandate of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. Consequently, the same aggressive policies are moving on to cause more human and material losses to those border States as the minority rebel régime clings to power in Rhodesia, its actions condoned by a fellow racist and Fascist ally in South Africa.

115. After failing in all conceivable moves to divert international attention from their oppressive ends and having steadily lost popular support, the illegal racist régimes are back to the old game of military aggression.

Such is the case in connexion with Ian Smith's farcical machination of a so-called settlement which, until yesterday, was the focal point of the Council's meetings. Today, as evidenced by the reason for the convening of this meeting, a correlation has been established.

116. The latest display of aggressive raids by the illegal racist forces of Southern Rhodesia against the territorial integrity of the Republic of Zambia in the light of the most recent preceding developments has revealed the kind of thing the so-called internal settlement arranged by the rebel Government seeks to achieve in the determination of the destiny of the oppressed people of Zimbabwe. If the objective of the Smith-manipulated internal scheme had been the achievement of the genuine independence and self-determination of Zimbabwe and its people, that was certainly denied by the continued commission of murder against Zimbabweans not long after that tactic was conceived.

117. Where is the sincerity of the Smith régime in aiming for a just settlement and the creation of a peaceful society when the perpetration of armed incursions in the latest style of warfare against Zambia remains unabated? How can a settlement claim to pursue liberty and freedom if its very proponent disregards the life and rightful existence of the people it pretends to serve and uplift? Is that the kind of man we can trust with an African government which seeks to secure peace and harmony in the area? After this latest attack on Zambia, the answer is certainly no.

118. The whole image is getting clearer as it is becoming more serious. The continued acts of aggression without due respect for overwhelming international discipline in the aftermath of a so-called settlement is clear proof that Smith is an irresponsible individual who can no longer be held accountable for his actions. All those actions are part of a grand design to perpetuate in our part of Africa racism, imperialism and neo-colonialism through Fascist methods that will gradually threaten to envelop the rest of the continent if allowed to go uncontrolled.

119. Since Ian Smith's forces have never hesitated to violate the frontiers of Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique in their repression of Zimbabweans, thereby compelling us to an armed confrontation, it is only logical to expect no less than concerted and more widespread havoc to be initiated by both Smith and Vorster with brutal aggressive intent as a last resort to impede the total collapse of their régimes. In the meantime, the people of Zimbabwe are even more inspired in their determination to continue the struggle.

120. The People's Republic of Mozambique accordingly remains steadfast in its unreserved and unqualified support of the efforts of the people of Zimbabwe to liberate themselves from the chains of colonial racist domination and oppression. At the same time, we are confident that all peace-loving peoples will enforce every necessary action against the atrocities committed by the minority racist régime of Ian Smith against the Zimbabweans with the connivance of South Africa—a connivance that encourages Smith to engage in constant acts of provocation and military attacks like the one suffered by Zambia at the beginning of this month.

121. On the other hand, we believe the Security Council will move more effectively than it has ever done before and vigorously condemn those atrocities committed by Smith which have stretched to its limit the patience of the international community in its peaceful efforts. The unrelenting acts of aggression committed by the rebel and racist régimes against neighbouring sovereign States are a clear abuse of and an insult to the nobility of the objectives of the United Nations.

122. Only a complete and immediate halt to Smith's desperate acts and his usurpation of power can prevent the conflict from deteriorating and henceforth clear the way for Africa's freedom fighters to fulfil a dream of a genuine, free, independent and self-determined society which will bring peace, tranquillity, progress and harmony to the region.

123. The freedom fighters and the people of Botswana and Zambia are our brothers who have come to define their struggle similarly as a contribution to the cause of international peace, because it aims precisely at the destruction of the causes of colonial wars and wars of aggression whose goal is domination by a racist minority and oppression of some countries by others.

124. For us in the front-line States, there is no turning back for much has been sacrificed and we are willing to

sacrifice much more in the interests of international peace and security.

125. In conclusion, I should like to recall Minister Chissano's declaration before this august body in his statement on 16 March 1976 [1890th meeting] that the People's Republic of Mozambique regards the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe as part and parcel of our own struggle and will therefore not shirk that responsibility whatever the price to ourselves. I here and now restate the same commitment of the Mozambican people, in this same venue, as we lament the continuation of those indiscriminate attacks and constant violation of the sovereignty and integrity of our sister republics of Zambia and Botswana. This is therefore a reaffirmation of our common solidarity not only among the front-line States but also with all the African and other peace-loving States of the world. No amount of damage and loss inflicted on the fundamental sectors of our respective economies, on our societies and peoples will discourage or deter our endeavour for the sake of world peace and security.

126. The PRESIDENT: Before I adjourn the meeting, I am sure that I speak for the entire Council in welcoming the representative of Bolivia. This is the first opportunity I have had of being with him on the Council and we look forward very much to working with him in the future.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

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