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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2015)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Complaint by Mozambique: Letter dated 22 June 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Mozambique to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12350 and Add.1)	1

NOTE

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2015TH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 28 June 1977, at 4 p.m.

President: Mr. William H. BARTON (Canada).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, Canada, China, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2015)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Complaint by Mozambique:

Letter dated 22 June 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Mozambique to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12350 and Add.1)

The meeting was called to order at 4.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Mozambique:

Letter dated 22 June 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Mozambique to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12350 and Add.1)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2014th meeting, I invite the Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. M. dos Santos (Mozambique) took a place at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the other decisions taken at the 2014th meeting, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Egypt, Gabon, Guinea, Lesotho, Nigeria, Senegal, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. Rahal (Algeria), Mr. J. E. dos Santos (Angola), Mr. D. K. Kwelagobe (Botswana), Mr. A. E. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. G. Rawiri (Gabon), Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé (Guinea), Mr. C. D. Molapo (Lesotho), Mr. J. N. Garba (Nigeria),

Mr. C. B. Djigo (Senegal), Mr. M. Allaf (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. B. Mkapa (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. S. G. Mwale (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: I have received a letter from the representative of Cuba in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the agenda. Accordingly, I propose, in conformity with the usual practice and with the consent of the Council, to invite him to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, under the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

4. In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table, I invite the representative of Cuba to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table whenever he wishes to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. R. Alarcón (Cuba) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

5. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

6. Mr. GARBA (Nigeria): Mr. President, I wish, first of all, to thank you and the members of the Council for the kind invitation to the Federal Republic of Nigeria to speak in this crucial debate concerning racist Rhodesia's violations of the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Mozambique. I should like to associate myself with the several speakers before me who have paid appropriate tribute to you. Your wisdom, patience and political sagacity are too well known for me to recount here. Suffice it to say, however, that Africa as well as the world community looks forward to your guidance in ensuring that this important debate is successfully concluded. This is not the time for the usual empty words and pious resolutions. It is a time for concrete and effective action against the racist minority régimes of Ian Smith and Vorster.

7. On 22 March 1977 [1989th meeting], I had the honour of addressing the Council on the question of South Africa. Today, we have the onerous duty of drawing the attention of the international community to the urgent situation in Zimbabwe arising from the dangerous threat to inter-

national peace and security created by the savage attacks by racist Rhodesian forces on the peace-loving people of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

8. We have now been told that, since Mozambique decided courageously and in conformity with this body's resolutions to close its borders against racist Rhodesia 15 months ago, over 143 armed incursions have been made into the Republic of Mozambique by the armed bandits of the racist régime at Salisbury. The world watched helplessly while over 1,000 innocent men, women and children were murdered in cold blood. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted numerous resolutions and pious declarations against the repressive racism and aggressions of the Smith régime. The suffering people of Zimbabwe can only conclude that those declarations, resolutions and international conventions are no more than a gratuitous contribution to the seemingly endless process of paving the way to hell albeit with good intentions.

9. For over 12 years, the Western Powers have, like some latter-day Pontius Pilate, washed their hands of the crucifixion of the African majority in Zimbabwe. Today, the blood of innocent Africans can no longer be washed clear from the hands of the oppressors of our brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe and the rest of southern Africa. If rebel leader Ian Smith has become so steeped in African blood that turning back from his disastrous course is as difficult as going on with it, then not only he but also his allies in racist South Africa and in the West must equally bear the moral burden of their Macbeth's dilemma.

10. The People's Republic of Mozambique is a sovereign and independent country recognized as such by the world community. The racist clique at Salisbury is not so recognized by any State Member of the United Nations. Yet the world has stood by with arms folded while that illegal, criminal racist régime has constantly violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State.

11. Nigeria has always expressed its scepticism and reservations regarding the possibility of a peaceful resolution of the crisis in Zimbabwe which arose from the rebellion of the white minority there. Following the latest incursions of Rhodesia into Mozambique, it should now be clear to everybody that Smith and his henchmen at Salisbury are not in the least committed to the idea of a peaceful and orderly transfer of power to the African majority in Zimbabwe.

12. It is not a mere coincidence that this latest criminal aggression against a sovereign State Member of our great Organization should have been carried out at a time when the Anglo-American initiative was under way. And, as if to indicate that the racist clique has no regard for anybody, the commander of the invading force had the effrontery to tell a stunned world that his army would remain inside Mozambique until it had achieved its nefarious objective of destabilizing the People's Republic of Mozambique.

13. That event has again proved that the only language that is intelligible to the racists is one forged in their own furnace of naked violence and force. Only armed struggle remains as a legitimate weapon in the hands of a people

which has been oppressed and exploited for decades. If Smith thought that his criminal acts of wanton aggression would have the effect of intimidating both the freedom fighters and the front-line States, then he had better prepare himself for a bitter disappointment.

14. Indeed, the brutal repression meted out against the majority African population as well as the senseless incursions into neighbouring States have merely served to stiffen nationalist resistance in the Territory and harness broader support for the liberation struggle among the front-line States until final victory is achieved. Moreover, those incursions have served once again to arouse world indignation against unprovoked attacks on defenceless and innocent civilians.

15. We salute Mozambique for its undaunted courage, valour and perseverance in the face of such provocations, and we wish to assure it that it is not alone in its present plight. We equally salute the heroic freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, whose steady progress has caused panic in the Smith camp. No matter how long and bitter the struggle is, victory will certainly be theirs since their cause is just.

16. In the face of these events, the Council, and indeed the entire United Nations Organization, has a moral responsibility to provide Mozambique with all material assistance which will enable the Maputo Government not only to repel such criminal acts of aggression but also to serve as a credible deterrent against such reckless adventure in the future. Further, we suggest that the United Nations should increase its level of technical assistance support to Mozambique as a matter of utmost urgency and priority, so that the Territory's economy can be speedily rejuvenated and placed on a firm footing for the purposes of orderly and steady progress. In meeting these demands the Council will, in effect, be resuscitating the faith of the international community in the continued and justifiable existence of the United Nations. Finally, we call on all Western countries to join hands with the progressive forces of the world in the strict application of all sanctions, including an oil and arms embargo against the Smith régime and its racist mentors in South Africa. This is indeed the very minimum we can demand of the Council, if the explosive situation, whose clouds appear to be gathering ominously on the southern African horizon, is to be defused.

17. Nigeria believes that if the forces of racist Ian Smith can exercise the so-called right of hot pursuit, the people of Mozambique and, indeed, the people of Africa have the duty and the obligation to exercise the same right. Nigeria believes that the people of Mozambique and the people of Africa should reserve the right not only to wage open war against the rebel régime at Salisbury but also to call on their friends within and outside Africa to help to stamp out this undoubted threat to the continent and to international peace and security.

18. Early this year, my head of State put the case of Nigeria's commitment to the liberation of southern Africa very lucidly when he declared:

"The Nigerian Government and people are totally committed to the cause of freedom and respect for

human dignity in southern Africa, not simply for its own sake but because we are convinced that African freedom is a sacred duty that must be done."

General Obasanjo went on to add:

"In the pursuit of this objective, we shall not consider any sacrifice too great nor any weapon too mean to hasten the end of all oppression and injustice in southern Africa and to ensure the total liquidation of *apartheid*, foreign domination and economic exploitation."

19. Nigeria believes, and Africa is convinced, that the idea of freedom from oppressive racism is one whose time has come. For 500 years, the people of Africa endured the ravages of Fascist Portuguese colonialism. Today, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tomé and Príncipe, Mozambique and Angola are free. For centuries, the peoples of the African continent were exploited, abused and humiliated. But, in the last two decades, Africa has risen up in arms against its oppressors and exploiters. There appears to be no other alternative open to Africa unfreeing itself from the remnants of colonialism and racism except armed struggle. Nigeria unreservedly supports the armed struggle in southern Africa. It will continue to give all material, moral, financial and diplomatic support to the struggle for freedom and national liberation in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The battle lines have been clearly drawn. Nigeria can be found only on the side of justice and truth, that is, on the side of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, on the side of the courageous children of Soweto, who have made and even at this very moment continue to make the supreme sacrifice in the struggle for freedom, equality and fundamental human rights.

20. The front-line States of Angola, Tanzania, Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique have been subjected to flagrant armed incursions, either by the *apartheid* régime in South Africa or its protégé, the racist minority clique at Salisbury. The General Assembly and the Security Council have, as I said earlier, adopted several resolutions condemning those naked acts of aggression and reckless violations against all norms of accepted and acceptable international behaviour. Now the wanton bombings of peaceful Mozambican villages and the brutal killings of innocent women and children in Mozambique, Zambia and other front-line African States can no longer be ignored by Africans and other peace-loving people of the world.

21. Two weeks ago, the Federal Military Government of Nigeria alerted its armed forces to the fact that, in the unfolding situation in southern Africa, Nigeria could not remain uninvolved if a racial conflagration were to engulf southern Africa in the immediate future. As we have always said, Nigeria is the country that contains the largest concentration of black people in the world. If a racial war—indeed, a genocidal war—embraces the whole of southern Africa tomorrow, Nigeria will inexorably be drawn into that conflict.

22. Nigeria therefore wishes to declare before the Council that it can no longer remain on the sidelines while its brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and in independent Mozambique are being cold-bloodedly

massacred by the forces of racism in South Africa and Rhodesia. This is why the Organization of African Unity has decided to come before the Council to express not only its sense of urgency at this threat to international peace and security but also its collective righteous indignation at the continuing defiance of international opinion by the illegal and racist régimes of Smith and Vorster. History—and even recent history—has shown that no force of arms, no matter how sophisticated, can suppress the resolve of an oppressed people to achieve its God-given right to self-determination, freedom and equality. No force of arms can suppress the desire of a people to be free.

23. A lot has been said recently about extracontinental forces in Africa. But it must be said that, in the struggle of the African peoples for freedom, independence and racial equality, the Soviet Union and other progressive socialist countries have remained the constant and unshakable supporters of Africa. We also salute the Nordic countries of Sweden, Norway and Denmark for their moral, humanitarian and financial support for the aspirations of the oppressed peoples of Africa. We appeal to the progressive forces in the other countries of the West to look beyond short-term considerations of strategic and economic interests to the urgent need for human rights and the preservation of international peace and security in southern Africa.

24. I should like to conclude by restating Nigeria's unreserved condemnation of the aggressive and repressive acts of racist Ian Smith and his illegal régime. We equally condemn his backers at Pretoria and elsewhere. Nigeria wishes to reiterate before this august body its total and unequivocal commitment to and support for the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Nigeria subscribes to the decision of the Organization of African Unity to regard any further act of aggression against any member State as constituting an act of aggression against the entire continent of Africa.

25. Nigeria is determined and prepared, in concert with all member States of the Organization of African Unity and other progressive forces of the world, to take appropriate retaliatory measures against any further violations of the territorial integrity of the front-line States. We can no longer remain impervious to the sufferings of our brothers and sisters in southern Africa. The racist and minority régimes at Pretoria and Salisbury and their supporters elsewhere must be prepared to take full responsibility for the consequences of any further wanton and senseless adventures.

26. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

27. Mr. C. D. MOLAPO (Lesotho): It was hardly a month ago that I was honoured to appear before the Council with regard to one of the crucial and explosive episodes that are constantly gripping the southern part of our mother continent Africa. Despite the existence of the most important and historic document the world has ever seen, the Charter of the United Nations, despite the numerous

declarations and resolutions of the Security Council and other United Nations organs condemning imperialism, colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination, and, above all, despite the waves of freedom, self-determination and national independence that have swept over the continent of Africa, southern Africa is still beset with the most obnoxious and heinous forms of imperialism, colonialism, *apartheid* and racism.

28. It is in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa where, contrary to the wishes of the oppressed Africans who are in the majority, and the wishes of the world community at large, there exists the last but stubborn bastion of colonialism, inhuman *apartheid* and abhorred racism. A majority of the white racist settlers refuse to accept the inevitable, namely, a life in harmony and peace with the rightful owners of the land. Instead they have embarked on the path of confrontation, aggression, massacres and the extermination of the African peoples.

29. There is no doubt in our minds that the writing on the wall is clear to the racists. They are well aware that their time has run out, but they are determined to plunge our region and, they hope, the whole world into a racial conflagration and blood-bath. Surely, the whole world, and members of the Security Council in particular, should not and cannot afford to let a few bigoted racial maniacs cause the destruction of humanity. I need not remind the Council, whose permanent members were among the founders of this noble Organization, that the United Nations was formed to put an end once and for all to racial world wars like the last world war. It is perhaps now more than before that the Council is being called upon to live up to the basic tenets of the Organization.

30. The oppressed but heroic peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa will fight for their lands. They will meet and have met the criminal violence of the racists with violence—the only language the racist white minority régimes understand. The events which have brought us here today are a living testimony that the racists, in feeling the burden and pinch of the armed struggle of the freedom fighters, are in blind fury and desperation unleashing their sophisticated weaponry against the freedom-loving and independent African countries in the region, namely, Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Botswana. The only sin that those countries have allegedly committed is that they have loved, cherished and, indeed, valued freedom, independence and human dignity, in accordance with the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. The African struggle is for the noble principles of human dignity, justice and equality. The white minority racists want to maintain the *status quo*: inequality and oppression.

31. I came before the Council in November of last year to appeal for the Council's intervention and assistance following the unilateral closure of three of our vital border posts by the Republic of South Africa. A few days thereafter, the sister Republic of Botswana also called upon the Council to intervene and provide it with assistance following the repeated and unprovoked acts of aggression and incursions into Botswana by the rebel forces of Ian Smith and his henchmen. On that occasion, I had the honour again to warn the Council and the world com-

munity about the grave situation and increasing tension likely to endanger international peace and security in our area.

32. Today I wish to express my gratitude to you, Mr. President, and, through you, to the other members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to speak on yet another very grave and serious act of unprovoked but wanton aggression perpetrated again by the rebellious forces of the racist Ian Smith—this time against the sister People's Republic of Mozambique.

33. Like previous speakers, I take this opportunity to extend to you, Sir, my sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June and to express my gratitude for the very able manner in which you have discharged your duties. You represent a great country with which my country enjoys special and distinctly the best of relations, a country whose record on decolonization, anti-*apartheid* and anti-racism is impeccable. We are therefore more than confident that, under your wise guidance, the Council will take a positive and constructive decision.

34. On the morning of 18 June 1977, the Government and people of Lesotho learned with shock, dismay, disbelief and, indeed, grave concern that dastardly and cowardly acts of aggression and war had been and were being brutally and criminally executed by the forces of the Smith régime against the lives and properties of the people of Mozambique, in blatant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that Republic. To us the message was clear: none of our countries is safe or free so long as our brothers are languishing under brutal oppression in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. My Government did not hesitate, therefore, to condemn in no uncertain terms the irresponsible and illegal acts of the forces of Ian Smith and declared our unreserved support for the heroic people of Mozambique.

35. Those frantic attempts by Smith to halt the liberation of Zimbabwe—even to the extent of threatening acts of aggression against Zambia and violating the sovereignty of Botswana—not only constitute a direct challenge to Africa but are also intended to convince even those who still believe in the rationality of Smith that it is a waste of time to hope for a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe. By invading and occupying the Mozambican towns of Mapai and others, Smith defied the world community and insulted the Organization of African Unity. It is therefore right and proper that the OAU Council of Ministers, currently meeting in its twenty-ninth ordinary session at Libreville, Gabon, should have mandated us to express Africa's grave concern at the escalation of the acts of aggression and violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Mozambique by the forces of Ian Smith. It is the legitimate and concerted view of the entire OAU membership that the Security Council must take effective measures, particularly those provided for under Charter VII of the Charter, since that is the only way of bringing to a speedy end the prevailing situation in Zimbabwe, which is now the immediate source of a serious threat to international peace and to security in southern Africa.

36. It will be recalled that, last August, the Smith murderers massacred innocent Zimbabwe refugees to the horror and wrath of the world community. All those acts and the present acts of the forces of the rebel Smith were executed in complete disregard to the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. To begin with, Rhodesia is not a State under international law and therefore cannot claim any rights or privileges under international law. Rhodesia is an outlaw, a rebel and an outcast. The racist leader of the white settlers, Ian Smith, has repeatedly attempted, in vain, to invoke principles of international law to justify his nefarious acts of aggression against Mozambique and Botswana, in particular, the so-called principle of pre-emptive self-defence and the principle of hot pursuit.

37. With all due respect, I beg representatives to bear with me if I state what is common knowledge to them. It is, however, important to set the record straight and to show that even the international law formulated during the colonial days does not and cannot justify the acts of Ian Smith or what he stands for.

38. For the sake of argument, let us assume that Rhodesia is a State according to international law, with all concomitant rights and obligations. The so-called principle of pre-emptive self-defence does not form part of present-day international law. It does not have the support of well-known international law publicists or jurists of repute, nor can it be said to form part of the practice of States. To the best of our knowledge, only one or two States have attempted to invoke this so-called principle and in vain.

39. The so-called principle of pre-emptive self-defence negates the very basic elements of the principle of self-defence, clearly enunciated in the well-known and celebrated cases of the *Caroline* and the Corfu Channel; indeed, this right has been further clarified by the Charter in Article 51, which recognizes the right of self-defence. That Article clearly limits its use to instances where there is an armed attack—again within the confines of classical international law. No one—not even Smith himself—can say that Mozambique has attacked or attempted to attack Rhodesia. So even the principle of self-defence cannot apply to the facts before us.

40. It is a right of every State to provide refuge to people who flee their country of origin because of oppression or persecution on grounds of their colour, religion or race. If these people are pursued from their country of origin and they enter the territory of the State of refuge, or a third State, such pursuit must cease. Even in the law of the sea, the principle of hot pursuit forbids the pursuing State to continue the pursuit once the pursued enters the territorial waters of its own or a third State. This principle has been well enunciated in classical law of the sea, in cases that have been decided and in conventions at present in force. The principle is very inappropriate to, and cannot be used in respect of pursuit of fugitives on land. A State which pursues its fugitive citizens into the territory of another State, for any crime whatsoever, is guilty of violating the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of that State. We trust and hope that the present law of the sea will not tamper with the principle of hot pursuit. Rhodesia is

definitely making a mockery of principles of international law and we want to make it clear that this mockery or rape shall not deter us from continuing to provide refuge to the oppressed black people from the still-to-be liberated parts of southern Africa.

41. I have elaborated at great length on the fallacy of the doctrine of hot pursuit because of my anxiety that the international community should openly express itself against that doctrine. It is being flaunted by South Africa and Rhodesia. It will cause the most serious unrest in that region.

42. It is important to note that it was only two years ago that the heroic people of Mozambique, under the able leadership of FRELIMO, regained their sovereignty and independence, after many years of bloody armed struggle. That struggle caused Mozambique a lot of material and human loss, and Rhodesia has not given it a chance to recuperate and to develop economically and socially. Ian Smith, unable to suppress the liberation war that is being waged within Zimbabwe by the Zimbabwe freedom fighters, has resorted to this systematic action of violation, provocation and armed aggression against Mozambique. The people and Government of Mozambique have not shirked their responsibility nor wavered from their commitment to help free their brothers in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The decision of the Mozambique Government to close its border with Rhodesia following the adoption of United Nations sanctions against the Smith régime and the present acts of aggression by the forces of Smith constitutes a heavy burden on and sacrifice by Mozambique and the whole of Africa. It is therefore right and proper for the Council and the world community to provide prompt and effective assistance to the people of Mozambique to enable them to strengthen their defence capabilities as well as to overcome the tremendous material loss incurred as a result of this aggression. We, on our part, have assisted the people of Mozambique in our own little way, we reaffirm our continuing solidarity with them and we say that, despite our difficulties, we shall continue to be with them.

43. The people of Mozambique are not asking the Council to go and defend them against Smith, nor are they asking the Council to wage war against Smith on behalf of the people of Zimbabwe. All that Mozambique is asking is that the Council and the world community support it as it builds its own defensive capabilities. Mozambique wants to stop Smith from making further incursions into its territory. In order to do this, it must have the necessary military equipment. It needs material and financial resources to rebuild schools, hospitals, roads and bridges that were destroyed by the forces of Ian Smith.

44. The problem of Mozambique cannot be taken in isolation, because it is not only Ian Smith who is defying the Charter of the United Nations and the Security Council resolutions. It is common knowledge that Smith is what he is today because of the material, political, economic and military support from South Africa. The Salisbury and Pretoria régimes pursue one and the same policy of colonialism, *apartheid* and racism. It is unfortunate that these régimes directly or indirectly enjoy the support of some Members of the Organization. Ian Smith has survived

international isolation and economic sanctions because of the reluctance of some States to implement fully all the measures stipulated by the Council. We hail the new Carter Administration, which spearheaded the repeal of the so-called Byrd Amendment. However, we know that South Africa remains the biggest and main sanctions buster. It is South Africa, through subsidiary companies from United Kingdom, the United States and so on, which is supplying oil, armaments and other materials to Rhodesia. It is through South Africa that Rhodesian goods and raw materials find their way to the international markets. It is South Africa which is the brain and the centre of the entire inhumane, debasing and dehumanizing oppressive practice of colonialism, *apartheid* and racism. It is the existence of the Pretoria régime which gives moral and actual support and encouragement to Ian Smith, so that he can engage in aggressive and barbaric attacks and massacres against the innocent inhabitants of neighbouring African States, such as Mozambique. It is high time the Council took appropriate and effective measures to ensure compliance with its decisions.

45. So long as the hot beds of colonialism, *apartheid* and racism exist in southern Africa and so long as the white minority racist régimes in that region continue to get the support of Members of the Organization, peace and security cannot prevail. We need action now to deter future aggression against Mozambique and other States in the region. We call upon the Western Powers to stop mercenary recruitment in their countries; we appeal to them to provide material and financial assistance to Mozambique; we call for stronger and effective application of sanctions and hope that pressure will be exerted on South Africa to stop violating sanctions imposed on Rhodesia.

46. In conclusion, I should like to add my voice to that of the Vice-President of Mozambique, Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, who so eloquently appealed for assistance not only from Member States of the Organization but from the United Nations and its agencies [2014th meeting].

47. Time is running out for a peaceful solution to southern African problems. It is for the Council and its members to avert the impending racial holocaust.

48. The PRESIDENT: At this point, with the agreement of the Council members whose names are inscribed on my list, I call on the representative of Mauritius, who wishes to make a brief statement.

49. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I apologize for interrupting the proceedings of the Council at this stage, but I feel I should inform you, Mr. President, and, through you, the members of the Council, that I propose right away to start consultations with the non-aligned and other members of the Council on a working paper which has been prepared by the African members of the Council with the help of their colleagues. I say this because there are only two speakers left on the list. Immediately after I have consulted with the non-aligned and other members, I propose to consult all the other members of the Council. By the time we return, the two other speakers whose names are inscribed on the list may have finished their statements, and members may have departed. So if they will be good

enough to bear with me and stand by for a few more minutes I shall be most grateful and shall be able to consult with them.

50. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): We are very grateful indeed to learn that the representative of Mauritius is going to consult with us. We are anxious indeed, and waiting to consult with him. We should be grateful, however, if, before he consults with us on a draft resolution, we might have the opportunity of seeing it. May I take it, therefore, that that piece of paper will now be distributed?

51. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I wish to assure the representative of the United Kingdom that if he stands by and if he will be good enough to co-operate with me, this paper will be in his hands this afternoon, as soon as possible.

52. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): I spend half my life standing by for the representative of Mauritius and his papers. If we can have the paper soon, I am sure the consultations will proceed effectively, expeditiously and successfully. If we do not have it soon, it is obviously going to cause difficulty for a number of members of the Council, including myself.

53. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the revolutionary people of the People's Republic of Benin, my delegation addresses warm and militant greetings to the delegation of Mozambique led by our esteemed Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, Minister for Development and Planning of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

54. The question before the Council—the armed incursions and repeated aggressions of the racist white rebels of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia—is of the utmost gravity. The recent armed attacks and the systematic invasion of the territory of Mozambique represent a decisive and dangerous escalation of the activities of the Ian Smith clique which, since 1965, has deliberately continued to commit aggression against neighbouring countries—Zambia and Botswana—allegedly in defence of the ideals of the so-called Western free world, so as to bar the road to communism.

55. As was stated this morning by Comrade dos Santos [2014th meeting], in the recent series of armed aggressions against the people of Mozambique, highly sophisticated weaponry and war *matériel* have been employed. Clearly, Mr. Smith, who does not manufacture his war machines, has had to obtain them from somewhere, that is, from outside the territory of Rhodesia. Thus, behind Smith and his clique, we inevitably perceive the grave responsibility of some States Members of the Organization, some of which, and not the least, are seated around this table. Those countries, which have lately stepped up their diplomatic activity and sought to mystify the African peoples on the problems of the liberation of southern Africa, hiding behind the attractive and seductive mask of humanistic imperialism—which, by the way, is something that does not exist—are the true aggressors against the people of Mozam-

bique. Those countries bear prime responsibility for the thousands of victims among the innocent Mozambican civilian population and for the large-scale material destruction described by Comrade dos Santos. The cynical hypocrisy of those countries of the imperialist West which stop at nothing to ensure their positions is shameful to all mankind and a catastrophe for the Security Council, which is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.

56. This is not the first time the Council has been seized of the record of repeated unprovoked aggressions of the Rhodesian rebels against neighbouring countries. Each time, the Council, manipulated by the disastrous influence of those same Western imperialist countries, has been content with ineffective half-measures which fall far short of the provisions of the Charter for such circumstances. But this is the first time the Council has had before it so detailed and overwhelming a record of an attack, that is to say, the record of an unprovoked war which the racist white rebels and settlers of Southern Rhodesia have unleashed against the peaceful people of Mozambique, unjustly subjecting it to a new and hard trial.

57. What will the Council do this time? The request of Mozambique, which we heard presented this morning by Comrade dos Santos, is legitimate. It is unanimously supported by all Africa and by all the peoples of the world. There is no legal contradiction between that request and the measures provided for in the Charter to put an end to a war such as this which Southern Rhodesia is waging against the people of Mozambique. Furthermore, we have proof that all Africa supports Mozambique's request.

58. That is why the People's Republic of Benin, through me, energetically condemns in advance any manoeuvres or subterfuges intended to deprive that request of any real effect. The People's Republic of Mozambique has not come here to beg. It wishes effective and sufficient means to be provided by the international community, through the Council, to permit it legitimately to ensure its defence and adequately protect the civilian population, which has already suffered so much from Portuguese colonialism.

59. Mozambique's request offers an unexpected opportunity for the Council to apply all the measures provided for in the Charter to put an end to a régime abhorrent to mankind. The Council must unanimously broaden the sanctions under the terms of Article 41. That would be an honest way sincerely to manifest our complete and unswerving solidarity with the Mozambican people now subjected to organized crime and mass killings.

60. The very existence of the racist white minority régime in Southern Rhodesia becomes daily more dramatic as a result of its desperate attempt to internationalize a local conflict. The people of Zimbabwe, who are their own liberators, are striking hard and will continue to strike hard against the Smith clique.

61. My delegation energetically denounces and condemns the illegal, racist minority régime of Vorster, which openly serves as a means of transferring economic and military aid to the Smith clique.

62. My delegation calls on all Western countries, and particularly the United Kingdom, the administering Power, fully to assume their responsibilities in the tragic Rhodesian affair.

63. We salute the exemplary revolutionary courage and determination of the people of Mozambique, which will ensure the liberation of Zimbabwe.

64. Mr. President, my delegation relies much on your great skill as an honest diplomat known to us all to bring this debate to a satisfactory conclusion. The struggle continues.

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

66. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to associate myself with preceding speakers in congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and in expressing happiness at seeing you preside over the deliberations of the Council on an issue vital for Africa and the third world. I should also like to express my delegation's gratitude to you and to the other members of the Council for having given us the opportunity to participate in the debate on this important matter.

67. The complaint before the Council is clear and has been amply substantiated by the Vice-President of FRELIMO and Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique [2014th meeting]. Once again the illegal racist minority régime of Ian Smith has resorted to its usual practice of international terrorism and has invaded the territory of an independent African State. The invading Rhodesian troops have massacred peaceful populations, burned towns and villages, destroyed factories and killed livestock.

68. We have been following with great concern and indignation the news of the intensified attacks of the Rhodesian army against the sister African State of Mozambique. Our Foreign Minister, Mr. Ismail Fahmy, has voiced Egypt's concern over the criminal invasion perpetrated by the racist troops of Ian Smith against the People's Republic of Mozambique. He declared on 2 June last:

"The Arab Republic of Egypt is gravely concerned over the latest acts of aggression committed by the illegal racist régime of Rhodesia against Mozambique.

"The acts of aggression committed by the illegal racist régimes in southern Africa are taking dangerously increasing dimensions to which we cannot be indifferent.

"The latest aggression committed by the racist régime in Rhodesia against the sister Republic of Mozambique went as far as invading in depth the territory of that State and occupying a part of its territory. It constitutes a further escalation in the dangerous situation and will entail extremely dangerous consequences.

"We should like to declare anew that we stand firmly side by side with the sister African State of Mozambique

and the other front-line States to put an end to that aggression and prevent its recurrence in the future."

69. The latest aggression against Mozambique is not an isolated act. It constitutes an aspect of a protracted policy practised by the racist minority régimes in southern Africa and aimed at intimidating independent African States and at trying, though in vain, to sow the seeds of disunity between them and the freedom fighters.

70. In fact, the whole world knows that since Mozambique courageously took the decision to close its borders with the rebels of Rhodesia, it has been subjected to repeated military incursions by the Rhodesian army. The whole world has followed for a long time the courageous struggle waged by the valiant armed forces of Mozambique in defending their country's sovereignty and territorial integrity against the repeated incursions of Ian Smith's troops. The whole world is also aware that, in closing its borders with the rebel régime of Ian Smith, Mozambique was not only implementing the sanctions imposed by the international community against the illegal régime of Ian Smith but was also setting the example for other members of the international community of strict compliance with international norms, regardless of the sacrifices entailed in discharging those obligations. The sacrifices made by a small peace-loving country like Mozambique, with exemplary patience, cause it to bear a tremendous burden. Of that we are all aware.

71. There is no doubt in our minds that the international community in general and the supporters of those racist régimes in particular bear a grave responsibility for the racial war now raging in southern Africa.

72. So far, the international community has failed to crush the rebellion in Rhodesia and end the illegal racist minority régime of Ian Smith. It has failed to end the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of Pretoria and it has failed to end the most inhuman régime of *apartheid* in South Africa. The international community has also failed to thwart the unholy alliance between those racist minority régimes and their supporters. Every failure on the part of the international community constitutes a victory for those racist régimes and a gain for their supporters.

73. The racist minority régimes, encouraged by the failure of the international community, have felt free to add to their oppression of the black majority the claim of the right to pursue those who succeed in fleeing to neighbouring independent African States and the claim of the right to violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those independent States.

74. Egypt has on numerous occasions, along with other African States, drawn the attention of the international community to the dangerous result to be expected from the passive attitude towards those racist régimes. We served warning that, unless the aggressors realized that the world's denunciation of their aggression would be translated into active political and military measures, the aggressors would escalate their defiance of the international community.

75. That is exactly what is taking place today in southern Africa. An extremely critical situation has materialized, fraught with danger to peace and security not only in Africa but in the world at large. We earnestly hope that the Security Council will forthwith assume its full responsibility by adopting concrete measures against the illegal régime in Rhodesia and its allies in South Africa.

76. The President of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Samora Machel, in his statement at Maputo on 18 June 1977 [S/12350, annex II], addressed a solemn appeal to the international community to demonstrate its solidarity with the People's Republic of Mozambique, the victim of a heinous criminal aggression by the illegal régime of Ian Smith. The least that the international community can do is to respond swiftly and effectively to that appeal, by helping Mozambique to increase its defensive capacity and reconstruct the areas devastated by the racist military incursions.

77. I should like to conclude by expressing to our brothers in Mozambique and the other front-line States our firm support in all fields. In this context, I should like to quote from the message addressed by President Sadat to the peoples and leaders of Africa on the occasion of Africa Liberation Day. He said:

"I should like to reiterate on behalf of the people and Government of Egypt, our full and unrestricted support to the valiant freedom fighters in Africa and to the African peoples in their endeavour to rid themselves of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*, as well as any other form of oppression.

"We pledge once again that they may always be assured of our staunch support until final victory is attained and until each and every part of our continent is liberated, and every people achieves the freedom, dignity and justice it longs for.

"African unity and the African peoples' struggle shall ultimately triumph."

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.

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