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2017th MEETING: 29 JUNE 1977

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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.

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2017TH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 29 June 1977, at 3 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/2017)

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 3.30 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 decisions taken at previous meetings, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Cuba, Egypt, Gabon, the German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Lesotho, Nigeria, Senegal, the Sudan, 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. R. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. A. E. Abdel

Meguid (Egypt), Mr. G. Rawiri (Gabon), Mr. P. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé (Guinea), Mr. C. D. Molapo (Lesotho), Mr. J. N. Garba (Nigeria), Mr. C. B. Djigo (Senegal), Mr. M. Medani (Sudan), 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 Swaziland in which he requests an invitation 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 that representative to participate in the Council's 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 Swaziland 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 when it is his turn to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. N. M. Malinga (Swaziland) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

5. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Once again the Security Council is seized of the grave consequences of acts of aggression committed against Mozambique by the armed forces of the illegal Rhodesian régime. The latest aggressive actions of the Southern Rhodesian racists which have been described in the course of this debate and which are increasingly in the nature of acts of war are part of a whole series of armed attacks carried out by the Smith régime against independent African States.

6. The statement made on 18 June by the President of FRELIMO and of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Mr. Samora Machel [*S/12350, annex II*], the statement made yesterday before the Council by the head of the delegation of Mozambique, Mr. Marcelino dos Santos [*2014th meeting*], as well as the participation in our debates of other outstanding African personages, underscores with the force of proof the particular seriousness of the case we are considering. The explosive situation which exists in southern Africa and the danger posed by the aggressive policy and actions of the Southern Rhodesian

racist régime to the People's Republic of Mozambique and to international peace and security have rightly been emphasized.

7. The Smith régime continues cynically to defy the appeals of the international community and is endeavouring to stifle the courageous struggle of the Zimbabwe people for their independence. In so doing, it resorts to attempts at intimidating other African peoples and infringes on the sovereignty of neighbouring States which are in the vanguard of the struggle for the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism and racism. It is obvious that the racist régime is seeking to escalate the internal conflict and carry it beyond the borders of Southern Rhodesia, thus creating a new and dangerous hot-bed of tension.

8. Such provocations by the Salisbury racist régime endanger peace and security on the African continent and once again show the Southern Rhodesian racists in their true light not only as oppressors of the African population of Zimbabwe but also as obstinate enemies of the independence and sovereignty of free African peoples. The actions of the Smith régime are at the same time an indication of its increased vulnerability when confronted by the struggle for national liberation; they are acts of despair in the face of the intensified resistance of the Zimbabwe freedom fighters.

9. It may logically be asked how it is possible for an illegal rebel régime so cynically and arrogantly to defy the international community and the unanimous decisions of the United Nations, including those of the Security Council. It is certainly not difficult to perceive that that régime remains in power only because of the support it receives from outside, particularly from South Africa.

10. At the same time, we are entitled to wonder with legitimate concern about the consequences of the continuation and intensification of Southern Rhodesian aggression against neighbouring African peoples. Indeed, at stake are peace and security in the region and throughout the world, as well as the very credibility of the Organization.

11. In an effort to perpetuate their domination in Rhodesia, the Southern Rhodesian racists have begun to turn their invasions—the so-called incursions and punitive expeditions against neighbouring African States—into a permanent practice involving human casualties and serious material destruction. In this connexion, the statement made by the head of the delegation of Mozambique paints an edifying picture of the barbaric actions of the troops of the Rhodesian racist régime, the massacres of the civilian population and the destruction of areas of Mozambique by the invading forces.

12. Socialist Romania, which has always supported the just struggle for the national and social liberation of the African peoples, resolutely and indignantly condemns the aggressive actions systematically committed by the Salisbury régime against Mozambique and against other neighbouring African States.

13. It is in the spirit of solidarity with the national liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for the

attainment of their sacred right to a free, dignified and independent life that the Romanian people reaffirms its complete support for the just struggle of the Mozambican people in defence of their freedom and independence and for the right to be masters of their own country.

14. My country considers that firm international action is required to put an end to the attacks by the Rhodesian racists and to eliminate all violations of the freedoms and legitimate national rights of the peoples of southern Africa, as well as to abolish all forms of colonialist and neo-colonialist policy, oppression, diktat, racial discrimination, *apartheid* and foreign domination.

15. The feelings of militant solidarity of Socialist Romania with the people of Mozambique were reflected in the material, political and diplomatic support given to that people in its struggle for independence. From the outset, the people of Romania have been side by side with the people of Mozambique, both in its long struggle against colonialism and in its present efforts to consolidate national independence. The solemn joint declaration signed by President Nicolae Ceaușescu and President Samora Machel established a broad framework for the further development of friendship, co-operation and solidarity between our two countries and peoples.

16. The entire international community recognizes more than ever before the imperative need for energetic and sustained action to promote the exercise of the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to decide its own fate. The Security Council, by virtue of its responsibilities and prerogatives, has the duty to act by resorting to the means that are required to put an end to all acts of aggression, to prevent their repetition in the future and, accordingly, to safeguard international peace and security.

17. The delegation of Mozambique has given us detailed indications of the direction that the Council should take and they have the full support of the delegation of Romania.

18. It is absolutely necessary to organize the modalities for multilateral assistance to be given to Mozambique to make good the damage caused by the aggressor and to enable it to strengthen its defence capability. Measures must also be adopted to promote the struggle for national liberation and the unconditional transfer of power to the Zimbabwe people. To that end, further action must be taken so as completely to isolate the illegal racist régime by broadening sanctions and ensuring their strict application by all States, without any exception.

19. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Sudan, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Arab Group for the month of June. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

20. Mr. MEDANI (Sudan): I thank you, Mr. President, and through you the other members of the Council for allowing me, on behalf of the Arab Group, to address this august body on a matter of great concern to all of us assembled here, that is, the question of Rhodesia's premeditated

aggression against a Member State. Furthermore, I wish to seize this opportunity to extend to you our delegation's warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. We are sure that, under your wise leadership and guidance, the Council will be able to take effective measures on the grave matter which is now before it.

21. It is with great feelings of joy and pride and fraternal sentiments that we avail ourselves of this occasion to congratulate the sister Republic of Djibouti and its heroic people on the happy event of the attainment of their independence. I am sure that their future participation in the international community of independent countries will enhance our sense of responsibility and our confidence in a better world.

22. The Arab delegations have listened with great interest to the statements made by the Vice-President of FRELIMO and Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique and by other representatives who have participated in the Council's deliberations. The Minister from Mozambique [2014th meeting], in his lucid statement, gave us a true picture of the situation at present prevailing in that region and brought to the attention of the Council the provocative and barbaric aggression committed against his country by the illegal régime of Ian Smith.

23. Only recently, at the Afro-Arab Summit Conference Meeting at Cairo, last March, the Arab Heads of State and Government, together with their brothers, the African Heads of State and Government, adopted a political declaration which, *inter alia*, condemns

"the constant military aggressions as well as other political and economic manoeuvres carried out by imperialism through the racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and their allies, against the sovereign States of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zambia, with the aim of politically destabilizing the Governments of these countries and of sabotaging their efforts for economic development" [S/12298, annex, para. 7].

Permit me to reiterate that the Arab countries and peoples, which have always stood beside their African brothers and which have time and again condemned the oppressors and colonizers of the African people of southern Africa, wish once again to reaffirm their unflinching support to the people of Mozambique.

24. This is not the first time that the Council has been seized of an aggression perpetrated by the racist régime of Ian Smith against a Member State. The continued acts of aggression by that illegal régime against the front-line African States have been escalated to such a point and have reached such a level of ferocity that they can no longer be tolerated by the international community.

25. Today the Council is once again called upon to consider a matter of grave consequence not only for the African people but for the world at large, namely, the repeated acts of aggression committed by the illegal minority régime against Mozambique. The People's Republic of Mozambique has merely started to implement the

Council's resolution imposing sanctions on Southern Rhodesia. Obviously that decision has enraged the Smith clique and invited its revenge. However, Mozambique was only complying with the international community's desire to isolate an illegal régime when it closed its borders with the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. Ian Smith, finding himself unable to face the situation arising from that action, reverted to suppression and naked acts of aggression against unarmed innocent people that led to the loss of 1,432 lives, the wounding and crippling of hundreds and the destruction of towns and most needed infrastructure.

26. Thus Mozambique has become a victim of its own unconditional support for the oppressed and colonized people of Zimbabwe. Furthermore, it is increasingly evident that the atrocities of the illegal régime of Ian Smith will continue. The acts of aggression committed against Botswana and now Mozambique and the threats received by President Kaunda of Zambia clearly indicate that the rebellious régime of Salisbury has predetermined sinister designs which it intends to carry out in that part of Africa. All of us know that, were it not for the huge moral and material support that Ian Smith is receiving from the bastion of *apartheid*, South Africa, he would never dare to contemplate such designs.

27. However, more specifically, we have been given a reminder—indeed, a warning—by the President of Mozambique of the significance of these crimes. With the insight and vision of a true revolutionary, he drew the following conclusion in his statement:

"First, they mean that Ian Smith's régime is in a state of open war against Mozambique, with the aim of carrying beyond his borders his conflict with the people of Zimbabwe. They mean that he hopes to internationalize an internal conflict and divert the attention of world public opinion from the central question, which is the Zimbabwe people's struggle for national liberation.

"The very existence of the racist Salisbury régime is in itself a threat to peace in this region of Africa." [See S/12350, annex II.]

28. This is a crisis situation. It is not a situation which we can sit by and watch, but a situation with which the Security Council must immediately cope and which it must place in its meaningful and right perspective. Therefore, the Council today is called upon not only to take effective measures to compel the Salisbury régime to refrain from such acts of aggression, but also to find ways and means to strengthen the military capability of Mozambique to defend its national sovereignty against future threats of racist aggression. This is a naked fact, if not a moral ideal.

29. It is imperative that the United Nations and all the countries of the world respond to the justified appeal of the Mozambican people for international assistance. Indeed, the Security Council and the international community are duty bound to render all kinds of assistance to Mozambique to enable it to carry out its international responsibilities in accordance with the spirit of the Charter.

30. The military aggression that has been committed and the tension currently prevailing in that part of the African

continent constitute a threat to international peace and security. Consequently, it is of paramount importance that the Security Council, the custodian of world peace, should fulfil certain obligations. Most important among those obligations is the taking of effective measures, particularly those provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to bring to a speedy end the situation prevailing in Zimbabwe, the situation which is the source of the instability that constitutes a serious threat to world peace.

31. While saluting the African front-line countries, which so gallantly carry the burden of the atrocities of the minority régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury—to the great detriment of their economic development and the prosperity of their peoples—I wish, on behalf of the Sudan delegation, to call on all Member States to offer all possible assistance to the Government and people of Mozambique to enable them to defend themselves against the barbaric aggression by their outlaw neighbours, and thereby to foil the attempt of Ian Smith to divert international opinion from the central question, which is Zimbabwe and its people's struggle for national liberation.

32. The Sudan delegation wishes to take this opportunity to reiterate the firm commitment of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan to the people of Southern Rhodesia in their struggle to liberate themselves from the illegal régime of Ian Smith.

33. We wish also to congratulate the President of Mozambique and his people on their gallant role in repelling the forces of aggression and on the dedication they have shown in raising the banner of the struggle by the people of Zimbabwe for liberation.

34. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): We are faced with yet another incursion by the troops of the Southern Rhodesian racist régime into the territory of the People's Republic of Mozambique. This constitutes a qualitatively new stage in the development of this situation in southern Africa. What we are confronted by is infringements by the racists on the freedom and sovereignty of independent African States—infringements which have assumed a systematic and massive character. The racist régimes are more and more clearly exacerbating the situation in southern Africa, intensifying the threat to international peace and security. This is now an undisguised challenge to African States, to the United Nations and to world public opinion. It is precisely on those considerations that the Security Council should base its present examination of the question of the new acts of aggression committed by the illegal Smith régime against the People's Republic of Mozambique.

35. As is pointed out in the statement of 18 June last [*ibid.*] by the President of FRELIMO and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Mr. Machel, the crimes committed against that State by the Southern Rhodesian régime mean that racism is now in a state of open war against Mozambique, in its anxiety to internationalize the conflict and divert the attention of world public opinion from the central question: the Zimbabwe people's struggle for national liberation. As is also pointed out in the

statement, with the escalation of these actions—which began as simple provocations on the borders and violations of the air space of Mozambique—the situation has now entered on a phase of open aggression.

36. We listened attentively to the statement here yesterday [2014th meeting] by the Minister for Development and Economic Planning of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Mr. dos Santos. He gave us a complete picture of the actual state of affairs, as well as a cogent analysis of the situation which has been created. The head of the delegation of Mozambique pointed out that, having begun with individual acts of incursion which lasted for a few hours and were carried out by limited forces, the militarists of the Salisbury régime have now turned to mass attacks, with clear purposes. The purposes of the invaders—apart from systematic destruction of peaceful inhabitants—affect vital elements of the economic and social infrastructure of the country.

37. Numerous armed attacks and raids and constant acts of provocation against neighbouring African States have long since become a customary part of the policy of the Rhodesian racists. The most recent act of armed aggression by the Smith clique has only added to the list of barbarous raids into the territory of Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and other independent African countries. The patience of African countries and world public opinion is now exhausted. That is shown by the very presence here of the leaders of many of those countries. It is shown also by the whole tone of this discussion in the Council.

38. The question of the situation in Southern Rhodesia and sanctions against the illegal régime which usurped power in that country has been considered by the Security Council on many occasions. The Smith régime has been outlawed by the Council which has also declared its aim to be the elimination of that régime and the guaranteeing of the freedom and independence of the people of Zimbabwe. However, as has been clearly demonstrated by recent events, that alone is not sufficient now. Recently, the Council discussed the question of the need to extend mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. The extension of sanctions is necessary because the previous measures, which were limited in scope and fell far short of fulfilling the requirements of Article 41 of the Charter, did not yield the hoped-for results. They did nothing to put a stop to domination by the Southern Rhodesian racists, nor did they accelerate the full and final liberation of the people of Zimbabwe. Unfortunately, the deliberations which took place did not result in an understanding to the effect that all measures within the full scope of Article 41 should be immediately applied against the Smith régime. Nevertheless, the Council did assume the obligation to resume consideration of the question. That was a step forward, though an inadequate one.

39. We cannot fail to note that those who have objected and continue to object to the application against the illegal Southern Rhodesian régime of mandatory sanctions with the full scope provided for in Article 41 of the Charter are assuming a very heavy responsibility. It is now obvious that delays in the Council's adopting decisive measures against the Smith régime have served only to encourage the racists,

and that has entailed further acts of aggression against Mozambique, further loss of life and a great deal of material damage.

40. The events on the frontiers of Mozambique are a foreseeable consequence of the criminal policy and practice of the illegal régime which has entrenched itself in Southern Rhodesia. But that is not the whole point. Some responsibility still lies with those who continue to support and encourage the Smith clique. Is it not really surprising that, in spite of sanctions, the Southern Rhodesian racists have been able to use the most modern types of weapon, including aircraft, against Mozambique? Surely, over the years in which the sanctions have been in force, their own weapons could be expected to have become outmoded, or at least they should have run out of spare parts. If today the weapons available to the Southern Rhodesian racists can still be used, that is clear evidence that the Smith régime is continuing to receive new arms from outside. It shows not only the ineffectiveness of sanctions but also that a direct partner in the repressions against the patriots of Zimbabwe, a direct partner in the aggression against the independent African States, is the racist régime of South Africa which, having entered into an alliance with the Rhodesian régime, has developed very broad co-operation with it.

41. At the same time, we cannot help noticing that the preservation of racist régimes in southern Africa and the continuation of their raids against independent African countries are also being facilitated by the connivance of those who have been holding endless talks with Smith and his South African protectors which in actual practice provide cover and legality for those régimes. In actual fact, under the camouflage of such talks everything possible is being done to hinder the just struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the indigenous population of South Africa to attain their legitimate rights and decisively to put an end to a policy of racism. All kinds of devices are being used, from direct pressure and violence right up to and including attempts by means of political devices, to divert the national liberation movement from genuine independence and freedom.

42. The policy of connivance with the Southern Rhodesian aggressors and their South African accomplices is a course directly in conflict with and contrary to the interests of African countries and peoples. Today this is clearer than ever, and the Security Council should draw some decisive conclusions from it. Much now depends on how it will react to the complaint of Mozambique.

43. An independent Mozambique which has become a victim of open armed aggression has appealed to the Council in the hope that the latter will adopt some genuinely effective measures which really will protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

44. Mozambique's just demands have been vigorously supported in the statements of Ministers from a number of African States. In a resolution adopted at its the twenty-ninth session, the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity declared that any attack by the racist régime on any African State would be viewed as an attack

against the whole of independent Africa [see S/12352]. That resolution contains an appeal to the Security Council to take effective measures, including measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, to bring about the earliest possible cessation of the existing situation in Zimbabwe, which represents a serious threat to international peace and security.

45. The Soviet delegation agrees with this approach to the question. We are convinced that the Security Council is in duty bound to take effective measures to call a halt to aggression by the Southern Rhodesian racists. It must effectively ensure that there is no possibility of any repetition of the aggression. Here a strong warning by the Council would be of particular help, to the effect that if the Southern Rhodesian racists were once again to take the risk of provocative action against Mozambique and other African States, then the most serious actions would be taken against them in accordance with the Charter. In our view, a decision of the Council should also establish that any support or assistance given to the Southern Rhodesian régime by any State would be viewed as complicity in its aggression, with all the consequences flowing therefrom.

46. The Council must of course categorically support Mozambique's appeal for the provision of such practical assistance as would enable it to strengthen its defence capacity and effectively ensure its sovereignty and territorial integrity. We believe that to be the absolute minimum necessary to testify to the determination of the international community to achieve a genuine change in the situation in southern Africa, to defend the independent African States from acts of aggression by the racists and to put an end to those inhuman régimes.

47. In so far as concerns the Soviet Union, its position is clear and definite. We express whole-hearted support for the people of Mozambique in its just struggle, and we will do everything in our power to help it and other African peoples to win a decisive victory in the struggle against the last bastions of colonialism and racism in Africa. The foundations of our friendship with the people of Mozambique were laid in those difficult years for the people of Mozambique when, under the leadership of its liberation front, it was waging a stubborn armed struggle against the colonialists for its freedom and independence.

48. Recently, on 25 June, the People's Republic of Mozambique marked the second anniversary of its independence. On behalf of my delegation, I should like to convey to the delegation of Mozambique heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of that noteworthy event. With much sympathy, the Soviet people have been following the efforts of the people of Mozambique, which, under the leadership of FRELIMO, the avant-garde party of the workers, has embarked upon a course of fundamental social, political and economic reforms and is making a most worthy contribution to the cause of strengthening universal peace and to the struggle of the peoples of Africa for freedom and independence.

49. A milestone in the development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Mozambique was the recent ratification by both countries

of the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation. That Treaty between two natural allies in the struggle for the ideals of peace, freedom and independence and for social progress has been correctly judged as an important and timely political act in support of the revolutionary achievements of the Mozambique people, particularly in the light of the continuing attempts on the part of reactionary forces to undermine the development of Mozambique on its path towards progress.

50. As was pointed out in an interview of Mr. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, recently published in *Le Monde*, the peoples of the African continent are waging an active struggle for their freedom and independence, for their right freely to choose the path of their own development. They are struggling against the disgraceful phenomena of racism and *apartheid*. That is a just struggle and our country has always supported and will continue to support it.

51. Miss LOPEZ (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Republic of Mozambique, a member of the international community, has once again suffered aggression at the hands of the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia.

52. The problems of southern Africa will continue to occupy our attention so long as there are factors which prevent the effective exercise of the rights of its peoples and so long as their territorial integrity and sovereignty are threatened. The situation of the African people who are still subjected to colonialism and racism must be a matter of continuous concern to us because acts of aggression against human dignity are still being committed. This is the subject of our debate and it is our duty to try to arrive at viable solutions. Unless we can formulate specific proposals and unless we can prevent further confrontations, or at least find a way to stabilize the situation in the region, we must conclude that all the decisions that we have adopted are pitifully ineffective.

53. Only a month after the Maputo Conference, at which we reaffirmed our solidarity with the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, the racists of Southern Rhodesia have intensified their attacks against the people of Mozambique. The situation in that country, which recently became independent, has become aggravated as a result of the organized attacks of the racists against a valiant people capable of making sacrifices in order to comply with the sanctions imposed against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. President Samora Machel affirmed, at Maputo, the responsibility of the countries which refused to punish those who still continue to strengthen the power and promote the sordid interests of the Fascists, the colonialists and the racists in Southern Africa, thanks to whom policies of consent and veiled support—in this case, support for destabilization and aggression in that region—can be pursued.

54. The situation being reviewed by the Council at this time is particularly distressing, not only because of the suffering that it has brought to the people of Mozambique,

but also because of the international repercussions which it might have and which might lead to a generalized conflict in the region.

55. If we seek more just standards of human conduct and continue to strive to that end in every international forum, let us now promote the transformation of traditional standards so as to arrive at new rules to govern relations among States and to create a more just world order which will make the world more habitable.

56. In this case we believe that there are certain western Powers which must bear a special responsibility in the region and which should review their standard of conduct. It is they who, with their influence and economic power and with a new policy towards the racist régimes, could prevent the crisis from becoming more serious. We know that the survival of the racist régime would be impossible without economic support from abroad, and it is those countries that possess the power to prevent further bloodshed. The African peoples have the strength of the justice of their cause and no one can prevent them from continuing their struggle against colonialism and racism until they attain final victory.

57. Smith is being maintained in power by armed aggression. His attacks against Mozambique have been systematically carried out over the last year and the loss of lives and the material damage suffered by that people are unbearable. He no doubt wants to generalize the conflict which now affects not only Mozambique but also Botswana and Zambia, and to install himself permanently in that part of Africa.

58. The appeal made by President Machel is clear. It calls for political, moral, diplomatic and material support from the international community for the struggle for national liberation of the people of Zimbabwe, and for the people of Mozambique who are applying the sanctions imposed against the British colony of Southern Rhodesia.

59. We trust that the entire international community, aware of the urgent need of the peoples of southern Africa to attain full human dignity, will assist in the quest for solutions and will support the just claims of the people of Mozambique, who are pursuing the highest aspiration of mankind, namely, freedom.

60. The people of Mozambique have reaffirmed their decision not to yield in the face of intimidation and aggressive attacks on what it has won through courageous struggle or on the sovereignty it fought so hard to gain. That is the responsibility which that people has assumed and it is a most noble one.

61. Lastly, we hope that, at the end of our debate in the Council, we shall be able to adopt, by consensus, a resolution which will express the profound concern of the Security Council and establish rules for future action by the international community in support of the people of Mozambique and the oppressed peoples of southern Africa.

62. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Mauritius has proposed that the meeting be suspended for half an hour. As there is no objection, it is so decided.

The meeting was suspended at 4.20 p.m. and resumed at 5.20 p.m.

63. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): This debate has reached a crucial stage. Yesterday [2014th meeting] we heard the complaint of Mozambique eloquently presented by His Excellency Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, head of the Mozambique delegation and Minister for Development and Economic Planning. We have also heard the views of a ministerial delegation which, on behalf of the Organization of African Unity, presented the African position. Yesterday evening, again this morning and, indeed, up to a few minutes ago, the African members of the Council have been engaged in discussing with other members of the Council the terms of an African draft resolution which has the full approval of the African Group and the Group of Non-Aligned States, as well as a number of other States.

64. In keeping with the traditions of the Council, we have endeavoured to ensure that each member was given sufficient time to study the contents of the draft and to seek instructions from his Government. I am glad to say that, in most cases, we have received favourable reactions. After consultations, I feel it safe to say that, at the time of introducing this draft resolution—which I shall do in a moment—it has been possible to secure agreement on minor changes in the original draft. The final draft has been distributed in English. I should like to make clear that, because of the urgency of the situation, it is the intention of the sponsors to put the draft to the vote by Thursday morning at the latest.

65. With those introductory remarks, I should now like to address myself to the substance of the complaint by Mozambique before introducing the draft resolution.

66. The charges made by the Government of Mozambique against the illegal régime in Zimbabwe are of the most serious nature and President Samora Machel has aptly described the acts of that régime as crimes against the Mozambican people. The repeated violations of Mozambique's territory by the armed forces of the Smith régime, the murderous acts which those forces have committed against the people of Mozambique, the widespread terror, the intimidation and the wanton destruction deliberately and callously caused by the forces of the illegal régime are acts which constitute, in the clearest possible manner, a threat to peace and international security. They are acts that cannot be ignored by the Security Council and that must be dealt with in the firmest manner, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

67. It is a known fact that the decisions, first by Zambia in 1973 and then by Mozambique in 1976, to close their borders with the rebel colony of Southern Rhodesia and to enforce sanctions in accordance with Security Council resolutions meant the end of any hope of survival on the part of the Smith régime. It has become simply a question of time before the régime collapses. Since then, the Smith régime has expressed its frustrations and its vengeance

against Africans by resorting to murderous attacks against neighbouring African States. We have had ample evidence of that in the repeated attacks against Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique. The Smith régime is well aware that there is no way out for it but to surrender to the liberation movement that will ultimately be victorious.

68. However, Smith believes that his position would be improved if he could internationalize the conflict. President Machel mentioned that in his statement at Maputo on 18 June when he said that the Smith régime was in a state of open war against Mozambique, with the aim of carrying beyond its borders its conflict with the people of Zimbabwe. Evidently, Smith hoped that States sympathetic to his régime would intervene. The Council would do well to heed the warning given by the Foreign Minister of Zambia when he told the Council yesterday: "It is no exaggeration . . . that the situation in southern Africa contains the seeds of a polarized . . . conflict." [*Ibid.*, para. 65.]

69. The description given by the Government of Mozambique of the attacks conducted against its territory by the armed forces of the Smith régime clearly shows that the régime is being supplied with a formidable arsenal of sophisticated weapons and aircraft. The recent Commonwealth Conference condemned South Africa for the military and economic support it continues to give to the illegal régime. We have no illusions about the role of South Africa and the fact that it is Smith's principal supporter. But, as the Foreign Minister of Tanzania has observed [*ibid.*, para. 88], some of the equipment used by the Smith régime is not of South African origin; it has been supplied by States outside Africa.

70. The Government of Mozambique has the responsibility of taking whatever measures it can to protect the lives and property of its citizens and to safeguard the State against armed attacks and violations of its territorial integrity. Article 51 of the Charter recognizes that. In normal circumstances, we would expect each State to make whatever arrangements it considered necessary for the defence of its territory, but we are not dealing with conditions of normality. We are dealing with a situation whereby a State, because it has decided to comply with its obligations under the Charter, finds itself the victim of aggression as a result of that decision.

71. It is the position of my Government—and this is indeed a position shared by the African Group of States, the non-aligned States and many other States—that the United Nations has an inescapable responsibility to assist Mozambique in defending itself and to eliminate the source responsible for such aggression.

72. It is appropriate that the Council should also take note of Article 50 of the Charter, which states:

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

73. Having said that, it is my privilege to introduce on behalf of the sponsors, namely, Benin, India, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Pakistan, Panama, Romania and my own delegation, the draft resolution which has now been circulated among members [S/12353].

74. The preamble is quite straightforward. In the first five preambular paragraphs the Council would take note of the telegram received from the President of Mozambique, the statement made in the Council by the head of the Mozambique delegation and the resolution adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its twenty-ninth session; it would express indignation at the systematic acts of aggression committed by the illegal régime against Mozambique and grave concern at the deteriorating situation in Southern Rhodesia as a result of the continued existence of the illegal régime.

75. In the seventh and eighth preambular paragraphs, reference is made to resolution 232 (1966), which determined that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security, as well as to the fact that recent acts of aggression against Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia have aggravated the prevailing dangerous situation in the region.

76. In the ninth and tenth preambular paragraphs, it has been considered necessary to recall resolution 253 (1968), which applied sanctions against the illegal régime in Rhodesia, as well as the courageous decision by Mozambique to close its borders and apply sanctions in conformity with that resolution.

77. In the eleventh preambular paragraph, concern is expressed at the fact that the Council has so far failed to bring an end to the illegal régime, and the conviction that sanctions, unless they are comprehensive, mandatory and strictly supervised, would not be sufficient.

78. There is reference also, in the fourteenth preambular paragraph, to the primary responsibility of the United Kingdom in the matter and, in the fifteenth preambular paragraph, to the provisions of the Maputo Declaration calling for intensified assistance to the liberation struggle.

79. I now wish to say a few words in explanation of the operative part of the draft resolution.

80. In paragraphs 1 and 3, the Council would condemn both the illegal régime for its recent acts of aggression against Mozambique and South Africa for its continued support of that régime.

81. In paragraph 2, the Council would declare such acts of aggression, as well as the attacks and threats against Zambia and Botswana by the illegal régime, to be a serious aggravation of the situation.

82. In paragraph 4, the Council would reaffirm that the continued existence of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia was not only a source of instability in the region but also a serious threat to international peace and security.

83. In paragraph 5, the Council would reaffirm the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and

independence, and would call for intensified assistance to the people and their national liberation movement. Here I must point out that the authors are using the generic term "national liberation movement", a term which encompasses all those engaged in the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe.

84. Paragraph 6 is a matter of routine.

85. In paragraph 7, the Council would demand that the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Mozambique be scrupulously respected.

86. In paragraph 8, the Council would demand that all States refrain from providing any support to the illegal régime and, in particular, that South Africa adhere fully to Council resolutions.

87. Paragraphs 9, 10 and 11 should be read in conjunction with each other since they are linked. Paragraph 9 deals with a matter which is quite central to the substance of Mozambique's complaint. In it all States are requested

"to give immediate and substantial material assistance to enable the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique to strengthen its defence capability in order to safeguard effectively its sovereignty and territorial integrity".

In paragraphs 10 and 11, the Council would request all States, regional organizations and other appropriate inter-governmental organizations, as well as the organs of the United Nations system, to provide financial, technical and material assistance to Mozambique in order to enable it to overcome the severe economic loss and destruction of property brought about by the acts of aggression committed by the illegal régime.

88. Paragraph 12 deals with the question of sanctions. Here we are expressing the hope that the Council will request its Committee on Sanctions to examine as a matter of priority further effective measures to tighten the scope of sanctions in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter. I should like to point out that in using the term "as a matter of priority" we are in no way relegating the importance of consideration of the question of enforcement of the existing sanctions.

89. In paragraph 13, the Council would request the Secretary-General to co-ordinate the efforts of the United Nations system and to organize immediately an effective programme of international assistance to Mozambique. We would expect the Secretary-General to send a mission to Mozambique, as he has done in other similar situations and with great distinction, to ascertain the amount of destruction and other pertinent economic matters, and to submit a report to the international community which would enable States to determine how best they can contribute to the specific needs of the situation.

90. The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to inform members of the Council that there is a list of speakers for both the morning and the afternoon meetings. I understand that the representatives whose names are on the list wish to speak before the vote on the draft resolution. Hence, it would appear most unlikely that

we would be able to vote before some time tomorrow afternoon.

91. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I should like to ask whether the representatives whose names are on the list of speakers will be addressing themselves to the substance of the issue or speaking in explanation of vote before the voting.

92. The PRESIDENT: I can only say that the names of these representatives are inscribed on the list of speakers. I assume that they will wish to speak on the substance of the question. In any case, they have made it very clear that they wish to speak before the vote is taken on the draft resolution.

93. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Usually, Mr. President—and I stand to be corrected—when members inscribe their

names on the list of speakers, they indicate whether they wish to speak in the debate or in explanation of vote before the voting.

94. The PRESIDENT: All the representatives whose names are on the list have indicated that they wish to speak in the debate.

95. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Purely as a matter of order, I would say that, as I understand it, one is entitled to speak both in the debate and in explanation of vote before the voting—if one wishes to do so. I would add that that is not a threat.

96. The PRESIDENT: I think that we have now reached an understanding of the situation.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.

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