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2014th MEETING: 28 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.

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

2014TH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 28 June 1977, at 10.30 a.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/2014)

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 10.55 a.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: I have received a letter from the representative of Mozambique in which, under rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, he requests that a delegation headed by the Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, be allowed to participate in the Council's discussion. I propose, in accordance with the usual practice and with the consent of the Council, to invite the representative of Mozambique to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

2. I welcome the Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique and his delegation.

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

3. The PRESIDENT: Letters have also been received from the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Gabon, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, in which they request that they 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 those representatives 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 those representatives to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table whenever they wish to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. Rahal (Algeria), Mr. J. E. dos Santos (Angola), Mr. D. K. Kwelagobe (Botswana), Mr. G. Rawiri (Gabon), Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé (Guinea), 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.

5. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item included in the agenda in response to the request by the Government of Mozambique contained in annex I to the 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].

6. I should also like to draw to the attention of the Council the following documents: document S/12348, containing the text of a telegram from the President of Guinea to the President of the Council; document S/12351, containing the text of a letter dated 25 June 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Council; and document S/12352, containing the text of a telegram dated 26 June 1977 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Gabon, Chairman of the twenty-ninth session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, to the President of the Council.

7. The first speaker is the Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique on whom I now call.

8. Mr. dos SANTOS (Mozambique):¹ Mr. President, allow me to begin by saluting you for the prompt and rapid manner in which you responded to the request by the People's Republic of Mozambique for the convening of the Security Council for the purpose of discussing the situation of insecurity prevailing in southern Africa, a situation which has been aggravated by the intensification of the aggressions on the part of the outlaw régime of Ian Smith. We are certain that, under your clear direction, we shall reach a consensus concerning the measures to be taken to deal with the problems to be discussed here.

9. Allow me also, in the name of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, to express appreciation to the Secretary-General for the interest and attention he has shown concerning our request. His involvement in this matter is not surprising, since we are aware of the efforts he has always dedicated to the resolution of serious problems in southern Africa, specifically as regards the People's Republic of Mozambique, since the period of the armed struggle for national liberation.

10. We should also like to salute the various representatives in the Council for their dedication and attention. They are well acquainted with the problems of the international community and we once again express our confidence that they will reach a solution embodying the principles that guide this world Organization.

11. We want to address a special greeting to the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, which gave Their Excellencies the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, Gabon, Lesotho, Nigeria, Tanzania and Tunisia the mandate to convey to the Security Council the determination of Africa definitively to eliminate colonialism and racism from our continent. The presence of our dear brothers brings home to us even more vividly and forcefully the warmth and solidarity of the peoples of our continent.

12. We salute also the Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea, whose presence constitutes a new demonstration of the militant engagement of Guinea's Democratic Party, its Government and its leader, His Excellency President Ahmed Sékou Touré.

13. The presence among us of distinguished representatives of the front-line countries, Their Excellencies the First Vice-Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Angola and the Ministers of the Republic of Botswana, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, is also very meaningful to us. It reflects the active engagement of those countries in the struggle against colonialism and racism which is being carried on on a large scale in the confrontation zone between liberty and Fascist oppression.

14. Finally, we wish to salute the Members of the Organization for their exemplary condemnation of the racist régime of Ian Smith and for the active manner in which they have followed this problem, treating it as a problem for all mankind.

15. We should like to take advantage of this occasion to salute the birth of a new African nation. The people of

Djibouti have just celebrated their independence following their heroic resistance and struggle against colonialism. The last bastion of French colonialism in Africa thus has fallen and, in its place, the free voice of a people long suppressed under exploitation, misery and humiliation has risen.

16. Ian Smith's army has murdered 1,432 persons, 1,001 of whom were Zimbabwean refugees, since the People's Republic of Mozambique began strictly to apply the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. The villages of Mapai, Massangena, Mavonde and Chioco have been completely levelled. Only two weeks ago, the Espungabera region was violently attacked. Dozens of other localities were left without hospitals, schools, stores, water reservoirs; thousands of homes were burned and destroyed; factories and bridges were demolished; thousands of head of cattle were slaughtered. The tropospheric weather station in Chicualacuala, the only one in the country, was deliberately destroyed. Locomotives, box cars, boats and trucks were also destroyed.

17. From making small incursions lasting a few hours and never involving more than 50 men, the army of the illegal Salisbury régime has gone on to launch massive, large-scale attacks against well-defined objectives. Besides the systematic murder of the civilian population, the invader's objectives have come to include vital points of our economic and social infrastructure.

18. The massacre at Nyazonia was the first of those large-scale attacks. We should note that it was the largest one committed against a refugee camp in Africa under the administration of the United Nations. It was with the attack on Nyazonia that the escalation of aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique began to be intensified.

19. Hence, in the month of September, the localities of Gento and Nura in the Province of Tete were attacked; those of Chicualacuala, Mapai, Chitanga and Machaila in the Province of Gaza, as well as the city of Manica, which is the second largest population centre in Manica Province, were also targets of Rhodesian attacks. Four people's stores, five water tanks, 10 trucks and two wagons were completely destroyed. Fifty-nine civilians died during those criminal actions.

20. In October, more than 71 civilians—38 in Tete, 2 in Manica and 31 in Gaza—were murdered during attacks.

21. The following month, the villages of Cuchumane, Luia, Mucumbura, Massangena and, again, Chicualacuala, Gento and the city of Manica were the targets of new raids. Forty-two Mozambican civilians and four refugees from Zimbabwe lost their lives. Two commercial warehouses, the tropospheric weather station at Chicualacuala, a water tank and 63 homes were destroyed or seriously damaged.

22. The beginning of December was marked by the first joint aggression against the provinces of Tete, Manica and Gaza. During that raid, the army of the outlaw régime of Ian Smith used more than 1,000 men, dozens of assault vehicles, and aircraft including fighter-bombers. Forty-nine civilians and 28 refugees lost their lives. The village of

¹ Mr. dos Santos spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

Chicalacuala was attacked six times in the course of 15 days.

23. During the first month of this year, Jeque, Nura, Mucumbura, Mago, Chioco, and Coquize in the Province of Tete, Curo and Machipanda in Manica, and Chicalacuala in Gaza were targets hit by the Rhodesian racists in large-scale attacks, causing the death of 94 civilians and nine refugees.

24. During the first five months of this year, 200 Mozambicans were killed and 40 wounded.

25. At the end of May and the beginning of this month, a new invasion was launched against the People's Republic of Mozambique. On that occasion, the illegal racist army used 500-kilogramme fragmentation bombs, besides the usual napalm bombs. The use of Mirage jets was detected for the first time.

26. In the latest attack on the Espungabera region, the bridge over the Buzi river was completely destroyed. That loss created serious problems in supplying essential goods to the population in the district of Mossurize.

27. If we look at the pattern of aggression, we see that, during the period of the application of sanctions, the People's Republic of Mozambique has suffered an average of more than one attack every three days. An average of three civilians per day were murdered during this same period.

28. The actions of the enemy have not resulted in a greater number of victims among the civilian population thanks to the people's forces which, in co-operation with the people's militias, have fought decidedly and energetically against those violations of our sovereignty. Further, the activity of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces is oriented first and foremost towards organizing the defence of the population.

29. This escalation of aggression is, above all, a challenge to the international community. It is an affront to the authority and prestige of the United Nations, the highest international body. One of the most noble missions of the Organization is effectively to create the mechanisms for the liquidation of colonialism throughout the world, with the aim of establishing peace. The actions of the United Nations have, at present, particular relevance in southern Africa.

30. The existing colonial situation in Rhodesia has already been denounced. The régime of Ian Smith has already been condemned by the United Nations. However, that illegal régime consolidated itself through its close ties to Portuguese colonialism.

31. Mozambique is now a liberated zone, a zone of peace and of progress. The aggression by Smith against our country is therefore the result of our refusal to compromise with his régime, to compromise with racism. The People's Republic of Mozambique is being attacked because the Mozambican people have assumed the commitment of supporting without reservation the struggle for liberation of the people of Zimbabwe. The People's Republic of Mozam-

bique is being attacked because it is fully implementing the sanctions imposed by the Council. The People's Republic of Mozambique is being attacked because it is an independent and free country, whose independence and liberty gave the United Nations the real capacity to realize the aspirations of mankind by endorsing the re-establishment of peace and security in southern Africa.

32. Smith's objectives in carrying out this escalated aggression are clear. On the one hand, he intends to intimidate the Mozambican people into abandoning its support for the people of Zimbabwe and halting its implementation of resolutions adopted by the international community; on the other, he seeks to make the colonial conflict, in which he is opposed by the people of Zimbabwe, an international issue, thus sidetracking the attention of world public opinion from the central question which is that of independence for the British colony.

33. The intensification of the aggression, the unprecedented scope of the attacks and the use of sophisticated equipment of war, including armoured vehicles, tanks, heavy artillery, helicopters, reconnaissance aircraft and Mirages, reveal to us an issue which should merit special attention from the international community. We can be certain from this evolution that the rebel régime of Ian Smith is not alone in its aggression. It dares invade the People's Republic of Mozambique because it is supported militarily by certain countries, which thus become active accomplices in this aggression and flagrantly violate the decisions taken by the international community.

34. The constant aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique which we have just analysed, and which is connected with the aggression against the Republic of Zambia and the Republic of Botswana, is transforming southern Africa into a hotbed of tension seriously endangering world peace and security. The increasing gravity of the situation of insecurity in that area, which has been worsened by the latest assaults against the People's Republic of Mozambique, demands an adequate response from the international community. It is for this reason that the People's Republic of Mozambique considered it necessary to request the convening of the Security Council.

35. This is not the first time that our Government has requested the attention of the Council. In March 1976 this body met to consider measures to be taken as a result of our decision fully to apply the sanctions called for against the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. On that occasion, resolution 386 (1976) was adopted unanimously, calling on all Member States and specialized agencies to supply financial, technical and material aid to my country. That aid is aimed at permitting the People's Republic of Mozambique to implement its economic development programme and fully to maintain the application of the sanctions.

36. We emphasized at that time that our primary objective was the restructuring of our economy, aware as we were that only in that way could we become a solid, active and safe base for the liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and, in particular, of Zimbabwe.

37. The special Mission sent to the People's Republic of Mozambique by the Secretary-General calculated the needs of our country at \$210 million for the first 12 months and \$175 million for the following year. The international community understood the economic situation obtaining in our country, which had just been liberated from colonialism, and responded favourably to the request. Although the aid provided has been significantly less than what is necessary, particularly in the list of the setbacks suffered by the Mozambican economy, it none the less represents sacrifices on the part of those peoples which wanted to help us through their respective Governments and democratic organizations.

38. We are also witnessing the development of Anglo-American initiatives towards finding a solution for the so-called Rhodesian question. The first phase of those initiatives, which culminated in the Geneva conference at the end of last year, showed the unfeasibility of any solution that included Ian Smith in an active role as a mediator. The second phase now under way must not attempt to legalize colonialism and oppression in Zimbabwe; it must not attempt to find a common platform or alliance between the black puppets and the white racists, or attempt to institutionalize the privileges which prevail today based on the colour of the skin, to the detriment of the vast majority of the people of Zimbabwe. We are certain that should that be the case those diplomatic attempts will be flatly voted down and lead to nothing but the deterioration of the situation of permanent tension gripping southern Africa.

39. There is no conciliation possible between a régime maintaining itself by terror of arms and a people struggling to free itself from the violence and exploitation imposed upon it.

40. The People's Republic of Mozambique believes that the United Kingdom, which has already assumed its responsibilities in the Rhodesian colonial conflict, should negotiate with the patriotic forces on the means for transferral of power. That is the only road that can lead to the independence of Zimbabwe, to the elimination of the focal point of permanent tension and to the restoration of peace in that area of Africa.

41. That was, in fact, the precise direction taken at the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held at Maputo from 16 to 21 May of this year, where the international community unanimously reaffirmed its support for the armed liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and recommended that the process of transfer of power should be carried out by stages in the briefest possible period of time, towards the goal of independence for Zimbabwe.

42. How has the Salisbury régime been reacting towards the efforts of the international community? By aggression and the massacre of men, women, children and old people recently liberated from hundreds and hundreds of years of Portuguese colonial domination and enthusiastically and vigorously involved in the reconstruction of their homeland. Today, schools, people's stores, homes, nurseries and day-care centres in dozens of localities and villages are in

rubble and ruin, suffering pain and desolation—the ashes of the sweat and work of our people. They are the vivid and repugnant symbol of Fascist, racist violence. That is the reply of Smith, who punctuates his disdain for the international community with brute force.

43. In order to confront this aggression, the People's Republic of Mozambique is obliged to mobilize what little material resources it has for the defence of its sovereignty and territorial integrity—resources which should be channelled into the more pressing tasks of national reconstruction. We wish to recall that those resources are also necessary to cover the losses incurred by our country as a consequence of the full implementation—out of respect for the demand of the international community—of the sanctions decreed against the British colony of Southern Rhodesia.

44. It therefore becomes imperative that the international community contribute to the reinforcement of the defensive military capability of the People's Republic of Mozambique by supplying the equipment necessary for effectively defending our 1,200 kilometres of common frontier with Southern Rhodesia. Our people needs arms to defend and consolidate the peace and to be able to rebuild upon the ruins of colonialism. Our people needs arms in order effectively to implement the decisions taken by international bodies. Our people and our soldiers are mobilized and determined to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country. They need only equipment in order effectively to face the aggression of the enemy, whose offensive capability is constantly reinforced.

45. The military *matériel* we need is to defend our territory, our liberty and our revolution. We will not be the ones to overthrow, by force of arms, the hated régime of Ian Smith. The experience of our struggle and the traditions of resistance of our people have taught us to respect the dignity and uniqueness of other peoples. Liberty is not a gift; nor is it a paternalistic concession. It is a conquest built with the sacrifice and blood of peoples in their struggle against oppression. It will be the people of Zimbabwe itself that will win its independence with the dignity that characterizes men who fight for freedom.

46. We should like to stress in this forum the need for the international community to intensify its support for the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, including, most emphatically, the necessary complete isolation of the Ian Smith régime and the full application of sanctions against that British colony.

47. Finally, we appeal to the international community to pursue its efforts to make available the financial, material and technical aid called for in Security Council resolution 386 (1976). We also appeal for the granting of special assistance for the purpose of reconstructing areas devastated by the aggression, which has caused direct material losses estimated at over \$13 million.

48. Our people wants to reconstruct its homeland in peace. Our people is determined to persist in fulfilling its international duties. Our people is ready to defend its country, its revolutionary victories and its sovereignty. Our

people is determined and ready to comply with its obligations to the international community.

49. It is to the community of nations, to the democratic forces in the world and to all peace-loving people that we address ourselves—indeed, to world public opinion—calling on them to fulfil their obligations and reinforce their solidarity.

50. In the name of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, I repeat our appreciation for the positive manner in which the international community has shown its solidarity with our people. It is encouraging to know that we are not alone and that we can count on the greater part of mankind, represented here, firmly to pursue the tasks the hour demands.

51. We affirm in this forum, where so many important measures have been taken to assure the respect and dignity of men, that our people, our Party and Government will remain firm in combat posts, persevering in the fulfilment of their tasks of national reconstruction, in the defence of their revolutionary achievements and national sovereignty, and in compliance with their internationalist duty concerning the people of Zimbabwe. We also wish to affirm before the international community that we are determined to put an end to this aggression, under whatever circumstances. The struggle continues.

52. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker, I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received letters from the representatives of Egypt and Lesotho in which they request invitations 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 those representatives 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.

53. I therefore invite the representatives of Egypt and Lesotho to take the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table whenever they wish to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. E. Abdel Meguid (Egypt) and Mr. C. D. Molapo (Lesotho) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

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

55. Mr. MWALE (Zambia): On behalf of my delegation, I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. The issue before the Council is crucial. These meetings could very well constitute the severest test ever for the Council regarding the situation in southern Africa. The oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are on the march to freedom. I hope and trust that, given your outstanding personal qualities and your vast experience as a diplomat, you will prove equal to the task before the

Council. Let history record that it was under your presidency that the Council rallied solidly behind the oppressed people of Africa and, convincingly and positively, acted to facilitate the march and shorten the road to be travelled towards the cherished objectives of liberty and independence.

56. Like some of my colleagues present here, I have had to interrupt my participation in the meeting of the Organization of African Unity currently in progress at Libreville, Gabon. I have not come merely to give support to Mozambique which has brought the grave question of the activities of the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia before the Security Council. My President, His Excellency Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, has repeatedly declared that any attack by the racist minority régimes of southern Africa on Mozambique or any other front-line African State is an attack on Zambia. That is no mere rhetoric; we mean it. I am therefore here today because the peoples of Mozambique and Zambia are one and the same. Together we shall triumph; together we shall perish, if we must.

57. This is the second time in less than one year that the Security Council has been presented with a case of naked aggression and hostile acts committed by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia against the security and well-being of one of the independent States bordering that country. The Council will recall the case submitted by the Republic of Botswana on 12 January 1977 [S/12275] which resulted in the adoption of resolution 403 (1977). Shortly before that my own country had appeared before the Council with a similar case of aggression [S/12147] committed by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa, which continues to occupy illegally the international Territory of Namibia and to use it as a base from which to launch armed attacks against the Republic of Zambia and the People's Republic of Angola. In that respect, the Council's attention is once again drawn to its resolution 393 (1976).

58. In these two cases and, indeed, in this particular case brought by Mozambique, the front-line States so victimized have chosen to bring those grave acts of aggression to the attention of the Council. Those countries, which have the right to defend themselves from such arrogant racist régimes, could have chosen otherwise. They chose to bring those cases here because of the faith that they have in the United Nations as the only vanguard and sanctuary of peace.

59. Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, the eminent leader of the Mozambique delegation, has already, eloquently and indeed in a sobering manner, catalogued the numerous mad acts of aggression and genocide committed by the clique of rebels in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. Can anybody who is not of their kind doubt the seriousness of the situation caused by Smith and his cohorts?

60. Is it not outrageous and indeed intriguing that Smith's most vicious act of aggression against Mozambique was committed as soon as the representatives of the universally acclaimed Maputo Conference on Zimbabwe and Namibia had left? Let it be remembered that that act of aggression was also committed shortly after the visit to Salisbury by

United Kingdom and United States envoys in search of a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe. During the Maputo Conference itself, Smith committed aggression against Botswana. Add to all that the fact that, as the representatives were assembling at Maputo, Smith issued a threat to invade Zambia—ironically, through the “good offices” of the United Kingdom which, oblivious of its responsibilities as the colonial authority in Southern Rhodesia, faithfully conveyed the message to us.

61. One is led to ask: What is the basis of Smith's arrogant and provocative behaviour? He got away with his rebellion against the British Crown 12 years ago, on 11 November 1965. The international community then professed outrage. For 12 years within and outside the United Nations there have been efforts to quell the rebellion and to advance the cause of the people of Zimbabwe for self-determination and independence. The Security Council imposed mandatory economic sanctions against the Smith régime which remain in force to this day. There have also been fruitless attempts at negotiation. We all recall the negotiations on the ships *Tiger* and *Fearless*, at Victoria Falls, at Geneva and other places. Yet Smith proves elusive. But, like Vorster at Pretoria, he continues to boast that he is the defender of “Western civilization” and “Western interests” in southern Africa.

62. We in Zambia have concluded that Smith is an illusion. Alone, he is weak; his strength lies elsewhere. It lies in South Africa and in certain Western Governments and multinational corporations, including oil companies. They have given him succour and solace for the 12 years that he has defied the authority of the United Nations. They are therefore accomplices in his oppression and repression of the people of Zimbabwe and his acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States.

63. All efforts to seek a peaceful settlement of the question of Southern Rhodesia having failed, the people of Zimbabwe have, understandably and justifiably, resorted to an intensified armed struggle. Today, they are scoring impressive victories over the enemy. Smith and his henchmen have been thrown into a state of despair and panic. As desperate and panic-stricken men, they are committing genocide, rape and other savage brutalities against the people of Zimbabwe. They have also had to devise new stratagems which they hope will buy them time.

64. It is not a mere coincidence that Smith and his henchmen in Southern Rhodesia have, in recent months, sharpened their arrogance and intensified their acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States. It has dawned on them that they cannot and will not win the war for Zimbabwe now raging with all intensity inside Zimbabwe itself. But, because of their greed for power, they are not willing to surrender; they are determined to cling to power for as long as possible. Because of their obsession with the notion of white racist supremacy in southern Africa, they are seeking to externalize the conflict in Zimbabwe by directly involving South Africa and the front-line African countries, which they are deliberately provoking. In the final analysis, they are seeking to internationalize the conflict, relying on the belief that if the front-line African countries should invite their friends to

assist them, the Western countries, for which they are supposed to exist, will be motivated to intervene on their side.

65. Smith and his clique are thus playing a very dangerous game. It is no exaggeration to say that the situation in southern Africa contains the seeds of a polarized global conflict. And let me remind the Council that we in Zambia have repeatedly warned that the existence of white racist minority régimes in southern Africa constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. We have said this so many times that to some it must sound monotonous. But we do not apologize for saying it again, for we know that we are not wrong.

66. The oppressed people cannot abandon the struggle for their rights just in order to avert a crisis of international proportions. They will continue to fight. Africa and the front-line countries, in particular, have a duty to support them, for their cause is just. We shall not betray them. We have a duty also to defend ourselves against aggression. We shall not allow Smith and his clique to kill and maim our people, wantonly destroy our property and violate our territorial integrity with impunity. In order that there may be no doubt about this, allow me to repeat the following words spoken by President Kaunda at the recent Commonwealth Conference in London:

“Let Smith know and let the administering Power, Britain, through whom Smith sent his last threat of attack against Zambia, also know that the so-called policy of ‘hot pursuit’ is a policy of naked aggression. If Rhodesian forces come into Zambia, we reserve not only the right to defend our territory with every means at our disposal, but also the right to follow the enemy into the rebel colony. It has never been our intention to do this, but we cannot allow Smith the monopoly of ‘hot pursuit’ for a wrong cause. We cannot. We have in fact the right to defend the dignity of man, to pursue to victory the struggle against forces which dehumanize man. If a general war breaks out, we should not be blamed for the consequences.”

67. So it is really up to those who do not want a wider conflict in southern Africa to stop the mad and desperate acts of Ian Smith. We are convinced that Smith has no intention of negotiating a settlement in Zimbabwe. Otherwise, his language and activities would be those of a man willing to negotiate. His troops would not be on the rampage of savage atrocities against the people of Zimbabwe. He would not be intensifying his acts of aggression against independent African countries.

68. Smith's acts of aggression against Mozambique are particularly disturbing. They cannot and must not be allowed to continue. They are savage and barbaric. They violate every norm of international law and civilized behaviour. Here we have the case of a rebel and an international outlaw wantonly aiming at and destroying civilian targets in a sovereign and independent country, indeed a Member of the United Nations. Smith is not only murdering innocent civilians in Mozambique; he is also bombing schools, hospitals, bridges and other vital necessities in that young and newly independent African country. What an outrage! Will the international com-

munity stand by with arms folded and watch Smith get away with all this?

69. Let us remember that Mozambique is bearing the brunt for its support of a just cause—indeed a United Nations cause. Mozambique is making tremendous sacrifices in defence of United Nations principles. FRELIMO and the Government and people of Mozambique deserve the unre-served commendation of the international community for showing the courage of their convictions. More important, we should all be inspired to help that young country in concrete material and economic terms. We should seek to strengthen it so that it will be better able to play its role as an indispensable rear guard to the Zimbabwe liberation movement.

70. Even without these acts of aggression committed against it by the rebels in Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, born out of a protracted war against the Portuguese Fascists barely two years ago, would need concrete international support in its efforts at national reconstruction. Its situation has been aggravated by the activities of the Smith régime. The closure of its border with Southern Rhodesia compounded the situation it inherited from the Portuguese Fascists. The war now being waged against Mozambique by the Smith régime has further worsened the situation. There is therefore even greater need for the international community to assist Mozambique.

71. In our considered opinion, Mozambique has made reasonable demands on the Council. They merit the unanimous support of all its members. The Western countries, particularly the United Kingdom and the United States, are currently engaged in an initiative to resolve the question of Southern Rhodesia. We do not have much faith in that initiative. In any case, let them know that their behaviour during this debate will have a direct bearing on the fate of their initiative. Any negative attitude on their part in this debate would be inconsistent with genuine and serious efforts to resolve the question of Southern Rhodesia and would make it very difficult to achieve a negotiated settlement.

72. To sum up, it is now quite clear to us that the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia has taken advantage of the weakness and powerlessness of successive Governments of the United Kingdom, the administering Power in Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom, I am afraid, has lamentably failed to apply the full force of its own sanctions in order to bring down the racist régime of Ian Smith. It is our conviction that if British and Western oil companies had applied sanctions immediately after the unilateral declaration of independence by rebel leader Ian Smith in 1965, the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia would have ground to a halt, as was predicted by former Prime Minister Sir Harold Wilson.

73. The role of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa in sustaining the Smith racist régime in Rhodesia is too well known to the Council to require any detailed analysis here. Suffice it to mention that oil and arms embargoes on the Vorster *apartheid* régime in Pretoria and, indeed, on the Salisbury régime, would have minimized the conspiracy and the effectiveness of their unholy alliance. My delegation

calls upon the international community represented here to apply full economic sanctions, in particular concerning the supply of oil, against the illegal régime of Rhodesia.

74. There can be no compromise with the rebels in southern Africa. There must be majority rule and genuine independence. Any attempt to install a puppet régime in Zimbabwe would be tantamount to creating conditions for a civil war. We shall strenuously oppose any such attempts. In this regard let me once again quote from President Kaunda's statement at the London Commonwealth Conference. He said:

"The southern African crisis is not a subject of political juggling. Here, there are no games to play. There are no diplomatic victories to score and no time to buy for yet new gimmicks or clever stratagems. There is only room and opportunity for saving human life—life which even as I speak is being lost at the hand of the oppressor.

"Those who engage in playing games, those who seek loopholes for play-acting and double-dealing diplomacy will be overtaken by events. We are confident about the certainty of the historic triumph of the forces for liberation. As in the case of former Portuguese Territories, the tide of history will sweep to the shores of time and expose the confidence of tricksters. For time is the greatest friend of truth and justice's handmaid."

I can think of no better note on which to end my statement.

75. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

76. Mr. MKAPA (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, first of all, permit me to express the satisfaction of my delegation at seeing you presiding over the Security Council for the month of June. I am happy to note that Canada and Tanzania have always enjoyed very good relations and shared similar views on a large number of international issues. May I also take this opportunity to express our appreciation to you and, through you, to the members of the Security Council for having inviting us to participate in this important debate.

77. It is not really necessary for me to explain the presence of our delegation at this meeting of the Council. The ties that bind the people of Mozambique and the people of Tanzania are age-old, deep and profound. They are sealed by the unbreakable solidarity and blood brotherhood nurtured through the long years of Mozambique's armed struggle for independence. As a result, any aggression against Mozambique is regarded by our people as aggression against Tanzania.

78. On this occasion, however, I speak not just on behalf of Tanzania. My country is honoured to be one of the African States specifically mandated by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, currently meeting at Libreville, Gabon, to come before the Council and state Africa's indignation at the continued and per-

sistent acts of aggression of the rebel régime against a sister country, the People's Republic of Mozambique. The Organization of African Unity considers it to be an aggression against the African peoples.

79. My brother and colleague Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, member of the Permanent Political Committee of FRELIMO and Minister for Development and Economic Planning of the People's Republic of Mozambique, clearly and succinctly set forth the facts on the systematic and calculated acts of aggression of the illegal régime against the Mozambican people. He has given an extensive account of the losses incurred in terms of both material resources and human lives. I shall therefore refrain from repeating the details of the enormous losses and sufferings inflicted upon the people of Mozambique by the racist régime.

80. Mozambique is a young country that has just emerged as an independent nation after 500 years of Fascist and colonial rule and more than 10 years of bitter war of liberation. Mozambique today needs to concentrate all its energy and resources on the reconstruction and economic development of the country. Yet even under these difficult conditions, Mozambique has remained faithful to the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Because of its adherence to those resolutions and decisions in support of the liberation movements and the application of sanctions against the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique has become the target of aggression. Thus Mozambique is paying a very high price for being faithful to the principles of the Charter and for scrupulously implementing the decisions of the United Nations.

81. When Mozambique decided to close its border with Rhodesia it was not without great sacrifices, for that action was in fact detrimental to its own economy. Yet it was prepared to sacrifice its own economic interests in the service of justice and in consistency with its loyalty to the decisions of the Security Council. We now have the outrageous situation in which a faithful Member of the Organization, the People's Republic of Mozambique, is being subjected to enormous and increasing destruction, both human and material, for no reason other than its being loyal to the decisions of the Organization. And yet the illegal régime continues to escape the real and effective measures the Council is capable of imposing. Taking advantage of this inaction of the Council, the Smith régime has continued its defiance of the international community and escalated its repression in Zimbabwe and its aggression against neighbouring independent African States.

82. In the last year, Mozambique has become a particular target. Over 140 acts of aggression have been committed against it. The recent invasion of Mapai resulted in the wanton killing of innocent civilians and the deliberate destruction of livestock, schools, hospitals, communication centres and other property. It is both alarming and revealing to note that the Smith régime is now better equipped militarily than ever before. The rebel troops now use heavy artillery, tanks, troop transporters and even Mirage fighter planes whose origin leaves us in doubt as to the sincerity of those who claim to be opposed to the Smith régime.

83. It is imperative that, as the Council considers these latest acts of aggression against Mozambique, it should do so taking into account the cause and effect of the problem. For we must not lose sight of the fact that the source of the problem is the continued existence of the illegal régime. That is the cause of the conflict in the area. The aggression against Mozambique, like similar aggression against Zambia and Botswana, is but a manifestation of the consequences of the continued existence of the illegal régime and its desperate manoeuvres to cling to power. If the Security Council seriously wants to remove the source of aggression, then it is necessary to bring down the illegal régime. The mere presence of the Smith régime in Rhodesia is an aggression in itself and constitutes a threat to peace in the region and to international security.

84. The systematic and repeated acts of aggression committed by the illegal rebel régime against the neighbouring African States, and most recently against Mozambique, demand immediate and concrete action by the Council as the body responsible for international peace and security. The measures it takes should encompass the following different but related areas. We envisage and expect action against the racist régime and its collaborators, action in support of Mozambique and concrete assistance to the liberation movement in Zimbabwe.

85. It was about one month ago that the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia adopted, by consensus, the Maputo Declaration and the Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia [see S/12344/Rev.1 of 22 July 1977]. The Conference recognized that sanctions against the illegal régime should be intensified and widened to include measures under Article 41 of the Charter. Sanctions have not been fully applied by all Member States and in certain cases they are being massively evaded. The repeated condemnations of the illegal régime are not always matched with actions. Nothing would be more timely and appropriate at the moment than for the Council to respond positively to the call made at Maputo for the widening of sanctions to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter. And in the same spirit all assistance must be given to the liberation movement to intensify the struggle to topple the Smith régime.

86. The international community has an obligation to assist the liberation movements to free their country. As long as Zimbabwe is not free, the neighbouring States will continue to bear a heavy burden in the struggle. The geographical position of those countries makes it necessary for them to carry the burden on behalf of the international community. The international community, therefore, has a duty to support those countries that suffer constant harassment and repeated aggression from the racist régime.

87. In considering the acts of aggression against Mozambique, the Council must recognize the fact that that country has been forced to be in a constant state of war. Under such circumstances, Mozambique needs to strengthen its defence capacity. To do so would naturally drain its resources much more than would be required for normal defence needs. In that respect, the Organization of African Unity has rightly called upon all States to provide Mozam-

bique with all practical assistance to enable it to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity. In the name of OAU and on behalf of the Tanzanian delegation, let me express our confidence that the Council will respond positively to this clarion call of OAU. But it is not only in the field of defence that Mozambique requires urgent assistance. Its economy is constantly disrupted and this situation cries for immediate assistance also.

88. South Africa has continued to give sustenance to the illegal régime in defiance of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and decisions by giving it both military and economic support. At their recent meeting earlier this month in London, the Commonwealth Heads of Government condemned South Africa for the military and economic support which it continues to give to the illegal régime. In particular, they deplored and condemned the provision of military equipment and the supply of petroleum and petroleum products which buttress the illegal régime. The Council can do no less. But there is one more element which requires its particular scrutiny. I have already referred to the fact that some of the equipment currently being used by the Smith régime in its wars of aggression against neighbouring independent African States is not of South African origin. The question that the Council must ponder is: how is it possible for that régime to receive such military hardware from some of the very countries that proclaim verbal outrage against the illegal régime? Equally important is the question: what will the Council do to put an end to such a scandalous practice?

89. The end to the repeated aggression from Rhodesia against neighbouring independent African countries lies in the removal of the Smith régime and the transfer of effective power to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe. Unlike the paranoid Smith régime, a government of the majority in Zimbabwe would have nothing to fear from its neighbours and would live in peace with them.

90. Two kinds of pressure are being brought to bear on Smith to effect his régime's collapse. The first is the pressure of the armed struggle waged by Zimbabwe patriots inside Rhodesia. That pressure will continue and intensify, for the people of Zimbabwe will not put down their arms until majority rule has been achieved and secured, and the Organization of African Unity is resolved to step up its assistance to the armed struggle. The second are pressures emanating from the United Nations resolutions providing for the isolation of and sanctions against the illegal rebellious régime. Along with them are political pressures being applied in the course of the current negotiations for a settlement of the Rhodesian problem. We believe that both the economic and the political pressures should not only be maintained but also stepped up directly or indirectly. Every conceivable kind of pressure must be applied to bring down the Smith régime at the earliest date, and we call upon the Council to say so loudly and clearly.

91. The argument may be advanced that the negotiations would be jeopardized if such pressures were intensified. But our view is that the opposite would be the effect. If we slacken those pressures, indeed if we merely mark time with regard to those currently being applied, Smith would be encouraged to continue buying time and receiving more

armaments for more acts of aggression. In fact, over the last 12 years of Smith's rebellion, it has become clear that it is when Smith has experienced simultaneous maximum pressure—military, economic and political—that he has made attempts to negotiate.

92. As immediate neighbours of Mozambique, the Tanzanians know the enormous sacrifices and the price in human life that the Mozambican people are paying to safeguard the independence of independent African States, to affirm the dignity and human worth of the African people in southern Africa and to defend our continent's honour. Those sacrifices make my country's independence more secure. I want to take this opportunity not only to support Mozambique's case before the Council but also wholeheartedly to thank FRELIMO and the Government and people of Mozambique for those sacrifices. The people of Mozambique, under their Party FRELIMO, are a committed, courageous, persevering and industrious people. They have asked for more understanding, more sympathy and more assistance from the international community to continue to carry the burden imposed upon them by the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. I am confident that the Council will heed this call and rally the international community to their support.

93. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the First Vice-Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Angola. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

94. Mr. dos SANTOS (Angola) (*interpretation from French*): The attention of the international community is today focused once again on New York, where the Security Council has had to convene urgently to examine the situation which has been created on the frontier of Mozambique and to take decisions on the new acts of aggression committed against a State Member of the United Nations, the People's Republic of Mozambique, by the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith.

95. Economic sanctions, decisions and resolutions have been adopted by the General Assembly condemning the racist and Fascist policy of *apartheid*, the illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia by South Africa and the usurpation of power in Zimbabwe by a white racist and colonialist minority with the condonation of the United Kingdom. Measures to safeguard the inalienable right of the peoples of those Territories to self-determination and independence have also been submitted and adopted.

96. However, the situation today shows that, despite the heroic efforts of the liberation movements in southern Africa and the active and militant solidarity of countries and organizations which love peace, freedom and progress in order once and for all to eliminate oppression, racism and colonialism, the minority and racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia are surviving thanks to the military and financial support of some Western countries Members of the United Nations.

97. Consequently, those countries are together collectively responsible for the frequent acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique, which amounted, in

1976 alone, to 41 separate attacks and raids inside Mozambique, resulting in the death of 913 civilians and the wounding of 203. In August 1976 alone, Rhodesia acknowledged that its forces has killed 350 persons; the victims were in a United Nations refugee camp which, according to the illegal Salisbury régime, was a guerrilla base. This year, the Salisbury régime is determined to repeat these exploits and, in fact, break its own record of attacks and violence. In the first four months of 1977, the illegal Smith régime launched 78 attacks. On 31 May, armed troops from Rhodesian territory with massive air support attacked Mozambique and occupied the town of Mapai. The attack on Mapai will be considered a war crime, because that town has now been completely destroyed.

98. In the course of the latest series of Rhodesian attacks against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Mozambique, the illegal Smith régime attempted another invasion, with the support of heavy artillery, armour and aircraft. Just to give a brief description of the damage caused by Smith's attack in the province of Manica, in the villages of Catandica, Nyazonia, Chiaran and Mavonde, 1,066 persons were killed and 329 wounded. In the Province of Gaza, in the villages of Pafuri, Chicualacuala, Chitanga, Machaila and Mapai, 141 persons were killed and 148 wounded.

99. General Walls described the large-scale invasion carried out on 31 May as a mere "defensive exercise" which, in the view of that racist Rhodesian general, contained no "element of aggression". Imperialism and its allies have a vast repertory of euphemisms when it comes to the loss of African life or when African sovereignty is at stake.

100. The statement made in the Council by His Excellency the Minister for Development and Economic Planning of the People's Republic of Mozambique makes abundantly clear the inhuman, retrograde and Machiavellian nature of the Ian Smith régime and shows us how he is using the economic assistance, mercenaries, modern weapons and money which the imperialists of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and others have given him to attack sovereign and independent States, thus endangering peace and security in the southern part of the African continent.

101. The debate on the aggression committed by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola is still fresh in the memory of the members of the Council. At that time, the degree of violence employed, the loss of human life and the material damage sustained by the economy of our young country, which was assessed at millions of dollars, caused the Council to adopt resolution 387 (1976) of 31 March 1976 calling for appropriate compensation. That compensation has not so far been paid by the racist régime.

102. However, the South African and Rhodesian imperialists and racists are at the present time forming a common diplomatic and military front and, acting directly or through their lackeys, are trying to intimidate or mislead the front-line countries, which are ready to carry out their historic mission by providing diplomatic support and concrete material assistance to the freedom fighters of southern Africa.

103. At this time we are observing an intensification of the aggressiveness of the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes against the countries that border on Zimbabwe and Namibia. The simultaneous or consecutive armed attacks by the racists against Mozambique, Zambia, Angola and Botswana obviously form part of an overall plan for the destabilization of the military and political situation in those countries in order to facilitate the improper interference of imperialism in their internal affairs and to drag the African continent into a war that will have grave and unforeseeable consequences for the maintenance of international peace and security.

104. While it is true that that desperate action on the part of the imperialist Powers reveals that the régimes which are defending their economic and strategic interests in our continent are in their death throes, it is also true that the peoples of Africa are coming to see more and more clearly that the so-called struggle against socialist or communist influence in southern Africa is nothing more than a pretext for the continuation of aggression against them in order to perpetuate the hunger, poverty, disease and the cruel capitalist exploitation of African workers.

105. The peoples of Africa and the Organization of African Unity have proclaimed the racist and Fascist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia as their enemies. The fighters of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, guided by their legitimate representatives—the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and ANC, respectively—are intensifying their armed struggle because no satisfactory political solution can be brought about without dialogue between the colonial Powers and the legitimate representatives of the peoples of those Territories. Therefore, any diplomatic action which fails to take into account this fundamental aspect of the problem or which ignores the genuine aspirations of those peoples to total independence, freedom and social progress is doomed to failure.

106. The People's Republic of Angola vigorously condemns this latest act of barbarism on the part of the illegal, racist régime of Ian Smith and gives its unreserved support to the heroic Government and people of Mozambique in their struggle to repel the invaders. We also reiterate here our commitment to the liberation movements fighting for independence in the area, both at the negotiating table and on the battlefield.

107. The People's Republic of Angola repeats its support for the statement made in the Council by the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and wishes to pay that country a militant tribute by declaring once again its encouragement of the economic sanctions being applied against the racists of Rhodesia in accordance with the OAU and United Nations resolutions.

108. We are certain that this expression of solidarity with the oppressed peoples victimized by aggression will have a favourable influence on the outcome of the proceedings of the Council.

109. We do feel, however, that we must face all the problems engendered by the aggression of the Rhodesian racists against the People's Republic of Mozambique with-

out subterfuge or compromise which may hinder the attainment of the aspirations of the people of Mozambique in its struggle for national reconstruction and for the defence of its territorial integrity. The struggle continues; victory is certain.

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

111. Mr. DJIGO (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, allow me, first of all, on behalf of my delegation, to convey to you our congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council. Our participation in this debate under your leadership is a source of genuine satisfaction to us, given the strong bonds of solidarity, friendship and co-operation which unite Senegal and Canada. We are convinced that your personal qualities make you eminently qualified to preside over this debate.

112. I should like to be allowed also, through you, to thank the members of the Council for having authorized me to speak during this debate in my capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States.

113. In opening the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia at Maputo on 16 May last, President Samora Machel said the following:

“Your presence on this frontier of freedom is strong encouragement to the tens of millions of people who, a few kilometres from the city of Maputo, are living under the most brutal oppression. Your words are being broadcast to them and they eagerly and attentively await your message of solidarity. They are waiting for you to affirm that all mankind is resolutely participating in the struggle for human dignity. Furthermore, they hope that your words will be translated into acts of support and that your words will be turned into specific action leading to the elimination of oppression.”

That was the message which the international community wished to convey to the peoples still languishing under colonialism.

114. The climate of war which reigns in southern Africa, needless to say, is a result of the tragic, illegal situation afflicting the peoples of that region.

115. In Zimbabwe, Vorster's disciples have for years been engaged in the application of the degrading and Fascist policy of *apartheid*. The *de facto* situation established in Rhodesia in 1965 by the illegal Salisbury régime has been condemned by the international community. Despite United Nations condemnations, despite the imposition of sanctions and despite certain allegations, the rebel régime of Ian Smith has not worked towards the establishment of majority rule or the creation of a society where basic human rights would be enjoyed by all people.

116. The responsibility for that situation falls undoubtedly on the administering Power, the United Kingdom. The

day after the unilateral declaration of independence by Ian Smith, the Security Council met at the request of, among others, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom. On that occasion, the then British Minister declared that his Government considered the declaration of independence to be null and void because only the British Parliament had the necessary authority, and that the only legal government of Southern Rhodesia was the United Kingdom Government, which was clearly responsible for enforcing the law in Southern Rhodesia so that, in due time, that country might accede to independence and freedom. It was on that basis that the Council adopted resolutions 216 (1965) and 217 (1965), which called upon the Government of the United Kingdom and the international community to adopt the necessary measures to put an end to the Smith régime so that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) might be implemented. The results of those United Nations initiatives are sufficiently well known to you for me not to dwell on them.

117. The history of colonization teaches us, however, that the United Kingdom knows, when it wishes, how to resort to means other than negotiation. We need only recall Kenya, Cyprus, India and Anguilla to be convinced that, in the case of Southern Rhodesia, the United Kingdom refused to fulfil its obligation to restore peace and to prepare the country for independence.

118. The members of NATO which lend military, political and economic support to Vorster's régime—and thus indirectly to Smith's régime—also have their share of responsibility and we cannot but denounce it. Through the régimes which they help to maintain and through the weapons they deliver to those régimes, they have contributed to turning southern Africa into a veritable powder keg.

119. Mr. President, the Government of Mozambique has brought before the Council a complaint concerning the violations of its territorial integrity by the illegal régime of Ian Smith. Rhodesian soldiers with air support and with a large contingent of tanks and artillery units made a new incursion into Mozambican territory on 11 June. Thus, after the aggression of 24 May in the region of Cabora Bassa and that of 29 May, Ian Smith further escalated the conflict. The pertinent declaration by Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, Minister for Development and Economic Planning of the People's Republic of Mozambique, makes it unnecessary for me to list the facts.

120. Mozambique's crime in fact is that of vigorously supporting the Zimbabwe liberation struggle, in conformity with United Nations resolutions. But the aggression of which Mozambique has been the victim, far from being an isolated incident, is part of a well-conceived plan aimed at maintaining the domination of the white minorities in southern Africa. These days, there has been the case of Zambia; last January, it was Botswana, and now Mozambique.

121. Given the situation which continues to deteriorate, it is obvious that the African States will not opt for passivity. Indeed, an act of aggression by a racist minority régime against any independent African State is an act of aggression against all of Africa.

122. The resolution adopted on 26 June by the OAU Council of Ministers, which met at Libreville [*see S/12352*], is the consequence of that determination of independent Africa, which no longer fosters illusions about the chances of a successful negotiated solution in southern Africa. I can assure the Council that Africa will not play the idle spectator. We are determined henceforth to lend all our aid to what are known as the front-line States to safeguard African dignity.

123. It is not by coming here to deliver virulent speeches against Smith and his master Vorster that we show our solidarity with Mozambique. We will guarantee our brothers the support and backing required to safeguard their independence. It was for that reason that the OAU Council of Ministers decided to call for an urgent meeting of the Defence Commission of our organization to consider military aid to our brothers in Mozambique.

124. Representatives will therefore understand that we have not come to the Council to ask for its compassion and understanding. We have come, rather, to draw the attention of the international community to the serious responsibility that is borne by those who assist the ignoble régimes of a Smith and of a Vorster, as well as by the administering Power, the Government of the United Kingdom, and to ask the international community to act steadfastly and without further delay to put an end to Smith's rebellion which endangers the security of our continent.

125. In this connexion, Mr. Ted Rowlands said the following at Maputo:

"The Government of the United Kingdom accepts a special responsibility towards Rhodesia. The British Government has never denied nor will it ever deny the onerous responsibility of seeking justice, freedom and independence for Zimbabwe. We are not Pontius Pilates seeking to wash our hands of the problems of southern Africa and rejecting our responsibility in Zimbabwe. It is, as Jim Callaghan said, a debt of honour to put an end to Smith's illegal régime, to establish true independence in Zimbabwe based on the fundamental principle of majority rule, a Zimbabwe in which the entire population without distinction of race may work together to build a new future for their country."

126. When Mr. Rowlands made that statement, he raised great hopes. But those hopes quickly vanished when, after the aggression against Mozambique, we heard Mr. David Owen state, on 20 June, during a press luncheon:

"The territorial integrity of Mozambique has been challenged by Rhodesia, but the fact that Rhodesians deny having made new incursions into that country represents a certain improvement in the situation."

We do not wish to believe that those words reflect a cynical attitude.

127. Mozambique does not seek the understanding of the "Western democracies" any more than the rest of Africa. The problem which concerns us today shows, in a harsh

light, the question of the credibility of the United Nations and, in this case, of its supreme organ, the Security Council. If the Organization has unequivocally proclaimed its opposition to the illegal racist minority régime, if the Organization has declared its firm support for the legitimate struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, if the Organization has continually asked all States to give all possible assistance to the people of Zimbabwe fighting for the freedom and dignity of man, if the Security Council, in its resolution 217 (1965), determined that a continuance of the Smith régime constituted "a threat to international peace and security", if Mozambique is to be faithful to the principles that we have set forth, it would only be fair for us—the peoples of the United Nations—to share in the consequences of its commitment.

128. Comrade dos Santos mentioned in detail the assistance that his country needs. I believe that we are in duty bound to provide it. Indeed, the emergency national defence measures that Mozambique must now adopt will, no doubt, compel it to sacrifice some of its development projects, and the economic situation obtaining in the country is sufficiently well known to the international community since the visit there of the United Nations mission to justify our urgent heeding of the appeal addressed to us.

129. We are convinced that the Council will be in a position to adopt decisions taking into account the seriousness of the situation in the area and lend to Mozambique the necessary assistance to help it better to pursue its independent and peaceful policy. Need I stress that the trust placed in the Council underlines its primary and noble responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security? The struggle continues.

130. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Mauritius on a point of order.

131. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): We are seeking to have a speedy and effective conclusion of the debate on the issue before us. Some African members have drafted a working paper, but we still need to hold consultations with other Africans, especially with the presence of the African Ministers who have been mandated by the Organization of African Unity. We were hoping to meet this morning after this meeting, but since time is running out I understand it would be more appropriate for the Africans to meet this afternoon. I would suggest, therefore, that, if members of the Council would agree, we could fix the Council's meeting for this afternoon at 4 o'clock to allow the Africans to meet this afternoon. I suggest that that would be in the Council's best interest, because these behind-the-scene negotiations assist it in its work. One hour spent behind the scenes could save the Council several hours. We have no intention of imposing a draft on the Council. We want to consult amongst ourselves so as to be ready to distribute our working paper to other members of the Council, start negotiations and receive their comments. If members do not object to this, I beg you, Mr. President, to fix the time for the meeting this afternoon at 4 o'clock rather than 3 o'clock.

132. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have heard the proposal of the representative of Mauritius. I would make only one observation. There is a rather long list of speakers for this afternoon's meeting. Even if the meeting starts promptly at 4—and my experience this morning, when we were unable to start on time even after I had appealed to members to be here at 10.30 sharp, does not give me much confidence on this score—, we shall not be able to end the meeting until 7.30 or 8 p.m. Is that the wish of the Council?

133. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I would note that, in the case of Cyprus, the Council met at midnight.

134. The PRESIDENT: I would put this question to the representative of Mauritius: Could we have our meeting at 3 p.m. and listen to all the representatives whose names are on the list of speakers and could the African members then have their meeting?

135. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I appreciate your suggestion, Mr. President, but I believe that it would accelerate the Council's work if the African members could discuss this working paper immediately. Obtaining the agreement of the African Ministers who are here would enable us to transmit the paper as soon as possible to other members of the Council for their comments. As I said yesterday, if the negotiations go well, I am hoping to submit a draft resolution to the Council on Wednesday morning. We are fighting against time, and I am suggesting a procedure that I believe will help the Council.

136. The PRESIDENT: With the consent of the Council, I am prepared to agree to the proposal made by the representative of Mauritius. I would urge that our meeting this afternoon start at 4 o'clock sharp.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

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