



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

2016th MEETING: 29 JUNE 1977

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2016)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Complaint by Mozambique: Letter dated 22 June 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Mozambique to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12350 and Add.1)	1

NOTE

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.

2016TH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 29 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/2016)

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: 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 the 2014th and 2015th meetings, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Cuba, Egypt, Gabon, Guinea, Lesotho, Nigeria, Senegal, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. Rahal (Algeria), Mr. J. E. dos Santos (Angola), Mr. D. K. Kwelagobe (Botswana), Mr. R. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. A. E. Abdel

Meguid (Egypt), Mr. G. Rawiri (Gabon), Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé (Guinea), Mr. C. D. Molapo (Lesotho), Mr. J. N. Garba (Nigeria), Mr. C. B. Djigo (Senegal), Mr. M. Allaf (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. B. Mkapa (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. S. G. Mwale (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: I have received letters from the representatives of the German Democratic Republic and the Sudan in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the agenda. Accordingly, I propose, in conformity with the usual practice and with the consent of the Council, to invite 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 the representatives of the German Democratic Republic and the Sudan 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. P. Florin (German Democratic Republic) and Mr. M. Medani (Sudan) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

5. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the Minister of Transportation of Gabon. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

6. Mr. RAWIRI (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, which is at present meeting at Libreville, has just chosen the Republic of Gabon as its president. On behalf of the Council of Ministers and on behalf of Gabon, for which I am spokesman, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to extend to you, Sir, our warmest congratulations on the work you have done as President of the Security Council and to express our pleasure at seeing you presiding over the present debate. We are aware of the efforts you have not ceased to make in the discharge of your duties, and we know full well the traditional position of your country in the constant quest for a just and equitable solution to the problem of Zimbabwe. We are sure that, under your guidance, this meeting of the Council will once again confirm the unanimous agreement of its members in condemning the obstinacy of the white minority in Rhodesia and the folly of the advocates of apartheid.

7. The Security Council is meeting at the request of the People's Republic of Mozambique, which has been the victim of yet another aggression perpetrated by the illegal régime of Ian Smith. That is why the OAU Council of Ministers decided, regardless of the importance and urgency of its work, to send a delegation comprising Gabon, Nigeria, Algeria, Tanzania and Lesotho, to express to the Council the profound indignation of Africa at the unwarranted and intolerable attacks of the Salisbury clique against the territory of a Member State. The persistently criminal behaviour of Ian Smith with regard to Africa is causing a climate of real danger to international peace and security to prevail in that region of our continent.

8. This is not the first time that the villain Ian Smith, his hands red with the blood of innocent victims, has engaged in barbaric extortion in respect of the independent African States which are neighbours of Zimbabwe. The list of those hateful acts is known to all; it becomes longer every day and increasingly incenses our international community.

9. From 1976 until today, the armed bands of the bloodthirsty Ian Smith have committed more than 143 aggressions against the People's Republic of Mozambique alone, inflicting many casualties and destroying property. The crimes committed in Mozambique by the bandits of Ian Smith have lately attained a magnitude out of all proportion with their alleged objective. They are actual military expeditions involving considerable forces—heavy artillery, tanks, armoured cars, helicopters, fighter planes. Those mercenary troops have massacred without pity the peaceful populations of Mozambique, destroyed their villages and burned the plantations, sowing terror and desolation in their wake.

10. In the 143 acts of aggression committed since March 1976, more than 216 persons have been killed and 50 wounded in the Tete region, 1,066 persons have been killed and 329 wounded in the province of Manica, and more than 140 persons have been killed and 148 wounded in the province of Gaza. Thus, there have been more than 1,430 casualties among the population of the peaceful small frontier villages.

11. As can be seen, we are no longer speaking of small commando incursions across borders or violations of air space. What we have here is a war of destruction bringing into operation the most deadly implements of war and undertaken in order to weaken the friendly neighbouring countries which assist Zimbabwe in its just struggle against the oppression of the white settlers. For those countries, to keep up the struggle, have abandoned their national development programmes in order to devote enormous sums to rebuild the zones ravaged by war and to acquire the military equipment they need to defend themselves and better to counter the unjustified aggression of the hysterical Ian Smith.

12. The People's Republic of Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and the other countries that have been victims of aggression, have responded with courage and determination to those perfidious and brutal attacks of the killers hired by Ian Smith, giving blow for blow and inflicting heavy losses on the aggressor.

13. The obduracy of the racist minorities in southern Africa—who are alone responsible for the climate of deliberate violence characterized by attacks, reprisals, assassinations and destruction—will inevitably lead to a general flare-up unless reason prevails.

14. Throughout the world, political leaders are striving to increase the well-being and happiness of the peoples for whom they are responsible. But in Zimbabwe and South Africa, the folly of the men in power brings only desolation and hatred, setting against each other men and women who could have lived and worked together and teaching the black child that the white man is his executioner and the white child, who is also African, that he is a foreigner in the country where he was born.

15. For us, Rhodesia remains a British colony, in spite of the rebellion of the white settlers and the proclamation by Ian Smith of a so-called independent State. Accordingly, the administering Power, the United Kingdom, must fully assume its responsibilities to put an end to that rebellion, to restore legality as it has done in other places and at other times and to start the process which would lead to the independence of Zimbabwe by transferring power to the African majority. Unhappily, we are disturbed to note that the British Government has so far dealt with this problem with reprehensible meekness.

16. Here we must solemnly renew the appeals which the African countries and their friends have already so often made to the British Government, calling on it fully to assume its responsibilities to bring about an equitable solution to this dangerous conflict which affects the entire region and, in particular, the People's Republic of Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana.

17. In his statement at the opening of the meeting of the OAU Ministers for Foreign Affairs at Libreville, the head of State of Gabon, His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo, stated:

“With regard to the burning problem of southern Africa, it is your duty to continue to seek the most appropriate ways and means to bring the white minority régimes of Ian Smith and of the Fascist Vorster to bay and to increase moral and material assistance to the freedom fighters in that part of our continent.”

18. That is why I repeat here that appeal of the head of State of Gabon to assist the freedom fighters and our brother countries which are the victims of aggression at the hands of the armed bands of Ian Smith. One of the forms of such assistance must be the implementation by all Members of the United Nations of the relevant OAU, General Assembly and Security Council resolutions which call for the strict application of economic, political, diplomatic and other sanctions in order to put an end to the illegal minority and rebel régime at Salisbury.

19. The OAU Council of Ministers meeting at Libreville has adopted a resolution concerning the Rhodesian rebel invasion of the People's Republic of Mozambique [*see S/12352*]. That resolution calls for the energetic condemnation of the Rhodesian régime and aims at putting an

end completely and for all time to Rhodesian intervention in the internal affairs of African States and to threats against their territorial integrity and violations of their sovereignty.

20. Gabon accordingly proposes that the Security Council should also adopt a resolution along the same lines. It is our hope that the economic interests of some will not prevent them from associating themselves with that resolution, so that the inalienable rights of the people of Zimbabwe to dignity, freedom and sovereignty with justice and peace may prevail.

21. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Higher Education and Scientific Research of Algeria. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

22. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I have not been away from this Organization long enough to have forgotten its customs and traditions. I should therefore like, with your leave, to begin by addressing to you my congratulations and those of my delegation on the effective manner in which you are conducting this debate, one which is marked by a sense of gravity and urgency and which is being followed with the keenest interest by the entire African continent. I should like also to thank the Council for having so promptly acceded to the request of Mozambique and for having allowed the African delegations, in accordance with the mandate they received from the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, to participate in this discussion and to make known the concerns and the aspirations of their continent. By way of striking a personal note in my statement, I should like, lastly, to express to all the members of the Council and to you, Mr. President, my feelings of gratitude and friendship, a friendship which was born and has grown in strength as a result of our long years of working together in this great Organization.

23. The events which led to the convening of the Council have already been discussed in detail by previous speakers, particularly by our friend Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of the People's Republic of Mozambique [*2014th meeting*]. I do not wish to prolong this statement needlessly by repeating what has already been said, but I should like in turn to emphasize the gravity of the aggression which has been perpetrated by the illegal régime of Rhodesia against Mozambique, not only because of the extent of the damage and the number of the victims it created but, above all, because of the fact that we are concerned here with repeated acts of aggression which may well recur in future. This situation represents a permanent threat to the security and independence of Mozambique, a country which, it must be recalled, succeeded in winning its freedom scarcely two years ago after a long struggle for national liberation.

24. The dangers which Mozambique must face undoubtedly stem from its geographical location which leaves it exposed almost without any defence to the attacks of the racist régimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. It is that same geographical location which explains the difficulties which Mozambique has freely undertaken to bear in complying

with the decision taken by the Security Council to impose economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

25. The ongoing struggle in Rhodesia is aimed at putting an end to racist domination and restoring to the African majority its rights, its responsibilities and its dignity. That struggle is part and parcel of the overall liberation struggle which has shaken the African continent and which is being carried on particularly in southern Africa. It is supported by all African peoples, and the numerous resolutions adopted in connexion with it by the Security Council and other United Nations bodies confirm that that struggle also enjoys the support of the entire international community. The assistance provided to the liberation movement of Zimbabwe by neighbouring countries, particularly Mozambique, is hence not only the expression of a normal sense of solidarity with an African people engaged in a struggle the ideals of which they share. It is a duty which they are fulfilling as members of the international community, bound as they are by the decisions of the Organization to give their full support to the liberation movements.

26. The aggression—or, rather, the many acts of aggression—committed by Rhodesia against Mozambique is motivated by two reasons, first, that Mozambique does not wish to have any relations with Rhodesia and, secondly, that it is giving to the Zimbabwe liberation movement assistance which is profoundly displeasing to the racists at Salisbury. That aggression is in fact being directed by an illegal government not recognized by the United Nations and the subject of the economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council against a State Member of the Organization which only seeks to abide by those decisions and other resolutions of the United Nations. Thus it is apparent that the only reason Mozambique is exposed to the repeated acts of aggression on the part of Rhodesia is because the former is implementing the decisions of the Organization.

27. The complaint of the People's Republic of Mozambique is therefore one which puts to the test the authority of the Security Council, whose mission of maintaining peace in the world would not be credible without the foundation of authority and respect given it by the common adherence to its decisions of the permanent members. Our purpose in coming before the Council today is to convey to members our anxiety, to give them some idea of the degree of our impatience, but at the same time to gain assurance of their desire and willingness to command respect for all the principles on which we all, both great and small, have agreed to base international relations.

28. In this discussion today of the aggression against Mozambique, the Council has been induced once again to reopen the file on the Rhodesian problem, because it is the very persistence and the worsening of this problem which have led and undoubtedly will continue to lead to ever-growing tension throughout that region. This situation has been going on for 12 years now, that is, since independence was unilaterally declared by Ian Smith's racist group. For 12 years the Zimbabwe Africans have been struggling to free themselves from a domination which deprives them of their freedom, their property and their dignity. For 12 years efforts have been made to convince

them of the virtues of patience, of moderation and dialogue, in order to discourage them from resorting in any way to violent action. But can we still assert today that this advice was the best that could be given them when history does not seem to provide many examples of peaceful liberation? The struggle in which the Africans of Zimbabwe are already engaged can only grow in strength and scope as the blind stubbornness and obstinacy of Ian Smith and his régime become more and more obvious. Active diplomatic steps in recent months have undoubtedly been more meritorious than effective. Possibly those steps did not take the bad faith of Ian Smith sufficiently into account, while being designed, above all, to protect the interests of the white minority.

29. Of course, we are not fanatically bent on violence; we are as devoted as anyone to developing understanding among peoples and preserving peace in the world. But violence has been and remains the last resort of peoples who are persistently deprived of their most elementary rights. It is deprivation of that sort which the people of Zimbabwe have had to encounter for the last 12 years. Who can blame them, then, for seeking to show in their turn that they are capable of dying for their freedom?

30. But this situation in Rhodesia is itself closely linked with that which prevails throughout southern Africa. We have already had occasion to emphasize here and elsewhere the obvious connexions existing between the problem of Rhodesia, that of Namibia and the *apartheid* régime in South Africa. The political and economic aspects of those problems derive from the same anxiety of the white minorities in those areas to preserve their power in order to maintain their economic privileges. It is not surprising, therefore, that an analysis of each of those problems will ultimately reveal the same actors, the same interests and the same difficulties. It might appear sensible to try to resolve them separately by concentrating efforts on a more limited range of issues. We wish to express our scepticism about the effectiveness of such a method, which could not eliminate the reciprocal effects exerted on each other by these problems which ultimately call for a more global approach.

31. The aggression of Rhodesia against Mozambique is a direct result of the deteriorating situation throughout southern Africa, not only in Zimbabwe—which has now been drawn into the vicious cycle of violence and repression—but also in Namibia, where prospects appear to be more and more disquieting, and, finally, in South Africa itself, where the Soweto massacres are the harbingers of a tragedy of all too easily foreseeable scope. The concern evinced by the OAU Council of Ministers is therefore entirely justified. The delegations of Algeria, Gabon, Lesotho, Nigeria and the United Republic of Tanzania have been instructed to make that concern known to the Security Council in view of the deterioration in a situation which may at any moment get completely out of control and plunge the African continent into an era of violence and chaos from which it is desperately trying to protect itself:

32. We are here to proclaim our solidarity and that of all African countries with the People's Republic of Mozambique, to assure that country of our total and unflinching

support and of our involvement, side by side with it, in a struggle which is ours as well as that of the entire African continent. We are here also to urge the Security Council to take account of the anxieties of the African countries, to respond to their desire to strengthen their independence, to protect their freedom and to put an end to colonial domination and racial discrimination, which are the source of the present tensions in southern Africa. Our hope is that this appeal of Africa will be heeded.

33. Mr. AL GAYED (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): Sir, I should like first to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. My delegation has had ample opportunity to witness at first hand your skill and wisdom as a diplomat and as a representative of your country, and we are confident that with these abilities you will be able successfully to guide the affairs of the Council this month.

34. May I, on behalf of the delegation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, also take this opportunity to commend your predecessor in this high post, Ambassador Boya of the People's Republic of Benin. He presided over and skilfully and successfully guided the Security Council last month through a number of debates on some very important issues.

35. I should also like to take this occasion to express the honour felt by my delegation at the presence here in this chamber of the Vice-President of FRELIMO and Minister for Development and Economic Planning of the People's Republic of Mozambique, as well as that of the Ministers mandated by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity to assist in this important Council debate.

36. Since the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa a few years ago and the attainment of independence by the people of Mozambique, the eventual fate and downfall of the illegal and racist régime at Salisbury has been clear to all. The illegal Ian Smith régime depends on the support and assistance of colonialist and imperialist forces for its very survival, and has become frantic in its efforts to maintain itself in power against the force of history and the will of the people of Zimbabwe and of Africa as a whole. The racist Ian Smith régime is finally coming to the realization that its own collapse and the termination of its oppression of the indigenous African people of Zimbabwe is more imminent than it had expected.

37. These acts of aggression against sovereign States and the increase in the oppression of the indigenous Zimbabwe people are the desperate acts of a régime that has seen its fate and eventual collapse. The steadfast opposition of all African countries and of other peace-loving countries to the continued existence of that illegal racist régime will soon triumph over the forces of racism and imperialism. The international community must confront and put an end to these desperate acts of oppression and aggression perpetrated by the Ian Smith régime in its final throes against not only the Zimbabwe people but also sovereign African States.

38. It is an undeniable fact that the inalienable rights of peoples, including the right to self-determination and independence, have been achieved mostly through armed

struggle and at tremendous sacrifice. The people of Mozambique themselves struggled for many years and sacrificed countless lives and resources in the cause of achieving liberation and independence. No sooner had the people of Mozambique achieved their independence from one imperialist régime, than they found themselves the victims of serious acts of aggression perpetrated by the illegal Smith régime at Salisbury. In this context, I should like to draw the attention of the Council to the statement made by His Excellency Mr. Samora Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, on 3 March 1976. In that statement, President Machel said:

"The criminal and irresponsible régime of Ian Smith has launched a war of aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique. Less than 18 months after signing the Peace Agreement with Portugal, the Mozambican people are once again forced to confront the desperate acts of aggression of a colonial Fascist." [*See S/12005, annex.*]

39. On 3 March 1976, the People's Republic of Mozambique took the important and courageous decision to comply with and fully implement the United Nations sanctions against the illegal minority régime. The courageous decision of the Government of Mozambique to close its borders with Southern Rhodesia in fulfilment of its international obligations deserves the commendation and support of the Council. It should moreover be noted that the courageous decision of the People's Republic of Mozambique to implement fully the resolutions of both the Council and the General Assembly in regard to the application of sanctions against the illegal Smith régime has not only exposed Mozambique to repeated murderous acts of aggression at the hands of the illegal Smith régime but also subjected it to continued economic and other sacrifices. This aggressive threat is evident from the statement President Machel made as recently as 18 June 1977, when he declared:

"Between May 1976 and 15 June 1977, 1,432 civilians were murdered, of whom 875 were refugees from Zimbabwe in Nyazonia, and 527 were wounded. Dozens of small towns and villages where peaceful populations lived and were endeavouring diligently and enthusiastically to rebuild their country, were completely destroyed. Today Massangena, Mapai, Mavonde and Chioco are the mere charred remains of what were dwellings, schools, hospitals, people's shops, utilities and factories. This damage has constituted a loss to our people amounting to more than 400 million escudos."

In the same speech, President Machel stated that the Mozambican people were in urgent need of material aid if they were to be able to endure the heavy consequences of those acts of aggression, murder and pillage, and he appealed to the whole international community to contribute to increasing Mozambique's defence capacity and to the reconstruction of the areas devastated by the racists.

40. The issues before the Council are clear and straightforward: a sovereign State Member of the United Nations and member of the Organization of African Unity has been subjected to flagrant acts of aggression at the hands of the

illegal Smith régime. The sovereignty, dignity and territorial integrity of that peace-loving Member State, as well as the peace and security of Africa, are being jeopardized by the aggressive racist acts of an outlaw criminal régime.

41. Over the past 11 years, the Council has adopted numerous resolutions in regard to the situation in Southern Rhodesia. From the very beginning, since the so-called unilateral declaration of independence, the Council has condemned the illegal racist régime at Salisbury and deplored the deterioration of the peace and security of Africa as a result of the establishment and continued existence of that illegal régime. The Council has, moreover, called upon the United Kingdom to quell the rebellion of the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia and to take all other effective measures to eliminate that usurper régime. Despite those resolutions, the illegal régime at Salisbury continues to defy the will of the international community. In fact, the Smith régime is well aware that those resolutions will not affect its continued existence and its exploitation of the Zimbabwe people so long as certain States continue to have a vested interest in not fully implementing those mandatory sanctions.

42. At this stage in the deterioration of the situation in Southern Rhodesia and in southern Africa as a whole and in view of the atrocious acts of violence, murder and aggression perpetrated by the racist minority régime in its death throes, the Council can no longer delay the adoption and implementation of those concrete measures that will put an end to the domination and exploitation of the Zimbabwe people by a racist illegal régime.

43. The people of Zimbabwe have waited more than 11 years for justice and for the attainment of freedom and self-determination. In those long years, the Zimbabwe people have endured racism and numerous acts of murder, violence and oppression. The time has come when only a fundamental solution can meet the just demands of the people of Zimbabwe. Only such a solution and such concrete measures can deal with the deterioration of the situation resulting from the acts of aggression, murder and violence committed by the Smith régime against African States Members of the United Nations. In this context, it should be noted that the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, at its current session being held at Libreville, Gabon, has passed a resolution which in its paragraph I strongly condemns Rhodesia's naked war of aggression against Mozambique backed by artillery and aircraft and the subsequent massacre of hundreds of innocent civilians [*see S/12352*].

44. Steps must be taken to extend support and economic and material assistance to the People's Republic of Mozambique to enable it to strengthen its defence capabilities, to safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to protect its people against the frequent and wanton acts of murder, pillage and violence that they have suffered at the hands of the racist régime at Salisbury. The People's Republic of Mozambique must also be assisted to enable its people to overcome the tremendous material loss incurred as a result of the aggression and devastation committed by the illegal racist minority régime.

45. Furthermore, the Council cannot continue to remain indifferent to the continued defiance of the régime at

Pretoria, not only in its non-implementation of mandatory sanctions but also because of its extensive military and economic aid to the illegal Smith régime, thereby allowing it to commit such acts of aggression and violence. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to reiterate its conviction that the mandatory sanctions imposed against the illegal Smith régime must be extended to cover the racist Pretoria régime, because of its continued non-implementation of those sanctions and its granting of such means and facilities as enable the Smith régime to evade them.

46. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya considers that the racist régimes that dominate and exploit the African peoples of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia are the enemies of all Africa. Those who aid and support those racist régimes must realize that they thereby share the responsibility for the threat to the peace, security and progress of all Africa; they must be made aware and accept the consequences of taking that hostile and unfriendly attitude towards Africa.

47. My delegation takes this occasion to express the support and solidarity of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya with the People's Republic of Mozambique in their just and heroic struggle against the racist and aggressive forces in Southern Rhodesia.

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

49. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of June. In you, I welcome the representative of a State with which the German Democratic Republic recently established diplomatic relations which we hope will promote the development of comprehensive relationships between our two countries to our mutual advantage. I should also like to express the hope that the discussion of the serious question on our agenda will, under your presidency, culminate in success.

50. On behalf of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic, I should like to thank you and the members of the Council for giving us the opportunity to speak here today.

51. The principles underlying the foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic, a socialist State which has always been in favour of peace and security and which has always shown unlimited solidarity with those who are victims of aggression, prompt my delegation to address the Council in connexion with the complaint of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

52. It is a particular honour for me to have this opportunity warmly to welcome the delegation of the People's Republic of Mozambique, whose people, after many years of struggle, have won their right to self-determination and are now building their future as a sovereign and independent State.

53. The head of that delegation, Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO and Minister for Development and Economic Planning, gave an impressive and convincing description of the situation in southern Africa [*2014th meeting*]. The People's Republic of Mozambique, which is busy peacefully building its State, is constantly forced to protect itself against the aggressive actions of the illegal Smith régime. Racists and mercenaries are threatening its independence and sovereignty.

54. The people and Government of the German Democratic Republic firmly condemn the crimes of the racist régime at Salisbury, this official colony of the United Kingdom, against the people of Mozambique, and demand that an immediate and unconditional halt be put to all acts of aggression directed against the People's Republic of Mozambique and other neighbouring States.

55. Under the guidance of FRELIMO, the People's Republic of Mozambique has fully complied with United Nations decisions concerning support for the freedom struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, despite the economic losses that may be incurred thereby. It has thus provided an example of consistent anti-colonialist and anti-racist action. For that reason, the people and Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique have won the deep gratitude of world public opinion.

56. On behalf of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, I should like once again to assure the representatives of the friendly People's Republic of Mozambique of our profound solidarity with Mozambique's decisive struggle.

57. The United Nations is aware of the danger which the present overlords of the colony of Southern Rhodesia pose to peace and security in southern Africa. Evidence of that is to be found in the large number of resolutions on the subject which have been adopted by the competent bodies of the Organization. These resolutions condemn the white minority régime and confirm the right of the oppressed Zimbabwe people to struggle by all means in their power for their freedom and for the enjoyment of their right to self-determination. In conformity with the decisions taken by the Security Council, all States are called upon to apply sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and give assistance to the militant people of Zimbabwe in their just struggle.

58. The Smith régime, however, has been reluctant to fulfil the just demands of the international Organization. On the contrary, the present leaders at Salisbury reply to the growing struggle and resistance of the people of Zimbabwe—which sees in the free young African States a magnificent example to follow—with terror within the country and aggression against other countries. The underhanded attacks by the hirelings of the illegal racist régime on the territories of independent African States only increase the threat which that régime poses to peace and security. The continuing acts of aggression—which, indeed, are not denied by those responsible for them but, rather, are declared by them publicly to be an integral part of their policy—are fraught with the danger of the outbreak of a general war in southern Africa.

59. The responsibility for this serious state of affairs lies with the racist régimes at Salisbury and Pretoria. So long as those racist régimes continue to exist, there can be no end to the bloodshed in southern Africa; the peace and security of neighbouring States—and not only those States—will continue to be threatened. Thus, everything must be done to bring about a radical change.

60. Unfortunately, however, powerful forces, those of international monopolistic capital, are operating in an attempt to prevent any such radical change from taking place. Their concern is with raw materials, profits, the exploitation of a cheap labour force. That is one of the explanations for the Security Council's inability so far to take the necessary effective and energetic steps. Indeed, even the unsatisfactory steps that have been taken have not been implemented by a number of States. Instead of the general isolation of the racist régimes, instead of efforts to weaken those régimes and give all assistance to the national liberation movements, what we see are diplomatic manoeuvres which only help to maintain the spheres of influence of international monopolies and their accomplices in southern Africa.

61. The frenzied activity of diplomats of certain States goes to show that the movement of the peoples in that region of the world cannot be halted. Those States wish to set this movement on a certain course. At the same time, they are trying to exert pressure on certain bodies of the United Nations.

62. If the African peoples are extremely mistrustful of the diplomatic démarches which overlook the decisions of the General Assembly or even conflict with those decisions, that is quite understandable. As is known, the colonial Powers at one time used every means in their power to take action against the national liberation movements, in order to maintain their colonial domination. But, in the case of the rebel régime of Ian Smith, they have been extremely delicate in their actions.

63. I would remind the members of a resolution adopted in 1968 by the Security Council. I refer to resolution 253 (1968). In paragraph 2, the Security Council

“Calls upon the United Kingdom as the administering Power in the discharge of its responsibility to take urgently all effective measures to bring to an end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, and enable the people to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)”.

What has been done—or, rather, what has not been done—in implementation of that paragraph is only too well known.

64. The delegation of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the representatives of other African States have given the members of the Security Council detailed clarification as to what decisions they expect in order to bring about peace and security in southern Africa. In view of the continuing acts of aggression of the racist régimes and the multifarious manoeuvres that have been undertaken by imperialist circles, a socialist State can only act in such a way as to offer complete support for those just demands.

65. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic has frequently also favoured the adoption of the steps provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter against those guilty of breaches of the peace. Today, my delegation again favours this approach. A decision should be taken to impose a general embargo on the supply of weapons to the Republic of South Africa in order to prevent the racist régimes from increasing their military strength. On the other hand, the People's Republic of Mozambique and other threatened African States should be provided with every opportunity to enhance their defence potential so that they can effectively exercise their right to self-defence, as provided for in the Charter.

66. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic would venture to hope that, by its decisions, the Security Council will contribute to the extension of every sort of assistance to the threatened States in southern Africa, to a removal of the threat to peace and security and to the achievement of a radical change in the situation in that area by forcing the racist régimes to implement the resolutions adopted by the international Organization. Undoubtedly, for the achievement of those ends, unflagging assistance will be necessary for those militant peoples still struggling and forced to live under the yoke of racist régimes.

67. I conclude this statement by quoting the words of Mr. Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, pronounced at the World Conference against *Apartheid*, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, held recently at Lisbon. He said:

“The German Democratic Republic has always actively supported the struggle of peoples against racist régimes, against the odious system of apartheid and neo-colonialist conspiracies. It has always favoured implementation of United Nations decisions on the abolition of racism and colonialism, and will continue to give those peoples active solidarity.”

The meeting rose at 12.05 p.m.

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