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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2018)	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.

2018TH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 30 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/2018)

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 11.05 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 previous meetings, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Cuba, Egypt, Gabon, the German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Lesotho, Nigeria, Senegal, the Sudan, Swaziland, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. Rahal (Algeria), Mr. J. E. dos Santos (Angola), Mr. D. K. Kwelagobe (Botswana), Mr. R. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. A. E. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. G. Rawiri (Gabon), Mr. P. Florin

(German Democratic Republic), Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé (Guinea), Mr. C. D. Molapo (Lesotho), Mr. J. N. Garba (Nigeria), Mr. C. B. Djigo (Senegal), Mr. M. Medani (Sudan), Mr. N. M. Malinga (Swaziland), 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 received a letter this morning from the representative of Panama, in his capacity as Chairman of the Latin American Group for the month of June, requesting that the representative of Brazil be invited to participate, on behalf of that Group, in the discussion of the question on the agenda. Accordingly, I propose, in conformity with the usual practice and with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, under the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

4. In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table, I invite the representative of Brazil to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table when it is his turn to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. S. Corrêa da Costa (Brazil) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

5. The PRESIDENT: The members of the Council have before them the draft resolution contained in document S/12353

6. The first speaker is the Minister for Public Service and Information Services of Botswana. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

7. Mr. KWELAGOBE (Botswana): Sir, allow me to extend to you my delegation's very warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. I should like to thank you and the other members of this august body for affording us the opportunity to participate in this very important debate. It is pleasing to see you, a representative of a country with which Botswana enjoys cordial relations, presiding over this debate. We are confident that your considerable diplomatic experience and skill, and the inspiration engendered by your country's commitment to human rights will enable you to guide this debate to a successful conclusion.

8. To my brother, 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, may I say that I would have liked to have been here by his side when this crucial debate began on 28 June, but circumstances beyond my control prevented me. I need not reassure you here of Botswana's total support for the People's Republic of Mozambique in its greatest hour of need. We have stood solidly together in the ranks of the front-line States and of the Organization of African Unity. Our unconditional support should be taken for granted, for your struggle is ours. Botswana has profound admiration for your country's uncompromising commitment to the liberation of southern Africa.

9. The question of which the Council is seized today—that of the flagrant and repeated acts of aggression by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia against the heroic sister Republic of Mozambique, acts of aggression which have created a situation of tension and insecurity in our region—is a very grave one indeed. After hearing the lucid and sound statement by the Minister for Development and Economic Planning of the People's Republic of Mozambique [2014th meeting], no one can be in doubt about the urgency, the precariousness and the gravity of the situation, nor can anyone fail to be deeply moved and concerned.

10. The fact that the front-line States of Angola, Botswana, Tanzania and Zambia are represented here at the ministerial level, and the fact that the OAU Council of Ministers gave the Foreign Ministers of Algeria, Gabon, Lesotho and Nigeria a mandate to assist Mozambique in this debate, clearly demonstrate the importance Africa attaches it. We are confident that the Council will treat this matter with the seriousness it deserves.

11. When Botswana appeared before the Council in January this year, we and others warned that the continued existence of the illegal racist régime at Salisbury was a threat not only to the peace and stability of our region but to international peace and security as well. What has happened in Mozambique attests to the accuracy of those warnings. So long as the racist minority régimes in southern Africa exist, debates such as this one will be the order of the day, and the road to the Council will never be without the footprints of the victims of aggression.

12. It will not be necessary for me to detail here the numerous instances of invasions, attacks, destruction of property, murders, bombings and other atrocities perpetrated by the illegal régime against Mozambique; these have been adequately described by my brother from Mozambique and the other speakers before me. It will suffice to say that the long catalogue of acts of aggression clearly demonstrates that, as the heroic and legitimate struggle of the people of Zimbabwe intensifies, so will the renegade régime seek scapegoats in its desperate and vain attempt to forestall the inevitable independence of Zimbabwe.

13. When we talk about 143 acts of aggression committed between March 1976 and March 1977, when we hear about the death of 1,432 innocent civilians, including scores of

Zimbabwean refugees, and about the 527 wounded between May 1975 and mid-June 1977 alone—not to speak of the many heroic Mozambican soldiers and militiamen who fell in defence of their motherland, and many more still, both military and civilian, who perished before this period, for indeed the attacks against Mozambique began at independence in 1975—when we hear about the razing to the ground of peaceful villages which were being developed at great sacrifice following the long colonial war against the Portuguese, when we are told that highly destructive and sophisticated arms of war, including Mirages, are now being employed by the régime in its adventures, and when we listen to the boisterous rebels in Salisbury threatening so-called hot pursuit—a euphemism for armed invasion—against Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana, then we are in no doubt that a state of war exists in the region, a war for which Smith and his supporters are solely responsible.

14. The enemy is no longer content with brief, quick, sporadic incursions. These have now developed into a series of well-planned and systematic invasions directed mainly against the civilian population and against the vital points of the social and economic infrastructure of Mozambique.

15. The threats and attacks against Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana are clearly intended, first, to cause panic and blunt the will of the peoples of those countries to support the liberation of Zimbabwe and give succour to those who flee from oppression and, secondly, to internationalize the conflict with the hope that those who have nefarious interests in the area will come to the rescue of the rebels at Salisbury. Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia have stated publicly that no amount of harassment or attack will intimidate or blackmail them into abdicating their internationalist duty to support unconditionally the total liberation of Zimbabwe. On this, Africa speaks with one voice.

16. At this juncture, I should like to pay a tribute to the valiant Government and people of Mozambique, and especially to the members of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces and the People's Militia, for standing firm in the face of naked aggression.

17. In dealing with the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia, one must guard against entertaining false hopes, hopes which usually derive from an inadequate analysis of the settler racist minority's intentions and ultimate objectives. Only when certain basic facts are borne in mind can those who seek to change the situation in Rhodesia prescribe effective remedies.

18. First, Rhodesia was colonized by an intending settler population in the 1890s—"intending" in the sense that they intended, then as now, to stay, regardless of the pressures put upon them and especially if the pressures were timid and frail.

19. Secondly, they had determined that the only way to remain in power was to create in Rhodesia a society of unequals, that is, of rulers and ruled.

20. Thirdly, over the years the settlers devised, under the nose of the British Government, the administering Power,

the necessary apparatus to entrench themselves politically, legally, militarily, socially and economically. The aim has always been, and still is, statements to the contrary notwithstanding, to exclude Africans from effective participation in the vital organs of the State. This would ensure domination in perpetuity.

21. Fourthly, in the face of internal and international pressures, minor adjustments could be made, but never would white direction and control of Rhodesian affairs be abandoned.

22. Anyone who bears these basic facts in mind cannot but be suspicious when the rebels in Rhodesia suddenly declare their acceptance of majority rule, as Smith was believed by some to have done last year. Subsequent happenings at Geneva, however, showed that Smith's interpretation of majority rule was nothing but a deliberate attempt to hoodwink the international community and so buy time for himself.

23. In the absence of any concrete proof that the rebels at Salisbury now want authentic majority rule, the international community, especially those who deal closely with the illegal régime in attempts to resolve the Rhodesian problem, should exercise great caution if they are to avoid disappointment.

24. We do not begrudge those who seek a solution to this problem. Yet, from our experience in dealing with the slippery characters at Salisbury, we must caution against false hopes which can easily lead to the prescription of unacceptable solutions which would, in effect, entrench the racist minority régime with all its privileges.

25. In formulating solutions to the Rhodesian problem, it is important not to view Rhodesia in isolation. The illegal régime has survived for over 11 years despite verbal condemnations of it. Surely, Rhodesia could not possibly stand alone. It has been able to survive because it gets the military and economic support that it needs. It is able to attack neighbouring African States because it has the wherewithal to launch those attacks. A war machine of the magnitude that we see in Rhodesia would not be possible without a generous supply of weapons and oil. All these Rhodesia obtains from South Africa, the most intransigent and defiant of all sanctions busters. South Africa has not made any bones about this state of affairs. The Foreign Minister of apartheid South Africa, addressing a New York seminar on the topic, "Why invest in South Africa?", on 20 June 1977, declared that South Africa would not participate in sanctions against Rhodesia.

26. Supported by such a powerful trading partner, which, in turn, trades with highly industrialized Western nations, Rhodesia is assured of a long survival. Any proposed solutions must therefore take this reality into full account. So long as apartheid continues to exist in South Africa, the southern African problem will persist. South Africa is the nexus of this iniquitous system. At their recent meeting in London, the Commonwealth Heads of Government recognized that fact when they declared that "South Africa plays a central role in perpetuating the problems in southern Africa which are all interrelated", and went on to assert

that the policies of South Africa constituted a grave threat to the security and stability of the whole area.

27. The Security Council has been seized of the question of Southern Rhodesia for a long time now. The prescribed solutions have not toppled the illegal régime. Bearing that in mind, and in the light of the rapidly deteriorating situation in the region, the Council should now prescribe solutions that will match the gravity of the situation. It will not be enough merely to condemn unanimously the rebels. Unanimity in moral condemnations and disunity in action is what has enabled the régime to survive thus far. What is needed now is concerted, resolute and concrete action aimed at bringing to book the illegal régime and those who support it.

28. In our view, the Programme of Action adopted at the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held at Maputo recently [see S/12344/Rev.1], provides a framework for specific action in the furtherance of our common purpose of achieving independence in Zimbabwe.

29. We appeal to the international community to rally behind Mozambique politically, diplomatically and, especially, financially and materially, because, in fact, by unconditionally supporting the liberation struggle, by closing the border with Rhodesia and by scrupulously observing the sanctions against the rebel colony, Mozambique has brought upon itself untold hardships, including attacks against it. The People's Republic of Mozambique is, in fact, carrying the burden that should correctly be fully borne by the international community. That burden is seen to be especially onerous when it is borne in mind that Mozambique emerged from a long colonial war with a shattered economy and that, just as it is enthusiastically reconstructing its society, the rebel régime is destroying everything.

30. It is essential and imperative that the international community should provide Mozambique with the means to defend itself effectively against aggression. Only when it is strong can Mozambique safeguard its hard-won independence and play its full role in the liberation of Zimbabwe. Mozambique also needs assistance in order to rebuild what has been destroyed and to care for those who flee from oppression. In his statement, Mr. Marcelino dos Santos outlined the nature of the assistance that Mozambique needs. His are modest requests to which the international community should be willing to respond.

31. The international community should also intensify its efforts to bring down the rebel régime. In addition to political and diplomatic action, this calls for, first, the tightening of existing sanctions and their expansion as provided for under Article 41 of the Charter, and, secondly, increased assistance from the international community to the Zimbabwean freedom fighters, because, ultimately, it is they who will bring down the rebel régime.

32. The draft resolution before the Council is quite straightforward and provides for the barest minimum of action necessary to deal with this very serious situation. It should be possible for the Council to adopt this draft

resolution unanimously. The people of Mozambique, the people of Zimbabwe, the people of Africa and the peace-loving peoples of the world await resolute action by the Council. Let its decision be worthy of their trust.

33. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Brazil, who wishes to make a statement on behalf of the Latin American Group. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

34. Mr. CORREA da COSTA (Brazil): Availing myself of the prerogative afforded by the provisional rules of procedure of the Council and having supplied the Secretariat with copies of the English version of my statement, I should like to address the Council in my own language, which is also the language of our sister African nations of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tomé and Príncipe.

*[The speaker continued in Portuguese.]*¹

35. The Latin American Group, which has been following the events in southern Africa with the keenest interest and deepest concern, could not fail to take part in the debate held by the Council in connexion with the repeated acts of aggression perpetrated by the illegal régime of Ian Smith against the Republic and people of Mozambique.

36. I am particularly gratified to have been selected by the Latin American Group as its spokesman at this meeting, for Brazil enjoys the closest ties with Portuguese Africa—ties of all kinds, ethnic, historical, cultural, as well as those of affection.

37. It would be impossible for me to quantify the extent to which Africa has contributed to the racial composition of the Brazilian people simply because our aversion to any kind of racism, no matter how subtle, is so great that all questions relating to racial origin were withdrawn from our demographic census forms many years ago.

38. It is not only Brazil but all of Latin America that is concerned with the current situation of insecurity that exists in southern Africa, for the international community can no longer countenance, by inaction, acts of violence that are strongly condemned by the universal conscience.

39. As the Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique, Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, pointed out in the Council [*2014th meeting*], the escalation of aggression against his country is, above all, a challenge to the international community itself and an affront to the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

40. For the second time this year, the Security Council is meeting to examine a complaint of a Member State victim of a racist and illegal régime: that of Ian Smith. That régime, it is worth while recalling, has earned general opprobrium and condemnation and is the target of sanctions which have been imposed by the Organization. Military actions—ever more frequent—are now directed

against a young African nation whose independence was won on the battlefield and which, in its first few years, at the cost of heavy sacrifice, has sought to build its economy and provide for its nationals living conditions compatible with human dignity. That is the nation which has bravely decided to close its borders with Southern Rhodesia and strictly implement the decisions and recommendations of the United Nations against the Salisbury régime. However, the price exacted of the noble people of Mozambique is excessive and unjust for a militarily and economically unprepared nation, unequally matched in a struggle against an enemy equipped with modern armaments, including highly efficient air support.

41. The account presented here by Minister Marcelino dos Santos is a summary of the situation which has been steadily deteriorating. The treacherous and cowardly attacks against civilian localities situated in Mozambique territory in the provinces of Tete, Manica and Gaza have caused numerous deaths and heavy losses. Those attacks reflect, on the other hand, the determination of the Salisbury régime to attempt, at any cost, to prolong its spurious existence through military escalation and a possible internationalization of the conflict. The incursions against Mozambique are, in this context, manoeuvres intended to divert attention from the central problem which is, as we know, the independence of Zimbabwe.

42. When the Security Council, in March of last year, adopted resolution 386 (1976), we were already fully aware of the duty of the international community to provide Mozambique with the necessary technical and financial assistance without which it would be impossible for that country to proceed in the difficult task of rebuilding its economy and at the same time implement the measures adopted by the Organization. To that appeal the international community responded with aid which, though significant, was not sufficient to compensate for losses suffered as a result of the military escalation of the conflict. Fifteen months have elapsed and a new and vehement appeal is being made by the Government of Mozambique to the international community to provide this time the material means indispensable to the survival of its sovereignty and the preservation of its territorial integrity which are threatened by the troops of Ian Smith.

43. The mission which Mozambique has proposed to fulfil is not its alone. The eradication of racism and the remnants of colonialism is a task which has been incumbent upon us all ever since we signed the Charter. Therefore we cannot passively witness aggression against a sister nation which has assumed the commitment to implement, in their totality, the sanctions adopted by the Security Council. And it is to this same Council that that nation, Mozambique, brings its appeal—an appeal with which Latin America associates itself whole-heartedly—that the Security Council should strengthen the measures required for the fulfilment of a task to whose success we should all contribute.

44. On behalf of the countries of Latin America, I join in this appeal, certain that the Council will respond positively and adopt, also by consensus, the draft resolution sponsored by Benin, India, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama and Romania [*S/12353*]. It is

¹ The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

our duty to lend to Mozambique, and through it to the whole of Africa, our decided and unequivocal support in a cause which is common to us all, particularly to those nations which, at a given moment in their history, have shed their blood to gain liberty and win independence.

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

46. Mr. ALLAF (Syrian Arab Republic): Mr. President, permit me first of all to associate myself and my delegation with all the well-merited praise of your country and your person that has been expressed on the occasion of your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am confident that, before the end of the day and of your term of office, the Council will be able to take the necessary action awaited from it on the important matter that has been brought to its attention.

47. I should also like to express to you and the other members of the Council the gratitude of my delegation for permitting us to participate in this important debate. In fact, we consider ourselves a closely concerned party in the struggle of our African brothers against racist-settler régimes, because our people is waging the same struggle against an identical racist-settler régime in our region and we are the first to know what it means in terms of suffering, frustration and anger for a people to be subjected to repeated attacks and harassment by alien racist invaders for no reason except the adherence of that people to the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations and its determination to reject racism, alien domination and the foreign occupation of its territory.

48. I do not think that I have very much to add, at this late stage in the debate, to what the Council has already heard from previous speakers. Africa has, in fact, delegated a number of its most eminent sons to present the cause of the heroic struggle of the people of Mozambique against the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith. The repeated acts of aggression committed by that régime against the people of Zimbabwe, and most recently against the neighbouring peoples of Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia, must not remain unpunished. The international community can no longer sit idly by while such criminal aggressive acts are being perpetrated by the racist minority régimes against the freedom, dignity and sovereignty of the African peoples.

49. The repeated acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique are in reality directed not only against that courageous newly-independent country, but also against the international community as a whole and against the United Nations. For it was in faithful implementation of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and Security Council that the People's Republic of Mozambique closed its borders and applied sanctions against the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia—in fact, to the detriment of its own vital economic interest. In other words, the illegal régime of Salisbury, in attacking the People's Republic of Mozambique and other front-line African States, is trying to punish the United Nations itself, to intimidate other

countries and to prevent them from implementing the resolutions adopted against it.

50. In those circumstances the Security Council, as the organ entrusted with the task of eliminating aggression and maintaining international peace and security, cannot remain idle or inactive. What the victims of the racist minority régimes today need is not more words of sympathy or more unimplemented resolutions but, rather, concrete action capable of toppling the usurping racist régimes and establishing the long-awaited majority rule in southern Africa.

51. The Minister for Development and Economic Planning of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the other eminent ministers mandated by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity to present the issue before the Security Council have put before it the facts, in all their details, about the systematic and calculated acts of aggression committed by the outlaw régime at Salisbury against the people of Mozambique. The Security Council has heard how the People's Republic of Mozambique has suffered an average of more than one attack every three days since it began to impose the United Nations sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, how more than 1,400 persons, mostly Zimbabwean refugees, have been murdered by the army of Ian Smith, how dozens of villages and other localities have been completely levelled by the racist aggressors, how the forces of the illegal Ian Smith régime are using fragmentation bombs, napalm, heavy artillery, tanks and even Mirage fighter planes against the African population.

52. The appearance of such sophisticated weapons in the arsenal of the illegal racist Southern Rhodesian régime, at the very time when international sanctions are supposed to be in full implementation against it, raises many questions. It provides the proof—if any is needed—of the collaboration and the unholy alliance between the racist régimes in southern Africa and similar régimes in proximity to the African continent. It proves also that some Powers are not the opponents of the racist minority régime that they pretend to be. Furthermore, the types of such sophisticated weapons used by the forces of the illegal Smith régime bring to mind recent exchanges of visits and contacts on the highest level between the leaders of certain racist régimes, as well as ensuing reports on secret agreements between them, especially in the military field. The similarity in tactics and patterns of the acts of aggression is additional evidence of the close co-operation between these régimes.

53. The Arab front-line States and their populations, towns and villages have continuously suffered from savage attacks and criminal raids under the guise of so-called hot pursuit, exactly like their African brothers. The Palestinian, Lebanese, Jordanian, Syrian and Egyptian peoples have been subjected thousands of times to similar acts of invasion and murderous raids under the pretext of pursuing the freedom fighters and the members of liberation movements and striking at their bases.

54. It is quite logical in this light that the first Afro-Arab Summit Conference Meeting, which was held at Cairo last March, should have reaffirmed in its Political Declaration the need to strengthen the united front of the African and

Arab peoples in their struggle against racist policies and régimes

“under the forms in which they appear in southern Africa, Palestine and the other occupied Arab and African territories” [S/12298, annex, para. 5].

The conference decided, furthermore, that increased efforts should be made in order to find

“the most effective ways and means of accentuating, at the international level, the political and economic isolation of Israel, South Africa and Rhodesia, so long as the régimes of these countries persist in their racist, expansionist and aggressive policies” [ibid., para. 8].

To this effect, the Conference affirmed

“the need to continue to impose a total boycott, political, diplomatic, cultural, sporting and economic and, in particular, an oil embargo against these régimes” [ibid.].

55. The People’s Republic of Mozambique is being subjected to the ferocious attacks of the minority racist régimes because it supports the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against the minority illegal régime at Salisbury. Therefore, as long as that illegal régime is permitted to remain in power, the People’s Republic of Mozambique and other front-line African States will remain the target of aggression and attack by the racist mercenaries. The only way to restore peace and justice in the region is to deal a final blow to such racist régimes and to put an end to their illegal usurpation of power against the will of the African peoples and the international community.

56. The courageous struggle waged against the racist minority régimes by the national liberation movements and the front-line States is not sufficient by itself, in spite of the heroism and huge sacrifices of the African peoples, to bring down these régimes without the serious assistance and support of the international community and the Members of the United Nations. Speedy action is therefore needed in order to provide all forms—I stress all forms—of assistance to the People’s Republic of Mozambique in its struggle against the acts of aggression of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and in order that it may overcome the great losses it has suffered as a result of those acts of aggression and its faithful adherence to United Nations resolutions. The international community must also render all assistance to the heroic people of Zimbabwe in order to speed its accession to majority rule and to defeat its racist oppressors.

57. The Syrian Arab Republic, for its part, wishes to reaffirm its commitment to and unreserved support of the peoples of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania, and all African front-line States in their struggle against the racist minority régimes and their allies. Syria, as an active member of the Committee of 24² and the Special Committee Against *Apartheid*, and as a member of the Arab Group and the Group of Non-Aligned States, will always

² Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

consider the struggle of the African peoples its own struggle.

58. I should like to conclude by quoting the following declaration, made only two weeks ago by President Assad of the Syrian Arab Republic, in solidarity with our African brothers. He said:

“Our people considers the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania against *apartheid*, racism and colonialism as its own struggle. This is not only out of faithful adherence to human high ideals and values, nor exclusively because of our own suffering at the hands of colonialists throughout history . . . but because we too are at present confronting colonialism under a new form, as represented by racist zionism, which has managed to establish on a part of our Arab territory, through conquest and military force, a colonialist régime whose ideology and practices are identical to the ideologies and practices applied in southern Africa.”

59. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): First of all, I wish on behalf of the delegation of Pakistan to offer a very warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, member of the Permanent Political Committee of FRELIMO and Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique.

60. The Minister has given an account [2014th meeting] of the acts of aggression which continue to be launched against his country by the illegal Smith régime. Those armed attacks are full-fledged military operations employing sophisticated weapons, and they have levelled to the ground whole villages and localities. So far, they have cost the lives of more than 1,400 persons and have done extensive damage to the vital points of the developing economic and social infrastructure of Mozambique. The extent, the frequency and the savagery of those violent forays have opened a new phase in Mr. Ian Smith’s desperate struggle to hold on, at all costs, to the power he and his racist minority régime usurped 12 years ago and until recently continued to enjoy in comparative tranquillity.

61. There can be no doubt about the nervousness and sense of insecurity which today afflict the Smith régime. It is no less true that, for a decade after the unilateral declaration of independence, the minority régime continued to function in the belief that its existence would remain essentially unchallenged and that such punitive measures and sanctions as the world community could agree upon either would prove ineffectual or could be easily countermined. Who can deny, indeed, that the imposition of selective sanctions in 1965 and of extensive mandatory sanctions in 1968 have proved to be ineffective? The Smith régime, far from being brought to book, has in fact grown stronger year by year, both economically and militarily, and even today seems to be in no fear of effective reprisals when using the instruments of war and aggression in its efforts to prolong its survival.

62. Speaking in the National Assembly on 10 June, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, asked:

“Would Mr. Ian Smith’s régime have lasted without the support of Great Britain and other white members of the

Commonwealth? Was the embargo imposed on Rhodesia effectively pursued? If it had been, Mr. Smith's régime would not have survived."

63. These questions are not rhetorical in nature but lie at the very core of the complexities which beset the situation today and which are so often put forward in order to justify inaction. As the Council considers the havoc wrought by the illegal régime in neighbouring States, the threat its actions pose to the peace of Africa and the racial conflict the régime seems bent upon inviting, we must surely ask how such a state of affairs has been allowed to arise.

64. A handful of men were able to shake loose the authority of the administering Power, while that Power stood by apparently powerless to put down the rebellion by force—force so readily used in other colonies against the people engaged in legitimate struggles for independence.

65. Almost on the eve of the unilateral declaration of independence by the settlers, military equipment, including aircraft, was transferred into the hands of the Smith administration. Nine years after the imposition of mandatory sanctions, oil companies continue supplying oil to Southern Rhodesia in defiance of the Security Council's decision and the laws of their home countries, and this even though the dodges and devices by which this is managed are known to all concerned.

66. Weakness and vacillation, commercialism and political expediency and, yes, racial sympathies—these are the elements which have rendered the Rhodesian issue intractable and have made impossible fulfilment of the pledge given in the Council on 12 November 1965 by the then British Foreign Secretary Mr. Michael Stewart, who assured the Council:

"It is, clearly and unmistakably, a British responsibility to re-establish the rule of law in Southern Rhodesia so that in due time that country may enjoy not the mere name of independence but the full substance of freedom for all its peoples." [1257th meeting, para. 19.]

67. Three years later, when the Council, by resolution 253 (1968), imposed mandatory sanctions on Southern Rhodesia, the representative of the United Kingdom, Lord Caradon, assured the Council that the measures adopted would bring about a just solution to the problem. Those assurances have been repeated over and over in the nine years which have elapsed. In reality, a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian problem is as yet nowhere in sight. While we do not belittle the efforts made to bring about a negotiated settlement, it is evident that the resort to force by the illegal Smith régime has given a set-back to the prospect and is perhaps designed to do so. The minority régimes of southern Africa are not interested in settlement but in perpetuating their dominion in one guise or another. They describe themselves as distant bastions of Western civilization and Christian values. They talk of the communist danger and would perhaps be glad to embroil outside Powers in the conflict. They try to arouse racial atavism and stir racial sentiments by asserting that majority rule would spell suicide for the white inhabitants of southern Africa.

68. The situation in southern Africa does indeed carry the seeds of racial conflict; however, it is not the black majority which threatens to provoke it but their racist overlords, who are prepared to risk anything in order to perpetuate their privilege, their exploitation and their usurpation.

69. The struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for liberation from racist domination and economic servitude, for freedom and human dignity, is rooted in principles which are valued by all the great religions and civilizations. It is sanctioned by the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. If the struggle has assumed violent form and may, in fact, intensify, it is because no other recourse has been left open. Indeed, if the racist régimes in southern Africa today seem shaken in their erstwhile arrogance and certitude, it is largely because the freedom fight has gained strength over the years. As Minister dos Santos put it so well, liberty is neither a gift nor a concession; it must be conquered through sacrifice and by struggle. This lesson of history will, it seems, have to be learnt all over again in southern Africa by Smith, his likes and his mentors.

70. Meanwhile, the Council must assume its responsibilities and take prompt and effective action to put a stop to the depredations of Smith in neighbouring countries. It is the duty of the international community to respond to the call for international assistance made by Mozambique. My own country, in pursuance of resolution 386 (1976), has decided to place at the disposal of the Government of Mozambique the sum of 1 million rupees for the purchase of its requirements from Pakistan. We only wish that we were in a position to make more than this modest contribution which is a token of the growing friendship between the peoples of Pakistan and Mozambique and of Pakistan's solidarity with the role of Mozambique in assisting the liberation struggle in southern Africa.

71. In the same spirit, my country is glad to sponsor the draft resolution which is before the Council and which, we hope, will be not only unanimously adopted but fully and unreservedly implemented. We hope in particular that effective measures will be taken to stop completely the flow of oil to Southern Rhodesia. The delegation of Pakistan believes further that, as a first step, action should be taken under Article 41 of the Charter in its entirety and that consideration should be given to initiating action under Article 42 if necessary. It is necessary above all to consider the application of an arms embargo against South Africa, for the problem of Rhodesia cannot be isolated from the larger problem of racial discrimination and minority rule in South Africa.

72. My delegation has taken note of the resolution on Mozambique adopted the other day by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity [see S/12352]. We have also listened with attention and sympathy to the statements made in the Council by the Ministers of Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Gabon, Lesotho, Nigeria, Tanzania and Zambia. The presence here of so many African cabinet ministers is a measure of the widening concern felt on the continent of Africa at the deteriorating situation in its southern part. It is a manifestation of African solidarity in the fight against racial discrimination and minority rule.

Speaking as the representative of an Asian country dedicated to the eradication of colonialism and racism, opposed to aggression and intervention and devoted to fostering the mutual solidarity of the third world in the interests of justice and peace all over the world, I wish to place on record and pledge the support, moral and—to the extent permitted by our means—material, of the Government and the people of Pakistan for the achievement of the just aims of the people of southern Africa.

73. Mr. President, as this is the last day on which you will be presiding over our meetings, may I take this occasion to place on record my personal admiration for the effective, firm and skilful manner in which you have conducted our proceedings on the many difficult matters which we had on our agenda.

74. Mr. JAIPAL (India): The Security Council is dealing with a somewhat curious situation in which a Member State finds itself facing massive attacks by a well-armed group of men from Southern Rhodesia, a country which those men now control illegally. An average of one attack every three days has taken place against Mozambique, causing the deaths of over 1,400 persons and the destruction of villages, refugee camps, hospitals, schools, shops, reservoirs, bridges, communication centres and so forth. The nature and scale of the attacks indicate a calculated plan to undermine the economic and social infrastructure of Mozambique. The attackers have been using heavy artillery, armoured vehicles, tanks and helicopters and even aircraft. There is no doubt that there have been several gross violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Mozambique. Furthermore, the attacks have posed a challenge to the authority of the United Nations, particularly to that of the Security Council.

75. The importance of this debate is underlined by the presence among us of the Vice-President of FRELIMO and Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique, whose statement [2014th meeting] we listened to with profound sympathy, and also by the participation of Ministers from Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Nigeria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia.

76. The attacks against Mozambique are mounted by a group—some refer to it as a régime—which usurped power from the British colonial authorities and, as it were, hijacked the colony of Southern Rhodesia in order to perpetuate its own form of colonialist exploitation. It has been holding its inhabitants as hostages and has been violating the sovereignty of three neighbouring States. The inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia, whose interests the United Nations has recognized as paramount and who are entitled, in terms of Article 73 of the Charter, to real independence, have been prevented by this Ian Smith group from fulfilling their natural and legitimate political aspirations. They have a right to liberate themselves and we are all obliged to assist them to do so. The responsibility for assisting them is particularly heavy for the neighbouring countries of Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia. It is as much our duty to help those neighbouring countries as it is our duty to help the people of Southern Rhodesia to rid themselves of the control of the Smith group.

77. Southern Rhodesia is not yet a State; its status is still that of a British colony, whose decolonization went off the rails. The Ian Smith group, which was responsible for that aberration, has no status in international law and no rights whatsoever. Indeed, that so-called régime has no right to exist at all, except with the consent of the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia. Unfortunately, all that the Security Council has done against it so far has been to impose a system of sanctions which have proved ineffective. Demands have therefore been made for an arms embargo as well as an oil embargo, and we support these demands. But the immediate problem is to secure the safety of Mozambique.

78. The Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique has appealed for arms and equipment to defend his country and also for other forms of assistance to cover the losses sustained. My delegation regards this appeal as having been made in the exercise of “the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence” under Article 51 of the Charter. In the face of such an appeal, there can be only two courses of action open to the Security Council: either the Council itself should take the measures necessary to liquidate the threat to Mozambique or it should make it possible for Member States to provide such assistance as is needed to strengthen the capability of Mozambique to defend itself. It is the latter course of action that is now being sought by Mozambique, evidently because the Council is unable to act itself.

79. It must be remembered that we are not dealing with a case of ordinary aggression which, by legal definition, is the use of armed force by one State against another State. We are instead dealing with an armed group, which is regarded as illegal by the international community. It is legitimate for those States threatened by that illegal group, as well as for the people who are held in subjugation by it and the international community as a whole, to co-operate in order to liquidate that group politically and, if necessary, militarily, and thus liberate the people of Southern Rhodesia the attainment of whose independence is an international obligation.

80. A collective demonstration of international assistance and support for strengthening the defensive capability of Mozambique and other neighbouring States should bring the Ian Smith group to its senses and facilitate the success of any peaceful initiatives that may be taken to rectify the present illegal situation in Southern Rhodesia. The draft resolution before us seeks to achieve precisely these objectives and is commended to the Council for unanimous adoption.

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

82. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all, I should like to add the voice of my delegation to those of all who have congratulated you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We do so with special pleasure, given the relations of friendship between our two countries, which are proof that it is possible to develop international co-operation

among States with different political and social systems on the basis of mutual respect. Furthermore, knowing your experience and skill, we can view this important debate with optimism. I thank you and all the members of the Council for having acceded to our request to participate in the debate.

83. In his statement of 18 June [S/12350, annex II], the President of FRELIMO and of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Comrade Samora Moisés Machel, described the gravity of the situation which the Council is considering and clearly stated the reasons which compelled the international community, and above all this United Nations organ, to act urgently to put an end once and for all to the dangers for international peace and security posed by the racist clique of Ian Smith and the other colonialist régime in southern Africa.

84. Given that solemn, sincere and firm statement by the senior spokesman of the people of Mozambique, no one has the right to harbour doubts or to be reticent. The situation prevailing in the vicinity of the Rhodesian colony is alarming and requires the immediate adoption of effective and definitive measures, in order to restore peace and eliminate one of the most serious hot-beds of tension in the world today.

85. The international community has an unshirkable duty towards the Mozambican people. The People's Republic of Mozambique is one of the youngest States on our planet, having only a few days ago celebrated the second anniversary of its independence. Its people took the reins of self-government under very difficult conditions, emerging from a colonialism which had plundered its wealth, fleeced its workers, distorted its economy and yoked it to the markets of the neighbouring Territories still subjected to colonialism and racism. European colonialism brought not civilization but wretchedness and hunger; it pitilessly exploited the Mozambican people and, at the end of four centuries of exploitation, abandoned that Territory, without schools or hospitals, or the infrastructure essential for the construction of an independent society.

86. Thus the people of Mozambique had an uphill battle, under particularly adverse circumstances, in beginning the development of an independent national economy. In doing so, they had to overcome all the obstacles inherited from the colonial past and to face hostile neighbours. Yet they pursued their internationalist policy of consistent solidarity with their African brothers who are still victims of foreign oppression, in Zimbabwe and in the rest of southern Africa. That is the policy which has been and still is being followed, firmly and unalterably, under the wise direction of FRELIMO and of President Machel. An example of this attitude was Mozambique's decision of 3 March 1976 to close its borders with Rhodesia and fully implement the sanctions imposed by the international community against that spurious régime. In so doing, in complying with the decisions adopted by the Council, the Mozambican people bravely bore the sacrifices entailed in their praiseworthy conduct. Thus Mozambique evinced a degree of loyalty and sincere devotion to its international commitments and to its status as a Member of the United Nations that is in contrast to the behaviour of certain members of the Council, who,

more than anyone else, are bound to implement fully the sanctions against Smith—sanctions they themselves approved, but which they nevertheless violate by daily acts.

87. While a small, newly independent country, a country without major resources and facing numerous material difficulties, was able to take a consistent, dignified and responsible attitude, some Western Powers have made a mockery of the sanctions and continue to give material and political assistance to the Salisbury clique, attempting every kind of diplomatic manoeuvre in order, as President Machel stated, "to impose upon the people of Zimbabwe a settlement designed to present Ian Smith as an essential part of any solution to the conflict in this British colony".

88. Their policy towards the Rhodesian régime reveals the true intentions of those who, while verbally condemning racism, are the ones most to blame for its continued presence in southern Africa. As early as 1965, the white settlers rebelled against the British Crown and, in defiance of the United Nations, proclaimed an illegal "independence" which is nothing but a perpetuation of the racist colonial oppression of the African population constituting the vast majority in the country. Since then, giving one excuse after another, the allies of Mr. Smith have paralysed the international community and prevented the adoption of effective measures to quell the racist rebellion and eliminate a grave hot-bed of international tension. As a result, a new generation has been born in Zimbabwe which lives under the yoke of a gang of Fascist exploiters.

89. During the same period in which they refused to take action against Mr. Smith and his henchmen, those same Powers did not hesitate to use their armed forces to combat liberation movements all over the world, or to support puppet and reactionary régimes anywhere and everywhere. When it came to the Salisbury régime, those Powers argued here in favour of moderation and negotiation, and objected to the use of force, whilst they themselves, in universally repudiated rage, were using force against peoples who had taken up arms to fight for their rights, from Indochina to the Caribbean. Whenever the delegations of the African States and their allies and friends affirmed that the situation in southern Africa was a threat to world peace requiring resolute action by the Security Council, it was those same voices which attempted to minimize the seriousness of the conflict and justified the inaction and paralysis of the international community.

90. Those who promoted that bungling policy were betting on a lost cause. With their racist and arrogant mentality, they were unable to understand an inevitable historical process and underrated the African peoples' fighting ability. Senselessly, they trusted in the soundness of the Portuguese empire and of minority tyrannies. They gave all their political, military and economic support to Portuguese colonialism until it fell, and with it the Fascist system in Portugal itself, under the impetus of the glorious fighters of MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC.

91. It was then, and only then, when the echo of freedom had reached the very borders of the Territories still dominated by racist minorities and when they had lost their support bases in Angola and Mozambique, that certain

capitalist countries began to become concerned about the situation in southern Africa. Then, and only then, did they begin to try to use seemingly more sensitive language about the problems of African peoples. Never before had their spokesmen shown so much interest in visiting the African continent; never before had their so-called free press shown so much curiosity over what was happening in that part of the world. In belated manoeuvring, their spokesmen seek to sow confusion and divert the African combat from its certain and victorious course. Today, as yesterday, imperialism seeks to gain time for its partners in Salisbury and Pretoria; today, as yesterday, it seeks to halt the advance of African revolution; today, as yesterday, it is concerned, above all, with preserving its major investments in southern Africa and the lucrative profits obtained thanks to *apartheid* and the racist exploitation of African workers.

92. Imperialist policy towards African peoples constitutes a justified source of alarm. The large monopolistic consortia and the Governments which represent their interests are not yet convinced that the era of colonialism has ended and that the time has come for them to let the African peoples forge their own destiny.

93. The independent States of Africa are constantly the targets of aggression promoted by imperialism and its colonialist and neo-colonialist agents. The South African invasion of the People's Republic of Angola, the mercenary attack on Benin, the constant provocations against Zambia and Botswana and the other front-line States, the reactionary threats and conspiracies against Ethiopia and other progressive States and the systematic aggression carried out against Mozambique all prove that the imperialists have not renounced their designs to maintain domination over the African peoples.

94. Ever since Mozambique attained its independence in 1975, it has had to face an undeclared war waged against it by the Salisbury régime. That conflict has cost the lives of more than 1,400 civilians, caused large-scale destruction of material goods and brought indescribable sufferings to the Mozambican people.

95. That situation cannot continue. It is the duty of the international community to do what it can to put an end to it. The progressive States and forces must comply with their duty of solidarity with the people's Republic of Mozambique and contribute to assist its firm resistance to aggression. It is not a matter of giving aid to Mozambique; neither its people nor its Government are asking favours of anyone. Those who are not familiar with the history of Mozambique may be unaware that its motto, "The struggle continues", was no passing fancy nor was it created for the benefit of international oratory. "The struggle continues" was the heroic motto of the FRELIMO fighters in the most arduous moments of their struggle against Portuguese colonialism. It was the salute that those marching to combat gave those who had laid down their lives on the hazardous road to freedom. It was the expression of the commitment of a revolutionary vanguard that was able to transform words into action and to persevere to total victory. On 25 June 1975, on winning its independence, the people of Mozambique made that motto a reality. History will prove its indomitable force sooner than the colonialists suppose.

96. It is not a matter of giving aid to Mozambique. It is a matter of complying with the duty that we all share to contribute to the common struggle in which Mozambique is honourably and courageously assuming the largest share of sacrifice.

97. Obviously, the problem being considered by the Council would not exist had the United Nations acted consistently with regard to the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury. Words are useless to describe the crimes committed by Rhodesian troops against the people of Mozambique. Any who tried even at this late hour to prevent effective international action would be responsible for the atrocities, killings and destruction caused by the racists. The advocates of deceitful formulas for a peaceful settlement in southern Africa should explain to us how much longer they think that violence should continue that razes to the ground African villages, annihilates their peaceful inhabitants, destroys their harvests and reduces to rubble their schools and hospitals. Do they not consider intolerable the acts of violence that victimize Africans? How long will certain Western Powers insist on seeking peace for Europeans alone while ignoring the sufferings of Africans? Is this not simply and clearly a racist attitude?

98. I should like to extend our greetings to the delegation of the People's Republic of Mozambique which has participated in this debate headed by Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO and Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique. On many past occasions we have had the opportunity of meeting with Comrade dos Santos at the United Nations and in many other international bodies which he attended representing his fighting people in the difficult times when they had to wage the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism. His presence here among us is a source of genuine pride and satisfaction for those of us who were always with him throughout that arduous struggle in which FRELIMO consistently and determinedly defended the interests of his people. But his presence here must also serve as a warning and a reminder to all members of the Council. Some day, just as today we welcome a delegation from a free and independent Mozambique, we shall receive with equal joy and satisfaction the representatives of a liberated Zimbabwe, of a liberated Namibia and of a South Africa free of racism and colonialism.

99. The people and Government of Cuba once again renew the expression of their militant solidarity with their brothers and sisters of Mozambique. Despite the geographical distance that separates us, we are united in the common struggle for freedom and socialism. Together with them, we proclaim that the struggle continues and will continue until victory.

100. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*translation from Chinese*): First of all, the Chinese delegation wishes to express a warm welcome to the ministerial representatives sent by many African States to this meeting. We have listened attentively to the statement made by His Excellency Mr. Marcelino dos Santos and to those made by the representatives of other African States and many third-world countries. Those statements give full expression to the militant unity of the numerous third-world countries in the common struggle

against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and racism. With an abundance of irrefutable facts, the representative of Mozambique [2014th meeting] exposed the serious crimes committed by the Smith racist régime of Southern Rhodesia during the massive armed invasion of Mozambique and strongly condemned those crimes in categorical terms. The Chinese delegation expresses firm support for all this.

101. Since the beginning of this year, the Southern Rhodesian racist régime has ceaselessly carried out military threats, provocations and aggression against the neighbouring independent African States of Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique. According to incomplete statistics, the Smith racist régime has carried out military provocations and attacks against Mozambique on more than a hundred occasions in less than a year. Wherever they went, the invaders stopped at nothing in committing arson, kidnapping, plundering and killing, causing heavy losses to the lives and property of the people of Mozambique.

102. What arouses particular indignation is that, less than a month after their massive invasion of Mozambique last May when they occupied the Mapai area and flagrantly assaulted the Zimbabwe guerrilla camps, the Southern Rhodesian racist armed forces, defying world opinion, committed another act of massive military aggression against Mozambique, slaughtering the civilian population of Espungabera and seriously damaging the town. They have reached a new high in their reactionary arrogance. It is even more intolerable that Ian Smith has shamelessly denied those crimes by saying "this is not an aggression at all" but a mere "defensive action". This is sheer gangster's logic in its full sense. The frenzied acts of aggression committed by the Smith racist régime constitute not only a most serious encroachment upon the State sovereignty and territorial integrity of Mozambique but also a rabid provocation to the entire African people and the people all over the world. The Chinese delegation expresses utmost indignation at this and condemns it most strongly.

103. The solemn statement made by President Samora Machel on 18 June [S/12350, annex II] has greatly encouraged the fighting will of the Mozambican people and the people of southern Africa. The Chinese Government and people fully sympathize with the Mozambican people and the people of southern Africa, and we express our firm solidarity with and support for them in their just struggles against the white racist régimes. We are deeply convinced that, under the leadership of President Machel, the heroic Mozambican people will mete out due punishment to the Southern Rhodesian invaders and that the crime-steeped reactionary régimes of Smith and Vorster will come to the ignominious end of thorough defeat.

104. The recent rabid acts of aggression committed by the Smith racist régime against the neighbouring independent African States do not show its strength, but rather demonstrate that, under the heavy blows of the mounting armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people, it has increasingly found itself in an inextricably hopeless impasse. As the Chinese saying goes, "A cornered beast tries to leap over a

wall in desperation". The Smith racist régime tries to obstruct the numerous African States and people from supporting the armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people by its adventurous acts of military threats, provocations and invasion of the front-line countries so as to save itself from imminent extinction. This, of course, is sheer day-dreaming and wishful thinking. Its iniquitous acts have, however, further educated broad sections of the African people and made them more deeply aware that the most reactionary racists will never transfer power and step down from the stage of history willingly; nor will they abandon the violent force in their command in dealing with the revolutionary people. Only by using revolutionary violence to deal with the counter-revolutionary violence and by strengthening and developing the people's armed struggle will the people of Zimbabwe and the rest of southern Africa find the reliable road towards independence and liberation.

105. At the same time it can be seen clearly that the military provocations and invasions of a number of independent African States by the Southern Rhodesian racist régime have been carried out with the support of the South African racist régime and the connivance of one super-Power. What is more, a grave incident took place not long ago in which the other super-Power had organized mercenaries for large-scale invasion of another African sovereign State. The occurrence of all those events is closely linked with the intensified rivalry between the super-Powers over southern Africa and for world hegemony. Nevertheless, the criminal acts of the super-Powers are bound to evoke stronger resistance from the African States and people which will be able to realize further the significance of "guarding against the tiger while repulsing the wolf". No force on earth can check the historical trend of national liberation of the southern African people. With the support of the entire African people, the people of Zimbabwe and the rest of southern Africa, heightening their vigilance, strengthening their unity, relying on their own strength and acting according to their own wishes, will surely frustrate the racists' trouble-making and the different schemes of the super-Powers and finally achieve their independence and liberation.

106. The Chinese delegation considers that the Security Council should uphold justice, condemn the Smith racist régime in the strongest terms for its criminal acts of invading Mozambique and other independent African States, condemn the South African racist authorities for their criminal acts of working hand in glove with the Smith régime, firmly support the people of Zimbabwe and the rest of southern Africa in their just struggle for national liberation, firmly support the Government and people of Mozambique in their just struggle to defend their national independence and territorial integrity, and call upon all countries and people to give them all the necessary support and assistance.

107. In view of the above, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/12353, sponsored by Benin and six other countries.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

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