



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

**2019<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 30 JUNE 1977

NEW YORK

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## NOTE

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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.

## 2019TH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 30 June 1977, at 3 p.m.

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

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

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2019)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Complaint by Mozambique:

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

*The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Complaint by Mozambique:**

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

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

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

2. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Brazil, 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. S. Corrêa da Costa (Brazil), 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: The first speaker is the representative of Swaziland, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. MALINGA (Swaziland): Mr. President, my delegation is most grateful to you and the other members of the Council for being afforded an opportunity to take part in this historic debate whose outcome, if positive, will certainly influence events in my part of the world.

5. We are equally gratified that when this august body is considering a matter vital to the economic survival of our brothers in Mozambique, the turning wheel of the presidency of the Council is found to have come to rest at Canada, a country that has, in the past, demonstrated so clearly its practical commitment to support the developing economies. Yes, the record shows that your country, like the Nordic countries of Norway, Sweden and Denmark, is responsive to the needs of our people in Africa. Allow me to express, through you, to Canada the appreciation of His Majesty King Sobhuza II not only for Canada's assistance to Swaziland as a Commonwealth partner in development but also for its recent pledges of aid to our sister countries of Lesotho and Botswana, whose requests for support came recently before the Council.

6. Taking into account the fact that our intervention comes at such a very late stage in the debate, I shall not repeat at length the in-depth analysis of the situation so well expounded by the able exponents from our region and other representatives.

7. It has been eloquently explained by the speakers who have preceded me that the Council is seized of yet another complaint by a country of southern Africa, and this time it is the People's Republic of Mozambique whose territorial integrity and sovereignty have been repeatedly violated by the rebellious and illegal régime of Ian Smith.

8. Other southern African States have suffered aggression, intimidation and frustration in one way or the other. To give but one example, in January of this year, the Republic of Botswana brought before the Council a complaint of aggression committed by Rhodesia's rebel Government. As

a result of that aggression, that sister country was forced to reorganize its development priorities in order to provide for the maximum security of its people. Lesotho's difficulties with South Africa were yet another subject of discussion in the Council. Swaziland, together with Lesotho and Botswana, brought before the General Assembly last year [see resolution 31/126] a request for financial assistance to enable them to cater for the education and welfare of the South African student refugees who fled from South Africa following last June's tragic events at Soweto, Langa, Gugulethu and other townships.

9. The list of the grievances of our region goes on and on. Last Tuesday [2014th meeting], the Honourable Marcelino dos Santos, Minister for Development and Economic Planning of the People's Republic of Mozambique, informed this body of Ian Smith's escalating acts of aggression against Mozambique. He gave a detailed account, stating that the arrogant, defiant Smith was launching large-scale attacks against well-defined objectives that had come to include vital points in the economic and social infrastructure of Mozambique. He stated that the villages of Mapai, Massangena, Mavonde and Chioco had been completely levelled. A large number of Mozambicans and Zimbabwean refugees had been mercilessly massacred. As recently as two weeks ago we were informed that the Espungabera region had been violently attacked and that many other localities had been left without hospitals, schools, stores or water supplies and that thousands of homes had been burned and destroyed. Factories and bridges had been demolished and thousands of head of cattle had been slaughtered.

10. The Government and the people of Swaziland condemn the use of violence against our brothers in Mozambique, and we abhor and detest the brutal, oppressive measures taken by the racist régime against the people of southern Africa. They are our brothers. An attack against their countries is indeed an attack on the people of Swaziland. We are one people. What happens to them in effect happens to us. Any dislocation or destabilization of the economy of Mozambique seriously affects neighbouring Swaziland.

11. In spite of the manifold difficulties arising from its commitment to the liberation of Zimbabwe, the people of Mozambique has bravely taken up its responsibilities as a Member of the United Nations. The world admired its courageous sacrifice when it closed its borders with Rhodesia in order to implement the Security Council resolutions on sanctions. To confront the calculated aggression of that international outlaw, the Mozambicans were forced to mobilize their limited resources, which would have otherwise been channelled into more urgent and pressing priorities of economic development. In view of the setbacks suffered by the Mozambican economy, my delegation appeals to the international community to respond favourably to the Mozambican request for assistance and to aid our brothers in reconstructing their economy.

12. The view expressed by several representatives that the people of Mozambique are subjected to this kind of wanton pillage and plunder by the rebel government because of

their commitment to the freedom of Zimbabwe is equally shared by my Government. Mozambique's support for majority rule in that country has brought disastrous consequences for its people and their property. Their courageous stand against all odds will surely earn them a well-deserved place in the pages of history.

13. It is a well-known fact that the successful struggle for independence waged by the former Portuguese colonies increased to fever pitch expectations of independence in our region. The old men in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa dream dreams of freedom. Their young men see visions of controlling and influencing the destiny of their motherlands. Everywhere in my region there is talk of freedom. It is loud and clear.

14. Songs and cries of freedom cause panic to the minority régime of Salisbury, so much so that in desperation they wantonly destroy property, massacre innocent civilians and violate the territorial integrity of independent black States. Some say that Smith's invasion of Mozambique is an attempt to gain a strong negotiating position. We are inclined to believe that these irresponsible acts of aggression are promoted by panic and desperation. Smith realizes that his time is up in Africa and that there is no way he can reverse the rising tide of independence. This is a normal reaction for a colonial mind that has conditioned itself to occupy a domineering position for so long. Albert Memmi, the distinguished Tunisian scholar, has ably described and defined the colonialist mind typified by Ian Smith. He said:

"A colonialist is a foreigner having come to the land by the accident of history, who has succeeded not merely in creating a place for himself but also in taking away that of the inhabitants and granting himself astounding privileges to the detriment of those rightfully entitled to them. He is a privileged being, an illegitimately privileged one, that is, a usurper."

This is what Smith is: a usurper who finds it difficult to give up his privileged position and who would rather resort to violence when he sees the writing on the wall. History repeats itself here. The cases of Algeria and Zaire come to mind.

15. It has been argued by speakers who preceded me that the Rhodesian Government's continued violation of Security Council resolutions puts at stake the ability of the Council to deal effectively with future tragic situations of aggression. That view remains to be proved or disproved by the practical and positive effects of the decision of the Council on this matter.

16. The statements made this week have clearly demonstrated the impatience of the international community regarding the Rhodesian issue. How long is Smith going to be tolerated? How long is he going to continue to violate the territorial integrity of the peoples of Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana? If there is no speedy solution, my delegation is afraid that the conflict might escalate and engulf the entire world community. As of now, it definitely presents a threat to international peace and security.

17. In conclusion, I should like once again to appeal to the members of the Council to give unanimous support to the just and eminently reasonable demands of Mozambique, which were so eloquently expressed by the honourable ministers representing the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, in particular: the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, should negotiate with the representatives of the people of Zimbabwe on the means for a transfer of power which would lead to majority rule and an independent Zimbabwe; the international community should supplement the efforts of the Mozambicans in their drive for economic reconstruction; sanctions should be fully applied against the rebel colony of Southern Rhodesia; Mozambique should be granted special assistance for the purpose of reconstructing areas destroyed by Smith's aggression.

18. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I wish to bid a warm welcome to the Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique, Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, whose statement [2014th meeting] marked the high point and the most impressive moment in the work of the Council. My country, which, in a spirit of mutual respect, has friendly relations with Mozambique, is familiar with the difficult situation which has been imposed on it and neighbouring countries, in particular, Botswana and Zambia. The repeated incursions and destruction perpetrated by the illegal Salisbury régime have, month after month, caused fresh damage and further suffering to the people of Mozambique, already sorely tried by a long struggle, the significance of which was stressed by my predecessor, Mr. de Guiringaud, during the Council's debate in November 1972 [see 1677th meeting].

19. My Government is aware of the difficulties which Mozambique has imposed on itself; we know that it is prepared to sacrifice even more for an objective which goes beyond its national interests, since it is the cause of freedom and independence for the Zimbabwe people. That cause is familiar to us; it is a common cause; it concerns the Council. Indeed, as stated by the representative of France on 17 March 1976 [1892nd meeting], it is only fair that the international community should give assistance to Mozambique, which has been the victim of constant attacks by the illegal régime at Salisbury.

20. My delegation has listened most attentively to the information provided by the Minister for Development and Economic Planning. We have also paid close attention to the arguments of the ministers of front-line and other countries to which the OAU Council of Ministers gave the important task of supporting here the legitimate complaint of Mozambique.

21. As we have constantly recalled, the problem before us is a political one. At stake are the authority of the international community and the dignity of Africa. The President of the French Republic himself repeated this during the recent visit of President Kaunda, when he said:

"France condemns those who refuse to accept inevitable change, who impede the implementation of peaceful solutions and thereby contribute to aggravating

conflicts which have lasted too long and which involve serious risks for the entire area. It is in that same spirit that France endorses the decisions of the United Nations on Rhodesia and will see to it that they are strictly applied."

22. The increase in the number of Rhodesian attacks on Mozambique inevitably leads the latter to divert its energies from the primary objective, development. In the face of such dangers, my delegation believes that the security of the African States must be fully protected as they exercise their legitimate rights. The Security Council recognizes the inherent right of Mozambique, in the exercise of its sovereignty, to appeal for outside assistance to strengthen its defensive capacity. It is only natural in the circumstances that the Council should call on Member States to extend the necessary material assistance to Mozambique so that it may pursue its development policy in spite of the undue burdens that have been placed on it in the defence of its independence and sovereignty. It is in that spirit that France will lend its support to the draft resolution which has been submitted to the Council [S/12353].

23. The statements we have heard, like the draft resolution, reflect the growing concern of the international community. Therefore, we believe it more imperative than ever that the efforts under way should be pursued so as to achieve through peaceful means a settlement of the Rhodesian problem, which would imply the speedy establishment of majority rule.

24. Mr. von HASSELL (Federal Republic of Germany): The complaint of Mozambique with which this august body is dealing today once again draws the attention of world public opinion to the untenable situation in southern Africa. For the second time within the span of a few months, we are faced with a catalogue of complaints conveying the picture of an illegal régime which, in view of the hopelessness of its political situation, feels fewer and fewer scruples about resorting to military aggression, violating the sovereignty of other States and opposing with the means of destruction all efforts at a peaceful settlement of tensions in the area.

25. The Federal Republic of Germany is following these developments with grave concern. It is grieved by the losses which the populations of the States bordering on Rhodesia—lately, above all, Mozambique—have had to suffer, and it strongly denounces the action of the illegal Smith régime.

26. In its concern at what is so far the largest and most brazen incursion of Rhodesian troops into the territory of Mozambique, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany declared, in an official statement of 7 June of this year, that:

"The Federal Government most emphatically denounces this act of aggression of the Salisbury régime against Mozambique and considers the action on the part of Rhodesia as a violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

"The Federal Government is following developments with particular concern because the incursion of Rho-

desian troops into Mozambique is a step further towards the brink of a military conflict in southern Africa.

"The Federal Government is concerned that this development will jeopardize the efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian question, efforts in which it shares.

"The Federal Government therefore calls on the Salisbury régime to withdraw without delay the Rhodesian troops from Mozambique and to abstain from all aggressive acts against the neighbouring countries in the future."

27. The externally aggressive attitude of that régime is closely related to its reckless internal policy of racial discrimination and violation of the political and basic human rights of the majority of the population of Zimbabwe. Even before acceding to United Nations membership, the Federal Republic of Germany from the very beginning had refused to enter into any form of co-operation with that minority régime and had actively supported the Security Council's policy of sanctions fully to isolate Rhodesia militarily and economically. Only recently, in this august body, the Federal Republic of Germany endorsed the resolution extending the sanctions to all capital transfers [*resolution 409 (1977)*], and also during the Maputo Conference, the Federal Republic of Germany put its rejection of that racist régime unequivocally on record. We consider the sanctions an important instrument of the United Nations which brings economic pressure to bear on the minority régime in Rhodesia, weakening it and reinforcing the determination to resist of the overwhelming majority of the population of the country.

28. In developing its bilateral relations with the front-line States, my Government has demonstrated for many years that the problem of Rhodesia must be tackled in a two-pronged approach. It is a matter not only of responding to the political attacks of the Smith régime by enhanced political and economic pressure but at the same time of assisting those States that particularly suffer from the situation of conflict in southern Africa to develop their economic potential. In that connexion, I should like to refer to our statements in the debates on the complaints of Botswana [*2008th meeting*] and Lesotho [*2009th meeting*] in May of this year.

29. The Federal Republic of Germany is prepared to assist the population of Mozambique in the same spirit of solidarity. This preparedness has already been proved in the very recent history of bilateral diplomatic relations in the humanitarian field on several occasions. In December 1976, the Federal Republic of Germany made a contribution of 30,000 Deutschmarks towards the aid programme of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for Rhodesian refugees in Mozambique. In January of this year, it granted a cash contribution to mitigate the consequences of a flood catastrophe. It is prepared to contribute with a special payment of \$200,000 to the UNHCR aid programme for southern Africa. Through its membership, it contributes to the food programme of the European Community and to aid programmes financed

from joint funds of the United Nations Development Programme and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

30. All efforts of the kind I have just described are reactions to a situation of political tension that is becoming more and more of a burden on the nations in the region of southern Africa. Such efforts can mitigate the negative repercussions of that situation.

31. At the same time, however, we have to go to the root of the evil and combine our efforts to reshape the situation fundamentally. Our policy aims at independence under democratic majority rule in Zimbabwe and in Namibia and at the eradication of all racial discrimination in southern Africa. This necessarily implies our determination that Mozambique, which is in the very heart of that region, should be a stable and prosperous country with safe frontiers.

32. With those considerations in mind, my Government is prepared to support the draft resolution now before us [*S/12353*]. My delegation would like to thank the sponsors of this draft for their endeavours and spirit of compromise. Our support of this draft resolution is based on our deep and repeatedly expressed conviction that a solution of all disputes and of the question of Southern Rhodesia must be sought through peaceful means. Every State has the inherent right to individual or collective self-defence. At the same time, the Federal Government reiterates its opinion that Africa must not become the scene of a political conflict between non-African Powers or ideologies. It is in that context that we see the provisions of the draft resolution. We hope that this draft will be helpful in deterring the Smith régime from committing aggressive acts and in bringing it along the road of negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

33. Mr. President, this is the last day of your term as President of the Council. I should hesitate, therefore, to end my statement without having thanked you, on behalf of my delegation, for the effective and successful way in which you have carried out your complicated task. The positive outcome of the debate on this difficult and serious problem will be largely due to your efforts. For this we are all indebted to you.

34. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): We have listened carefully to the speeches made over the last three days to the Council. In particular, we have paid heed to the statement of Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, the Minister for Development and Economic Planning of the People's Republic of Mozambique [*2014th meeting*], and to those made by the representatives of those neighbouring States which are so vitally involved in the problems of southern Africa. We have noted, too, the seriousness with which Africa has approached this debate, as is evidenced by the presence here of so many ministers.

35. It is obvious that Mozambique has suffered, and suffered substantially, as a result of its geographical proximity to Southern Rhodesia. It has suffered in economic terms from the fact that there was a considerable economic and trading relationship between the two coun-

tries, which made the decision to impose sanctions a particularly hard one for the newly independent State of Mozambique. It has also suffered, both economically and militarily, from the repeated attacks mounted by the illegal Salisbury régime. As the Council responded in January to attacks against Botswana, so it will respond now, if we adopt the draft resolution before us [S/12353], to the attacks against Mozambique. The United Kingdom will therefore support the current draft.

36. My Government's position on the question of incursions by Rhodesian armed forces is unequivocal and should by now be well known. We have condemned unreservedly those aggressive acts.

37. We are mindful of the toll in life and the destruction of those incursions. My Government wishes to express to the Government of Mozambique its deep sympathy for the loss of life. But Mozambique needs sympathy and understanding to be expressed in practical forms. My Government has already shown that it is prepared to act in a material way to assist the Government of Mozambique, as, indeed, we have shown our sympathy in a comparable way in respect of incursions into Botswana. The facts speak for themselves. Members of the Council will recall the appeal contained in Council resolution 386 (1976). In response to that appeal, the United Kingdom pledged total aid amounting to £15 million by way of assistance, of which the first £5 million was programme assistance that has been mostly committed for the purchase of vehicles and machinery. An agreement is expected to be signed shortly for the remaining £10 million by way of project aid. I can also inform the Council today that we hope very shortly to offer further development assistance to Mozambique and to make an announcement about the precise level of that aid in the near future. Such assistance as we have given is designed to assist in meeting Mozambique's development needs, including the offsetting of the adverse effects of sanctions. Any further aid will be designed to help to overcome the serious economic difficulties faced by Mozambique to which the Rhodesian incursions have clearly contributed. We believe that sympathy and solidarity speak loudest when they are expressed in such material terms, and we shall in this way seek to meet the appeals conveyed in operative paragraphs 9 to 11 of the draft resolution. We shall not, of course, in this regard do anything that could serve to increase tension in the area. Our objective is quite the opposite.

38. There have been many references during this debate to sanctions imposed by the Council against the illegal régime in Rhodesia. With few exceptions, all have recognized that sanctions, with all their imperfections, have provided the international community with a significant source of pressure on the illegal régime at Salisbury. Indeed, many of the critics of sanctions have made clear their belief in the system itself by calling for further extensions. My delegation fully accepts that every effort should be made to tighten and intensify existing sanctions. Greater vigilance on the part of all Governments would be of immeasurable assistance. Few of the developed countries which have extensive trading interests throughout the world can be complacent on this matter. The United Kingdom has tried honestly and hard to enforce sanctions, and we are not

ashamed of our record in supervising the application of the embargo and in prosecuting those traders under our jurisdiction who have broken the law in this respect. As I have said before in the Council, if any Government has evidence which leads it to believe that there has been any sanctions-breaking, it has a duty to bring that information to the attention of the Security Council's Sanctions Committee so that action may be taken. If allegations are not so conveyed to the Committee, we have to assume that they cannot be substantiated. In this regard, my own Government has brought to the attention of the Committee over 200 cases of suspected sanctions violations involving many Member States.

39. I do not propose on this occasion to embark on a lengthy account of United Kingdom policy towards Rhodesia. As many speakers have reminded us—some in harsh terms—we have accepted the continued legal responsibility for our colony which is in a state of rebellion and we have not wavered from our intention to grant independence only when the will of the people has been freely expressed through majority rule. We have not abandoned this hope. As the United Kingdom Secretary of State said at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting earlier this month, it is easy to be depressed and sceptical about the prospects for early change in southern Africa; but we remain convinced that majority rule can still be brought about by negotiation. While recognizing the increasing frustration of the majority of the population who live under that minority régime, we believe that so long as the prospect of a negotiated settlement exists—and we believe that it does exist—it is the inescapable obligation of the British Government to continue to search for peace. We shall therefore continue to do all we can to achieve this.

40. May I perhaps be allowed to conclude on a personal note.

41. I totally and unreservedly reject any allegation—whether expressly stated, as in the case of the representative of Benin, or impliedly hinted at, as in the case of the representative of the German Democratic Republic—that the attempts to find a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian issue are diplomatic manoeuvres concealing an ignoble motive. Not only do I reject them on behalf of my Government but I do so personally. They are quite simply and plainly untrue. I am, however, somewhat encouraged when I observe the identity of those countries which make such allegations. From the Soviet Union to Benin, via Cuba, they possess a certain similarity in their style of government. We note the origin of those statements and we will treat them accordingly.

42. As for the representative of Pakistan, I was a little surprised to read his remarks. Unfortunately, I could not be here this morning to observe the fervour, or the lack of it, with which he spoke; but I have studied his remarks since, as indeed I always study the remarks of a country with which we are supposed to have friendly and amicable relations. His remarks were ill-considered, inaccurate and untimely. If the United Kingdom is indeed a country to which can be ascribed "weakness and vacillation, commercialism and political expediency and, yes, racial sympathies" [2018th meeting, para. 66], I can only say I am

astounded at the vigour and the energy with which so many people from Pakistan have come to live in Britain and thereby have risked exposing themselves to such pernicious influences.

43. The situation in southern Africa is far too important for the sort of rhetorical mischief-making we have unfortunately heard too much of in the Council during the last three days. Such talk—if I may say so—is unworthy of the Council and of the seriousness of the subject-matter of this debate; but then the passage of the draft resolution is perhaps much more important than the speeches which have been made in support of it.

44. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My first words are words of greeting and tribute to His Excellency Mr. 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, whose noble cause he so worthily represents.

45. As a co-sponsor of the draft resolution submitted by Benin, India, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan and Romania [S/12353], I think it is my duty to make some brief comments on the just reasons that prompt the sponsors to hope that the draft will be unanimously adopted and will receive the support of all the prestige and authority of the Security Council.

46. The Latin American Group, of which I am Chairman this month, designated the representative of Brazil, Mr. Sérgio Corrêa da Costa, to speak on behalf of the regional group in the discussion of the complaint of Mozambique. Like other regional groups, the Latin American Group has unanimously expressed its solidarity with and its active support of the cause of the People's Republic of Mozambique, headed by that great leader of Africa and the third world, President Samora Moisés Machel. The magnificent speech expressing the position of the Latin American Group made this morning by Ambassador Corrêa da Costa [2018th meeting] makes it unnecessary for my delegation to go into any further detail, because that expression of the views of the Latin American Group reflects the thinking of my own country.

47. The draft resolution has been prompted by the outrageous acts of aggression recently committed by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia against the People's Republic of Mozambique and by repeated acts of aggression and constant threats made by that reprehensible régime against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the peoples of Botswana and Zambia, forming part of a chain of events that considerably increase the gravity of the threat to the security and stability of the region. That reprehensible situation has only arisen because of the support given by South Africa to the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia, the principal consequence of which is to deprive the people of Zimbabwe of their right to self-determination and independence. There is wide justification, therefore, for insisting that the most energetic measures be adopted by the Security Council to put an end to this distressing drama of blood and tears and to avert further bloodshed, loss of life and suffering on the part of

the African peoples which have been victims of aggression and injustice at the hands of the Smith and Vorster régimes.

48. How long will we go on witnessing the short-sightedness of these régimes and Powers that are swimming against the current of history? How long will this contumacy, this indifference to the moral values of humanity, continue? There are many examples in history which should serve as a lesson in this regard.

49. All colonial situations—if they are not resolved by the peaceful means that civilized societies have available to them—will, from one moment to the next, lead to more tragic situations. That is true not only of Africa, but also of other places. Let us remember the example of Suez in 1956. At that time, many people thought that that was an ideal system that could endure for years. But the short-sightedness which prevailed at that time led to the violent destruction of the memorial to Ferdinand de Lesseps, the monument to capitalism represented by the Suez Canal. Similarly, in Latin America we hope that the short-sightedness of certain reactionary circles will not prevent the achievement of solutions to other colonial situations, such as the one in the Panama Canal Zone. We hope that that situation will not one day lead to an explosion for liberation that will demolish, violently and with bloodshed, the statue of Theodore Roosevelt and this monument to colonialism which exists there.

50. We wish to see an end to the colonialist situations in Africa, in Latin America, in Asia and wherever else they exist, for these are elements of tension, of conflict, of regression.

51. We express the wish that this problem of Mozambique, which is a problem not only for Africa but also for Latin America, will be solved, and that it will be solved by the achievement of freedom and independence and majority rule for the peoples of Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia.

52. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to say how much I have enjoyed your leadership and direction, not only in this debate but also during the months that I have been privileged to serve with you on the Council.

53. I should like also to thank the Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique, Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, for attending these meetings. We appreciate, too, the concern demonstrated by the other ministers who have taken time from the deliberations of the Organization of African Unity to be with us for these important discussions.

54. The first speaker on the problem now before the Council, Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, gave a grim recital of the destruction and killing which have been directed against his country and his people in recent months [2014th meeting].

55. Human suffering always evokes deep sadness—the more so when it is unnecessary, as in the present case. The folly of the Rhodesian régime in lashing out against its neighbours cannot save that régime. It can only lead to



more death, to intensified hatred, to even more bitter armed conflict and greater ruin in southern Africa. No régime built on racism and tyrannical rule by a minority can endure in today's world. Freedom will come to Zimbabwe because that is what the people of Zimbabwe want.

56. The United States Government deplores Rhodesia's actions for a number of reasons: because of the tragic loss of life and property that was so eloquently described by the Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique, and because it diverts attention from the true imperatives of the fundamental necessities of arriving at a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe and the urgency of establishing majority rule in that country.

57. The immediate question before the Security Council is the violation of the territorial integrity of the nation of Mozambique. It is clear that the people of Mozambique will resist this attack against their land; it should be equally clear that Members of the United Nations will speak out against these incursions and provide whatever material assistance is appropriate for the relief of the suffering imposed on Mozambique.

58. There is also a broader question that urgently addresses itself to the Council. The question is not whether Zimbabwe shall be free, but how all the peoples of southern Africa shall become free. Will they be engulfed in massive death and destruction? Or can there be a peaceful path to independence and justice?

59. For those who still might wonder about the policy of my country, I would recall our repeated emphasis on our support for majority rule.

60. Southern Africa has reached a historic crossroads. That area of the continent is proceeding towards majority rule. Unfortunately, the situation is one in which time is the enemy of human life and a productive social order. And yet if there is a way to expedite the peaceful negotiation of an honourable settlement in Rhodesia through aggressive application of economic pressures and diplomacy, there is still hope that untold lives will be spared in that region and the people there will be able to build and progress with the resources and facilities which are not yet destroyed.

61. Shortly before his death, President John F. Kennedy wrote that "those who make peaceful revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable". I do not argue today for violent revolution, for armed struggle, because I believe that peaceful change is attainable in southern Africa if it comes rapidly enough. It is clear that change is on the way and that change will be achieved. That is why it is now urgent that the United Nations, which has the responsibility and so much hope for just and peaceful change in the world, should become more persistent in the various efforts to find peace through peace, to save lives and to help build a prosperous and free southern Africa.

62. My Government wishes it clearly understood that the Smith régime can expect no assistance from the United States now or ever to rescue it from that position in which it has placed itself.

63. Each Member State should redouble its efforts to ensure that sanctions are fully enforced.

64. We must all encourage our Governments to address themselves to the request of the Mozambique Government for assistance to repair the damage resulting from the raids.

65. Ten years ago a world leader, Martin Luther King, Jr., wrote prophetically of the responsibilities of this international institution. "The United Nations," he said, "is a gesture in the direction of non-violence on a world scale. There, at least, States that oppose one another have sought to do so with words instead of with weapons." And, speaking of the world-wide ferment of our time, he wrote:

"All over the globe, men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression, and out of the womb of a frail world, new systems of justice are being born; the shirtless and barefoot people of the earth are rising up as never before. 'The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light.' We in the West must support these revolutions."

Thus did King lay down a challenge to the United Nations and to the West, a challenge I find to be still relevant.

66. So, in confronting the issues at hand, let us take the bold steps that are necessary to promote change without violence, with a minimum of killing, throughout southern Africa.

67. Additionally, it is the necessary business of the Member States to commit themselves to the development funds for an independent Zimbabwe and for the neighbouring States which have paid such a heavy price already for the liberation of that potentially great nation.

68. The PRESIDENT: As no other representatives wish to speak at this stage, I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of CANADA.

69. The Security Council has met at the request of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique to consider the situation of tension which exists as a result of numerous acts of aggression against Mozambique committed by the illegal minority régime of Southern Rhodesia. His Excellency Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique, has described [2014th meeting] clearly and forcefully the chain of increasingly serious transgressions by that illegal régime against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Mozambique. These have resulted in the deaths of more than 1,400 persons and material destruction of great magnitude.

70. Minister dos Santos and the distinguished ministers of other African countries who have travelled to New York as a demonstration of their support for the case presented by Mozambique have underlined the need to deal with the root of the problem, namely, the continued existence of an illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia. It is clear to us all that only with the independence of Zimbabwe under majority rule will conditions be created in that area to ensure full respect for the national sovereignty and ter-

territorial integrity of Mozambique, as well as of Botswana and Zambia. The Canadian Government, as I indicated previously in the Council, will continue to encourage the initiative of the United Kingdom and the United States, now in progress, designed to achieve rapidly the independence of Zimbabwe under majority rule.

71. The difficult situation in which Mozambique now finds itself has been fully elaborated upon in this debate and I shall not, therefore, comment at length. What is significant, I believe, is that the Council is responding to the request made of it by the Government of Mozambique and will in a few moments, I hope, be unanimously adopting a draft resolution which effectively meets those requests [S/12353]. An important element of the draft we are about to vote upon is the request directed to the international community embodied in operative paragraphs 9 to 11 to provide Mozambique with assistance to cope with the economic needs engendered by its faithful implementation of sanctions against Rhodesia, to overcome the economic loss and destruction of property brought about by the acts of aggression committed by the illegal régime and to provide the material resources to enable Mozambique to strengthen its defence capability and thereby safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is our hope that the international community will respond generously to this appeal.

72. Canada, for its part, in 1976, in response to resolution 386 (1976), provided substantial assistance to the Government of Mozambique in the form of food aid, and we anticipate that the present needs of Mozambique will again be given early and sympathetic consideration by the Canadian Government.

73. Resuming in my capacity as PRESIDENT of the Council, I now call upon those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

74. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): I am sorry my statement made such a poor impression on the representative of the United Kingdom. He thought it was ill-considered, inaccurate, untimely and full of rhetorical mischief-mongering. Rarely has any statement of mine been greeted with so many adjectives. I am inclined almost to be flattered.

75. Indeed, it is not usual that discussions on southern Africa lead to polemics between the United Kingdom and Pakistan. I am sure that if my friend and colleague from the United Kingdom will read my statement in tranquillity he will find that I really said nothing startling or even new. All of it has been said before, and much better than I said it.

76. One could of course confine oneself simply to the actual incidents that have occurred repeatedly in Mozambique in the last few weeks. But it is really difficult, in considering such a situation, not to go back to the origins of this sad and unnecessary situation.

77. I referred to three main central points. I said that, when the unilateral declaration of independence was made, it met with no resistance. I can recall a draft resolution that was adopted by the Fourth Committee in 1963, where I

happened to be a representative at the time. The resolution [1883 (XVIII)] invited the Government of the United Kingdom not to transfer armed forces and aircraft to its colony of Southern Rhodesia. That is what I meant by my reference to this particular matter.

78. Certainly sanctions have played an important role. Pakistan is a member of the Sanctions Committee and I had the privilege of being its Chairman last year. We do not belittle sanctions, but they have not achieved the purpose for which they were applied. There may be many reasons for this. We know how very meticulous the United Kingdom Government is and how it has pressed other Governments in the matter. But none the less, the fact is that sanctions have not produced results—after 12 years. Why? It is because they were adopted in small doses. For three years, there was strong resistance to applying mandatory sanctions. Nine years have passed, and yet today the most important commodity, petroleum, is still flowing in. We know why that is happening. We know the role of South Africa and so forth. There are difficulties, certainly. But one cannot simply ignore the fact.

79. Finally, I spoke of negotiations. We are certainly in favour of negotiations; I personally know the role Ambassador Ivor Richard has played in them. I have paid him tribute and do so again for the constructive role he played in a most difficult and thankless situation. Yet negotiations have not produced results. Why? I think it is plain for all to see that Mr. Smith is interested in transferring the forms of power and not the substance of power. And that is at the heart of all the difficulties. Basically that is why there are problems in getting the negotiations started.

80. As for the questions of weakness, vacillation and racial sympathies, racial sympathies do exist and are a factor in the situation. They add to the difficulties of the problem. We know that there are people who rise above them, but there are others who say "These are our kinfolk. How can you expect us to take military action against them?" Such sentiments may be deplorable morally but one can understand. They exist.

81. In referring to commercialism and political expediency, I did not have the United Kingdom specially in mind. The people from my country who have gone to the United Kingdom have not done so because it is a land of purity and virtue; they have gone there for a variety of reasons.

82. Finally, after 12 years we are exactly where we were in regard to Southern Rhodesia. We do consider that this is a reflection, among other things, of weakness and vacillation of policy.

83. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): I shall not make a long statement, nor shall I engage in polemics with Ambassador Richard. He is an Ambassador for whom we here have great respect. But I should just like to tell him that he should have the courage to accept the justified and legitimate expressions of disappointment caused by the decolonization policies in Africa. Short-sighted imperialist calculations by the United Kingdom are responsible for the powder-keg in southern

Africa. Responsibility for that must be accepted, as, indeed, must honest criticism.

84. Ambassador Richard has made a number of statements of a kind to which we have grown accustomed. I should like to say that Benin is non-aligned and has decided to build an independent State. Benin depends on no other country, either ideologically or intellectually. Benin has decided to build scientific socialism, whether or not that is to the liking of the imperialists.

85. My country will not forget the aggression of 16 January 1977, nor will it forget that its independence and the independence of the progressive countries of Africa depend closely upon the liberation of southern Africa.

86. As the leaders of Benin have said on a number of occasions at international meetings, my country is not opposed to anyone's initiative. But what it might object to and object strongly—and no one could convince it to change its mind—are the well-known manoeuvres of the imperialists in these negotiations.

87. History is before us and has taught us a great deal and it is on the lessons of history that Benin has based its arguments. If those in the West are moved by goodwill in this direction, then their activities will be supported by Benin. But their activities must be aimed at the unconditional transfer of power to the majority in Namibia, Rhodesia and Azania. It is a matter of trust; and, in the face of history, Benin demands trust. And the trust of Benin must be earned.

88. Returning to what Ambassador Richard said with regard to Rhodesia, I wish to ask, on behalf of my delegation, why, if his country and his Western friends are sincere, do they not accept the application of Article 41 of the Charter to Rhodesia, if they wish a peaceful settlement of the question.

89. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I am not sure whether this is a right of reply or under what category it would fall. Since Ambassador Richard of the United Kingdom spoke at length on the question of sanctions, I feel that I should read out for the record the passage of the London communiqué of Commonwealth Heads of Government of June 1977 on the question of sanctions. Paragraph 16 reads:

“Heads of Government considered the report of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee. They noted that massive evasions continue to take place which enable the Rhodesian economy to survive and in some sectors also to expand. There were particularly concerned that these evasions are being systematically facilitated and their prevention inhibited by the policies and legislation of various countries maintained in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations. They recognised that ways must be found of frustrating these subterfuges. They recognised that the breach of sanctions, particularly in respect of petroleum and petroleum products, is a crucial factor in the survival of the illegal régime. Heads of Government requested the Committee to undertake urgently a study on the matter and make recommendations. They also undertook to re-examine legislation with a view to

strengthening enforcement procedures in their respective countries so as to prohibit the export, by their corporate entities and nationals, of petroleum and petroleum products which might find their way to Rhodesia. They further undertook to persuade other countries to take similar steps. More generally Heads of Government agreed to take action at the international level for the reinforcement and extension of sanctions. In approving the report of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee, Heads of Government paid tribute to the sacrifices made by Mozambique in applying sanctions against Rhodesia. They also authorized the Committee to keep under review development in Southern Africa as a whole and to work in close collaboration with the United Nations in this regard.”

I should like to add that this communiqué was issued under the chairmanship of no less a person than Mr. James Callaghan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

90. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): I shall be very brief. With respect to the last point, of course the communiqué was issued under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, as he was presiding over the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, and we subscribe to it.

91. I listened with great interest to what the representative of Benin said about his own country, and indeed would not wish to enter into a discussion with him about it.

92. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution sponsored by Benin, India, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama and Romania and contained in document S/12353.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.<sup>1</sup>*

93. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Mozambique.

94. Mr. dos SANTOS (Mozambique) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of our delegation, I should like to thank you for having once again given me the opportunity to address this august Council. I should like to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Central Committee of FRELIMO, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, on behalf of the people of Mozambique and on behalf of my delegation, our satisfaction at the conclusions reached by the Council, not only because of what those conclusions mean for our country but above all because of what they represent for the international community.

95. Here, in the Council, reference was made by one of the members to a meeting of this body in 1972. At that time too we had occasion to address the Council to express the feelings of the people of Mozambique and their aspirations to freedom and independence, and we found all

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 411 (1977).

the understanding we could desire on the part of the international community. That understanding was unanimous. At that time we were able to say to the international community how appreciative we were of such unanimity and how much importance we attached to it. At the time we said that we were happy that the international community had been able to reach unanimity with regard to the problems of freedom and human dignity in southern Africa. And that is what we are repeating today, because for us, for FRELIMO, for the people of Mozambique and for the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the fighting going on in southern Africa is essentially a fight for liberation and human dignity. It is for this reason that we say that the Council's decision is a matter of great satisfaction, particularly in terms of what it represents for the international community.

96. The resolution which has just been adopted reflects a general heightening of conscience among peoples with regard to the inherent problems of freedom and dignity, particularly freedom and human dignity in southern Africa. It shows an awareness of the fact that the conquest and the defence of freedom are not the problem of one people alone or of a group of peoples but of mankind as a whole.

97. We are satisfied because the decisions taken here constitute an important contribution to the destruction of the Ian Smith régime—an essential condition for the restoration of peace and security in southern Africa. They represent firm support for the ongoing struggle in southern Africa against colonialism and racism, against exploitation and oppression. They also signify that there is a genuine awareness of the fact that without the eradication of these evils it will be impossible to achieve peace, security or the actual exercise of democracy in southern Africa.

98. We are convinced that an important step has been taken towards the setting up of a system of appropriate measures aimed at helping in the destruction of the odious régime of Ian Smith. Further steps will inevitably follow the resolution just adopted here, which aims at the implementation of resolutions already adopted and particularly the adoption of new measures to support the just struggle of the people of Zimbabwe as well as the total isolation of the Ian Smith régime.

99. The conquest of freedom and independence will be the work of the people of Zimbabwe, but the decisions taken here today and those which will undoubtedly be taken in the future will always represent an important contribution for our brothers in Zimbabwe. They will demonstrate that all the peoples are always behind the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe.

100. We should also like to express our satisfaction at the unanimity with which the resolution was adopted. It is our feeling that any other result would have constituted an encouragement to the Ian Smith régime and acquiescence in its existence. The unanimous decision taken here reveals the almost total isolation of the Smith régime; what is more, it is a clear demonstration of the will of the international community to continue waging a consistent struggle against the racist régimes of southern Africa. The implementation of the measures advocated and laid down here and of those

contained in previous resolutions will make it possible to forge even more solidly the unity of the international community against a régime which has become for everyone a criminal régime, an enemy of mankind. The existence of a régime like that of Ian Smith, the existence of racist and Fascist régimes, is today an affront to reason and human dignity.

101. Mr. President, we should like to extend our congratulations to you on the manner in which you have conducted the work of this series of meetings of the Council. We know of your long experience, which constitutes for us a lesson and an example. We are aware of the fact that it was thanks to your enlightened conduct of our proceedings that this series of meetings of the Council was able to take place in a climate of tranquillity and calm, of co-operation and mutual understanding, which was reflected in the effectiveness of the proceedings.

102. We wish to thank the representatives of all members of the Council. Their active participation and untiring dedication during the course of these debates, both inside and outside this chamber, has made clear to us the importance they attach to problems affecting international peace and security. Their commitment is a guarantee and proof of the confidence of peoples in our world Organization as a bastion for the defence of mankind's most cherished interests and aspirations.

103. Through its Ministers here, the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity wished to be represented in the Council. In our statement at the beginning of this series of meetings [*2014th meeting*], we spoke of the great significance of that OAU decision for FRELIMO, the Mozambican people and the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique. We shall therefore not repeat it, particularly since we too form an integral part of OAU. However, we would venture to congratulate the member countries and representatives of the African Group at the United Nations, who have unselfishly abided by the decisions of the OAU Council of Ministers, which is meeting at this very moment at Libreville, in Gabon. Indeed, our brothers representing the African Group conveyed to the entire international community Africa's message of freedom and friendship; they also made clear the fact that the struggle for freedom and dignity affects everyone in the world. We Mozambicans are proud of the work accomplished by the representatives of the African Group in this world Organization. Their efforts and commitment are clear evidence of the active solidarity of our continent when it comes to the struggle of peoples against colonialism and racism. They reflect a firm determination to broaden the frontiers of liberty and to uproot colonial and racist régimes from our world.

104. We know that the representatives of a number of countries wanted to address the Council but that, perceiving the interests of the world community, they agreed not to speak. To those countries and to all States Members of this world Organization we wish to say that we very much appreciate their solidarity and are aware of the depth of their commitment to the solution of the problem before the Council.

105. We shall confidently be returning to our country, secure and firm in our decision to pursue the struggle for the reconstruction of our country and the building of genuine independence which will allow our people to achieve the necessary progress in order to eliminate hunger, poverty and the vestiges of colonial oppression. Today, more than ever before, we know that we are not alone, that we enjoy the support of the international community. We are certain that the international community will actively contribute to the practical implementation of the decisions contained in the resolution just adopted by the Council. We shall return to our country with confidence and we assure you that the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, will continue to give its whole-hearted and tireless support to the people of Zimbabwe and that we shall do everything in our power to continue to act as a reliable Member of the United Nations in its efforts to contribute effectively to the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe and to the pursuit of its armed national liberation struggle. We shall be returning home with the knowledge that the Member States of this Organization have created new conditions for effective assistance to allow the People's Republic of Mozambique to strengthen its defence capability and to pursue the work of national reconstruction, particularly of the areas destroyed and devastated by the criminals of Ian Smith.

106. Here, during these meetings of the Council, it was with emotion that we heard the various speakers referring to Mr. Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO and of the People's Republic of Mozambique, in terms of sympathy and friendship. We heard the representatives using the same terms of friendship and sympathy with regard to the People's Republic of Mozambique.

107. I should like to say to you, Mr. President, and to the members of the Council, and, indeed, to all those who have expressed such feelings about our people and Government, that we consider those words a tribute to our people, to their sacrifices during the period of the armed national struggle for liberation, and to the sacrifices made by them since independence to achieve their aspirations which are moreover also those of all peoples: on the one hand, to forge their own happiness and, on the other—and this is intimately connected—to build a future for the whole of mankind.

108. That is how we interpret the words we heard uttered here, and we should like to say that FRELIMO and the Government and people of the People's Republic of

Mozambique will always do both their national and their international duty. The struggle continues.

109. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): On behalf of the sponsors, I wish to thank the members of the Council for having adopted unanimously the draft resolution in document S/12353. I wish also to express my appreciation for the friendly, courteous, understanding and constructive manner in which they co-operated with us during the negotiation of the draft.

110. An English judge—who was, I believe, of Welsh descent—once said that it was trite learning to read the minds of men, so perhaps members should not read into the resolution what is not actually there. On the other hand, it would be naive to believe that Africans, and possibly their friends, would remain idle while their brothers and sisters were being murdered by an outlaw. There are indications that Africa will act effectively, and act soon, unless a peaceful solution is found, and found very soon. After all, we have waited for more than a decade.

111. Mauritius stands shoulder to shoulder with the people of Mozambique, as it does with all the peoples of Africa, indeed, with all peace-loving peoples of the world who put into practice the principles of truth, justice and freedom and do not just talk about them. Thus, limited as are its resources, Mauritius contributed in June 1976 a sum of \$20,000 to the Commonwealth Fund for Mozambique soon after that country closed its borders with Southern Rhodesia in keeping with the application of sanctions. I understand that, at the meeting of the Organization of African Unity currently being held at Libreville, Mauritius initiated the establishment of an African solidarity fund for Mozambique and has already pledged another contribution.

112. Finally, Mr. President, I wish to express to you personally our deep appreciation and gratitude for the elegant and effective manner in which you have conducted the work of the Council. We regret that we have taken up so much of your time during this month. If it is any consolation to you, your reward is that you may well go down in the history of the United Nations as being the first President of a meeting of the Security Council which sanctioned substantial material assistance to strengthen the defensive capability of a country. I am glad that it is an African country.

*The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.*

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