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1892nd MEETING: 17 MARCH 1976

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1892nd MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 17 March 1976, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Thomas S. BOYA (Benin).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, China, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1892)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Request by Mozambique under Article 50 of the Charter of the United Nations in relation to the situation which has arisen as a result of its decision to impose sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in full implementation of the relevant decisions of the Security Council:
Telegram dated 10 March 1976 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique to the President of the Security Council (S/12009)

The meeting was called to order at 4.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Request by Mozambique under Article 50 of the Charter of the United Nations in relation to the situation which has arisen as a result of its decision to impose sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in full implementation of the relevant decisions of the Security Council:

Telegram dated 10 March 1976 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique to the President of the Security Council (S/12009)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken at the 1890th meeting, I shall now invite the representative of Mozambique to take a place at the Council table. I shall also invite the representatives of Egypt, Jamaica, Kenya and Zambia to participate in the discussion without vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chissano (Mozambique) took a place at the Council table, and Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Thompson (Jamaica) Mr. Maina (Kenya) and Mr. Kamana (Zambia) took

the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all I wish to congratulate you and to express the very special satisfaction of the French delegation at seeing you as President of the Council for the month of March. My delegation wishes you the greatest success for the good of your country, to which France has for many years been bound by links of friendship, as well as for the good of Africa and the Organization as a whole.

3. I should also like to take this opportunity to request the representative of the United States to convey to Ambassador Moynihan our most sincere congratulations on the authority and courtesy with which he presided over our work during the month of February.

4. The question on our agenda leaves no room for controversy. The situation is clear: one of the new Members of the Organization, Mozambique, has announced its decision to implement fully the sanctions against Rhodesia. That decision is all the more courageous and deserving of praise because Mozambique has inherited by its history and its geography a situation of close natural dependence on Southern Rhodesia, particularly in the fields of economics and transportation.

5. Each of us has applauded the determination shown by the Government in Maputo, and each of us has been aware of the magnitude of the challenge which it has to face. The French delegation wishes to assure Mozambique of its total support in its efforts to render more effective the decisions of the United Nations and thus contribute to the establishment of justice and freedom in Southern Rhodesia.

6. It is only just, as many speakers before me have stressed, in particular the representative of Jamaica speaking in the name of the Commonwealth [*1890th meeting*], that the international community should provide assistance to one of the Governments which has imposed the heaviest sacrifices on itself in the application of sanctions against Rhodesia. The Security Council had already, in the operative part of resolution 253 (1968), requested Member States

“to extend assistance to Zambia as a matter of priority with a view to helping it solve such special

economic problems as it may be confronted with arising from the carrying out of these [sanctions]”.

It was part of the logic and the spirit of that resolution that the same urgent measures should be taken with respect to independent Mozambique.

7. My delegation has listened with great attention to the information given to us by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique [*ibid.*]. The many different problems raised by the decision taken by his Government and by the inevitably short time accorded us of course make it impossible for us to take a decision right now on the requests which have been submitted.

8. The accession of Mozambique to independence, after all, is quite recent, and France has not yet been able to establish continuous bilateral relations with that country. For this reason our knowledge of the local situation is somewhat unclear at this time. At any rate, it appears desirable to us that the Secretary-General should proceed with Member States to an exchange of information as soon as his experts have assessed precisely the most urgent needs in Mozambique and the most appropriate means of meeting them. I should like, of course, to assure the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique that my Government will consider the problems of his country with the greatest understanding as soon as actual contacts have been established between the authorities in Mozambique and the future representative of France.

9. The decision of the Council to impose sanctions against Rhodesia reflects, by its exceptional character, the seriousness of the situation we must face. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique has reminded us that a disquieting situation of tension prevails in the region. The causes of that tension are well known to the United Nations. They lie in the opposition of the Ian Smith régime to the unanimous decisions of the Council. That is why, regardless of whatever disappointment may have been felt at the relative ineffectiveness of the sanctions against Rhodesia, they should be applied and even reinforced. As has been emphasized by the representative of Tanzania [*ibid.*], they reflect the determination of the international community not to allow the perpetuation of an illegal and unjust régime.

10. My delegation has repeatedly recalled the fact that the problem with which we are now confronted is political. It concerns the authority of the unanimous international community and the dignity of Africa, which clearly belongs first and foremost to the Africans. My Government strongly hopes that the Salisbury régime will wake up to the fact that the situation in Southern Rhodesia since 1965 is not accepted by any nation, that it cannot be defended by anyone and that that majority rule must be established as soon as possible. For all these reasons, my delegation will whole-heartedly vote in favour of the draft resolution [S/12013] to be put to the vote.

11. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): In conformity with the excellent tradition that has already grown up, let me first, on behalf of my country, thank you, Mr. President, and wish you success in the responsible tasks that you will have to discharge during the month of March as President of the Security Council. We not only hope, we are convinced that your experience, your knowledge and your attitude with respect to questions of decolonization will have a beneficial effect on the solution of the very complex problems which must be discussed by the Council in the remaining weeks of this month.

12. I should also like to pay a deserved tribute to your predecessor, although we frequently disagreed with him, but that is inevitable when States with different social structures and ideologies meet around the Council table. Nevertheless, together with his colleagues in his delegation, his month was marked by events that will go down in the history of the activities of the Council.

13. The valiant decision taken by the Government of Mozambique in introducing sanctions against the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia is dictated by a number of reasons, and primarily by a sense of international solidarity felt by the people of Mozambique with the struggle being waged by all other peoples of former colonial countries, and primarily of solidarity with the people of Southern Rhodesia, or, as this part of Africa which is still under colonial domination is rightly called, Zimbabwe. This is why that decision of the Government of Mozambique was everywhere highly commended and was respected by all States which are trying to destroy colonialist domination, neo-colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and other such phenomena that still remain from the colonial past.

14. In the telegram addressed to you, Mr. President, the Government of Mozambique

“appeals to the Security Council to take the necessary steps to help the people of Mozambique defend itself by every means against the aggression to which it has been subjected by the rebel Ian Smith” [S/12009].

In his statement here yesterday when he spoke at the meeting of the Security Council, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique adduced additional convincing facts demonstrating the criminal activities of the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia against the People’s Republic of Mozambique. In the statements of a number of representatives to which we have listened carefully here, and primarily those of the countries of Africa, in the statements made by the representatives of Kenya and Zambia, as well as Jamaica, Sweden, Pakistan and others, additional convincing proof was produced showing that the racist régime of Ian Smith is perpetrating armed

aggression against a member State of the Organization of African Unity and a Member of the United Nations.

15. As the telegram of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity of 12 March shows [S/12004/Add.1, para. 2], this situation is alarming and is threatening peace and security in the area. The same telegram goes on to point out that the decision of 3 March regarding the unswerving implementation of international sanctions whereby the Government of Mozambique would sever all road, air, and rail communications with Southern Rhodesia is in full accord with resolutions of the United Nations.

16. As is known, the Government of Mozambique also appealed to the United Nations to display solidarity with the people of Mozambique in this very difficult hour for that Republic. The appeal of the Government of Mozambique has been heard with sympathy by all those who are in favour of the speedy eradication of the colonial past and the removal of the colonialist and racist régimes existing in southern Africa. The countries of Africa and all those which fully understand the problem of the complete and final abolition of colonialism have stated that they regard the aggression by Southern Rhodesia against Mozambique as tantamount to aggression against all States Members of the United Nations and members of the Organization of African Unity, and they have assured Mozambique that they fully support its efforts to guarantee the freedom and independence of that country.

17. In the Security Council and in other bodies of the United Nations, the Soviet delegation has frequently had the occasion resolutely to condemn the existence of the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and has also condemned its aggressive acts against the peoples of African countries, including those perpetrated against the People's Republic of Mozambique. Precisely because of this position which we hold, we feel it is essential that the Council should take effective steps to implement United Nations resolutions aimed at enabling the people of Southern Rhodesia, of Zimbabwe, to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

18. In this connexion, the position of the Soviet Union is quite clear. It has always been clear on the question of decolonization since the United Nations first adopted its well-known Declaration on decolonization [*General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)*]. We are firmly and consistently in favour of colonialism being abolished everywhere, once and for all. We are firmly in favour of all peoples having complete political and economic independence. We are, and have been, in favour of assistance to every country fighting for its independence against all forms of repression and exploitation. The Soviet State has always pursued this policy and will continue to do so. At the recent 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, Comrade Brezhnev, said in his report:

"Our Party supports and will continue to support peoples fighting for their freedom. In so doing, the Soviet Union does not look for advantages, does not hunt for concessions, does not seek political domination, and is not after military bases. We act as we are bid by our revolutionary conscience, our communist convictions."

I would repeat that what our Party and our Government said is that we fully practise what we preach.

19. In our opinion, the draft resolution presented to the Council [S/12013] contains some very important provisions which we hope will be unanimously supported by the Security Council. This draft quite properly points out that the Council is gravely concerned at the situation created by the provocative and aggressive acts committed by the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia against the security and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Mozambique. It also indicates the need to condemn the heinous policy of provocation pursued by the Ian Smith régime. The draft resolution appeals to all States to provide immediate financial, technical and material assistance to Mozambique so that Mozambique can carry out its economic development programme normally.

20. In this connexion, we should like to state that the Soviet Union is not only lending moral support is already but is rendering the necessary substantial material assistance to the People's Republic of Mozambique as well. A month ago a number of agreements were signed between our Government and the Government of Mozambique, according to which it is planned that economic, technical and other assistance needed at this time will be given to the People's Republic of Mozambique.

21. Finally, as the Soviet delegation has frequently stated here in discussing questions of decolonization, it would be only right for the Security Council, in adopting a resolution on assistance to be given to African States in connexion with the application of sanctions against the racist minority régime, to bear in mind the possibility of making those States are, in fact, politically responsible for maintaining the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, those States which continue to maintain close economic and other contacts with that country, bear the burden of compensation for damage caused. Certain representatives and certain States could be asked today why they continue to entertain these contacts and why they continue to assist the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and help it to perpetrate its misdeeds against neighbouring countries.

22. Unfortunately, I cannot fail to say something about the statement made by one representative at this morning's meeting [*1891st meeting*]. That representative touched upon a question which has no relation at all to the item before us. He discussed the question

of Angola, once again repeating the sort of malicious nonsense which we have come to expect from the representatives of his country in various organs of the United Nations. The Chinese have a saying which we always recall: if you want to know someone, look at his friends first. Who have been the friends of that delegation during the well-known events in Angola? The racists in South Africa and a number of imperialist circles from those countries which did not help Angola to become independent but struggled against the independence of Angola, against the legitimate Government of Angola, helping the illegal and fractious elements and mercenaries. These were China's friends in Angola.

23. As to the Soviet Union's attitude towards the peoples' struggle for liberation, this is what is said in the report of the General Secretary of our Party, Mr. Brezhnev, to the 25th Congress in connexion with Angola:

"... take the People's Republic of Angola. As soon as it was born, this progressive State became an object of foreign intervention, the handiwork of imperialism and South African racists, the mortal enemies of independent Africa, and also those who undertook the unseemly role of their henchmen. That was why Angola's struggle for independence was supported by the world's progressive forces, and the success of this struggle testified once again that nothing can crush the peoples' aspiration to freedom.

"The Soviet Union's attitude to the complicated processes taking place within the developing countries is clear and definite. The Soviet Union does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples. It is an immutable principle of our Leninist foreign policy to respect the sacred right of every people, every country, to choose its own way of development. But we do not conceal our views. In the developing countries, as everywhere else, we are on the side of the forces of progress, democracy and national independence and regard them as friends and comrades in struggle."

The Soviet Union has frequently repeated this position. Our country has also been pursuing this policy in Angola by helping the fraternal people of Angola to defend and strengthen its independence.

24. You know who are the friends of the country of the representative who spoke this morning: the group which opposed the legal Government and disbanded, since it had become clear to all that its struggle was criminal, illegal and against the interests of the people.

25. I should like to finish here, because we shall have another occasion to talk about this subsequently.

26. Mr. SAITO (Japan): Mr. President, I should like to begin by congratulating you upon your assump-

tion of the presidency. My delegation feels confident that your diplomatic skill and experience will enable you to guide our deliberations successfully and that with you in the chair the Council will live up to its responsibilities in the month of March.

27. I wish also to pay a tribute to Ambassador Moynihan of the United States for his excellent service as President last month. My delegation regrets his decision to return to his duties at one of the great American universities, but was delighted that he was able nevertheless to continue his duties as President of the Council during February. We should be grateful if Ambassador Sherer would be kind enough to convey our gratitude and good wishes to Mr. Moynihan.

28. I should like to extend a very warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Chissano, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

29. The delegation of Japan welcomes the decision of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique to close its borders and enforce sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, effective from 3 March, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. I am confident that this courageous decision will prove to be a fatal blow to the Smith régime, whose overseas trade is dependent to a great extent upon Mozambique for access to world markets.

30. In 1968 the Security Council imposed mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia for the first time in the history of the United Nations. Nevertheless, the Smith régime has managed to withstand the effects of concerted international action by means of gaps which resulted from the non-compliance with sanctions by South Africa and Portugal, which administered Mozambique until it became independent last year.

31. My delegation has long believed that mandatory sanctions of any kind will not have maximum effectiveness if they are not applied faithfully by all States, without exception. In this context we believe that the recent decision by the People's Republic of Mozambique, which has close economic ties with Southern Rhodesia through their common border, will have a great impact on the Smith régime. It demonstrates also the firm support of the people of Mozambique for the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for justice and human dignity, which have so long been denied them.

32. My delegation, however, recognizes at the same time how seriously the people of Mozambique will be affected economically and socially by their decision. Because of its geographical location, Mozambique's economy is closely related to that of Southern Rhodesia. This fact, and the serious consequences of the full application of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, were eloquently explained by the Foreign Minister of Mozambique in his statement yesterday before the Council. Inevitably, Mozambique's decision to close

the border will markedly affect Mozambique's economy as well. My delegation took note with the utmost sympathy of the appeal made by the Foreign Minister of Mozambique for material assistance from the international community.

33. In fact, the international community has applauded the decision of the People's Republic of Mozambique and has already expressed its preparedness to supply the necessary assistance. The Organization of African Unity has appealed for "massive assistance". The Commonwealth Sanctions Committee has made recommendations impressing upon the Commonwealth Governments the need to react urgently in accordance with the agreement reached at the Kingston heads of Government meeting.

34. In view of this background, it is timely and appropriate for the Security Council to take urgent and concrete action, in response to the decision by the People's Republic of Mozambique, to lighten the additional burden it assumed as a result of this enormous sacrifice in the cause of justice.

35. My delegation is prepared to support any proposal calling upon Member States to help meet the urgent needs of Mozambique which have arisen from its implementation of United Nations mandatory sanctions. Indeed, my delegation hopes that Member States, bearing in mind Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter, will provide the necessary economic and financial assistance to Mozambique to enable it to continue to implement fully the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Therefore, I hope that Member States will respond favourably to the Security Council's appeal for assistance to Mozambique. My delegation hopes that the Secretary-General likewise will take the urgent measures necessary to arrange systematic assistance of all kinds to Mozambique by organizing the United Nations family to provide it, as he did for Zambia in 1973.

36. As a general rule it is useful, as a first step, to keep the international community informed on the pressing needs of a country that requires international assistance. Accordingly, my delegation believes that from a practical point of view it is preferable to send a mission to Mozambique to discuss with the People's Republic the types of goods urgently needed, the quantities, the priorities and other matters, so that the assistance can be promptly and effectively provided.

37. However, we are fully aware of the gravity of the situation and the necessity for the speedy supply of assistance to Mozambique, as has been emphasized by the Foreign Minister of Mozambique and other speakers. We were delighted, therefore, to note that after the adoption of the draft resolution under consideration, the Secretary-General intends to send his representative to Mozambique to discuss with the Government methods of providing speedy and effective

assistance. Hence those countries which are not familiar with the types and methods of assistance required can rely upon his advice regarding Mozambique's most pressing needs.

38. Yesterday the Foreign Minister of Mozambique gave us a most useful outline of the economic sacrifices that his country's decision to apply sanctions will entail and the outside help that will be needed.

39. In those circumstances my delegation finds it desirable that the Council take urgent action calling upon the international community to provide speedy economic and financial assistance to Mozambique. The Council's adoption of a resolution to that effect, and the full implementation of that resolution by Member States, will give another demonstration of the unshaken determination of the United Nations to establish justice and human dignity in Southern Rhodesia, where the people of Zimbabwe are still subjected to white-supremacy rule. Nobody will doubt that in giving support to the people of Mozambique we are in fact supporting the people of Zimbabwe in this just cause. We are confident that the Council is united in following this course, and that the international community will respond positively with moral and material assistance to Mozambique.

40. In this spirit Japan has become a sponsor of draft resolution S/12013, and we hope that it will be adopted unanimously. Japan has strongly supported economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. We responded quickly to the urgent needs of Zambia in 1973 by providing substantial amounts of assistance. In the case of Mozambique, Japan will do its best to respond to the Council's resolution by co-operating with the international community. In order to facilitate that co-operation, Japan is looking forward to the earliest possible establishment of full diplomatic relations with the Government of Mozambique.

41. Let us now strengthen our solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe and step up the pressure of the international community by tightening the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Let us help those who suffer as a result of the implementation of these sanctions. Prompt and effective action by the Council to help the people of Mozambique assuredly will bring us a step nearer to a solution of the problem of Southern Rhodesia, which is more urgent than ever.

42. Mr. BENNETT (United States of America): Let me first congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. My delegation looks forward to working very closely with you and to giving you every feasible support as the Council discusses problems of major importance to us all.

43. I would like also to express appreciation for the kind and generous remarks made by you and by other members of the Council in respect to the Presidency of the Council during the month of February. I am also

grateful for the statements of gracious wishes in regard to Ambassador Scranton, the new Permanent Representative of the United States, who will be arriving here this week to take up his new duties. I shall with much pleasure convey those wishes to him.

44. The delegation of the United States is pleased to join with the other delegations that have spoken to commend the Government of Mozambique for its decision to enforce fully mandatory sanctions against the illegal Government in Rhodesia. We believe this decision represents a major step forward in the efforts of the United Nations to enforce sanctions and thereby bring an end to minority rule in Rhodesia.

45. It is the sincere hope of my Government that the enforcement of sanctions by Mozambique will be coupled with the adoption by the Council of a resolution on assistance to Mozambique which is placed in the context of Article 50 of the Charter. We believe that the support of the Council for Mozambique will be a clear sign to the régime in Salisbury that the United Nations is committed to the peaceful transition to majority rule which is so urgently needed in that country.

46. Accordingly, the United States will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us [S/12013], because we take its purpose to be twofold: first, to issue an appeal for assistance to Mozambique under Article 50 of the Charter, as Mozambique has properly and commendably imposed sanctions on Rhodesia's minority Government and accordingly has reason to seek recourse under Article 50; and secondly, to demonstrate that the Council speaks with one voice on Rhodesian matters. There should be no doubt that the Council favours the urgent implementation of majority rule in Rhodesia.

47. I shall have to say frankly that we are disappointed that the draft resolution contains a number of elements which do not bear on its main objectives. The charges of aggression in the third paragraph of the preamble and in operative paragraph 2 undoubtedly deserve careful attention. But my Government wishes to make clear that it does not regard them as related to the appeal which the Council is making on behalf of Mozambique under Article 50. We view that appeal as premised solely on Mozambique's compliance with resolutions 232 (1966) and 253 (1968) and the costs which ensue from that compliance.

48. We would normally have abstained on this draft resolution because of the insertion of those references. In fact, we did so in a similar situation in the Council in 1973. Today, however, we shall vote in favour, with the explanation I have just given, in order to leave no doubt that we support the principal purpose of this draft resolution as well as the purpose of resolutions 232 (1966) and 253 (1968), which it reinforces.

49. My Government will give favourable consideration to assistance to Mozambique in offsetting the

heavy financial burdens that it will incur by closing its border with Rhodesia.

50. The United States remains unequivocal in its support for the efforts of the British Government to bring an end to the rebellion in Rhodesia. We continue to believe strongly that majority rule is a vital and urgent necessity in Rhodesia. I call the Council's particular attention to the statement in Chicago by President Ford on 13 March:

"The United States is totally dedicated to seeing to it that the majority becomes the ruling power in Rhodesia."

The President added:

"If we believe in the right of the majority to rule in that situation, there has to be a change in the power as far as the Government is concerned. Whether it can be done is a question that we have to face. The British Government has tried for years to get Smith to move. The United States has been pushing. I think they just have to move, and if they don't... we have to be on the right side morally, and the right side morally is to be for majority rule."

On 16 March—yesterday—Secretary of State Kissinger made the following statement to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

"In Southern Rhodesia we are not supporting the white Government or the white authorities... I, in this statement before the Committee, again made clear that we stand for majority rule and we will do nothing to support the white minority to continue to exercise authority in Rhodesia.

"So what we can do about it in any given instance depends on the circumstances, but we have to make clear what we stand for, and then we have to work towards it."

51. I believe these statements make very clear where the United States stands on the Rhodesian question. It is time for true self-determination and for majority rule in Rhodesia.

52. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, in speaking for the first time in the month of March, it is my very pleasant duty to convey to you the most cordial greetings of the delegation of Panama on your assumption of the Presidency of the Security Council, as well as to assure you of our full co-operation for the success of your delicate mission.

53. We should like to express our thanks to the outgoing President, Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan, for the appropriate manner in which he discharged his functions during the month of February, a period during which he guided our debates with fairness and skill.

54. In considering the request of the Government of Mozambique contained in the agenda, we should like to commence our statement by expressing our warm thanks for the presentation of the situation made yesterday afternoon by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique, Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, who came to New York especially for that purpose. We also thought it was very good to have the reminder given us by the Minister for External Affairs of Jamaica, Mr. Dudley Thompson, of the meeting held at Kingston in May 1975, in which there was a discussion of, among other things, methods of assistance to Mozambique in connexion with its present situation vis-à-vis Southern Rhodesia.

55. The decision taken on 3 March by the newly independent People's Republic of Mozambique to implement fully the sanctions called for in United Nations resolutions against the illegal régime in Rhodesia, such as the closing of borders and the suspension of all forms of communication with that country, has had considerable impact on some of the basic sectors of Mozambique's economy.

56. As we all know, the colonial type of economy developed by Portugal in Mozambique had established close links between that country and the racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia. The ports and the whole communications network between South Africa, Rhodesia and Mozambique are very closely interwoven. Mozambican manpower was utilized in Rhodesia and South Africa for work in the mines and on farms in return for ridiculously low wages. Mozambique supplied raw materials and fuel to those countries at low prices and, as a result, was the logical market for South African and Rhodesian products.

57. Mr. Chissano explained to us in clear and specific terms why it has become necessary to transform the economy of his country, for which purpose annual compensation equivalent to \$49 million will be required. I believe I speak for Panama and all Latin America in saying that it is up to the United Nations and all Member States to fulfil the obligation of assisting Mozambique, just as was done in the similar case of Zambia, in order to offset the adverse economic consequences and the problems which it has to confront as the result of the closure of its borders with Southern Rhodesia.

58. I am certain that the Security Council is in favour of giving the Secretary-General the necessary authorization to study, by joint agreement with the Government of Mozambique, the means to provide the necessary technology and to make the necessary efforts to obtain appropriate financing in order to carry out those projects which would make it possible to create in Mozambique new structures and sources of employment.

59. In connexion with the problem of Southern Rhodesia, the delegation of Panama wishes to restate

once again its strong anti-colonialist position against all forms of discrimination, in particular against racial discrimination.

60. From the very outset we supported the sanctions against the illegal régime of Ian Smith. And, although we do not believe that the sanctions imposed against the Salisbury Government by the international community have had the desired effect on that racist régime, we do believe that prolonged isolation has been fostering a situation of progressive deterioration which is becoming increasingly more serious for the oppressors. The attitude adopted by Mozambique will be of considerable assistance in getting the usurping régime, in one way or another, to abandon its policy of exploitation and slavery of the majority of the population, which alone should decide the destiny of Southern Rhodesia.

61. Panama has suffered for almost all of this century because of the discriminatory policy that has been followed by the Government of the United States in the so-called Panama Canal Zone. We know what racial discrimination is when it comes to wages and opportunities, to education, to housing and any kind of discrimination for reason of skin colour, because we have suffered it in our own flesh and on our own soil.

62. The Government of Panama is of the view that the economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, even though they are not as effective as we would want, do constitute a form of pressure against the rebellious régime, and we advocate that these sanctions be applied in the broadest and most rigorous possible manner.

63. We have co-sponsored with great sympathy draft resolution S/12013, which aims at putting forward concerted measures on the part of the international community to provide financial, technical and material assistance on an emergency basis to Mozambique. We have no doubt that the adoption of this draft resolution will have a favourable impact in the struggle to reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence.

64. The present Revolutionary Government of Panama, conscious of its anti-colonialist position and being an advocate of any policy which runs counter to any type of discrimination, takes this opportunity to state once again that it wishes to help the Government and people of Mozambique in their valiant attitude in the face of the illegal régime of Ian Smith, at the same time as we express solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe, which we hope will very soon be legitimately represented in the United Nations.

65. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I will now make a statement in my capacity as representative of BENIN.

66. My delegation is gratified that our brother Joaquim Alberto Chissano, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique, is participating in our discussions. His clear and precise statement has, without a shadow of a doubt, made it possible for all Council members to have a very clear idea of the immediate and long-term needs of Mozambique as a result of the courageous and historic decision taken by the Government and the people of that young People's Republic, mobilized by FRELIMO [*Front for the Liberation of Mozambique*], to apply the economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations against the rebellious racist minority régime of Ian Smith, which was illegally set up by a handful of whites in Zimbabwe. My delegation would also like to welcome the participation in our discussions of the Minister for External Affairs of Jamaica, Mr. Dudley Thompson. His statement to the Council yesterday is an eloquent proof of the commitment of his country, which is a member of the non-aligned movement and which hosted the last Commonwealth Conference, where the important decision was taken to help Mozambique, once it became independent, if it were to seek to apply the sanctions of the Council against Rhodesia as part of its struggle against the minority régimes in southern Africa. My delegation welcomes that decision taken by the Commonwealth heads of State, which was a very forward-looking one and which will undoubtedly have a practical impact.

67. If any doubt existed earlier about its importance and scope, I think that now, after having heard the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique, we can appreciate the full measure of the sacrifice involved in the decision of the Government of Mozambique which was publicly announced by President Samora Machel in his statement of 3 March [S/12005]. The People's Republic of Benin warmly welcomes that heroic act, which will go down as an important date in the history of the decolonization of southern Africa, and pledges itself to render this fraternal country all the necessary political, material and moral assistance which it needs to pursue its new national policy which is in accordance with the main policies of the Organization of African Unity and the decisions of the United Nations. For its part, the Central Committee of the People's Revolution Party of Benin, which met on 9 March, proclaimed "its militant support to Mozambique in its struggle against racism, *apartheid* and neo-colonialism".

68. The political act just accomplished by Mozambique will be better understood if it is realized that the economy of that country is closely linked with the economy of the racist minority régimes which have been set up in southern Africa and whose time is now running out. Furthermore, if we take into account the fact that certain other countries, which because of their distant locations and their economic power would have no difficulty in applying these economic sanctions to give force and credibility to the decisions of the Council, take pleasure in a flagrant violation of the sanctions, thus supporting the rebellious régime of

Ian Smith as it continues indefinitely to defy our Organization, we cannot but be proud of the courage and the patriotism evinced by the People's Republic of Mozambique.

69. This is a serious warning to the minority régimes in southern Africa. Smith and his régime will have to understand that this is no longer the time for political manoeuvres to mislead national opinion and that the time has now arrived for serious negotiations with the overwhelming black majority in order to set up in Zimbabwe a Government which reflects the real social physiognomy of the country. Smith and his régime must understand that the noose is tightening closer and closer around them, and as certain delegations have suggested, it is necessary to take advantage of the last chance for a transfer of power to the black majority without too much bloodshed. Smith and his régime must understand that the incursions of their police forces into the territory of Mozambique will not be enough to intimidate an entire people which is resolute and mobilized side by side with the Zimbabwe liberation movement and that, as Mr. Chissano has said, the people of Mozambique is prepared to answer any acts of provocation coming from Southern Rhodesia.

70. As I said at the beginning of this statement, Mozambique's record is clear and we must act so that Smith may realize that Mozambique enjoys the effective support of the international community as a whole and that, thanks to its national will and the various kinds of assistance our community is giving it, it is determined to wage a long and decisive struggle which will lead the black majority of Zimbabwe to final victory. Serious warnings must be given to Smith and his régime in the form of a resolute condemnation of the acts of aggression against Mozambique, and all of Africa and the international Organization must commit themselves to give that country the military and material support necessary to rebuff any incursion and, if need be, to carry the war into the heart of Southern Rhodesia.

71. That is why my delegation hopes that the draft resolution now before the Council, which our brother Ambassador Salim of Tanzania introduced so eloquently yesterday, will be unreservedly supported and unanimously adopted, so that the Secretary-General can immediately get down to the work required in order to give the People's Republic of Mozambique urgently needed help pending an assessment and future action on the part of the Organization. This text is the very least Africa could ask for in the present context.

72. Before concluding my remarks, I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the fact that the Co-ordinating Committee of Non-Aligned Countries met in New York on Tuesday, 16 March, and published the following declaration:

"The Co-ordinating Committee of Non-Aligned Countries met in New York on Tuesday, 16 March

1976. On that occasion, it heard the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique, who gave an account of the situation prevailing in his country.

“The Minister for Foreign Affairs informed members of the aggression which has been perpetrated by the illegal régime of Salisbury against the People’s Republic of Mozambique and recalled the steps taken by his Government against Rhodesia pursuant to the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

“The Co-ordinating Committee expresses fervent indignation at the cowardly aggression which has been visited upon Mozambique by the illegal régime of Salisbury.

“The Co-ordinating Committee expresses its active and total solidarity with the Government and people of Mozambique in their struggle to consolidate their independence and their territorial integrity. Therefore it supports the courageous steps taken by the Government of the People’s Republic of Mozambique which are designed to strengthen the sanctions adopted by the United Nations and are an important and positive contribution to the struggle waged by the people of Zimbabwe for its liberty and its independence.

“On this occasion, the Co-ordinating Committee, in accordance with the decisions taken by the heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, reaffirms its indefatigable support for the liberation struggle waged by African peoples which are the victims of colonial oppression and domination. It makes an urgent appeal to all members of the non-aligned movement and to the international community as a whole to provide immediate and effective assistance in order to shore up the economy of the young Republic of Mozambique and to step up aid to the movement for the liberation of Zimbabwe.”

73. In my capacity as PRESIDENT, I now call on the representative of China, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

74. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The crimes committed by the Soviet social imperialists in Angola represent a big exposure of the policy of expansion they are pushing in southern Africa. They constitute a new evidence of the ambitious new Tsars’ feverish quest for world hegemony. No matter what justification the Soviet representative made, he could never erase the above criminal record.

75. As to the slanderous charges made by the Soviet representative, they cannot do the slightest harm to the image of the Chinese Government and people. On the contrary, they can only reveal the despicable nature of a liar. We believe that there will be opportunities to expose the crimes committed by the Soviet

social imperialists in their intervention and aggression in Angola. Therefore, I am not going to say much now.

76. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of the Soviet Union, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

77. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The only thing I agree with is that there will be a time when we shall speak about this in the open with the representative that has just spoken. He should be afraid of such a discussion. He will appear in a very bad light. All we will have to say is that those they helped have refused their assistance. The legitimate Government of Angola is developing its economy and is growing stronger. But we shall return to this. I do not know why he needs to say all this. Perhaps he is afraid of suffering the fate of certain other politicians who have experienced misfortune in China. That is their own internal affair; we shall not intervene in it.

78. As far as Africa is concerned, I should once again like to say that we shall continue the policy announced at the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In Africa, we want only one thing: to help the peoples to liberate themselves from the colonial yoke, from neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. We want nothing else in Africa. We have said so clearly, and I repeat once more that we shall continue to pursue this policy.

79. As far as statements of the representative of China are concerned, he is simply repeating what we have already heard dozens of times from him and of which everyone has had enough. Repetition does not make a lie true. Repetition of untruths never have and never will convince anyone.

80. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As no other representative wishes to speak, I take it that the Council is now ready to proceed to a vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/12013.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.¹

81. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Secretary-General has expressed the wish to make a statement, and I now call on him.

82. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The decision by the Government of Mozambique to close its borders with Southern Rhodesia and to join in the imposition of sanctions against that country, as well as the action which has now been taken by the Council in support of that decision, are developments which will doubtless have a profound effect on the course of events in Southern Rhodesia. These developments will be welcomed by the international community, since they

add a new impetus and dimension to the measures already taken by the United Nations to end the illegal régime in that country.

83. The Foreign Minister of Mozambique, Mr. Chissano, has given the Council a clear picture of the social and economic consequences of his country's decision to apply sanctions, and we can have no doubt about the special nature and the magnitude of the problems which now confront Mozambique. There is obviously an urgent need for a generous programme of international assistance commensurate with the realities of the situation.

84. I am happy to state that a number of countries have already indicated their willingness to provide financial and material assistance on either a bilateral or a multilateral basis. However, it is my earnest hope that there will be a prompt and most favourable response from all Member States to the appeal of the Council.

85. I need not underline the fact that the co-operative effort and shared responsibility demanded by this situation derive their validity from Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter, since Mozambique is without doubt confronted, in the words of Article 50, "with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of [enforcement] measures".

86. Let me assure the Council that I will do everything I can to organize all possible assistance to Mozambique in accordance with the terms of the resolution adopted a few minutes ago. I will certainly undertake this task in close consultation with the Government of Mozambique and in collaboration with the appropriate agencies of the United Nations system.

87. I have taken careful note of the special needs of Mozambique which have been outlined by the Foreign Minister with such clarity. I will continue my talks with him while he is here in New York, and it is my intention to dispatch a mission to Maputo without delay so that detailed discussions can be held with the Government of Mozambique. The mission will have as its prime objective the organization of an effective programme of financial, economic and technical assistance, geared to the immediate and long-term needs of the country. On the basis of those discussions, I shall not fail to address myself again to the international community and to provide detailed information on the requirements of Mozambique to enable it to cope with the new situation.

88. Finally, special care will be taken by my office to ensure maximum co-ordination among the various United Nations agencies in order to extend to the Government and the people of Mozambique the most efficient help and assistance.

89. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the Secretary-General for the clarification he

has given us on the steps he intends to take to implement the resolution that has just been adopted.

90. I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique.

91. Mr. CHISSANO (Mozambique): As we draw near the end of the work of this meeting, I should like to express our appreciation for the way in which the work was carried out and for the interest shown in our problem by the member States of the Council as well as by other delegations that participated in the debate. We did not expect other than this result, since the problem discussed here concerns all mankind, because the liberty won by the people of Mozambique and the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe are at stake today.

92. In our initial intervention [*1890th meeting*], we drew the attention of the Council to the grave crisis that my country is undergoing because of the application of sanctions. However, we did not and could not go into all the details. We only touched on the essential points. Meanwhile our description of the situation has been enriched by the precious contributions made by the various speakers during their interventions.

93. It is a pleasure for us to record the fact that the international community closely follows the evolution of the situation in our part of the world. We are returning home with confidence, for we know that the international community understands very well that the solution of this crisis does not depend on temporary measures, but on basic ones which are capable of altering the nature of the economic structure existing in Mozambique. From the various statements we have noted that the Council is aware of the need to delve deeply into the causes of the crisis and not merely to examine them superficially. The Council is also aware of the need to tackle the roots of the evil, namely, the economic structures inherited from Portuguese colonialism.

94. We are certain that in addition to the contribution of \$57 million requested by my country for immediate assistance, the international community will not fail to pool its efforts to help Mozambique in solving many problems, the quantification of which has not yet been possible. Examples include compensation to maintain the prices of goods previously imported from Rhodesia; support for the establishment of alternative airports; compensation for the increase of telephone tariffs and for the suspension of our airline services; support for solutions of the problem of electric power which came from Rhodesia to some of our towns; support for the creation of new employment by establishing communal villages, the construction of new communication infrastructures and the thorough exploration and proper utilization of natural resources; support for the development of alternative ways of communication and transport for the Mozambican products which were previously sent across Rhodesia to various parts of our country.

95. I should like to thank those countries that have expressed commitments to assist us on a bilateral basis, in addition to their multilateral contributions. I thank all the countries that sponsored the draft resolution just adopted. The fact that it was adopted unanimously encourages us and assures us that it will be supported by all Member States representing the international community.

96. We are convinced that the Secretary-General, to whom we repeat our confidence, will exert all efforts in co-operation with us in order to find a solution to the problems which I have just enumerated, without prejudice to the task of channelling immediate support valued at \$57 million, as immediate assistance for the solution of the already quantified problems.

97. I should like to seize this opportunity to express our thanks for the kind words addressed to our country and people, as well as to our President, Comrade Samora Machel. Such words are a guarantee that the international community fully appreciates the modest

efforts and sacrifices made by the people of Mozambique on behalf of international peace and security and for the liberation of mankind.

98. I should like to assure the Council that Mozambique will spare no effort to support the liberation struggle of the peoples still under colonial domination, and particularly the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe.

99. Finally, Mr. President, we should like to express our appreciation for the brilliant manner in which you conducted these meetings. We are convinced that the success of these deliberations is due to a great extent to your efforts. We would like to congratulate you for that.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.

Notes

¹ See resolution 386 (1976).

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