

meeting) on the number of ECE meetings, he said that it had been almost the same in 1975 as in 1955.

53. Mr. GONTHA (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific) said that ESCAP, in orienting its activities, would take into account the constructive comments made in the Economic and Social Council. He assured the Greek representative that although the Executive Secretary had not touched upon the problems of population and rural migration in his statement, ESCAP nevertheless attached great importance to them. ESCAP had helped to implement the Asian Plans for Population Activities in 1973, it had organized regional consultations in relation to the World Population Conference at Bucharest, and its Committee on Population had held its first session three weeks before. Under its resolution 161 (XXXII) on an "Integrated programme on rural development", ESCAP hoped to draw the entire rural labour force into the mainstream of economic activity while checking its drift to the towns. Moreover, ESCAP was fully aware of what the Jamaican representative had called the political, cultural and social aspects involved in an integrated rural development programme, which was closely linked to population and migration problems.

54. Mr. IGLESIAS (Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Latin America) recalled that one of the Council's tasks was to evaluate the regional commissions' activities in matters of co-operation and to give the executive secretaries of the commissions an indication of how they might orient their activities.

55. He had obtained useful insights from a number of comments made on the work of ECLA. In the first place, various delegations from Latin American countries, developing countries and socialist countries had emphasized the concern they felt about the present economic situation. The ECLA secretariat had fully reflected the anxiety felt by the countries of the region in the Commission's annual report (E/5784).

56. A large number of delegations mainly from Latin American countries had stressed the need to encourage co-operation activities both within the region itself and at the interregional level. ECLA would therefore collaborate with the Latin American Economic System and would be promoting technical and economic co-operation among developing countries by participating in the 1977 Buenos Aires Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, and the Mexico Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries to be held in September 1976.

57. The decentralization of regional co-operation activities, while desirable, was difficult to carry out, as it was bound up with the restructuring of the United Nations system as a whole. The report by the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Restructuring (A/31/34/Add.1) had indicated the major targets to be attained. ECLA and its secretariat had no intention of claiming exclusive rights, particularly as far as the implementation of regional projects was concerned, but the regional commissions certainly had a part to play as executing agencies.

58. Doubts had been expressed as to the new role of the regional commissions. The commissions had originally been set up to study the problems of their regions; they had then been entrusted with operational activities and, lastly, with completely new tasks. Consequently, they were expected to perform complex activities for which they were poorly equipped and lacked the necessary resources. A balance now had to be struck between those activities, while some latitude should be maintained to ensure that Governments would have organizations capable of assisting them. It was necessary to think about the problem and to make proposals for bringing the structures and activities of the regional commissions up to date. In view of the great future unfolding before the Latin American region, ECLA had a useful contribution to make to the thinking and discussion that should go on between the heads of the commissions and the Economic and Social Council.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

2028th meeting

Monday, 2 August 1976, at 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. S. AKÉ (Ivory Coast)

E/SR.2028

Message of sympathy to China

1. The PRESIDENT, on behalf of the Council, addressed a message of sympathy to the Government and people of China, recently affected by an extremely serious earthquake.

2. Mr. AN Chih-yuan (China) thanked the President and the Council for their words of sympathy and said that the Chinese people, under the leadership of their President, had started reconstructing the affected areas.

AGENDA ITEM 30

Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (concluded) (E/5883 and Corr.1, E/L.1730 and Corr.1)

3. Mr. MARTÍNEZ (Argentina) said that his delegation had followed with keen interest the important statement made at the 2027th meeting by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to the Council, in which he had set out the broad lines of UNHCR activities. His own

country had received over 500,000 refugees from neighbouring countries, including those referred to in paragraphs 25 and 229 of the High Commissioner's report (E/5853 and Corr.1). Many of those people had been given political asylum in Argentina.

4. The resettlement of a large number of foreigners "in transit" imposed a heavy burden on his country, particularly when their irregular situation was prolonged. In order to solve the problems of many foreign nationals who, apart from their difficulties in adapting to a different environment, had to fear for their own safety, his country wished to reiterate the High Commissioner's recent appeal for a great many countries to help resettle those foreigners; at the same time, it urged all countries which shared its concern about respect for human rights to do their utmost to admit them to their territory. That would also be a way for the international community to assume its share of a burden which weighed heavily on a country like Argentina, which was having to deal with a difficult economic situation as well as a recrudescence of the criminal activities of terrorist groups.

5. His country wished to be included among the sponsors of the draft resolution submitted by Pakistan (E/L.1730 and Corr.1).

6. Mr. MACRIS (Observer for Cyprus), speaking at the invitation of the President, said that his country agreed with the concepts contained in the statement by the High Commissioner, whom it wished to congratulate on his efficiency in carrying out his humanitarian functions. In particular, he wished to convey the appreciation and gratitude of the Government and people of Cyprus for all that had been done for their relief, and to request the High Commissioner to continue his humanitarian activities.

7. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria) said that the activities of UNHCR were a sad reflexion on the unfortunate state of the world. It was now 27 years since the Council in its resolution 248 (IX) had recommended the General Assembly to set up UNHCR, which was and continued to be in principle a temporary arrangement. Old problems, predominantly in Europe, had been solved over the years but new ones were constantly arising, with the main emphasis now on other continents and particularly the developing countries. In addition to its more traditional tasks UNHCR had in recent years had to undertake, for humanitarian reasons, additional activities to assist certain categories of displaced persons, victims of man-made disasters. Those activities were undertaken in close consultation with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. As the High Commissioner had rightly recalled, the General Assembly had already reflected that evolution in various resolutions. His delegation was particularly impressed by the fact that, in spite of the many new activities in which UNHCR had had to engage, it had been possible to keep the administrative structure at a reasonable level; it wished to commend the High Commissioner and his staff for their remarkable achievements.

8. Austria was itself a country of first asylum; it had in the past fulfilled the traditional humanitarian role entrusted to it by historical, political and geographical circumstances, and it would continue to do so. Needless to say, that placed

a heavy financial burden on his country and it was for that reason that its direct contribution could not exceed a certain limit.

9. In conclusion, he wished to emphasize two important aspects of the draft resolution submitted by Pakistan, of which Austria was a sponsor: one was the reaffirmation of the eminently humanitarian character of UNHCR activities on behalf of refugees and displaced persons, and the other was the appeal to the international community further to strengthen its support for the humanitarian activities of UNHCR.

10. Mr. KASTOFT (Denmark) said that his delegation wished to be associated with the words of praise for the High Commissioner's outstanding work. His Government had always shown its confidence in the High Commissioner by its contributions to the work of UNHCR not only on a yearly basis but also in response to the numerous special appeals for further funds. For instance, subject to Parliamentary approval, his Government was considering a favourable response to the special appeal made by the High Commissioner on 30 June 1976.

11. Although it was glad to note that the High Commissioner seemed satisfied by the willingness of Governments to contribute to UNHCR activities, his delegation considered it regrettable that the group of major contributors was relatively small. It would be gratified if a much larger number of Governments found it possible to shoulder their reasonable share of the responsibilities because, after all, the problems of refugees and other victims of man-made disasters should be regarded as a common responsibility of the entire international community.

12. In the report of the High Commissioner for the past year, his delegation noted that the refugee problem had grown rapidly during the past few years in the sense that the geographical spread of refugees and displaced persons and the diversity of their problems required increasingly sophisticated approaches. The High Commissioner was to be commended for his ability to cope with those new problems.

13. His delegation supported the assignment to the High Commissioner of "good-office" functions and fully recognized his special qualifications for undertaking those tasks. While it continued to regard the international protection of refugees as the corner-stone of UNHCR's work, it realized that there was a growing need for such "good offices" in a world where man-made disasters were unfortunately neither the least common nor the least serious. Lastly, it wished to thank the Pakistan delegation for the work it had done in formulating the draft resolution of which his country had become a sponsor.

14. Mr. ARIM (Observer for Turkey), speaking at the invitation of the President, emphasized the magnitude of UNHCR activities in the field of material assistance and said that he generally supported the High Commissioner's humanitarian action in all special operations where individual suffering would otherwise remain unrelieved. His Government was grateful to the High Commissioner for the efforts it had made in Cyprus, in co-operation with the

Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot authorities, to help displaced persons and those without resources. UNHCR's humanitarian assistance went, of course, to both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots alike, since General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) had requested that it should be given to all sections of the population of Cyprus.

15. Mr. THIBAUT (Canada) said that his country had been happy to co-sponsor the draft resolution submitted by Pakistan, since it had always been keenly interested in the humanitarian work done by UNHCR and would continue to support its efforts. However, it hoped that the best possible co-ordination would be maintained between all the international organizations taking part in that humanitarian task.

16. Mr. SAADI (Jordan) recalled that his country was a sponsor of the draft resolution which was before the Council and said that although it was customary for the Council, when considering a report, not to address itself to the author personally, it was only fair in view of such great personal devotion to break that rule. On behalf of all members of the Council, therefore, he wished to express his thanks and gratitude to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

17. Mr. HUPPKE (Federal Republic of Germany) recalled that his delegation had frequently stressed, before the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme, the need for effective and competent assistance to refugees. His delegation was therefore co-sponsoring the draft resolution which was before the Council and which expressed renewed confidence in the High Commissioner.

18. Mr. RIVAS (Colombia) and Mr. GOMEZ SAENZ (Venezuela) said that their delegations also wished to join the sponsors of the draft resolution.

19. Mr. AHMAD KHAN (Pakistan), replying to questions that had been put to him informally, said that the notion of man-made disasters had been introduced in the third preambular paragraph in order to bring the text of the preamble into line with the operative part of the draft. His delegation had agreed to that change, which affected the form rather than the substance of the draft resolution. Operative paragraph 2, which reflected the humanitarian nature of UNHCR activities, was modelled on that of operative paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 3454 (XXX).

20. The draft resolution therefore confirmed, in an institutional framework, the humanitarian nature of UNHCR activities. His delegation wished to thank the many members of the Council who had co-sponsored the draft, and hoped that the wide support obtained would ensure that the resolution, like the preceding resolutions relating to UNHCR, would be adopted unanimously.

21. Lastly, as the Jordanian representative had pointed out, although the draft made no express mention of the High Commissioner's excellent work, everyone was aware of the high order of his performance.

22. Mr. MAROOFI (Afghanistan) said that his delegation fully appreciated the role and the efforts of the High Commissioner, as well as the humanitarian objective of the draft resolution. It would like to stress, however, that UNHCR assistance should be given to all categories of refugees, particularly those in the less developed countries which, because of their economic and financial difficulties, could not always carry out their humanitarian tasks.

23. Consequently, the international community, and particularly those bodies concerned with social and humanitarian activities, should respond efficiently and immediately to warranted requests for assistance, since it had a moral and humanitarian duty to relieve the sufferings of refugees and help to solve their problems. It could do that only by giving absolute priority to the humanitarian aspects of those problems and disregarding political considerations. The United Nations should therefore prepare work programmes which would enable all categories of refugees to receive effective humanitarian assistance without delay.

24. Mr. DAVIS (Australia) said that his delegation, while supporting the draft resolution submitted to the Council as a whole, had to express certain reservations without wishing to detract in any way from the importance of the very great humanitarian work of the High Commissioner and his staff.

25. In his delegation's view, the notion of "man-made disasters" in the third preambular paragraph and in operative paragraph 1 introduced a legal issue which would have to be carefully examined at the annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme and perhaps in the ACC. It would have been preferable not to have raised such a difficult problem in the draft resolution.

26. The question might be asked whether there might not be duplication, in view of the fact that UNDR0 had been entrusted with the responsibility of co-ordinating disaster relief and now had been given sufficient voluntary contributions to do so, and that the ICRC had already taken effective action in such situations. UNHCR should therefore concentrate on the international protection of refugees and the search for a permanent solution of their problems. There was much to be done for those people whose needs, through lack of funds and manpower, had sometimes been considered less urgent than those of the victims of natural disasters.

27. In his statement (2025th meeting), the High Commissioner had stressed the need to define in a more systematic manner the criteria applicable to the activities of a humanitarian character entrusted to him by the United Nations. But it was more difficult to decide where to draw the line, especially when the High Commissioner applied his own criteria to cases in which he had not always been involved. There was need therefore to agree on the respective roles of UNHCR, UNDR0, UNICEF and UNDP in regard to assistance of a humanitarian nature, whether for refugees, displaced persons or other persons victims of natural or man-made disasters. UNDP could act in some situations requiring medium- or long-term economic and technical aid to assist with resettlement following a

man-made disaster, and the ICRC already played a useful role in that field which should be taken into account.

28. The PRESIDENT invited the Council, taking account of the reservations of the Australian delegation, to adopt draft resolution E/L.1730 and Corr.1 without a vote.

Draft resolution E/L.1730 and Corr.1 was adopted.

29. Prince Sadruddin AGA KHAN (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) thanked all the delegations which had co-sponsored the draft resolution and in particular the delegation of Pakistan. The debate which had taken place in the Council stressed the importance of the question of assistance to refugees. The confidence and encouragement expressed by the Council concerning the activities of UNHCR and the unanimous adoption of the resolution would help the Office to work more effectively.

The meeting was suspended at 11.35 a.m. and resumed at 11.50 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 6

Assistance to Zambia (E/5867; E/L.1732, E/L.1733)

30. Sir Robert JACKSON (Deputy Secretary-General, Co-ordinator of United Nations Assistance to Zambia) recalled that, in view of the rapidly changing situation in southern Africa, the Government of Zambia had requested the Secretary-General three months ago to carry out a survey in depth of the cost of complying with the policy of mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, without confining it to the effects of the closure of the southern border in January 1973. A group of United Nations officials had accordingly carried out such an analysis in close co-operation with the Zambian Government.

31. In order to put the problems in their correct perspective the survey had been divided into three phases. The first phase, beginning with Zambia's achievement of independence in October 1964, covered the period during which the Zambian Government had reacted to the emergency situation created by the unilateral declaration of independence by Southern Rhodesia. Zambia had informed the Security Council early in 1967 of its intention to implement the Council's resolution 232 (1966) imposing mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. That period could be considered to have extended from 1966 to the end of 1968. The second phase was from the beginning of 1969 until the closure of the southern border in January 1973, and the third phase covered the events that had taken place since that time.

32. With regard to the cost to Zambia of applying mandatory sanctions, so many variables had intervened since Zambia had begun applying those sanctions that the calculations now represented only reasonably exact orders of magnitude. Moreover, the full cost to Zambia of applying sanctions could not be expressed only in monetary terms, as the country had had to divert human and material resources to meet the emergency situation to the detriment of its development. It was estimated that the financial burden for Zambia would amount to \$650 million at the

end of 1976 and would reach between \$750 and \$800 million by the end of 1977. Details of the costs during each of the three phases would be found in the statement made on behalf of the Secretary-General (E/5867).

33. The Zambian Government considered that, at best, the assistance received as compensation from the international community had been in the vicinity of \$100 million, taking into account the assistance provided specifically by Member States and the United Nations system to offset the cost of applying sanctions. Account had not been taken of the financial and other assistance provided to Zambia on the same basis as to other developing countries, independently of application of the sanctions policy. It was encouraging to note that a growing number of Member States were increasing their assistance to Zambia.

34. Zambia's current financial difficulties were directly related, to a large extent, to the cost of applying sanctions; total Government revenue – \$1,064 million in 1974 – would probably drop to \$697 million in 1976 and the balance of payments, with a surplus of \$30 million in 1974, would show the same deficit in 1976 as in the preceding year – \$390 million. Zambia had also been badly hit by the fall in the price of minerals, and revenue from the sale of minerals – \$529 million in 1974 – was expected to reach only \$8 million in 1976. It was therefore essential that the international community should provide Zambia with adequate financial support as a matter of urgency, mainly in the form of grants and soft loans.

35. During the 10 years that had passed since it had undertaken to apply sanctions Zambia had made remarkable progress economically. It now had a much stronger infrastructure and the Tazara railway had just been completed two years ahead of schedule by China, Tanzania and Zambia. The road system had been greatly improved and the Tanzanian Government had developed the port of Dar-es-Salaam, which was of vital importance for Zambia. The capacity of the oil pipeline from Dar-es-Salaam to Ndola, which had been operating for several years, had been substantially increased. As a result of the Kariba and Kafue hydroelectric developments, Zambia now had greatly increased energy resources, and had considerably expanded its coal production. Zambia was now producing in adequate quantities some of the essential goods which had previously had to be imported, and agriculture was developing.

36. For a country which had had to face emergency conditions throughout its history, except for the first year of its independence, that was an impressive record of determination, sacrifice and self-reliance.

37. Finally, he listed the six main conclusions which could be drawn from the statement he had made on behalf of the Secretary-General (see E/5867, sect. VII). In conclusion, he affirmed that the Secretary-General would continue to do everything in his power to mobilize support for Zambia from every possible source, but stressed that it was only Member States, in the last analysis, that could help Zambia to solve its problems.

38. Mr. SILWIZYA (Zambia) said that the clear and detailed statement presented by the Co-ordinator of United

Nations assistance to Zambia on behalf of the Secretary-General had greatly facilitated the Council's task in considering that agenda item. Zambia required assistance because it was faced with special problems arising, on the one hand, from its application of United Nations mandatory sanctions against the rebel régime of Southern Rhodesia and, on the other, from its position as a land-locked country surrounded by territories controlled by racist minority régimes. To that geopolitical handicap could be added the fact that Zambia had always been excluded from special international assistance programmes because of the rigid application of economic criteria. The Security Council, in its resolutions 253 (1968), 277 (1970) and 329 (1973), had fortunately recognized Zambia's special problems and had called on Member States and United Nations bodies to provide assistance so that it could apply fully the United Nations mandatory sanctions policy against Southern Rhodesia. Having decided at the time of the unilateral declaration of independence by the rebel régime of Southern Rhodesia in 1965, barely 13 months after its accession to independence, to disengage from the racist régimes of southern Africa and, in 1973, to close its southern frontier with Southern Rhodesia, his country greatly needed the support of the international community in its efforts.

39. Zambia's security, peace and development were inextricably linked with the political situation in southern Africa. His country could not develop in peace and security as long as the black majority in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa continued to be oppressed, and it would not relinquish its firm and active support to the black masses in southern Africa in their just struggle against oppression, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

40. The political situation in southern Africa had just entered a crucial and decisive phase. The nationalist movements had resolved to wage an armed struggle in the face of the refusal of the white minority régimes to change the situation by peaceful means. The racist minority régimes had reacted by intensifying their desperate and wanton repression in the territories under their control, and their acts of aggression against neighbouring African countries, particularly Mozambique and Zambia. In that connexion, he paid a tribute to the courageous people of Mozambique, who were defending the cause of freedom and justice in southern Africa and who were also in need of urgent and generous international assistance to undertake the task of national reconstruction. As recently as 11 July 1976, Zambia itself had suffered an unprovoked attack by South Africa, which had bombed a Zambian village, killing 22 people and injuring 45 others. That was just another act of intimidation calculated to frustrate Zambia's active support to the liberation movements. His country, however, was prepared to defend its territory against the barbaric acts of iniquitous régimes.

41. He gave a brief outline of the economic situation in his country. On its accession to independence, Zambia had inherited a deformed economic structure which responded to the interests and requirements of the South at the time of the former Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, of which it had formed part. Zambia had therefore had to begin immediately to reconstruct and redirect its entire

economy to meet the aspirations of an independent country. When, 13 months later, Southern Rhodesia had made its unilateral declaration of independence, a new set of problems had been imposed on Zambia, which had thenceforth shared common frontiers with territories controlled by hostile régimes: Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, South Africa and the Portuguese territories. Those difficulties had been aggravated when Zambia had decided to close its frontier with Southern Rhodesia in 1973.

42. The cost to Zambia of fulfilling its obligation to the oppressed masses in southern Africa was enormous, and its capacity limited. In addition to the cost of the emergency measures which it had had to take following the closure of its frontier with Southern Rhodesia, its economy had been adversely affected by the world economic crisis, increased import prices, inflation and unremunerative and excessively fluctuating prices of exports, resulting in deteriorating terms of trade. External earnings had fallen sharply because of the slump in the price of Zambia's main export, copper, which had gravely affected the budget and balance-of-payments position.

43. Faced by that adverse financial situation and with very meagre resources to fall back on, Zambia had had to borrow heavily and on unfavourable terms. The rigid application of economic criteria had so far denied Zambia access to various international special assistance schemes. In his country's case, such conventional criteria as the *per capita* GNP had little relevance, since they failed to give a true idea of special situations such as Zambia's.

44. The lack of resources had compelled his Government to take stringent economic and financial measures which had imposed additional sacrifices on a people already severely tried by the political situation in the area. It had thus decided to accord the highest priority to the development of the rural sector and its related industries. It was the Government's desire to pursue a development strategy that could be financed largely from local resources without relying too heavily on one major export (copper) or on external borrowing. In accordance with that policy, rural reconstruction centres had been established and were now in operation throughout the country. In addition, the Party and the Government had intensified their campaign effectively to involve traditional farmers in rural development.

45. Despite those and other important initiatives by the Government, Zambia was still in need of substantial assistance from the international community to offset the adverse consequences for its economy of the application of the United Nations mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. His Government was accordingly requesting the United Nations, through the Economic and Social Council, to continue its programme of assistance to Zambia throughout 1977.

46. His country, which was grateful to the Member States and the United Nations for the assistance it had already received and hoped that its request would be granted, stressed that the obligation to apply United Nations sanctions against Southern Rhodesia was an international obligation resulting from decisions adopted by the international community. It should therefore be accepted and

honoured by all Governments. The enormous burden of the sanctions policy on the Zambian economy should not be borne by one or two States alone but by all freedom- and peace-loving States Members of the United Nations.

47. In conclusion, he referred to the completion of the railway linking Zambia to Tanzania on the coast of the Indian Ocean, an achievement that had been made possible thanks to the generous assistance of the Government and people of the Republic of China, to whom his delegation paid a tribute. The Tazara railway would make it possible to break the stranglehold which the racist régimes had tried to exert on Zambia and to release it from their blackmail.

48. Mr. MAINA (Kenya) congratulated the Secretary-General and the Co-ordinator of United Nations Assistance to Zambia for the statement made in document E/5867, which contained a comprehensive and thorough study which was as objective as possible with respect to the complex problem of the whole subject of assistance to Zambia.

49. The question was unfortunately not a new one; it came up year after year – a situation for which those countries which were not applying mandatory sanctions against the régime of Southern Rhodesia were to blame. Kenya urged the Council and all United Nations bodies to give as much assistance as possible to Zambia, for in a way it was a country on the battle field, and its people were fighting for those who were not in the front line. When the United Nations had decided to impose mandatory sanctions upon Southern Rhodesia, the Security Council had had other options which it had decided not to take up; but once mandatory sanctions had been decided upon, all States Members of the United Nations were bound to enforce them. It was public knowledge that a large number of Members openly violated that decision, the most flagrant case being that of the racist régime of South Africa, which considered Southern Rhodesia practically as a fifth province and, not content with not enforcing the sanctions, had provided large-scale military aid to the illegal régime. In that connexion he recalled that the former régime of Portugal had left the frontiers of Mozambique and Angola wide open for anyone who wished to break the mandatory sanctions. In those circumstances, Zambia and other loyal nations were carrying out a hopeless task in enforcing sanctions. That was why the United Nations had been requested to extend mandatory sanctions against those who openly violated the decision of the Security Council. He reiterated that request. Such a step was the only way of making the sanctions effective. If they had not been evaded until now, the problem of Southern Rhodesia would have been solved long ago, whereas it was now threatening to become catastrophic.

50. The current year would be significant in more than one way: first of all it was the first year when one could speak of the “former” Portuguese colonial empire. In that connexion, the United Nations contribution to the collapse of the former Portuguese colonial régime could never be sufficiently stressed. Not only had the United Nations removed all pretence to legitimacy claimed by the régime, but it had supported the liberation movements and encouraged Member States to follow its example. The second

important fact was the accession of Angola and Mozambique to independence, and their enforcement of mandatory sanctions, which had created a new situation. In the third place, the Security Council had for the first time condemned South Africa for its acts of aggression against Angola in its resolution 387 (1976), and more recently, against Zambia in its resolution 393 (1976). Another important event would take place shortly, namely the Security Council’s review of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. Finally, for the first time the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia was having to face a determined effort at liberation by the people of Zimbabwe; their struggle might be long and painful but it would certainly be victorious in the end.

51. The question of assistance to Zambia must be viewed against that wide background. The situation was not static; in fact it was developing encouragingly. That question could not be dissociated from that of assistance to Mozambique, which would be discussed later on. The assistance given by the United Nations system to those two countries and to the liberation movements in southern Africa was beginning to show results, and the time had certainly not come to reduce it.

52. Introducing draft resolution E/L.1732 on behalf of the Group of 77, he said that he hoped that the draft would be supported by all delegations. The draft resolution followed the previous practice of asking the Council to call upon Member States and all agencies of the United Nations family to respond to the call of the Security Council to continue to give assistance to Zambia. He hoped that that assistance would be increased in level and in scope. He drew attention to a typographical error in operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, where “sixty-second” should read “sixty-third”.

53. Mr. SIDKY (Observer for the Organization of African Unity), speaking at the invitation of the President, expressed to the People’s Republic of China the deep sympathy of OAU for the terrible catastrophe which had stricken a country that had always identified itself with the aspirations of the African peoples and their just struggle against racism and colonialism.

54. He thanked the Co-ordinator of United Nations Assistance to Zambia for his report and his clear introduction, as well as the Zambian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, who had described the serious situation in southern Africa and stressed the heavy burden which Zambia was carrying on behalf of Africa as a whole. He believed that in the light of the information provided to it, the Council could give serious consideration to Zambia’s situation and take the necessary measures at the international level to help Zambia apply the mandatory sanctions decided upon by the United Nations. Only recently at the OAU summit conference, the President of Zambia had reaffirmed his country’s determination to fight unceasingly to rid Africa of the last bastions of racism and colonialism. The African Heads of State had expressed their total support for him, and had launched an appeal to the international community to give generous support to Zambia in a situation of concern to the world as a whole.

55. The liberation struggle in southern Africa had entered upon a decisive phase, and the process of decolonization was following its inevitable course. The international community must therefore intensify its pressures upon racist and colonialist régimes, vestiges of a past era. He paid a tribute to the valiant African peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa and to the peoples of Zambia and Mozambique who were applying the sanctions imposed by the United Nations with courage and determination. The international community had a duty to aid those two countries to offset the effects of applying sanctions. In particular, there was a need for greater and more consistent assistance for Zambia, to help it bear the heavy financial and economic burdens entailed by the closure of its southern frontier with Southern Rhodesia, especially since its difficulties as a land-locked country had been considerably aggravated by the recent deterioration of the world economic situation. The document presented by the Co-ordinator on behalf of the Secretary-General (E/5867) evaluated at approximately \$650 million the financial cost borne by Zambia because of the application of mandatory sanctions, but the total compensatory aid provided by the international community was only some \$100 million. Those sums were disproportionate, and the situation should not be allowed to continue.

56. The basic objective of all the United Nations organizations in that field should be to increase Zambia's capacity to apply the policy of mandatory sanctions in full, by giving it vigorous help in achieving its economic and social

aims. OAU therefore strongly supported the request of the Zambian representative that the multiform programme of assistance to Zambia should be continued and even intensified in 1977. To that end the measures set out in the draft resolution before the Council should be applied in full, and he hoped that it would be adopted unanimously. He endorsed the action of the Secretary-General and the Co-ordinator of United Nations Assistance to Zambia, but called upon them to mobilize the international community even more strongly on behalf of those countries and ensure that initial enthusiasm was translated into practical measures. Such measures were all the more necessary now that Zambia was the victim of barbaric aggression by the racist and colonialist régimes, the latest and most bloody manifestation of which was the attack on 11 July on the village of Sialola.

57. The international community should give due attention to the specific case of Zambia and Mozambique, but must also take account of the far-reaching changes in the region as a whole. In that connexion he called attention to section VI of document E/5867, which described the effects on eight countries of recent developments.

58. Finally, he thanked the non-African countries which had applied sanctions for their gesture of international solidarity, and urged all countries to apply the sanctions in full.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

2029th meeting

Tuesday, 3 August 1976, at 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. S. AKÉ (Ivory Coast)

E/SR.2029

AGENDA ITEM 6

Assistance to Zambia (concluded) (E/5867; E/L.1732, E/L.1733)

1. Mr. MYERSON (United States of America) thanked the Co-ordinator of United Nations Assistance to Zambia for his comprehensive and informative report. His delegation had also listened with great interest to the statements by the Co-ordinator (2028th meeting) and the Zambian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs (2028th meeting).

2. His delegation recognized that Zambia's application of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia had caused it severe economic hardship, and his Government had informed the Zambian Government of its willingness to help it to cope with those problems. To that end, it had submitted a request to the Congress for a grant of \$30 million for the fiscal year 1977. It also hoped to be able to provide Zambia with certain essential commodities in the near future, and the United States Import-Export Bank had indicated its

readiness to consider future Zambian applications for credit. Because of its courageous stand, Zambia deserved the support of the entire international community, and the United States would urge other Governments and international organizations to help it overcome its difficulties.

3. Given Zambia's present situation, it was obvious that the need for international assistance would continue for some time to come, and his delegation supported the continuation of the United Nations programme of assistance to Zambia during 1977.

4. It also strongly supported Security Council resolution 386 (1976) and Economic and Social Council resolution 1987 (LX), and the efforts being made by the Secretary-General and the United Nations system to assist Mozambique. His Government was taking active steps to implement Mr. Kissinger's statement at Lusaka about the provision of \$12.5 million in economic assistance to Mozambique.

5. Mr. PATTISON (United Kingdom) observed that there was little to be added to the statements by the Co-ordinator