

Commonwealth Sanctions Committee had decided that a special technical assistance programme for Mozambique should be established through the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation. On 30 April 1976, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs had announced that, in accordance with the decision of the Commonwealth Meeting and Security Council resolution 386 (1976), his Government would provide the Government of Mozambique with an amount up to \$Can 3 million in grant funds for Canadian food aid. Such moneys would include shipping and other related costs. Canada could provide certain food commodities, namely, wheat, wheat flour, skim-milk powder, fish, beans, rape-seed oil and egg powder, some of which had been identified in document E/5812 and Corr.1 as being urgently required.

Organization of work

3. Mr. CORDOVEZ (Secretary of the Council), referring to the question of the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system, recalled that the Council was expected at the current session to undertake a review of its subsidiary machinery; a review of the agreements between the

United Nations and the specialized agencies; a review of the rules of procedure of the functional commissions; and a review of the list of subsidiary bodies which received meeting records.

4. In connexion with the negotiation of a relationship agreement between the United Nations and IFAD, he said that the Secretary-General had convened a conference of plenipotentiaries to be held at Rome on 10 and 11 June 1976, which was expected to set up a Preparatory Commission with the authority to negotiate a relationship agreement. It would therefore be necessary for the Council to appoint the Committee on Negotiations with Intergovernmental Agencies which would conclude an agreement with IFAD. The Council might also wish to review the arrangements for the negotiation process.

5. Referring to agenda items 2, 10 and 11, he said that the Secretariat had been informed that Yemen would have liked to become a sponsor of draft resolutions E/L.1715, E/L.1711 and E/L.1712 but had been unable to do so for reasons beyond its control.

The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.

1998th meeting

Monday, 10 May 1976, at 3.35 p.m.

President: Mr. Siméon AKE (Ivory Coast).

E/SR.1998

AGENDA ITEM 12

Assistance to Mozambique (*continued*) (E/5812 and Corr.1 and Add.1, E/L.1716)

1. Mr. BENHOCINE (Algeria) said that, when the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique had taken its courageous decision to close its frontier with the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia, Algeria had reaffirmed its active solidarity with that fraternal African country and thus carried out its duty as current head of the non-aligned movement. The report of the Secretary-General's Mission to Mozambique (see E/5812 and Corr.1 and Add.1) gave a full picture of the economic consequences of the closing of the frontier and the magnitude of the efforts Mozambique had to make to carry out its development programme. The international community must provide assistance commensurate with those efforts to Mozambique in its twofold task of reconstructing and restructuring the economy in accordance with its aspirations and of dealing with the short-term consequences of the application of sanctions. Such assistance was not merely a gesture of human solidarity but a political duty, since Mozambique had implemented measures advocated by the international community and must not, therefore, be left to bear the burden of that obligation alone. His delegation hoped that draft resolution E/L.1716 would not only be adopted unanimously but be speedily implemented by all States, so that Mozambique could achieve economic and social recovery.

2. The definitive solution to the economic problems of Mozambique was clearly political, as it would come with the accession of the people of Zimbabwe to self-

determination and independence. Meanwhile, as that people's struggle for freedom redoubled, certain countries continued to support the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia indirectly or directly; that raised the problem of the full and effective application of the sanctions and the question what action should be taken against countries violating them, especially South Africa. South Africa continued to support Southern Rhodesia and enable it to evade the sanctions, and the two régimes were closely allied. The situation called for action by the international community, and the least it could do would be to extend sanctions to South Africa. He assured the Mozambican delegation of Algeria's complete solidarity; Mozambique's action formed part of the struggle for a just and liberated Africa, to which Algeria would continue to lend resolute support.

3. Mr. KOCH (Federal Republic of Germany) said that his Government would study the report of the Mission to Mozambique and would base its decision concerning bilateral assistance to offset the economic effects of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia on its study of the report. His delegation would support draft resolution E/L.1716.

4. Mr. SEIFMAN (United States of America) said that the United States position on Southern Rhodesia had been explained by the Secretary of State in his speech at Lusaka on 27 April 1976, when he had said that the United States was totally dedicated to seeing that the majority became the ruling power in Southern Rhodesia; that the United States did not recognize the Rhodesian minority régime and was committed to Security Council resolutions 221 (1966), 232 (1966) and 253 (1968) imposing mandatory

sanctions against that illegal régime; that it had been a sponsor of the Security Council resolution expanding mandatory sanctions; and that in March 1976 it had commended Mozambique for its decision to enforce economic sanctions even at great economic cost to itself. The United States believed that steps should be taken in accordance with the Security Council resolutions to assist Mozambique in the great additional economic hardship caused by the closing of its border with Southern Rhodesia and was willing, as announced by the Secretary of State at Lusaka, to provide \$12.5 million in assistance to Mozambique.

5. The United States also supported the provision of assistance to Mozambique by United Nations agencies, international financing institutions and Member States in order to alleviate the economic difficulties resulting from the imposition of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

6. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) said that the action of the Government of Mozambique in implementing United Nations sanctions against the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia deserved full support. That courageous decision was a clear manifestation of the determination of the peoples of Africa to put an end to the subjugation and oppression of the African people in Zimbabwe, and African solidarity had gained strength through Mozambique's initiative. In supporting the people of Mozambique, the international community was enhancing the sacred principles of the United Nations. The report of the Mission to Mozambique showed the extent to which the country's economy had depended on the economies of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, and how great a sacrifice was therefore involved in the closing of the border with Southern Rhodesia. The implementation of United Nations resolutions was the collective responsibility of all Member States and should not be left largely to certain countries, particularly newly independent developing countries.

7. The programme of financial, material and technical assistance to Mozambique set forth in the report of the Mission was soundly based, since it identified the areas where assistance was required and the forms of assistance that were needed. As indicated in paragraph 110 of the report (E/5812 and Corr.1), the cost to the international community would not be exorbitant. The report specified the materials and commodities that were needed, so that each country could select the form of assistance it could best provide. High priority should be accorded to emergency and short-term projects which would also provide employment to workers made redundant by the application of sanctions. The Government of Mozambique deserved respect for having taken the initiative in implementing some projects without waiting for support from the international community.

8. The section of the report on technical assistance requirements was very relevant to countries which had more to offer in the way of technical assistance than in material resources. Egypt was studying the possibility of providing additional expert missions to Mozambique in accordance with its needs. It had extended full support to the people of Mozambique through FRELIMO in their struggle for independence and would continue to co-operate with the Government of Mozambique on a bilateral basis and through the United Nations. An increasing number of Egyptian experts were being sent to Mozambique and other newly independent countries, and scholarships were

being provided to enable students from developing countries and liberation movements to study in Egyptian institutions under bilateral arrangements and multilateral United Nations programmes. He was sure that Afro-Arab co-operation would prove effective in economic and technical fields. It was essential that the international community should provide moral and material assistance to Mozambique to offset the economic consequences of the application of sanctions.

9. Mr. HARRY (Australia) said that the Australian Government had always supported the many efforts within the United Nations to secure majority rule in southern Africa, and actively complied with the Security Council resolutions imposing sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. It recognized that the Government of Mozambique had decided to close its border with Southern Rhodesia because of the overriding considerations involved, namely, the need to secure basic human rights for the majority in Southern Rhodesia. His delegation was pleased to note that, at the suggestion of the Commonwealth Secretary-General, the Mission to Mozambique had included the Director of the Technical Assistance Group of the Commonwealth Secretariat. His Government had not yet completed its study of the report of the Mission; however, it noted that the urgently required materials and commodities listed in table 3 of the report (E/5812 and Corr.1) included 4,000 tons of powdered milk. The Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs had recently indicated that he had been informed by WHO that Mozambique desperately required skim milk powder and that the Australian Government might be able to respond to that need. His Government would decide on the size and form of the contribution it would make after studying the report of the Mission and after further consultation with WHO.

10. His delegation agreed with the main lines of draft resolution E/L.1716 and hoped that it could support it in detail after further study of it.

11. Mr. MUTHAURA (Kenya) said it was clear that the Government and people of Mozambique had been fully aware that they were making a very serious and painful decision in applying in full the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and that they had nevertheless chosen to promote the ideals of justice, freedom and peace, as provided for in the United Nations Charter, at any cost.

12. The report before the Council showed that there was general agreement between the Secretary-General's Mission and the Government of Mozambique on the priority areas which required short-term and long-term international assistance to enable Mozambique to carry out its social and economic development programmes normally and enlarge its capacity to implement fully the comprehensive system of sanctions. The direct costs to Mozambique of applying United Nations sanctions against Southern Rhodesia as indicated in the Mission's report were obviously too great, considering that Mozambique had been independent for less than a year after 500 years of exploitative colonial rule by Portugal and a protracted war of independence. Its problems had been aggravated by the current international economic crisis. It was therefore essential that the United Nations should respond promptly with a full programme of financial and technical assistance to Mozambique. Indeed, it was a test case for the United Nations sanctions system, the future credibility of which would depend on how successfully the United Nations

backed countries that suffered as a result of enhancing and defending the noble cause of the United Nations Charter. However, United Nations assistance alone might not be adequate, and his delegation hoped that Member States which were in a position to do so would continue to assist Mozambique in all ways possible. Despite its moderate resources, Kenya had contributed maize to the value of 3 million shillings. It was also an active member of the Commonwealth, which was currently organizing a programme of assistance to Mozambique.

13. The current problems in Mozambique resulted from the continued existence of the illegal régime in Salisbury. The sooner Zimbabwe became independent, the sooner most of those problems would come to an end. It was therefore necessary and urgent that all States Members of the United Nations should follow the heroic example of Mozambique in order to accelerate independence for Zimbabwe.

14. Mr. RUSKOV (Bulgaria) said that the decision of the Government of Mozambique to apply sanctions against Southern Rhodesia showed its adherence to the United Nations Charter and was a clear expression of the solidarity of the people of Mozambique with the struggle of other independent African States to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa and with the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for freedom and independence. His delegation noted with satisfaction Security Council resolution 386 (1976). It welcomed the courageous decision taken by the Government of Mozambique and expressed its friendly support for that Government. It also supported the request of the Government of Mozambique for speedy bilateral and multilateral assistance and commended the effective action taken by the Secretary-General. His delegation was prepared to support any measures taken by the Economic and Social Council or other United Nations bodies for immediate assistance to Mozambique.

15. The friendly relations between Bulgaria and Mozambique had been established at the time when the latter country had been engaged in its heroic struggle against colonial oppression under the leadership of FRELIMO, and after Mozambique had gained independence the ties between the two countries had developed further. To the extent of its possibilities, Bulgaria was already providing economic, scientific and technical assistance to the efforts of the people of Mozambique to overcome the economic vestiges of colonialism. A first group of Bulgarian specialists was already working in Mozambique, and at the 11th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in April 1976, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique had commended Bulgaria for its assistance. His country would continue to co-operate with Mozambique on the basis of equality and mutual respect in order to help the people of Mozambique to solve the urgent economic problems resulting from their heroic struggle against colonialism and racism and from the application of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

16. Mr. PETRIC (Yugoslavia) said that his country had always lent full support to the peoples of Africa in their struggle against colonialism and colonial domination and against the racist régimes in southern Africa. The decision of the Government of Mozambique to apply sanctions by closing its border with Southern Rhodesia was a significant contribution to the struggle of the African countries and of the international community as a whole against racism and

racist régimes. If one bore in mind that Mozambique had become independent only recently, after a long struggle, and that the Portuguese colonial Power had oriented the economic structure of Mozambique, on a long-term basis, towards integration with the economy of Southern Rhodesia, it was possible to understand the serious implications of the decision for Mozambique's economy and the courage needed to take it. International assistance was therefore indispensable, and the United Nations and the international community as a whole should provide adequate assistance as a matter of urgency so that the economic development of Mozambique might evolve without hindrance.

17. The *Ad Hoc* Group established on 1 April 1976 by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, after completing its mission to several African States, including Mozambique, had indicated in its report¹ that there was an urgent need to extend economic assistance to Mozambique to meet the serious consequences of its decision to sever all trade and communications links with Southern Rhodesia; the group believed that an urgent appeal should be made to all States, to organizations within the United Nations system and to all other governmental and non-governmental organizations to apply every effort to extend to Mozambique all necessary assistance, in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 386 (1976).

18. Yugoslavia was lending unreserved support to Mozambique as an independent, non-aligned and friendly country in its struggle against the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and would continue to offer maximum assistance within the limits of its possibilities.

19. Mr. NSUBUGA (Uganda) noted that the founders of the United Nations had wisely foreseen the necessity of applying sanctions when they had included Articles 39 to 43 in the Charter; Mozambique had applied those sanctions against the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia. He recalled that the failure to apply sanctions against Mussolini's régime had probably led to the events which had resulted in the Second World War.

20. Within its possibilities, Uganda had provided some assistance to the People's Republic of Mozambique, which was acting in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council. If the United Nations failed to act decisively, blood might be shed on the battlefield before the diplomats returned to the conference table.

21. Mr. BA-ISSA (Democratic Yemen) said his delegation felt that the item under consideration deserved particular attention because it involved political, economic and moral issues. It was a question not merely of providing economic or technical assistance to Mozambique, but of helping to alleviate the grave consequences to Mozambique's economy of the application of sanctions against the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. The credibility of the United Nations, the principles of the Charter and the dignity of man were at stake. The international community had an obligation to combat racism and racial discrimination, in all forms and wherever they existed, and words were meaningless unless backed by action. Mozambique had chosen to shoulder its responsibilities and help to liberate the people of Zimbabwe and

¹ A/AC.109/L.1080, para. 265.

to uphold human dignity by carrying out its international obligations. However, the economic consequences of its decision were too heavy for Mozambique to bear alone, particularly as, after a long and devastating colonial war, it had inherited a weak economic structure and was faced with a massive task of economic reconstruction. The current international economic crisis was an additional burden. International solidarity with the people and Government of Mozambique was therefore essential, and substantial and immediate assistance was clearly needed. His delegation was proud to voice its support for and solidarity with Mozambique, and would be gratified by any bilateral and multilateral assistance that might be provided.

22. Mr. SIDDIQ (Afghanistan) said that Mozambique's action in closing its borders with Southern Rhodesia and imposing the sanctions called for in Security Council resolution 253 (1968) against the illegal minority régime was in keeping with its support for the struggles of liberation movements, particularly in Zimbabwe, and its commitment to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

23. His country had always supported Mozambique in its struggle to liberate itself from colonial domination, and it supported it now in its action against Southern Rhodesia. The international community should clearly help Mozambique in its economic and social development so that it could overcome the current difficulties created by its decision to break off all economic relations with Southern Rhodesia. The Security Council in its resolution 386 (1976), had called on all countries to help Mozambique so that it could apply sanctions in full, and to assist it in its current economic situation. The Secretary-General had already organized a programme of action to help Mozambique, and the report of his Mission provided a basis for action by the Economic and Social Council and the international community as a whole.

24. Mr. MALIK (Pakistan) said that, as a country which had also suffered from colonial domination, Pakistan was well aware of the tremendous financial and technical difficulties which Mozambique had to face in order to transform its economy from one geared to the needs of the colonial administration to one that was balanced and self-reliant. Those difficulties were severely aggravated by the action taken by Mozambique against the illegal Smith régime and the international community must help Mozambique to deal with the special economic problems that had arisen as a result, since its action had been a firm gesture of solidarity with other African countries in their struggle to eliminate colonialism. It remained to be seen whether the régimes of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa would yield to the current of history and hand over power to the African majority, or whether they would, by their intransigence, provoke a violent solution in which they would undoubtedly be the losers.

25. In supporting Security Council resolution 386 (1976), his country had pledged its full support for measures to assist Mozambique not only in dealing with the immediate problems created by the closing of the border with Southern Rhodesia but also in providing a stable, self-reliant economic structure, a task in which the United Nations system could play a vital part.

26. He shared the view that the action taken by Mozambique was a major step forward, and might

even prove to be a turning-point, in the struggle to remove all traces of racist régimes from Africa.

27. Miss LOPEZ (Venezuela) said that Mozambique had struggled for many years to free itself from colonial oppression. Throughout that time it had enjoyed the solidarity and co-operation of numerous countries, which had been acting in accordance with United Nations resolutions and many of which had also at one time or another had to fight to gain their freedom. However, Mozambique's struggle was not yet over, since it had to deal not only with the problems confronting any newly independent country but also with very special problems deriving from its geographical position, which had led it to take the exemplary step of applying sanctions against the minority racist régime in Southern Rhodesia.

28. Mozambique belonged to the group of most seriously affected countries covered by the Special Programme established in General Assembly resolution 3202 (S-VI), and the United Nations thus had a special responsibility to assist it. That could be done, for instance, through the United Nations Special Fund, to which her country had contributed in the past as its means allowed. It fully supported the appeal made by the Security Council in its resolution 386 (1976) for financial, technical and material assistance to Mozambique. If other countries did likewise, they would be carrying out their undertaking to make a reality of the new international economic order, and helping to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism in the world.

29. Mr. HARRIMAN (Nigeria) said his country had contributed to the work carried out by the Commonwealth Secretariat, both before and after Mozambique had gained independence, to determine what repercussions the decision to impose sanctions against Southern Rhodesia would have on Mozambique's economy. The Commonwealth action thus backed up the measures taken by the Secretary-General in that field. World solidarity had been mobilized to aid Mozambique, which boded well for future co-operation and solidarity among Members of the United Nations.

30. His country was totally committed to the liberation struggles being waged in Africa and saw no alternative to intensifying the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. Although Western countries still sought a dialogue with the Smith régime, Africans themselves saw armed struggle as the only way to provoke a response within the United Nations.

31. Nigeria had made bilateral and multilateral contributions to freedom struggles in southern Africa, and had recently pledged \$1.6 million to Mozambique. It hoped to continue to co-operate with Mozambique and the South African liberation movements within the United Nations, particularly within the Economic and Social Council.

32. Mr. ORTIZ RODRIGUEZ (Cuba) said the days of the racist régimes in Africa were numbered, in spite of the indirect support they still received from some countries. That was amply demonstrated by Angola's success in repelling South African troops and by the measures which Mozambique had taken against Southern Rhodesia.

33. The sanctions imposed by Mozambique represented a tremendous sacrifice, and the Economic and Social Council must, on the basis of the reports submitted to it and the information provided by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique,

give decisive support to Mozambique so that it received all the help it needed in overcoming the problems created by the sanctions. Mozambique's decision to impose sanctions must be fully supported by the international community, as a contribution to stamping out racism in southern Africa.

34. Mr. ROSSI (Italy) said the report of the Mission to Mozambique provided an excellent basis for a programme of financial and technical assistance to that country, designed to help it to implement its development programme and fully enforce sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. He therefore hoped that the Council would adopt draft resolution E/L.1716 unanimously.

35. It had been an act of courage for Mozambique to impose sanctions against the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, and it was for the international community, in its turn, to match that courage with a massive assistance effort. The problems of transforming Mozambique's economy, which was a legacy from colonial days, were dramatically aggravated by the need to offset the cost of applying sanctions.

36. His country had shown political and economic solidarity with FRELIMO before and after Mozambique's independence and was ready to examine possible forms of financial and technical assistance in numerous fields, particularly education, consulting services for development projects and feasibility studies for agricultural projects, those being the sectors to which the Government of Mozambique itself gave the highest priority.

37. Draft resolution E/L.1716 would be useful in mobilizing and co-ordinating assistance by multilateral

organizations and the United Nations. The Foreign Ministers of EEC had already expressed themselves in favour of multilateral action at a meeting in Luxembourg on 23 February 1976.

38. The people of Mozambique were enduring tremendous sacrifices for a cause which went beyond their national borders and interests, since it was a common cause of Africa and the entire international community. It was thus the duty of the international community to respond accordingly.

39. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria) said that Mozambique was faced with a grave economic situation as a result of severing all relations with Southern Rhodesia, and urgently required assistance in meeting its immediate and long-term needs. It was only fair that the burden it must carry as a result of complying with the decisions of the United Nations should be shared by the international community as a whole, and the report of the Mission to Mozambique provided a basis for co-ordinated assistance efforts by Member States. The Secretary-General had responded promptly and effectively to Security Council resolution 386 (1976) and it was now for the Governments of Member States to implement, in accordance with that resolution, a programme of financial, economic and technical assistance enabling Mozambique to carry out its economic development programme and apply the system of sanctions in full. His Government was ready to contribute to that programme in response to the appeals by the Secretary-General, the Security Council and the Government of Mozambique, and it therefore fully supported draft resolution E/L.1716.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.

1999th meeting

Tuesday, 11 May 1976, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. Siméon AKE (Ivory Coast).

E/SR.1999

AGENDA ITEM 12

Assistance to Mozambique (concluded) (E/5812 and Corr.1 and Add.1, E/L.1716, E/L.1719)

1. Mr. MUTHAURA (Kenya), introducing draft resolution E/L.1716, announced that Austria, Brazil and Norway had also become sponsors. The basic objective of the draft resolution was to facilitate the provision of United Nations assistance to Mozambique, taking into account the view expressed by numerous delegations that the programmes established in Mozambique as a result of the application of United Nations sanctions against Southern Rhodesia were the responsibility of the Organization. The draft resolution therefore contained provisions designed to translate the wishes of the members of the Council into a United Nations programme of action for assistance to Mozambique. In view of the basic principles embodied in Articles 49 and 50 of the United Nations Charter and the broad support that existed for United Nations assistance to Mozambique, as evidenced by the large number of sponsors of the draft resolution and the views expressed by delegations, he hoped that the Council would adopt

the draft resolution without amendment and without a vote.

2. The PRESIDENT drew attention to document E/L.1719, which set forth the financial implications of the assistance proposed under draft resolution E/L.1716.

3. Mr. DE BEIR (Belgium) endorsed the draft resolution and said that, on the basis of their consideration of the report of the Mission sent by the Secretary-General to Mozambique (see E/5812 and Corr.1 and Add.1), the Belgian authorities had agreed in principle to provide assistance to Mozambique on a bilateral basis.

4. Mr. KOCH (Federal Republic of Germany) said that he wondered whether the levels of two of the posts recommended by the Secretariat in document E/L.1719—the Joint Co-ordinator and the Economist/Programme Officer—were not too high.

5. Mr. RUEDAS (Budget Division) said the Secretary-General had felt that, since the draft resolution would entail frequent fund-raising missions consisting of meetings with high-level representatives of Govern-