means which would be put at its disposal. In that connection, the recommendations of the Committee emphasized the need for a clear and organized system to be adopted in setting up the necessary infrastructure to service the Committee. 1613

The representative of Zambia stated that some Western countries continued to flout the embargo against South Africa. The flow of arms and related material to South Africa constituted a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, not only in Africa but also in the world as a whole. He added that the Council's commitment to the enforcement of a comprehensive mandatory arms embargo should not be doubted. Resolution 421 (1977) had been adopted to ensure the full implementation of the arms embargo by closing possible loopholes. Despite this effort some members of the Council had deliberately created difficulties for the Committee by according different interpretations to resolution 418 (1977). He proposed that the Committee should summon representatives of countries which violated the embargo to appear before it. It should not be content with correspondence; a system of verification and independent investigation had to be established quickly. Excessive reliance by the Committee on second-hand information undermined its ability to discharge its responsibilities. 1614

The representative of the USSR said that there was special significance in the recommendations contained in the report on the need to end all forms of cooperation with South Africa in the nuclear sphere bearing in mind the aggressive nature of the racist régime in South Africa. The Security Council had repeatedly warned South Africa that if it did not comply with the demands of the Security Council, the Council would consider more effective measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. The Soviet Union favoured the adoption of sanctions against South Africa, as provided for by Chapter VII of the Charter, in their full scale. That was the most effective way to ensure that South Africa would comply with United Nations decisions on granting independence to Namibia and eliminating the system of apartheid in South Africa itself. 1615

At the outset of the discussion of the question of South Africa at that meeting the President stated that, as had been agreed among members of the Council, consultations would be held in January 1981 with a view to continuing consideration of the agenda item. 1616

COMPLAINT BY MOZAMBIQUE


By letter dated 22 June 1977, Mozambique transmitted the text of a message addressed to the Secretary-General on 18 June by the President of Mozambique requesting an urgent meeting of the Council regarding the increased tension in southern Africa, which had been further intensified by the recent attacks against Mozambique, said to have been initiated by Southern Rhodesia.

At its 2014th meeting on 28 June 1977, the Security Council included the complaint by Mozambique in its agenda. The representatives of Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Brazil, Cuba, Egypt, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Lesotho, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Swaziland, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia were invited, at their request, to participate in the discussion of the item without the right to vote. 1617 The Council considered the issue at the 2014th to 2019th meetings from 28 to 30 June 1977.

At the 2014th meeting, the representative of Mozambique gave an account of the human and material losses suffered by his country as a result of attacks by Southern Rhodesia, and stated that his country had become the target of aggression because of its support for the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe and its implementation of resolutions adopted by the international community to that end. He claimed that the Smith régime was trying to internationalize the conflict by diverting the attention of the international community from this colonial issue. He referred to resolution 386 (1976) which had called for financial, technical and material aid to Mozambique, and noted that to confront this problem that threatened international peace and security, Mozambique needed increased material support from the international community. 1618

At the same meeting, the representative of Zambia pointed to the fact that the Council in its previous considerations of the issue had adopted resolutions 393 (1976) and 403 (1977), both regarding cases of aggression by Southern Rhodesia, and had imposed mandatory sanctions against it that remained in force. He stated that the existence of the illegal régime in Rhodesia was a threat to international peace and security and called upon the international community to fully apply sanctions against it. 1619

The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania stated that the Council, in its consideration of the conflict, should take into account the source of the aggression, which in his view was the continued existence of the illegal régime of Ian Smith. He pointed out that the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and pressures arising from the resolutions of the United Nations would bring about the collapse of this illegal régime. He urged the Council to take immediate and concrete action against this régime and its collaborators.

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1612 226th mtg., paras. 2-8.
1613 Ibid., paras. 34-45.
1614 Ibid., paras. 46-56.
1615 Ibid., paras. 109 and 110.
1616 S/12350/Add.1, OR, 32nd yr., Suppl. for Apr.-June 1977, pp. 57-59
1617 For details, see chapter III
1618 2014th mtg., paras 16-51
1619 Ibid., paras 56-74
and provide concrete assistance to Mozambique and the Zimbabwe liberation movement.\textsuperscript{1,2,3}

The representative of Senegal reminded the members of the Council of resolutions 216 (1965) and 217 (1965) which had called upon the international community to adopt the necessary measures to put an end to the Smith régime in implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and noted that the issue had become a question of credibility for the supreme organ of the United Nations, the Security Council, which in its resolution 217 (1965) had determined that the Smith régime constituted a threat to international peace and security.\textsuperscript{4}

At the 2015th meeting on 28 June 1977, the representative of Nigeria emphasized the need for concrete and effective action against the illegal minority régimes of Smith and Vorster, and called upon the Council to provide Mozambique with increased material and technical assistance and urged the Western countries fully to apply sanctions against the Smith régime and its mentors.\textsuperscript{5}

The representative of Lesotho stated that the unanimous opinion of the Organization of African Unity required the Council to live up to the basic tenets of the Organization by taking effective measures to confront the dangerous situation prevailing in Zimbabwe. He drew the attention of the Council to the claim by the Smith régime that it relied on the right to self-defence as provided for under Article 51 and noted that Rhodesia, not being a party to international law or a target of an armed attack, could not claim any rights or privileges under it.\textsuperscript{6}

The representative of Mauritius informed the Council that a draft resolution was being discussed by a group of non-aligned countries and the African members of the Council.\textsuperscript{7}

At the 2016th meeting on 29 June 1977, the representative of Gabon urged all members to implement the relevant resolutions adopted by the Organization of African Unity and the Security Council calling for the strict application of economic, political, diplomatic and other sanctions against the illegal régime of Smith and urged the Council to adopt a resolution similar to the one adopted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that would call for the energetic condemnation of the Rhodesian régime.\textsuperscript{8}

The representative of Algeria stated that Mozambique had become the target of Rhodesia's aggression because of its non-recognition of this régime and its support for the Zimbabwe liberation movement. He pointed to the fact that this aggression was being directed by an illegal Government, not recognized by the United Nations and subject to economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council. He emphasized that Mozambique's complaint put the authority of the Council to the test and urged the Council to take into consideration the strong wish of the African countries to strengthen their independence, to protect their freedom and to put an end to colonial domination.\textsuperscript{9}

The representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya suggested that mandatory sanctions imposed against the Smith régime should be extended to cover the Pretoria régime for its failure to implement these sanctions and for giving military and economic aid to that régime to enable it to evade these sanctions. He stated that material support should be given to Mozambique so that it could safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity by strengthening its defence capabilities.\textsuperscript{10}

The representative of the German Democratic Republic stated that the Council in resolution 253 (1968) had called upon the United Kingdom to bring to an end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and expressed regret that its implementation had been ineffective. He urged all Members to apply a general arms embargo against Southern Rhodesia and to assist threatened African States in exercising their right of self-defence.\textsuperscript{11}

At the 2017th meeting on 29 June 1977, the representative of Romania stated that as a result of the aggressive acts of Rhodesia, peace and security in southern Africa and throughout the world as well as the credibility of the United Nations were at stake. The Council was duty bound to put an end to all acts of aggression, to prevent their repetition in the future and to safeguard international peace and security. Further action should be taken to that end by expanding sanctions and ensuring their strict application by all States.\textsuperscript{12}

The representative of the Sudan also urged the Council to fulfil its obligation by taking effective measures to end the dangerous situation prevailing in Zimbabwe, and emphasized the duty of the Council and the international community to assist Mozambique in the implementation of its responsibilities.\textsuperscript{13}

The representative of the Soviet Union expressed regret that previous measures under Article 41 had failed to bring about an effective solution to the problem and noted that there was a need for the extension of the mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia. He further stated that the Council should condemn those States that objected to the application of these sanctions and warn Rhodesia that serious action would be taken against it if its aggressive acts continued.\textsuperscript{14}

Following the resumption of the meeting after a brief suspension, the representative of Mauritius emphasized...
the seriousness of the crimes committed by the illegal Smith regime and described the situation as the victimization of a State because of its compliance with its obligations under the United Nations Charter. He referred to Article 50 of the Charter, which provided that if a State confronted difficulties in its application of measures adopted by the Council, it would consult the Council with regard to these problems. He stated that the Council should assist Mozambique, which was having such difficulties. In the course of his statement the representative of Mauritius introduced a draft resolution sponsored by a group of non-aligned countries and the African members of the Council.1631

At the 2018th meeting on 30 June 1977, the representative of Botswana called upon the international community to intensify its efforts to bring down the illegal régime of Smith by tightening and expanding the existing sanctions and assisting the Zimbabwe Liberation Movement to that end.1632

The representative of Brazil reminded the members of the Council that the international community, in adopting resolution 386 (1976), had undertaken to assist Mozambique in the reconstruction of its economy. He emphasized that the eradication of racism and colonialism was a task incumbent upon the international community and urged the Council to strengthen the measures required to solve the conflict.1633

The representative of Pakistan stated that resolution 253 (1968) which had imposed mandatory sanctions on Southern Rhodesia had not been effectively implemented by certain Western States. He added that the Council should take prompt action to put an end to the aggressive acts of the Smith régime in the neighbouring African countries and consider taking action under Article 42 if necessary, with an emphasis on an arms embargo against South Africa.1634

The representative of India indicated that the attacks by Southern Rhodesia not only had violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Mozambique but were challenging the authority of the Security Council. He stated that under Article 73 of the Charter the people of Southern Rhodesia were entitled to independence and had been deprived of it by the Smith group. He further added that his Government regarded the appeal of Mozambique as having been made in the exercise of its right to self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter and urged the Council to give assistance to that country to enable it to defend itself.1635

The representative of China stated that the Council should condemn the Smith régime in strongest terms for its criminal acts of invading Mozambique and other independent African states, warn South African authorities who collaborated with the Smith régime, firmly support the people of Zimbabwe, Mozambique and the rest of southern Africa in their just struggle for national liberation and call upon all countries to give them support.1636

In the course of the deliberations, the representatives of Lesotho, the German Democratic Republic and the Sudan urged the Council to adopt strong measures as provided for under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.1637 and the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania, the USSR, Botswana and Pakistan specifically referred to Article 41 and expressed their support for its wider application.1638

At the 2019th meeting on 30 June 1977, the representative of Swaziland concurred with a number of representatives that the effectiveness of the Council was in question as a result of the continuous violation of its resolutions. He called upon the international community fully to apply the sanctions against the Smith régime and to provide Mozambique with assistance to enable it to reconstruct its economy. He added that Great Britain as the administering power should negotiate with the representatives of the Zimbabwe Liberation Movement for the establishment of majority rule and an independent Zimbabwe.1639

The representative of France joined other representatives in expressing his concern that the authority of the international community and the dignity of Africa were at stake because of this political problem. He urged the Member States to extend material aid to Mozambique and expressed his hope for the establishment of majority rule through peaceful negotiations.1640

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that his Government was prepared to give further aid to Mozambique as called for in operative paragraphs 9 to 11 of the draft resolution under consideration. He emphasized that all countries should report to the Sanctions Committee of the Security Council all violations so that action could be taken.1641

The representative of the United States informed the members of the Council that the United States policy was one of support for the majority rule and urged each member to redouble its efforts to ensure that sanctions would be fully implemented against the Smith régime.1642

The President, speaking as the representative of Canada, stated that the Council's unanimous adoption of the draft resolution would be a significant response to Mozambique's request. He emphasized the importance of operative paragraphs 9, 10 and 11 of the draft resolution requesting the international community to assist Mozambique in its economic as well as its defence needs.1643

1631 Ibid., paras. 63-89.
1632 Ibid, paras. 9-32.
1633 Ibid., paras. 40-44.
1634 Ibid., paras. 60-72.
1635 Ibid., paras. 74-80.
1636 Ibid., paras. 101-107.
1637 Ibid., paras. 101-107.
1638 Ibid., paras. 101-107.
1639 Ibid., paras. 101-107.
1640 Ibid., paras. 101-107.
1641 Ibid, paras. 10-23.
1642 Ibid., paras. 35-39.
1643 Ibid., paras. 55-67.
1644 Ibid., paras. 69-72.
The draft resolution (S/12353) was voted on and adopted unanimously as resolution 411 (1977). It reads as follows:

The Security Council.

Taking note of the telegram dated 18 June 1977 from the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Mr. Samora Moisés Machel, to the Secretary-General, contained in document S/12350 and Add.1, hearing heard the statement of Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, member of the Permanent Political Committee of FRELIMO and Minister for Development and Economic Planning of Mozambique, concerning the recent acts of aggression against Mozambique committed by the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia.

Taking note of the resolution adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its twenty-ninth ordinary session at Libreville, Gabon (S/12352),

Indignant at the systematic acts of aggression committed by the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia against the People's Republic of Mozambique and the resulting loss of life and destruction of property,

Gravely concerned at the rapidly deteriorating situation in Southern Rhodesia as a result of the continued existence of the illegal regime,

Reaffirming the inalienable rights of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of such rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling its resolution 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966, in which it determined that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security,

Cognizant of the fact that the recent acts of aggression perpetrated by the illegal regime against the People's Republic of Mozambique together with that regime's constant acts of aggression and threats against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Botswana and the Republic of Zambia aggravate the existing serious threat to the security and stability of the region,

Recalling its resolutions on sanctions against the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia, in particular resolution 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968,

Consistent of the important contribution made by the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique through its decision of 3 March 1976 to close its borders with Southern Rhodesia and to apply strictly sanctions against the illegal regime in conformity with United Nations resolutions,

Deeply concerned that the measures approved by the Security Council have so far failed to bring about an end to the illegal regime and convinced that sanctions cannot put an end to that regime unless they are comprehensive, mandatory and strictly supervised and unless measures are taken against States which violate them,

Recalling its resolution 586 (1976) of 17 March 1976,

Expressing its particular concern at the continued violations of sanctions by South Africa and its support of the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia,

Reaffirming the primary responsibility of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power, to take all effective measures to bring about an end to the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

Reaffirming the relevant provisions of the Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peuples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and in particular those provisions which call for assistance to those front-line States victims of acts of aggression by the racist minority regimes.

Affirming the right of the People's Republic of Mozambique to take all necessary measures in accordance with the Charter, to safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

1. Strongly condemns the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia for its recent acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique.

2. Strongly declares that these acts of aggression as well as the repeated attacks and threats against the Republic of Zambia and the Republic of Botswana by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia constitute a serious aggravation of the situation in the area.

3. Condemns South Africa for its continued support of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia in contravention of Security Council resolutions on sanctions against the régime at Salisbury.

4. Reaffirms that the continued existence of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia is a source of insecurity and instability in the region and constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

5. Reaffirms the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and urges all States to intensify assistance to the people of Zimbabwe and their national liberation movement in their struggle to achieve that objective.

Commends the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique for its scrupulous observance of sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and its steadfast support to the people of Zimbabwe in their legitimate struggle, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions;

7. Demands that the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Mozambique be scrupulously respected;

8. Demands that all States refrain from providing any overt or covert support to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and, in particular, demands that South Africa adhere fully to Security Council resolutions and thus cease from any co-operation or collaboration with the illegal régime at Salisbury in violation of the Council's decisions;

9. Requests all States to give immediate and substantial material assistance to enable the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique to strengthen its defence capability in order to safeguard effectively its sovereignty and territorial integrity;

10. Requests all States, regional organizations and other appropriate intergovernmental organizations to provide financial, technical and material assistance to Mozambique in order to enable it to overcome the severe economic loss and destruction of property brought about by the acts of aggression committed by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and to reinforce Mozambique's capacity to implement United Nations decisions in support of measures against the illegal régime;

11. Requests the United Nations and the organizations and programmes concerned, including the Economic and Social Council, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the World Food Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Development Programme and the World Health Organization, to provide assistance to Mozambique on a priority basis in implementation of the request contained in paragraph 10 of the present resolution;

12. Calls upon all States to implement strictly Security Council resolutions on sanctions and requests the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia to examine as a matter of priority further effective measures to tighten the scope of sanctions in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations and urgently to submit its appropriate recommendations to the Council;

13. Requests the Secretary-General to co-ordinate the efforts of the United Nations system and to organize immediately an effective programme of international assistance to Mozambique in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 10 and 11 of the present resolution;

14. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

By a note dated 20 October 1977, the Secretary-General transmitted the report of the mission to Mozambique which he had despatched in accordance with paragraph 13 of resolution 411 (1977). The report described the effects of the Southern Rhodesian attacks on the economy of Mozambique and the losses resulting...
from such aggression and listed urgent development projects necessitated by the prevailing situation and of particular importance to Mozambique as well as its food requirements. The report also reviewed the refugee situation and, in annex I, contained a recapitulation of Mozambique’s external assistance requirements in the light of resolution 411 (1977).

COMPLAINT BY CHAD

INITIAL PROCEEDINGS

By letter\(^{166}\) dated 8 February 1978 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Chad requested an urgent meeting of the Council “to consider the extremely serious situation now prevailing in northern Chad as a result of Libyan aggression and of the Chad-Libyan frontier problem”.

By previous letter\(^{167}\) dated 6 February 1978 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Chad transmitted the text of a telegram dated 4 February from the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Chad with regard to the disturbing situation prevailing in his country and resulting from the aggression and military occupation of northern Chad by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. He charged that the Libyan authorities were attempting to destabilize the Government of Chad and dismember the country, completely ignoring the recommendations of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Libreville in July 1977, which had established an Ad Hoc Committee for the settlement of the Chad-Libyan frontier dispute. He requested that the President of the Security Council intervene to end Libyan aggression and interference in Chad’s internal affairs.

In a further letter\(^{168}\) dated 8 February 1978 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Chad transmitted the text of a telegram of the same date from the Head of State of Chad, who charged that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had refused to participate in discussions of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee and had engaged in heavy fighting at Faya. Therefore, Chad had decided to break off Chad-Libyan diplomatic relations.

By letter\(^{169}\) dated 13 February 1978 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Chad transmitted the texts of a communication dated 8 February from the Head of State of Chad to the heads of diplomatic missions accredited to N’Djamena and a statement issued by the Head of State on 12 February in which he declared that if, by 16 February, a cease-fire had gone into effect, the Government of Chad would reconsider its complaint before the Security Council.

In a letter\(^{170}\) dated 14 February 1978 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya rejected the complaint by Chad as unfounded, maintaining that his country was not involved in the internal struggle between the Chad people and the régime of that country. The problem of boundaries between his country and Chad, the Libyan representative said, could be dealt with by negotiations between the two countries or in the context of the OAU.

By letter\(^{171}\) dated 17 February 1978 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya gave an account of efforts which had been made to improve relations between his country and Chad.

The Security Council included the item in its agenda\(^{172}\) and considered it at the 2060th meeting on 17 February 1978. The representatives of Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya were invited, at their request, to take part in the discussions without the right to vote.

At the same meeting, the representative of Chad stated that Libya, in disregard of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as well as of the relevant resolutions of those organizations and of the principles of international law, had committed aggression against Chad by occupying a part of its territory, Aouzou, in the northern part of the country and by openly fighting on the side of the rebels. He stressed that despite this clear case of aggression by Libya, Chad had, since the establishment of the new régime on 13 April 1975, shown unusual patience in seeking to resolve the dispute through peaceful means. He went on to say that the situation not only endangered the very existence of Chad as a sovereign State and a member of the international community but could seriously jeopardize peace and security in that part of the African continent. Chad was seeking the assistance of the Security Council in restoring its territorial integrity, obtaining the unconditional withdrawal of Libyan troops from its territory and creating necessary conditions for the OAU Ad Hoc Committee to carry out the mission entrusted to it by the 14th OAU Summit Meeting in Libreville.

The representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya said that it was not true that Libyan troops were involved in the fighting in northern Chad, nor was it true that Libya occupied parts of Chad territory. If there was a Libyan administration in Aouzou, it was because after the revolution people in Libya began to take an interest in the interior and in areas on its frontiers, by building roads and creating an infrastructure. If there was a frontier problem, Libya was willing to discuss it with Chad and the OAU.\(^{173}\)

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\(^{166}\) S/12553. OR: 3rd year. Suppl for Jan-March 1978, p 23
\(^{167}\) S/12554. ibid., pp 33-34
\(^{168}\) S/12555. ibid., p 24
\(^{169}\) S/12558. ibid., pp 34-35
\(^{170}\) S/12560, ibid., pp 36-37
\(^{171}\) S/12565, ibid., p 39
\(^{172}\) 2060th mtg., para 2
\(^{173}\) 2060th mtg., paras 8-10
\(^{174}\) ibid., paras 42-76