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Part I

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE APPLICATION
OF SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA



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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL ON THE APPLICATION
OF SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA

Since the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965 by the white settlers in Rhodesia, the international Community as a whole recommended that the rebel regime of Salisbury be isolated by imposing sanctions in every sphere of activities.

These sanctions were mainly violated by western countries and South Africa.

In spite of this, there were positive effects. It is certainly very difficult to know exactly the real impact of the sanctions on the Rhodesian economy on account of the large number of obstacles, but, according to the information gathered from the mass media and from movements and groups supporting the Zimbabwe freedom fighters, one can have a clear picture of the situation.

Desirous to maintain an atmosphere of confidence with a view to attracting industrialists, investors, tourists, immigrants etc., the racist Rhodesian regime intentionally conceals or deforms figures by using methods intended to deceive or create confusion. This practice was abused to some extent that Ian Smith was compelled to explain himself before the Rhodesian Front, his own party. He declared that: "if only, the Rhodesians could be apprised of the facts and predictions available to government - our economic requirements and anticipated development difficulties and the security problems which loom before us, then, they would more readily understand our position." (Africa Bureau Fact Sheet 34 February 1974).

If, as a result of international sanctions, Rhodesia was faced with serious economic difficulties this situation grew worse after 1971. This was clearly stated by the Head of the rebel regime, Mr. Ian Smith in his 1974 New Year message. In anguish and despair, he warned that "Rhodesia was not isolated from international economic trends and was unlikely to weather the current international economic difficulties unscathed." These economic difficulties which

were already very serious worsened as a result of the Arab oil embargo in November 1973, the independence of Mozambique in June 1975, and the decision of the Mozambique government, on 3 March 1976, to close all its borders (airways, railways and roads) with Rhodesia applying thus in a very strict way the sanctions recommended by the United Nations Organization and the Organization of African Unity.

1. Situation of the White Settlers in Rhodesia

According to the "Monthly Digest of Statistics" of June 1974, the population of Rhodesia in 1973 can be divided as follows:

Africans	5,800,000
Europeans	273,000
Mulatos	19,000
Asians	<u>9,800</u>
TOTAL	<u><u>6,101,800</u></u>

It is clearly noticeable from these figures that the African group outnumbers all others. This factor is something to reckon with, if we take into account the low number of the Europeans in power. Although they constitute a minority group, they dominate the greater majority of Africans, (the ratio is 1 to 22). This situation is paradoxical enough, but, it is due to the fact that the political, economic and military power is in the hands of the white minority which inherited it/ the British colonization.

In order to be better secure and create the requisite conditions facilitating the exploitation of the people, the white settlers divided Rhodesia into white and black areas, it is thus easier to bring the black under control. Their movements in the white area are limited or even prohibited.

This division based on races is backed by such laws as the "Land Tenure" and "Tribal Trust Lands" acts. According to the Rhodesian "News Brief" No.9 of 1973, Africans live in over-crowded and much eroded areas and are becoming poorer as a result.

It seems the white supremacy is based on the division of lands into two areas. On the whole, Africans represent more 90% of the population but only 50% of the lands are allotted to them. The remaining area (generally the richest and the most fertile regions) belongs to the white minority. Settlers are so much conscious of the importance of the Agrarian Structure as they are, that, their regime is not prepared to negotiate the Land Tenure Act with the Zimbabwe nationalists. This is how the "Moniteur Africain" No.742 of March 1976 puts this very scandalous situation. The reserves covers 82,000 square kilometres including 32,000 sq. kilometres of the least fertile arable lands intended for Africans. The fertile and the healthy regions of the East are devoted to settlers.

Faced with such injustice, the people of Zimbabwe can only react brutally by taking to armed struggle. On account of the pressure exerted by this struggle and the unanimous condemnation of the rebel regime by international opinion, the latter had to experience a white depopulation and a fall in the number of immigrants with the result that the already precarious position of the whites in Rhodesia is getting worse. In fact, there were 8820 emigrants in 1972, compared to 1680 in 1973. Following the intervening changes in Portugal in 1974, and the independence project of Mozambique, Rhodesia witnessed the departure of the largest number of whites since 1965. 1090 of them left in 1974 alone. These figures are naturally below the real ones on account of the secret way in which things are done by the rebel authorities of Salisbury so as to maintain an atmosphere of confidence.

The danger of such a white depopulation has been felt in Rhodesia since 1974. In 1973, the population increased at the rate of 33%, the lowest registered so far in the history of the racist regime of Rhodesia. This led to the anxiety of those who supported the regime, for, a successful immigration was always considered as a strong basis on which the white power was built. Rhodesia had to lead an intensified campaign in order to attract new settlers and check emigration. By so doing, the Rhodesian authorities had to betray themselves by campaigning for 10,000 instead of one million immigrants as was usually the case. The figure of 10,000 was a mere subterfuge since the government was aware that it would never be reached.

This forecast was an utter failure. According to an article published on 24 April, 1976 by "France Soir", a French daily paper with a very wide circulation, only 240,000 out of the 273,000 whites living in Rhodesia were left behind in 1973.

This situation was due to the fact that on account of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and the OAU and, as a result of the ever increasing pressure exerted by international opinion, immigrants, officialy at least, can no longer be recruited in a large number of countries.

The very few people still migrating to Rhodesia are sent in by illegal organizations operating in some western countries. Others move in from South Africa, although, a survey undertaken by

the Rhodesian "Sunday Mail", indicates that the whites are not keen on leaving South Africa for Rhodesia because the average wages of the whites in South Africa amount to 316 rands compared with 285 rands in Rhodesia. The survey goes on to point out that prices are probably higher in Rhodesia than in South Africa, this is not difficult to understand if transport costs and transit taxes are taken into consideration. The white settlers in Rhodesia are faced with a worse situation today. They are now devoting all their energy to the preparation of a war. In its report of 1975, the "Institut. International d'Etudes Stratégiques ILES (International Institute for Strategic Studies) points out that according to the quotation of "Addis Soir" of 6.9.1975 the military budget of Rhodesia increased by 11%. The army increased to 5,700 men (either, an increase of 1000 units as compared with 1974 (a table of the Rhodesian military

force can be seen in appendix). The Air Force was provided with one helicopter squadron of 8 Alouette 111s. Such an increase in the military strength will not solve in any way the problems raised by the oppression and the exploitation of the greater majority of Africans by a white racist minority. In its issue of 24/4/76, the French daily paper "France Soir" already quoted stated that "the 240,000 Europeans living in Rhodesia and who are constituting one of the last two bastions of white power in Southern Africa are preparing for war. They are aware that the Africans nationalists are preparing for a guerilla war with the assistance of foreigners and this may break in the weeks or months ahead. This was clearly noticeable when three white tourists were killed in an ambush on 18.4.76. In the week which followed this feat of the African freedom fighters, the Rhodesian whites who were panic-stricken laid hands in Salisbury on everything that could serve as a weapon. It seems that since Easter Monday "people have been plundering arms shops in Salisbury and other large towns. The people (the whites, of course) bought at ransom prices guns and pistols." In short, the whites of Rhodesia are waging a desperate war they are unlikely to win. They are feeling more and more isolated, South Africa is now their only hope. Rhodesia has to protect her borders which are very long and difficult to control after the independence of Mozambique and Angola. Besides, we were told that South Africa which intended to withdraw gradually its troops from Rhodesia informed the latter that it would also put a stop to her military aid. This information was circulating for some time and was even published by the "London Times", but unfortunately, it is wrong, since according to the newspaper "Le Monde" of 24 April 1976, it was denied by the Prime Minister of the apartheid regime himself before parliament on 22 April, 1976. From his utterances, John Vorster is certainly prepared to help Rhodesia, his racist neighbour, but can he really ensure the security of his own regime on his borders with Angola and Mozambique and continue to give a substantial aid to his protégée. This is a debatable point. Great Britain has made it

sufficiently clear that in no case would she intervene militarily in Rhodesia and would hinder arms supplies to Salisbury.

As regards the United States, Dr. Kissinger, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs declared on Thursday 22 April, 1976 before leaving for his African tour (the French daily "Le Monde" of 22 April 1976) that he supported "majority rule, practically the aspirations of the blacks in Southern Africa" and added that, the United States favoured the resumption of negotiations between the Smith regime and African nationalists."

2. The Economic Situation in Rhodesia

Immediately after the unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia, there was a considerable fall in the country's trade as a result of the boycott recommended by the International Community. Rhodesia has been isolated from the international money markets for years. It could not sell her commodities with the exception of tobacco.

It was as a result deprived of the necessary earnings and, therefore could not meet its needs. The situation was then characterized by the slowing down of activities in every sector of the national life could have been disastrous if South Africa and the Portuguese fascist regime and their imperialist allies did not save it.

Thanks to this assistance, the rebel regime in Rhodesia could heavily subsidize farmers in the interior and explore the international markets likely to buy its products and increase its earnings. The Rhodesian economy experienced a wide expansion until 1971. There was a quick growth of imports and exports and the number of immigrants increased considerably. Africans did not benefit from this economic boom which was registered up to 1971. On the contrary, the white arrogance, based on the wealth accruing from the exploitation of the blacks strengthened. Africans could no longer tolerate the situation and were compelled to resort to guerilla war. In December 1972, the African Nationalists launched in the rural area attacks of unprecedented dimensions. These changed basically the situation. The result was the departure of the temporal white settlers and a top was put to the rush of white immigrants. The economic situation deteriorated seriously, since, according to the confession of the Rhodesian Labour Minister, the country depended on 80% of the immigrants.

The Zimbabwe African nationalists carried out their guerilla campaign until 1973, thus compelling the rebel regime to close its border with Zambia.

According to the "Moniteur Africain No.742 of March 1976" the closing of the Zambian border in 1973 interrupted the traffic between the Zambian Copper Belt and Beira. The result was a fall in the resources accruing to Rhodesia from this transit. According to the review "Industries et Travaux d'outre-Mer" No. 266 of January 1976, the losses of the Rhodesian Railways in 1973, resulting from the closing of the border with Zambia amounted to 11 million Rhodesian dollars. This same paper goes on to point out that in June 1975, the deficit of the Rhodesian Railways was estimated at 21.2 million Rhodesian dollars (nearly 150 million CFA Francs), either an increase of two million dollars compared with the financial year of 1973/74. An intensified guerilla war in 1972 led to a fall in the number of tourists. According to a survey undertaken by the World Council of Churches in 1974, 12,800 tourists visited Rhodesia in January 1974 as compared with 20,000 in January 1973, and 25,000 in January 1972. The figures from the October 1974 "CIC BRIEF" differ slightly from the preceding, ones nevertheless, they show the same trend for a decline.

According to the CIC BRIEF, the intensified guerilla war led to a dramatic fall in the number of tourists, 405,485 in 1972 as compared with 288,105 in 1973, either a decrease of 29% (unofficial translation) since, 1966, Rhodesia experienced the lowest economic growth in 1973, the growth rate in that year was 7.30%.

The Rhodesian economy is based mainly on agriculture and mineral

wealth. The mining sector is particularly attracted by multinational corporations which invest large sums in it. No. 742 of the issue of the "Moniteur Africain" of March 1976 wrote the following in this respect: "the mineral wealth constituted one of the major advantages of Rhodesia." In the nickel producing sector, "four mines are under the control of the branches of the Anglo American Corp. of Rio Tinto and of a South African firm! The African Bureau Fact Sheet" No.34 of February 1974 reveals that the earnings of Rhodesia increased considerably in 1973/74 when the United States violated the embargo on chromium.

The Rhodesian economy is therefore extremely vulnerable in spite of the support of South Africa and the Western allies. Already in June 1975, just before the independence of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Mr. Yassin-El-Ayouty, in his article published in "Bureau Allemagne - Afrique - Monde - Arabe" rightly foresaw the situation which is now prevailing in Rhodesia. In fact, he pointed out that "it is expected, Mozambique will close its ports, roads, railways to the illegal government of Ian Smith. In any case, the railways, ports, or aerodromes of the South African Republic could not take over 30% of the present volume of Rhodesia's trade, or cater for its other needs in communication." The article goes on, "South Africa cannot replace Mozambique, even in part, so far as Rhodesian exports, imports and means of communication are concerned." This forecast was soon realized when the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, His Excellency Samora Machel announced on 3 March, 1976, the decision of his government to interrupt every traffic (air, railway, road etc.) with Rhodesia, thus applying very strictly the sanctions dictated by the United Nations Organization and the Organization of African Unity.

The decision of the government of Mozambique is of a considerable political significance. It is a considerable contribution to the liberation struggle of the Zimbabwe people and demands important sacrifices. By taking this decision, the Government of Mozambique have shown us that freedom is indivisible and a true independence means the freedom of all Africans from the yoke of imperialism.

Commenting on this decision, the 742 issue of the "Moniteur Africain" of March 1976 wrote: "When the President of Mozambique, H.E. Samora Machel decided to close his 1300 km. border with Rhodesia, the economic and political crises undermining Southern Africa grew worse to a very great extent. Rhodesia, thus deprived of an indispensable sea outlet, had its foreign trade compromised when its firms in Mozambique were compelled by the FRELIMO to close their doors".

In a situation such as this, it is indispensable more than ever before to maintain, intensify and popularize the sanctions against Rhodesia, for, if the desperate struggle envisaged by Europeans in Rhodesia is already a rearguard struggle, we all ignore its duration, all the more as Rhodesia is now showing power by recruiting from among the white mercenaries who served in Vietnam.

3. The necessity to intensify the sanctions

Sanctions may prove particularly redoubtable if used methodically. They are already proving effective.

The local goods (agricultural and mineral) exported by Rhodesia between 1966 and 1972 amounted to 1557 million Rhodesian dollars.

This figure was drawn from Rhodesian statistics, real figures should be higher for the simple reason that Rhodesia has every interest to conceal the truth on its trade with the rest of the world. It is known that Rhodesia has always taken to fraudulent trade as a result of the international sanctions imposed on it. According to the estimates of the United Nations, from 1966 to 1972, goods amounting to 1,107 million US dollars would have reached the world market from Rhodesia through an indirect trade facilitated by South Africa and Portugal. It must however be admitted that this

period covers the prosperous era of the Rhodesian economy which flourished particularly on account of the violation, by some Western powers and Japan, of the sanctions imposed on Rhodesia. The "Sunday Times" revealed very clearly the way the sanctions against Rhodesia were violated, by alluding namely to a hotel constructed in Bulawayo by an American firm, and, to the activities of Swiss and German firms such as Handelgesellschaft Metallgesellschaft and of a French-Italian firm. Great Britain, certainly, did much to inform the United Nations about cases in which the sanctions were violated. But it is also true and this is not an honour to her, that she condoned violations by some of her citizens, provided this was not done in trading with her. For instance, Sir Humphrey Prindeaux, a British citizen and President of a firm known as "Brook Liegigs" made the following declaration in 1973. This shows clearly his intentions about Rhodesia: "one of our first aims is to contribute to the trade and exploitation of Rhodesia, we want to help trade in Rhodesia with all the energy at our command." Another British citizen, the president of the British Rendali group declared that this Rhodesian branch exported 35% of its products and transferred some members of its staff to open an outlet in South Africa. To these may be added all the other activities of white Rhodesians bearing British passports.

In fact, there is a large number of people in Rhodesia holding the highest military and political posts and making an official use of British passports. They can move about freely as British citizens, and, are well known for their military activities.

In Great Britain, there is one law for friends and another for foes whenever blacks and whites are involved. While Great Britain delivers passports to the whites (such as notorious General Dunlop, Rhodesian Minister for transport) who murdered Zimbabwe

Africans the whole day long, she refuses to the blacks - except those considered non dangerous - the possibility of benefitting from British passports, under the pretext that the latter support violence in Rhodesia.

All this explains Britain's hypocrisy when she pretended to oppose the unilateral declaration of the independence of Rhodesia. Britain which was well known for her merciless military interventions at places refused systematically to bring her rebel colony to order and to hand over the power to the black majority. Her machinations show clearly her complicity with the white rebels who are also British citizens.

Britain is responsible for the ill-treatment given to the blacks in Rhodesia. Instead of deceitful declarations, she should rather act, if necessary, by force so as to satisfy the request of the international community.

In short, Britain and her Western allies the NATO members favour the status quo in Rhodesia by a systematic violation of their own pledges to apply the sanctions against Rhodesia.

The violation of the sanctions by Western countries was known long ago, more particularly, at the time the CABORABUSSA dam was being constructed in Mozambique. The consortium which built this dam, in addition to the Portuguese Government, included German, Italian and French firms. It imported from Rhodesia in 1974, 400 tons of cement daily. The western countries so much violated the sanctions against Rhodesia that they think it can now be done openly. The common market committee did not hesitate last year to make proposals for the financing of projects in Rhodesia. According to the "Guardian" of 26 February 1975, the said Committee approved an amount of 20,000 pounds sterling as a grant to Rhodesia so as to

enable the latter to carry out its development project of the "Rhodesian Iron and Steel Corporation" in collaboration with "The British Pig Iron Group" with correspondents in France, Italy, Finland, Norway and Sweden."

Holland, a member of the European Economic Community (EEC), buys from Rhodesia one third of its total tobacco imports. This information was given by the anti-apartheid movement "Beweging Nederland," one of the most active in the country. Thanks to the action of this movement, the Dutch government has been compelled to impose fines amounting to 10,000 florins each on heads of the "ZEPHYR TRADING" company involved in the violation of the sanctions against Rhodesia, this same company was implied in a matter of transport aircrafts to Rhodesia.

The anti-apartheid Committee in Belgium, informed the Secretariat on 14 May 1975 about the establishment of a so-called Belgium Transport Company "CARGO AIR TRANSPORT" which was only a company financed by the Illegal regime of Rhodesia. The board of governors of this company which was to carry goods from Belgian airports to Rhodesia included former mercenaries and representatives of armament: "The fightful". These news came to us at the time mercenaries were being recruited in Western Germany, early January 1975. In its issue of 24 March 1975, "Corriere della Sera" an Italian paper, revealed that Italy supplied Rhodesia with huge quantities of arms to be used against guerilla fighters. Aircrafts manufactured by Aeritalia and Aermacchi and supplied to South Africa were intended to be used in Rhodesia.

According to the monthly review "AFRICA" No. 57 of May 1976 Rhodesia acquired in 1975 arms estimated at 88 million dollars. Among them, were 20 NZAI CT - A trainer aircraft supplied by New Zealand. It also received through South Africa, French Aérospatiale/ Alouette III helicopters. Aérospatiale/ Westland SA-330 Puma helicopters, Britten-Norman BN-2 Islander transport aircrafts. According to this same monthly, "an anonymous private commercial company in Salisbury claims that it is in a position to sell 130 types of small arms and ammunition from all parts of the world."

The United States also contributed to the failure of the sanctions against Rhodesia. According to a survey made by the World Council of Churches two years ago, the United States openly violated the sanctions by applying section 503 of the Military Procurement Act which stipulated that goods figuring on the list "strategic stocks" are to be made available, even if they are to be imported from communist countries." This clause is generally known as "Byrd Amendment" from the name of the Senator who saw to its adoption, and, involves the specific case of chromium. The amendment which stipulated a specific product (chromium) in our case, was extended to the imports of a series of other articles from Rhodesia, with the result that, in 1973, American imports increased five fold compared with the situation obtaining previously. Several attempts were made later to repeal this amendment, but these were neutralized over and over again under the influence of the Senatorial Commission for foreign affairs. An article published by the newspaper "Le Monde" on 24 April 1976 states that: "He (Dr. Kissinger) made also provision for the Byrd amendment, thanks to which the United States will continue to buy chromium from Rhodesia, thus, evading the embargo of the United Nations. Unfortunately the "American Lobby" is so powerful that it appears an acceptable review of this amendment is practically impossible. In this respect, the US Information Bureau of Rhodesia is so active that it would even go the length of employing the services of such right wing groups as the KLU-KLUX-KLAN in their terrorist activities. In addition

to this bureau which plays almost an official role, there are firms doing important business in Rhodesia, the UNION-CARBIDE CORPORATION for instance.

The World Council of Churches made in 1974 a very detailed survey of this situation. It dealt with a large number of factors, most of which were current events. Reading the report containing this survey would be of a very great interest, since it shows the extent to which the United States violated the sanctions against Rhodesia. A lot of secrets were revealed by a large number of newspaper articles." "The New York Journal of Commerce" eagerly published all sorts of advertisements, dealing particularly with the promotion of investments in Rhodesia, the participation in the "Rhodesian mining industry, the development of the tourist industry etc. It was noticed that in 1974, the United States were the major source of tourist income in Rhodesia. "This sector alone brought in, at least, 3 to 4 million dollars in 1974."

This shows that the good will declarations of American officials of the changes in the American policy designed to favour, in a way, African nationalists, are merely a catch calculated to throw dust in people's eyes.

The role played by Switzerland is well known, particularly with respect to the activities of the following companies: NITREX, RIF and HANDELLSGES, GESELLSCHAFT. Everyone is aware of the part played by these companies, since, this has already been the subject of a communication in the United Nations.

The United Nations is also conversant with Austria's role under No. 57, as regards tobacco imports from Rhodesia. Austria was also involved in another case concerning the steel industry.

Germany and Japan were also engaged in important activities, but this was so cleverly done that, by confused explanations, economic and legal subterfuge, they succeeded in reassuring world opinion without necessarily convincing people of their innocence and goodwill.

Any one having the least doubt about the complicity of some Western Countries and Japan with the rebel regime of Salisbury will be convinced by seeing the number of new vehicles and other imported commodities selling on the Rhodesian market. These vehicles include German Mercedes Benz and BMW, Dutch vehicles, French Renault and Citroen, Italian Alfa Romeo, Japanese Toyota and Isuzu etc. In fact, it is estimated by the United Nations in 1974 that, since 1966, the motor car sector absorbed 267 million Rhodesian dollars with respect to the imports of vehicles and spare parts.

At any rate, most of the Western European or American countries and Japan have a very heavy responsibility in the survival of the racist oppressive regime of Salisbury. Guided by a spirit of racial solidarity or attracted by mean material interests they, in one way or another, played a determining role in the violation of the international sanctions imposed on Rhodesia. In spite of their bold political support coupled with a substantial financial assistance, the sanctions produced positive effects. The mere fact that trade with Rhodesia was illegal made, no doubt, people hesitate before concluding agreements. Some transactions were secretly carried out with all the risks implied. The sanctions were mostly felt in the case of oil, thanks to the effective supervision measures taken on the sea. With the complicity of Portugal (before the end of Portuguese colonization in Africa) and South Africa, Rhodesia narrowly escaped suffocation.

According to the "Guardian" of 12 December 1973, "SONAREF" ... supplied about one third of the needs of the rebel regime". SONAREF is a branch of a South African oil company known as "SACOR". Since the closing of the borders with Mozambique and the decision of the Government of this country to apply strictly henceforth "the sanctions of the UNO and the OAU, Rhodesia was deprived of 1/3 of its supplies. South Africa could not help, since it was faced with similar difficulties as a result of the Arab oil embargo.

If, through the medium of international oil companies, South Africa succeeds in being provided with oil in spite of the Arab oil embargo, nevertheless, it is doubtful that it has a reasonable quantity to spare to Rhodesia. However, such international oil companies as CALTEX, SHELL, GULF OIL etc. may bring enough oil to Rhodesia as they illegally do in the case of South Africa. In this respect, the attention of the Arab countries (whose honesty, no one doubts) and Iran should be drawn to a better supervision and a more judicious control of the real destination of the oil tankers loading in their ports. Particularly severe measures should be taken against companies breaking rules, so that, they may learn to respect engagements taken at ports of shipment as regards the final destination of the oil. Since Arab countries pledged to stop oil supplies to South Africa and Rhodesia, under no circumstances should tankers transporting Arab oil be authorized to stop in South African ports.

With the beneficent decision taken by the government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the rebel regime of Ian Smith is now deprived of means of communication with the exception of those offered by South Africa; outlawing the latter would only have happy effects on the evolution of the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwe nationalists have clearly shown, on Easter night, their ability to hit wherever they think the enemy can be weakened; "as if to prove", as written by a Dakar daily "Le Soleil" of 21.4.76 that "they can take the guerilla to any place in Rhodesia, the Zimbabwe nationalists who are struggling against the racist regime of Ian Smith struck at more than 150 kilometres from their bases on the border of Mozambique." According to this same daily, "this action which took place on the international road connecting Johannesburg and Salisbury led to the death of three South Africans. Besides, the nationalists blew up the Rutenga rail road, the only direct link between South Africa and Rhodesia through which 60% of the Rhodesian trade were carried out", this percentage certainly changed since Mozambique closed down its borders. to conclude, the Dakar daily pointed out that "these facts incontestably mark the beginning of the end of the reign of the Salisbury's clique whose intransigence and arrogance drove to was people who are most allergic to violence."

Ian Smith with his white friends is not prepared to yield. But, it is needless to say that they are already feeling the impending and humiliating end to which they are paving the way. Faced with this bitter reality, Ian Smith is making a desperate attempt to divide the African front. He announced on 28 April, 1976, his decision to make room for 4 African Ministers and 7 secretaries of State in his government." This manoeuvre could deceive no one. It is calculated to cause confusion without changing, in the least, the situation of the racist regime. Only a government respecting the principle of African majority will be acceptable: The rest is a sham.

Everything today makes us believe that Ian Smith's regime is crumbling as a result of the co-ordinated action of the sanctions and the armed struggle. If it is true that racist Rhodesia certainly doubted the reaction of Mozambique when the latter achieved her independence, nevertheless, it made provision for means of substitution through stock piling and the improvement of its roads to South Africa, but the fact still remains that it could not stand for long the boycott of Mozambique. The collapse of Ian Smith's regime is near and cannot be avoided. To hasten things, Mozambique should continue to apply effectively and strictly the international sanctions. She must be encouraged by every country, for, this entails much sacrifice resulting in a considerable loss of earnings and in the frequent aggression of the armed racist Rhodesians supported by the imperialists. The People's Republic of Mozambique will leave no stone unturned to help the people of Zimbabwe achieve their freedom, independence and dignity. Consequently, it is the duty of the African countries in particular, and of all the other countries attached to the ideals of peace, freedom and justice to give their moral support in general, and their material and financial assistance in particular. The help of other countries is all the more necessary as Mozambique is exposed to all sorts of reprisals from the racist Rhodesians supported by their South African allies and others.

In this terrible test, the lot of the people and government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, it is very encouraging to note that, a large number of African and foreign states, have already shown their solidarity in a concrete way, by responding favourably to the appeal made by His Excellency, President SAMORA MACHEL, by the current Chairman of the OAU and by the Administrative Secretary-General.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will still need for long everyone's support, for, her heroic struggle in the interest of African freedom and human dignity will be difficult and, perhaps, very long.

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