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## DIRECTIVES OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON FOREIGN POLICY

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In terms of Article 3 (1) (d) of the Presidential Decree 65 of 1983, the Foreign Affairs Ministry has the responsibility for studying the international situation and proposing measures and action to be taken by the Peoples Republic of Mozambique (RPM);

- Paragraph (g) of the same decree gives the Ministry competence to formulate sectorial plans and directives in relation to foreign policy;

- The IV Congress (of the Party FRELIMO) having profoundly analysed the international political situation and actions undertaken by the RPM in this connection, reaffirmed that the struggle for peace, democracy, socialism and for economic and social progress by all the peoples

of the world must be a constant theme of the foreign policy of the RPM;

- In this connection the external activity of the RPM has basically focussed on the search for peace in our zone, given the serious danger of a generalisation of the conflict with the participation of powers that are foreign to the zone;

- The Nkomati Accord constitutes the culmination of this diplomatic action since it brings to the fore the principles which were always

the *raison d'être* of our struggle: peace, stability, good neighbourliness and peaceful co-existence, essential to the construction of progress and the welfare and happiness of our people.

- With this Accord we establish the spinal column of our foreign policy, which is the defence of the fundamental interests of the Mozambican nation.

In the light of the above, and with a view to ensuring a united (single)

form of carrying out our foreign policy as is required by Article 2 (e)

of Presidential Decree 65 of 1983, the Foreign Affairs Minister declares:

### 1. WITH REGARD TO AFRICA

We must continue to support the struggles of the peoples for their

political and economic emancipation, and support politically and diplomatically

the National Liberation Movement.

a) Namibia

There is a colonial situation, illegal occupation. Therefore we must support SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people in their struggle for national liberation. We support unconditionally the application of Resolution 435 of the Security Council of the UN.

## b) South Africa

It is a sovereign state member of the United Nations dominated by the system of apartheid, the object of universal condemnation.

We must support the elimination of apartheid and give political, diplomatic and moral support to the ANC, a movement recognised by the OAU, the non aligned movement and the UN.

Nevertheless, by virtue of articles 3 and 5 of the Nkomati Accord, we have to express our reservations in relation to parts of resolutions (and decisions which appeal:

- for the application of sanctions
- the use of force, armed struggle for the destruction of the apartheid regime.

In our statements we must abstain from the use of insulting or any other expression which incite the application of sanctions or recourse to armed struggle in South Africa.

It is important that we make an explanation of our reservation, explaining that the RPM condemns apartheid, the Bantustanisation policy and racial discrimination.

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Our reservation stems from the fact that in terms of Articles 3 and 5 of the Nkomati Accord such means should not be used to bring down the

system of apartheid. - i>Â» ^

At the same time, we do not oppose the South African people, using their own means embark on armed struggle from within their territory of South /

Africa for the achievement of the fundamental rights accorded to citizens of a free and democratic state. ¶ 7.f

This in no way signifies that we have to vote against or abstain from resolutions or decisions in their totality, because apartheid did not start nor does it end with the Nkomati Accord. We have to condemn South Africa for this practice.

#### c) FRONTLINE STATES

Consolidate and reinforce the unity of Frontline states, and pay particular attention to the situation in Angola and Tanzania.

Promote greater exchange of delegations at various levels to exchange ideas and unify positions on international questions.

#### d) SADCC

Intensify efforts to materialise the objectives contained in the Lusaka Declaration. Reinforce bilateral relations with Malawi, Swaziland and Lesotho, with a view to reducing South African hegemony over them and

to gaining -them for our cause.

He are interested in encouraging the entry of Zaire in the SADCC, arguing that this entry will deviate traffic from South African ports in favour of SADCC countries. But first it is necessary to ensure that Zaire uses our ports, to give us a forceful argument to use with the other members of the SADCC.

#### e) WESTERN SAHARA

Continue support for 4th demand the implementation of Resolution 104 of the 19th OAU Summit which requires inter alia the necessity to hold direct negotiations between the POLISARIO Front and the Kingdom of Morocco and a ceasefire with a view to holding a referendum on self determination.

#### f) CHAD

Support the principle of searching for a negotiated solution. Withdrawal of foreign troops and national reconciliation.

#### g) HORN OF AFRICA

Maintain the principle of respect for the colonial frontiers. Non recognition of the movement which demands the detachment of the Province of Ogaden, part of Ethiopian territory.

#### h) ERITREA.

Ethiopia is constituted of various nationalities with their own culture and languages. The question of Eritrea has to be seen in the context of the complexity of the Ethiopian State. Ethiopia contains the only

port for the export of Ethiopian products, hence its importance both for Ethiopia and the states hostile to it.

Our position must be determined by the strategic importance of a united and strong Ethiopia in this very disturbed region.

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### 5.2. KIBBLE EAST

#### a) Palestine

Defend the necessity of creating a Palestinian state. Not recognise Resolution 242 of the Security Council which considers the Palestinian question as merely humanitarian and one of Refugees.

Support the unity initiatives in the OLP, regarded by the Non Aligned

as a sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Demand the withdrawal of Israel from Arab territories occupied since 1967.

Encourage forces towards unity amongst Arab states, which saw a positive step in the re- integration of Egypt into the Islamic Conference.

Our support for the Arab cause must in no way lead us to the expulsion of Israel from international organisation, since Israel is a sovereign state and member of the International Community.

#### b) Lebanon

Demand the withdrawal of Zionist troops from Lebanon, defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country and non interference in its internal affairs.

### 5.3. THE GULF

#### a) Iran Iraq

The fratricidal war threatens peace and stability not only in the zone but in the world. It constitutes a factor which weakens the forces in

a common struggle against Zionism, thus it is important to support all initiatives towards a negotiated solution to the conflict.

In terms of the essential correlation of forces, an important section of public opinion is pro Iraq partly because of the systematic refusal of

Iran to negotiate and partly because Iraq is considered the weakest part of the known most capable of being won over by imperialism.

Iraq is a country with which the HPM until recently had excellent political and economic relations and which helped especially the RPM. It is important

that we develop relations with Iraq in various areas since there does not seem much future to developing relations in the short run with Iran

### 5.4. ASM

#### a) Afghanistan

Support the initiatives of the non aligned countries with a view to a political solution to the Afghan question. Refuse completely any interference in the internal affairs of this country which means that in the UN and other international forums we must not take positions

which put in cause the sovereignty of the Afghan people.

#### b) Cambodia

Here our position is that of the vacant seat while attempts are being made to find a solution. Contacts with Vietnam, China and other countries of Asia, the USSR, and Korea.

#### c) Korea

Support the peace initiatives of the Popular Democratic Republic of Emre  
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with a view to the unification of the country, in particular the recent  
proposals about a tri partite dialogue.

Ho participation in any international activities which take place in  
South Korea.



#### d) East Timor

It is a colonial question.

We have to condemn the occupation of this territory by Indonesia, demanding the withdrawal of the occupation forces.

Put pressure on Portugal, as the colonising power, to accept its historic responsibilities.

Take steps with the Secretary General of the UN not to accept the fait accompli, at the very least. The Secretary General must request an opinion of the International Court.

Repeat our support for FRETILIN, sole and legitimate representative of the Kaubere people; demand the withdrawal of occupation forces in terms of Resolution 384 (1975) and 389 (1976) of the Security Council of the UN.

#### e) China Vietnam

Defend the principle of the non use of force in resolving the conflict between them. It is a question of two socialist brother countries with which we have friendly relations at the level of Party and State.

The struggle between the two countries is prejudicial to the common anti imperialist front.

We must avoid an increase in the contradictions between the two countries.

### 5.5. THE SINO - SOVIET CONFLICT

Support efforts with a view to solving the conflict between these two socialist states. However, not to support two of the demands made by the Peoples Republic of China:

- the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan

- non support by the USSR to Vietnam on the pretext that this permits Vietnam to occupy Cambodia./

Consider the mutual reduction of troops at the common frontier between the PR of China and the USSR as a positive factor which both parties should take into account as a sign of good faith for the resolution of the question.

As far as the territorial claim of China is concerned, it is necessary that the USSR in the medium and long term contemplates a moratorium more or less of the same kind which Peoples China accepted from Great

Britain in relation to Hong Kong.

### 5.6. POLAND

Defend the revolution of this state. Denounce every and any interference in the internal affairs of this country.

5.7\* Defend the unity of the Cypriot nation. Not recognise the pseudo Turkish Cypriot state proclaimed in 1933. Support the Efforts of the Secretary General of the UN for a peaceful solution of the problem.

## 5.8. CENTRAL AMERICA

â– a) It is a colonial question discussed in the context of the Committee of 24 (de-colonisation).

At the same time, it seems to us a complicated question in which for conjunctural reasons we would do better not to get involved in.

In the non aligned movement we dissociate with the majority, without taking part in the debate and without expressing any reservation.

In the UN we must not take part in the vote, leaving the hall at the moment of taking a decision. The delegation must not give out any position about this matter, which belongs exclusively to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the president of the Republic.

### b) GUANIAMANO

It is territory of the Republic of Cuba. It is necessary that the USA dismantle the base and restore the territory to Cuba.

### c) EL SALVADOR

Support the Farabundo Marti Front for democratic transformations in this territory and non interference in the affairs of the Salvadorean people.

### d) NICARAGUA

Denounce the interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua, the destabilising actions against the Nicaraguan revolution.

### e) GRENADA

Support non interference in the internal affairs of Grenada. Not accept any attempt to annex this territory.

## 5.8. MALVINAS

It is a question of the re integration of the Malvinas in the national conjunction of Argentina, like Mayotte in relation to the Comoros; which is recognised by the declarations of the Non Aligned countries in Lima in 1975.

However, given our relations with Great Britain, we must not take on an ac

tive role in  
condemning the United Kingdom.

Our vote on this question should be related to the vote of Argentina on the question of East Timor. If we do not find a positive Argentine vote on this question, we do not have to participate in the vote on the Malvinas question or we may abstain.

## 5.9. MRCNESIA AND GUAM

They are Trust Territories, entrusted to the USA which wishes pure and simply to arm them, given their strategic importance.

For conjunctural reasons we must not participate in the vote on this question.

## 5.10. DISARMAMENT

We must pursue the struggle for complete and general disarmament since the arms race affects not only the developed countries of the two systems, but also the developing countries.

Hence both reduce the amounts of international economic aid available at the multilateral level and even bilaterally because of military budgets.

### 5.10.1. EUROPE

Stimulate the reopening of negotiations between the USSR and the USA in order to obtain a freezing and then a reduction of existing military arsenals.

The establishment of new military missiles in Europe opens up clearly a disequilibrium in the correlation of forces.

The Soviet attitude seeks to restore the equilibrium. Nevertheless, our position must be not to antagonise either party and to seek to support all initiatives of all these who desire the holding of negotiations using as the criterion the balance of forces which allows in the medium term a reduction of military arsenals in Europe.

### 5.2.10.2. NUCLEAR ARMS NON PROLIFERATION TREATY

We must not adhere to this treaty. Adherence to this treaty would place our country in a vulnerable position in relation to an enemy with great nuclear capacity namely South Africa.

Nevertheless, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and National defence and other interested structures must accompany the five yearly revision activities of this work.

### 5.10.3. INDIAN OCEAN

We must intensify our international action with a view to implementing the declaration contained in Resolution 2B32 of the UN and the final declaration of the Littoral States and interior

States of the zones.

In the Ad Hoc Committee about the Indian Ocean, of which the RPM is a member, and in other international forums we must fight

for the non construction of more military bases

for the freezing of nuclear arms

for no enlargement of the existing bases

for the dismantling of all foreign military bases in the Indian Ocean.

for the holding of a World Conference for the de nuclearisation and de militarisation of the Indian Ocean.

We must continue to support the initiatives of the Republic of Madagascar towards the holding of a summit in Tananarive with a view to pursuing these objectives.

### 5.11 HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights are profoundly linked to the rights of people and their political and economic emancipation.

Our action must focus on support for victims of colonial domination, apartheid, Zionism and fascist dictatorships.

Our position is that the rights of peoples must prevail over the rights of individuals.

In cases of very serious violations of individual rights it is important to assure respect for such rights in the best interests of society itself.

### 5.12. REFUGEES

Support for refugees is an elementary and basic human right.

We must continue our moral support for political refugees.

Nevertheless, we must never permit them to realise from our territory actions which are hostile to their governments or third states. They may practice non violent actions, those who oppose the regime of apartheid, Zionism and fascist dictators and armed actions recognised as necessary in the case of colonialism.

We must take part in international meetings which deal with the question of refugees and support the principle that the displaced persons must benefit from support in the context of programmes of international support for refugees.

### 5.13. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

In international organisms and institutions we must continue to support the struggle for the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

our activity must be oriented towards defending the positions of developing countries in



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in the negotiations which envisage the transforming of the existing inter  
national economic  
relations.