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THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

1983rd MEETING: 12 JANUARY 1977

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

1983rd MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 12 January 1977, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Oleg A. TROYANOVSKY
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, Canada, China, France, Germany, Federal Republic of India, Libyan Arab Republic, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1983)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Complaint of the Government of Botswana against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia concerning violations of its territorial sovereignty, as contained in the letter dated 22 December 1976 from the Permanent Representative of Botswana to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12262).

The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

Opening statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): Since this is the first meeting in the new year, I should like to make a statement to everyone here by way of greeting.
2. Today, at the first meeting of the Council for 1977, I should like most cordially to congratulate my new colleagues—the representatives of States members of this important body of the United Nations, the Secretary-General and the staff members of the Secretariat. I should like to wish everyone good health and continued success in their fruitful and co-operative work for the good of international peace and in the interests of the security of all mankind.
3. We are very pleased to be able to welcome here the new non-permanent members of the Security Council elected for a two-year term—Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Mauritius and Venezuela—and I cannot refrain from expressing my satisfaction at the way in which the links and co-operation between the Soviet Union and these States are being established.
4. Close political and economic co-operation with the Republic of India is a constant policy of the Soviet Union,

and our long-standing friendship with that great Asian Power, which firmly occupies a position of non-alignment, is being ever intensified and deepened to the great benefit of the peoples of both countries and of universal peace. This feeling of sympathy and solidarity describes our attitude with regard to the peace-loving foreign policy of India. Everyone knows of the great contribution made by India to the work of the United Nations and we are sure that its contribution to the work of the Council will be extremely valuable and useful.

5. In the Soviet Union, we are following with a great deal of sympathy and attention the international activities of Mauritius, which is pursuing a constructive foreign policy and has taken many initiatives. This year, Mauritius is Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and I am sure that, under its leadership, the whole of the African continent will make an important contribution to the early conclusion of the process of the decolonization of Africa and to the struggle of peoples for peace and progress.

6. The President of Venezuela's visit to the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1976 raised to a new level the relations between the USSR and Venezuela, thus undoubtedly serving the interests of both countries and peoples, as well as the interests of peace and progress. As pointed out in the joint Soviet-Venezuelan communiqué issued on 29 November 1976, the Soviet Union and Venezuela will both actively strive to see to it that international détente is deepened and intensified and that it becomes a constant factor in international relations. I am sure that in this spirit the delegations of our countries will co-operate in the United Nations and particularly in the Security Council.

7. As regards Soviet-Canadian relations, last year proved to be an important milestone in the further consolidation of good neighbourliness and mutually advantageous co-operation. Such development of our relations is entirely in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Final Act of Helsinki.

8. The Federal Republic of Germany is today one of our major partners in our mutually advantageous co-operation with the West. We very much hope that the fruitful co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany—the foundations of which have been laid in previous years—will constantly be extended and intensified in all areas.

9. In welcoming here the new non-permanent members of the Security Council, we look forward with confidence to their participation in the Council's work. We are sure that it

will be of invaluable assistance and will be a pledge of success in the solution of the important and complex problems confronting the Council.

10. I think that I can, on behalf of the Council, give assurance of our great esteem for the outgoing non-permanent members and express our sincere gratitude for their invaluable contribution to our work. This year we shall no longer enjoy the co-operation of Guyana, Italy, Japan, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania. I should like to point out that, during their tenure in the Council, those countries made a great positive contribution to its work. Tanzania, Guyana and Sweden were often sponsors of draft resolutions on the basis of which important decisions were taken by the Council. Representatives of all five countries did a great deal for the attainment of mutual understanding in the Council and in the search for constructive ways and means of solving complex problems.

11. Permit me also to welcome the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama and Romania, as well as the representatives of the permanent members of the Council, with whom we are sure we shall be continuing our fruitful co-operation.

12. I should like to discharge one more pleasant duty, that of officially thanking the representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Ambassador Ion Datcu, who, with great diplomatic tact and extraordinary political mastery, conducted the proceedings of the Council last month. I can tell from the documents of the Council and the responses of colleagues, that he performed his functions brilliantly and ensured the effective consideration of the complex problems facing the Council. As representative of the Soviet Union, I cannot refrain from pointing out that the relations between our two countries, which are both members of the socialist community, are marked by traditional comradely co-operation, which is becoming more and more many-sided in character on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

13. I wish to express my sincere hope that the co-operation between the members of the Council and the President will be as effective and fruitful in January as it was last month.

14. Turning now to my responsibilities as representative of the Soviet Union in the United Nations and the Security Council, entailing the immediate assumption of the presidency of the Council, I am deeply conscious of the great task entrusted to me. Indeed, in the world today there are no more urgent and vital problems than those of maintaining and strengthening international peace and security. The truth of this is shown by the experience of the work of the Council, including its work in 1976. Suffice it to recall that, last year, the Council held 113 official meetings devoted to the Middle East question and its various aspects, problems of Africa, the Cyprus question and also what were at times extremely acute political questions of the admission of new Members. This truly record number of Council meetings by itself demonstrates that the significance of our work is constantly growing. The Charter of the United

Nations imposes upon the Council a major responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The success of the Council's work depends, to a very large extent, on the constructive co-operation of all its members and on their desire and readiness to make a positive contribution to the common cause. We are counting on such an attitude of understanding and co-operation on the part not only of the permanent members of the Security Council, whose particular role and responsibility in our affairs are well known, but also of all the other members of this important body, each of which will make an important contribution to solving the problems facing the Council.

15. As we enter the new year of 1977, all countries are taking stock of the ground that has been covered and plans are being made for the future. We, as members of the Security Council, more than anybody else, are aware that peace and stability in many parts of the world, indeed throughout the world, cannot be considered secure until we have eliminated the hotbeds of military tension, until we have called a halt to and reversed the arms race, until we see the total and complete implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and until we achieve the final elimination of the still existing hotbeds of colonialism and racism in the world. I hope that the Council will devote particular attention to those problems and do everything in its power to bring about their solution in accordance with the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of the world.

16. As for the delegation of the Soviet Union to the Security Council, I can assure you that we shall support all constructive proposals aimed at strengthening and consolidating international peace, strengthening détente and converting it into an irreversible process. The core of this policy was very distinctly expressed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev, who recently said:

"... We are of course aiming at peace; but we are also aiming at a stable peace. And we are not only striving for it but also doing everything in our power to achieve that goal. The only peace we have in mind is a just, democratic and genuinely universal peace; in other words, one founded not on the principle of 'might is right' but on equality and freedom for all peoples and States, great or small, industrially developed or still developing. Such a peace would be in the interests of all and, at the same time, of each of us.

"A stable peace is one of the prerequisites for replacing international tensions and the remnants of the 'cold war' by an easing of tension and a stable, consciously strengthened peaceful coexistence. That, in our view, would be the best possible guarantee to all peoples that they would be able, quite independently and without any outside interference, to choose their own course of development in accordance with their own concepts of social progress."

17. In that we see the goal and purport of the whole of our work in the United Nations, and to that goal we shall subordinate all our actions and initiatives.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint of the Government of Botswana against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia concerning violations of its territorial sovereignty, as contained in the letter dated 22 December 1976 from the Permanent Representative of Botswana to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12262)

18. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): As President of the Security Council, I have received letters from the representatives of Botswana, Morocco and Zambia in which they ask to be invited to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's consideration of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council, and taking into account established practice, I propose, if there are no objections, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

19. I therefore invite the representative of Botswana, the Minister for External Affairs, to take the place reserved for him at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A.M. Mogwe, (Botswana) took a place at the Council table.

20. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I invite the representatives of Morocco and Zambia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when they wish to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. M.S. Zaimi (Morocco) and Mr. S.G. Mwale (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

21. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the fact that, this morning, document S/12273, which has direct bearing on this discussion, was circulated. It contains a letter from the Chargé d'affaires *a.i.* of the Permanent Mission of Morocco, Chairman of the African Group for this month, stating that the African Group fully supports the request by Botswana for the convening of the Council to consider the situation resulting from the acts of aggression committed against Botswana by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia and expressing the hope that the Security Council will take the necessary measures in this connexion. In addition, another document has been circulated under the symbol S/11227. It contains a letter from the Permanent Representative of Botswana to the President of the Council, providing additional information about the acts of aggression committed against Botswana by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia.

22. The first speaker is the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana on whom I now call.

23. Mr. MOGWE (Botswana): I wish to start by extending to you, Sir, my congratulations and those of my delegation

on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We wish you a fruitful term as President of the Council. We are also grateful to you and the other members of the Security Council for having responded so readily and positively to our request for this meeting of the Council.

24. My delegation has requested this meeting to consider the rather grave situation which is developing along Botswana's border with the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. You, Mr. President, and the other members of this Council will no doubt have seen press reports about the rapid deterioration of the security situation along Botswana's border with Southern Rhodesia. There have been about 36 violations of Botswana's territorial integrity by the security forces of Southern Rhodesia since our accession to independence in 1966. Those incidents have included murder, arson, kidnapping and the destruction of houses by explosives. When they started, those incidents were directed at refugees from Southern Rhodesia; but that is no longer the case. They are now directed also at Botswana nationals and have increased in frequency and seriousness.

25. I shall not attempt here to list all the violations of Botswana's sovereignty by Southern Rhodesia since 1966. I shall mention only some of the more recent examples of the Smith régime's acts of provocation and aggression against my country.

26. At about midnight on Saturday, 11 October 1975, the Botswana police mobile unit base camp at Kazungula on the Zambezi River, and very close to the Botswana/Southern Rhodesia boundary, was attacked from the direction of Southern Rhodesia by a party using automatic weapons. The camp was fired at from a distance of approximately 100 metres and it is estimated that 60 to 70 rounds of ammunition were fired. The attackers apparently fired high, for bullet marks were found on the surrounding trees but not on the tents or vehicles at the camp.

27. Eight days after the attack on the police camp, a 15- to 20-strong patrol of Southern Rhodesian soldiers fired shots into the Ramokgwebane River bed from the Southern Rhodesian bank of the river and later into the Botswana village of Matsiloje, where the shots hit a dairy and a clinic. The buildings were unoccupied at the time, but many onlookers witnessed the incident from nearby. On the following day, a Botswana police mobile unit patrol found 39 bullet marks on the dairy and the clinic.

28. On 12 June 1976, a Southern Rhodesian army patrol shot and killed a national of Botswana named Mokhipeni Ramonwana. Mr. Ramonwana had entered Southern Rhodesia to recover his cattle which had strayed into that country. He found the cattle and was driving them back home when he was spotted and killed by the Rhodesians as he was crossing the Shashe River, which also marks the boundary between Botswana and Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Ramonwana was accompanied by his elder brother, who managed to escape unharmed.

29. On 15 July 1976, five Rhodesian helicopters were seen flying over the Nxai Pan in Botswana. The helicopters,

battle-green in colour, were flying in close formation at a height of approximately 170 metres. Then they fanned out as if they were searching for something. During the evening of the same day more helicopters flew over the same area and on the following day four helicopters again circled over the Nxai Pan and then flew back into Southern Rhodesia, whence they had come. The exercise was repeated by the same number of helicopters on the evening of the next day. On the third day, one helicopter flew twice over the Pan and then back to Rhodesia. Subsequently, an official of the illegal régime arrogantly telephoned an official of the Botswana Government stating that the helicopters had entered Botswana in pursuit of freedom fighters.

30. Hardly a month after the helicopter incidents, a helicopter carrying eight Southern Rhodesian soldiers landed some 80 kilometres inside Botswana. The soldiers searched the premises of a Mr. Motlhabane, a Botswana citizen, and interrogated him on the alleged presence of freedom fighters in the area. On the same day five white soldiers crossed into Botswana from Southern Rhodesia near Maitengwe village. They searched and interrogated several Batswana in connexion with the whereabouts of freedom fighters and Botswana police patrols.

31. The Botswana authorities are also aware of the activities of the so-called Selous Scouts of the Smith régime. This is a band of men, many of them former freedom fighters, who are used by the régime to track down and obtain intelligence on freedom fighters. We know that one unit of the Selous Scouts is currently under training in Southern Rhodesia for raids into Botswana with the aim of attacking guerrillas alleged to be based there. We are aware that the Selous Scouts have a reconnaissance wing which operates clandestinely inside Botswana.

32. On 11 November 1976, a patrol of white Southern Rhodesian soldiers entered Botswana and challenged one John Mpofo, a Botswana national, who was herding cattle, and fired at him when he did not respond to their call. Mr. Mpofo fled and escaped unharmed. Later, 18 empty cartridge cases were recovered from the scene of the incident.

33. On 19 November, at about 2.40 a.m., two suitcase bombs completely destroyed a house in Francistown belonging to the Nkomo wing of the African National Council of Zimbabwe. The bombs also destroyed two vehicles and damaged several houses in the vicinity. Fortunately no one was killed or seriously injured because the occupants of the house, having been awakened by the persistent barking of their dog, went out to investigate and managed to get out of their house before the bombs exploded. The assailants then fled before they could light the fuses of two other bombs, which were later detonated. Investigations into the incident revealed that the assailants had escaped into Southern Rhodesia in two vehicles and that they were agents of the Smith régime.

34. On 25 November, two black soldiers from Southern Rhodesia entered Botswana illegally and abducted a 16-year-old boy named Disang Modiakgotla, of Moroka village in the north-east district of Botswana. On 11 December, Southern Rhodesian security forces again en-

tered Botswana illegally and abducted two Batswana, Mr. Abel Maphane and Mr. Jota Bango. In addition, the Rhodesians burnt down six huts and a truck belonging to Mr. Maphane. Three days later, the Rhodesians abducted Mr. Brunyeu Ndlovu of Moroka village and burnt down a house and adjacent huts as well as a storeroom belonging to Mr. Aspon Mogadla of the same village. Then, on 17 December, the Botswana police mobile unit camp at Francistown was attacked at night by what we believe were Southern Rhodesian security forces. The police mobile unit succeeded in repelling the attack and the attackers fled.

35. On 20 December, the Southern Rhodesia security forces entered Botswana at about 9 p.m. and attacked Mr. Gobgwe's home in the Matshelagabedi area, 300 metres from the border. The Botswana police mobile unit patrol in the area immediately returned the fire and forced Smith's forces to flee across the Ramokgwebane River into Southern Rhodesia. In their retreat, the rebel forces threw two hand grenades, which caused substantial damage to Mr. Gobgwe's house.

36. The latest incursion occurred only yesterday at 11 a.m., when a Botswana police mobile unit patrol came across some Southern Rhodesian troops on the Botswana side of the Ramokgwebane River near the village of Senyawu. The Southern Rhodesian troops fired at the Botswana police patrol, which returned the fire. The rebel forces withdrew into Southern Rhodesia and there were no casualties.

37. Those are only some of the examples of the incursions into Botswana by the security forces or other agents of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. Members of the Council will have noticed from these examples that incursions by Southern Rhodesia into Botswana are becoming more frequent and more serious. They amount, in effect, to unprovoked acts of war by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia against the people of Botswana; and, as the council is no doubt aware, the illegal régime has declared the entire Botswana-Southern Rhodesia border area a war zone. The purpose of these actions is obviously to intimidate the Government of Botswana into changing its present policy of giving refuge and assistance to victims of oppression in Southern Rhodesia. I should, however, like to restate the determination of the Government of Botswana to continue to open Botswana's doors to those who are persecuted and oppressed for political reasons in their own countries. This is like an article of faith as far as the Government and the people of Botswana are concerned. No amount of intimidation will make us change our resolve to assist the victims of oppression in southern Africa.

38. The Batswana are a small and poor nation. They can therefore ill afford to pour their limited resources into the development of an army. They prefer to use their resources for the implementation of more productive projects. The Southern Rhodesian aggression against Botswana therefore poses a serious problem for us. Our views about building up an army remain unchanged, yet we cannot at the same time fail to see that the incursions into our country by the forces of the illegal Smith régime pose a threat to the security of our country which we are not adequately equipped to counter. In the circumstances, the Botswana Government

has decided to increase substantially the size of its police mobile unit and to equip the unit with such weapons as will enable it to put up a greater resistance to the activities of the security forces of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

39. But my Government was completely unprepared for this important development relating to the security of our country, for the substantial increase in the size of our paramilitary force is being forced upon us by the rapidly deteriorating security situation along Botswana's borders with Southern Rhodesia. We could not, in the face of repeated acts of aggression against our country, continue to behave as though all was well around us. Like any Government, we had to do something to improve the security of our country.

40. Unfortunately, whatever we decided to do to strengthen our security was bound to be done at the expense of some of our development projects. Having decided to expand our police mobile unit, we immediately started looking at our various development projects to see where we could delay project implementation or stop it altogether, in order to make funds available for improving the capability of our security forces. This exercise is under way and it is estimated that the expansion of our police mobile unit will cost approximately 25 million Pula—that is, about \$29 million—over the next four years. This, needless to say, will cut a huge hole in our development programme, a hole we cannot hope to close unassisted. We therefore wish to appeal to the United Nations and to the international community in general to provide financial assistance to Botswana so that our development plans may not be too adversely affected by the exercise of our fundamental responsibility to provide greater security for our people in the face of the repeated attacks against us by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

41. We are here today to reaffirm our continued belief in, and dedication to, the cause of international peace and to condemn the acts of aggression by Southern Rhodesia against our country and people. It is because we believe that the present conflict in Southern Rhodesia could eventually spread into other parts of southern Africa, that we have decided to bring this matter before the Security Council. In other words, the present acts of aggression on the part of the régime in Southern Rhodesia could, if they continue unchecked, eventually engulf the whole of southern Africa in the sort of racial conflagration which we all wish to avoid. For it is quite clear that, as the war of liberation against the illegal régime intensifies, the régime will become more and more desperate and look for scapegoats. The attacks against Mozambique and Botswana and the threats against Zambia are clear manifestations of the aggressive intentions of the Smith régime. We consider it necessary, therefore, that the Council pronounce itself without equivocation on this issue, in the hope that the régime in Southern Rhodesia will desist from further acts of aggression against neighbouring States.

42. The unprovoked aggression against Botswana by the Smith régime stems from a more fundamental problem, namely, the denial of the right of self-determination to the vast majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia. If it were

not for this problem, I should not be here today. The Security Council should therefore also use this opportunity to reaffirm its belief in the inalienable right of all the people of Southern Rhodesia to self-determination and independence on the basis of majority rule.

43. I have tried to give as full a picture as I can of the situation along Botswana's border with Southern Rhodesia. But I know that the picture I have given cannot possibly be complete. The complete picture can be obtained only on the spot in Botswana. And, as we have absolutely nothing to hide, I should like to invite a mission to Botswana to assess our needs on the spot and report back to the Council with appropriate recommendations.

44. Once again, let me express my gratitude to you, Mr. President and, through you, to all the members of the Council for having made this possible. The people of Botswana have been greatly shaken by the recent events and incidents along their border with Southern Rhodesia. They will be eagerly waiting to hear of the outcome of this meeting. I hope the decision of the Council will be such as to strengthen their faith in the United Nations.

45. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to inform the members of the Security Council that I have also received a letter from the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, containing a request to be invited to take part, without the right to vote, in the discussion of the item on the agenda of this meeting of the Council. In accordance with Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, and also taking into account established practice, I propose to invite the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to take part, without the right to vote, in the consideration of this item. Since there are no objections, I therefore invite him to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table when he wishes to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. S. A. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

46. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, I have visited the African Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and I have roamed through the Kremlin, but, alas, I did not have the pleasure and the honour of meeting you in either of those two great centres of our world. Indeed, I met you for the first time only yesterday during our official consultations, and yet I feel that I have known you for the best part of my adult life. I therefore welcome you very warmly to the United Nations and extend my full co-operation to you and your delegation.

47. I consider it a great honour and privilege to be participating for the first time in the deliberations of the Security Council in my capacity of sole representative of Mauritius, now a full and "permanent" member of this body, albeit only for two years, under the presidency of your great and proud socialist country, a founding Member of our Organization and a truly permanent member of the

Council, so ably represented by you, Mr. President. In the same breath, let me say how sad I feel at the absence from this chamber of my colleague and great personal friend, Ambassador Malik, whom I had come to regard as a main fixture, if not the chief pillar, of this Council. I take solace in the hope that the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Malik, is looking after the long-term interests and welfare of developing Africa in the great metropolis of Moscow.

48. I should also like to congratulate the outgoing President, Ambassador Datcu of Romania, who presided over this Council in a manner which reflects extremely well the universally appreciated message of Romanian foreign policy. All Council decisions during his tenure of office were adopted by consensus, including the re-election of our esteemed Secretary-General.

49. Mauritius is participating in the activities of the Security Council, fully aware of the complexity of the issues of which it is seized as well as of the role it must play in their settlement.

50. The issues before the Council represent, in the last analysis, attempts to solve disputes by force, attempts to dominate other people in order to perpetuate colonialism in various forms, attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of other States and, in some cases, actual acts of armed aggression against the independence and sovereignty of States or their territorial integrity. These issues are manifestations of an obsolete policy which contradicts flagrantly the spirit of our times. We are committed to building a new international order, a better, more just and democratic world based on full equality of all peoples and on respect for the sacred right of every people to self-determination and independence in accordance with its sovereign will. History proves that attempts to solve international disputes by force can only lead to further conflicts endangering international peace and security.

51. That is why I consider that the United Nations and the Security Council should, first and foremost, seek by all means at their disposal the prevention of conflicts and the settlement of disputes by political and peaceful means, the promotion of good-neighbourly relations among States and, eventually, the elimination of force from international relations.

52. That is the spirit in which we intend to act in this body. We shall spare no effort to confirm the confidence placed in my country by the States Members of the United Nations when they elected it to the Security Council. We intend to carry out the honourable task and lofty responsibilities entrusted to us in the same spirit of mutual respect and co-operation as has always characterized the activities of all African States in this organ.

53. I, personally, have appeared quite frequently, over the past eight years or so, before this Council in the defence of truth and justice. I have done so without fear or seeking favour, sometimes to the irritation of some who could not face facts and whose sense of justice seemed, to me at least, either tainted or selective and others who, perhaps imbued with the wealth or might of their respective countries,

tended to believe they held the monopoly of knowledge and wisdom. Nevertheless, now, representing a country which is a full member of the Security Council, I naturally take the view that, as far as humanly possible in most circumstances, the success of the Council lies in the intense informal consultations among all its members and in the due taking into account of all views and interests. Such an exercise can be possible only among equals. I can assure all my colleagues around this horseshoe table that my delegation will promote negotiations as the main form of our work. We shall be only too happy if all decisions are adopted by consensus.

54. At the same time, in view of the nature of some issues, resort to voting will probably be necessary. I hope that the permanent members of the Council will not obstruct, by sheer misuse of the power invested in them, the adoption of those proposals which serve the objective requirements of our time.

55. The prestige and efficiency of the Security Council should be enhanced. For this reason I wish countries would resort to it at an early stage and not when it is too late and, I hope, always for the purpose of actually finding peaceful solutions to problems which are within the competence of the Council.

56. Coming to the item before us today, I should like to state that I shall address myself to it not only as a member of this Council but also as the representative of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

57. Last Monday, 10 January, my Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, received from Sir Seretse Khama, President of the Republic of Botswana, a message which was addressed to him in his capacity as current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and which reads in part as follows:

“Continued violations of Botswana’s territorial integrity by armed forces of the rebel régime in Rhodesia are causing grave concern to my Government and its people. The incursions into Botswana have resulted in murder, arson, kidnapping and destruction of property by explosives. Botswana is wholly committed to the liberation of Zimbabwe, and acts of aggression by the illegal régime in Rhodesia will not intimidate Botswana into abandoning its policy to give refuge to the nationalists fighting against the rebel régime. In the light of the grave threat to Botswana’s security, my Government has requested the United Nations Security Council to meet on 12 January to consider the ways and means by which the deteriorating situation can be arrested.”

58. We have just heard the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, who elaborated on the incidents which prompted his Government to request that this meeting of the Security Council be convened. Those incidents are indeed very serious, as they are threatening the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of a Member State. In the view of my delegation, those incidents can only be characterized as acts of aggression and should be treated by the Council as such. The African Group as a whole supports the request of the Government of Botswana that the

Council deal in a responsible and adequate manner with the situation now prevailing in the country as a result of those acts of aggression.

59. To place the request of Botswana in its proper perspective, it should be recalled that the armed struggle being waged in Southern Rhodesia by the gallant freedom fighters of Zimbabwe has the full backing of the whole membership of the Organization of African Unity and that this position of OAU is in conformity with the relevant United Nations resolutions. In those resolutions, the United Nations has affirmed and reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of all peoples striving for the enjoyment of their fundamental freedom and rights, particularly in southern Africa. In this connexion, it should be noted that, at its last session, the General Assembly reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to secure, by all means at its disposal, the enjoyment of its right to self-determination, freedom and independence [resolution 31/154 A].

60. The people of Zimbabwe has been waging its war of liberation for the last 10 years and it is to the credit of the Zimbabwe people's army that the struggle has now reached its final stage. Instead of negotiating, in good faith, a peaceful settlement of the conflict, the illegal white minority régime in Salisbury has resorted to a dangerous military build-up with the assistance of South Africa and to increasingly repressive measures against the people of Zimbabwe. The situation now prevailing in Southern Rhodesia has rightly been characterized as a threat to international peace and security in the region, because the Government of Ian Smith has extended it to neighbouring States through the so-called "hot pursuit" of the freedom fighters. Under this insane and criminal policy of hot pursuit, the Rhodesian army has conducted raids into Mozambique and Zambia. The Rhodesian army is now engaged in similar acts of aggression against Botswana and has stepped up acts of subversion, murder and kidnapping against its people. According to Ian Smith, these criminal acts are justified because there are freedom fighter bases in Botswana. But, as the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana told us, it is a policy of his Government not to permit Botswana to be used as a launching pad for attacks against neighbouring States. The Minister assured us that there were no bases in Botswana from which freedom fighters could launch attacks against Southern Rhodesia. The fact is that Botswana is committed to giving refuge to all those fleeing from the oppression and repression in Southern Rhodesia and that Ian Smith is determined to coerce the Botswana authorities into reversing their policy.

61. The illegal minority régime is becoming more and more desperate and is seeing enemies and enemy bases all around. Southern Rhodesian refugee camps in Mozambique have been treated as bases for freedom fighters. Now the illegal minority régime is blindly engaged in acts of aggression against Botswana. The whole 400-mile border between Rhodesia and Botswana has, in fact, been declared a war zone by the Rhodesian authorities. A state of war virtually exists between Botswana and Southern Rhodesia. The Security Council should therefore treat the situation as a threat to peace in the area and act decisively before it is too late. It should also take into consideration the special

economic hardship confronting Botswana as a result of the need it now feels to divert funds from ongoing and planned development projects to unplanned military and security expenditures required for the defence of its independence and territorial integrity. We should therefore respond positively to the request for assistance presented to us by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana.

62. In due course, a draft resolution along the lines I have indicated will be submitted for the Council's consideration.

63. Mr. President, I should like to thank you very much indeed for the warm welcome you have extended to my country as a member of the Security Council and for the kind words you have expressed to my delegation.

64. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Mauritius for his kind words to me and to my country. I should also like to thank him for his good wishes to my predecessor, Deputy Foreign Minister Malik. I shall convey those words to him and I am sure that he will be very grateful.

65. The next speaker on my list is the representative of Morocco. Accordingly, I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

66. Mr. ZAIMI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me first of all to welcome you to the diplomatic community of the United Nations. We are most happy that one of the tasks entrusted to you within the framework of your mission here is to preside over the Council, particularly at a time when it must consider one of the aspects of the question of the liberation of the African continent. In your person I greet the representative of a great country with which my country, the Kingdom of Morocco, maintains excellent relations based on friendship, understanding and mutual respect.

67. May I then, through you, thank all the members of the Security Council for having been so good as to authorize the representative of the Kingdom of Morocco, whose turn it is in this month of January to have the honour to serve the Group of African States, to participate in this important debate.

68. It is obvious that the question that is before the Security Council today is one of the nefarious consequences of the illegal and tragic situation from which the people of Zimbabwe have been suffering for more than 11 years. The repeated acts of aggression against Botswana, and likewise against Mozambique and Zambia, are indeed merely the results of an initial aggression perpetrated on 11 November 1965 against African dignity, when Ian Smith thought that he could, with impunity, proclaim a lopsided independence, thus installing in Southern Rhodesia a minority racist régime. Immediately after that illegal proclamation, the people of Zimbabwe, who number more than 6 million, became on its own soil a nation of second-class citizens at the service of the European minority, which does not exceed 200,000 persons. It is quite normal that such an ignoble régime should meet with determined resistance on the part of the oppressed people of Zimbabwe and with unanimous condemnation by the international community.

69. It is not my intention to repeat the history of the question of Southern Rhodesia which members of the Council already know very well. On several occasions this Council has in fact had to consider this problem and take the necessary measures, in particular by adopting a system of sanctions against the rebel British colony. The General Assembly, for its part, has had to deal with this question and adopt several resolutions condemning the illegal régime, recalling the responsibilities of the United Kingdom as the administering Power and, above all, appealing to all Governments and specialized agencies of the United Nations system to show their solidarity with the oppressed people of Zimbabwe and to come to its aid.

70. Therefore it was not surprising that Botswana, like the other countries bordering on Rhodesia, should do its duty as dictated by its location and by a common destiny as well as by the international obligations set out in the Charter of the United Nations and by the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. We are therefore bound to pay a heartfelt tribute to the Government and people of Botswana for their praiseworthy effort of active solidarity, which they continue to exert in favour of the refugees and victims of the savage oppression of the Ian Smith régime.

71. That régime, which has usurped power, knows full well that it is living its last hours and this has made it more and more desperate and, therefore, more and more inhuman. This explains its threats and attacks against Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana. Not only do regular forces of the illegal Rhodesian régime carry out almost daily incursions into Botswana, but a special commando force is at present undergoing special training to carry out criminal missions of sabotage and the abduction of innocent persons. Violations of Botswana's territorial integrity are thus becoming more and more frequent. One day the target is a peaceful village, another day a hospital or, quite simply, the abduction of civilians.

72. We are profoundly aware that no remedy can take the place of a true solution of the Rhodesian problem—that is to say, the end of the racist minority régime and the establishment of majority government. There, too, Ian Smith and his clique are desperately trying to delay the inevitable by assuming the deceptive trappings of a power that no one grants is theirs. The dilatory tactics to which Smith recently resorted at the Geneva Conference will avail him naught: his régime is doomed to perish and it will perish.

73. Nevertheless, we must remain vigilant. This vigilance means that the international community must remain loyal to the courageous people of Zimbabwe in this decisive moment in its history. This is exactly what Botswana has realized full well. The people and Government of Botswana have set an example for the international community by accepting enormous sacrifices. Botswana grants political asylum to refugees coming from Rhodesia and provides them with food and lodging, an activity which has already taken a very heavy toll of the economy of the country. But Botswana is, above all, firmly in solidarity with the Zimbabwe liberation movement, despite all sorts of difficulties which that noble position entails. Botswana is determined never to abandon this position, regardless of the consequences.

74. The repeated aggressions of the Ian Smith régime against Botswana are the consequence of this firm policy, based on morality, on a keen sense of duty and on a profound awareness of a common destiny. This moral position has led the leaders of Botswana even to review their own development programme in order to meet the requirements of security and national defence. This illustrates the extent to which the illegal situation in Southern Rhodesia threatens the peace and stability of the entire region and its development opportunities.

75. The international community in general, and the Security Council in particular, are in duty bound to appreciate the true worth of the noble attitude of the Government of Botswana and to extend it every aid and encouragement. The Council should therefore take the appropriate measures to enable Botswana to safeguard its security and not to abandon its development plan. It should see to it that an emergency assistance programme is established for Botswana, in co-operation with the specialized agencies of the United Nations system. In that way, the Council will have effectively contributed to shortening the time left before the coming into being of a just majority régime in Zimbabwe and thus strengthened the chances for peace and stability in southern Africa.

76. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Morocco for the kind words he addressed to the members of the Security Council as well as to my country which, as he rightly pointed out, has very friendly relations with the Kingdom of Morocco. I also thank him for the courteous words he addressed to me.

77. I wish to inform the members of the Council that, as President of the Council, I have received a letter from the representative of Lesotho, in which he requests to be invited to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussions of the Council on this item. Pursuant to Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure and in accordance with established practice, I propose to invite the representative of Lesotho to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's discussion of this item. Since there are no objections, I invite the representative of Lesotho to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber on the understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Security Council table when he wishes to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. T. Makeka (Lesotho) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

78. Mr. BOYA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation is happy to welcome you among us here at the United Nations, and particularly to the Security Council, over which you have the great privilege of presiding during this month of January 1977. My delegation wishes to assure you of its faithful collaboration and takes pleasure in the friendly and co-operative relations linking the Soviet Union with the People's Republic of Benin.

79. I should also like to take this auspicious opportunity to welcome our new colleagues who have just joined the

Council. The many and diverse relations between their countries and my own are a good augury for the success of the Council's work in 1977.

80. My delegation would like also to pay a well deserved tribute to those colleagues whose tenure on the Council terminated in December 1976. Their sense of co-operation, understanding and responsibility enabled the Council to overcome many an obstacle. We hope that the same will prove true this year.

81. The Council has before it today an item to which the People's Republic of Benin attaches particular importance. The acts of aggression and provocation, as well as all the other indescribably inhuman acts committed daily by the Smith clique against independent African States of the area, constitute a genuine and constant threat which we would be wrong to minimize.

82. Ever since that illegal racist minority régime appeared in Southern Rhodesia with the blessing of international imperialism, the Smith clique has considered that it has the right to do anything it wishes and is playing dangerous games with the arms furnished by its friends from the imperialist West. Meanwhile, the African States of the region, because of their militant fraternal and unswerving support for the valiant people of Zimbabwe, struggling for its self-determination, freedom, dignity, independence and national sovereignty, have been the victims of repeated acts of aggression. Thus, the peoples of Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana have been obliged and continue to be obliged to put up with barbaric and repeated incursions by the "sorcerer's apprentices" of the Smith clique.

83. The Council should realize, in particular, that the people of Botswana, a peaceful and hard-working people whose courage and determination should be praised here, has never given way to the dangerous acts of provocation of which it has been a victim. Indeed, during the 10 years since its accession to independence, Botswana has been obliged to devote considerable resources, that it could well have used for development projects, to security and the day-to-day protection of its inhabitants against the inhuman acts of the racist clique of Rhodesia. For 10 years the people of Botswana have been demonstrating admirable patience.

84. But for some time now, the Smith clique, which believes it is endowed with a certain impunity because of the illegal nature of its oppressive régime, has been stepping up its acts of aggression, using more modern means of intervention such as sophisticated weaponry and helicopters. The more intense the liberation struggle becomes and the more victories it claims, the harder the line adopted by the Smith clique and the more blindly that clique commits itself to those acts of aggression against the States in the area that support the people of Zimbabwe, a people which is determined to seize its dignity and freedom by force of arms, since they are possessions too precious to be bargained for at a negotiating table.

85. The question we are entitled to raise is: Why does the Smith régime with its back to the wall involve itself so shamefully in premeditated aggression as a policy? It is

now clear that the Smith clique, seeing the mounting and invincible rebellion of the people and following the advice it has received from international imperialism, is seeking to internationalize an internal situation which is becoming ever more untenable.

86. The people of Zimbabwe, having had enough of lies, hypocrisy, honeyed words and sordid calculations, refuses to be fooled any longer and wants to settle its account with those racist torturers and oppressors. The people of Zimbabwe, which has made such great sacrifices, can retreat no further. The people of Zimbabwe is perfectly well aware who its principal enemy is: it is imperialism, whose zealous servants constitute the racist clique of Smith.

87. The imperialist Powers, with hands dripping with the blood of the martyrs of Zimbabwe, are mistaken if they still think they can fool fighting Africa so easily by the scenario they have arranged at Geneva in order to breathe new life into the Smith régime. That is an illegal régime which will inevitably and inexorably be eliminated, thanks to the courageous determination of the people of Zimbabwe supported by all the anti-imperialist forces of the world.

88. My delegation wishes to hail the courage and determination of the people of Botswana whose support for the fraternal people of Zimbabwe has never failed. My delegation considers that the personal responsibility of the United Kingdom, the colonial Power in Rhodesia, is very much involved in this affair. It is important that that Power understand that African patience has its limits.

89. The Council must examine this item objectively and with consistency. The situation of Botswana warrants our whole-hearted attention. All necessary assistance should be granted to that country so that it can face the unfortunate consequences of the acts of aggression committed against it by the Smith clique.

90. It is now quite clear that those who, by their collaboration and assistance, give protection to the Smith régime and allowed it to continue to exist, are committing a flagrant action of aggression against all the States of international imperialism for all its crimes against Zimbabwe. My delegation denounces all the hypocritical initiatives with their wilfully confused content designed to lull the vigilance of the peoples of the world.

91. The people of Zimbabwe will triumph and safeguard peace and security in the area and throughout Africa.

92. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Benin for what he said about my country and me.

93. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Republic): Mr. President, I should like first of all to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic, our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January. Also, please accept our warmest salutations on your appointment as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the

United Nations. It is always a great pleasure for my delegation to welcome a representative of a Member State with which we share understanding, respect, co-operation, assistance and friendship. We are confident that you will assume your duties and responsibilities with the same enthusiastic fervour and keenness as did your predecessor, Ambassador Malik.

94. My delegation would like to welcome His Excellency the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana and to thank and congratulate him for his proper and clear presentation of the complaint of his country against the illegal minority régime of Ian Smith.

95. My delegation also wishes to express its appreciation and admiration for the dedication and earnestness with which the representative of Romania, Ambassador Datcu, presided over the Council during December. We are extremely grateful for the able and sincere manner in which he undertook his responsibilities as President of the Council.

96. We should also like to take this opportunity to welcome the representatives of the new members of the Council: Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Mauritius and Venezuela. We are sure that, in the months to come, we in the Council shall have the same co-operation as we had from their predecessors, the representatives of Guyana, Italy, Japan, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania. We should like to say how extremely grateful we are, in particular, to Ambassador Salim of Tanzania and Ambassador Jackson of Guyana for their steadfast and enduring struggle for human freedom, equality, justice and the cause of all oppressed peoples. Their fight against all forms of imperialism, colonialism and racism, their championship of liberation movements and their nobility of purpose have been significant resources in providing directives to the Council. Together with our other colleagues who have left the Council—Ambassador Rydbeck of Sweden, Ambassador Vinci of Italy and Ambassador Abe of Japan—they have proved that wisdom and impartiality towards the issues of primary concern to all of us here are admirable and necessary qualities in the enormous task of maintaining peace and security in the world. They all deserve our sincerest and profoundest gratitude and congratulations.

97. At the beginning of this year, the Security Council meets to discuss another flagrant and vicious act of aggression committed by the illegal racist minority régime in Rhodesia against an independent African State, Botswana, member of the Organization of African Unity and Member of the United Nations.

98. This latest act of aggression committed by the illegal minority Smith régime against Botswana occurred between 17 and 19 December 1976. I should like to mention that this is not the first act of aggression committed by Smith's régime against Botswana but one of more than 30 violations against the territorial sovereignty of that State. It is of great importance at this point to refer to the following statement made by the Vice-President of Botswana in the House of Parliament on 17 December. He said:

“Since 27 December 1966, 31 violations of our territorial sovereignty by members of the Rhodesian

security forces have come to our notice. There have obviously been many more which have not been reported to the Government. Twelve out of the 31 violations have taken place this year and they are also becoming far more serious. They include murder, arson, kidnapping and the destruction of dwelling houses with explosives.” [See S/12262]

99. From the very beginning, the Security Council, in its resolutions 216 (1965) and 217 (1965) of November 1965, condemned the unilateral declaration of so-called independence made by the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia and determined that the situation resulting from that proclamation was extremely grave and constituted a serious threat to international peace and security. Also, the Council, in its resolution 217 (1965), called upon the United Kingdom to quell the rebellion of the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia and to take all appropriate measures which would prove effective in eliminating the authority of the usurpers and in bringing to an end the illegal minority rule.

100. It is a fact that the situation caused by the frequent violations and acts of aggression committed by the racist minority Smith régime against the neighbouring countries of Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana constitute a critical and fearful threat to international peace and security in that region.

101. Real peace in Southern Rhodesia will not be achieved if the people of Zimbabwe continue to suffer from the shameful and unforgivable racist rule of aggression and discrimination imposed by the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia. Peace will not be achieved if the people of Zimbabwe are not allowed to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, as laid down in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The achievement of peace and security must be based on the recognition of the legitimate rights of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence.

102. It is a fact that, since the collapse of Portuguese colonization and the consequent independence of Mozambique and Angola, the collusion between the illegal minority Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia and the racist minority Vorster régime in South Africa has become more furtive and extensive. The independence of Angola and Mozambique and the courageous and honourable decision taken by Mozambique to close its border with Southern Rhodesia caused the Smith régime to find itself with only one outlet to the outside world, namely through South Africa, whose Prime Minister has committed himself to extending all assistance and encouragement to the racist Smith régime.

103. The question under discussion is very clear. It is a serious complaint from a Member State confronted by and subjected to frequent and vicious violations of its territorial sovereignty by the illegal minority régime which came to power through extortion more than 11 years ago in Zimbabwe. The Security Council and the General Assembly have made many decisions and have adopted many resolutions in an attempt to put an end to that régime and it is reasonable to assume that, had all Member States acted to

enforce those resolutions, we should no longer be called upon to listen to distressing complaints about the acts of terror and aggression committed by the illegal Smith régime of Southern Rhodesia.

104. With regard to the continual criminal acts of aggression committed by the régime of Ian Smith against the Republic of Botswana and other countries in the region, in blatant defiance of the many resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and in defiance of world public opinion, my delegation urges the Security Council: first, to take all appropriate measures to put an end to the illegal minority régime in Zimbabwe and to give the people of Zimbabwe the right to self-determination and independence; secondly, to condemn the racist régime strongly for its aggression against the Republic of Botswana and to give all support and assistance to the Government of Botswana in order to protect its sovereignty and its people from any aggression likely to be committed in the future by the racist minority régimes in the area; and, thirdly, to call upon those States which have not done so to implement the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly concerning sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and, in view of the fact that the Vorster régime blatantly defies world public opinion and the relevant United Nations resolutions, to expand those sanctions to include the racist régime of South Africa.

105. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm that my country, the Libyan Arab Republic, pledges to support any effective and relevant action that will be taken by the Security Council against the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, and will spare no effort to ensure its support for the peoples of Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique in their noble struggle against the racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia.

106. Since Ambassador Scranton is likely to leave the Council next week and since this is probably the last time that I shall be speaking here before his departure, I should like to tell him that we wish him all success and happiness in whatever activities he undertakes in the future. My delegation has been impressed by the qualities he has shown. He has won our admiration. His honest and unimposing manner, his integrity and, above all, his sincere efforts will always be remembered.

107. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic for his kind wishes to me and for what he said about my country. I entirely share his assessment of the friendly relations between our two countries.

108. Mr. CONSALVI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Security Council is meeting for the first time in 1977 to consider an item of concern to Africa and, consequently, also of concern to Latin America. Since this is the first statement I have made on behalf of Venezuela, I consider it opportune to welcome you, Mr. President and, in particular, to mention the coincidence of your arrival among us with your assumption of the presidency of the Council. We consider this to be a sign of the fruitful times which are beginning for you in New York.

109. I cannot fail to congratulate my Latin American colleague, Ambassador Jackson of Guyana, for his brilliant performance in this Council as a representative of Latin America during the previous period.

110. I represent a small country of the third world which felt no hesitation in accepting membership in the Council for the years 1977 and 1978, for we never had any doubt of our peaceful vocation and because we are convinced that it is only by means of conciliation and peace that our peoples can progress. We are a country without conflicts. We come to the Council to make a contribution which will no doubt be modest but also no doubt valuable: a contribution of goodwill and candour. We are committed to the cause of international justice and for that cause we are and shall be militant.

111. We are meeting for the first time in 1977 to consider a problem of Africa, a problem which is not exclusive to Botswana nor to Africa since, in fact, it concerns us all. Since its accession to independence, Botswana has demonstrated that it is a friendly and peaceful country and one with countless difficulties, the greatest of which is undoubtedly that of being surrounded by the countries in Africa practising *apartheid*. Until Namibia obtains its independence and present conditions in Rhodesia and South Africa are changed, the situation of Botswana will remain complex and difficult.

112. At a time when the idea has spread and gained ground throughout the world that the illegal régime of Ian Smith is sincerely prepared to accept the course of negotiations—the only possible course for the Prime Minister and those he represents—we are faced with evidence such as that submitted to the Council by the Permanent Representative of Botswana and that contained in the statement just made to us by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, indicating the opposite. They show that Mr. Smith has not abandoned the idea of the use of force. This is certainly disturbing, because we wish for the people of Zimbabwe democratically to recover its rights and exercise them without interference.

113. We express the hope that the Security Council will find suitable means of solving the issues explained by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, to whom we extend our sympathy and solidarity. I shall speak again in the debate should it be necessary and should my delegation deem it appropriate.

114. Lastly, I wish to express my gratitude to you, Mr. President, for your words of welcome to our delegation to the Security Council and for your cordial reference to the visit of the President of Venezuela to the Soviet Union, as well as to the joint communiqué which was then signed by our two countries. I feel that, starting with that visit and that communiqué, the relations between Venezuela and the Soviet Union will become ones of friendly co-operation and mutual respect.

115. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Venezuela for the kind and generous way in which he referred to me personally and to the relations between our two countries.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.

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