



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

**1985<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 14 JANUARY 1977

NEW YORK

---

## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1985) .....	1
Adoption of the agenda .....	1
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) .....	1

✓  
672061

#### 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.

## 1985th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 14 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/1985)

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 4.25 p.m.*

### 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)**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): In accordance with the decisions taken by the Security Council at previous meetings, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Botswana, Morocco, Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Lesotho, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Yugoslavia, Kenya and Nigeria to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's consideration of the item on the agenda.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. M. Mogwe (Botswana) took a place at the Council table; Mr. M. S. Zaimi (Morocco), Mr. S. G. Mwale (Zambia), Mr. I. A. Sepetu (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. L. E. Mathaba (Lesotho), Mr. J. C. Lobo (Mozambique), Mrs. S. Y. Gbujama (Sierra Leone), Mr. J. Petrić (Yugoslavia), Mr. F. M. Kasina (Kenya) and Mr. L. O. Harriman (Nigeria) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): As President of the Security Council, I have received letters from the representatives of Somalia, Togo, the German Democratic Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Mali and Cuba in which they request to be invited to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion of the item on the agenda of this meeting of the Council. Pursuant to Article 31 of the Charter of the United Nations and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council and also in accordance with established practice, I propose, if there are no objections, to invite the representatives of those countries to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion of this item. Accordingly I invite them to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber on the understanding that they will be invited to take seats at the Council table when they wish to speak.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. H. Hussein (Somalia), Mr. A. A. Kodjovi (Togo), Mr. B. Neugebauer (German Democratic Republic), Mr. M. Ecuá Miko (Equatorial Guinea), Mr. M. B. Kanté (Mali) and Mr. R. Alarcón (Cuba) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The first speaker is the representative of Mozambique. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. LOBO (Mozambique): Mr. President, on behalf of my people and Government, I wish to thank you and, through you, all the members of the Security Council for allowing me to participate in this particular debate concerning the aggression of Southern Rhodesia against Botswana. It is a great pleasure to see you guiding the deliberations of this very important series of meetings dealing with a subject related to colonialism and racism in southern Africa. The Soviet Union has always shown a deep understanding of and commitment to the cause of the peoples of southern Africa as they have struggled, and are continuing to struggle, to free themselves from the oppression of colonialism and all its ills. I am confident that under your leadership this Council will reach the proper decisions about actions to be taken.

5. The Mozambique delegation would also like to note with pleasure the presence in this body of the newly elected members of the Security Council. I am certain that the presence of this new blood within the Council will invigorate this august body in its efforts to come to correct decisions on pertinent world problems.

6. Recently, the minority and racist régimes of southern Africa, in their desperate effort to try to stop the irreversible movement of national liberation of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, who are determined to free their beloved countries from colonialism, illegal occupation and racism, have become deliberately engaged in spreading throughout the entire area the conflicts which exist within their own borders. As my President, His Excellency Mr. Samora Moisés Machel, once said, "Ian Smith's aggressions have already mixed our blood with the blood of the people of Zimbabwe".

7. Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zambia, on one occasion or another, have been the target of some type of serious and deliberate provocation by the minority and racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury. Although it is only now that the Security Council has learned of the acts of aggression committed against Botswana by the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, President Samora Moisés Machel informed the world of it on 3 March 1976, when he said: "The Republic of Botswana and the Republic of Zambia have been, like ourselves, victims of numerous criminal actions by the Salisbury régime." At its thirty-first session, on 5 October 1976, the Foreign Minister of my country, Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, informed the General Assembly of the fact that:

"In Zimbabwe, the struggle has been intensified in the last year. The intensification of military action, as well as the active solidarity of various African States, have placed Ian Smith's régime in an unsustainable position . . . Smith even pretended to move to the offensive, trying to expand the conflict to the free States of southern Africa through provocation and through the escalation of violence."<sup>1</sup>

8. Judging from the last series of constant provocations and aggressions that have been taking place in southern Africa, we can see that Smith is desperately trying to internationalize the conflict by constantly invading the neighbouring independent and sovereign States of Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana. We consider those desperate acts of Smith as an open admission by the racist régime that the forces of independence and freedom in Zimbabwe, under militant and revolutionary leadership, are getting stronger every day. We, in Mozambique, are convinced that Ian Smith is condemned to defeat. Ian Smith will be erased from history as the other colonialists have been before him.

9. However, a cause for concern in this international body must be the realization that, for approximately the last 12 months, southern Africa has been an arena of massacres of refugees, kidnappings of nationalists, mass killings of villagers, terrorism, invasions, military aggressions and all sorts of crimes which have been condemned by this Council. All those criminal activities have been perpetrated by only one group: the minority racist régimes. We now ask: For how long should the racist régime of southern Africa be allowed to continue to abuse our patience and tolerance?

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 18th meeting, para. 232.*

10. It would seem unnecessary at this particular series of meetings to go into detail by enumerating all the incidents in each of the aforementioned countries, since the Council is trying to concentrate on the specific case of the aggression of Southern Rhodesia against the sovereign State of Botswana.

11. After hearing all the evidence presented by His Excellency, the Minister of External Affairs of Botswana [1983rd meeting], a sister country and member of the front-line States, the Mozambique delegation cannot help but vehemently condemn all the acts of provocation and aggression committed against it by the racist and minority régime in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. We strongly believe that harassment, military threats, murder and all acts of aggression which are being perpetrated in the area by the régime from the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, constitute a grave threat to international peace in general and seriously contribute to instability and a hostile atmosphere in southern Africa in particular.

12. The danger of instability and the lack of peace in southern Africa becomes very clear, especially when one realizes that, since the time when the forces of the illegal minority régime in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia started their incursions into the neighbouring countries, most of their targets have been refugee camps like Nyazonia in Mozambique, and defenceless villagers like those in Matsiloje in Botswana and Mapai in Mozambique. Most of the victims of the Rhodesian forces have been those children, women and the elderly, who are being mowed down in a cowardly fashion by the racist soldiers when they and the Smith mercenaries find the freedom fighters of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) too difficult to deal with. Incapable of containing the devastating wave of freedom fighters and being humiliated on the battlefield by ZIPA, the Smith racists resort to massacres and mass killing of refugees and villagers in Mozambique, Botswana and everywhere they can go.

13. All those acts of aggression against the sovereign and independent States of southern Africa have come as an immediate consequence of the existence in the area of the oppressive, racist, colonial, rebel and illegal régime of Ian Smith.

14. Peace cannot be guaranteed in the area if the political situation is permitted to remain the same as it is now. Consequently, all the criminal actions and atrocities now being committed by the illegal minority régime in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia against the people of the area will continue. This fact, which has proved to hold true throughout many different historical instances, was put forward for the purpose of illustration on 20 July 1973 by Mr. Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO [*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*], before the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. He said:

"The atrocities committed by the [fascist] army, despite their horror and barbarism, express the true nature of the . . . fascist colonial régime, just as the gas chambers of the Nazi concentration camps, the massacre

at Lidice in Czechoslovakia and that at Oradour in France expressed the true nature of Hitler and nazism; just as Sharpeville expressed the true nature of the régime in South Africa; just as Sakiet Sidi Youssef expressed the true nature of French colonialism in Algeria; just as Deir Yassin in Palestine in 1948 showed the nature of Zionism; just as Guernica in Spain showed the nature of Franco fascism; just as My Lai expressed the true nature of American imperialism in Viet-Nam. Each colonial war, each racist war, each nazi war . . . includes a Mueda, a Sharpeville, a Pijiguiti, an Icolo e Bengo, an Oradour, a Guernica, a My Lai, a Sakiet Sidi Youssef.

“Therefore, let us try to understand these facts, this reality, in that manner . . . : every act of the . . . fascist colonial régime is a crime. As long as that régime exists, crime will exist.”<sup>2</sup>

15. In Mozambique, we are convinced that the situation, as it was presented by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, is a product of the colonialism, oppression and racism that is going on within the boundaries of the illegal minority régime in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. Therefore, to establish peace, justice and harmony in the area, all the causes responsible for the present situation must be removed. Colonialism in Southern Rhodesia must be brought to an end. Otherwise, the crimes of colonialism will go on. It is an incontestable fact that colonialism thrives on crimes and its crimes have no limits.

16. The fact is that Zimbabwe is occupied by foreign forces which have established an illegal oppressive and racist régime in a territory which does not belong to them, condemning the majority of the country's people to live in concentration camps, with all their movements controlled by rifles, pistols and machine-guns.

17. The international community must stop treating Ian Smith as a responsible politician, because in reality Smith is an assassin of the masses, and he must be treated accordingly. Those who created Smith and still have power over him must act immediately to stop building him up through their mass media which are constantly poisoning the world with lies and calumnies against the people of Zimbabwe and the people of the front-line countries. The international community must do something to stop Smith's allies from providing him with mercenaries, military hardware and all the economic help that is given to him either openly or covertly. The international community must fully support the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe that is being waged by ZIPA under the correct operational and energetic leadership of the Patriotic Front.

18. As far as Mozambique's duty towards Zimbabwe is concerned, my President, His Excellency Mr. Samora Moisés Machel, put it very clearly on 3 March 1976 when he said:

“By supporting the struggle of Zimbabwe we are defending Mozambique. By supporting the development of the fight of our Zimbabwe brothers we are pushing the

enemy away from our frontiers, consolidating our independence and creating conditions for the establishment of peace. So we say: support and solidarity are not charity; they are not a favour; they are mutual help between forces that are fighting for the same objective.”

19. In the present situation of constant provocation, military threat and aggression, Botswana deserves the full support of the international community so as to enable that sister country to cope with the economic hardship confronting it as a result of the imperative need to divert funds from planned development projects to unplanned and unbudgeted projects for military and security needs, in order effectively to defend itself against the Ian Smith forces. The international community must do everything within its power to relieve Botswana of the weight and burden it is enduring at this moment, in order to enable that country to continue playing its positive role in the cause of African liberation. Mozambique is ready to carry out the part that the international community wants it to play in assisting the sister State of Botswana.

20. At this point, we should like to express our satisfaction at the fact that the United Kingdom has finally decided to assume the responsibilities of the decolonization process in Southern Rhodesia. Nevertheless, we should like once more to appeal to the Security Council and to the British authorities to make sure that the transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe is carried out in good faith and is real and not a fiction. We want to alert the world concerning the kind of manoeuvres going on right now in Southern Rhodesia. Those manoeuvres consist in the proliferation of puppet groups organized on a tribal basis in order to undermine the decolonization process and to dilute the entire meaning of the transfer of power. My delegation hopes that the Conference on Zimbabwe being held at Geneva will succeed in establishing conditions for an early and real independence on the basis of majority rule, in accordance with the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

21. I repeat that, in the present situation of constant provocation, military threat and aggression, Botswana deserves the full support of the international community so as to enable this sister country to cope with the economic hardship confronting it as a result of the imperative need to divert funds or assets. This assistance is urgently needed, owing to the fact that the Republic of Botswana is economically heavily dependent on the racist régimes of southern Africa. The international community must do everything within its power to relieve Botswana of the weight and burden that it is enduring at this moment in order that it may continue to play a positive role in the cause of the liberation of southern Africa.

22. In spite of all the difficulties with which it has to deal, Botswana has taken a courageous stand and has been playing a leading role in the struggle for the liberation of Africa, in general, and for the immediate liberation of Zimbabwe, in particular. Mozambique fully supports the position of its sister State of Botswana and we are confident that the Security Council will take the necessary measures to resolve the situation.

<sup>2</sup> See A/AC.109/PV.929.

23. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Mozambique for the kind words he said about my country.

24. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): At this stage of our deliberations, and on behalf of eight members of the Council, I wish orally to introduce a draft resolution, the sponsors of which are Benin, India, the Libyan Arab Republic, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania and Venezuela:

[*The speaker read the draft resolution which was subsequently circulated as document S/12276.*]

25. This draft is so clear and straightforward that I do not believe it calls for any explanation. However, I may perhaps add that a great deal of work has gone into it. The sponsors have listened very attentively to the views of other delegations during private consultations, and we have, as far as possible, accommodated those views in a spirit of understanding and co-operation. Thus the draft does not refer to "aggression", but rather to "hostile acts". In the circumstances, I believe members will agree that the language is moderate.

26. The three main objectives of the draft regard the cessation of hostilities, the dispatch of a mission by the Secretary-General, and financial and other assistance. It is a realistic draft. I hope members will consider it as such, and that it can be adopted by consensus.

27. Incidentally, I may perhaps add that the draft is open to further sponsorship, should any other delegation wish to add its name.

28. Mr. VON WECHMAR (Federal Republic of Germany): Allow me, in speaking for the first time at the beginning of our first term as a member of the Security Council, to convey to you, Sir, my delegation's sincere congratulations on your assumption of the office of Permanent Representative of the USSR to the United Nations and on your accession to the presidency of the Council. I also wish to thank you for the kind words of welcome which you addressed to my delegation. Relations between your country and the Federal Republic of Germany have developed favourably since the beginning of this decade and we are determined, as Federal Chancellor Schmidt pointed out in his recent policy statement, to continue consistently along the road of co-operation.

29. My felicitations also extend to the outgoing President of the Security Council, my good friend Ambassador Dacu of Romania, for the efficient and successful way in which he presided over the Council's work during last month.

30. I should also like to associate myself with the congratulations extended to the delegations of Canada, India, Mauritius and Venezuela, the other Member States which are joining the Council together with us.

31. At the same time, I wish to express our gratitude to all other delegations gathered around this table for the warm welcome they extended to us. We are looking forward to co-operating with them all in the months ahead. Our thanks

go not least to those United Nations Member States which have expressed their confidence in the Federal Republic of Germany in the elections to the Security Council, by calling our country to this responsible position within the community of nations three years after our accession to membership in the world Organization.

32. Let me assure representatives that, in this new function, the Federal Republic of Germany will do everything in its power to co-operate actively and constructively in the attainment of the common aims of the United Nations: to maintain international peace, to develop friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination and to strengthen international co-operation. We consider it an essential task of the United Nations to promote economic co-operation among nations, to accelerate their peaceful development and to redress the disparities between rich and poor. It was with those aims in mind that we participated in the work of the United Nations in the past.

33. As a member of the Security Council, the Federal Republic of Germany will continue to pursue the policy for peace to which it has been committed ever since its foundation.

34. We believe that it is not enough to overcome existing or newly emerging crises, although much will already be achieved if that endeavour is successful. It is necessary, in particular, to promote world-wide respect for the right to self-determination of peoples and for human rights for every individual.

35. It is our conviction that the use of force as a means for attaining political objectives should be renounced once and for all. With that in view, we shall endeavour to play our full part in the Security Council during the two years of our membership.

36. Turning now to the subject before the Council, I may say that we have studied with special attention the letters of the Permanent Representative of Botswana contained in documents S/12262 and S/12275. We listened with great interest to the account which the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana gave [*1983rd meeting*] of the precarious situation facing his country. I welcome him as a friend of my country and we recall with great pleasure his visit to Bonn in February 1976.

37. I should like to express the deep sympathy of my Government to the people and the Government of Botswana on the losses their country has suffered. My delegation deplores the untenable situation created by the régime at Salisbury and regards the development outlined by the Foreign Minister of Botswana as most regrettable. It can only render more difficult the search for a peaceful solution to the Rhodesian problem—a solution which should lead the country to self-determination, in conformity with the freely expressed wishes of its population.

38. We believe that the present situation, described in the letters from the representative of Botswana and outlined in the statement of the Foreign Minister of Botswana, as a result of repeated violations of Botswana's territorial

integrity by the illegal Smith régime, must be viewed in the over-all perspective of the events which have occurred since the so-called declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia.

39. The Federal Republic of Germany has consistently termed illegal the Smith régime's unilateral declaration of independence. It has desisted from relations with Rhodesia. Although it was not a Member of the United Nations at the time, the Federal Republic of Germany, as early as 1968, strictly applied the sanctions imposed by the Security Council resolutions under Chapter VII of the Charter. The necessary legal and administrative steps to ensure compliance with the sanctions were implemented by my Government.

40. The situation in and around Southern Rhodesia has continued to be a matter of grave concern to my Government. The Federal Republic of Germany has always been a strong advocate of the right to self-determination in all parts of the world. We therefore reject the intolerable policies of the minority régime which has perpetuated racial discrimination and denied basic human and political rights to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe. We share the deep concern of the international community with what has increasingly become an anachronism, namely, a minority régime which imposes its will on an overwhelming majority.

41. We have always held the view that any solution should be attained by peaceful means. It was therefore with great relief that my country viewed developments in the course of last year which resulted in the convening of the Conference at Geneva, in which the parties concerned are taking part. We welcomed, in particular, the intention of establishing an interim Government in Southern Rhodesia, which would pave the way for early independence and majority rule. On 18 October 1976, my Foreign Minister, together with his colleagues from the nine member countries of the European Economic Community, welcomed the speedy action taken by the British Government in convening that Conference under the able chairmanship of Ambassador Ivor Richard. We continue to hope for a positive result.

42. We, together with our partners in the European Community, placed on record our unqualified support for the efforts of all those who contributed to the preparation and progress of that Conference, in particular the Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom, the Presidents of the front-line States and other African leaders, as well as those most directly involved.

43. My country felt encouraged by the fact that the parties concerned were prepared to seek a settlement to bring about an orderly and peaceful transfer to majority rule and independence. We now urge them to spare no efforts to resume the Conference and to bring it to a satisfactory conclusion as soon as possible, so that further bloodshed and hostilities in the area, such as those preoccupying this Council at the present time, can be averted. We are hopeful that further progress will be made; it would be tragic if this chance for reaching a peaceful solution were lost. The alternative could only be more

bloodshed and increased suffering for all the people in the area. We therefore wish our colleague, Ambassador Ivor Richard, every success in the arduous task still ahead of him.

44. The Security Council has repeatedly dealt with situations created by the Rhodesian minority régime in that part of Africa. I recall, in particular, the acts of violence and economic extortion committed against Zambia in 1973 and Mozambique in 1976. The present situation must be viewed in the light of those earlier events. The real solution to the problem before us lies in the achievement of a just and acceptable settlement for a free and truly independent Zimbabwe. Only in that way can the incidents described by the Foreign Minister of Botswana finally be brought to an end.

45. My Government is aware of the grave economic consequences the policy of the Smith régime has brought about for the neighbouring countries. In the framework of our development aid programme, we have undertaken great efforts to assist those States, among them particularly Botswana, to overcome their difficulties. We shall continue and strengthen our aid even further this year. My Government is convinced that the appeal made in the draft resolution before us to extend increased economic support will not remain unheeded by the States Members of the United Nations.

46. Recent events have stressed the importance of the close links of friendship and co-operation which we have maintained with the Government and the people of Botswana since they attained their independence. We have strong and cordial relations with the peaceful people of Botswana. Those relations are exemplified by several visits to Bonn by the Vice-President of Botswana, Mr. Quett Masire, as well as by the visit of its Minister for External Affairs. Let me assure the latter, through you, Mr. President, that in view of the grave problems facing his country as a result of the repeated violations of Botswana's territorial integrity by the illegal Smith régime, my Government is prepared to continue and further strengthen our co-operation with his Government and people.

47. With those considerations in mind, my delegation is prepared to support any solution which would be of genuine assistance to Botswana and would support the efforts towards an over-all settlement of the Rhodesian problem.

48. As this is probably the last time that I shall be speaking during this series of meetings of the Security Council, I hope you will permit me to conclude my remarks with a few words of farewell to the representative of the United States, Governor Scranton, and I would ask Ambassador Sherer to be kind enough to relay them to him. I should like to convey to Governor and Mrs. Scranton my very best wishes for the future. The Governor will always be remembered by my delegation here, at the United Nations, as an outstanding representative of the United States of America. With his great experience, his extraordinary skill, his warmth and grace, he has rendered invaluable service not only to his country but also to the United Nations as a whole. We shall miss a true friend.

49. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany for the congratulations he extended to me.

50. The next speaker is the representative of Somalia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

51. Mr. HUSSEIN (Somalia): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to extend to you our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of January and also on your appointment as the Permanent Representative of your great country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to the United Nations. It is particularly gratifying to my delegation to see you presiding over the Council at a time when an important and serious matter has been brought to it for its consideration, a matter which is especially vital to Africa and indeed to all freedom- and peace-loving people throughout the world.

52. I am happy to express the satisfaction of my delegation at the close ties of friendship and co-operation which have existed between our two countries for a long time, ties which are based on equality and mutual respect and are constantly growing. I am sure that such close relations will continue to exist at the level of our Missions to the United Nations. We are confident too that your long experience in international relations and your tested ability and diplomatic skill will ensure a useful contribution to the work of the Security Council as a whole, especially during this series of meetings over which you are presiding.

53. I should also like to extend a very warm welcome to the new members of the Council: Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Mauritius and Venezuela. We are familiar with the good work and long experience of the representatives of those countries and therefore more than confident that they will make an invaluable contribution to the work of the Council.

54. Before I pass to the substance of the matter at stake, Mr. President, allow me to express my delegation's appreciation also to your predecessor, Mr. Yakov Malik, for the unforgettable role he played during his long tenure of office as Permanent Representative of his country to the United Nations, in the cause of peace, justice and freedom.

55. The Security Council is once again called upon to examine a complaint submitted by the Government of the Republic of Botswana in connexion with the wanton aggression committed by the illegal régime at Salisbury against Botswana, a country which has resolutely and steadfastly stood against the illegal and minority régimes in southern Africa.

56. The serious complaint submitted by Botswana reminds us of the statement made by the Permanent Representative of Botswana in the Security Council on 22 December 1976 [*1982nd meeting*], when the Council was faced with the serious situation created by South Africa's closure of certain border posts between South Africa and Lesotho, an action aimed at coercing Lesotho into recognizing the so-called bantustan, Transkei. In a statement during the discussion of that situation, the representative of Botswana

made a prophetic statement, in which he said, among other things:

"The Security Council is dealing . . . with a question which has very grave implications not only for Lesotho but ultimately for other States in the region, and certainly also for the international community as a whole."

57. The Council has heard the statement made at the present series of meetings by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, Mr. Mogwe [*1983rd meeting*], who succinctly but clearly described to the Council the havoc caused by the actions of the security forces of the illegal régime at Salisbury against the territory and people of Botswana. In committing more than 36 acts of aggression, provocation, harassment, murder, kidnapping and destruction of property in Botswana, the illegal régime at Salisbury has as its objective the blackmailing of the neighbouring countries and the frustration of the efforts of the African people in Zimbabwe in their struggle for majority rule and their yearning for human dignity. Those acts are also directed towards compelling Botswana to change its present policy of giving refuge and assistance to the victims of oppression from southern Africa.

58. There is no doubt that the arrogance and intransigence of the illegal régime at Salisbury is part and parcel of the over-all strategy of the unholy alliance of illegal minority and racist régimes in southern Africa. The existence of such folly and of such a desperate strategy is clearly shown by the recent scenario of blatant aggression arranged by these régimes against Mozambique, Zambia, Angola and now Botswana.

59. The Somali delegation is gratified that Botswana, like other neighbouring sister countries, refused to succumb to the rebel régime's intimidation through force of arms, let alone to its other forms of pressure such as economic blockade.

60. We commend the Government and the people of Botswana for the wisdom of reacting to such acts of aggression by submitting a complaint to the Security Council so that this body, and indeed the international community, may be kept abreast of the true picture of the aggression and other evil machinations perpetrated by the illegal and racist régimes in southern Africa, which, as we have always maintained, are capable of endangering the peace and security of the area and indeed of the whole world. While the Council has the responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, my Government believes that the African States should re-examine the whole situation in southern Africa in the light of recent developments. It is because of this conviction and in the light of the deterioration of the situation in that part of Africa that my Government is led to believe that African States should hold a meeting with a view to making a serious and comprehensive re-assessment of the prevailing situation which, in the opinion of my Government, is very, very grave.

61. The Security Council should realize that African States cannot remain passive in the face of the wanton



aggressions committed against sister African States, whose only crime is to extend a helping hand to their beleaguered brothers and sisters.

62. The situation caused by the aggression of the illegal régime of Salisbury against Botswana, as presented by the Foreign Minister of Botswana and by various members of the Council, provides sufficient elements to justify a condemnation by the Council of the unprovoked aggression and a demand for the immediate and total abandonment of those lunatic acts of violation of the sovereignty of African States. The Council should also request the United Nations and its specialized agencies and, indeed, other non-governmental organizations to extend assistance to Botswana, which has been subjected to inhuman pressures in many forms.

63. The Somali delegation unreservedly subscribes to the words of the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana when he said, in his statement before the Council on 12 January:

“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.” [*Ibid.*, para. 41.]

64. Finally, allow me to place on record a note of warning. If the Security Council fails to examine the present situation in southern Africa in a true and realistic perspective and to take prompt and adequate measures as the gravity of the situation requires, then those responsible for such inaction should be held accountable for the consequences. In the words of the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana:

“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”. [*Ibid.*]

65. In conclusion, the Somali delegation vehemently urges the Council to act and to act quickly.

66. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Somalia for his kind words about my country, my predecessor and me personally.

67. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is in your twofold capacity as Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union and President, for this month, of the Security Council that the French delegation would like, in its turn, to address to you its words of welcome and warm congratulations. I should also like to take this opportunity to request you to be good enough to convey to your predecessor, Ambassador Malik, our best wishes for success in the important task which has been entrusted to him. I wish to say how much we appreciated the cordiality of our relations with him. We are

convinced that, in view of the excellent relations between our two countries, the relations between our two delegations will continue to develop within the same spirit of co-operation.

68. I should also like to thank Ambassador Datcu for the competence, courtesy and efficiency with which he presided over our proceedings during the month of December. I am sure that you will not mind, Mr. President, if I also pay a tribute to the remarkable linguistic talents of your predecessor.

69. In reassembling, as we do now after the new year, we find that some of our colleagues have departed, a fact which we regret very sincerely. For two years we have benefited here from the support and the work of the representatives of Guyana, Italy, Japan, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania. We shall miss them because their contribution to the work of the Council was valuable and conspicuous. However, we are very pleased to welcome five new members: Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Mauritius and Venezuela, whose representatives, for the most part, are experts in United Nations matters and familiar with the work of this body. They will bring to our debates the knowledge and experience which they have displayed in other circumstances, and indeed sometimes in this body.

70. I should also like to associate myself whole-heartedly with the compliments which have been paid to Governor Scranton on the occasion of his forthcoming departure. On behalf of my predecessor, Mr. de Guiringaud, and on my own behalf, I should like to tell him that the talent and the breadth of vision he brought to the representation of his country in the United Nations have won him the friendship and unanimous respect of the members of the Council.

71. I now come to the item on our agenda. The French delegation has listened with greatest attention to the statement of the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana [*1983rd meeting*], whom I should like to welcome here. He presented to us clearly and sincerely the complaint of his country against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. Repeated violations of the frontier of his country and numerous incidents have occurred and are still occurring. The international community and the Council cannot remain indifferent to these facts because of their gravity. They must come to the assistance of a country which is suffering from the hostile actions of the régime at Salisbury. We are aware, in particular, of the economic difficulties which confront that country. But that situation and those incidents recall to our minds the underlying reasons for our debate. It is the refusal to bring about majority rule in Rhodesia which is at the root of this tension. It is the anachronistic nature of a policy which refuses to give a voice to the majority which has led us into the present situation. As was stated by the representative of the Netherlands on behalf of the European Community on 8 December last in the Fourth Committee,<sup>3</sup> our nine countries unreservedly support the efforts made by all those who have contributed to the preparation and progress

<sup>3</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Fourth Committee, 42nd meeting.

of the Geneva Conference. They urge all parties to spare no effort to bring the Conference to a successful conclusion as soon as possible, thus averting further bloodshed and new hostilities in the region. They consider that it would be tragic to lose the opportunity to bring about a peaceful solution. That statement remains just as valid today. France supports the efforts of the United Kingdom, and in particular the mission undertaken by Ambassador Ivor Richard, a mission to which most members of the Council have already given their encouragement. The mission of Mr. Ivor Richard is now probably in its most delicate phase. It is therefore important, in our view, that nothing that is said here, nor the resolution which will result from our debate, should in any way hinder his initiative or compromise the success of his mission and thus the prospects for a peaceful settlement.

72. It seems essential to us today to give to the Government and people of Botswana some evidence of support commensurate with the confidence they have shown in us in deciding to appeal to the Security Council. The international community as a whole should also unite its efforts with the efforts of those who have been striving to put an end to the present situation in Rhodesia by facilitating by peaceful means the rapid establishment of government by majority rule.

73. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of France for his kind words about my predecessor, and I shall certainly convey them to him. I also thank him for his kind words about me.

74. The next speaker is the representative of Nigeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

75. Mr. HARRIMAN (Nigeria): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation I bid you welcome to the United Nations. You represent a country with which my country, Nigeria, maintains very cordial relations. Permit me to express my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of this Council during the first month of the year. The vanguard role played by your country, the Soviet Union, in the liberation of Africa is traditional and does not require any comment here. It is a position of principle for which my Government and people are eternally grateful.

76. Like other speakers, I wish to thank you and the other members of the Security Council for allowing me, on behalf of my Government, to participate in this debate on the acts of aggression committed by the terrorists at Salisbury against independent African States. We still hear the echoes of the debate on the aggression by racist South Africa against Lesotho. The debate on the complaint brought against the illegal régime of Salisbury by Zambia also is still fresh in our minds. The sovereignty of the independent State of Mozambique has also been constantly violated by the racist Government in Salisbury.

77. Today, we are again faced with another example of a panic syndrome generated by the nervous reactions of a tyrant under seige, generated by a faltering régime whose support, both at the national level and internationally, is giving way under the inexorable pressures of nationalism in

Zimbabwe and of international human values. These pressures are born not from racism but, on the contrary, from the will of individual blacks and liberal whites in Zimbabwe to set wrongs right and to achieve their inalienable rights to self-determination and national independence. That syndrome manifests itself in Ian Smith's double talk and brazen-faced hypocrisy in pretending that he is in the process of working towards majority rule, based on a real majority government, while he is covertly arranging to put forward puppets who call themselves the movement ZUPO [*Zimbabwe United People's Organization*]. That syndrome is amply evident in the recent atrocities of Ian Smith's quixotic hot pursuit of imaginary guerrillas. Like his mentor Vorster, Ian Smith appears to believe that, by destroying the refugee camps and by bombing and scaring villagers within and on the outskirts of besieged Rhodesia, he can successfully intimidate front-line States in the process and terrorize border villages within Rhodesia into subservience. There could be no better evidence than that from United States Senator Dick Clark, who visited those refugee camps in Mozambique and attested to the fact that they were not guerrilla camps. That was as recently as December last year. As my Government has advised, the Geneva meeting is a unique opportunity for Ian Smith and for white minority interests in Zimbabwe. He should take advantage of the will of African States to make the best out of Geneva, in spite of the initial doubts which we had about the usefulness of the Conference and, in particular, about the motivations behind the Conference.

78. The acts of aggression committed against independent States in Africa by terrorists based at Pretoria and at Salisbury are in clear disregard of provisions of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations. If we members of the world community, by our silence and lack of will, fail to act against such terrorist adventures, we may just as well forget the basic principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as the fundamental premise that all independent States are equal, no matter how great the economic or military superiority of one or the other.

79. Two days ago, we heard the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana [*1983rd meeting*] give a most lucid and pathetic account of the events occurring in areas near the borders of Botswana and Zimbabwe. While I do not wish to reiterate the specific acts of aggression committed against African States, a number of pertinent points have emerged in the complex situation building up in southern Africa.

80. First, no African State has declared a state of war between it and the racist régimes at Salisbury and Pretoria. Pretoria, on the other hand, in order to protect its interests in southern Africa, has not only done so but has encouraged Salisbury, not only by words but also by action in the form of invasion, thereby creating a state of war in southern Africa. African States and, indeed, all men of conscience the world over have declared their full and unequivocal support for the oppressed peoples of those racist-dominated countries in Africa and their solidarity with the struggle of a people to emancipate itself from the clutches of racial domination by a settler colonialist régime that holds 7 million blacks as hostages in inhuman degradation in Zimbabwe. Those international terrorists based at

Pretoria, with their scions at Salisbury, have not only carried out acts of war against neighbouring independent African States, but have gone so far as to enact legislation empowering their armed forces to attack any black African States in their way. I refer here to the provision of South Africa's National Defense Act of 1976, which represents a dangerous move in international relations and which provides an umbrella for Salisbury's actions. Yet, this Council has declared that there is no threat to peace in southern Africa.

81. Secondly, over the past months, international action against the minority and racist régimes in southern Africa has almost ground to a halt. At the United Nations, a lot has been said about the delicate nature of certain initiatives taken with the aim of evolving solutions for the problems of southern Africa. As a matter of fact, it goes far beyond that.

82. We were informed that Vorster was bringing pressure to bear on Ian Smith. His objective, we were advised, was to play a role in a settlement in the interests of majority rule in Rhodesia. It is evident from direct pronouncements made by Vorster—which I clearly heard on United States television two weeks ago—that he has denied ever bringing such pressures to bear on Rhodesia and has ruled out such a method for a solution of the problem of southern Africa. In order to frustrate international sanctions, South Africa's supplies to Rhodesia proceed unabated and continue to be the main prop for the survival of that illegal régime at Salisbury. Yet we have been informed that Vorster, who is the prop of Ian Smith, is an indispensable factor in the solution of the Rhodesian problem. These very racists, to whom protection has been so neatly given and on whom a label of respectability has been bestowed, violate at will the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States such as Botswana, which does not even have a standing army.

83. Obviously, aggression by Ian Smith against neighbouring States is incompatible with the spirit of discussion and compromise that it was hoped would prevail at this time, in order to lead to an amicable solution of the Rhodesian problem in the interests of both blacks and whites in Zimbabwe. I believe that Ian Smith is either schizophrenic or, as usual, insecure. Ian Smith does not act in good faith and only military pressure by the guerrillas and effective pressure by the world Powers can get him to end this futile clinging to phantom power.

84. Thirdly, the Government of Botswana, like some other independent African States in southern Africa, is today facing the problem of refugees from Rhodesia and South Africa. Botswana, which is a poor country and overpowered by exploitation and by its own dependence on its neighbours, is coping with that problem with immense courage. Botswana has talked of principles. Botswana represents, as an international entity, a *beau geste* in the wilderness of the exotic fantasies of its racist neighbours. Botswana deserves succour, not only from Africans, who can hardly protect themselves against the terrorists from Pretoria and Salisbury, but from the entire international community, for what Botswana has embarked upon today amounts to the victory of principle over expediency. What Botswana has

always upheld among the front-line States, exposed to the whims and caprices of the foundering southern African régimes, reflects the triumph of the will over overwhelming oppression and repression. South Africa has successfully used Ian Smith to sustain a buffer State in Rhodesia. Rhodesia is, however, under siege and will sooner or later become independent Zimbabwe. Its actions today are manifestations of the motions of desperation of a drowning individual.

85. Fourthly, over 200,000 Africans in Rhodesia are being forcibly removed from their homes and their lands and herded into what are called "protected villages" along Rhodesian borders with African States. At first sight, this move might seem to be one aimed at protecting those people from the fighting between the nationalist forces and the racists. But on second thoughts, as is becoming increasingly evident, it is clear that this move offers no protection to those Africans. On the contrary, those "protected villages" are being used as human shields by the racist forces in their losing battle against nationalist forces in that area. The wanton bombing of African cities and villages within Rhodesia itself is well documented.

86. Many of us must have read the report of the International Commission of Jurists, published some months ago, which commented profusely and profoundly on quasi-slavery in Rhodesia. I am informed that the Master-Servant Act is still in force in Rhodesia. I imagine that some of us must also have read recent reports compiled by the Rhodesian Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace which comment at length on that régime of abduction, torture and death in Rhodesia. I quote from an open letter published by Bishop Lamont of Umtali following the bombing of the city of Umtali, within Rhodesia, by the Rhodesian racist air force:

"The African civilian population has been clearly made to feel that it is now the deliberate target of what would normally be called 'the forces of law and order'. The army and police have been officially accorded excessive powers and guaranteed indemnity against the abuse of them. Approval has been granted for the bombing and destruction of villages, even though they should contain innocent people. Obstacles of all kinds have been placed in the way of those who seek either legal justice or compensation for death or brutal treatment or loss of property. The media of communication have been placed almost entirely under the control of one political party,"—the racist political party—"your own, and are manipulated constantly to suppress or to distort the truth.

"Nor is this all. In a State which claims to be democratic, people are restricted or imprisoned without trial, tortured or tried *in camera*, or put to death by secret hanging, and justification for all this barbarity is sought by you"—Ian Smith—"in the name of Christianity and of Western civilization and for what you call the 'maintaining of Rhodesian standards'. Surely this is the final absurdity."

87. Finally, as members of the world community, we should begin to ask ourselves in all seriousness what

measures we intend to take to contain the explosive situation at present building up in southern Africa. We have seen the various manoeuvres of the racists at Pretoria and Salisbury. They have attempted to destroy the birthright of millions of Africans in the process of granting sham independence to homelands. They have employed arm-twisting tactics and international blackmail against Lesotho, and now it is obvious that they have organized themselves into a band of international terrorists with the purpose of harassing independent African States and inflicting untold hardship on the innocent and defenceless peoples of those African States.

88. At the level of human dignity, the performance of the international community leaves much to be desired. We appear to go for technicalities when the problem is practical; we go for legality when the problem is political; we go for expediency when the problem is basic. The United Nations cannot afford to compromise on human values. When individual States, in particular, fail to reflect their national policies and compromise them in their international relations, they make a total mockery of their own national values and their own national moral positions.

89. It is the wish of Nigeria that we not commence the new year by limiting our perspectives to the crucial, but parochial, problem of Botswana, a front-line partial enclave State and an old kingdom, involved in today's debate. We must take another comprehensive look at the issues and the situation in southern Africa. We cannot sit by while, on an almost daily basis, some of the brutal, oppressive, suppressive and gangster-like military adventures in human history continue to be undertaken by racist white minority régimes in southern Africa. We cannot sit by while people are hanged in prisons on a daily basis and exterminated without a second thought. The racist régimes defy all the principles of international relations while we debate technicalities in the Security Council about the applicability of Chapter VII of the Charter. Some members of the Council cannot afford much longer to put behind them the issues of southern Africa—issues that impinge on their very way of life—in favour of issues of profit and loss and economic gain at the expense of the black continent.

90. It is true that Africa has no nuclear power, and no outstanding economic power, and that therefore Africa is secondary among the concerns of the Western Powers. But how can they give up their source of chrome, diamonds and gold? How would they protect the Cape route? How can African leaders sustain European values, security, Christianity and democracy in black Africa and keep out communism—and, obviously, Cuba? As we have warned before, the more we go for the ephemeral and lose sight of the long-term developments in southern Africa, the more we circumscribe the options available to the blacks of southern Africa in the political, ideological, economic and other fields. As the Bishop of Umtali said after the bombardment by the rebel Rhodesian Air Force of that city to which I referred earlier:

“Far from your policies defending Christianity and Western civilization, as you claim, they mock the law of Christ and make communism attractive to the African people.”

91. Complaints are being brought to the attention of the Council: first, it was Zambia; next Lesotho; today, it is Botswana. Let us nip this wild bud while it is still young because, if it is allowed to burst, no one can really foretell the consequences.

92. I have gone to such length and into such detail because we can no longer compartmentalize the issues of southern Africa. It is obvious that the life-line of the Smith régime is provided by the racists at Pretoria. For their survival those rebels at Salisbury are, to a large extent, dependent on South Africa. Therefore, stern international action must be taken by the world community, or we shall continue to have Rhodesia on our hands; we shall continue to have Namibia as an embarrassment to the Council.

93. The time will soon come to take up this general matter in the Security Council, as we decided in the General Assembly, when we come to discuss the question of South Africa and *apartheid*. My delegation, like many others, still has faith in the Council. The situation in southern Africa is critical, and time is running out.

94. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words about my country and about me.

95. Like the previous speakers, the representatives of France and the Federal Republic of Germany, the representative of Nigeria has spoken of the good relations existing between his country and the Soviet Union, and I should like to stress that we, for our part, whole-heartedly share that view.

96. The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

97. Mr. NEUGEBAUER (German Democratic Republic): Mr. President, permit me to thank you for the opportunity given to the delegation of the German Democratic Republic to explain its position on the item on the agenda.

98. It is a particular pleasure for my delegation to congratulate you, the newly appointed Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations and in the Security Council, on taking over the high function of President of the Council for the month of January. Between the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union there exist close, unbreakable bonds of deep friendship and all-sided co-operation, which are steadily being further developed and deepened on the basis of our common aims.

99. The position taken by the Soviet Union in the Security Council has always been characterized by a striving to strengthen peace and international security, in accordance with the principles of Leninist foreign policy. Mr. President, in your introductory address a few days ago [*1983rd meeting*], you reaffirmed that the delegation of the USSR, under your leadership, would continue to work with that noble aim. In this struggle for the implementation of our common cause, the strengthening of peace, the elimination of sources of conflict, the termination of the arms race, the

full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the liquidation of the remnants of racism and *apartheid*, we whole-heartedly wish you much success.

100. The Security Council, now with a changed composition, is facing the task, this year, of taking significant and effective decisions for the strengthening of peace and security. This requires a clear engagement and political will on the part of all the members of the Council for the elimination of the last strongholds of colonialism and racism in southern Africa—and the complaint of Botswana being on the agenda at present is a first test for it. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic would like to extend to the old and new members of the Council sincere wishes for success in exercising the mandate entrusted to them by the Charter.

101. The German Democratic Republic has always consistently advocated the liquidation of colonialism and racism and has expressed active solidarity with the peoples fighting for the implementation of their right to self-determination and independence. It has therefore repeatedly spoken in the Security Council. As a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, it has always advocated the revelation of the crimes of the régime of *apartheid* at Pretoria and its appendage at Salisbury, unmasking its protectors, increasing the protests of world public against the racist régimes and supporting the national liberation movements of militant Africa. It is that position which moves my delegation also to state the views of the German Democratic Republic on the agenda item.

102. At its recent session, the General Assembly, by the votes of an overwhelming majority of the States Members, adopted clear-cut resolutions of principle, proceeding from the requirements of the present situation, on intensifying the struggle for the liquidation of the last strongholds of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. They reflect the great advance of the peoples' struggle in southern Africa. It has become evident to everyone that the day is not far when those peoples, united in the non-aligned movement and firmly supported by their natural ally, the socialist States, will definitively implement their right to self-determination, thus making a significant contribution to the strengthening of peace and international security.

103. In view of this change in the international balance of forces, the fascist rulers in southern Africa, often supported by their protectors and henchmen, make desperate attempts and manoeuvres to avert their inevitable end. In doing so they do not shrink from provocations threatening peace and acts of aggression against peaceful, independent African States.

104. Last year, the Security Council condemned the armed intervention by the régime of *apartheid* against the young People's Republic of Angola. In contravention of unambiguous resolutions of the United Nations, the troops of the racist Vorster régime are still illegitimately occupying Namibia. The Council has also had to deal with acts of armed aggression by the régime of *apartheid* against Zambia. It was only a few weeks ago that the Council condemned the Pretoria régime for its attempts at black-

mailing Lesotho by arbitrary measures into recognizing the so-called independent Transkei. Such attempted extortions are a clear interference in the internal affairs of States. They contradict the purposes of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

105. There is ever new proof of the fact that the constant escalation of the aggressive policy of *apartheid* against free, independent African States, including the manoeuvres of bantustanization, can only fan the flames of the tensions and increase the danger of the peace-threatening policy pursued by the racist régimes in southern Africa.

106. The troops of the Smith régime at Salisbury do not lag behind in heeding such "illustrative lessons" of their Pretoria masters. Regularly we hear of new acts and threats of aggression against Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. By all means of extortion and diversion, including the broadcasting of hostile propaganda, they try to achieve neo-colonialist interests.

107. The Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, His Excellency Mr. Archibald Mogwe, in a matter-of-fact way, gave an illustrative picture of the provocations and acts of aggression which are being directed against his country [*ibid.*]. He informed us of constant provocations and violations of the State borders of his country, of repeated provocative infringements of those borders by uniformed persons of the Salisbury clique, of murders of nationals which remain unpunished, and of acts of sabotage, theft and arson. All that is typical of the policy of the illegal Smith régime—but that is not an invention of Mr. Smith. We always come across that when imperialist, dyed-in-the-wool reactionary forces, hostile to détente and failing to recognize the actual situation, try to interfere in the internal affairs of other States, in contravention of the principles of international law, and when they believe in influencing the policy of other States by attempts at extortion in order to hinder the peoples in their sovereign development.

108. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic fully shares the determined condemnation of these aggressive practices committed by the illegal Smith régime as outlined by the Foreign Minister of Botswana. It is our view that the fact that the Government of Botswana, in the light of the aforementioned facts, is taking steps to secure and protect its State borders in the interest of the independent, sovereign development of that country, is not only legitimate but also springs from a sense of responsibility and a concern for the maintenance of peace. That undertaking serves the strengthening of peace and international security in southern Africa and in the whole world. It is therefore fully legitimate that a request be made for support for Botswana by determined and effective measures which are necessary, owing to the aggressive acts of the Smith régime.

109. In this connexion, the question arises as to how the Smith régime at Salisbury is able and for how long it will remain able to disregard world public opinion and, as an international trouble-maker, to jeopardize independent African States and impede their progress on the road of development by pursuing a policy in line with the sovereign decision of their peoples.

110. Is it not strange that in the General Assembly and elsewhere we hear statements which give the impression that almost all States strictly comply with the sanctions imposed on the minority régime at Salisbury and observe the arms embargo against Pretoria? In reality, however, certain States oppose the imposition of a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, and new facts constantly come to light about the large military build-up of the racist régimes in southern Africa. Thus, it has been reported that the illegal Smith régime has, over the last two years, more than doubled its armaments budget and allocated more than \$102 million for 1975/76 to equip its army of 24,000 men with even more powerful weapons. And, according to *The New York Times*, Mr. Smith has expressed "his belief that Rhodesia would get more sympathy and aid from the free world, including military supplies". Does he refer, in mentioning the "free world", to those who are so free as not to hinder the recruitment of mercenaries for the Smith régime? Brigadier Derry McIntyre, one of the leading military planners of the Smith régime, openly said the following to a Western correspondent:

"This war cannot be waged defensively; we have to strike back. I would need more helicopters, modern fighter aircraft and rockets. If I had them, I would be able to crush the advance of the Communists within 24 hours and to conquer the logistic port of Beira."

Thus, under the pretext of fighting communism, that which is at stake is openly stated, namely, aggression against independent African States.

111. In view of those facts, we share the concern of the African States at the continued activities of certain imperialist military interests in southern Africa and we call for the strict implementation by all States, including all the members of the Security Council, of the unambiguous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session.

112. It is high time that those forces and States which have, so far, backed the racist régimes in southern Africa, put an end at last to their policy of delay. If they did that, within a short time peace and security could be achieved also in that region of the world. For that purpose, what is required is the political will to discontinue regarding southern Africa, its peoples and its natural resources as cheap objects of exploitation. To that end it is necessary, among other things, to implement the demand for the termination of investments made by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session, at the initiative of Sweden.

113. Those who, in view of the situation endangering peace and security in southern Africa, pay lip service to the right of the peoples to independence and self-determination but who, at the same time, extend their economic and other co-operation to the racist régimes, bear the responsibility for a situation arising from a further delay in the granting to the peoples of southern Africa of their right to independence and self-determination.

114. The lessons of history prove that the road to freedom, independence, peace and progress in southern Africa can only lead through the elimination of the last

strongholds of racism and *apartheid*, and not through imperialist machinations and diversionary manoeuvres, phony promises and schemes to split the national liberation movement.

115. The situation requires clear and unambiguous measures by the Security Council against the racists at Pretoria and Salisbury: strict implementation and extension of sanctions; imposition of a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa; world-wide political isolation of the racist régimes, including termination of diplomatic, consular and other relations; and clear recognition of and support for the national liberation movement.

116. Just as the representatives of the German working class have always done, the German Democratic Republic, as a socialist State, will continue to side firmly and undauntedly with the African peoples in their hard struggle. That was reaffirmed only a few days ago by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, when he stressed the following at the New Year's reception for the heads of diplomatic missions in the capital of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin:

"Our country will uphold its solidarity with and support for the nationally liberated States of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting for peace and social progress and against neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid* . . . The peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa fighting for national liberation must be granted independence and self-determination at long last."

117. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic expresses its hope that the Security Council will take decisions on the present agenda item, taking fully into account the serious peace-threatening situation and will support the peoples of Africa in their struggle to achieve peace and security also in the southern part of the African continent.

118. We assure the brave people of Botswana of the firm solidarity of the people of the German Democratic Republic.

119. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The representative of the German Democratic Republic spoke of the fraternal relations existing between our two countries. We completely endorse what he said.

120. The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

121. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before I begin my statement, I wish to express our appreciation to the members of the Security Council for having granted our request to participate in this debate.

122. I should like to point out a unique coincidence, Mr. President. You have begun your work at the United Nations—assuming the important responsibility of presiding over the Security Council—in the month of January, at the

beginning of a year which will mark the celebration by the entire world of the sixtieth anniversary of a most important event for our country, the October Revolution, which not only constituted the end of the Czarist oppression of your people, but also opened up for all mankind a new era that saw the beginning of the end of the oppression of all peoples. Furthermore, it is a matter of satisfaction to us to participate in this debate under your presidency, because of the deep ties of solidarity, friendship and fraternal co-operation between the Soviet Union and Cuba, ties which constitute one of the basic pillars of my country's foreign policy.

123. We wished to participate in this debate in order to demonstrate our solidarity with the people and Government of Botswana, victims of aggression by racist régimes—in the specific case before the Council, the illegal Smith régime.

124. Botswana is a small country that recently obtained independence. It is almost surrounded by hostile régimes and since its accession to independence, as was so eloquently explained by the Foreign Minister of that country, [1983rd meeting], has been the victim of attacks, provocation and almost constant harassment from its border with Southern Rhodesia.

125. It is also obvious, as the Foreign Minister stated to the Council, that these acts of provocation by the Ian Smith régime have been increasing recently in proportion to the growing bankruptcy of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. It is appropriate to emphasize that this policy of provocation on the part of the racist minority in Rhodesia is proof of the hypocrisy of its manoeuvres for seeking a so-called peaceful solution to the Rhodesian problem. While, on the one hand, the spokesmen of the Smith régime participate in negotiations supposed to culminate in the establishment of a free and democratic régime in Rhodesia, on the other hand, its soldiers are almost constantly violating the territorial borders of Botswana, committing murder, destroying property and engaging in armed acts of provocation against a peaceful population.

126. Botswana, its Government and people face a particularly difficult situation in view of the circumstances of the country, which were so clearly explained by the Minister for External Affairs. Nevertheless, that Government and that people are maintaining an attitude of dignity in supporting the principles of justice in Africa; they are maintaining an attitude of decorum by participating in the common struggle of the front-line States in Africa. That country has thereby earned the gratitude of all those who are struggling against imperialism, colonialism and racism. That gratitude was very clearly expressed in the agreements of the Fifth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, which was held at Colombo last year and at which the non-aligned countries, besides expressing their solidarity with and support for the people and the Government of Botswana, selected that country to be a member of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Non-Aligned Countries, thereby recognizing the important role Botswana is playing in Africa and its decisive contribution to the objectives and ideals of all non-aligned countries.

127. My delegation trusts that the Council will prove its ability to adopt decisions in keeping with the gravity of the situation as submitted to it for consideration and will find a solution that will provide the necessary assistance for Botswana in order to enable it better to meet the difficult conditions entailed by its independent and peaceful policy in the midst of a hostile environment.

128. But it is also fitting to indicate that it is the Council's duty to go to the root of the problems that have given rise to the situation being faced today by Botswana, which is none other than the persistence of the colonialist and racist régimes in southern Africa and their perpetually aggressive policy against the African continent. A glance at the Council's work last year clearly demonstrates that all the African States of the southern part of that continent came one by one before the Council to denounce the crimes and the attacks of which they had been victims. In all cases, the Council had to recognize that the aggressors were the racist régimes which survived in that part of the world.

129. As long as this situation continues, as long as the Security Council and the international community as a whole are not able to apply concrete measures to put an end to the aggression of the racist cliques of southern Africa and as long as the Council is not in a position to respond appropriately to the constant appeals of the General Assembly, this body will unfortunately have to go on meeting to receive complaints from independent African States. The Council will have to meet to hear complaints about violations by the racist régimes and will continue to prove by experience that those régimes are not only an affront to the principles and purposes of the Charter, are not only violating the rights of the populations they oppress within their territories, but are also a clear threat to international peace and security.

130. In expressing our support for Botswana and our hope that the Council will find itself in a position to respond to the appeal made by its delegation, my delegation too wishes to express its conviction that we must redouble our activity as effectively as possible in the future so as to get to the roots of the problems which continue to affect southern Africa. In this respect, it is up to the Council fully to shoulder its responsibility.

131. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Cuba for the kind words he said about my country and for what he said about relations between our two countries.

132. Mr. MIRZA (Pakistan): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Pakistan, I extend to you our very warm felicitations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. May I also welcome you, Ambassador Troyanovsky, as the Permanent Representative to the United Nations of our great friend and neighbour, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I am certain that, with your wide experience and your high professional and human qualities, of which the renown has preceded you, you will direct the work of the Council with success and dispatch. The delegation of Pakistan looks forward to continuing the close co-operation which has existed between it and that of the Soviet Union under your

distinguished predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Yakov Malik, to whom I would request you to convey the good wishes of our delegation.

133. I should also like to express my delegation's appreciation of the skilful manner in which Ambassador Datcu of Romania, as President of the Council, conducted our deliberations in the month of December. It was proof of both his diplomatic skill and the respect in which his country is held in the international community, that the Council's important deliberations in that month were conducted and concluded successfully and to the satisfaction of all concerned.

134. I also join the previous speakers in extending a very warm welcome to the new members of the Security Council: Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Mauritius and Venezuela. We look forward to working in as close co-operation with them as with their predecessors: Ambassador Jackson of Guyana, Ambassador Vinci of Italy, Ambassador Abe of Japan, Ambassador Rydbeck of Sweden and Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, who contributed so much to the successful working of the Council during their period of membership.

135. Soon we shall be losing a highly respected colleague, Governor Scranton, whose association with us, though short, was noteworthy in many ways. His perception of the human element in the problems which came before the Council, his forthright manner of dealing with complex issues and his ready wit will be missed by us and never forgotten. I request the United States delegation to convey to him our best wishes for all success and happiness in the years to come.

136. On 12 January [1983rd meeting], the Council heard the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana describe, in an objective manner, the acts of intervention and violence—in brief, aggression—to which his country has been subjected by the illegal Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia. The security forces of the Smith régime have repeatedly violated the sanctity of the borders of Botswana, and acts of provocation, intimidation and outright intervention committed against Botswana by the Smith régime have been increasing, both in number and in intensity. The people of Botswana and the refugees from Southern Rhodesia continue to suffer from the depredations of the security forces of the Smith régime. The seriousness of the situation is clearly evident from the fact that the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia has declared the entire Botswana-Southern Rhodesia border area a war zone. Thus, in fact, the Smith régime has imposed upon Botswana an illegal state of war.

137. This is a challenge not only to Botswana but to the United Nations as a whole. It is the view of the delegation of Pakistan that the Security Council should condemn the acts of intervention and violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Botswana. Furthermore, the Council should demand that such acts cease forthwith.

138. The basic cause of the present unsettled and worsening situation in southern Africa is the persistence there of the doctrine and practice of colonialist and racist domina-

tion. One of the fundamental aims of the United Nations enshrined in the Charter is to put an end to colonialism and racism wherever they exist. The General Assembly has adopted resolutions specifically recognizing the legitimacy of liberation movements and enjoining Member States to help and assist those engaged in a struggle against colonialism and racism. Thus, Botswana, by giving refuge and assistance to those who are persecuted and oppressed in Southern Rhodesia, is furthering the causes which are fundamental to the United Nations and dear and sacred to all peoples and countries that have suffered at the hands of imperialism and colonialism. The Government and people of Botswana deserve our appreciation and the international community must respond positively to its Government's appeal for help.

139. The Foreign Minister of Botswana apprised us of the difficulties faced by his country in meeting the military threat from the Smith régime. Botswana is a small developing country now being forced to divert its limited resources from economic development to defence and to the provision of succour for the victims of the racist and colonialist persecution in Southern Rhodesia. In the circumstances, we consider it to be the responsibility of the United Nations and its specialized agencies to provide all possible help and assistance to the Government of Botswana.

140. Can anyone doubt that the tension in the area will not subside and that the conflict will continue to worsen unless and until the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia is dislodged and majority rule brought to that country? All efforts to that end, in the Security Council and elsewhere, in particular in the Conference at Geneva, should be intensified in order to achieve that objective. We were heartened when the Geneva talks on the future of Southern Rhodesia commenced. However, the lack of progress in those talks has been a discouraging development. Legally, morally and politically, the Government of the United Kingdom continues to bear the responsibility for finding a solution for the Rhodesian problem and we hope that it will do all in its power to that end. We continue to expect positive results from the Geneva talks and wish Ambassador Ivor Richard speedy success in his endeavours. Meanwhile, the Council must, in our view, remain seized of this problem, which poses a potential threat to peace in the region.

141. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words about my country and I should like to say that I will take great pleasure in conveying his compliments to my predecessor.

142. The next speaker is the representative of Equatorial Guinea. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

143. Mr. ECUA MIKO (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, allow me, first of all, to welcome you and wish you a pleasant stay in New York and also to express the happiness of my delegation at seeing the representative of a great country, the Soviet Union, with which the Government of the Republic of Equatorial



Guinea maintains excellent relations of friendship and co-operation, presiding over the Security Council in so effective a manner, having only just arrived at the United Nations. We wish you success in your new mission.

144. The brazen attitude of the illegal, racist régime of Pretoria and Salisbury has gone beyond the normal—and indeed even abnormal—limits. In spite of the fact that those inhuman actions of Vorster and Smith enjoy the full support of a group of imperialist States, there is still complete justification for the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to independence and freedom, in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

145. Unfortunately, all the efforts of the freedom fighters and of the international community have failed to achieve a peaceful solution, based on the establishment of majority rule, to the problem prevailing in Southern Rhodesia. It is for this reason that the General Assembly and the Security Council, compelled by the illegal Salisbury régime's disregard of their appeals, have not hesitated to support and recognize the legitimacy of the armed struggle which, as a last resort, the people of Zimbabwe have undertaken against the oppressive forces of the Ian Smith clique.

146. As I said at the outset, Ian Smith's attitude, which, in my delegation's view, should be on the conscience of the international community, most particularly at a time when the Geneva Conference on Zimbabwe is being held, has gone beyond all limits and can but prejudice the results of that Conference. The victims, the fighters for a just cause, have no right to refuge, and when they do find one, the Ian Smith clique and its agents, which they direct by remote control, do not hesitate, like the *apartheid* régime, in violating the territorial integrity of the States of the region, committing murders and abductions, bombings and arson, and attacks against security forces and innocent, defenceless civilians. The archives of the Security Council bear witness to these acts and can also reveal, if they have not already done so, Ian Smith's persistent defiance of all the resolutions by the United Nations on the subject.

147. On 12 January [1983rd meeting], His Excellency the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana lucidly and eloquently submitted to this Council the complaint of his Government over the acts of aggression and violation to which his country had been subjected by the illegal racist régime of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, acts which, ever since his country's accession to independence in 1966, according to yet incomplete data, amount to 36 violations of Botswana's territorial integrity.

148. Those who, on the one hand, know the geographical location of Botswana and the peaceful policy of its Government, and, on the other hand, are familiar with the illegal and bloodthirsty régimes which surround it, might wonder how Botswana had succeeded in remaining, for almost 11 years, a sovereign and respected State of the international community. That is why my delegation believes that, merely because of that unfortunate geographic situation, quite apart from other considerations, and in accordance with the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and of the relevant resolutions, the Govern-

ment of Botswana deserves the financial, economic and moral support of the international community, to enable it not only to meet its requirements arising out of the present circumstances but also to remain a sovereign State with the same qualities of respectability which have characterized it for almost 11 years.

149. The Minister for External Affairs of Botswana reiterated and reaffirmed the inalterable and unequivocal policy of his Government to grant refuge and assistance to the victims of the minority régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury. That statement deserves a tribute from the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea and from all struggling Africans, since it honours the United Nations by its demonstration of willingness to implement the resolutions on the situation prevailing in southern Africa.

150. In joining my delegation's voice to those of others which have declared themselves in favour of financial and economic support for the Government of Botswana from the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as from the international community in general, in order to prevent the execution of its development projects from being brought to a halt by the need to implement an unforeseen security programme, my delegation similarly wishes to endorse the appeal addressed to the Security Council by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, to the effect that:

"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." [Ibid., para. 42.]

151. I wish, on this occasion, to reiterate our firm conviction that Zimbabwe will be independent, since the attacks against Mozambique and Botswana and the threats against Zambia are clear messages announcing the catastrophic end of the illegal minority régime of Ian Smith. The victories of Angola, Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam are typical illustrations of the fact that not even military might can silence the cry of freedom.

152. In conclusion, Mr. President, I wish to thank you and, through you, all the other members of the Security Council for having given me the opportunity to participate in this important debate.

153. Last but not least, on behalf of my delegation, I congratulate the new members of the Council: Canada, Mauritius, India, the Federal Republic of Germany and Venezuela. The policies of their respective Governments in favour of the restoration of international peace and security are well known to us, and we trust that during their term of office in the Council, they will contribute to the peaceful solution of the problems which this important United Nations body will have to face.

154. Similarly, we wish full success to the representatives of the outgoing members of the Council: Guyana, the United Republic of Tanzania, Sweden, Italy and Japan. We appreciate the work they have done in the Council and we hope that they will continue to co-operate with its members even though absent from the Council table.

155. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Equatorial Guinea for his kind words about my country and about me personally.

156. The next speaker is the representative of Mali, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

157. Mr. KANTE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me first of all, on behalf of the delegation of Mali, to welcome you, Sir, to New York and to the United Nations and to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council. We are all the more pleased because you are an eminent personality of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the cradle of the great Lenin, which has made an exceptional contribution to the liberation of oppressed peoples and to the qualitative transformation of world society. History will also record that your country initiated the celebrated General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. I cannot fail to mention here the excellent relations existing between our two countries since mine acceded to independence. The fact that the Security Council is starting its work in 1977 by a review of the decolonization of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, and that under your presidency, is more than symbolic for us, because you are the worthy representative of a country which, since the Great October Revolution of 1917 has, with unswerving consistency, given its moral, political, diplomatic and material support to all national liberation movements throughout the world. The cause of the liberation of Africa, and particularly that of the decolonization of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia which concerns us today, cannot therefore be better served. Your lengthy diplomatic experience, your political commitment and your great competence confirm that conviction.

158. As I said at the beginning of my statement, the complaint of the Government of Botswana against the rebel régime at Salisbury once again raises the problem of the decolonization of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia and of the elimination of *apartheid* in southern Africa. On 12 January [1983rd meeting], we followed with deep feeling and great interest the concise, clear and poignant statement by His Excellency the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, our brother Archibald Mogwe, on the repeated criminal aggressions by the armed troops of the racist Ian Smith régime against his country. We shall not repeat the sorry account of abductions, murderous raids on peaceful, defenceless villages, incursions, surprise attacks, bombings and harassment which the soldiers of Ian Smith are guilty of committing on Botswana's territory. We shall say only that it is high time the international community brought to heel the rebel régime of Southern Rhodesia which, since 11 November 1965—the date of the illegal proclamation of independence of the Territory by a

handful of white racists—has been defying it. We therefore turn once again to the United Kingdom, the administering Power, which bears the full responsibility, for Ian Smith and his clique are not subject to international law.

159. Not only do the insecurity and grave tension created and maintained in southern Africa by the white racists of Salisbury and Pretoria constitute flagrant violations of international peace and security; above all, unless we are vigilant, they may lead to a bloody racial confrontation, with all the tragic consequences that would ensue for the fragile balance that we strive to maintain in the world. The state of war is no longer potential: it already exists because the Salisbury racists have declared the 640 kilometre frontier between Botswana and Southern Rhodesia to be a zone of war and an operational zone.

160. The repeated aggressions of those who uphold *apartheid* in Southern Rhodesia and southern Africa against Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Angola and Lesotho are but the acts of despair of illegal régimes in the throes of death. Indeed, rejected as they are by the international community, fought against and harassed from within their countries by the nationalists and the progressive wing of the white minorities, they have resorted to armed aggression against the neighbouring independent States so as to hasten conflagration and thus give vent to their hatred of mankind. In Botswana alone, from 1966 to date, there have been 38 frontier violations. The sinister "scorched earth" policy is therefore already under way in southern Africa.

161. What other explanation or justification could there be for the raids of the armed troops of the rebel Ian Smith against Botswana? One certainly cannot say that that country, which does not have even an army, has warlike intentions. Botswana has nothing but a police force to maintain order within its borders. It is a peaceful country with no warlike ambitions, whose people rally round its Government and devote all their time and resources to programmes of national construction. All the evidence brought here to this Council confirms that.

162. But Botswana's crime is that, in conformity with international law, it gave asylum on its territory to Rhodesian, Namibian and South African nationalists who had been persecuted and hunted by the mercenaries of Ian Smith and Vorster. What an irony of fate: the international community is at this very time meeting at the Palais des Nations at Geneva, to prepare a draft convention on territorial asylum. Botswana's crime is having applied and strictly observed the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations to bring the rebels Ian Smith and Vorster to heel. Botswana's crime is being a peace- and freedom-loving country and an intransigent defender of the Charter and the noble ideals of the Organization. Botswana's crime, finally, is having become a front-line State in the struggle which the international community has been waging for 11 years against the rebel Salisbury régime.

163. The Government of Sir Seretse Khama has certainly not come here to request the generous assistance of the Organization. It is here, confident in its right, to demand that the law be applied. This is a question of compensation for injury suffered by his country and people because they

have remained faithful to the Charter and the lofty values it enshrines. The Government of Botswana has not come to seek favours but to claim what is due. The delegations which have preceded me have been unanimous in recognizing that.

164. With the resumption of violence and armed aggressions on the frontiers of freedom in southern Africa, the elimination of racist and minority régimes prevailing there becomes an imperative for the international community. We should not allow ourselves to be distracted by the Geneva Conference on the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, which in any case was blocked from the outset because of the intransigence of the rebel Smith. The international community should strengthen the isolation of those régimes so as to hasten their collapse, which is still a prerequisite for the return of peace to that long-suffering region of southern Africa.

165. My delegation remains convinced that the insidious campaign undertaken by certain impenitent imperialist circles, which have completely misunderstood the trend of history, to try to give a certain credibility and respectability to the rebels Smith and Vorster, will have no effect on international public opinion nor any impact on our ardour in the combat we are waging in Africa in the name of freedom and peace, the very ideals for which this Organization was created.

166. For its part, my delegation greets the courage of the people and Government of Botswana, for they are in the vanguard of the struggle that we are waging against the white Powers in Southern Africa. It solemnly reaffirms, through me, the total solidarity and militant support of the people and Government of Mali for the brother people of Botswana and its Government, unyielding bulwarks of freedom in the very centre of the closed world of *apartheid*.

167. The victory of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia is inevitable because, in the struggle they are waging for their independence, they have justice and right on their side.

168. The decisions that will be taken by the Council at the end of this series of meetings are crucial for the evolution of the situation prevailing today in southern Africa. In endorsing the legitimate claims of the Government of Botswana, the Council will accelerate the collapse of the rebel Ian Smith régime and at the same time will deal a serious blow to *apartheid*, that shameful blot on mankind's escutcheon.

169. In conclusion, I should like to join all those who have preceded me in extending to Governor Scranton, the Permanent Representative of the United States of America, who bid the Council farewell yesterday, our best wishes for success in the new functions which he will be assuming. I would ask the delegation of the United States to transmit those wishes to Governor Scranton. My delegation is duty bound to recognize that, as an accomplished statesman, Governor Scranton was able, during his stay at the United Nations, to reconcile the complex requirements of his lofty mission with the generosity of the American people. He is a sincere, energetic, serious person who has a sense of

humour and is prepared to engage in dialogue. In diplomatic circles at the United Nations, Governor Scranton gave his country a respectable image, felicitously combining power, objectivity and courtesy. That is certainly the feeling among all the anonymous observers who worked with him every day. We are sure that he will have the happiest memories of his stay at the United Nations, which, despite the vicissitudes punctuating its life, remains the best multinational, integrated, democratic society in the world. We have no doubt that, in the future, he will remember nostalgically the pollution caused by the smokers who surrounded him at the Security Council table, causing him some inconvenience. Nevertheless, this is one of the pleasant aspects of our work in this house. Indeed, Governor Scranton said so yesterday evening—with great friendship, I must add. We express our best wishes to Mrs. Scranton, his gracious wife, whose assistance and support, although discreet, have certainly contributed greatly to his success.

170. In conclusion, I should like, through you, Mr. President, to thank the members of the Security Council for having authorized my delegation to participate in this important debate.

171. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Mali for the appreciation that he expressed for my country's policy.

172. I should now like to make a statement as representative of the UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

173. It is very noteworthy that the Security Council has begun its work in 1977 with a discussion of a problem relating to southern Africa. This demonstrates the high degree of topicality of these problems that have been constantly on the agenda of the Security Council and other United Nations bodies, as well as of various international meetings. On the other hand, it confirms the alarming fact that the racist régimes of southern Africa still have no intention of renouncing their criminal aggressive policies towards neighbouring African States. This means that the young, independent States which, by an accident of geography, happen to be in the immediate proximity of the last bulwarks of anachronistic colonialism and racism, are not at all insured against acts of open aggression, acts of aggression that flagrantly violate their sovereignty and territorial integrity and cause them economic and other kinds of damage.

174. The new chain of criminal actions of this kind by the Southern Rhodesian racists was brought to the Security Council's attention in a letter from the Permanent Representative of Botswana dated 22 December 1976 [S/12262], and was set forth in detail in the statement made by the Minister for External Affairs of that country [1983rd meeting].

175. The position of the Soviet Union with regard to the explosive problems of southern Africa has been and remains clear-cut and well-defined. As Mr. Gromyko, the Foreign Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, pointed

out in his statement during the general debate at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly:

"Today, as always, the Soviet Union stands firmly by the side of the fighting peoples of southern Africa. We are in favour of the unconditional ending of the policy of *apartheid* and racism in South Africa, of the immediate withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia, of the unreserved transfer of all power to the people of Zimbabwe. No one will ever see the Soviet Union failing to oppose attempts to prolong colonial and racist oppression under whatever guise."<sup>4</sup>

176. Today the independent State of Botswana has become the target of aggressive actions by the colonialists and racists. The guilty party in this case is the illegal racist régime of the white minority in Salisbury, which has long been defying the whole world, the entire international community. That régime, repeatedly condemned in so many resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, has not given ear to the voice of reason, nor has it heeded the legitimate demands of world public opinion. It has become heavily involved in crimes against the peace-loving people of Zimbabwe and other African nations. Its purpose is quite clear. The racists of Salisbury are attempting in this way to stave off the historically inevitable collapse of the shameful system of colonialism in Zimbabwe and to impede the establishment in that country of majority rule. But we are sure that the remorseless course of events, the very facts of political life, will eventually put everything in its proper place.

177. The very fact that the Security Council is considering the complaint of Botswana with regard to violations of its territorial sovereignty testifies eloquently to the fact that neither for that country nor for southern Africa as a whole can there be any genuine peace or security so long as hotbeds of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* are allowed to persist in the area. Only by the elimination, once and for all, of the illegal racist régimes will the peoples of southern Africa see the opening up of any reliable prospects for a free and independent national development in circumstances of security and peace. That has been pointed out here by the representatives of a number of African States members of the Security Council and also by the representatives of States invited to participate in our discussion. Thus, at the Council's meeting on 12 January, the representative of Benin quite correctly stated that:

"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." [*Ibid.*, para. 81.]

We agree also with the statement made yesterday by the Foreign Minister of Zambia, who stressed that:

"The United Nations and, indeed, the international community as a whole should not lose sight of the fact that the underlying cause of the southern African conflict

is the existence of the illegal racist minority régimes. The surest guarantee against the repetition of acts of aggression against Botswana and other independent African countries is majority rule and independence for the whole of southern Africa." [*1984th meeting, para. 20.*]

178. Military raids and acts of provocation on the part of the Rhodesian army against Mozambique, acts of aggression against Botswana, violations of the sovereignty of Zambia, the stepping up of repression: these are the methods by which the ruling circles in Salisbury are attempting to maintain the domination by the white minority in that country.

179. The struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for its liberation is being stepped up. It is enjoying the legitimate backing of peace-loving forces throughout the world which support the immediate liberation of the enslaved colonial peoples and the elimination of the sickening practices of racism and *apartheid*.

180. This is the background against which the Security Council is now considering a specific item, the complaint of Botswana about the aggressive actions of the Southern Rhodesian régime against that independent and peace-loving African State.

181. We have always followed with sympathy the struggle of that country against all manifestations of racism and very much appreciate its contribution to everything that is being done to eliminate colonialism on the African continent.

182. The Soviet Union views the aggressive actions of the Southern Rhodesian racist régime against the independent and sovereign State of Botswana as one more crime on the part of the racists and as a most flagrant violation of the principles of international law. Such actions on the part of the Southern Rhodesian racists at the same time make it more difficult for that country to overcome its economic backwardness and impede the economic progress of the people of Botswana.

183. Of course, responsibility for the situation belongs not only to those who are acting as the direct arms of aggression; that responsibility is also shared by those who connive at the racists and encourage them by violating sanctions against Southern Rhodesia imposed by the Security Council and those who are providing the racist régimes in southern Africa with political, military, economic and moral support and are doing everything in their power to keep them there in the south of the African continent.

184. In the circumstances, the material responsibility for providing compensation for the injury caused to Botswana and other African countries by the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia should be borne by that régime and also by those States and monopolies which support it and maintain economic and other ties with it.

185. On the basis of the foregoing, the Soviet delegation supports the draft resolution submitted to the Security Council, condemning the aggressive actions of the

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 7th meeting, para. 252.

Rhodesian racists and providing for measures in support of the Government and the people of Botswana. We have no doubt that such a decision by the Council would be in keeping with the legitimate interests and aspirations of African countries and would serve the cause of the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security on the African continent and throughout the world.

186. Speaking now as PRESIDENT of the Council, I should like to inform the members of the Council that the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document S/12276 have expressed the wish that the voting on the draft resolution be held in the course of this meeting of the Council. If there is no objection, the Council will now, in accordance with the wish expressed by the sponsors, proceed to a vote on that draft resolution. Certain delegations have asked to speak before the vote in explanation of vote and I shall call on them now.

187. Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): This is the first occasion on which my delegation has spoken in the Council this year. Despite the lateness of the hour, I should like to follow the agreeable tradition of welcoming the five new members of the Council. I shall not attempt to follow those of my colleagues around this table who have already ascribed to them the admirable qualities which we all confidently expect to see displayed over the next two years. I shall content myself with saying that I, personally, am delighted to have the opportunity of working with them and with expressing my confidence that we shall strike up a harmonious relationship with them in addressing ourselves to the work of the Council.

188. I also wish to add the United Kingdom delegation's voice to the chorus which has paid well-earned praise to the five members who have left the Council: Ambassador Jackson of Guyana, Ambassador Vinci of Italy, Ambassador Abe of Japan, Ambassador Rydbeck of Sweden and Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. I can think of no more complete compliment than that we shall miss them greatly. They all demonstrated their high ability to serve as representatives of their country and, at the same time, as conscientious and effective members of the Council.

189. It is also my duty and pleasure to welcome you, Sir, as the new Permanent Representative of your country to the United Nations and as our President for this month. You come with a formidable reputation for diplomatic skill and you have already, during your brief tenure of the presidency, demonstrated that that reputation is well earned.

190. It would be wrong for me to end my overture without referring to Ambassador Datcu of Romania, the President of the Council during December. I should like to add my voice to those of the speakers who have already complimented him on his efficient, friendly and energetic leadership during that busy month.

191. I now turn to the business before the Council. We have heard a clear and effective exposition of recent events

by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, His Excellency Mr. Archibald Mogwe [1983rd meeting]. It must be plain to everyone in this room that the increasing frequency and severity of those incidents pose very serious problems for Botswana. We know that Botswana is an admirably peaceful State and has resisted spending on arms the money which could be spent on economic development. The growing tension along the border inevitably forces the Government of Botswana to abandon that admirable policy and to divert to the purpose of expanding its security forces funds which might otherwise have been available for development projects.

192. I must make it clear that we fully endorse the appeal made in the draft resolution, that the international community should make available additional economic assistance for Botswana. We ourselves already contribute substantial economic aid to Botswana. Indeed, we have traditionally been a major aid donor. In the first six years of Botswana's independence, up to 1972, the United Kingdom provided budgeting grants totalling £7.39 million. In the period 1967-1976, we provided capital aid of £11.25 million and technical assistance amounting to £5.06 million. In the current triennium—1976-1979—our capital aid commitment amounts to £10 million, of which 40 per cent will be provided on grant terms and 60 per cent as an interest-free loan. In addition, the Botswana Government employs more than 400 United Kingdom staff whose local salaries are supplemented by the British Government at an annual cost of about £2.4 million. And we shall continue to assist Botswana.

193. The incidents along the border, as many speakers have already pointed out, are really a facet of the continuing problem of Rhodesia. Along with a number of other incidents that the Council has debated, they would soon cease if we could achieve a negotiated settlement to the Rhodesian problem. And it is precisely this that my Government is trying to achieve at present. Members of the Council will be aware that my Government, last October, took the initiative of summoning a conference at Geneva to which it invited the leaders of the main trends of opinion in Rhodesia. As Chairman of that Conference, we devoted considerable efforts, in its first phase, to trying to make progress towards achieving early establishment of a transitional government which would lead to independence on the basis of majority rule. But that first phase made clear the gulf of suspicion and mistrust between the African nationalists and the illegal white minority which still holds *de facto* power.

194. Accordingly, my Government indicated its willingness to assume a direct role in the transitional government, in an effort to bridge the gulf. The extent to which a direct British role is accepted by the two sides may well be the crucial factor in deciding whether or not a settlement is achieved. In assuming that role, Britain would attempt to meet the general concern that the process of transition to independence should be rapid, guaranteed and orderly. It follows that a proposed British presence has to be acceptable to both sides and, in the present delicate stage of Mr. Ivor Richard's negotiations in southern Africa, we need to be particularly careful about action that might diminish the prospects of achieving acceptance of such a role.

195. In these circumstances, my Government believes that the right course is for the United Kingdom delegation to abstain on the draft resolution before us. The decision should not come as a surprise since our problems are well known. I take this opportunity to thank those round this table who have wished my colleague, Mr. Ivor Richard, well in his difficult endeavours.

196. I must emphasize that our abstention should not be taken as meaning that we are in any way indifferent to infringements of the territorial integrity of Botswana, a country with which—particularly as fellow members of the Commonwealth—w. have, as I have stressed, the closest and most cordial relations. It is the intention of my Government that Mr. Richard, when he is next in touch with Mr. Smith and his colleagues, should underline the importance we attach to scrupulous respect for the territorial sovereignty of Botswana and to there being an end to these incidents.

197. Since this is the last meeting of the Security Council—maybe—while Governor Scranton is still the representative of his country, I do not wish to end without mentioning him. Both in my official capacity as a colleague and in what I hope I may correctly describe as my personal capacity as a friend, I regret his departure. Though we may be divided by our usage of the English language and by a colonial rebellion that took place 200 years ago, we have enjoyed the privilege of working with Governor Scranton and have the highest regard for his fair-mindedness and his ability. I shall particularly miss the touches of humour that he has from time to time lent to our proceedings. I wish him well in whatever he decides to do next. He tells me that he hopes to spend his time walking in the woods of Pennsylvania with his devoted wife. I beg to think and, indeed, to hope that, despite the very great charm of Mrs. Scranton, whose admirers we all are, the woods of Pennsylvania will not keep the Governor fully occupied for very long.

198. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his good wishes to me.

199. Mr. SHERER (United States of America): The views of the United States on the substance of the matter before us were set forth yesterday by Governor Scranton [*1984th meeting*]. Our abhorrence of the illegal use of force and our commitment to majority rule are fundamental United States positions.

200. We only wish to add that we recognize the efforts of the sponsors of the draft resolution in seeking to meet the views of a wide number of members of the Council.

201. My Government has played a particular role in seeking to bring all sides together in the search for a peaceful solution of the underlying problem. We believe that our ability to continue to contribute in this way is best served by joining the United Kingdom, which has a very special role in the current effort to find a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian problem. For these reasons we shall abstain.

202. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): We can now proceed to the vote. I am putting to the vote draft resolution S/12276.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* Benin, Canada, China, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Libyan Arab Republic, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none with 2 abstentions.*<sup>5</sup>

203. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The Secretary-General has expressed the wish to be allowed to speak and I take pleasure in calling on him.

204. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have followed very closely the proceedings of the Security Council on the question before us. My interest is all the more intense because, as I have warned before, the present situation in southern Africa raises dangers not only for the States directly involved but for Africa as a whole and, indeed, for even wider areas. In this context, it is clear that the specific situation that has been the subject of the Council's attention is not only serious in itself but is symptomatic of the unresolved problem of Southern Rhodesia and a warning of even greater dangers unless a lasting solution is promptly achieved. As I have said on many occasions in the past, the only basis for such a solution is the realization of the inalienable rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia to self-determination, independence and majority rule.

205. His Excellency the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana has set forth [*1983rd meeting*] with great clarity the social and economic consequences created by the unexpected need of his country to divert scarce resources required for development in order to defend its territory and people from hostile acts. I have had an opportunity to discuss this situation with him since his arrival in New York, and I shall have further discussions with him in the light of the action just taken by the Council.

206. I have taken note of the request of the Council that I organize, as soon as possible, financial and other forms of assistance to Botswana and dispatch a mission to assess the needs of Botswana. I shall certainly carry out this responsibility in close co-operation with the appropriate organizations of the United Nations system. Members will recall that last month the Council adopted resolution 402 (1976) by which I was requested to organize an international assistance programme for Lesotho. The Mission which I have arranged to send to Lesotho to ascertain the situation will be assigned the additional duty of visiting Botswana, in line with the Council's request. This will make it possible to meet the deadline of 31 March established in the resolution.

<sup>5</sup> See resolution 403 (1977).

As soon as the report of that Mission is available, I shall be in communication with all States and intergovernmental organizations, to enlist their co-operation and support to meet the needs determined by that Mission.

207. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the Secretary-General for the explanations he has given with regard to the forthcoming measures to implement the resolution just adopted.

208. Mr. BARTON (Canada): I ask you to forgive me for trying your patience, but I have received instructions to make a short statement.

209. When I spoke yesterday [1984th meeting], I stressed that this Council's major objective in the debate should be to contribute to a conclusion which conveys our best judgement as to the means of stopping the violations of the territorial sovereignty of Botswana. To that end, I emphasized the necessity of reaching a decision, the terms of which would reinforce Ambassador Richard's efforts in seeking a negotiated settlement and a peaceful transition to majority rule in Rhodesia.

210. It was to be expected that the need to express firmly and clearly our demand that the violation of Botswana's sovereignty must cease and, at the same time, to do our best to further the successful conclusion of the negotiations at Geneva could give rise to problems, particularly for some delegations. In our view, the resolution that we have adopted has taken a balanced approach to these requirements, and for these reasons we supported it.

211. In this respect, I should say that, as a country with a very substantial involvement in development programmes in Botswana, we should wish to consider very carefully the impact of any proposals arising out of paragraph 6 of the resolution, and that in the meantime our support of the resolution is without prejudice to the position we might take on such proposals.

212. In conclusion, we were most appreciative of the consideration given by authors in taking into account certain suggestions we made and of the spirit of co-operation and compromise that has been demonstrated in bringing together a text which was able to draw such wide support.

213. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Allow me, on behalf of the sponsors, to thank all delegations which voted in favour of our draft. We are particularly happy to have received the unanimous support of the Council.

214. We are not surprised that the United Kingdom could not go along with us and vote affirmatively, given the timing of our meeting on the agenda item in relation to the extremely delicate negotiations which are in progress, in which our colleague, Ambassador Richard, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, is playing a positive and crucial role. We understand and accept the position of the United Kingdom. Nor are we surprised at the position of the United States in this matter.

215. We are encouraged by the assurance given by the representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Murray,

that the generous assistance already being given by his Government to Botswana will be further increased.

216. We express our thanks to all delegations which took the trouble of consulting with us in a spirit of co-operation. I was particularly impressed by the convincing power of a most charming representative of Canada. To be charmed is always very agreeable; to be always convinced can sometimes be dangerous. I would ask my African brothers to heed my warning.

217. Finally, while I am speaking, I should like to express my sadness at the imminent departure from our midst of the eminent Governor Scranton. During his too brief stay with us, Governor Scranton as a man, as a great human being, has impressed us enormously with his nobility, his sensibility, his integrity, his credibility and his civility. It can be true to say that he has earned the respect of all of us at the United Nations. I hope he leaves us convinced that the third world countries at the United Nations do not vote against any country as such, but rather on issues, and that at the United Nations there is no tyranny of the majority but that in Africa there is the tyranny of two. We wish Governor Scranton well. I hope that when Ambassador Murray was speaking of a rebellion that took place 200 years ago, he was not trying to upgrade another rebel to the status or to the level of Ambassador Scranton. We should have resented that very much. I should be grateful to my colleague Ambassador Sherer if he would be kind enough to convey my sincere sentiments to Governor Scranton.

218. I thank all delegations which have welcomed Mauritius as a new member of the Council for their kind words.

219. Mr. President, your great and proud country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, has always fully supported the causes of Africa. It is therefore perhaps fitting that, at the very start of your assumption of the duties of Permanent Representative of the USSR, which has coincided with your high office of President of this Council, you have been called upon to help a small, deserving and defenceless country of Africa. You have done so with courtesy, patience and effectiveness. We congratulate you and we thank you.

220. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Mauritius for his kind words.

221. The representative of Botswana has asked to make a statement. I call on the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana.

222. Mr. MOGWE (Botswana): After listening to all the statements made in this debate since Wednesday, 12 January, I can only express, on behalf of my delegation and myself, and more particularly on behalf of the Government and people of Botswana, my sincere gratitude and appreciation for the objective and dispassionate manner in which the subject before the Security Council has been debated. I wish to thank those States members of this Council, as well as, and in particular, those non-members which, moved by the outrageous and aberrant behaviour of the illegal régime in Salisbury, subscribed their names and contributed in substantial fashion to the deliberations of the Council. We

do not consider it necessary to mention them by name or to recount the telling points they made, for we are sure they were seeking no publicity for themselves, but were merely prompted to take their respective positions by their abhorrence of racism, oppression and aggression, and by their belief in and love for fundamental freedoms. Again we thank them for their eloquent expressions of their convictions.

223. My delegation thanks the Council for adopting this resolution.

224. The people and Government of Botswana will fail to understand any justification of what, on the face of it, is an apparent subordination of the security of their country and themselves to the success of the Richard mission. Botswana has consistently supported meaningful negotiations as part of the decolonization strategy in Southern Rhodesia. For this reason, my country has been represented at the Geneva Conference on Rhodesia by me, its Foreign Minister. Together with colleagues from other front-line States, the Organization of African Unity and the Commonwealth, we have worked tirelessly to enhance its success. So close were consultations amongst ourselves and the chairmanship of the Conference that they resulted in a spirit of mutual trust and confidence. But we assisted in the way we did in the full knowledge and understanding that the Geneva Con-

ference and the Richard mission in southern Africa were not Botswana, nor Botswana the Richard mission.

225. To fail to condemn political repression, the denial of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of Southern Rhodesia, or even the collaboration and collusion of those States which sustain illegality in order to propitiate some Rhodesian godhood, would have the effect of encouraging the continued callous violation of Botswana's territorial integrity and the harassment of its people by Rhodesian security forces.

226. Naturally, we regret the abstentions by the United Kingdom and United States delegations. However, we fervently hope that their abstentions will bring about a change of heart on the part of the minority régime in Salisbury. If they succeed, their caution will be well and truly vindicated; but if they fail to achieve that, then their reticence will not be worth the unhappiness that their abstentions will surely engender among the harassed people of my country.

227. In conclusion, may I be allowed once more to thank the Security Council for having agreed to consider the case of Botswana.

*The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.*