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2008th MEETING: 25 MAY 1977

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NOTE

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

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

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

2008TH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 25 May 1977, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Thomas S. BOYA (Benin).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, Canada, China, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 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/2008)

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:
Note by the Secretary-General (S/12307)

The meeting was called to order at 11.10 a.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:
Note by the Secretary-General (S/12307)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken yesterday morning [2006th meeting], I invite the representatives of Botswana and Sierra Leone to participate in the debate, without the right to vote, under the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. M. Mogwe (Botswana) took a place at the Council table and Mr. S. R. Nicol (Sierra Leone) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

2. Mr. BYATT (United Kingdom): I first wish to express, on behalf of the United Kingdom delegation, our welcome to you, Sir, in the office of President of the Security Council and to assure you that we look forward to co-operating with you during the days which remain of your month of office.

3. I should also like to express our thanks and appreciation to Ambassador Consalvi for the skill and patience, the tact and agreeable good humour with which he conducted the business of the Council last month.

4. Allow me also to take this opportunity to express to Ambassador Chen Chu the welcome of the United Kingdom delegation on his return to the United Nations, and to the Security Council, this time as the Permanent Representative of his great country.

5. Yesterday [*ibid.*] we listened with great interest and respect to the statement made by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, Mr. Mogwe, whose very presence here is a sign of the seriousness of the problem that we are discussing. He has confirmed the accuracy and the thoroughness of the report by the Secretary-General's Mission to Botswana, circulated as document S/12307. Mr. Farah and his team are to be congratulated on their work. Mr. Mogwe has brought us up to date and has drawn our attention to the fact that refugees from Southern Rhodesia continue to arrive in Botswana in ever increasing numbers. We recognize the gravity and urgency of this situation. Botswana has a tradition of hospitality, but simply does not have the capacity to tackle a refugee problem on the scale of the present one. We believe that the report of the visiting Mission is extremely useful in identifying ways in which the international community can help Botswana to overcome these problems as well as to fortify its economy.

6. In his statement to the Council on 14 January [1985th meeting], Ambassador Murray made it clear that the United Kingdom had traditionally been a major aid donor to Botswana. We are already providing substantial assistance to Botswana and we will continue to assist. In this connexion, I draw the Council's attention to the announcement made on 21 April that the United Kingdom Government was offering £200,000 to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to provide assistance for Rhodesian refugees, particularly children, who now find themselves in countries adjacent to Southern Rhodesia and, particularly, in Botswana. This contribution is in addition to the United Kingdom's regular contribution to the budget of the High Commissioner. My Government is studying the report of the Secretary-General's Mission to Botswana to determine what response it may be able to make.

7. Mr. Mogwe also referred to recent incursions into Botswana by military forces of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and, particularly, to the serious attack on 16 May. The United Kingdom Government was shocked by that attack on Botswana's territory. We deplore such attacks, and we have communicated to Mr. Smith our condemnation of the illegal régime's action. In his speech at

the recent Conference at Maputo, Mr. Rowlands, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, made it clear that the United Kingdom believes that ways must be found to resolve the Rhodesian problem by negotiation. To that end, we are engaged in an initiative to bring about independence on the basis of majority rule by the end of 1978. Incidents such as that which took place recently on the Botswana border cannot but make the process of achieving a negotiated settlement more difficult.

8. The United Kingdom delegation approves of the report and endorses the appeal made by the Secretary-General. We shall therefore be ready to join our fellow members of the Council in a consensus to adopt the draft resolution circulated as document S/12334.

9. Mr. VON WECHMAR (Federal Republic of Germany): Allow me to convey to you, Sir, my delegation's sincere congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council. We are pleased to be able to work again under the direction of a representative of one of the three African members of the Council. I am certain that you will carry out the duties of this high office in the same spirit of understanding and sagacity which you have already demonstrated in the context of the debate on the question of South Africa during our common search for new and constructive approaches, which, we hope, will continue and finally lead to success.

10. My felicitations extend also to the outgoing President of the Council, Ambassador Consalvi, for the efficient and successful way in which he presided over the Council's work last month.

11. I should also like to associate myself with the congratulations extended to Ambassador Chen Chu, the new Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations. We appreciate the chance to work in close contact with a man of such wide-ranging knowledge and experience in the field of international politics. Relations between our two countries are developing favourably; I take pride in having been able to assist in the establishment of diplomatic relations between Peking and Bonn, which gave me the opportunity to travel to the great country of Mr. Chen Chu.

12. My delegation followed with great attention the statement made by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana [2006th meeting], in which he gave an impressive account of the precarious situation facing his country. I had the honour to present our assessment concerning the responsibilities for that situation in the January debate of the Security Council [1985th meeting] on the same subject. On that occasion, I expressed the deep sympathy of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany with the people and the Government of Botswana for the severe loss their country had suffered. Instead of reiterating the stand taken by the Federal Republic of Germany against those who disregard the integrity of sovereign neighbouring countries and the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, I wish to concentrate today on some practical measures we have taken to assist Botswana in solving its problems in the most effective way so as to ensure rapid progress in the development of its economy. We would hope that more and more Member States will undertake similar commitments.

13. Our active policy which aims at independence under democratic majority rule in Namibia and Zimbabwe and at the eradication of racial discrimination in South Africa implies necessarily a decisive interest in a stable and prosperous Botswana in the very heart of that region. Not only do we want countries like Botswana to be able to defend themselves against any violation of their territorial integrity, but we also want their economies to develop in such a way as to prove how well countries in the region can prosper in the absence of colonial rule or *apartheid*.

14. We thus took the initiative of starting bilateral programmes of economic co-operation with Botswana several years ago and, up to 1976, had financed development aid projects totalling more than 35 million Deutschmarks. In the current year my Government has pledged no less than 23 million Deutschmarks, which represents an increase of 200 per cent over our contribution in 1976. When negotiations on this increase of financial and technical co-operation took place in Gaborone, both Governments described the atmosphere as cordial and the relations between our two countries as excellent. They agreed that co-operation had generally been running smoothly and successfully and had proved beneficial to both States. Our new pledge consists of financial assistance amounting to 19 million Deutschmarks, which will be provided on the following terms: 50 years maturity including a 10-year grace period and less than 1 per cent interest per annum. In addition to that, 4 million Deutschmarks are offered for the purpose of continuing technical assistance. The programme envisaged includes among other projects the construction of a refugee camp at Selebi-Pikwe. In response to an urgent call from the Botswana Government for humanitarian aid in order to assist refugees from Zimbabwe, the Federal Government provided an additional amount of 100,000 Deutschmarks on 14 February this year.

15. Most of the projects are based on the long-term planning of the Government of Botswana, taking into consideration the promising resources of that country and the most effective ways of making them available to the economy of Botswana. Co-operation thus concentrates mainly on industrialization and improvement of the existing infrastructure.

16. The Federal Republic of Germany ranks among the most important contributors to multilateral aid programmes for Botswana. In this context I should like to mention in particular the assistance we have been providing through the European Community since Botswana adhered to the Lomé agreements.

17. We view these activities as a decisive contribution to the solution of the pressing problems in the whole of southern Africa. Going beyond mere declarations and solemn gestures, we have translated our awareness of these problems into practical politics, thus assisting our African partners on their way to genuine independence. With that political guideline in mind, our Federal Minister for Economic Co-operation visited Botswana only some weeks ago. After her return to Bonn, she stated:

"The Federal Republic of Germany is prepared to make its contribution towards solving the whole complex of problems in southern Africa. We have committed our-

selves to this aim in several ways: We are substantially increasing this year's development aid contributions to the five States of Malawi, Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia and Swaziland. We are consciously supporting Botswana in projects that are of special importance for this country's efforts to achieve greater economic autonomy and independence. We are promoting German private investment in Botswana, Zambia and other African States on the periphery of the conflict."

18. My Government is in full agreement with our African partners that this constitutes a most constructive way of helping them build their own independent future. All industrialized States alike—West and East—are called upon to co-operate peacefully to that end with African countries.

19. Solidarity with all Africans who fight for their rights as granted by the Charter of the United Nations is important, but it is not enough. Let us marshal our efforts to achieve everywhere, and particularly in the front-line countries of southern Africa, the sound material basis on which alone genuine independence can exist and grow.

20. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): I have great pleasure in extending to you, Sir, my delegation's warm felicitations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. We recall the qualities of patience and diligence with which you guided our deliberations during your presidency of the Council last year and are confident that the important matters which are on the Council's agenda this month will be dealt with effectively.

21. I should also like to convey, through you, to Ambassador Consalvi of Venezuela our warm appreciation for the devotion and sagacity with which he guided the Council's deliberations last month.

22. I take this opportunity to extend a very warm welcome to Ambassador Chen Chu on his appointment as Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China, a country with which my own has the very best relations.

23. My delegation has studied the report [*see S/12307*] of the Mission sent to Botswana in pursuance of the Council's resolution of last January. We should like to express our appreciation for the valuable task performed by the Mission and in particular by its head, Mr. Abdulrahim Abby Farah, Assistant Secretary-General for Special Political Questions. The Mission's report is concise as well as comprehensive and shows the meticulous care with which the Mission discharged its assignment.

24. The report confirms the fact that the illegal Smith régime of Southern Rhodesia, in violation of the law of nations, precepts of the Charter of the United Nations and United Nations resolutions, is continuing and even increasing its acts of intervention and border violations against Botswana. Indeed, as the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana—whose presence here I welcome on my delegation's behalf—and the Secretary-General have informed us [*2006th meeting*], incidents of this kind have multiplied since the submission of the report, the most recent act of intervention having occurred only last week.

25. In order to meet effectively the challenge of the Smith régime and to resist aggression, Botswana has had to divert as much as 70 per cent of the resources reserved for development to expenditure on defence and also to provide asylum for and sustain a large number of refugees who have been forced to flee from their homes in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. In short, Botswana's economy is being undermined by the policies of its racist and aggressive neighbours. The statement of the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana has put into sharp focus the dimensions of the problems which his country is now facing. Quite clearly, they call for an urgent and adequate programme of support, both moral and material, to Botswana.

26. The delegation of Pakistan endorses the assessment and recommendations of the Mission, particularly the recommendation that Botswana should be assisted by the international community to carry out its normal development projects by the means suggested in paragraph 129 of the report.

27. We welcome the prompt action taken by the Secretary-General, pursuant to the submission of the Mission's report, in designating Assistant Secretary-General Farah to be responsible at Headquarters for co-ordinating action by the United Nations system, in opening a special account to receive donations and in the appeal he has launched to all States to provide Botswana with the financial and material help which it so urgently needs [*S/12326*].

28. The delegation of Pakistan has co-sponsored a draft resolution [*S/12334*] on the subject, which was introduced yesterday by the representative of Mauritius and which is in conformity with the recommendations of the Mission and the appeal of the Secretary-General. It is our hope that the draft resolution, after its unanimous adoption, will lead to prompt and generous contributions of the required assistance to enable Botswana to meet its needs.

29. Finally, it remains our view that the basic cause of the present unsettled and worsening situation in southern Africa, of which Botswana is one of the victims, is the persistence there of the doctrine and practice of colonialist and racist domination. Certain positive and encouraging developments have taken place recently with regard to those problems. They should be followed by such concrete action as would have a decisive and positive influence on the situation and bring liberty, equality and prosperity to the peoples of southern Africa.

30. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, I extend to you my delegation's felicitations and good wishes on your assumption of the heavy responsibilities of President of the Council for this month. We have every confidence in your judgement and capacity to guide our deliberations to fruitful results.

31. I should like to take this opportunity also to place on record our appreciation and high esteem for the work of your predecessor, the representative of Venezuela, who presided over the Council last month with his usual quiet competence and dignity.

32. My delegation is happy to join other members in welcoming the new Ambassador of the People's Republic of

China and in wishing him much success in his work at the United Nations.

33. My delegation is glad to see the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana once again among us in the Council. He has placed before us [*2006th meeting*] with characteristic understatement the extremely difficult situation facing his country—a situation which is solely the unfortunate consequence of the fact that Botswana has on its borders two racist minority régimes.

34. We also have before us the comprehensive report of the Farah mission [*see S/12307*], which provides us with all the details of the assistance needed by Botswana. It is deplorable indeed that border violations by the illegal Smith régime should have increased recently, causing the death, kidnapping and detention of citizens of Botswana as well as much destruction of property.

35. What should be the answer of the Security Council to a small and weak Member State like Botswana when it comes to us and complains about violations of and continued threats to its sovereignty by a régime that is regarded by all of us as illegal? In a different but qualitatively similar situation, the Council might even have dispatched a United Nations peace-keeping force at our collective expense. But in the case of Botswana we have sent only a fact-finding mission to assess the degree of assistance that is needed. Actually, Botswana has been defending its own sovereignty by expanding its small police force and coping with a refugee influx of the order of 400 persons a week, resulting in an expense of about \$20 million per annum. That unexpected expenditure should be clearly regarded as a legitimate charge on the United Nations, and I say so because it is in fact in lieu of peace-keeping expenditure.

36. We are informed by the report that, in addition, the present emergency situation has created certain inescapable items of project expenditure which have a direct bearing on the economy of Botswana and the well-being of its inhabitants. Four different ways of rendering assistance to Botswana have been indicated in the report: programme assistance, project assistance, assistance to emergency projects and financial assistance.

37. My Government stands ready to offer its assistance directly to the Government of Botswana, and we also support the Secretary-General in his appeal to all Member States to offer their assistance to Botswana.

38. It goes without saying that some Member States are under a greater sense of obligation to assist Botswana than others, and we hope that they will come forward to shoulder the larger part of Botswana's burden of diverting its domestic resources to the considerable extent of 70 per cent to meet its emergency requirements.

39. Mr. BARTON (Canada): Mr. President, may I first of all congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council. As your neighbour at the Council table, we have already become aware of your diplomatic skills and your open-mindedness, and we have no doubt that you will direct our debates in a manner which will be both

pragmatic and successful. We are also pleased to see that it is Benin, a country with which Canada entertains the best of relations, particularly in the field of economic development, which is called upon to preside over our discussions on two important African issues.

40. I should like to convey to the delegation of Venezuela the sincere appreciation of my delegation for the truly excellent services rendered to the Council by Ambassador Consalvi during the month of April.

41. Finally, I should like to welcome my new neighbour on my left—no political connotations intended—and to say that we are glad to have Ambassador Chen Chu here and look forward to working with him.

42. When we discussed the complaint of Botswana in January last, we expressed the view [*1984th meeting*] which, I am sure, is shared by everyone here, that it was first and foremost our collective duty to seek an early transfer of power in Southern Rhodesia to the majority of its people. As long as the illegal régime of Salisbury continues to exist, peace in the region will be threatened, as recent events have unfortunately again demonstrated. And as long as such a situation persists, neighbouring countries such as Botswana will not only continue to suffer serious human and material losses but will also see their courageous efforts towards their long-term development undermined and jeopardized. We therefore have a responsibility to rededicate ourselves to providing the kind of assistance and support which is necessary to the renewed attempts by the United Kingdom to break the present deadlock among the main parties concerned, so that an internationally acceptable solution can be developed and implemented in the near future in Southern Rhodesia. It seems to us that the success of those impending negotiations is the principal element in a long-term guarantee of Botswana's territorial integrity and economic well-being.

43. That being said, we are equally conscious of Botswana's immediate needs, and we welcome the Secretary-General's report [*see S/12307*] as a most enlightening document which should enable us to decide how best we can respond to that country's urgent requirements.

44. Canadian assistance to Botswana has been discussed with that Government in the light of recent political events in the region and the impact of those events on Botswana's development programme. For the period 1978-1983, Canadian assistance to Botswana will total \$22 million, and will be focused on strengthening the country's key economic sectors, including mining, transportation, education and agriculture. The goals of our programme are to strengthen the economy's productive base, to expand the country's pool of skilled managers, administrators and technicians in key industries and government services, and to increase national control of Botswana's transportation system.

45. The critical importance to Botswana's economy of maintaining the continued operations of the railway—which is, of course, owned and operated by Rhodesia Railways—has been recognized, and we have already funded a consultancy team to develop national transport contin-

gency studies in the event of a breakdown in the railway services.

46. We are also providing significant financial and technical assistance to the Central Transport Organization, which manages the Government's fleet of road transport and maintenance equipment. Other projects include the Francistown-Nata section of the BotZam Road, technological assistance to the Department of Mines, an airborne geological survey of the country's mineral resources, technical assistance to the Institute of Development Management and assistance to the University of Botswana and Swaziland.

47. We will, therefore, be pleased to support the draft resolution introduced by the representative of Mauritius [S/12334] and, in pursuing our efforts to assist Botswana's development, we shall bear in mind all the factors which have been put before us, both by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana and by the Secretary-General [2006th meeting]. We hope, in this fashion, to demonstrate anew our total solidarity with the people of Botswana.

48. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The People's Republic of Benin is glad of the excellent relations it has with Canada.

49. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): First, Sir, we should like to welcome you to your functions as President of the Council. We are confident that you will continue to carry out your duties with the skill and wisdom you have displayed in the many Council negotiations in which you have participated in the last few months.

50. We should also like to thank and salute Ambassador Consalvi of Venezuela for the admirable work he did as Council President for the month of April.

51. In addition, my delegation wishes to extend a warm welcome to Ambassador Chen Chu, the new representative of the People's Republic of China to the Council. My delegation looks forward to a fruitful association with him and with his delegation.

52. We also welcome the participation in this debate of the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, His Excellency Mr. Archibald Mogwe. We listened with great care to his restrained and very useful statement [*ibid.*].

53. My Government is prepared to join in the consensus which we foresee on the draft resolution in support of Botswana [S/12334]. We shall do this because of our strong support for the principle of territorial integrity and the inviolability of international borders. We believe that Botswana, as a sovereign State in the front line of the struggle for equality on the African continent, is entitled to develop free from incursions sponsored by the illegal minority régime in Rhodesia.

54. Botswana is to be commended for its courageous and principled stand, and those who harass Botswana militarily or otherwise are to be condemned.

55. The United States wishes to congratulate Mr. Abdulrahim Abby Farah, Assistant Secretary-General for Special

Political Questions, for his very cogent report stemming from his mission to Botswana [*see S/12307*]. We welcome the letter of the Secretary-General dated 18 April on this subject [S/12326] and we join in urging other Member States to make financial contributions to assist Botswana.

56. For its part, on the basis of its assessment of the prevailing situation, my Government is already discussing with the Government of Botswana financing for educational assistance, such as funds for the University of Botswana and Swaziland. We are also taking steps, subject to the successful completion of the congressional appropriations process, to make additional funds available to Botswana to help in easing the financial impact of the influx of refugees fleeing from oppression in Rhodesia and to assist it in its development projects.

57. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, allow me first of all warmly to congratulate you on the successful way in which you are discharging the responsible tasks incumbent upon you as President of the Security Council this month. We have already had an opportunity to see that you are fully in command of unusual diplomatic and organizational skills. We are particularly glad that the discussion of the important and complex questions which are now on the Council's agenda and which concern the fate of the African peoples and their situation in the world of today is taking place under the presidency of the representative of a country which is in the forefront of the struggle for social progress. You may rest assured that the delegation of the Soviet Union will accord you all necessary support and co-operation in all your undertakings.

58. We should also like to express sincere gratitude to your predecessor, the representative of Venezuela, a country friendly to us, who very skilfully and effectively guided the work of the Council last month. We greatly value the experience, accumulated during the course of those discussions, of constructive co-operation with the delegation of Venezuela, and we look forward to the further development of mutual understanding with regard to many international issues.

59. We should also like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our satisfaction at the fact that the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, Mr. Mogwe, has been able to be present at the meetings of the Council and participate in its work in the quest for a constructive solution of the matters under discussion.

60. There is present among us a new representative of the People's Republic of China. The appearance of a new representative of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council, let us believe and hope, will make it possible to ensure constructive co-operation in the working out of effective decisions directed towards the strengthening of peace and world security.

61. The fact that the situation in southern Africa is constantly the focus of public opinion in almost all countries is entirely right and proper. The racist régimes in southern Africa not only remain instruments of oppression but represent more and more a serious threat to the peace

and security of the peoples of Africa and, indeed, not only of Africa. The complex situation in the region has arisen as a result of the inhumane policies pursued by the racist minority régimes of South Africa and of Southern Rhodesia and their refusal to take steps to satisfy the lawful demands of the African peoples and of the indigenous population that is striving for freedom and independence. The frontier, therefore, between the free African countries and the countries where colonial oppression in Africa still continues is a place of tension and struggle. It is no accident that the African States that are in the immediate vicinity of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia should be described as the front-line States. They include, among others, independent Botswana, which has been the object of attacks and threats by the Southern Rhodesian régime.

62. Aggressiveness and hostility are characteristic of and, indeed, inherent in the system of racism and *apartheid* because of its very nature. Both the theory and the practice of racist régimes proceed from the hateful principle of racial supremacy. In this sense, the acts of provocation and violence perpetrated by the Southern Rhodesian régime against the neighbouring African States are the direct consequence of its policy and practice.

63. When we discuss this question and the other that is before us, we cannot be indifferent to the problems for which it is incumbent on us to find a constructive solution. We must share the concern of world public opinion. So long as the cynical policy of racial oppression by minorities continues in southern Africa, and so long as the majority is deprived of its natural right to freedom, independence and equality, there can be no strengthening or preservation of peace in the region. Peace and security can be achieved only through the elimination of the racist régimes and as a result of the full implementation of the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the historic and world famous Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

64. The Soviet position on this question remains consistent and unchanging. Our State, our country and our people have stood and will continue to stand on the side of those who fight for freedom and independence for the peoples of southern Africa, and we consider the complete liquidation of all hotbeds of colonialism and racism—in this region, in particular—to be one of the most important international tasks. It is on that position that we shall base our approach to the particular problem now under discussion in the Security Council.

65. The Soviet Union, as is known, was one of the States that voted in favour of resolution 403 (1977) calling for a special mission of the Secretary-General to be dispatched to Botswana. The report of that Mission [*see S/12307*] and the appeal issued by the Secretary-General on 18 April to the Governments of all Member States [*S/12326*] leave no doubt that Botswana has really suffered serious material losses and faces the contrinuation of grave threats from its racist neighbour.

66. For our part, we have repeatedly pointed out that responsibility for the damage inflicted in independent African States by the racist régimes must be borne, first and

foremost, by those régimes themselves and by those that support them. Such a solution of the problem would, in our view, be the only correct and just one.

67. While fully supporting the principle that international and bilateral assistance should be extended, on a voluntary basis, to the African States that have suffered in this situation, we also realize that a definitive elimination of the threat to the independent African States can be resolved only by putting an end to the racist regimes responsible. In that regard also we believe that effective measures should be adopted by the Security Council concerning support for independent African States. It is only such measures that can bring closer the day when freedom and independence will be won by the struggling peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. That is the only way in which the security of all the front-line States and other independent States of Africa can be ensured.

68. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like to express its gratitude to our former President, Ambassador Consalvi of Venezuela, for the very wise and skilful way in which he carried out his duties in the month of April in circumstances that were at times difficult.

69. I should also like to express to Ambassador Boya my sincere contratulations on his assumption of the presidency of the Council. My delegation is very pleased to see the representative of a State with which France has relations of co-operation based on long-standing, reciprocal and sincere esteem acting as President of the Council. I should like to pledge to Ambassador Boya the full co-operation of my delegation.

70. I should also like to extend a welcome to the new Permanent Representative of China, Ambassador Chen Chu. I should like to congratulate him on his appointment to that exalted position and to wish him every success in his mission.

71. Finally I should like to greet the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, His Excellency Mr. Mogwe.

72. The French delegation voted in favour of Council resolution 403 (1977) on 14 January last. We supported the appeal to all States

“to respond positively in providing assistance to Botswana, in the light of the report of the Mission of the Secretary-General, in order to enable Botswana to carry out its planned development projects”.

73. So it was with great interest that we studied the report of the Mission sent by the Secretary-General [*see S/12307*]. We should like to extend to Mr. Farah, who was the Chairman of that Mission, and to his assistants our very sincere congratulations on the quality of their work. The part of the report containing the “conclusions and recommended projects” was the subject of a special study on our part. My delegation is well aware of the fact that political circumstances have placed Botswana in an especially difficult situation. That country deserves our support particularly because it deliberately decided to devote its resources to development rather than to military expenditure.

74. As a member of the European Community, my country will naturally contribute to the effort that Community plans to make on behalf of Botswana. By the end of the five-year period 1975-1980, nearly \$23 million will have been given to that country from the European Development Fund. That sum has been allocated to specific development projects relating to cattle raising, economic and social infrastructure, communications, technical assistance and training, and assistance to small businesses.

75. However, that assistance is only a palliative. It cannot solve the basic problem, which requires a just settlement of the Rhodesian question. The border incidents and the difficult situation in which Botswana finds itself are, as others around this table have said, only the consequences of the existence of the illegal régime at Salisbury. As I stated on 14 January [1985th meeting]—and my appeal is all the more valid today—, the international community has an obligation to join those who wish to put an end to the present situation in Rhodesia and promote through peaceful means the speedy establishment of a majority régime.

76. We are in favour of the adoption by consensus of the draft resolution that is now before us [S/12334].

77. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I wish to assure the representative of France that my delegation attaches great importance to relations between France and Benin.

78. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me to express our great pleasure at seeing you conducting the proceedings of the Security Council once again, with your well-known efficiency. As in the past, you may count on the sincere and friendly co-operation of the Romanian delegation. I would also note that the spirit in which we work together here at the United Nations is but a reflection of the close relations of friendship and solidarity which are continuously developing between Romania and Benin.

79. Before dealing with the question on our agenda, I should like to thank the retiring President, Ambassador Simón Alberto Consalvi of Venezuela, who conducted our proceedings last month in a discreet, courteous and effective manner that calls for our admiration and gratitude.

80. I should like also to take this opportunity to bid a warm welcome to Ambassador Chen Chu, the new Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. I should like to extend to him our wishes for success in his new office and to express the sincere wish of the Romanian delegation to co-operate with his delegation in the spirit of the excellent relations that obtain between our two peoples and Governments.

81. The question now under consideration by the Council, as indicated by the report of the Secretary-General [see S/12307], is only one aspect of a broader and more important problem, that of Southern Rhodesia. The heart of the problem is the existence of the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia which is striving to maintain its rule over the people of Zimbabwe. The acts of aggression and

intimidation perpetrated by the Ian Smith régime against Botswana and other independent States of southern Africa are now being added to the misdeeds perpetrated against the people of Zimbabwe and their political organizations that are struggling to liberate their country.

82. The Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, His Excellency Mr. Archibald Mogwe, whom we welcome here in the Council, presented us at yesterday's meeting [2006th meeting] with information and instructive statistics concerning the scope and gravity of the problems his country must confront. It is, of course, important that the Council should resolutely condemn the acts of aggression against Botswana and take adequate measures to assist that country to overcome the consequences of those acts. At the same time, we must not lose sight of the cause of those disturbances and tensions, to wit, the existence of the racist régime at Salisbury.

83. According to the report of the Mission sent to Botswana by the Secretary-General, in order for Botswana to carry out the development of its resources in the present circumstances that country will need 11 new development projects. However, the efforts and the sacrifices of the people of Botswana for their economic and social development could be rendered useless by further acts of aggression by the Salisbury régime. For this reason we are convinced that the Council must act to eliminate the actual causes of the ordeal through which Botswana is now passing. The necessary measures must be taken, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, to end the racist rule in Southern Rhodesia.

84. My country, Romania, is resolved, in so far as it is able, to continue lending its support to Zimbabwe and the other peoples of southern Africa that are struggling to recover that freedom and national independence that are essential prerequisites for their economic development and social progress. It is in this spirit that we support the measures proposed for assistance to Botswana, so that it may be able to overcome its difficulties arising from the acts of aggression of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. The adoption of the draft resolution [S/12334] submitted by eight delegations, including my own, would unquestionably be a manifestation of international solidarity with an African country that is with dignity and courage resisting the acts of intimidation committed against it by the racist régime of Ian Smith and is resolved actively to co-operate with the United Nations so as to carry out its duties towards the peoples of southern Africa.

85. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Romania and assure him that the delegation of Benin sincerely hopes that the relations of friendship and solidarity that exist between Romania and Benin will develop and be strengthened more and more with each passing day.

86. Mr. RIOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation is particularly pleased that you, a brother from the third world, are conducting the proceedings of the Security Council this month. Now that we are coming to the end of the month of May, the quality of your work in the performance of this delicate task

obliges me to praise further your personal qualities and your diplomatic tact.

87. We should like to express our appreciation for the splendid job done by Ambassador Consalvi of Venezuela as President of the Council last month. Our congratulations go likewise to the members of his illustrious delegation to the United Nations.

88. I am also pleased to bid welcome to Ambassador Chen Chu, the new Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. We hope to have the same fruitful and cordial relations with him that we had with his predecessor, Ambassador Huang Hua, who is now Foreign Minister of his country. We extend to him our best wishes and an expression of our friendship.

89. The delegation of Panama once again wishes to state that it repudiates the racist minority régimes which oppress the national majorities in southern Africa. In our words and deeds we have always stood by the peoples of Africa which, resolutely and tirelessly, have increasingly opposed those who try to make them victims of racial discrimination, with all the tragic consequences that that entails.

90. The presence in this chamber of the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana and the dramatic statement he made before the Council [2006th meeting], are proof of the fact that the international community must, without delay, adopt a plan of action to enable Botswana to deal with the problem of the refugees who are fleeing from the racists and the problems created by this stubborn neighbour who frequently violates its borders.

91. We should like also to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and his efficient assistants for the very precise and clear report that they have submitted [see S/1230] on the situation in Botswana which has arisen as a result of its determined position with respect to those who constantly violate human rights in southern Africa. Botswana needs assistance as a matter of urgency, and we have an obligation to provide that assistance. The draft resolution in document S/12334 reflects that sentiment. We hope that the draft resolution will be adopted unanimously.

92. Miss LOPEZ (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like to extend to you the best wishes of the delegation of Venezuela and to congratulate you on the very fine job you have been doing in conducting our proceedings.

93. On behalf of Ambassador Consalvi, I should like to express thanks for all the kind things that have been said about his work in the Council during the month of April.

94. We wish also to bid a warm welcome to Ambassador Chen Chu, Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations.

95. The delegation of Venezuela has read very carefully the report of the Mission to Botswana in document S/12307. We believe that that document has been very well prepared and reflects the present situation in that country, which has to deal with serious economic problems owing to its geographical position and its desire to abide strictly by the resolutions of the Organization.

96. After listening to the statement of the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana yesterday [2006th meeting], we are particularly convinced that we must support that country and the measures proposed in the Council.

97. In this brief statement we should like also to confirm our position: we condemn the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia which is responsible for the present state of affairs in southern Africa. We take note of the report and resolution 403 (1977) and are pleased to join the sponsors of the draft resolution in document S/12334. We appeal to the international community to express its solidarity with Botswana by giving it the necessary assistance.

98. The delegation of Venezuela would like to express to the Secretary-General our appreciation for having so ably made the necessary arrangements for the dispatch of the Mission to Botswana.

99. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*translation from Chinese*): This is the first time that I have participated in the deliberations of the Security Council since being appointed Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations and representative of the People's Republic of China on the Security Council. First of all, allow me to take this opportunity to extend my cordial greetings to Ambassador Boya, President of the Council for the current month, and to the representatives of other States members of the Council, as well as my sincere thanks for the friendly sentiments they have expressed to me. My colleagues of the Chinese delegation and I are ready to develop further the close relations of co-operation with the representatives of friendly countries in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

100. More than half a year ago, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese people, carrying out our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao's behest, smashed at one blow the anti-Party "gang of four", thus winning a great historic victory. At present, both the situation in China and the international situation are excellent. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, headed by the wise leader Chairman Hua, the Chinese people will, as always, continue to implement firmly and steadfastly the revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs formulated by Chairman Mao personally and, together with the peoples of the world, carry the great struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemony through to the end.

101. We have listened carefully to the statements made by His Excellency Mr. Mogwe, Minister for External Affairs of Botswana [*ibid.*], and by the representatives of other African States.

102. With regard to the question under consideration, namely the aggression committed by the Southern Rhodesian racist régime against Botswana, the Chinese delegation expounded its position in our statement at the Security Council meeting held on 13 January 1977 [1984th meeting].

103. It should be pointed out that, since the adoption of resolution 403 (1977), the Southern Rhodesian racist régime has not shown the slightest restraint in its aggressive arrogance. On 16 May of this year, the Smith régime once again undertook a flagrant invasion of Botswana and during the same period it has also carried out incessant military threats and armed provocations against Zambia and other independent African States. It should also be pointed out that the Southern Rhodesian racist régime has dared to act so truculently because it has the strong backing of imperialism and the South African racist régime.

104. Recently, while carrying out, in collusion with the Smith régime, intensified repression of the national liberation movement of the southern African people, the most reactionary South African racist régime has been resorting to a clumsy political intrigue by impudently declaring that it "wants to establish ties with China", in an attempt to confuse the public, thereby deceiving the people at home, altering its ugly image abroad and extricating itself from international isolation. On the other hand, social-imperialism, working hand in glove with the Vorster régime, has set in motion its propaganda machine and spared no efforts to help the South African racist régime spread rumours to slander and malign China in an attempt to sow discord in the relations between China and the African countries and people.

105. Here we deem it necessary to point out solemnly that no force on earth can undermine the militant friendship between the Chinese people and the great African people and that the above-mentioned wicked tactics, far from deceiving anyone, only reveal the deplorable position of their authors and their increasing decline and helplessness.

106. The Chinese delegation once again solemnly declares that the Chinese Government has not entered into, and will never enter into, any direct or indirect political, economic, trade and other contacts with the South African racist régime. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against racism and for national liberation until they win complete victory.

107. The Chinese delegation considers that the Security Council should strongly condemn the racist régimes of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa for their criminal acts of aggression against the independent African States and give firm support to Botswana, Zambia and other independent States of southern Africa and their peoples in their just struggle against colonialism and racism.

108. The Chinese delegation has studied the report on assistance to Botswana [see S/12307] submitted by the Secretary-General in pursuance of the relevant Security Council resolution, and we hold that the United Nations should give energetic support and assistance to the just struggle of the people of Botswana by every possible means. Based on the above-mentioned position, the Chinese delegation has decided to support the draft resolution sponsored by Benin and seven other countries, as contained in document S/12334.

109. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As there are no other names on the list of speakers, I should now like to speak as representative of BENIN.

110. All the speakers who have preceded me have recognized that the cause of Botswana is a profoundly just cause and, as such, deserves the closest attention of the international community. Botswana's cause is part of the overall noble cause of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa that are struggling to free themselves from the chains of domination by the white, racist, illegitimate minority régimes—the régimes of Smith and Vorster.

111. The struggle of the intrepid fraternal people of Botswana against all the combined forces of evil is a legitimate struggle. Any attempt to hinder that struggle and subject the people of Botswana to a new form of domination must therefore be regarded as a crime.

112. Militant support for the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, in conformity with the line laid down by the Organization of African Unity and to attain the noble ideals of our Charter, cannot be regarded as a *casus belli*.

113. Ian Smith and his racist, colonialist and criminal clique, which enjoys the support of the reactionary forces of Western imperialism, must now realize, despite their political blindness, that their days are numbered and that their game is going bad on them. The ever increasing determination of the oppressed people of Zimbabwe in their victorious struggle against their oppressors is an invincible weapon. My delegation takes pleasure in hailing that determination.

114. The report on Botswana [*ibid.*] that the Secretary-General submitted to us yesterday is a document which provides objective coverage of the main aspects of the multifarious assistance to which the people of Botswana is entitled, within the framework of the United Nations, to deal more effectively and courageously with the difficult conditions of temporary cohabitation with the racist oppressors of the heroic people of Zimbabwe.

115. The States Members of the United Nations must work sincerely to raise the necessary funds for assistance to Botswana. My delegation warmly welcomes the proposal of the Secretary-General that a meeting of possible donors be convened on 6 June 1977 [2006th meeting, para. 16]. My delegation would like to state here that the generous participation of Member States in raising these necessary funds will contribute to the attainment of the ideals of peace, justice and sovereignty proclaimed in the Charter.

116. I shall now revert to my capacity as PRESIDENT of the Council. If no representative wishes to speak at this stage, may I take it that the Council is prepared to take a decision on the draft resolution in document S/12334, submitted by Benin, India, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania and Venezuela? It seems that members of the Council can take a decision without a vote. If that is the case, and if there are no objections, I shall take it that the draft resolution is adopted unanimously, without a vote.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*¹

¹ See resolution 406 (1977).

117. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Minister for External Affairs of Botswana has expressed a desire to address the Council at this stage. I now call on him.

118. Mr. MOGWE (Botswana): Once again I thank you, Mr. President, and the Security Council collectively for welcoming us here and allowing us to participate in the consideration of the question which has just been concluded. We thank members individually for their profound

appreciation of my country's economic circumstances and its immediate security problems as well as the future uncertainties resulting from the acts of aggression carried out against my country. We are encouraged by the expressed readiness of various delegations to study the report before the Council with a view to seeing how best to assist Botswana. With those few words, I repeat my thanks to the Council.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.