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#### NOTE

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## 2009TH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 25 May 1977, at 3 p.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/2009)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint by Lesotho against South Africa:  
Note by the Secretary-General (S/12315)

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

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### Complaint by Lesotho against South Africa

#### Note by the Secretary-General (S/12315)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken by the Council yesterday afternoon [2007th meeting], I propose to invite the representatives of Lesotho 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. C. D. Molapo (Lesotho) 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. JAIPAL (India): My delegation is happy that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho has found it possible to participate in the work of the Council. We listened yesterday [*ibid.*] to his statement with very close attention.

3. We are fully aware of the extremely vulnerable situation of Lesotho vis-à-vis South Africa and we admire the courage of Lesotho all the more in its refusal to recognize the so-called independence of the Transkei. Lesotho's action is consistent with the decision of the General Assembly to deny any form of recognition to the Transkei [resolution 31/6A]. The adverse consequences of Lesotho's decision

not to recognize the Transkei should, therefore, be borne collectively by the United Nations and not by Lesotho alone.

4. There is no doubt that the Pretoria régime is in breach of its agreement with Lesotho in closing three border posts. By so doing, it is trying to coerce Lesotho to recognize the Transkei. The Pretoria régime is clearly exploiting the natural and historical dependence of Lesotho on its immediate environment.

5. The report of the Mission sent to Lesotho [*see S/12315*] states that, during the British colonial period, very little was done to develop Lesotho. Perhaps it is not too late to rectify that historical omission and help a former colonial Protectorate. There is no better time to do it than now when Lesotho is in urgent need of external assistance.

6. The report pays a compliment to the people of Lesotho in stating that Lesotho has few known natural resources other than the industriousness of its people, a fact which has doubtless been thoroughly exploited by the Pretoria régime.

7. Land-locked Lesotho is virtually a prisoner of South Africa, a hostage to its racist policies; it is therefore our duty to try to release Lesotho from its economic imprisonment by South Africa.

8. We are dealing with a situation which is very special and which, apparently, was not envisaged by those who drafted the Charter of the United Nations. Even so, the Charter provides the General Assembly and the Security Council with ample general powers to rectify situations which are the direct consequences of the discredited policies of the Pretoria régime.

9. The United Nations has firmly opposed the policy of *apartheid* as a violation of the principles and purposes of the Charter and as a violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the majority of the people of South Africa. It has also rejected the policy of creating bantustans which is designed to dismember and misappropriate the natural heritage of the people and to violate the territorial integrity of their country.

10. It seems to us that the Pretoria régime should be made financially liable for the damage caused to its neighbours by its unacceptable racist policies. There are ways of securing the discharge of that liability since South Africa is still shown on our books as a Member of the United Nations. In

this regard, those of us who have diplomatic and other relations with that régime can play a special role.

11. An expression of international solidarity with Lesotho is clearly called for, and that expression should take concrete shape in the form of generous responses to the appeal for financial, technical and material assistance put forward by the Secretary-General [S/12325].

12. Mr. VON HASSELL (Federal Republic of Germany): The statements made in this debate and especially the detailed account given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Lesotho [2007th meeting] have once again confirmed the determination with which the courageous people of Lesotho is working for the economic evolution of its country. A small country with few natural resources other than the industriousness and skill of its people, land-locked and entirely surrounded by the territory of South Africa, Lesotho is facing particular difficulties not only in establishing favourable conditions for economic growth but also in safeguarding its territorial integrity and independence.

13. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany believes that the stability of Lesotho is an essential factor for achieving progress in our common struggle for the rights of the peoples in southern Africa. Mindful of this, my Government initiated years ago its policy of economic co-operation with the geographically isolated people of Lesotho.

14. Co-operation started soon after Lesotho became independent. Our contributions reached a total of 15 million Deutschmarks in 1975. That assistance consisted primarily of the dispatch of medical personnel and equipment to improve basic health facilities. We also supported the Lerotholi Technical Institute in Maseru and provided, *inter alia*, a 6-million Deutschmark capital aid loan for the construction of a water-supply system.

15. In view of Lesotho's growing difficulties as a result of its enclosed position and the continuing influx of refugees, the Federal Government announced additional pledges in 1976 totalling 13 million Deutschmarks for that year alone.

16. A month ago, my Government pledged an additional 31.5 million Deutschmarks for 1977. Of that sum, 24 million has been made available as financial assistance on very soft terms. Together with the Lesotho Government, we are currently working on several project appraisals, including an important road construction, a basic agricultural services programme, assistance to the Agricultural Development Bank and the construction of a brick factory.

17. At the same time, the Federal Republic of Germany offered a sum of 7.5 million Deutschmarks for the purpose of continuing technical assistance. It is envisaged to send experts and equipment to Lesotho to assist in the development of agricultural services, central planning, housing for refugee students, technical education, radiology, telecommunications and several other educational and training programmes.

18. The Federal Republic of Germany ranks among the major contributors to multilateral aid programmes for

Lesotho. In this context, I should like to mention in particular the assistance we are providing through the European Community since Lesotho became a party to the Lomé agreements.

19. Our co-operation with Lesotho, like all our development aid to Africa, is governed by the principle that we participate in the implementation of projects only at our African partners' special request and only in so far as such projects have been proposed by them. We are also guided in this co-operation by the desire to contribute to meeting our partners' specific requirements in the use of their own resources and thus to accelerate progress on the road to complete economic independence.

20. We shall continue this co-operation with our African partners in a spirit of friendship and mutual respect. But this vital task cannot be carried out by some countries alone. It is an obligation to be met by all industrialized States alike. If we fulfil this obligation, we can rightly claim to be acting in accordance with the United Nations fundamental responsibility to maintain international peace and to promote social progress in freedom for all.

21. Mr. BADI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): I should like first of all to state how honoured my delegation feels at the presence in this Council chamber of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho.

22. On 22 December last year, the Security Council adopted resolution 402 (1976), which specifically endorsed General Assembly resolution 31/6A. That General Assembly resolution, *inter alia*, calls upon all Governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called independent Transkei or other bantustans and to refrain from having any dealings with them. At the same time, in its resolution 402 (1976), the Security Council commended the Government of Lesotho for its decision not to recognize the so-called independence of the Transkei and condemned any action taken by the racist régime in South Africa intended to coerce Lesotho into according recognition to the bantustan Transkei. The Council called upon the Pretoria régime to take immediately all necessary steps to reopen its borders with Lesotho in the areas adjacent to the Transkei. In compliance with paragraphs 6 and 7 of the resolution, a Special Mission was dispatched to Lesotho for consultations with the Government regarding the need for assistance to enable it to overcome the economic and social hardships and difficulties resulting from the flagrantly hostile act perpetrated by the racist régime in closing the border posts.

23. The Security Council has now been convened to consider the report of the Mission, which has been circulated in document S/12315. I should like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's deep appreciation to the Mission for its efforts in fulfilment of the tasks entrusted to it. Our appreciation and sincere gratitude go also to the Secretary-General, whose efforts greatly contributed to the success of the Mission.

24. The report of the Mission is self-explanatory. It is patently evident that, as a result of the *apartheid* régime's illegal and unilateral actions vis-à-vis Lesotho, the situation in southern Africa as a whole has reached a new level of gravity.

25. I should like to make special reference to paragraph 31 of the report, which illustrates, in an unambiguous manner, the South African racist régime's continued defiance of and disrespect for the resolutions of the United Nations and for international public opinion. That paragraph indicates that the racist régime has restricted the passage of Lesotho citizens into South Africa to two border posts which are distant from the Lesotho-South African border. This measure taken by the racist régime was deliberately designed to further its policy of bantustanization and to obstruct the traditional routes of the Basotho into the neighbouring areas of South Africa. These restrictions have been imposed to inflict great hardships and apply extortion and coercion against Lesotho and to endanger its citizens in the normal pursuit of their livelihoods.

26. It is necessary that the Security Council pay particular attention to paragraphs 31 to 35 of the report if it is to ascertain the full extent and complete picture of the persistent defiance by the racist régime of the resolutions of both the General Assembly and the Council. It should in particular be noted that the acts perpetrated by the *apartheid* régime in order to exert coercive pressures upon Lesotho not only are in contravention of resolution 31/6A and resolution 402 (1976) but also are a further breach of international law, which stipulates safe passage of transit goods to and from land-locked countries.

27. It must be emphasized that these acts of coercion and blackmail are deliberate acts of the racist régime in South Africa designed to implement the bantustan policy. The international community has long since realized that bantustanization is a corner-stone of the entire *apartheid* structure and policies. The racist régime is using this policy to maintain its power over the indigenous people of South Africa and to continue to inflict *apartheid* and racist practices upon these people. Bantustanization has been forcefully condemned by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity and by the non-aligned movement. It should be obvious that the closure of the border is an act of blackmail and coercion, calculated to compel Lesotho to accord recognition to the bantustan Transkei, which is no more than an appendage of the racist policies of the Pretoria régime.

28. The Security Council cannot be indifferent to those coercive acts, nor can it fail to take positive measures to counteract those actions of the *apartheid* régime. The just decision of the Government of Lesotho to refuse to recognize the independence of the Transkei is based not only upon its deep abhorrence of the cruel and inhuman policies of *apartheid* but also upon its respect for and compliance with the will of the international community as expressed in the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned movement. In particular, Lesotho has justly and courageously decided fully to observe resolution 31/6A, rejecting the bogus declaration of independence of the Transkei.

29. It is incumbent upon the Security Council to take all appropriate measures against the racist minority régime in South Africa in order to put an end to its contemptuous defiance of United Nations resolutions. We must ensure that the Pretoria régime is completely isolated in the

international community. Steps must be taken to assist and enable the Government of Lesotho to overcome the hardships and difficulties resulting from the border closure and to maintain its courageous defiance and non-recognition of the *apartheid* and bantustan policies of the Pretoria régime. My delegation urges all members of the Council to endorse the programme of assistance contained in the report of the Mission. On this occasion my delegation would like to reaffirm the continued support and solidarity of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya with the Government and people of Lesotho.

30. Mr. MIRZA (Pakistan): Last December, the Security Council examined the serious and urgent problems created for Lesotho as a consequence of South Africa's arbitrary and unilateral action in closing three border outposts between the two countries. Resolution 402 (1976), adopted on 22 December, apart from condemning South Africa for its transparent attempt to coerce Lesotho into recognizing its creation of the Transkei bantustan, also requested the Secretary-General to organize financial, technical and material assistance to Lesotho to enable it to overcome its economic difficulties, and to report to the Council on the outcome of his efforts.

31. We now have before us the report [*see S/12315*] of the Mission appointed by the Secretary-General. The delegation of Pakistan would like to place on record its appreciation for the work done by the Mission, and especially its chief, Mr. Abdulrahim Abby Farah, Assistant Secretary-General for Special Political Questions. The Mission has submitted a lucid and objective assessment of Lesotho's requirements.

32. We note that Lesotho would require financial assistance amounting to approximately \$66 million under the emergency programme and that the outlay of the accelerated development programme would be in the neighbourhood of \$47 million. It is obvious that Lesotho, which is land-locked and among the 18 least developed countries of Africa and which is engaged in the all-important task of making vigorous and sustained efforts for economic progress and prosperity, cannot shoulder on its own its heavy and unexpected burden.

33. Moreover, the report has catalogued the various pressures to which Lesotho has been and is being subjected by South Africa since its refusal, in compliance with General Assembly resolution 31/6A, to recognize the Transkei bantustan. Those pressures, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho informed us yesterday [*2007th meeting*]-and we were privileged to hear his statement-show no sign of abating. South Africa has once again chosen to defy the will of the international community and continues to persist in its attempts to harass and coerce Lesotho by creating unbearable economic hardships for it.

34. In steadfastly refusing to bow to such pressures, the people and Government of Lesotho deserve in full measure the admiration and help of the international community. In extending material assistance to Lesotho, the international community will once again convey to South Africa its firm opposition to its racist policies. In enabling Lesotho to stand up to South Africa's coercion, the Council will be

reiterating its commitment to the principles of international law and conduct enshrined in the Charter.

35. We fully endorse the recommendations contained in the report of the Mission and we hope that the international community will respond to the Secretary-General's appeal and contribute generously to provide succour to Lesotho in its hour of need. The Secretary-General deserves our gratitude for continuing his efforts to secure assistance for Lesotho and for entrusting to Mr. Farah the task of co-ordinating action by the United Nations system.

36. The difficulties faced by Lesotho, and in varying degrees by other small African States bordering on South Africa, are, in our view, both a reflection and a manifestation of South Africa's discredited and morally bankrupt policies. Not content with denying the majority of its own population even the most elementary rights and freedoms, South Africa is now trying to create hardships for its weak and struggling neighbours. Such actions are certain further to exacerbate tensions in that region.

37. The Council has before it a draft resolution [*S/12335*] of which my country had the honour to be a sponsor along with a number of other countries. We hope that this draft will be adopted unanimously and, more important, that it will result in a prompt and steady inflow to Lesotho of the financial and material assistance that it so well deserves.

38. Mr. BARTON (Canada): Canada was not a member of the Security Council when resolution 402 (1976) was adopted in 1976 in connexion with the complaint made by the Government of Lesotho. Nevertheless, we fully support that resolution, as it sought to devise ways and means to overcome the serious economic difficulties faced at that time by Lesotho—difficulties which, unfortunately, continue to exist today because of the situation which has been created on its borders.

39. It is well known that the major factor contributing to Lesotho's present predicament is the presence in its immediate vicinity of a bantustan, the Transkei, which the entire international community has refused to recognize. The fact that Lesotho has refused to be coerced into recognizing such a sham institution must be held to its credit, and its attachment to moral principles in the midst of heavy economic pressures must be commended.

40. Our direct response to this need to increase international assistance to Lesotho to enable it to meet its development goals in the face of the difficulties resulting from the establishment of the co-called independent Transkei was to increase the indicative planning figure for Canadian assistance to Lesotho for the period 1978-1983 from \$22.6 million to \$30 million. Within that allocation, and following recent consultations with the Lesotho Government, \$17 million has been tentatively assigned to assisting Lesotho in the construction of a road through the mountains of the southern portion of Lesotho between Thaba Tseka and Qacha's Nek. A further \$2.4 million has tentatively been allocated towards the purchase of Canadian Twin Otter aircraft, which will in part be used to facilitate delivery of food and other critically needed supplies to those regions which have been affected by the

difficulties arising from the creation of the Transkei bantustan.

41. Apart from taking those emergency measures, we are continuing to assist Lesotho in the development of its agricultural, mining and secondary industry sectors, with the principal purpose of trying to increase employment opportunities in those areas. We are the principal supporter of and a major contributor to such programmes as the Thaba Tseka Rural Development Project, the Basotho Enterprises Development Corporation, which assists small-scale local entrepreneurs, an aeromagnetic survey of Lesotho's potential mineral resources, the Lesotho National Development Corporation, and the National University.

42. Thus we welcome the report which the Secretary-General has so promptly provided and we shall certainly be guided by its findings and suggestions in further developing our assistance efforts with Lesotho. We wish also to associate ourselves fully with the draft resolution submitted by the representative of Mauritius [*ibid.*], and it is our hope that through our modest efforts we will be able to alleviate some of Lesotho's difficulties in this difficult period of its history.

43. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*translation from Chinese*): We have listened to the statements made by Mr. Molapo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Lesotho, and by the representatives of other African States.

44. When the Security Council was considering the question of the South African racist régime's closing its border adjacent to the Kingdom of Lesotho in December 1976, the Chinese delegation already expounded its position on the matter [*1981st meeting*].

45. The Chinese delegation once again strongly condemns the South African racist régime for engineering the sham independence of the Transkei and for its criminal acts of exerting gross pressure on Lesotho and other African States, and we firmly support the peoples of Lesotho and other States of southern Africa in their just struggle against colonialism and racism.

46. The Chinese delegation has studied the report [*see S/12315*] on assistance to Lesotho submitted by the Secretary-General in pursuance of the relevant Security Council resolution, and we hold that the United Nations should support the just struggle of the people of Lesotho by every possible means and provide substantial assistance to it. On the basis of the foregoing position, the Chinese delegation supports the draft resolution sponsored by Benin and seven other countries, contained in document *S/12335*.

47. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): On 22 December 1976, the French delegation gladly joined in the consensus by which the Council adopted resolution 402 (1976). It thought at that time that the international community should not ignore the difficult situation in which one of the States Members of the Organization found itself unjustly placed.

48. It was thus with interest that my delegation studied the report [*ibid.*] of the Mission led by Mr. Farah, to whom

I wish to renew my congratulations for the way in which he carried out his task.

49. I also listened with closest attention to the statement made yesterday by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho [2007th meeting]. I wish to thank him for the clarity with which he described the difficulties facing his country.

50. Aware of responsibilities incumbent on the international community when a country suffers in this way for having respected the Organization's resolutions, the countries of the European Community, since December 1976, following the closing of Lesotho's frontier with the Transkei, have provided emergency assistance totalling \$1.2 million—and France has contributed its share. That assistance was destined for the reconstruction of an access road. The European Community is also earmarking almost \$27 million for development projects in Lesotho during the period 1975-1980. This sum will be distributed to the agricultural and rural sector, the economic infrastructure and, in particular, to the equipment of a medium-range airport, as well as to assistance and training.

51. In associating itself fully with that action of the Community, my country wishes to express its solidarity with the Government and people of Lesotho in the difficult circumstances they are experiencing.

52. We voice the wish that the unanimous position of the international community in this matter will prompt those responsible for the situation which has been imposed on Lesotho to face up to reality. The common attitude of the Security Council should help them to understand that it is an illusion for them to hope to obtain international recognition for any of the entities which they might set up artificially.

53. In conclusion, my delegation gladly supports the draft resolution which is before the Council at present [S/12335].

54. Mr. BYATT (United Kingdom): My delegation has studied the very comprehensive report of the visiting Mission [see S/12315]. We listened most carefully to the thoughtful statement made yesterday by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho [2007th meeting] and we welcome his presence to address the Council on behalf of his Government. The report of the Mission is being studied by the appropriate experts in London so that my Government may determine how best it should respond.

55. As Ambassador Murray commented on 22 December [1982nd meeting], the problems faced by Lesotho are neither a novelty nor a surprise. The United Kingdom has a very old and close relationship with the Kingdom of Lesotho. We are fully aware of the special geopolitical difficulties faced by Lesotho, and have long made efforts to alleviate them. Ambassador Murray gave details of our substantial aid programme. The main objective of the British aid programme, arrived at in consultation with the Government of Lesotho, is to reduce Lesotho's dependence on South Africa. As old friends of Lesotho, we would endorse the appeal to the international community to provide assistance to that end.

56. In his statement yesterday, Mr. Molapo gave an account of certain incidents which suggest that tension may be growing on the border between Lesotho and South Africa. We assume that the fifth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution before the Council [S/12335] is intended to refer to such incidents. The United Kingdom believes that it is in the interest of all that such incidents should not recur and we express the hope that they will not. We are ready to join other members of the Council in adopting the draft resolution by consensus.

57. I cannot conclude without congratulating Mr. Farah and his team of experts for the competence with which they have produced the excellent report before the Council.

58. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like to commence my statement by telling you how gratified we are with the effective way that the Council, under your guidance, is discharging its duties.

59. The present discussion is merely the logical follow-up of the debate that was begun at the end of last December at the request of the Kingdom of Lesotho, Mr. Charles Molapo, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho, as well as other African representatives gave us the facts of the case in December last and yesterday and I do not wish to repeat them. The illegal measures of economic and political coercion taken by the racist authorities of Pretoria against Lesotho so as to compel it to recognize the so-called independence of the Transkei have caused economic problems of considerable scope to Lesotho.

60. We have condemned and resolutely continue to condemn the coercive measures taken by the authorities of Pretoria against independent States of Africa, as well as its racist policy of *apartheid*. It is high time that the Organization adopted firm measures against South Africa, which persists in violating the provisions of the Charter and defying resolutions of the United Nations.

61. The measures put forward in the draft resolution [*ibid.*] submitted by eight delegations, including my own, are of capital importance because what is involved here is the granting of material aid to an independent African country, Lesotho, which is attempting to implement courageously and with dignity decisions taken by the United Nations against *apartheid*. We hope that this draft resolution will be adopted unanimously. To be sure, we are still far from adopting measures that could extirpate that outdated policy of *apartheid*, but we believe that it is the duty of the United Nations to support, by all means possible, the legitimate aspirations to freedom of all peoples in southern Africa, as well as the independence of African States that are contributing to the implementation of decisions designed to eliminate racial discrimination and colonial oppression.

62. The international measures proposed in the report of the Secretary-General would be such as to aid Lesotho and its people to overcome the difficulties created for them by South Africa and to overcome their economic and political problems. In order that a case such as this of Lesotho will not recur and in order to establish conditions that will

make it possible for all peoples of southern Africa to achieve their hope for independence and liberty and for development without threats from abroad, the Organization must also give priority attention to the adoption of firm measures to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and the policy of racial discrimination in southern Africa because they constitute a permanent source of tension and aggression and jeopardize international peace and security.

63. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Despite all the different aspects of the questions that the Security Council has been considering, both this morning and this afternoon, it is impossible not to see that the main basis for the approach to the solution of those two questions remains the same: the existence in southern Africa of racist régimes which constitute a serious source of tension threatening the peace and security of the peoples in Africa and elsewhere.

64. Peace and stability in that part of the world can be guaranteed only as a result of the full implementation of the provisions of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the rejection by the ruling circles of South Africa of the policy of *apartheid* and racism, the immediate withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and the unconditional transfer by the racist Ian Smith régime of all power to the people of Zimbabwe.

65. Together with the African countries, the Soviet Union roundly condemns the acts of aggression of the racist régimes directed against the sovereignty of the independent States of the continent of Africa, including the State of Lesotho.

66. The participation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lesotho gives the Security Council a basis for working out useful decisions.

67. We all know that intergovernmental relations, if they are to be normal, must be based on such principles as the rejection of the use or the threat of the use of force, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, the inviolability of State frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

68. Those progressive democratic principles of international relations cannot be confirmed and strengthened in southern Africa so long as aggressive, belligerent racist régimes exist there. Those régimes are constantly exacerbating tensions in that part of the world. They are indulging in all kinds of provocation and belligerent actions against the independent countries of Africa in their desire to delay the full and final liberation of the peoples of the African continent.

69. The Soviet Union has given and is giving all kinds of assistance to the national liberation movements in southern Africa, and this is fully in conformity with the United Nations decisions. Our country is on the side of the just cause of the oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and elsewhere. Our country has supported and will continue to support their just claims against the racist régimes of southern Africa.

70. The Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community are, for the young African States, a powerful support in their struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism. The Soviet Union has consistently supported the lawful demands of the liberated States, their determination to end completely the exploitation to which they are subjected and their just intention to control their own natural resources for the benefit of their national development.

71. The delegation of the Soviet Union supported resolution 402 (1976), adopted last December. In that resolution, the Council appeals for assistance to Lesotho to enable it to implement its programme of economic development and increase its capacity for the full implementation of the United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* and bantustans.

72. In this connexion, we cannot fail to note that, at the source of the damage caused to African States by the racist régimes, are the evil policies and practices of such régimes, which must bear full responsibility for that damage. Their responsibility is shared by those Powers which support the racist régimes.

73. We are firmly convinced that only the final elimination of those inhuman régimes, and consequently the elimination of the policies and practices that they pursue, will make it possible to save African States from the constant threat hanging over them, the threat of aggression and arbitrary action, and will enable them duly to use their natural resources and international assistance in the interests of their own progress.

74. The position of the Soviet Union was published today in the Soviet press in a tribute to the African countries. I shall read out a small excerpt:

“The position of the Soviet Union in regard to the struggle of the peoples of Africa for their freedom and independence is well known. Since the first days of its existence, the Soviet State, whose sixtieth anniversary is being celebrated this year, has been in favour of the liberation of oppressed peoples. As was stated by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, at the twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union has given and will continue to give support to the people fighting for their freedom. In this, the Soviet Union is seeking no advantage or concessions for itself, nor is it seeking political domination or military bases.”

75. My delegation supports the draft resolution before us [*S/12335*], but it seems to us that, in addition to what the draft states—and I repeat that we support it—the Security Council could adopt a more effective decision which would not only categorically condemn the racist policies and practices of South Africa and the other colonialists in southern Africa but also create a situation which would make it possible to put an end to such policies and practices.

76. The actions of the racists and colonialists and their protectors, who are trying to undermine the process of the



establishment of young African States, in this case the State of Lesotho, must be opposed not by calls for politeness and decent behaviour but by Security Council measures which would put an end to the aggression and other hostile activities of the racists against independent African States, speed up the elimination of the racist colonialist régimes in Africa and guarantee the peoples of African an opportunity for peaceful development in conditions of security.

77. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): We are pleased to welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho, Mr. Molapo. His presence here and the clear and deeply felt statement he delivered yesterday [2007th meeting] have been very helpful to the Council.

78. The United States will join the consensus on the draft resolution [S/12335] in support of Lesotho, since my Government shares the concern of the other members of the Council at the pressures to which Lesotho is being subjected. It is our firmly held conviction that the policies of the South African Government out of which this situation arises are wrong. We have no doubt that fundamental social change must come to southern Africa.

79. We express our admiration for the efforts of the Mission to Lesotho and for its excellent report on the need for assistance to that country. The report, we believe, brings out with commendable clarity the particular problems Lesotho faces as a small, newly independent State located in the forefront of the struggle during this difficult stage in the history of southern Africa. We also note with approval the letter of 18 April [S/12325] from the Secretary-General, calling on Member States to render aid to Lesotho.

80. As a result of our own study of the situation in Lesotho, we too have concluded that assistance is indeed necessary. Consequently, my Government is taking steps, subject to the successful completion of the Congressional process, to make additional assistance funds available to Lesotho. My Government urges other nations to view conditions in Lesotho with compassion and to join in rendering appropriate financial assistance.

81. Mr. RIOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation would like to begin by extending our greetings to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho, and to express the hope that the mission which brings him to the United Nations will have a most successful outcome for the welfare of his Government and his people.

82. Lesotho is complying with a mandate laid down by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session and, as could be foreseen, this has caused it serious difficulties with the racist régime of Pretoria.

83. The world community is the only source of support to which Lesotho can turn when confronted with the violence of South Africa. Lesotho is practically a prisoner of the *apartheid* régime, but its courageous people have risen decisively to defend its borders, its territorial integrity and the commitments it has accepted as a Member of the United Nations.

84. The international community recommended that its members abstain from recognizing the Transkei. Lesotho has faithfully discharged that duty but, in so doing, has caused itself serious economic difficulties. Logically, that means that Member States have contracted a moral obligation with regard to Lesotho which they cannot elude in any way whatsoever. To aid Lesotho is a necessary requirement. In this connexion, the thorough study submitted by the Secretary-General leaves no room for doubt.

85. Since it achieved its independence, the Kingdom of Lesotho has carried out a policy based on the principles of the Charter. This peace-loving people, without weapons and without aggressive intentions, desires only to live in peace and be in a position to carry out its development programmes.

86. The Council must adopt measures to put an end to the hostile and aggressive policy practised by South Africa with regard to that defenceless country which it is suffocating both geographically and economically. The draft resolution in document S/12335 contains, in my view, the indispensable elements for helping Lesotho at this difficult time. We hope that it will be adopted unanimously.

87. I should like to take this opportunity to convey the congratulations of the delegation of Panama to the Organization of African Unity as that body is today celebrating another anniversary of its creation. We wish it good health and long life.

88. Miss LOPEZ (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The question of Lesotho which is before us for our consideration has arisen in a similar way to that of Botswana, where we see the economic problem mixed with the political and humanitarian problems. Its geographically disadvantageous position places it in a situation of dependence on the neighbouring racist régime, but its courage in facing up to its international responsibilities elicits our admiration and appreciation.

89. Our support for the draft resolution which is before the Council and of which we are one of the sponsors [S/12335] demonstrates our well-known position that peoples suffering as a consequence of colonialism and racism must be supported. In Lesotho's case, we must unite our efforts to help a people which is suffering the consequences of racism and which aspires to a dignified life and development. This draft resolution, which we hope will be adopted unanimously, is merely an additional denunciation of the policies in southern Africa. We hope that it will lighten Lesotho's problems and mark an additional advance in the struggle that we are waging against racism in this forum.

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

91. The case of Lesotho, which we are at present considering, is typical from all standpoints of the web of dependence woven by the colonialists in Africa and other parts of the third world in order to perpetuate their domination and the exploitation of man by man.

92. The people of Lesotho is a courageous people which deserves our warmest admiration. Despite its geo-political situation, which makes necessary an uncomfortable coexistence, that people has chosen the way of liberty, independence and sovereignty.

93. The people of Lesotho has so far rejected the assimilation or the pure and simple loss of its own identity; it has refused to become a slave of the blood-thirsty torturers and racists of the illegal minority régime of South Africa.

94. The shameless hardly disguised blackmail to which the people of Lesotho has been subjected is typical of the diabolical plan prepared to perpetuate *apartheid* and to carry out the bantustanization which the whole of the international community has categorically rejected.

95. The Secretary-General's report circulated in document S/12315 gives us an objective picture of the painful problems that Member States must help to solve. The solutions provided in that report are acceptable to my delegation, which wishes to congratulate the Mission for the work it performed in such a short time. In all honesty and sincerity, all nations of goodwill must help Lesotho to solve quickly and effectively all those problems.

96. Lesotho's complaint is legitimate. All those who are ready to work for peace must give consideration to the assistance that Lesotho needs if it is to survive, remain firm and reject the blackmail practised by the racists of South Africa.

97. My delegation sincerely believes that, in helping Lesotho to face up to the difficult conditions which its geo-political situation imposes on it, the Governments of the world will honestly be working for peace in that part of Africa. Any kind of pressure that South Africa uses to get Lesotho to recognize the so-called independent Transkei is contrary to the noble ideals of the Charter of the United Nations and thus dangerous for international peace and security.

98. I shall now revert to my capacity as PRESIDENT. 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/12335, 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.*<sup>1</sup>

99. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): The primary duty of the Security Council is to maintain international peace and security. I may perhaps add that peace and security are not threatened or disturbed only when the tanks start rolling or the guns start firing. They can be threatened or disturbed in so many other ways, for example, by coercion, intimidation, harassment or economic pressure, not to mention

blatant blackmail. Unfortunately, those methods have been used by the racist régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria against Botswana and Lesotho.

100. On behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution concerning Botswana and the draft concerning Lesotho, adopted unanimously without a vote this morning and this afternoon respectively, I wish to thank the other members of the Council for helping us in taking prompt and effective action and coming to the assistance of these two countries in a most practical manner.

101. Let these two resolutions be yet another warning to the illegal régime of Pretoria and the rebel régime of Salisbury that the international community will not stand by idly while they commit their insane acts against their defenceless neighbours. The Governments and the courageous peoples of Botswana and Lesotho deserve our praise for their determination not to bend to the whims of the mad racist bullies.

102. The prompt and thorough investigation and assessment carried out by the Secretary-General's Missions to Botswana and Lesotho—Missions headed by the indefatigable and devoted Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Farah, the most experienced United Nations diplomat, committed to the causes of internationalism, justice and peace—will go a long way towards reassuring small and defenceless countries that they are not standing alone and that internationalists of goodwill will always be on their side.

103. Contrary to what is sometimes said in the corridors of the United Nations, Africans have not come to regard the Security Council as a social security council for raising funds. I categorically reject such irresponsible statements. The Security Council has a responsibility under the Charter and I am proud that it has discharged this responsibility.

104. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho has expressed a wish to address the Council. I now call on him.

105. Mr. C. D. MOLAPO (Lesotho): Once again I should like to express my delegation's appreciation to you, Mr. President, and through you to the members of the Council for having adopted this important resolution unanimously. I feel it is proper that I should express our felicitations to the representative of Mauritius, who so ably and eloquently introduced the draft resolution which the Council has just adopted. Without the hard work and dedication of the sponsors of that draft, the Council would have had nothing to adopt. To all of them we say: thank you.

106. The Secretary-General summarized the report yesterday, in his usually brilliant manner. The many speakers who addressed the Council before me did justice to that report. I shall therefore refrain from boring the Council with any analysis of the report, which the Council has just adopted. I would, however, beg the Council's indulgence if I express our sincere hope that, now that it has been adopted, Members of the United Nations and other international organizations will come to our assistance and translate the report into reality. The people of Lesotho will feel encouraged. They will be grateful. They will realize that, in

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 407 (1977).

this struggle, they have the whole international community with them. As the Secretary-General stated yesterday, on 6 June 1977 he will convene a pledging conference. We can only express our hope that the States Members of the United Nations and the other international organizations concerned will respond generously to the Secretary-General's appeal.

107. In conclusion, I would express special thanks to the Secretary-General and through him, to Mr. Farah and his team for a job well done. We are grateful that Mr. Farah will be in charge of the special account, and we assure him of our support and co-operation in his work.

*The meeting rose at 5 p.m.*

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