



**SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS**

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

1984th MEETING: 13 JANUARY 1977

NEW YORK

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NOTE

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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.

1984th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 13 January 1977, at 3 p.m.

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

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1984)

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

The meeting was called to order at 3.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

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

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

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. M. Mogwe (Botswana) took a place at the Council table; Mr. M. S. Zaimi (Morocco), Mr. S. G. Mwale (Zambia), Mr. I. A. Sepetu (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. L. E. Mathaba (Lesotho) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): As President of the Security Council, I have received letters

from the representatives of Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Yugoslavia and Kenya, in which they request to be invited to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion of the item on the agenda of this meeting of the Council. In accordance with Article 31 of the Charter of the United Nations and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council and also in accordance with established practice, I propose, if there are no objections, to invite the representatives of those countries to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's consideration of the item. I therefore invite them to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when they wish to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. J. C. Lobo (Mozambique), Mrs. S. Y. Gbujama (Sierra Leone), Mr. J. Petrić (Yugoslavia) and Mr. F. M. Kasina (Kenya) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The first speaker on the list is the representative of Zambia, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of that country. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. MWALE (Zambia): Thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity given my delegation to participate in this important meeting. I understand that you have just taken up an important assignment as Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union to the United Nations. May I, therefore, take this opportunity to wish you every success. I also wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January. Your great country, the Soviet Union, is committed to the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa and has made an invaluable contribution thereto. It is fitting, therefore, that this meeting of the Council be presided over by your eminent self, as there can be no doubt as to the solidarity of the Soviet Union with the Government and people of Botswana, who are victims of illegal, racist, barbaric and wanton acts of aggression committed by the minority régime of Ian Smith in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia.

5. We, in Zambia, have always maintained that the existence and the oppressive activities of white racist minority régimes in southern Africa constitute a threat to international peace and security. We have repeatedly urged the international community and the Security Council, in particular, not only to recognize this fact but also, and what is even more important, to act decisively to put an end to colonialism, oppression, racism and minority rule in southern Africa.

6. This is not the first time that acts of aggression committed by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia against neighbouring States have been brought to the attention of the Security Council. In January 1973, the Council considered the aggression committed by the illegal Ian Smith régime against my own country. In this regard, the Council, *inter alia*, addressed itself to the need for putting an immediate end to the illegal Ian Smith régime as an effective way of terminating its hostile acts against its neighbours. But that British colony has continued with impunity to commit acts of aggression against neighbouring independent countries.

7. The complaint of Botswana today is yet another illustration of the ever-growing threat to international peace and security which the white racist minority régimes of southern Africa represent. Those régimes have become more vicious in recent years. They are committing atrocities against the black majority within the territories concerned and, as if this were not outrageous enough, they are increasingly resorting to well orchestrated acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African countries. As will be recalled, the Security Council has deliberated before on acts of aggression committed by those régimes against Angola, Mozambique and, indeed, my own country, Zambia.

8. Aggression against neighbouring States is only one method by which the white racist minority régimes seek to perpetuate themselves. There is also internal aggression against the black majority, which takes the form of brutal and savage murders of innocent civilians, including women and children, rape, intimidation, arbitrary arrests, detentions, imprisonments and torture, and economic plunder, exploitation and strangulation. Moreover, those régimes are busy cultivating stooges among tribal chiefs and other misguided elements whom they are parading as representatives of the oppressed majority in the well-known tradition of "divide and rule". One only needs to look at the so-called constitutional conference at Windhoek in Namibia, the bogus independence of the Transkei bantustan in South Africa and the lamentable situation in Southern Rhodesia concerning tribal chiefs who were members of Ian Smith's so-called Cabinet and have now, upon his instruction, formed a so-called political party, the Zimbabwe United People's Organization (ZUPO), the purpose of which is, no doubt, to counter genuine nationalism in Zimbabwe and to blunt support for the liberation movement.

9. My brother and colleague, Archie Mogwe, the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, has presented the case of his country in a most eloquent and moving manner [1983rd meeting]. He has given the Security Council a catalogue of repeated acts of aggression committed against Botswana by the illegal minority and racist régime of Ian Smith from the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. He has also reiterated the commitment of the Government and people of Botswana to the liberation of Southern Rhodesia and, indeed, of southern Africa as a whole.

10. We, in Zambia, appreciate fully the immense sacrifices Botswana is making for the liberation of southern Africa. We greatly admire Botswana's courage, principles, foresight-

edness and tenacity of purpose. Zambia stands in complete solidarity with Botswana.

11. Batswana are freedom- and peace-loving people. They desire freedom and independence for themselves as, indeed, for their oppressed brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. They desire peace in freedom and not in bondage for themselves, as, indeed, for their oppressed brothers and sisters. Botswana is therefore making tremendous sacrifices today for the liberation of a people, an objective whose realization is the collective duty and responsibility of the international community.

12. By virtue of its geopolitical situation, Botswana receives refugees from all the white-minority-ruled countries of southern Africa. The numbers of those refugees are growing with each passing day, as the instruments of oppression and repression in those territories become much more sharpened. Botswana has a moral obligation, and indeed an international responsibility, to care for the refugees. But, owing to the circumstances of that country, the Government of Botswana has repeatedly made it clear that there are no freedom fighters maintaining military bases in or operating from its territory.

13. Clearly, the aim of the Smith régime in committing acts of aggression against Botswana, is to force that country into abandoning its stand of principle against racism, oppression and white minority rule in Southern Rhodesia. It is hoping to pressure Botswana into desisting from granting political asylum to those who flee from the grip of oppression and repression in Southern Rhodesia. Perhaps it is not surprising that the Smith régime, as a force of evil, should pursue the victims of oppression into Botswana, on the pretext of counteracting the activities of the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe. But what Smith knows full well and refuses to reckon with is the fact that the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe are operating within Zimbabwe itself and not from Botswana or any other neighbouring State.

14. Smith has no one to blame but himself for the devastating blows now being dealt to his régime by the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe. He is a rebel who has defied the international community for too long. He is a die-hard racist and a heartless butcher who thrives on the savage oppression and repression of the people of Zimbabwe. It is because of Smith and all that he represents that the people of Zimbabwe have taken up arms to liberate themselves. He has abused their patience and frustrated their hopes for peaceful change. Smith therefore should not look for scapegoats as a reaction to the freedom fighters' onslaught which he has invited by his own intransigence.

15. Because of the successes of the armed struggle, Smith was recently compelled to attend the Geneva Conference on Zimbabwe, convened by the United Kingdom as the colonial authority for Southern Rhodesia. The first phase of that Conference, which is currently in recess, did not accomplish much, as a result of the political gimmickry and well-known intransigence of Ian Smith and his henchmen in the Rhodesian Front.

16. One hears of arguments put forward by certain hypocrites that the present important meeting on Botswana

could jeopardize the chances of success of the Geneva Conference. That is strange and dangerous logic. The Geneva Conference was intended to be and remains an extension of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. The need for international pressure and action against the Smith régime remains as great as ever before. Any action taken anywhere and at any time against the Smith régime is a contribution to the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. Smith has never been respectable. He is not respectable now and any attempt to make him respectable should be resisted. He remains a rebel and he must continue to be treated as such.

17. The Geneva Conference is not being held for the purpose of striking compromises with Smith. It is a forum offered to permit him to capitulate gracefully. There can be no compromise regarding liberation, for freedom is indeed indivisible. It is in this light that, at their recent Summit in Lusaka, the Heads of State of front-line African countries made it abundantly clear that only the removal of the evils of colonialism, oppression and racism in Zimbabwe would put an end to the armed struggle.

18. The United Kingdom, as the colonial authority for Southern Rhodesia, should ensure that the illegal régime of Ian Smith does not carry out acts of aggression against Botswana and other neighbouring independent African countries. Such acts of aggression only show that Smith and his clique are still bent on resisting the inevitable change.

19. As my delegation sees it, the illegal Ian Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia is determined to destroy before it fully capitulates. Further, with the connivance of *apartheid* South Africa and, unfortunately, in direct or indirect collaboration with those countries that sell arms to that rebel British colony or have vested economic interests in southern Africa, Smith is determined to maintain the *status quo*, even to the extent of engulfing that entire area in a nuclear war. The recent unprovoked acts of aggression against Botswana and Mozambique must be seen in this context. Those acts of aggression are meant not only to intimidate the front-line countries but also to draw the whole of independent Africa into an armed conflict. This is a very dangerous war game which the Security Council must strongly condemn, for it is an international conspiracy which has already turned the southern African racial conflict into a threat to international peace and security.

20. The United Nations and, indeed, the international community as a whole should not lose sight of the fact that the underlying cause of the southern African conflict is the existence of the illegal racist minority régimes. The surest guarantee against the repetition of acts of aggression against Botswana and other independent African countries is majority rule and independence for the whole of southern Africa.

21. The Government of Botswana cannot, in the meantime, stand with arms folded and allow the Smith régime to violate its territorial integrity and sovereignty with impunity, kidnap, maim and kill its citizens and wantonly destroy their property. It has a duty to defend its people against such external aggression. Therefore, as stated by my dear colleague, Foreign Minister Mogwe, it is only natural that

Botswana should, as a matter of extreme urgency, strengthen its security forces for defence against this type of aggression. This is a situation which has been forced upon Botswana. The fact that it has hitherto maintained only a police mobile unit and no army at all, is yet another proof that Botswana cherishes peace and has no aggressive designs against any country.

22. It goes without saying that the urgent measures for national defence which Botswana must now take, will entail a lot of unplanned expenditure. Funds budgeted for development projects will now have to be diverted to this urgent necessity. Botswana, which is a victim of aggression because it upholds United Nations principles and champions the cause of freedom and independence in Zimbabwe and southern Africa as a whole, must surely not stand alone. It has a perfect right to expect and receive assistance from the international community, for it is bearing the brunt on behalf of all countries that uphold the Charter of the United Nations and love peace. I therefore trust that the Security Council will act to ensure that Botswana receives generous assistance from the United Nations and the international community at large, in order that its development programmes not be disrupted as a result of the channelling of some of its funds towards the vital area of national security, necessitated by the acts of aggression from the rebels in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. In addition, the Council should strongly condemn the illegal minority régime of Southern Rhodesia for its acts of aggression against Botswana, which are an affront to the principles and objectives of the Charter. The illegal minority régime should also be called upon by the Council to desist forthwith from committing further aggression against Botswana.

23. To support Botswana in this situation is to advance further the cause of liberation in Southern Rhodesia and, indeed, in southern Africa as a whole. It is important for the struggle of the oppressed people of southern Africa that Botswana and other independent African countries in the region be able to maintain their assistance to those people. The international community therefore has a duty to assist those countries in the interests of the liberation of southern Africa.

24. Only the liberation of southern Africa will herald genuine and lasting peace in the region. Only the liberation of the whole of southern Africa will be a guarantee against repeated acts of aggression by the minority régimes against Botswana and other neighbouring independent African countries. The security of Botswana, like that of Zambia and other countries in the region, is interlinked with the liberation of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. For its part, Zambia will co-operate with Botswana in every possible manner. Together with Botswana and other countries similarly committed to the eradication of minority rule, racism and oppression, we shall spare no effort to assist those fighting for their national liberation, freedom and independence.

25. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I wish to thank the Foreign Minister of Zambia for his kind words addressed to me as Council President and as representative of the Soviet Union.

26. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, we must regard it as a happy event for the United Nations and for international détente that the Soviet Government has wisely designated as its representative a statesman of your stature. You have already given us proof of your brilliant ability to reconcile the national interests of your country and your ideological convictions with harmonious and constructive solutions. We therefore feel that your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the present month of January is a good augury, suggesting that the year 1977 will be a propitious period for the just and lasting settlement, in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter, of the major conflicts which affect peace and security in various parts of the world. The delegation of Panama, while expressing its wishes for the success of the presidency of Ambassador Troyanovsky, takes the liberty of warning him that it will be very difficult for him to maintain or surpass the lofty standards established during the month of December 1976 by his eminent predecessor, Ambassador Ion Datcu of Romania.

27. Mr. President, you accurately interpreted the sentiments of this Council when you expressed yesterday the deep respect we have for the outgoing members of the Council and our sincere gratitude for their important contribution to the ideals of the United Nations. I am sure that those feelings are shared also by all States and nations of the international community. Panama cordially joins in the well-deserved tribute paid in the Council to the brilliant work done by the representatives of Guyana, the United Republic of Tanzania, Sweden, Italy and Japan and by their immediate assistants during the period 1 January 1975 to 31 December 1976. Rarely has there been such a fortunate and positive combination of ethical, cultural, political and human qualities as that represented during that period by Ambassadors Rashleigh Jackson, Salim Ahmed Salim, Olof Rydbeck, Piero Vinci and Isao Abe, representing Latin America, Africa, the Nordic countries, Europe and Asia. My delegation, which benefited so much from the counsel, guidance and exemplary devotion of those eminent personalities, will always remember them with admiration and gratitude and will continue to benefit from the lessons to be derived from their wisdom, experience and straightforwardness.

28. I cannot on this occasion, Mr. President, fail to mention the outstanding work accomplished by your eminent predecessor, Ambassador Yakov Malik, whose actions as a politician and diplomat still awake echoes in the halls of the United Nations. We wish him every success in his new post as Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of his country.

29. With the process of strengthening and enhancing the prestige of the United Nations system, we shall always associate that illustrious Chinese statesman, Huang Hua, who, as representative of his country, contributed to the effective advancement of the ideals of the United Nations and of the third world. His promotion to the highest post in the Government of the People's Republic of China by his recent designation as Minister for Foreign Affairs, is also a happy augury that the world, with the contribution of that

great country, will be able to enter a new era of peace and progress.

30. I should like to make particular reference to our eminent colleague, Ambassador William Scranton, former Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, who, in a few days, will be concluding his term of office as head of the United States delegation. Governor Scranton has represented a very positive combination of the gentleman, the politician and the diplomat and has, I should add, with his charming wife Mary, given us an excellent example of family life. But Ambassador Scranton has been something more: he has been the living illustration of a many-sided personality, serving both as Ambassador of his Government and ambassador of his people, and that is something rare. His character is the expression of a culture and a style reflecting the lofty values of an imaginative, dynamic society which must respond to the changes of the times.

31. Despite the profound differences that have arisen between his country and mine, and which now seem likely to be solved, thanks to the fruitful efforts of superior men such as he, I can affirm that his activity in the Security Council, in the United Nations and on the international scene deserves cordial recognition, and nothing could be more significant than that such recognition should come from a small country like mine, with more reason to recall aggravations than to pay tributes, were it not for the fact that, in this case, we have before us an exceptional person of outstanding professional and human merit.

32. These are not words of farewell to Governor Scranton, but rather an appeal that the values and style he represents, with all that is constructive about them, should continue to prevail in the foreign policy of his country.

33. It is a matter of especial satisfaction to the Panama delegation to be able to extend a most cordial welcome to the new non-permanent members of the Security Council: the Federal Republic of Germany, represented by Baron Rüdiger von Wechmar; Canada, by Ambassador W. H. Barton; India, by Ambassador Rikhi Jaipal; Mauritius, by Ambassador Radha Ramphul; and Venezuela, by Ambassador Simón Alberto Consalvi. The great intellectual, professional and personal prestige of our new colleagues, to whom we at once offer our most candid and friendly co-operation, gives us reason to hope that, in the course of this year, the work of the Council will be most productive for the benefit of international peace and security and for the progress and well-being of the peoples of the world.

34. It is flattering to Latin America that among the new members there should be two States from this continent—Canada and Venezuela—with which my country maintains the closest and most friendly relations. That Venezuela should have been chosen to occupy, with Panama, the places reserved for Latin America in this United Nations body is, in our view, singularly meaningful. Venezuela, the cradle of the Liberator and at present the headquarters of the Latin American Economic System, is committed, like my country and the other States of the region, to promoting not only unity and integration in Latin America but also the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. As was stated by President Carlos Andrés

Pérez before the General Assembly on 16 November 1976, our countries believe

"that only by means of [United Nations] concerted action in the political, social and economic fields can we find the genuine roads to peace, which should not be mistaken for mere efforts to avoid wars, to limit them or to end them, but which must be understood as being based on social justice and the well-being of all human beings all over the world."¹

Panama and Venezuela will therefore make concerted and constructive efforts, in the Council, to reflect a genuinely Latin American policy and to respond to the best interests of the world Organization.

35. We are also very pleased to welcome in the Council the presence of the Republics of India and Mauritius, countries with which Panama shares responsibilities and ideals in the non-aligned movement. We also have great expectations of the contribution to be made by the Federal Republic of Germany, a country with which we have excellent relations and with which we are carrying out joint programmes of reciprocal co-operation.

36. The presence in this hall of Mr. Archibald Mogwe, the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, shows how seriously that country and, indeed, all African States and States Members of the Organization view the complaint Botswana has made against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia, in connexion with the violation of its territorial sovereignty. That complaint was seconded yesterday by the representative of the Organization of African Unity [1983rd meeting] and today by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia.

37. In his statement yesterday [*ibid.*], the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana made it clear that, since the independence of his country in 1966, there had been 36 violations of the territorial integrity of Botswana by the security forces of the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. By giving actual, specific details, he proved that those incidents, which constituted clear cases of aggression, had included murder, arson, abduction of persons and destruction of property.

38. After objective consideration of the facts set forth by the Government of Botswana, my delegation is in favour of having the Security Council take action to put an end to the situation which must be condemned and rejected. Accordingly, the delegation of Panama hopes that the Security Council will reach a consensus decision, not only condemning the acts of aggression of the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia, but also expressing the Council's desire that the Geneva Conference on Zimbabwe reach an agreement that would ensure the prompt accession to independence of Zimbabwe, under a government with an indigenous majority, in accordance with the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and by the Security Council.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 67th meeting.

39. My delegation also considers that it is urgent for the Council to adopt measures so that the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the competent bodies of the United Nations system, may organize a programme of financial and economic assistance for the people of Botswana which, in our opinion, has earned the material and moral support of all States Members of the Organization.

40. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Panama for the kind words he has addressed to me and to my predecessor.

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

42. Mr. MATHABA (Lesotho): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation I should like to welcome you to New York as you assume your new responsibilities and to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January. Through you, I wish to greet the new members of the Security Council and to offer best wishes to those whose term of office expired at the end of 1976.

43. Permit me, through you, Mr. President, to thank the members of the Council for affording me the opportunity to participate in the discussion of an issue very serious for Africa and, indeed, for Lesotho. My Foreign Minister would very much have liked to have been there as this item was debated but, owing to circumstances beyond his control, his duties have made it impossible for him to take part in the debate. He has therefore authorized me to make these remarks on his behalf.

44. The members of the Council have heard the statement of the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana [1983rd meeting] eloquently and lucidly outlining the repeated acts of provocation and aggression perpetrated by the Smith régime against that sister African State. I should like to take this opportunity to welcome him in our midst and to thank him for the information he has imparted to members of the Council and to us. He informed the Council of the type of assistance required by his country, and it is for the Council to adopt a positive resolution that will enable the United Nations and its specialized agencies to render support to Botswana against the aggression by Rhodesia.

45. For 11 years, since the accession to independence of the Republic of Botswana, the racist neighbouring countries have continued and intensified their clandestine acts of surveillance, kidnapping, bombing, arson and harassment of its citizens. The reason is well known: Botswana and other independent African countries in southern Africa, including my own, have been placed by destiny in a delicate and strategic position for offering relief and refuge to those oppressed by racist white minority and colonial régimes and, by their very existence, they have proved the fallacy of white supremacy and superiority. But they are also viewed as a threat to the very existence of that myth.

46. As was stated by Minister Mogwe and proved in the speech of the Vice-President of Botswana in the Parliament on 17 December 1976 [see S/12262], the rebel forces of

Ian Smith have made 31 incursions into Botswana, which are flagrant violations of its territorial integrity and sovereignty. Given the long frontier between Botswana and Rhodesia and the fact that the area is sparsely populated, it is difficult if not impossible for Botswana, with its limited material and human resources, effectively to defend and protect human lives and property against criminal aggression by the well-equipped racist Smith régime.

47. Because of these repeated barbaric acts of aggression from Rhodesia, the people of Botswana find themselves more than ever before face to face with increasing problems, which demand more than they can afford. Botswana is being made a victim because of its heroic stand against colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

48. In the words of Minister Mogwe, no amount of intimidation will make Botswana change its present policy of giving refuge and assistance to the victims of oppression in southern Africa—a heroic stand which commends itself to us all. We, of Lesotho, have a saying in our language to the effect that “when it dies, it kicks”, which literally means that Smith, in desperation, may attack Botswana. But he knows that his days are numbered. There will be majority rule in Zimbabwe.

49. Minority and racist régimes have in the past followed those who fled from those régimes’ inhuman and abhorrent policies into neighbouring countries, to monitor their movements or kidnap or murder them. Botswana has not been spared this harassment, and it should surprise no one familiar with the region that fabrications about the existence of guerrilla bases and incursions of freedom fighters from Botswana are being made by Smith. This is but a nefarious attempt to distort the truth, mislead the world and use these fabrications as an excuse to carry out acts of intimidation, provocation and sabotage, with the hope of forcing Botswana to change its policy of assisting in the liberation of those Territories under racial and foreign domination. Botswana has now become the scapegoat of the internal struggle in Zimbabwe and the victim of an irresponsible attempt to perpetuate the illegal racist régime.

50. The Government and people of Lesotho resolutely support Botswana in this hour of challenge and hail its firm stand about upholding and defending the principles of the Charter and the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations. We urge the Council, and through it the whole international community, fully to support and assist Botswana in protecting and defending not only its noble principles but also the lives and property of its citizens, which is its paramount duty. Support to Botswana is indispensable for the very survival of its people and the maintenance of its political and territorial integrity, and it goes a long way towards providing support and sustenance for the struggle of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, whose very aims and objectives are within reach.

51. It is my fervent hope and earnest appeal that this Council will live up to its honourable reputation and meet the expectations of the people of Botswana and of those still subjected to foreign occupation, racism and minority rule. If the Council responds to that challenge in union, one more step will have been taken towards eradicating racism

and minority rule in southern Africa. A flicker from one of the beacons might lead to despair among those engulfed within the sea of colonialism and racial bigotry.

52. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Lesotho for his kind words about me.

53. Mr. LAI Ya-Li (China) (*translation from Chinese*): We have entered the new year of 1977 in the work of the Security Council. Allow me, in the name of the Chinese delegation, to welcome the delegations of the five new States members of the Council. We are ready to maintain close co-operation with them in the work of the Council in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

54. We are much honoured by the presence of Their Excellencies the Foreign Ministers of Botswana and Zambia at these meetings of the Council. We have listened carefully to their statements and those of the representatives of other African countries, in which they have revealed with irrefutable facts the truth on the matter now under consideration and sternly condemned the Southern Rhodesian racist régime for its naked aggression against Botswana.

55. Over a long period of time, the Southern Rhodesian racist régime has ceaselessly sent armed forces to commit unbridled aggression against Botswana, under the pretext that the Government of that country has been supporting and harbouring freedom fighters. After their invasion of Botswana, the Rhodesian armed forces perpetrated murder, arson and kidnapping wherever they went, stopping at nothing in doing evil and causing tremendous losses to the lives and property of the people of Botswana. According to incomplete statistics, the Southern Rhodesian racist régime intruded into Botswana on a dozen or more occasions in the past year alone, committing ever more serious crimes in each case. There is no doubt that the above-mentioned aggressive atrocities committed by the Smith racist régime constitute a gross trampling upon the Charter, a serious encroachment upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Botswana and a grave provocation against the African and other justice-upholding countries and peoples, as well as a serious threat to international peace and security.

56. The present situation in Africa is excellent. The national liberation movement of the broad sections of people in southern Africa and their armed struggle are developing swiftly and vehemently. The handful of racists in southern Africa, including Ian Smith and his ilk, are heavily besieged by the African people and are approaching their doom. However, they are still carrying on their death-bed struggle in order to save themselves from destruction. As the Chinese saying goes, “cornered beasts will still fight”. Recently, the Southern Rhodesian racist régime has intensified its counterrevolutionary dual tactics. On the one hand, it is engaged in political fraud by hypocritically professing its readiness to bring about “reconciliation”. On the other hand, it greatly increases its defence budget, prolongs the term of military service, steps up its repression of the armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people and even wantonly sends troops for incessant

aggression against the sovereign States of Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana in an attempt to force these countries into abandoning their support of the just struggle of the Zimbabwe people. This once again testifies to the irrefutable truth that the nature of imperialism and all reactionaries will never change. The people of Zimbabwe and the rest of Africa have realized more and more clearly from their actual life that it is only by relying on their own unremitting struggle that the independence and liberation of Zimbabwe and the whole of southern Africa can be achieved. They have realized that it is necessary for the revolutionary people to use revolutionary dual tactics to deal with counter-revolutionary dual tactics, that armed struggle is essential, that negotiations must be based on fighting and that, before the enemy really lay down their arms, armed struggle must be strengthened and not weakened. In the face of the vicious enemy armed to their teeth, the revolutionary people can defeat them only by adopting the policy of waging a tit-for-tat struggle against them.

57. At present, the two super-Powers are stepping up their fierce rivalry over southern Africa. One super-Power is doing its utmost to support the racist régimes in order to maintain its vested interests in southern Africa. The other super-Power, which styles itself a "natural ally" of the African people, is even wilder in its ambitious design and, under the banner of "opposing racism" and "supporting the national liberation movement", is racking its brains for ways to divide the national liberation organizations and undermine the militant unity among the African countries, in an attempt to fish in troubled waters for further infiltration and expansion in southern Africa. However, neither racism nor hegemony is terrifying; they are essentially feeble because they are against the people. Today, the African people have begun to integrate their struggles against colonialism and racism with those against big-Power hegemony. We are firmly convinced that the people of southern Africa, who have been tempered through prolonged struggles, will certainly heighten their vigilance, strengthen their unity, persevere in struggle, ceaselessly frustrate all the conspiratorial schemes of racism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and hegemony and win the complete victory of national liberation.

58. The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn the Southern Rhodesian racist régime for its criminal aggression against Botswana, firmly support the people of Botswana and the rest of southern Africa in their just struggles against colonialism and racism and express high admiration for the just stand of the Government and people of Botswana in supporting the Zimbabwe people's struggle in defiance of brute force. The Chinese delegation holds that the Security Council should adopt a resolution sternly condemning the criminal acts of aggression committed by the Southern Rhodesian racist régime against Botswana, enjoining the racist régime to cease immediately the aforesaid acts, commending the just stand of Botswana and calling upon all Governments and peoples to give firm support and powerful assistance to the just struggle of Botswana.

59. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure for me, on this occasion, to be able to address a cordial word of welcome

to you as Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations. I am pleased to mention here the brotherly relations of close and ever growing friendship and co-operation in all spheres between our countries, our parties and our peoples. And, if I may strike a personal note, I should like to tell you how greatly I appreciate our long-standing friendship.

60. The assumption, at the beginning of this year, of the presidency of the Security Council by a distinguished Soviet diplomat, Ambassador Oleg Troyanovsky, gives us real pleasure and reinforces our hope that this new year will be fruitful in constructive negotiations, thus strengthening the role and the contribution of the United Nations in the solution of major international problems. I wish you every success in your important responsibilities and I can assure you of the whole-hearted co-operation of the Romanian delegation.

61. On behalf of the Romanian delegation, I should also like to bid the warmest welcome to the new members of the Council: Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Mauritius and Venezuela. We know and duly appreciate the good work and experience of our new colleagues and friends in the Organization. For my delegation, and for me personally, it will be a particular pleasure to be able to co-operate closely with the delegations of those countries in the Council.

62. Before turning to the consideration of the problem which is under discussion here, I should like to express my most sincere gratitude for the generous and kind words which you, Mr. President, and other representatives have spoken about my presidency of the Council last month. I should like to stress the fact that my task was made much easier by the spirit of co-operation and understanding which prevailed throughout the proceedings of the Council and I take this opportunity, once again, to thank all my colleagues for that.

63. Lastly, I should like to say to Governor Scranton that he has won our respect and sincere admiration.

64. The Romanian delegation listened with a great deal of interest and attention to the important statement made by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, His Excellency Mr. Archibald Mogwe [1983rd meeting]. We should like to express to him our appreciation for the cogency with which he presented the case of his country to the Council. The facts he mentioned with regard to the repeated acts of aggression committed by the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia are, in our view, instructive for the Council in its evaluation of the existing situation and will also help it to decide what measures to take to prevent similar acts of aggression from being committed in the future by this régime against Botswana.

65. The facts presented to the Council give an over-all picture of the situation in southern Africa. This is not the first time that the Council has met to consider complaints from States Members of this Organization about brutal acts of aggression against their sovereignty and territorial integrity committed by the minority racist régimes at Pretoria and Salisbury. The actions of those régimes against neigh-

bouring independent States and also the escalation of violence, repression and terror against the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe are familiar to members of the Council and, indeed, to the entire international community.

66. Such flagrant violations of international law and morality highlight even more vividly the fact that the persistence of the vestiges of colonialism and of racist policy constitute a permanent source of tension, aggression and conflict and gravely jeopardize peace and security on the African continent and throughout the world. At the same time, it demonstrates the despair of the racists in the face of the gallant national liberation struggle at a time when the will of the peoples of southern Africa to achieve liberty is growing stronger every day. Those acts of barbarity are an integral part of the hopeless attempts to halt the liberation struggle in those territories and to reduce the legitimate support and assistance which African States, including Botswana, are giving to the national liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe.

67. That is why we feel that it is the duty of the Security Council to take all necessary measures to eliminate the effects and, at the same time, the causes of those acts of aggression. The support the Council has been asked to give Botswana, so that that country can devote its efforts to its peaceful and independent development, is important in principle for the United Nations and the international community. That is why this support should be conceived and included within the broader context of the Council's concern for the grave situation persisting in southern Africa.

68. The Council must resolutely condemn the acts of aggression against Botswana and take energetic measures to put an end to those acts and to help Botswana to weather the consequences of that aggression and devote all its efforts to its peaceful and independent development. In this regard, international assistance measures for Botswana should be in keeping with the spirit of the provisions of the Charter and previous resolutions of the United Nations in similar cases. The suggestions made in the Council by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana warrant our careful attention and could, together with other proposals made here, be of use in establishing appropriate machinery, with the aid of international economic organizations and the specialized agencies, to provide, without delay, the assistance needed in that country.

69. As we have already stressed, the positive experience accumulated by the Secretary-General in similar situations and also the possibility of using the United Nations system are factors which should be taken into account so that the most effective ways and means of helping Botswana may be found.

70. My country, Romania, has always given assistance and will continue, as far as it is able, to help the peoples that are struggling to defend and consolidate their independence. It is in this spirit that the Romanian people will give its whole-hearted support to the efforts and just requests of Botswana.

71. Faithful to its policy of solidarity with national liberation movements, Romania actively supports the struggle of the people of Rhodesia and all the other peoples of southern Africa for the elimination of colonialism and racism, so that they may achieve full freedom and independence. In this regard, my country is strongly in favour of recognizing the right of the people of Zimbabwe to their autonomy. We consider that the Security Council, the United Nations and the whole international community should take even more vigorous action to support the lawful struggle and the just cause of the people of Zimbabwe, so that it can realize its aspiration to decide its own fate free in an independent country.

72. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Romania for what he said about me and our long-standing friendship.

73. Mr. BARTON (Canada): Mr. President, let me first of all congratulate you on your assumption of the important duties associated with the presidency of this body. In the very short time since your nomination as the representative of your great country, you have already demonstrated leadership qualities and diplomatic skills which, I am confident, will ensure that our deliberations will proceed smoothly and progressively under your guidance.

74. As I am addressing the Council for the first time, permit me to say that it is the firm resolve of the Canadian delegation to contribute, to the best of its abilities and in the most constructive spirit, to the work of this important organ of the United Nations. Canada, which has served on the Council on three previous occasions, is proud to have been chosen to serve again, but is also fully conscious of the heavy responsibilities such tenure involves. I wish to assure our colleagues that we shall spare no effort in discharging those responsibilities.

75. I should also like, Mr. President, to thank you and the other members of the Council for the warm welcome that has been extended to me and to the members of my delegation.

76. I should further like, with the sagacity of experience that comes of having attended two meetings, to join the others in expressing our appreciation to Mr. Scranton and our regret at his departure. We have enjoyed his friendship and appreciated his wise counsel and we wish every success to him and Mrs. Scranton in the future.

77. In preparing for this debate, I reread the comments of my predecessor, Mr. Ignatieff, who represented Canada on the Council 10 years ago, when it was debating about Rhodesia. He said, at that time, that it was inadmissible for a society to be founded on a system of racial discrimination under which a minority of whites exercised political and economic control over a vast African majority. A decade later, despite our best efforts, the illegal régime still stands. We share the frustration expressed by other members of the Council over the fact that majority rule has not yet been achieved and that neighbouring countries, including Botswana, are suffering from military incursions by the illegal régime.

78. Canada's policy towards the Rhodesian question has two main aspects. First, we have joined in the international effort to isolate Rhodesia by the scrupulous enforcement of sanctions since they were first implemented. Secondly, we have made a commitment to help the free African countries of southern Africa with their task of building societies on the basis of economic and social justice for all their citizens. In doing so, we have taken into account, particularly, the extraordinary economic difficulties which the implementation of the sanctions presents for those countries bordering on Rhodesia. Thus, we have been an important contributor to the United Nations and other multilateral funds serving this purpose, and have also undertaken very major bilateral programmes of development assistance to those countries. At the present time, our bilateral assistance in that area amounts to \$54 million a year.

79. Now I should like to comment on the specific question before us today. I suggest that we have two primary, overriding responsibilities: first, to do everything within the power of this Council to stop the violations of the territorial sovereignty of Botswana; and, secondly, until such time as this result is obtained, to give all possible help in countering the special economic hardship confronting Botswana because of the defence obligations imposed on it.

80. There can be no dispute that the one sure way to end aggressive acts by the illegal régime in Rhodesia is to move rapidly towards majority rule. It seems to us that the best prospect of achieving that goal is by way of the success of the negotiations now being conducted by our colleague, Ambassador Richard. Certainly, we have a responsibility to express firmly and clearly our demand that the violation of Botswana territory must stop. But, in our view, we should seek to do so in terms which reinforce Ambassador Richard's efforts and demonstrate the unanimous view of the Council on these matters. I thought that the Secretary-General made much the same point with great effectiveness in his comments yesterday to the Committee of 24² when he underlined the importance of the Geneva Conference in bringing about a peaceful transition to majority rule and thereby putting an end to suffering and bloodshed. That is the goal of my delegation in the discussions now under way on a draft resolution or statement to be adopted by the Council that will reflect its conclusions.

81. Now I should like to revert to the appeal of Botswana for help in meeting the burden imposed by its defence requirements. The Canadian Government has been particularly concerned regarding the hardships suffered by Botswana as a direct result of its particular geographic position in southern Africa. It is a country with which we have enjoyed a close relationship, particularly since 1966 when it became a fellow member of the Commonwealth and Member of the United Nations. We have co-operated with the Government of Botswana on such major development projects in that country as the construction of the thermal power plant at Shashe, the construction of a section of the Botzam road and a geological survey of the

country. To our mutual satisfaction, many Batswana have chosen to study in Canada on scholarships.

82. The warmth of the relations between our two countries was evidenced by the visit to Canada last year of President Seretse Khama, whose views, not only on African questions but on world problems, we have always found most valuable.

83. I have referred to development assistance projects in which we have been involved because I think that they demonstrate, in a tangible way, our concern for Botswana in its task of dealing with its continuing difficulties. We can only hope that the need to divert resources for military and security needs will prove to be temporary.

84. Having set out what we see as the Council's objectives in this debate, we have only to reiterate that we should do our best to contribute to a conclusion that conveys the best judgement of all of us as to the achievement of our high purposes.

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

86. I should like to inform members of the Security Council that, as President, I have received a letter from the representative of Nigeria in which he requests to be invited to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion on the item on the agenda. In accordance with Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure and also in accordance with the established practice of the Council, I propose, if there are no objections, to invite the representative of Nigeria to participate, without the right to vote, in the consideration of this item. I therefore request him to take the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber on the understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table when he wishes to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. L. O. Harriman (Nigeria) took a place at the side of the Council chamber.

87. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of that country. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

88. Mr. SEPETU (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, first of all, I should like to express our gratitude to you and, through you, to the other members of the Council, for giving us this opportunity to participate in the present debate of the Council. May I also fulfil a pleasant duty by congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Your country's unequivocal commitment to the cause of African liberation means that we feel particular satisfaction at seeing you preside over the Council when it deliberates on a problem that is, in the final analysis, an integral part of Africa's struggle against colonialism and racism.

89. As this is the first time that the Tanzanian delegation has taken part in the Council proceedings since our country

² See the record of the 1058th meeting of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/AC.109/PV.1058).

ceased to be a member of this important body, I should like to express our thanks and appreciation to the present members of the Council and those who, like us, left the Council last month for the warm and generous tributes they paid us with regard to the role of our country and our delegation during our membership of the Council. We certainly cherish the excellent co-operation and ties of friendship we had with each and every member of the Council.

90. In view of the impending departure of Governor Scranton and since this is most probably the only opportunity we shall have in a United Nations body to do so before his departure, I should like, on behalf of the Tanzanian delegation, to pay a tribute to him for his role in our Organization. We do so not just as an act of diplomatic courtesy. Ambassador Scranton has distinguished himself as a personality of high integrity with a significant perception and understanding of the problems of the United Nations. The Tanzanian delegation, which had maintained with him warm and cordial relations, wishes him all the best in his future endeavours.

91. Ever since the racists of Rhodesia proclaimed their unilateral declaration of independence, there has been no peace in that area and there cannot be any peace under the *status quo*. In addition to its ruthless oppression and persecution of the Zimbabweans, the illegal racist minority régime in Rhodesia displays its arrogance and intransigence by allowing its security forces to attack and commit acts of provocation against the neighbouring independent States.

92. It is a matter of record that Botswana has been a victim of such attacks ever since it became independent. This is, however, the first time that a complaint about such acts of aggression has been brought to the attention of the Security Council. It is both proper and timely that Botswana should now have brought this complaint before the Council. It is proper because it is the responsibility of this body to ensure justice, peace and security at all times in all regions of the world, and timely because of the intensification and frequent launching of such acts of aggression by the Rhodesian forces against neighbouring African States. Such actions have grave repercussions for the security of Africa and clearly constitute a threat to international peace and security. It is particularly appropriate that Botswana should have brought this complaint, because, as members of this body should know, that freedom and peace-loving State is today a victim of such dastardly acts of aggression simply because of its faithful and unfailing commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and to the decisions of its various organs, more especially to the decisions of this very Council.

93. In his statement before the Council yesterday [1983rd meeting], my brother and colleague, the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, clearly explained the numerous acts of harassment and intimidation and the outright aggressive actions committed against his country. Last year alone there were 12 violations against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Botswana by the racist Rhodesian forces, culminating in serious acts of aggression on 17, 18 and 19 December. Those atrocious acts against defenceless civilians and against the police

mobile unit along the border with Botswana are characteristic of a reckless and desperate régime. There can be no justification whatever for those wild acts of subversion, murder, kidnapping and harassment of innocent civilians or for the malicious destruction of their property.

94. In view of the articulate presentation made by Foreign Minister Mogwe, we shall refrain from enumerating further the various acts of aggression perpetrated by the illegal régime against Botswana. But we wish to emphasize the fact that those cowardly acts have been as systematic as they have been persistent. They are part and parcel of a generalized scheme planned by the racist minority régimes in the area against the freedom of the oppressed peoples in southern Africa, as well as against the security and stability of the independent African States.

95. The aggression against Botswana, therefore, must be understood for what it is. It is a continuation of an aggression against freedom itself. And it is certainly a menace to all free Africa. It should, therefore, surprise no one that Botswana's complaint is Africa's complaint. Indeed, as the representative of Venezuela, Ambassador Consalvi, rightly and succinctly put it in his statement of yesterday [*ibid.*], the problem confronting Botswana is one of concern to the entire international community.

96. We therefore regard our participation in the work of the Council on this important question not merely as a demonstration of our outrage at the reckless and murderous acts of the racist minority régime in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, not just as an act of unequivocal and militant solidarity with the brotherly people of Botswana, but, no less, as our obligation to remind the international community that the case of Botswana is in fact our collective case—the case of the international community.

97. It is the United Nations which has proclaimed its unequivocal opposition to the illegal racist minority régime. It is the United Nations which has repeatedly declared its firm support for the legitimate struggle of the Zimbabwean people. It is our Organization which has consistently called upon all States to render every possible assistance to the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for freedom and human dignity. Botswana, despite its tremendous problems and notwithstanding its complex and delicate geographic position, has done no more than be faithful to those calls by giving refuge to the persecuted Zimbabweans and by refusing to be insensitive to their plight. And it is these outstanding qualities that have led that country to be a constant victim of the desperate actions of the racist minority régime in Salisbury. Clearly, therefore, it is not just Botswana that is under attack, but the very principles and ideals for which this Organization stands. The Council must bear that in mind as it deliberates on the course of action to adopt in order to meet the requirements of the situation.

98. The illegal racist régime has now formed a habit of committing acts of provocation and aggression against the neighbouring independent African States. Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana have all been victims. Indeed, since the collapse of Portuguese colonialism, the illegal régime has become more desperate. We all remember the events of

August 1976, when the racist régime sent its troops to massacre defenceless refugees and rampage through refugee camps in Mozambique. In that action, which could only be described as insane, the racist minority régime's forces invaded refugee camps near Nyazonia and committed serious crimes by assaulting and killing defenceless and harmless people, including women and children. Those refugees who ran away from the persecutions inflicted upon them by the racist régime in Zimbabwe were under the protection of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. That is the extent of the desperation of the men who have, for the last 11 years, illegally usurped power at Salisbury, defying the British Crown and riding roughshod over the will of the international community.

99. Yet, the aggression against Botswana has a particular dimension of which this Council must take full cognizance. The unfortunate and difficult geographic position of Botswana makes it vulnerable to arbitrary attacks from the racist régimes. Those régimes think that they can twist the arm of the Government and people of Botswana and blackmail them into compromising their position in support of freedom and human dignity. But, despite the many obvious difficulties that Botswana has to face, the Government and people of that fraternal State have stood firm in their commitment to the cause of freedom—the cause of the United Nations. As a Member of the United Nations, Botswana has never faltered in fulfilling its obligations under the Charter, and has at all times adhered to the decisions and resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. In the process, Botswana has made great sacrifices. This Organization must commend the Government and people of Botswana for their dedication to the cause of freedom and human dignity even under extremely difficult circumstances.

100. But commendation alone is not enough. The Government of Botswana is confronting immediate problems. For Botswana is not only faced with the growing problem of refugees who have escaped from persecution in Zimbabwe. It also has to deal with the refugee situation created internally as a result of the acts of aggression and the constant harassments perpetrated by the Smith forces along the border between Botswana and Rhodesia. I am referring to the hundreds of innocent Botswana civilians who have been forced to leave their homes and property in the border areas and who must be rehabilitated elsewhere in the country. Such dislocations can cause havoc in any country. But the damage is all the more significant in a small developing country like Botswana, particularly when account is taken of the fact that, in addition to the refugee problem, the Government of Botswana has no alternative but to divert some of its badly needed resources from development to security purposes. My Government, therefore, fully supports the request made in this regard by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana in his address before the Council.

101. This is not the first time that the Security Council has had to deal with Africa's complaints concerning acts of aggression committed by the racist minority régimes in southern Africa against independent African States. Nor, I am afraid, is it likely to be the last occasion, unless the

Council acts decisively to eliminate the cause and source of those aggressions.

102. The developments in southern Africa should by now leave no doubt, even among the cynical few, that the continued existence of the racist minority régimes not only constitute a permanent aggression against the oppressed peoples of southern Africa, but also creates conditions of permanent tension and a constant threat to international peace and security. Only the elimination of colonialism and racism can bring about conditions of normality and contribute to the peace and security of the region. Failure to recognize this can only be tantamount to adopting an ostrich-like attitude, with the attendant repercussions for all of us. This is why, in the particular case of Botswana's and Africa's current complaint, it is important to consider that the time has come to take decisive measures against the illegal racist minority régime at Salisbury. By the very lawlessness of its nature, that régime respects no law—legal, moral or otherwise. It continues to defy the international community.

103. But the Organization need not be put in such a situation of impotence. If its decisions are scrupulously adhered to, that régime will be brought to its knees. The liberation war now raging in Zimbabwe, thanks to the heroic efforts and supreme sacrifice of the Zimbabwe freedom fighters, will certainly guarantee the collapse of the régime. However, the United Nations can and should make an important contribution in reducing the suffering and bloodshed. Let our new year resolution be that of absolute fidelity to the goals of the Organization. Let those who through their actions still give comfort and support to the rebels, desist forthwith from doing so. In particular, we urge those who still violate mandatory sanctions to put an end to their gross violation of international law, as we at the same time urge the Council to consider, in due time, the extension of sanctions to cover all measures provided for under Article 41 of the Charter.

104. These are essential measures in the cause of peace and freedom for Zimbabwe. They are indispensable if we are to arrest the deteriorating situation in southern Africa. Those who simply hope for a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe, but do nothing in practical terms to create conditions for the freedom and independence of Zimbabwe, are indulging in an exercise of self-delusion. The Smith régime, by its actions, has more than demonstrated its determination to cling to power for as long as possible. The fact that some of the acts of aggression committed against Botswana and Mozambique have been perpetrated by the racist minority régime at the very time of the Geneva negotiations, is a clear demonstration of the intransigence and cunning determination of that régime. The international community has a clear responsibility to adopt such measures as will bring nearer the end of the present misery in Zimbabwe.

105. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania for his kind words addressed to my country and to me personally.

106. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to express the gratitude of my delegation for the

kind words with which you have welcomed India as a new member of the Council. I also appreciate your references to the good relations between our two countries, and may I say that I sincerely reciprocate the sentiments and hopes expressed by you.

107. I should also like to take this opportunity, if I may, Mr. President, to welcome you to the United Nations. Your debut is quite remarkable indeed, and may well be unprecedented, because your first duty in the United Nations and the first words that you have uttered have been those of a President of the Security Council rather than of a representative of the Soviet Union. We congratulate you, and I wish you much personal success and happiness, both in the service of your country and in the cause of peace, which we all serve here in the Council.

108. My delegation would like to extend to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, our congratulations on his election to a second term of office. We are acutely aware of the frustrations of his job as a catalyst in peace making and peace keeping, but I fear that a troubled world needs him and his services. We wish him much success in his efforts, particularly in his forthcoming journey in search of a just peace settlement in the Middle East.

109. I should also like to express my delegation's appreciation of the very important contributions made by the outgoing members of the Council, especially the valuable work done by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania and Guyana as members of the non-aligned group, to which my country has the honour to belong.

110. India returns to the Security Council after three years and we are deeply grateful to all those countries that have made this possible. We are conscious of the trust placed in us by them and we shall do our best to live up to their expectations. My country's attitude towards the United Nations is well known and I need only recall briefly the words of my Prime Minister, when she addressed the General Assembly in 1968. She said:

"The United Nations is the trustee of the world's peace and represents the hopes of mankind . . . and the agencies of the United Nations should, in all that they do, sustain those hopes and promote the causes of peace."³

Seven years earlier, in 1961, the father of the present Prime Minister had also addressed the General Assembly⁴ and expressed his belief in the search for areas of agreement and co-operation and in enlargement upon them. My delegation intends to be guided in its work by those hopes and beliefs, and by its commitment to the Charter.

111. I turn now to the item before us, that is, the complaint of Botswana. We listened carefully to the lucid and restrained statement made yesterday by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana [1683rd meeting].

112. I was privileged to visit Botswana last year as a member of a group of the Committee of 24. I came away

from Botswana with the dominant impression of a country hemmed in on all sides by the forces of racism and white supremacy. Botswana is virtually an oasis of legality surrounded by a vast hostile desert of illegality and it is therefore extremely vulnerable. Botswana is in fact more than a front-line State; it is, rather, a State behind the enemy lines of racism. Its situation and, indeed, that of Lesotho entitle them both to special consideration and assistance from the United Nations and especially from the Security Council. There is no doubt that, as the citadels and strongholds of racism come increasingly under attack, Botswana will be at the receiving end of further retaliation and reprisals, and it is therefore the collective duty of the Members of the United Nations to bolster its economy and buttress its security.

113. The incidents described by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana illustrate the ease and facility with which the Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia can carry out attacks against Botswana with impunity. Those attacks are, without doubt, acts of aggression against Botswana. The definition of aggression adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session makes it clear that aggression is the use of armed force by a State against the territorial integrity of another State [resolution 3314 (XXIX)]. For that purpose, it does not matter whether or not the aggressor State is internationally recognized. In the present case, of course, the aggressor is not a State but an illegal group occupying Southern Rhodesia by force.

114. The acts of the Smith régime against Botswana are of considerable gravity. They are apparently intended to harass and destabilize Botswana because it is obliged, on humanitarian grounds, to grant asylum to refugees fleeing from racial repression. As the United Nations is against racism, it should not only help the victims of racism but also support all those States which grant asylum to refugees from racism.

115. All the acts of the Smith régime are illegal; indeed, its very existence is so. And the manner in which it came into being is itself an act of aggression against the people of Southern Rhodesia, if not against the United Kingdom. It is also a violation of every single provision in Article 73 of the Charter. Southern Rhodesia may continue to be regarded by us, *de jure*, as a British colony but, *de facto*, it is not. Nevertheless, it is within the system of international peace and security and the Charter prescribes how violations and, indeed, violators of international peace—such as the Smith régime—should be dealt with.

116. In our opinion, the Security Council should condemn the acts of the Smith régime against Botswana and demand respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Botswana. And if the Council does not intend, at present, to act directly to neutralize the acts of aggression of the Smith régime, it is bound by the law of natural reason to go to the aid of Botswana to enable it to defend itself, by giving it adequate material and financial assistance. My delegation will support any action designed to liquidate the illegality that prevails in Southern Rhodesia and to provide the assistance needed by Botswana to repel the attacks of the illegal Smith régime.

³ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Plenary Meetings, 1693rd meeting, para. 150.

⁴ Ibid., Sixteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1051st meeting.

117. In conclusion, my delegation would like to express its regret that the vagaries of the polls will necessitate the absence of Governor Scranton from our midst. We have nothing but profound respect and admiration for his contributions to the work of the United Nations. We wish him well and hope that the wheel of destiny will bring him back to the United Nations.

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

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

120. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): May I first of all express satisfaction at the fact that our new colleague, the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, His Excellency Oleg Aleksandrovich Troyanovsky, has assumed the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January. It is my privilege to welcome you, Mr. Ambassador, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation. I am certain that your experience, diplomatic skill and proved qualities will contribute to enabling the Council, under your guidance, to fulfil its tasks in the course of the current month. I am confident that the friendly relations and fruitful co-operation existing between our two delegations will continue in the future also, as was the case during the term of your predecessor, Ambassador Malik.

121. At the same time, I should like to pay a tribute to Governor Scranton, who is leaving us soon and who has known how to uphold the interests of the United States in a manner that enabled us to conduct a dialogue on terms of equality and in a spirit of mutual respect. We wish him all the best and much personal success and happiness in the future.

122. I wish also to welcome the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, His Excellency Mr. Archibald Mogwe, as the representative of a friendly country with which Yugoslavia maintains fruitful and cordial relations.

123. The Security Council is meeting to consider the complaint by Botswana regarding the attack on its territory by the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith between 17 and 19 December last year. My delegation considers that this attack, in a highly tense region and at an important moment for the process of decolonization, endangers peace and security, not only in Africa but also more widely.

124. The criminal action of Ian Smith's régime against peaceful Botswana illustrates clearly the aggressive nature of that régime. This is the latest in a series of dastardly attacks against Mozambique and Botswana, for which that régime cannot but be condemned by the Security Council.

125. The United Nations and the international community have been dealing with, and fighting against, the aggressive policy of the illegal minority régime of Ian Smith for more than 11 years. The economic and other sanctions imposed on that régime by the Security Council constituted a very important action and, had those sanctions been strictly

applied by all the Member States, that régime would have collapsed a long time ago.

126. Despite the negotiations at Geneva under the chairmanship of our colleague, Ambassador Ivor Richard, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, and despite the efforts that the liberation movements of Zimbabwe, the front-line States and the whole of Africa are continuing to exert with a view to achieving, through negotiations, majority rule in Zimbabwe, Smith's racist régime, while paying lip service to negotiations, violates, by its aggressive military actions, the territorial integrity and sovereignty of neighbouring African countries, killing innocent civilians and destroying the material goods of these developing countries.

127. The criminal military actions against Mozambique and Botswana, whereby Smith endeavours to arrest the irresistible process of liquidation of racist policies, are in vain. They show that the days of this system of slavery are numbered and that the peoples' struggle will finally lead to the decolonization and liberation of Zimbabwe. The Geneva Conference offers yet another opportunity to achieve majority rule in Zimbabwe by peaceful means. By threatening other independent African States, the racist régime will only accelerate and strengthen the armed struggle of the people, which neither Smith nor much more powerful colonial Powers before him have been able to crush.

128. The Conference of Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo and the Summit Meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Mauritius correctly assessed the significance of the struggle of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa against the racist régimes of Smith and Vorster and, in that sense, they addressed an appeal to the international community to lend even greater assistance and support to the liberation movements and neighbouring countries, in their fight for the liquidation of racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa.

129. Yugoslavia maintains very friendly relations and co-operation with Botswana. In spite of the difficult situation in which that proud and independent African country finds itself, almost encircled by racist régimes, it is pursuing a peaceful and non-aligned policy, linking its fate with the ending of colonialism and racism in Africa.

130. My country holds in high esteem the President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, who is pursuing a constructive and resolute policy. This is reflected in Botswana's remarkable activity within the movement of non-aligned countries and in the Organization of African Unity. In the group of five front-line countries, Botswana plays a significant role both with regard to the struggle against colonialism and racism in southern Africa and with regard to all constructive efforts aimed at achieving, by peaceful means, the liberation of the peoples of southern Africa from the colonial yoke and from racism.

131. My delegation considers that the Security Council should emphatically condemn Ian Smith's aggressive action against Botswana and adopt resolute measures against that racist régime. At the same time, we feel that it is the duty

of the United Nations and of the international community as a whole to lend effective assistance to Botswana to help it overcome all the consequences of pressures, threats, armed actions and other difficulties to which that African country has been subjected by the racists.

132. The aggressive action of Smith's illegal régime against Botswana points once more to the importance of the transfer, as a matter of urgency, of power to the people of Zimbabwe and the elimination of the racist system in that country. That is in the interest of Zimbabwe, of Africa and of the world at large. Consequently, the Security Council must act swiftly and energetically in this matter, so as to make it possible to accelerate the transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe and to prevent similar actions by Smith's illegal régime in that part of Africa in the future. We believe that the Council will prove equal to its responsibilities and that it will fulfil the hopes placed in it.

133. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Yugoslavia for the kind congratulations he extended to me.

134. The next speaker is the representative of Sierra Leone. I invite her to take a place at the Security Council table and to make her statement.

135. Mrs. GBUJAMA (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, it is with delight that I associate myself with those who have extended congratulations to you in connexion with your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council for the month of January. My delegation is extremely pleased to see you guiding the deliberations of this Council in its consideration of the very grave situation affecting a State in southern Africa because your country, Mr. President, has not failed to give active moral and material support to the question of freedom and justice in southern Africa. Your wide experience in diplomacy will undoubtedly enable you to guide our deliberations to a conclusion that will be most meaningful to Botswana, to southern Africa, to the continent of Africa as a whole and to world peace and security in general.

136. We seize this opportunity to pay a tribute also to your predecessor, Ambassador Dăcu of Romania, under whose chairmanship decisions vital to the Organization's well-being were unanimously taken during the month of December.

137. The subject under discussion is of serious concern to my delegation because it is one which affects the peace and security of the sister State of Botswana. Not long ago this Council discussed a similar topic, namely the aggression of South Africa against the territorial integrity of Zambia. It seems as if it is fast becoming the order of the day for minority régimes in southern Africa to violate the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent States in that area, for no reason at all other than the demonstration by those independent States of their commitment to full and unconditional independence in that part of Africa, in giving support to the freedom fighters and refuge and assistance to victims of oppression in the various occupied territories. Both Zambia and Angola have been harassed by South

Africa, and both Mozambique and Botswana have been attacked by Rhodesia on the pretext of attacking training camps of freedom fighters. One can see, therefore, that the aggression against Botswana is not an isolated incident but part of a well-calculated plan to maintain the rule of white minorities in southern Africa. Hence this Council must not lose another opportunity to grapple with the root of this problem.

138. We express our gratitude to the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, His Excellency Mr. Archibald Mogwe, who so eloquently and precisely presented a detailed analysis of the problem facing his country. [1983rd meeting]. The available facts which he revealed demonstrate naked acts of aggression against a peace-loving State, a State which does not even have an army with which to fight back.

139. It is important for the Council to note that these latest attacks were carried out while the Conference on Zimbabwe was going on at Geneva, a fact that clearly shows the insincerity of the Smith régime in its acceptance of majority rule. It demonstrates also that Rhodesia will stop at nothing to maintain the *status quo* for as long as it can. The Smith régime is so desperate and so scared, because it sees the inevitable birth of Zimbabwe fast approaching, that it resorts to feverish attacks, not on training camps but on refugee camps of unarmed men, women and children, including mothers who have fled with their suckling babes from oppression in Rhodesia, on farmers and cattle-herders and peace-time policemen who are citizens of neighbouring States. The Rhodesian Government has, by law, given a mandate to its forces, with special commando units being specifically trained to carry out missions of sabotage and engage in acts of aggression against neighbouring States. Because of Botswana's support for the Zimbabwe freedom fighters, it has become a victim of a war situation with Rhodesia in that the Smith régime has declared the whole of the 400-mile border between Rhodesia and Botswana a war zone.

140. A chronological account of the acts of aggression committed by Rhodesia against Botswana has already been given by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana. It will therefore suffice to state only a few points which are of utmost concern to my delegation. The Minister stated that there had been repeated violations of Botswana's territorial integrity and sovereignty since the accession to independence of Botswana in 1966. This is therefore not Rhodesia's first offence, but we are particularly concerned by the fact that incursions into Botswana by Rhodesia have recently become more frequent and more serious. When Rhodesia continues to harass Botswana and even commits cold-blooded acts of murder against its citizens because of Rhodesia's supposed military supremacy, the situation becomes a dangerous one and a threat to international peace and security. Rhodesia has indeed declared a war zone along the border with Botswana. But we have heard the Minister state that Botswana has always been a peace-loving State and is not in any way prepared for war. Botswana has no army. Most important is the fact that the development of a third world country has been adversely affected in these difficult times by an unprovoked war created by a rebel régime. It becomes necessary, therefore,

for the Council to view the situation very seriously and to give the necessary adequate financial assistance to Botswana, which will enable that country to prevent a recurrence of the present situation, to make its borders secure and to maintain its development at the level obtaining before the attacks. All necessary measures must also be taken to prevent future acts of aggression by the minority régimes in Rhodesia and South Africa against any independent State in southern Africa.

141. An act of aggression by a minority racist régime against any independent African State is regarded by my delegation as an act of aggression against the whole of Africa—indeed, against all freedom-loving peoples. My Government vehemently condemns all such acts of aggression against a sister African State and it has unequivocally provided moral support and given modest assistance to the victims of such aggression in order to enable them to maintain adequate resistance. In like manner, my Government will avail itself of any opportunity afforded by the Council, or outside it, to provide material assistance within our means in support of Botswana's cause.

142. In conclusion, my delegation would therefore call upon this body to take a firm and unanimous decision, consistent with the provisions of the Charter, strongly to condemn all acts of suppression, repression and oppression by minority racist régimes which violate the fundamental rights and freedoms of the peoples of southern Africa, to condemn the activities of all régimes which directly or indirectly support and provide military assistance to the illegal régime of Rhodesia, thus enabling it to perpetuate its aggressive activities and defy with impunity the decisions and resolutions of our Organization, and to take all necessary steps for the provision of material and financial support for Botswana, to enable that country to continue its development projects, which have been interrupted as a result of Rhodesia's attacks.

143. Botswana's offence against Rhodesia has been its unflinching support for the liberation struggle in southern Africa. But we are confident that Botswana will continue undaunted in rendering such support to the liberation struggle, and no acts of blackmail and aggression by Rhodesia against Botswana can stop the inevitable victory of the Zimbabweans. My delegation pays a tribute to President Seretse Khama for his personal commitment and that of his Government and people to the cause of freedom.

144. My delegation seizes this opportunity solemnly to reaffirm its belief in the inalienable rights of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence in Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule.

145. I thank all the members of the Security Council most sincerely for acceding to my delegation's request to be allowed to participate in this important debate.

146. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Sierra Leone for her kind words about my country and her congratulations to me. It was a particular pleasure to hear them from her.

147. The next speaker is the representative of Kenya. Accordingly, I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

148. Mr. KASINA (Kenya): Mr. President, I wish to thank you and the other members of the Security Council for giving me this opportunity to address the Council on a matter that is extremely grave at this moment in southern Africa. Before going any further, I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council at a time when it is seized of a grave matter concerning our continent. I wish to thank you for the swift action that you have taken to convene this meeting, as requested by the Republic of Botswana with the support of the African Group.

149. The issue before the Council today is a typical example of aggression by the racist minority régime of Smith against the neighbouring States. The racist régime of Southern Rhodesia, which has oppressed and continues to oppress the black people of Zimbabwe, is now taking its aggression beyond its borders. We are all too familiar with the numerous acts of aggression that have been committed by the racist régime of Smith against Zambia, Mozambique and Angola.

150. We have heard the eloquent statement by the Minister for External Affairs of the Republic of Botswana [*1983rd meeting*] in which he cited numerous acts of aggression committed by the Southern Rhodesia régime against the people of the Republic of Botswana. Botswana's territorial integrity is being violated by the security forces of Southern Rhodesia. As the Council has been informed by the Foreign Minister of Botswana and also by newspaper reports, those incidents have included murder, arson, kidnapping and the destruction of property by Rhodesian armed forces.

151. These latest acts of aggression by Southern Rhodesia against Botswana leave us in no doubt that the racist régime of Rhodesia is interested not in peace but in a continuation of its illegal régime and the oppression of the majority in that country. To achieve that goal, the racist régime has tried to frighten, intimidate and even commit acts of aggression against the neighbouring independent States. Thus the people of Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana have experienced frequent barbaric raids on the part of the Smith régime. We commend the peoples and the Governments of those countries for the stand they have taken and the courage they have shown in resisting intimidation by the racist régime.

152. We know too well why the racist régime of Smith has embarked on those attacks against Botswana. The Republic of Botswana has unequivocally declared its determination to give political asylum to those who flee from oppression in the minority-ruled States of southern Africa. The harassment and intimidation by the Rhodesian régime is an attempt to force Botswana to abandon that noble stand. My country would like to pay a tribute to the people and the Government of Botswana for the courage they have shown in upholding this principle, despite such flagrant acts of aggression by the Smith régime. It is the moral responsibility of all Members of the United Nations to help

those people in southern Africa who are fleeing from oppression at the hands of the racist régimes.

153. The racist régime, which has no legal status anywhere, is now realizing that its days are numbered. Because of the increased pressure from the liberation movements and because of international condemnation, the régime has become desperate, and its actions are therefore desperate and have grown more inhuman. At this critical stage, the world community must not allow that régime to continue its oppression against the people of Zimbabwe and the neighbouring States. We believe that it is time for the Smith régime to be forced to acknowledge that the African people of Zimbabwe will accept nothing short of majority rule in Zimbabwe. The Smith clique should understand that it cannot deceive the people of Zimbabwe in the current constitutional talks on that country. Smith has shown his unwillingness, even at this late hour, to accept the principle of majority rule for the people of Zimbabwe. The tactics he is using in the current constitutional negotiations are all well known to us. His aim is to perpetuate the white minority régime for as long as he can.

154. The people of Botswana, like their brothers in Zambia and Mozambique, have set an example to the international community by refusing to bow to the pressures from the racist régimes. In doing so, we know, they have made enormous sacrifices. Botswana is being challenged by Rhodesia for granting political asylum to refugees coming from Rhodesia. Botswana, as we were informed by its Minister for External Affairs, is determined never to abandon this position, despite all the difficulties which are consequences of that noble policy. In upholding and defending this policy, Botswana is now confronted with a state of war with Southern Rhodesia. In fact, Rhodesia has declared a war zone along the border with Botswana. The Security Council should treat this issue as a threat to peace and act quickly, while there is time. The situation warrants the attention of the Council without any further delay.

155. In presenting his country's case to the Security Council, the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana made an appeal to the Council and to the international community to provide financial assistance to Botswana because of the economic dislocation caused by the state of war between his country and Southern Rhodesia. We urge that all necessary assistance be given to Botswana to enable it to meet those acts of aggression committed by the Smith clique. We urge the United Nations and the world community as a whole to come to the assistance of Botswana so that that country can overcome the challenges of imperialism and racism.

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

157. Mr. SCRANTON (United States of America): In accordance with the precedent of the President of the United States, these remarks will be my last at the United Nations—maybe.

158. First, Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you wholeheartedly on your assumption of the presidency of

this important body and to assure you of my delegation's co-operation with your leadership. As I mentioned in our recent consultations, I well remember your work at Camp David, at the time of the famous "spirit of Camp David", and the reputation you had then, and have now, of not only being an assiduous and effective hard worker but an outstanding linguist who not only speaks English better than many of the English but also speaks our American vernacular better than we "warpers" of the English language.

159. Likewise, I should like to thank Ambassador Datcu for his outstanding leadership during his presidency of this body in December. Though I have been in the Security Council but a very short time, no one has given us more effective leadership than Ambassador Datcu and, as I have told him personally, his supervision of the recent re-election of the Secretary-General was truly remarkable; even in my home constituency of Pennsylvania, such an election would probably have resulted in at least 16 ballots.

160. It is a pleasure to welcome the new members of the Security Council—our friends from Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Mauritius and Venezuela. We know that they will add enormously to the effectiveness of this body in its deliberations.

161. I cannot overlook commenting on those who have just left this body. Ambassadors Jackson, Vinci, Abe, Salim and Rydbeck are all outstanding men and diplomats and served both their countries and the Security Council itself most meritoriously. If I may be forgiven one personal comment about the change that has taken place. Having been formerly seated next to my friend, Ambassador Salim, and just one seat away from Ambassador Richard, I notice a profound difference now. That profusion of pacifying perfumery perpetrated by their prestigious species of pollution—otherwise known as their cigars—seems to have disappeared.

162. Now, with regard to the matter immediately before us. The real solution of this problem and of many other problems that have arisen with regard to the relationships of near neighbours to the present illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia is clearly a changeover to majority rule in that country as soon as possible and with a minimum of violence and human suffering. The extremely important and very difficult negotiations now going on to bring about just such an objective have been undertaken by the United Kingdom and are being led by our friend and colleague, Ambassador Richard. Those negotiations and the hoped-for outcome of majority rule in Southern Rhodesia are a real test of the countries and persons directly involved therein, and likewise a test of the United Nations and of those of us here in the Security Council.

163. The United States Government has assured the Government of the United Kingdom on several occasions of its complete support of the efforts the latter is undertaking to bring about majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. We believe that this effort is of paramount importance. Accordingly, our delegation has been instructed to follow and support the United Kingdom on the matter before us, in view of its close reference to those efforts.

164. I do not wish to end my comments right there, in the event of any misunderstanding about our deep concern for the issue immediately before us. I was tremendously impressed by the presentation yesterday of the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, His Excellency Mr. Archibald Mogwe [1983rd meeting], both by his exposition of the issue and the facts and, especially, by his considered objectivity. Both my Government and I, personally, feel very strongly that Botswana and its concerns are concerns of ours. The United States has in the past provided developmental assistance to Botswana and will continue to do so in the future. Our Government will continue to pursue close relations with the people and Government of Botswana and work for the kind of peaceful political settlement in southern Africa that will truly ensure the independence and integrity of Botswana.

165. In June of the past year, I had the high privilege—and I mean just that—of visiting Gaborone and meeting with President Khama and some of the members of his Cabinet to discuss some of the problems facing his country and southern Africa generally. To say that I was deeply impressed with his dedication to finding solutions for Botswana's internal problems and for the problems confronting southern Africa is to put it very mildly indeed. In my judgement, he is an outstanding leader, a man of very high principle and deep conviction, who has worked untiringly for a peaceful multiracial society in his country with a democratic government.

166. Though of sizable territory, Botswana is small in population. But, like many small countries with impressive leadership and a dedicated people, it is very meaningful in southern Africa, and if all of us were to give to that country the due study that it richly deserves, it would be manifest that it is likewise very meaningful for the whole world. I look for the day soon when the bringing about of majority rule in southern Rhodesia will terminate the constant afflictions of those two countries and I reiterate the United States Government's dedication to that objective.

167. Last, but by no means least, I wish to express deep gratitude for the kind words directed to me by speakers during the current debate. I leave this body in a few days and, in doing so, I have a very warm feeling for it, for all of you and for the United Nations.

168. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of the United States for his kind words. Since he referred to my linguistic abilities, I have no alternative but somehow to continue my statement in English. [*The speaker continued in English.*]

169. I want to say a few words addressed to Governor Scranton, our distinguished colleague and the representative of the United States. The members of the Security Council, in spite of the comparatively short period of time during which they have had an opportunity to work with him, have come to value highly his personal qualities and diplomatic abilities, which have enabled Governor Scranton to co-operate actively in the work of the Security Council and of the United Nations as a whole. This has found its confirmation in the warm words which have been spoken about Governor Scranton by the representatives of many Member States. I can only express my regret that I did not have the opportunity to sit at the same table with him for a longer period of time. Perhaps we shall have a chance later on to sit at the dinner table together. We sincerely wish Governor and Mrs. Scranton health and happiness.

170. I should also like to take this opportunity to express the hope that the relations between our two countries, the Soviet Union and the United States, will develop further, in the United Nations and elsewhere, for the good of peace and the relaxation of international tension. We are convinced that the consolidation of peace which would thus be brought about would answer the interests of all countries.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.

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