

UNITED NATIONS

190739 ✓



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

# 2006<sup>th</sup>

MEETING: 24 MAY 1977

NEW YORK

---

## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2006) .....	1
Statement by the President .....	1
Adoption of the agenda .....	1
Complaint of the Government of Botswana against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia concerning violations of its territorial sovereignty, as contained in the letter dated 22 December 1976 from the Permanent Representative of Botswana to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council:	
Note by the Secretary-General (S/12307) .....	1

## NOTE

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

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

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

## 2006TH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 24 May 1977, at 10.30 a.m.

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

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

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2006)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint of the Government of Botswana against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia concerning violations of its territorial sovereignty, as contained in the letter dated 22 December 1976 from the Permanent Representative of Botswana to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council:  
Note by the Secretary-General (S/12307)

*The meeting was called to order at 11.15 a.m.*

### Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As the Security Council is today holding its first meeting for the month of May, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to pay a tribute, on behalf of all the members of the Security Council, to Mr. Simón Alberto Consalvi, representative of Venezuela, for the brilliant manner in which he discharged his duties as President of the Security Council for the month of April. Mr. Consalvi presided with outstanding skill and great patience over the official meetings of the Council as well as the consultations held during the month of April. The question before the Council was one of great concern and importance for my Government, and I am very happy to be able to express my sincerest gratitude to Mr. Consalvi for the great diplomacy he showed during the debates which led to the unanimous adoption, on 14 April, of resolution 405 (1977).

2. It is our pleasure to have among us today at the Council table the new Permanent Representative of China, Ambassador Chen Chu. On behalf of the members of the Council, I welcome him most warmly and assure him of our friendship and co-operation.

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Complaint of the Government of Botswana against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia concerning violations of its territorial sovereignty, as contained in the letter dated 22 December 1976 from the Permanent Representative of Botswana to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council:**  
**Note by the Secretary-General (S/12307)**

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representatives of Botswana and Sierra Leone have addressed letters to the President of the Security Council in which they request to be permitted to participate in the debate on the item on the agenda. Consequently, in accordance with past practice and with the consent of the Council, I propose to invite those representatives to participate in the debate, without the right to vote, under the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

4. I therefore welcome the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana and invite him to take a place at the Council table. I invite the representative of Sierra Leone to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table whenever he wishes to speak.

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

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now resume consideration of the item on its agenda. I would remind the Council that, after considering this item at its 1983rd, 1984th and 1985th meetings, held on 12, 13 and 14 January, the Council adopted resolution 403 (1977). The Council now has before it document S/12307, of 28 March 1977, in which the Secretary-General transmits the report of the Mission sent to Botswana in implementation of the resolution. I also wish to remind the Council of document S/12326, which contains the text of a letter dated 18 April 1977 from the Secretary-General to the Governments of all States.

6. I call on the Secretary-General.

7. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: In Security Council resolution 403 (1977), I was requested to report to the Council by 31 March 1977 on the results of my efforts to organize with immediate effect financial and other forms of assistance to Botswana to enable it to cope with the special problems it was encountering as a result of hostile acts

committed against its territory by forces of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

8. The Security Council recognized that the main source of those problems was the need to divert funds from planned development projects to hitherto unplanned and unbudgeted security measures. Furthermore, the United Nations and other organizations were requested to assist Botswana in carrying out the ongoing and planned development projects without interruption.

9. In pursuance of the Council's request, I dispatched a mission to Botswana in February 1977 to assess the country's needs and to carry out detailed discussions with its Government with a view to preparing an international programme of financial and economic assistance. The report of the Mission is before the Council in document S/12307.

10. It is clear from the report, as well as from other information that has since reached me from the region, that the security situation in the areas bordering on Southern Rhodesia continues to deteriorate rapidly. Last week's incursion into Botswana by the forces of the illegal régime emphasizes the gravity of the situation. It is evident, therefore, that the Government of Botswana is being compelled to expand its police force in order to discourage further incursions and to afford greater protection for the lives and properties of its nationals living along the borders.

11. The report also draws attention to the financial burden resulting from the influx of refugees from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Since the Mission visited Botswana, the number of refugees from Southern Rhodesia has continued to increase. In Francistown, which has facilities to accommodate only 250 refugees, there are now more than 1,400. It has become necessary, with the assistance of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to establish an additional reception centre at Selebi-Pikwe. But, there again, the influx has been so great that an emergency centre which is under construction to accommodate 500 persons has to cope with a camp population of 1,700 people. In these circumstances, it has become necessary to construct a second emergency centre in that locality. I mention these facts to underscore the need for immediate international assistance to cope also with the humanitarian problems to which the Southern Rhodesian situation has given rise.

12. Members of the Council will no doubt recognize the great importance which the Government of Botswana attaches to its livestock industry. In order to safeguard that industry, it will be necessary to carry out an extensive veterinary control programme in the areas bordering on Southern Rhodesia, particularly in view of reports that disease control and veterinary services in Southern Rhodesia have been declining with the increasing military and political pressures in the country. The recommendations contained in the report would assure the Botswana people of the necessary support for that vital sector of their economy.

13. Two other projects for which assistance is required concern the railway through Botswana, now operated by

Rhodesia Railways, and the need to establish a strategic grain reserve to counter the risk of the disruption of supplies of food grain. I concur with the Mission's recommendations that the Government of Botswana should be assisted in developing a capability to operate the railway in the event of an emergency, and in creating a grain reserve.

14. On the basis of the findings of the Mission and its assessment of Botswana's needs for carrying out its development projects under present circumstances, the Government of Botswana will need to divert a sum of almost \$28 million from development resources to unplanned and unbudgeted security measures. This sum will include the cost of protection, transport and supervision of refugees, and is to meet part of the recurrent costs during the next three years. In addition, a sum of approximately \$25 million will be required for unplanned emergency projects during the next two to three years, with corresponding increases in recurrent expenditures.

15. Finally, I should like to draw the attention of the Council to my letter of appeal dated 18 April 1977 [S/12326] which I addressed to Member States and to concerned regional and intergovernmental organizations. From the text of the letter it will be seen that I have designated the Assistant Secretary-General for Special Political Questions to be responsible at Headquarters for co-ordinating action by the United Nations system.

16. As part of the measures which I propose to take in mobilizing assistance, it is my intention to convene a meeting at Headquarters on 6 June 1977 of representatives of Governments interested in contributing to the programme of assistance recommended in the Mission's report. The Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, who is with us today, plans to attend that meeting to provide any additional information that delegations may require. I propose to discuss with him other measures in promotion of the assistance programmes which might be undertaken by the United Nations and the Government of Botswana either separately or jointly.

17. I trust that the Security Council will endorse the recommendations contained in the report and that the international community will respond generously and without delay to my appeal.

18. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I should like, first of all, to salute the presence among us of my beloved brother Archibald Mogwe, Minister for External Affairs of Botswana.

19. When I addressed the Council on 12 January of this year [1983rd meeting] in the course of the debate concerning grave violations of Botswana's territorial integrity by armed forces of the illegal régime of Rhodesia, I characterized the situation there as a threat to international peace and security in the region. It was my delegation's position that a dangerous and unacceptable dimension had been added to Smith's criminal policies by the conducting of murderous raids into neighbouring territories, under the guise of hot pursuit, and the perpetration of acts of subversion, murder and kidnapping against the population

of those countries. Botswana has been a particular target of such acts of aggression, even though it is well known that the Government of Botswana has prevented the use of its territory as a launching pad for acts against neighbouring States. The Botswana authorities have continued to exercise the greatest restraint, even though they would be justified in taking retaliatory measures under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, which recognizes the inherent right of self-defence.

20. These hostile acts have not ceased, despite the demand made by the Council in paragraph 4 of its resolution 403 (1977). The most recent attack took place last week while the United Nations Conference at Maputo—from which I have just returned—was in progress. That attack serves to underscore the cruel dilemma faced by Botswana, which has to decide between utilizing its scarce resources for security needs and utilizing them for economic development. My delegation is glad that the Council took cognizance of the hardship confronting Botswana as a result of the necessity to divert funds from development projects to security needs and that it appealed to all States to respond positively in providing assistance to Botswana in the light of the report of Mission dispatched by the Secretary-General to assess Botswana's needs.

21. First of all, I should like to congratulate the Secretary-General for the speed with which he has responded, both in regard to the dispatch of a mission to Botswana and in regard to the appeal which he has addressed to the international community based on the recommendations of that mission.

22. My delegation has found the Mission's report most valuable in understanding the political, economic and security problems which confront Botswana. I am glad to note that the recommendations contained in the report are based on consultations between the Mission and senior Government officials and on information obtained by the Mission as a result of visits to the border as well as to other areas of concern. Paragraph 24 of the report indicates that the illegal régime has been responsible for 53 incidents and territorial violations since 1966. More than half of these incidents took place in 1976; they involved kidnapping, detention or death and the destruction of property. As paragraphs 26-28 suggest, the security forces available to the Government of Botswana to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country are modest by any standards. Unlike most other countries, Botswana has no army and last year had a police force of only 1,800 for a country of 582,000 square kilometres and a population of over 680,000. Little wonder that the Government of Botswana has not been able to prevent the forces of the Smith régime from violating its territory. The estimate of \$29.7 million that will have to be diverted from the normal plan of development of Botswana to security needs is very reasonable and accords with the rough estimate of \$29 million given to the Council by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana in the course of his statement on 12 January [*ibid.*].

23. I am glad that the Mission's report has given emphasis to the refugee problems with which Botswana is confronted. This is a situation of which many people are not

aware; yet it is one which, apart from its humanitarian aspect, has presented the Government of Botswana with considerable financial, economic and social burdens. I was very concerned to learn from paragraph 32 that over 10,000 refugees had entered Botswana from Southern Rhodesia and that, of these, nearly 3,500 had arrived within the first two months of this year. The expenditure of almost half a million dollars by the Government in the upkeep of these refugees, as well as other sizeable amounts which it has had to expend on refugees from South Africa, Namibia and other neighbouring countries, fully justifies, in the view of my delegation, generous assistance from the international community. The Government of Botswana cannot be expected to carry the burden of these refugees alone. The international community has an inescapable responsibility, and I trust that there will be generous contributions from all States in putting into effect the projects recommended in paragraphs 120 and 124 of the report.

24. In addition to projects connected with the police mobile unit and the refugee situation, I note that the Mission's report recommends various projects which either were not included in the normal development plan or, if included, would need to be modified or accelerated. I refer to projects to safeguard Botswana's beef industry, which is so vital to its economy, and to safeguard Botswana against the collapse of the railway should conditions in Southern Rhodesia reach a breaking point, as well as projects to meet emergency food requirements and to provide strategic food reserves in the event of any interruption in land and rail communications.

25. It is my delegation's view that the assessment made by the Mission, as well as the essential projects which it has recommended, should be endorsed by the Council. Considering the magnitude of the problems facing Botswana and the fragile state of its economy, the amount of international assistance is relatively modest: \$28 million represents the amount of development resources which have to be diverted to meet unforeseen security needs; a further sum of \$25.5 million is required to meet the cost of new projects which have become necessary in order to ensure the development of the country and to provide against urgent contingencies.

26. With those matters in mind, I wish to introduce a draft resolution [*S/12334*] on behalf of the non-aligned and other members of the Council. The sponsors of this draft resolution are Benin, India, the Libyan Arab Jamhuriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama and Romania. I understand that the delegation of Venezuela is still awaiting instructions about becoming a co-sponsor of the draft, but I have had indications that Venezuela will go along with it.

27. The preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution are self-explanatory and require no comment. Operative paragraph 1 assures the Government of Botswana of the Council's support in its efforts to safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 relate to the excellent efforts which have been made by the Secretary-General. He not only has arranged for the Council to be provided with an objective report giving an assessment of needs as well as background information on the

problems facing Botswana, but also has addressed an appeal to the international community as part of the programme for mobilizing contributions. Paragraph 7 contains a request to the United Nations and the organizations and programmes concerned, including the Economic and Social Council, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Development Programme and the World Health Organization to assist Botswana in the fields identified in the report of the Mission to Botswana. In accordance with the affirmation in the fifth preambular paragraph that there have been continued attacks and acts of provocation by the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia against Botswana, operative paragraph 8 would have the Council request the Secretary-General to give the matter of assistance to Botswana his continued attention and to keep the Council informed. Since it is our objective that the matter be kept at the forefront of our attention, we should like the Secretary-General to provide the Council with a report on the progress of the international programme of assistance, and to keep in close touch with the Government of Botswana on this matter.

28. Before concluding, I wish to express a hearty welcome to our colleague, Ambassador Chen Chu of China. He is no stranger to the Council. Indeed, for some time he was the deputy of Ambassador Huang Hua, now the Minister for Foreign Affairs of China. I extend to Ambassador Chen Chu my full co-operation and I am glad that our respective countries continue to enjoy very good relations.

29. Mr. President, it is always a special pleasure for me to address the Security Council whenever it is presided over by a beloved African brother. You, Ambassador Boya, aided and abetted by your deputy, our brother Houngavou, have impressed us with your dynamism and, may I say, militancy whenever African issues have been discussed in the Council. Your deep enthusiasm, your uncompromising patriotic attitude and your determination to show impartiality when the interests of your progressive country are concerned have filled us with admiration and sometimes even with awe. I congratulate you personally, beloved brother, as well as your delegation, on your conduct of the proceedings of this Council during the month of May, and I pledge to you and to the delegation of Benin my full support and co-operation.

30. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Mauritius for the very kind words which he addressed to me and the delegation of Benin.

31. The next speaker is the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, His Excellency Mr. Mogwe, on whom I now call.

32. Mr. MOGWE (Botswana): Mr. President, allow me to extend to you my very warm congratulations and those of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I should also like to thank

you for permitting me to participate in the deliberations of the Council. We are grateful to you and the other members of the Council for holding this meeting to examine the report of the Mission to Botswana contained in document S/12307. The commitment of the sister Republic of Benin to the cause of liberation on our continent already assures us that you will steer this debate to a successful conclusion.

33. On 12 January 1977 [*1983rd meeting*] I appeared before the Council to present the complaint of the Republic of Botswana with regard to the provocative attacks by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. Today, thanks to the expeditious manner in which this august body acted, to the business-like way in which the Secretary-General dispatched a mission to Botswana in consequence of the debate and to the hard work of the Mission under the able leadership of Mr. Abdulrahim Abby Farah, Assistant Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, the Council is considering the report of the Mission.

34. The Government and the people of Botswana are indeed grateful for the speed with which all this was done. I take this opportunity to thank all those responsible.

35. Turning now to the report itself, I can without any hesitation state that my Government, after having studied it carefully, is satisfied that it is a true reflection of the situation and conditions prevailing at the time. The Mission arrived at its conclusions and recommendations after careful study of the situation. The discussions between the Mission and the Government of Botswana were open, frank and friendly. We, in Botswana, were impressed by the enthusiasm and objectivity of the Mission in discharging its mandate. The report is lucid and solid. The Mission should be lauded for work so very well done.

36. Now that the report has been published, we are confident that it is being studied by the various Governments and private organizations and that, as requested in resolution 403 (1977) and in the Secretary-General's letter of 18 April 1977 [*S/12326*] addressed to all States, the international community and the relevant programmes and agencies of the United Nations system will respond sympathetically and positively. Botswana will welcome financial and material assistance—bilateral and multilateral—from Governments and private organizations.

37. We note with appreciation that the Secretary-General has designated Mr. Farah, Assistant Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, to be responsible at Headquarters for co-ordinating action by the United Nations system—a very appropriate choice indeed, since Mr. Farah, as leader of the Mission to Botswana, has first-hand knowledge of the situation obtaining there.

38. What I have just said with regard to assistance is important enough. But what is even more important for the Government of Botswana is the commitment and the duty to defend its people and to safeguard its sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence at all costs. I am glad that operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution just introduced to the Council clearly states this. With or without assistance, that imperative duty must be per-

formed. It was for this reason that we had to divert our scarce resources from on-going development projects to security needs. We are asking the international community to enable us to acquire the capability to withstand the desperate attacks by the illegal régime in Salisbury, for only in this way can Botswana effectively honour its international obligation and contribute to the liberation of Zimbabwe, to which we are totally committed.

39. The diversion of resources to the security needs referred to in resolution 403 (1977) is now taking place; in fact, it started even before the report of the Mission to Botswana was out, because the situation called for quick and urgent action. We must defend our people in the border areas effectively and promptly. To that end, our National Assembly has passed the Botswana Defence Force Act (1977) and the Botswana Defence Force has now been created. Its first recruits have completed their initial training and are now in active service. Drastic cuts have been made from various projects to make this possible.

40. I am aware that this meeting was convened to consider the report of the Mission to Botswana. But since the state of tension continues as a result of continuing provocative attacks against Botswana by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, I thought that the Council might wish to be apprised of the latest developments. I shall not attempt to list all the violations of Botswana's territorial integrity by Southern Rhodesia since January and the Council's debate on this matter. It will suffice to mention only a few examples to demonstrate that the régime is unrepentant and continues to perpetrate aggressive acts and that the security situation along our border with rebel Rhodesia continues to deteriorate.

41. While the Mission was visiting Botswana, rebel forces penetrated some 13 kilometres into Botswana on 18 February and seriously wounded a certain Shabalana, a villager living in the North-East District. In the encounter that followed, Detective Inspector John Michael Harlow, one of the rebel soldiers, was killed by our forces. Paragraph 25 of the Mission's report alludes to that incident and to two others which occurred on 13 February, involving exchanges of fire in the same district between our forces and those of the illegal régime.

42. On 2 March there was another exchange of fire at Mopoka Village in the North-East District, and soon after that, on 7 and 11 March, there were further exchanges of fire at Matsiloje Village. All those incidents took place on Botswana territory, thus demonstrating once again the régime's violation of our territorial integrity.

43. On 6 May, agents of the Rhodesian rebel régime tossed a hand-grenade into a Francistown club dance, killing two people and wounding scores of others.

44. One of the most serious and well calculated recent violations of our territorial integrity occurred on 16 May, when Botswana was invaded and attacked at two points by about 150 rebel troops in helicopters and troop-carriers. They used hand-grenades similar to the one tossed into the Mopane Club at Francistown. That indeed was the most serious invasion yet, considering its magnitude and the fact that heavy war machinery was employed.

45. There are therefore indications that we are now entering the most serious phase of the confrontation between rebel Rhodesia and Botswana—if, in fact, we have not already done so. We wish to draw the attention of the international community to this grave situation which could easily escalate as a result of the Rhodesian régime's announced policy of "hot pursuit" of freedom fighters, whether real or fake, into Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia.

46. The attacks on Botswana are not mere uncoordinated and sporadic acts. They are systematic and carefully contrived to cause panic among our people and wreak havoc in the refugee camps, which the régime refers to as "guerrilla bases" to create a pretext for an attack on them, and to intimidate us into refusing asylum to our brothers and sisters. Botswana has always openly stated, and we repeat now, that no amount of intimidation will force us to refuse asylum to those who flee from oppression. This, I repeat, is to us an article of faith.

47. From the foregoing it will be clear that, whilst we unreservedly laud the Mission for a job well done, we should be aware of the fact that, since its departure, the increase in the acts of aggression against my country and the escalation of the war in Rhodesia have brought about new problems. The attack on the Francistown Mopane Club revealed, more than anything else, the inadequacy of our medical facilities to care for victims of aggression. The unprecedented and unexpected increase in the number of refugees—to whom the Secretary-General referred—has caused accommodation problems. The conditions under which those refugees live appal one's conscience. It is not only encouraging but also gratifying that the Council recognizes the need to remain seized of the matter and implores the Secretary-General to keep it informed. For its part, the Government of Botswana will keep the Secretary-General informed of developments in the area.

48. In conclusion, I commend the adoption of the report of the Mission and its recommendations.

49. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Sierra Leone, who will address the Council in his capacity as Chairman of the African Group for the month of May. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

50. Mr. NICOL (Sierra Leone): Sir, permit me to congratulate you on your assumption of the office of President of this august body for the month of May. The Council could not have been more fortunate than to have you, an African, presiding over its deliberations at a time when a subject extremely important to Africa in general is being discussed. Your country's extreme devotion to the African cause coupled with your long experience in international relations and diplomacy, undoubtedly qualify you for your present responsibility. My delegation is confident that you will conduct this debate to a successful conclusion.

51. My delegation would also like to extend its appreciation, through you, to the members of the Council for permitting me, in my capacity as Chairman of the African Group for the month of May, to address this body on the subject under consideration.

52. We vividly recall the discussions which were held here last January concerning the complaint of Botswana against the illegal racist régime in Rhodesia. During those discussions, it was revealed that serious acts of provocation were being carried out by the military forces of the illegal minority racist régime against the independent sovereign State of Botswana. The Minister for External Affairs of Botswana described in detail the numerous acts of aggression which had already been committed against his country. Such acts, as was agreed by the Council, were tantamount to a violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Botswana and constituted a grave threat to international peace and security.

53. Despite the unanimous condemnation of the acts of aggression by the illegal racist régime against the peace-loving State of Botswana, there has hardly been any attempt by the rebel régime to amend its aggressive policies against its neighbours. Instead, more acts of provocation are being reported daily against Botswana and Zambia. The situation along the Rhodesia/Botswana border and the Zambia/Rhodesia border has considerably worsened. We now receive news of open clashes between Rhodesia and Botswana, on the one hand, and Rhodesia and Zambia, on the other. If the Government of Botswana had not adopted appropriate measures to reinforce its military forces by diverting its resources from planned development to security needs, it would not have been able at this stage successfully to resist the aggressive acts of the illegal minority racist régime.

54. In this regard, my delegation commends and firmly supports the measures already taken by the Government of Botswana to safeguard its territorial integrity and sovereignty. These latest acts of aggression further confirm how necessary it is for the international community to render appropriate financial assistance to the Government of Botswana to enable it not only to reinforce its armed forces but also to continue its development programme without interruption.

55. The delegation of Sierra Leone, on behalf of the African Group, unequivocally condemns the continued acts of aggression committed by the illegal racist régime against Botswana and solemnly appeals to the international community to endeavour to provide financial and other assistance to alleviate Botswana's present economic difficulties.

56. At the conclusion of the debate in January on this subject, the Council adopted resolution 403 (1977). By that resolution, the Secretary-General was requested to dispatch a mission to Botswana with a view to giving an accurate report on the economic hardships now facing Botswana as a result of the imperative need to divert funds already budgeted for its development programme to hitherto unplanned security commitments brought about by the hostile acts of aggression of the illegal minority racist régime in Southern Rhodesia, which have increased in frequency and seriousness in recent months. The Mission was also mandated to assess the assistance required to enable Botswana to continue its development programme as well as to provide adequate security for its territorial integrity and sovereignty.

57. Now that the work of the Mission has been completed, its report has been submitted in document S/12307 of 28 March 1977. It is, indeed, a very satisfactory and detailed report. I must, at this juncture, congratulate the members of the Mission for the successful work they have accomplished, particularly in regard to the detailed information they have collected to facilitate the work of the Council. From this report we have a clear picture of the financial, technical and material assistance that Botswana requires in order to continue, uninterrupted, with its development programme. The Mission calculated that Botswana would have to divert \$28 million from its planned development programme to security needs during the first three years of its development programme. The Mission also realized that the security problems of Botswana had made it necessary to introduce 11 new projects for the purpose of safeguarding the country's overall development. Those 11 new projects have been estimated to cost \$25.5 million. We can see from this analysis that the total amount required by Botswana to continue its normal development programme is \$53.5 million over the next three years.

58. Considering the magnitude and urgency of its requirements, Botswana has indicated that it would welcome both multilateral and bilateral assistance in order to maintain the momentum of its development programme during this crucial period. On behalf of the African Group, I am hereby appealing to all members of the Council and to the international community as a whole to provide Botswana with the financial assistance that it so urgently requires.

59. A draft resolution [S/12334] was introduced by the representative of Mauritius a few minutes ago. It recommends the acceptance of the Secretary-General's report on assistance to Botswana. From the African point of view, the draft resolution is considered to be balanced and non-controversial and based on the contents of document S/12307. I would therefore appeal to members of the Council to adopt this draft resolution by consensus as a natural consequence to resolution 403 (1977).

60. Finally, it must be realized that the problem we now face in Botswana should be considered in the broader context of the racial problem in southern Africa as a whole. International support and solidarity with Botswana is essential for the solution of the racist problem in Rhodesia. We must therefore act collectively now and support unequivocally the course of Botswana as a stepping stone to our overall commitment to the solution of the racist problem in southern Africa.

61. Mr. AL GAYED (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): Mr. President, allow me, first of all, to extend to you the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the duties of the presidency of the Security Council. We are confident that, with your proven wisdom and experience, you will guide and preside over the affairs of the Council in a manner that will facilitate the attainment of the worthy objectives of the United Nations. Our confidence in you is also based on the fact that you are the representative of the People's Republic of Benin, a sister African country with which my country, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, is proud to maintain the closest bonds of friendship and co-operation.

62. Allow me also to congratulate and commend your predecessor in that high post, the representative of Venezuela, for the excellent and wise manner in which he presided over the affairs of the Council last month.

63. I should also like to express the honour felt by my delegation at the presence here in this chamber of His Excellency the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana.

64. I take this opportunity to welcome, on behalf of my delegation, the new representative of the People's Republic of China, Ambassador Chen Chu.

65. It was only a few months ago that the Security Council had occasion to discuss the dangerous situation in southern Africa resulting from the continued domination of Southern Rhodesia by the illegal minority régime. The Council is once again convened to deliberate on the dangerous situation that has arisen as a result of the flagrant and vicious acts of aggression perpetrated by the Ian Smith régime against the Republic of Botswana.

66. The report of the Mission sent to Botswana in pursuance of resolution 403 (1977) is explicit and clear concerning the hardships facing Botswana as a result of the continuous violations and acts of aggression committed by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. There can be no doubt about the gravity of the situation, nor about the perils and hardships faced by Botswana. Paragraph 21 of the report states:

"Since the illegal declaration of independence by the régime in Southern Rhodesia, there has been a series of border incidents, particularly in the Central, North-East and Chobe Districts. The Mission drove along the border in the Central and North-East Districts where many of the incidents had occurred, and saw evidence of the destruction of houses and the damage from bombs and attacks."  
[See S/12307.]

In meeting with people directly affected by the flagrant acts of aggression perpetrated by the Ian Smith régime, the Mission was informed that:

"the border violations and attacks on Botswana citizens in border areas have resulted in losses of livestock due to lack of ability to use watering points on the border, . . . in addition, the situation on the Rhodesian side of the border could result in increased risks of diseased animals straying into Botswana . . . the border violations and attacks have made it mandatory that protection be provided to citizens in border areas" [ibid., para. 23].

67. Resolution 403 (1977) strongly condemned those acts of aggression and demanded the immediate and total cessation of all hostile acts committed against Botswana. Despite that resolution, the racist minority régime of Ian Smith has persisted in its defiance of United Nations resolutions and has continued in its aggressive policies towards Botswana. In fact, such acts of aggression were

committed against Botswana even while the United Nations Mission was undertaking its investigations and consultations in Botswana. Furthermore, only a few days ago, we learned through the mass media that the military forces of the racist régime in Salisbury had once more invaded the territory of Botswana and perpetrated abominable acts of murder and violence against the people.

68. The Republic of Botswana, which is both a Member of the United Nations and a member of the Organization of African Unity, is faced with an extremely critical and grave situation. The report of the Mission indicates that Botswana is faced with a situation of deteriorating security resulting from threats to its territory and people by the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. The economic and social consequences of those flagrant acts of aggression also deserve the urgent consideration of the Council. It should be pointed out that Botswana has had to face the problem of the influx of refugees into its territory. Those refugees have been compelled to leave their own homes and villages as a result of acts of repression, expulsion, murder and violence perpetrated against them by the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

69. My delegation believes that, in view of those acts of aggression and in view of the increasing threat to the peace and security of the world, the Security Council can no longer delay the adoption of effective measures to put an end to the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. The peace and security of the area can only be achieved through the granting to the people of Zimbabwe of their right to self-determination and independence. The continued existence of the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia can only result in the increased oppression of the Zimbabwe people and in repeated acts of aggression against Botswana and other neighbouring countries. It would indeed be a regrettable situation if the Council continued to prove ineffective and to remain hindered in the face of such challenges.

70. My delegation endorses the recommendations of the Mission to Botswana, contained in document S/12307, and urges that all possible assistance and support be extended to the Government of Botswana to help it overcome the consequences of those acts of aggression. My delegation believes that effective measures on these lines should be adopted by the Security Council and takes this occasion to express its support and solidarity with the Government and people of Botswana in their struggle to safeguard the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of their country.

71. Finally, I should like to extend to the Mission our appreciation and gratitude for the efforts it devoted to this matter. Our gratitude and appreciation are also due to the Secretary-General, whose efforts have greatly contributed to the success of that Mission.

*The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.*

---

### كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم. استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى: الأمم المتحدة، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف.

#### 如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

#### HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

#### COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

#### КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

#### COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.

---