

UNITED NATIONS

JUN 13 1972



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR

1627th MEETING: 28 JANUARY 1972

ADDIS ABABA

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1627)	1
Address by His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia	1
Address by Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania	2
Statement by the Secretary-General	7
Statement by the President, Mr. Omer Arteh Ghalib, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Somalia	8

SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held in Africa Hall, at Addis Ababa on Friday, 28 January 1972, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. Omer Arteh GHALIB (Somalia).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Belgium, China, France, Guinea, India, Italy, Japan, Panama, Somalia, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1627)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Consideration of questions relating to Africa of which the Security Council is seized and implementation of the Council's relevant resolutions.

1. The PRESIDENT: I declare open the first of the meetings of the Security Council to be held at Addis Ababa in accordance with the terms of resolution 308 (1972) adopted by the Council on 19 January 1972.

His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, and His Excellency Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, were escorted into the plenary hall by the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs and the Protocol Officer.

2. The PRESIDENT: I wish to express the gratitude of all to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I and the Government and people of Ethiopia for the hospitality they have so generously offered.

Address by His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia

3. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now have the honour to hear an address by His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia.

4. His Imperial Majesty HAILE SELASSIE I:¹ It is my pleasure to welcome the Security Council to its first meeting on African soil. It is our hope that as a result of your meetings in Africa you will be in a better position to assess the immense significance of the items inscribed on your agenda.

5. I take this opportunity to express my great satisfaction at the presence of my good friend President Moktar Ould

Daddah, who, as the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, has been entrusted with the task of acquainting the Council with the views of Africa on the items on your agenda.

6. I should like also to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Waldheim on his appointment as Secretary-General of the United Nations and wish him success in all his efforts in that exacting office.

7. The fact that the Security Council is today considering matters which are elementary is a sad commentary on our times. Over a quarter of a century has already elapsed since the nations of the world recorded in the Charter of the United Nations the principle that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms constitutes a vital basis for the promotion and protection of international peace and security. Yet in Africa neither the efforts of the United Nations nor this universal conviction of mankind have been able to eliminate the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms, while peoples in other continents have benefited from this fundamental recognition.

8. Colonialism and the policy of racism impose soul-searching questions of human rights, weighing equally on the conscience of all men and nations of goodwill. History amply shows that the freedom enjoyed by the many becomes fragile when the denial, even to the few, of basic human rights is tolerated.

9. The developments of the last few years in southern Africa confirm beyond reasonable doubt that, as repression has increased, it has also created more resistance, thus leaving in its wake an escalating process of violence, which may soon engulf the whole area. Indivisible as peace has become in our time, there is the obvious danger that such a process will have far-reaching consequences. The Security Council has, therefore, the duty not only to forestall this tragedy but, by taking effective and timely action, to remove the danger.

10. The present historic series of meetings of the Security Council should, therefore, afford an opportunity for an agonizing reappraisal of past attitudes and for the taking of new initiatives on the issues of colonialism and racism in Africa.

11. Today, the attention of the world, which bitterly recalls the dismal failure of the Council of the League of Nations to uphold the basic principles of its Covenant, will

¹ The Emperor spoke in Amharic; the English text of his statement was provided by the Ethiopian delegation.

inevitably be focused on this hall, in full expectation that the Security Council will discharge its responsibility towards the peoples of southern Africa.

12. The League of Nations suffered a premature death because of its inability to live up to the principles of its Covenant. The United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, as the principal organ for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter, clearly stands to be judged before the collective conscience of humanity on the issues of colonialism and racism.

13. The verdict will, obviously, depend on the manner in which each member and the Council as a whole will discharge their heavy responsibilities. Failure to live up to the Charter obligations in this respect can but have the most serious repercussions, both on the effectiveness of the United Nations and on international peace and security, of which you, as representatives in the Security Council, are the present guardians.

14. Africa has already voiced its stand on these burning issues at the United Nations, within the Organization of African Unity and at the conferences of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries. Indeed, the entire world has joined Africa in condemning and rejecting the inhuman policies of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. What is called for at this critical time is for the international community to move from mere rejection and condemnation to taking action. The international community has many options, but what has been lacking so far is political will.

15. It is imperative that your present deliberations should be guided by the lasting interests of mankind. And in this historic task you are assured of the unflinching support of all men of goodwill. Considerations of short-term objectives should not be allowed to stand in the way of peace and justice.

16. Throughout history it has been the inaction of those who could have acted, the indifference of those who should have known better, the silence of the voice of justice when it mattered most, that has made it possible for evil to triumph. The glorious pages of human history have been written only in those moments when men have been able to act in concert to prevent impending tragedies. By the actions you take, you can also illuminate the pages of history.

17. May your endeavours usher in a new era of freedom for the peoples of southern Africa.

18. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the Security Council, I thank His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I for his statement, to which we have all listened with great interest and appreciation. We are grateful for his words of wisdom and for the continuing interest and confidence that he has so long demonstrated in the activities of the United Nations.

Address by Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, President
of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania

19. The PRESIDENT: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, to make a statement to the Council.

20. President OULD DADDAH (*interpretation from French*): Your Imperial Majesty, in officially welcoming the Security Council to Addis Ababa, you have kindly agreed to extend greetings to the distinguished members of the highest body of the United Nations, the Security Council, and Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, on behalf of Ethiopia. It is not surprising that through these greetings from the Ethiopian people many of us here should have heard and recognized, in their rich diversity, not only the familiar tones of appreciation and emotion but also the apprehensions of all African peoples in respect of the historic event that we are experiencing today: the holding of meetings of the Security Council for the first time on African soil.

21. From this gesture of great modesty, with ever-renewed deference and pleasure, I have drawn yet one more lesson from the exceeding sense of tact, wisdom and discreet efficiency with which your Imperial Majesty has always worked tirelessly for the development of modern Ethiopia, for the strengthening of African unity, and for the creation of a better international climate. The fact is, however, that this characteristic modesty of His Imperial Majesty makes it immediately incumbent upon me to welcome you now to Africa and to represent all the peoples of Africa in receiving you in the capital of Africa.

22. Addis Ababa, cradle of the Organization of African Unity and its headquarters, reflects certainly more than any other capital city the aspirations and the concerns of the whole of Africa at this special series of meetings of the Security Council. Addis Ababa, a city which has offered itself with never-flagging consistency and generosity in the service of so many of Africa's great designs and more particularly in the more outstanding moments of the recent history of the Organization of African Unity, deserves, certainly more than any other part of this continent, the honour of acting as host to the Security Council at its first visit on African soil. And Ethiopia, certainly more than any other member of the Organization of African Unity is cognizant of and can assume the responsibilities which these special meetings of the Security Council place on the African people.

23. The vast African community, the Africa of the independent States, as well as the Africa of those Territories where colonialism and racial discrimination still prevail, once again focuses its attention, its expectations, its hopes and its fears, on Addis Ababa. We might even say, this is hardly anything out of the ordinary.

24. The event that we witness today, the fact that the Security Council should have chosen to come here to seek practical means of implementing the numerous resolutions

and decisions on decolonization and *apartheid*, which stud the long career of the United Nations, has also made Addis Ababa the focal point of all those throughout the world who have begun to question the ability, if not the determination, of the international community, and above all of the permanent members of the Security Council, to translate into facts the generous principles on which the United Nations is founded.

25. It is to all those, as well as to the peoples of the States members of the Organization of African Unity and to the African liberation movements, that I should like, for my part, to devote most of my thoughts at this moment as I receive you on African soil. In order to respond to the concern of all of those people, I therefore decided that the best means of expressing to you our high appreciation of the diligence with which the Council accepted the invitation extended by the Organization of African Unity to come here would be to give you first of all the deep-rooted reasons which led to the extending of that invitation to you. It would, be quite natural if, later, on behalf of all those in Africa and outside the continent who suggested that the invitation be extended, I should attempt to define for members of the Council the broad lines of what our people expect these meetings of the Security Council to accomplish if it wants to imbue these historic meetings with its true significance: the marking of a fresh start in the often frustrated efforts of the United Nations to translate its principles, its resolutions and its decisions into reality.

26. There are many who have already understood the situation. However, it is just as well to confirm the fact here. The serenity which has marked more than a quarter of a century of existence would not have made it necessary to ask the Council to uproot itself so radically, had this stability itself not given birth to a form of unrest—unrest generated in the course of the years by acquired habits, routine, and, let us say openly, a certain degree of sterility. The Africans are not the only ones who for some time now have been taking stock of the record of the work of the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular.

27. It is true, however, that Africans, who welcomed the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in 1960, have effectively demonstrated, with more insistence than others, perhaps, to what degree the enthusiasm and the heat of the debate of the early days—during the flow of resolutions and decisions and in the course of creating various committees and councils established to prepare and apply the fundamental principles of the Declaration—have given way, in their minds, to discouragement, concern and, I might even go so far as to say, despair.

28. How could it be otherwise, since the sum total of the 128 resolutions on decolonization and *apartheid* adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly since 1960 are almost exclusively of concern to the African peoples? How could it, indeed, be otherwise, since the various committees and councils entrusted with responsibility for overseeing the application of those resolutions have particular instructions to aid only the Africans in their just struggle to uproot the last remnants of foreign

domination and racial discrimination? Perhaps more than any other peoples, Africans greeted with emotion, fervour and hope the emergence of these resolutions and the creation of the committees and councils entrusted with the implementation of the various aspects of the Declaration. It is natural that they more than others should have felt and expressed their disenchantment at the fate accorded the resolutions, as well as the committees and councils.

29. That is why, when the hour came to take stock, in 1971, at the time of the eighth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, Africa reviewed the record and discovered, with some discouragement, that more than 120 resolutions, an impressive number of conferences, councils, round-table discussions, seminars and committees have, practically speaking, failed to improve the situation of those peoples still subject to the evils of colonialism and racial discrimination. Africa considered the record and discovered with some degree of concern that, despite the efforts of the Organization of African Unity and above all despite the great offer that it made to the world of its will to peace through the Lusaka Manifesto,² the adherents of foreign domination and *apartheid* intended to make no concessions to ensure that the principles of freedom, dignity and equality contained in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Declaration should finally be applied to all the peoples of Africa. Africa continued to be the only region of the world where more than one tenth of the population was still subject to the colonial yoke and to racial discrimination.

30. This discouraging discovery could have led to despair if, because of this interest which of necessity arouses in its peoples and its leaders everything which concerns efforts to bring about liberation and the struggle against *apartheid*, Africa had not also discovered in the activities of the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular certain positive elements, or, rather, had Africa not sensed certain potentials which, if better exploited and better rationalized, would contribute to strengthening and accelerating the pace and the results of this struggle for human dignity.

31. Thus, after a detailed analysis of our determination as well as of our spirit of realism, we detected the new and decisive force that might emerge from united action by the Security Council and, above all, by its permanent members. Thus we considered as a positive and therefore decisive potentiality the actions and difficult but necessary changes that had to be undertaken in order one day to lead the Security Council to assume its responsibilities more fully than in the past—not only at the level of the generation and formulation of resolutions but also, more particularly, at the level of the implementation and supervision of decisions contained in resolutions dealing with colonialism and *apartheid*.

32. Unity of action by the Security Council, the collective and active responsibility of its members—above all of its permanent members—to apply and supervise the implemen-

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

tation of decisions of the Security Council—here, in a nutshell, beyond question are the two objectives clamoured for by so many voices in all the halls and at all the meetings of the United Nations in New York. Here are two overriding needs recognized by all—not as panaceas for all the evils afflicting mankind, but as decisive paths leading to change which would facilitate for all peoples, and particularly for the more severely oppressed peoples, access to the avenues to freedom and dignity, avenues which are set forth in such generous terms in the hundreds of resolutions of the United Nations, and which have been sung in unison in the speeches, solemn declarations and proclamations which stud the life history of the United Nations, and which are even more numerous in the chronicles of the great Powers of the world.

33. We do not maintain that something in the serenity and climate of the particular world of New York, of that world of the United Nations and the Security Council, inevitably contributes to hampering the attainment of these wishes. But, as is normal among those who seek paths to better living and cannot afford the luxury of neglecting any possibility, are we not justified in thinking that, perhaps by our coming here, under the skies of Africa, something will change for the better in the world? Are we not entitled to think that here, where the realities of colonialism and racial discrimination are closer than in New York, that spark will be struck which, transcending the divergencies of interests of the great Powers, will perhaps at last forge their determination to act in concert and more effectively than in the past—to offer the elementary rights of independence, freedom and equality with other men to the last of the Africans who are still denied them? For, since these are elementary rights when clamoured for in other climes, they resound no less loudly as matters of principle which belong to times long past, which have long since ceased to form part of the urgent, current aspirations of so many peoples. Although they are elementary, concepts such as liberty, freedom and equality, declaimed in other climes do not always evoke, as they do in Africa, the facts of daily palpable realities—suffering, humiliation, brutality and injustice—realities which every day leave their impression on the hearts and souls of men in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

34. These, however, are realities which are all the more cruel since they are being experienced in this century where the progress of technology, the dreams brought within man's reach in an operating theatre where a heart transplant is being completed or on the moon on which men walk about freely, no longer allow many to believe that on our planet the cries of suffering and of oppression of whole peoples can really still be heard, peoples to whom other men refuse the right of self-determination or simply to treat them like other human beings. These are facts which you certainly will not experience in the atmosphere of repression in which they still flourish, but the echoes of which reflected in the psychology, the flesh, and the chain of solidarity which binds together all the peoples of this continent cannot fail to reach you in more piercing terms at Addis Ababa than in New York.

35. But, and I hasten to say this, the sharpness of the echoes of this suffering and humiliation, no matter how

loud, would in itself, alone, not have justified, in the eyes of the African peoples, the historic journey completed today by the Security Council. That is why I have deliberately chosen not to receive you here with recrimination or condemnation. That is why the representatives of the Heads of States members of the Organization of African Unity and the spokesmen for the freedom fighters who have come in large numbers to make their contribution to the success of this series of meetings will speak to you more in terms of the future to which more efficient consideration must be given, rather than of the past with its sequel of disappointments, disillusionments and even betrayals. These are facts that have been sufficiently revealed and stigmatized by the Africans, just as much as we have mentioned today the individual responsibilities of States which actively or passively help to strengthen the negative power of Portugal, of the white minority of Rhodesia or of the South African Government against the interest of the peoples of our continent.

36. For the Africans the keynote of our times is realism which is not an abdication of responsibilities, but rather an effort to exercise creative imagination solidly anchored to the often harsh lessons of the shortcomings of international life as we Africans have experienced them and understand them after so many years in the General Assembly and the Security Council and in witnessing the attitude of the great Powers about the future of oppressed peoples.

37. It is in the name of this realism that I should like here to turn finally to the question of the hopes placed by our peoples in these meetings of the Security Council and to offer you a few comments on what might be the new courses on which the United Nations, and above all the Security Council, should embark if the nations belonging to these bodies really intend, as I hope, finally to go beyond the stage of declarations of principle and come to the stage of concrete achievements.

38. My comments have no foundation other than the belief shared by all the African peoples that the matters with which we are dealing today are precisely those where no opposition should persist, where the conflict of interests and ideologies should no longer be an insurmountable barrier in the path of united action. For are we not actually talking about restoring to all men their right freely to decide their destiny, to dispose freely of all their resources and to live in peace and security in their homes? Are we not in the last analysis talking of these simple—I almost said rudimentary—rights in whose name all the revolutions and all the ideological, social and economic choices are always made, changes which in this century form the infrastructure of those we all agree to call the great nations?

39. In using deliberately and repeatedly the term "great Powers" or "great nations" I have wished to recognize the existence of a certain number of Governments, of peoples, and thus of States, which by their economic, military and technological development have a network of influences and international relations which enables them unquestionably to influence for good or for ill the general policy of other countries. If these influences could work together positively at the level of the highest organ of the United Nations, that would inevitably contribute to creating the

primary conditions to ensure the implementation of the just decisions and resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly on the crucial problems of concern to us: putting an end to colonialism and racial discrimination.

40. That these decisions and resolutions should not heretofore have brought about the rightful changes that the oppressed peoples expect is something which again we would not wish to interpret except as a concatenation of accidents, a reflection of other times: a time of escapism which to some degree "could conceal an inefficiency which was almost deliberate," like that which has made it possible to refer so many major problems to committees and councils that exhausted themselves in praiseworthy but vain studies in an effort to provide solutions that were soon rejected.

41. The sum total of the efforts and the goodwill expended by the members of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, the Committee of Twenty-Four on decolonization³ and the United Nations Council for Namibia certainly deserve to be recorded in the grant roll of human achievements, to the credit of all those who have helped to bring these bodies into being.

42. But let us recognize that the extremely limited scope of these efforts should induce us today to discover other procedures, a fresh approach which would place upon those who take the main decisions the duty and the responsibility to oversee their implementation directly and to supervise their execution stage by stage. If the Security Council and particularly its five permanent members would concentrate on using the network of their influences and their relations with each other, their military, economic and administrative power to play the role heretofore entrusted to committees and councils, we believe that such a procedure would be likely to ensure more effectively than was done in the past the execution of the generous decisions contained in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council in favour of the colonial peoples or those who still suffer from racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

43. There is every indication, for example, that in the case of Namibia a committee composed of the members of the Security Council, and above all, of its permanent members, would immediately find ways and means of taking charge of the administration of this Territory and of leading it to self-determination and independence in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council.

44. The Organization of African Unity formally proposes that a council composed of members of the Security Council, including necessarily the five permanent members, should be entrusted with the administration of Namibia and should make all the arrangements to ensure its effective administration.

45. This proposal is put forward particularly because we are convinced that this is a decision which, once taken by

the Security Council, could be put into effect immediately. Moreover, does this decision not appear today as the only normal attitude that the Security Council should take in the face of the categorical refusal of South Africa to abide by the time-limits fixed for it to hand over the administration of the Territory of Namibia to the United Nations?

46. This decision, which will be enshrined in the long history of decolonization as one of its most outstanding events, has in the eyes of the Africans a weighty advantage namely, it would signify a renewal of hope not only for the peoples of Namibia, but also for all the others who in South Africa, Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies or in any other foreign enclave which still exists here or elsewhere are fighting with determination to assert their dignity and regain their freedom. Indeed, the process thus set in train by the Security Council, in terms of its very logic, would lead its most powerful members to assume collectively and directly their responsibilities in all places where the just decisions that have been taken in favour of freedom, dignity and the equality of peoples under foreign domination are arrogantly trampled underfoot.

47. Obviously, there are no objective reasons for preventing the Security Council immediately from assuming its responsibilities to the same degree in Rhodesia. The flagrant failure of the proposals for a settlement⁴ which were worked out between Great Britain and the minority racist régime of Salisbury demonstrates, to those who were still doubtful of both the political maturity of the Africans in Rhodesia and their firm determination not to accept a settlement which was prepared without their participation and, therefore, denies them any prospect of acceding to the exercise of their rights as a free and independent people.

48. Africa proposes as of now that the Security Council should in the course of the current series of meetings take official note of the failure of this effort and proclaim the invalidity of the agreement concluded between Great Britain and the racist régime of Rhodesia. Thus we are convinced that the problem of Rhodesia would immediately be scaled down to its true proportions, that is to say, the obligation incumbent upon the United Kingdom to begin on a fresh foundation the process of decolonization of this Territory within the framework of negotiations not with a minority but with the authentic representatives of the African peoples duly selected on the basis of majority rule, having in mind the permanent application of this rule in an independent Rhodesia.

49. Perhaps at this time when I am speaking of Rhodesia I should have confined myself to this general proposition, which should receive the agreement of all men of goodwill and good faith, were it not for the fact that this particular case involves a homeland which at present provides a sad picture and which, therefore, has a special impact on the conscience of the African peoples.

50. I therefore consider myself in duty bound to elaborate somewhat on this general proposal by saying a few words

³ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10405.

about the conditions in which the United Kingdom, supported by the Security Council, could democratically clear the way to independence for this Territory. We believe that, like many discussions that preceded the granting of independence to so many other countries, consultations between the United Kingdom and representatives of the people of Zimbabwe should take place on neutral soil. In any event, they should be held outside the climate of oppression which prevails at the present time in Rhodesia.

51. Because we believe that it is necessary to work out a realistic approach in all cases where colonization and racial discrimination still persist, we should like to invite the Security Council to reconsider its attitude concerning Portugal and South Africa. Let us recognize that these are two cases where two States refuse to apply the equitable decisions of the Security Council; these are two States which have rejected the whole gamut of peaceful solutions proposed by Africa through the Lusaka Manifesto to provide a final settlement for the remaining problems of decolonization and racial discrimination which still exist in our continent. More than any other State, therefore, and more than at any other time in history, these two Governments continue to demonstrate the vain nature and ineffectiveness of resolutions as well as of certain concrete measures such as economic sanctions or appeals to reason. We must therefore hope that an agreement between the big Powers, a more positive use of their right to veto as well as the privileged relations which they have with one another, should lead to a substantial improvement of the situation.

52. Have not Portugal and South Africa accumulated a sufficient record of challenges to the most fundamental rules of the United Nations as well as to the clearest decisions of the Security Council to lead all men of goodwill and good faith to consider, as an extreme solution, their suspension from the international community, the United Nations, which they have a thousand times over denied by their actions against its authority?

53. If we think this over carefully, such a decision, no matter how extreme it might seem, would in no way run counter to the interests of any member of the Security Council. Contrary to the appeals to reason, to the application of economic sanctions or the prohibition of the sale of arms, this decision would have the merit of being immediately subject to execution and its specific implementation would not be subject to the capricious interpretations of one side or the other, or to the changing of interests of certain parties.

54. I would have stopped at this point were it not that what we all know of the reactions, the interests and the ethics which, unfortunately, prevail within the international community gives me the somewhat disconcerting impression that I was closing my statement with something akin to an appeal to idealism or in other words, a pious wish.

55. That is why I should now like to go on to say a few words about the heavy burden which destiny as well as the weaknesses of other men impose upon the nameless African soldiers who, everywhere where colonialism and discrimination still prevail, are certainly keeping an ear tuned to Addis

Ababa but are also still continuing whole-heartedly to accept with determination the vast sacrifices which the struggle for their liberation and their dignity has imposed on them.

56. If I have decided to conclude by mentioning the freedom-fighters, it is because independent Africa, meeting in the Organization of African Unity, has together with the freedom fighters agreed that, apart from the assistance they may receive from others, their destiny as men of freedom and dignity will be achieved only by the force of their own struggle.

57. In inscribing this credo in favour of all of their action for decolonization and against *apartheid*, the Organization of African Unity has decided on a mandate, the methods of work and the fate of its Committee on Co-ordination for the Liberation of Africa. That Committee sees itself as a body designed to elicit, co-ordinate and distribute to the peoples struggling for their liberation, the financial, economic, military and other forms of assistance so necessary to the acceleration of the legitimate struggle of these peoples. The results of this assistance could perhaps seem very modest, but in themselves they already reflect the characteristics which day by day testify more and more to the validity of this deep belief which animates all the peoples of Africa and which, more particularly, inspires the work of the Liberation Committee: it is the belief that with adequate assistance, that is to say, assistance on a larger scale and better adapted to the nature of the struggle, the Africans still under foreign domination or who are suffering from racial discrimination are capable of influencing in their favour the course of events in South Africa, in Angola, in Mozambique, in Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands, as well as in Namibia and everywhere else where colonialism still prevails.

58. I spoke of adequate assistance. But if today I wish to stress the full importance of this assistance before the Security Council, it is also because, to an increasing degree, we are convinced that this solidarity, which is recognized, accepted and experienced in the flesh by these Africans, this solidarity which has brought the Liberation Committee into existence and made it grow, can only gain by extending its dimensions to the international community as a whole. It is above all because there is every indication that in the international community a considerable number of peoples and Governments really and sincerely accept the fact that the freedom and dignity of Africans entitles and should entitle them to be granted more than words of comfort and support, much more than a discreet, symbolic, sporadic and almost shamefaced material contribution. In other words, they should be given regular, official and substantial assistance—in brief, assistance which would show openly that we recognize the legitimacy of the struggle which is being carried on by these peoples for their destiny as free men.

59. Have I stated the point clearly? Have I clearly brought out that for the Africans nothing stands in the way of the creation at the United Nations level of an international fund financed on a regular basis and intended to strengthen the assistance that the Organization of African Unity is

already providing to the African liberation movements? That such a fund should obviously be designed to carry out peaceful tasks, such as the type of work carried out by the regular funds of the United Nations, I would see here only as borne out by the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council which today recognize that the persistence of the colonial systems or of *apartheid* represent a threat to international peace and security, and that therefore a systematic organization and material and continuing support of the struggle against such systems indisputably tend to create the climate of peace and security which is so necessary for the continuation of the work of the United Nations in the service of all mankind.

60. Africa proposes that within the United Nations an international aid fund should be set up to assist the liberation movements and peoples who are fighting against racial discrimination.

61. I shall have concluded my comments, Mr. President and members of the Security Council, after suggesting to you solemnly on behalf of all of Africa that you should consider these few proposals, and inviting you to bring to bear your vast stores of wisdom and extensive experience of international problems, and to prepare the judicious inclusion of new working methods in the Security Council and in the United Nations as a whole, but I would also request your permission to address a few words to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the new Secretary-General of the United Nations.

62. Mr. Secretary-General, these words are of course designed to congratulate you on your accession to this high post of responsibility because it implies the focusing of a compendium of confidence in your qualities as a statesman, in these times when renewal is as inevitable as are our reasons for fearing for the future of mankind. I say this to tell you how confident we in Africa are to see you proceed very quickly, as did your illustrious predecessor U Thant, beyond the symbolic value of this your first voyage away from Headquarters which has brought you to Africa, thus transcending geographical barriers; by the strength of your action in favour of those who are the most severely oppressed among the continents, you thus emerge as one of the most authentic friends of this Africa which today more than ever would like to find reasons for believing in the generous ideas which are the pillars of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

63. These are our primary concerns, these are our burning hopes in the Organization of African Unity, which more than ever reaffirms its will and its unshakable determination to make its full contribution to the attainment of the ideals of liberty, justice and peace in accordance with the principles inscribed in the United Nations Charter and which the Organization of African Unity has adopted as its own ever since it was created.

64. These are the deep motivations which underlay the unanimous decision of the Chiefs of State and Government of our continental organization to invite you to come here to Africa to find practical and urgent solutions to the tragic situation imposed on 30 million Africans which the

vicissitudes of history have placed under the intolerable system of colonial and racist domination.

65. On behalf of the Organization of African Unity and on behalf of all African peoples and Governments, I wish you complete success in your discussions in order that this series of meetings at Addis Ababa will today find in the hearts of men who are suffering, and tomorrow, in the eyes of history, its rightful place among the great events which will improve the human condition.

66. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the Council I wish to thank His Excellency Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah for his statement, which we have listened to with great interest and attention.

Statement by the Secretary-General

67. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Secretary-General.

68. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: This is the first time that I have the privilege of addressing the Security Council, which, a month ago, honoured me and indebted me so greatly by submitting my name to the General Assembly for election as Secretary-General of the United Nations.

69. My first thoughts here today go to His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie I, a statesman of great vision, wisdom and faith, who has done so much for his people, for Africa and for the community of nations. Seldom have I met a man with so much love and attachment for the United Nations. We owe him a great debt of gratitude for having invited and enabled the Security Council to meet in Africa. Our gratitude must also go to all those statesmen and Governments that have taken the initiative for this session in Africa or who have supported the idea. President Moktar Ould Daddah, Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, who has made a special effort to be with us here today, deserves our warmest thanks as he does for his assistance on other important issues before the United Nations. Men like these, whose care and concern go much beyond the borders of their nations, deserve a high place of honour in the history of the United Nations.

70. In the hearts and on the minds of all of us there have been two deep lingering questions during the last few days: a feeling that this series of meetings is an historic event not only for Africa, but also for the United Nations as a whole, and a feeling of fear that, unless successful, this event may be a setback for the prestige of the Security Council. Our efforts and will during the days ahead will show whether we are able to tilt the balance in one or the other direction.

71. Whatever the results, this series of meetings of the Council is an historic event. It takes place at a moment of slow but sure improvement in international relations. At the summit we see a willingness for greater personal contacts among the leaders of the most powerful countries. At the United Nations we have witnessed a great step ahead towards universality of the world Organization. There is

more peace and understanding in Europe than there has ever been since the end of the Second World War. Conflicts brought before the United Nations are all in a stage of armistice—a fact which should not hide our increasing despair at not seeing them permanently solved. A tragic conflict between two of the greatest friends and staunchest supporters of the United Nations has held the world in suspense and fear but has not developed into a wider conflict. There is in my view, great hope all around for the future of this world. We seem to be on the point of overcoming successfully the growing pains experienced on our way towards adulthood in international relations. But there might be many accidents and set-backs on this road. It is the historical role of the Security Council to prevent such accidents. It is its role to stop forthwith any bleeding and to heal swiftly any wounds between nations. Its work may be thankless and its agenda filled only with conflicts and human misery, but it is a most essential pillar of the wider role and effort of the United Nations to build a more orderly, more just, more prosperous and more peaceful international community.

72. Here in Africa there are wounds and there is bleeding. There is still colonialism and racism. They might not be considered matters to invoke the daily concern of the rest of the world, which has the unfortunate tendency to close its eyes to anything that is not an immediate danger. But they are wounds of great concern to Africa, to this Security Council, to the United Nations as a whole, entrusted with the task of maintaining peace and security in the world. They are wounds that are definitely not inflicted only upon our African brothers, but concern the world as a whole. The Security Council has for the first time in its history decided to transport itself closer to the actual suffering. This is an achievement in itself, the long-lasting efforts of which we may not be in a position to fully appraise today.

73. The eyes of the whole world are on these meetings of the Security Council in Africa. We will not be able, within eight days, to heal wounds which are several decades old and whose roots lie in centuries-old prejudices and blindness. But we can prescribe the necessary remedies. We can establish a plan for recovery. We can mobilize healthy forces from all parts of the world to help us solve the problems before this Council.

74. Africa can play a great role of reconciliation and unification in the world, as its leaders have shown so vividly in the United Nations. Africa is in great need of peace and justice in order to be able to concentrate on its urgent tasks of development. This is in the interest of the world as a whole. With its rich natural resources, its ancient cultures and its unique and miraculously preserved environment, Africa can soon with our help become one of the happiest continents in the world.

75. We must succeed. May we all have the wisdom, the will and the courage to fulfil the high hopes placed in this series of meetings by the people of Africa and by all mankind.

76. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement and for the efforts which he and his staff have exerted in connexion with the Security Council's decision to hold this series of meetings in Africa.

**Statement by the President, Mr. Omer Arteh Ghalib,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Somalia**

77. The PRESIDENT: Now I should like to have the privilege, with the permission of the Council, of making a short statement.

78. From the outset I should like to thank again His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I, the Government and people of Ethiopia, for their warm welcome and for the hospitality which they have accorded members of the Council since our arrival in this great capital. Secondly, I should like to thank, on behalf of the Council, His Excellency Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, for having come here once again to acquaint the Council with the aspirations of the African peoples.

79. It is particularly gratifying to my Government and to my delegation that Somalia has the honour of presiding at the opening of this series of meetings of the Security Council devoted primarily to African questions. I speak for an African country which achieved independence under the aegis of the United Nations and which has never lost faith in the ability of the Organization to fulfil its promise, despite some disappointments, disillusionments and failures, however long may be the struggle, to bring into being an international society based on justice and the rule of international law.

80. It will no doubt be reiterated during the course of these meetings and rightly so—that the first meetings of the Security Council outside of the United Nations Headquarters for 20 years, and the third such series of meetings in the history of the Organization is an historic occasion. This indeed is an historic occasion. It is an important landmark, not only in African affairs, but also in the development of the role of the Security Council as envisioned by the Charter, which states in Article 28, paragraph 3:

“The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgement will best facilitate its work.”

This is a provision which enables the Council to be visibly and actively responsive to regional problems.

81. It is most fitting that these special meetings of the Security Council should take place here in the beautiful city of Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia and the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity.

82. In accepting the invitation of the Organization of African Unity to come to Africa and discuss African problems in an African setting, the Security Council is performing a vital function. It is responding publicly and positively to the needs of an area rife with actual and potential threats to peace and to the call of a regional organization whose purposes and principles are closely allied with those of the United Nations. It is also effecting that co-operation with regional organizations envisaged in

Article 52 of the Charter as an aid to the task of peace-keeping.

83. The Organization of African Unity, in its comparatively short existence, has gained notable successes in the practical task of settling regional disputes by peaceful means. Both in its approach to regional problems—which are, of course, its main preoccupation—and in its approach to international issues, it has shown itself dedicated to the principles of international law implicit in the United Nations Charter.

84. The Security Council is, of course, the chief agent of the United Nations for the practical application of its purposes and principles. Paramount among those purposes is the task of securing and preserving peace. It is obviously more important to prevent conflicts before they arise than to attempt to deal with them after they have taken place. Every possible effort must be made to clarify issues that threaten peace, to determine the principles under which these issues should be tackled and to determine the practical steps which are needed for their solution.

85. The African problems on the agenda of the Security Council are all problems which threaten the peace of the region directly and which are potential threats to international peace. This is true whether we consider the struggle of the people of Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola for the right to self-determination, the plight of the people of Southern Rhodesia, the intolerable position of the black man in South Africa, or South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of the international community and of the wishes of the people of that territory. These situations threaten peace because the preservation of peace is inextricably bound up with the question of human rights, and in all these areas human rights are forcibly denied to the majority of the people. In southern Africa, perhaps more than in any other area of the world, peace and security are subverted and threatened because millions of people are being denied their right to political, social and economic self-expression, to human dignity and to national self-determination, and they are being denied these rights on the basis of racist and discredited colonialist philosophies.

86. It is sometimes argued by those who have a special interest in preserving the white régimes of southern Africa that comparatively few independent nations in Africa, and even in the world at large, afford their peoples the high standard of social justice demanded by the Charter and its supportive declarations. The rebuttal to that argument is contained in the Lusaka Manifesto, which wisely and honestly admits:

“None of us”—the independent African States that is—“would claim that within our own States we have achieved that perfect social, economic and political organization which would ensure a reasonable standard of living for all our people and establish individual security against avoidable hardship or miscarriage of justice. On the contrary, we acknowledge that within our own States the struggle towards human brotherhood and unchallenged human dignity is only beginning. It is on the basis of our commitment to human equality and human

dignity, not on the basis of achieved perfection, that we take our stand of hostility towards colonialism and racial discrimination which is being practised in southern Africa.”⁵

The Manifesto goes on to point out that in southern Africa not only is there no commitment to justice for the African majorities but there is an open and continued denial of the principles of human equality and national self-determination.

87. The premise contained in that portion of the Lusaka Manifesto that I have just read is a modest one that none of us could fault. It represents the minimum that we would ask for ourselves, whether we represent States that have a long history of independent nationhood or States that have only achieved independence and nationhood in recent years. That minimum is a commitment to human equality and dignity. In southern Africa that minimum does not exist. Is this not a state of affairs that calls for a remedy; that calls for the most urgent and positive action by a world organization dedicated to peace, justice and progress? Is the situation in southern Africa not contrary to the principles and purposes of the Charter that all Member States of the United Nations are pledged to uphold? Does this situation not contravene those further developments of the Charter such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the implementation of independence for colonial peoples and the strengthening of international security? Of what use are our pledges and declared support of these declarations; how sincere is the approval we give them if we are not prepared to work objectively for their practical application—not only in Africa but in other troubled areas of the world?

88. It is pertinent to ask, at this point, what can be achieved by this special series of meetings of the Security Council. There were some who questioned the wisdom of holding these meetings, both in terms of their utility and in the context of the financial situation of the United Nations. In my view, the criticism on financial grounds can be made only by those with an unfortunate view of United Nations priorities. It is moral bankruptcy that we must fear even more than financial bankruptcy. It would be false economy if the Security Council, instead of answering the challenge to seek out more meaningful ways of performing its essential tasks and instead of increasing the confidence of Member States by showing flexibility and vitality, had decided to refuse that challenge. It would, of course, be foolish to take an unrealistic or fatalistic view of the United Nations financial situation; but when the Organization's highest body takes action to make itself more responsive, more accessible and more open to the needs of an area which provides one third of the membership of the United Nations and whose problems involve the denial of fundamental human rights to millions of people it is difficult to see how such an action could be labelled extravagant.

89. With regard to the question of the practical value of these meetings, it would certainly be naïve for anyone to hope that they will provide instant solutions for the

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754, para. 4.

long-standing and complex African problems on the Security Council's agenda. What the meetings will do is enable the Security Council as a whole to take a fresh look at African problems—to see them from a different perspective. Events, situations and conflicts must all take on different proportions when they are viewed, not thousands of miles away by the East River in New York, but here in Africa.

90. Last fall the Security Council had the opportunity to hear the views of the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [1583rd meeting] and a delegation of Foreign Ministers [1585th, 1587th, 1588th and 1594th meetings] on the situation in Namibia. This was a most important aid to the work of the Council, which was thus kept in contact with African opinion at the highest level. The present series of meetings should enable the Council to receive views and representations from a much wider cross-section of African opinion, not on one item but on all the African questions of which the Council is seized. It is my hope and my firm conviction that the Security Council will benefit from an interchange at close quarters with African opinion to the extent of gaining new perspectives and applying them to constructive approaches to the larger African issues.

91. An important aspect of these meetings is the part they will play in focusing attention, both inside and outside Africa, on the evils engendered by racism and colonialism in southern Africa. To throw light on these dark places is always a useful exercise, and it is one which can only support the international campaign against racism and

colonialism. A new dimension will no doubt be added to the Council's deliberations by reason of the fact that the proceedings will be relayed directly by African news media to African audiences without intermediary influences.

92. I suggested earlier that the Security Council, as the chief agent for the practical application of the purposes and principles of the United Nations, had these essential tasks to perform: to clarify issues that threaten peace, to decide the principles under which those issues should be tackled, and to determine the practical steps which are needed for their solution.

93. This series of Security Council meetings will be a truly historic one and will fulfil the hopes of Africa if, in dealing with the issues on its agenda, the Council is unfailingly guided by the body of principle to which all Member States are committed and if it goes on to exert the force of its authority on the side of the millions of African people under intolerable racist and colonial domination.

94. There must be a commitment to human equality and dignity. The United Nations, acting through its most powerful organ, should do no less than commit itself to action which will promote the cause of human equality and human dignity in Africa.

95. In conclusion, may I say that "commitment" and "action" should be our watchwords in the week before us.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.